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*Social life in the reign
of queen Anne*

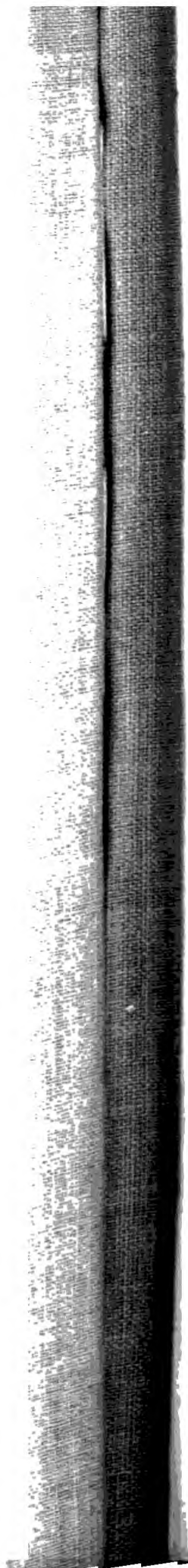
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Social Life in Queen Anne's Reign

VOL. I.

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SOCIAL LIFE
IN THE
REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

Taken from Original Sources

BY

JOHN ASHTON

AUTHOR OF 'CHAP BOOKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY' ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

*WITH EIGHTY-FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR
FROM CONTEMPORARY PRINTS*



London
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1882

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P R E F A C E.

FROM the time of Dean Swift downwards to our own days, many Political Histories of the Reign of Queen Anne have been written, but its Social Life we have been left to gather mainly from the efforts of novelists, who have been more or less conscientious, according to their knowledge, in placing it before us.

No doubt the drudgery of the work, the wading through all the newspapers, and reading all the literature of the time, has deterred many from attempting what, in its execution, has proved a very pleasant task ; for in doing it, one has got to be thoroughly identified with the age—its habits and customs—which, being taken from the very words of the people then living, writing for living people, who could contradict their statements, if false or exaggerated, a charm was lent to the task, which fully compensated for its labour.

All history, unless it is contemporary, must necessarily, if honest, be a compilation, and my idea is, that it should honestly be avowed as such, and the authorities given for all facts ; and this I have done, even at the risk of proving wearisome.

In compiling it, my task has been similar to one who, having a necklace of old beads, finds it broken, and the beads scattered hither and thither. His business, naturally, is to gather them together, and string them so as to satisfy criticism. He may not pick them all up, and he may not please everyone's taste in his arrangement, but his course is clear—he should not add new beads of his own to supply deficiencies, but should confine himself to putting together all he can find in the best manner he possibly can.

The almost total absence of domestic news in the newspapers has compelled me to draw largely on the essays and descriptive books of the time, and in one or two instances I have ventured to transcribe (as in the case of Misson) from works published, or written, two or three years before Anne actually reigned—but the facts were precisely the same as then obtained, so that much has been gained thereby.

The Illustrations might, undoubtedly, have been made more artistic and unreal—but I have carefully taken them from contemporary prints, and prefer to present them in all their uncouthness and reality.

JOHN ASHTON.

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SOCIAL LIFE

IN THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

(Boys.)

The Duke of Gloucester—The Queen's refusal to marry again—Treatment of children after birth—Baptismal feasts—A christening—'Daffy's Elixir'—Treatment of infantile diseases—The nursery—Toys—Children's books—Horn books—Private tuition—Boarding and day schools—Free schools—Classical education—School books—Penmanship—Runaway boys—College education—Charity schools.

IN all climes, and in all ages, since Man's creation, he has been subject to the same conditions, modified only by circumstances. He has been born—has had to receive some education (if only taught to fish and hunt for his subsistence), which was to fit him for the position he was to occupy in this life. This was absolutely necessary, for it is scarcely possible to imagine a more helpless being than an infant. In most cases he married, and so helped to preserve his species, and most certainly he died.

The scheme of existence in Queen Anne's time was no exception to the normal state of things—only, as the ways of people then, were not exactly similar to ours, it will be interesting to note the differences attending childhood,

education, marriage, and death. The Queen herself had more than once been a mother ;¹ but only one child, the Duke of Gloucester, lived any length of time, and in his infancy he was indebted for his life to a young Quakeress, who acted as his wet nurse. Poor little fellow ! his brief stay on earth was not a pleasant one. He suffered from hydrocephalus (water on the brain), and his head was so big that at five years of age his hat was large enough for an ordinary man. He could hardly toddle about, and felt himself unable to go up stairs without being led. His father and mother seemed to think that this assistance was not necessary ; and, shutting themselves in a room with the poor little boy, Prince George gave him such a severe thrashing with a birch rod, that sheer pain made him move, and from that time he managed to get up and down stairs without help. Coddled by the women, and with somewhat rough playmates of his own sex, he amused himself by drilling his company of boy soldiers, even reviewing them on his eleventh birthday, the day before he sickened with scarlet fever, of which he speedily died. His mother grieved sorely for him, but never had another child to supply his place.

On her accession to the throne, the succession (failing her issue) was unsettled, and most anxious was the whole nation that she should yet be the mother of their future sovereign. In 'The form of prayer with thanksgiving to Almighty God to be used in all churches and chapels within this realm, every year upon the eighth day of March (being the day upon which Her Majesty began her happy reign),' in the prayer at the Communion service, immediately before the reading of the epistle, 'for the Queen as supreme Governor of this Church,' was the following petition : 'And that these Blessings may be continued to after Ages, make the Queen, we pray thee, an happy Mother of Children, who being Educated in Thy true Faith and Fear may happily succeed Her in the Government of these Kingdoms.' Her husband, Prince George, died October 28, 1708 ; and it was not until January 13 of the next year, that the Council struck out this portion of the service, some one evidently remembering that the 8th of March

¹ Seventeen times, in fact.

was approaching. On January 28, 1709, both Houses of Parliament petitioned Her Majesty to marry again ; but her wounds were too recent and too sore. She replied that the provision she had made for the Protestant succession would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happiness of the nation ; but that the subject of their address was of such a nature that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.¹

Ignorantly as the little Duke of Gloucester was treated, what was the condition of ordinary babies ? Let a contemporary tell the tale. Steele,² writing as if his familiar Pacolet was speaking, and giving an experience of his sensations, says : ' The first thing that ever struck my senses was a noise over my head of one shrieking ; after which, methought I took a full jump, and found myself in the hands of a sorceress, who seemed as if she had been long waking, and employed in some incantation. I was thoroughly frightened, and cried out ; but she immediately seemed to go on in some magical operation, and anointed me from head to foot. What they meant I could not imagine : for there gathered a great crowd about me, crying, " An heir ! an heir ! " upon which I grew a little still, and believed this was a ceremony only to be used to great persons, and such as made them what they called heirs.

' I lay very quiet, but the witch, for no manner of reason or provocation in the world, takes me, and binds my head as hard as possibly she could ; then ties up both my legs, and makes me swallow down an horrid mixture. I thought it an harsh entrance into life, to begin with taking physic ; but I was forced to it, or else must have taken down a great instrument in which she gave it to me. When I was thus dressed, I was carried to a bedside, where a fine young lady (my mother, I wot) had liked to have hugged me to death. From her they faced me about, and there was a thing with quite another look from the rest of the company, to whom they talked about my nose. He seemed wonderfully pleased to see me ; but I know since, my nose belonged to another family.

¹ *The Chronological Historian, &c.*, by W. Toone, ed. 1826.

² *Tatler*, No. 15.

‘That into which I was born is one of the most numerous among you ; therefore crowds of relations came every day to congratulate my arrival ; amongst others, my cousin Betty, the greatest romp in nature ; she whisks me such a height over her head, that I cried out for fear of falling. She pinched me and called me *squealing chit*, and threw me into a girl’s arms that was taken in to tend me. The girl was very proud of the womanly employment of a nurse, and took upon her to strip and dress me anew, because I made a noise, to see what ailed me ; she did so, and stuck a pin in every joint about me. I still cried ; upon which she lays me on my face in her lap ; and to quiet me, fell to a-nailing in all the pins, by clapping me on the back, and screaming a lullaby. But my pain made me exalt my voice above hers, which brought up the nurse, the witch I first saw, and my grandmother. The girl is turned downstairs, and I stripped again, as well to find what ailed me as to satisfy my granam’s farther curiosity. This good woman’s visit was the cause of all my troubles. You are to understand that I was hitherto bred by hand, and anybody that stood next me gave me pap if I did but open my lips ; insomuch, that I was grown so cunning as to pretend myself asleep when I was not, to prevent my being crammed.

‘But my grandmother began a loud lecture upon the idleness of this age, who, for fear of their shapes, forbear suckling their own offspring ; and ten nurses were immediately sent for ; one was whispered to have a wanton eye, and would soon spoil her milk ; another was in a consumption ; the third had an ill voice, and would frighten me instead of lulling me to sleep. Such exceptions were made against all but one country milch-wench, to whom I was committed and put to the breast. This careless jade was perpetually romping with the footman, and downright starved me ; insomuch that I daily pined away, and should never have been relieved had it not been that on the thirtieth day of my life a Fellow of the Royal Society,¹ who had writ upon “Cold Baths,” came to visit me, and solemnly protested I was utterly lost for want

¹ Probably Sir John Floyer, who wrote several books on the wonderful cures made by cold water bathing.

of that method ; upon which he soused me head and ears into a pail of water, where I had the good fortune to be drowned.'

After its birth the babe was soon baptized, but there does not seem to have been a great social fuss made about the event. That most entertaining and observant traveller Henri Misson, who visited England at the very close of the seventeenth century, and whose book was translated into English in 1719,¹ says, 'The custom here is not to make great feasts at the birth of their children. They drink a glass of wine and eat a bit of a certain cake, which is seldom made but upon these occasions.'

Ward,² however, has left us a humorous description of a private christening. He was asked by a relation to stand Godfather to his newborn Child, and 'I, wanting ill-Nature enough to resist his Importunities, submitted to his Requests ; and engag'd for once to stand as a *Tom Doodle* for an hour or two, to be banter'd by a Tittle-Tattle Assembly of Female Gossips. The time appointed for the Solemnisation of this Ancient piece of Formality being come, after I had put on a clean Band, and bestow'd Two Penniworth of Razorrige on the most Fertile part of my Face, whose Septuary Crop requir'd Mowing, away I Trotted towards the Joyful Habitation of my Friend and Kinsman, but with as aking a Heart as a Wise Man goes to be Married, or a Broken Merchant comes near the Counter. . . . As soon as we came into the Room, and had bow'd our Backs to the old Cluster of Harridans, and they in return had bent their knees to us, I sneak'd up to the Parson's Elbow, and my Partner after me . . . whilst Old Mother Grope stood rocking of the Bantling in her Arms, wrap'd up in so Rich a Mantle as if both *Indias* had club'd their utmost Riches to furnish out a Noble covering for my little Kinsman, who came as callow into the world as a Bird out of an Eggshell.

'At last the Babe was put into my hands to deliver, tho' not as my Act and Deed, to the Parson, who having consecrated some *New River water* for his purpose, wash'd away

¹ *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England, &c.*, translated by Ozells, 1719.

² *The London Spy*, ed. 1703.

Original Sin from my new Nephew, and brought him amongst us Christians into a state of Salvation. But when my froward Godson felt the Cold Water in his face, he threaten'd the Priest with such a parcel of Angry Looks, that if he had been strong enough, I dare swear he would have serv'd him the same Sauce, and under the same Ignorance would have return'd him but little thanks for his Labour. After we had joined together in a Petition for the good of the infant Christian, the Religious part was concluded. . . . As soon as the Parson had refreshed his Spirits with a bumper of Canary, dedicated to the Mother ; and the Clerk had said Amen to his Master's good Wishes, after the like manner, each of 'em accepted of a Paper of Sweetmeats for his Wife or his Children, and away they went, leaving the Company behind.' They then seem to have drunk a full quantity of wine, and the women having eaten, drank, and gossiped sufficiently, were each presented with 'a Service of Sweetmeats, which every Gossip carried away in her Handkerchief. . . . Having now struggled through every difficult part of these Accustomary Formalities, I had nothing to do but to Thank them for our Liberal Entertainment, Wish the Women well again, and both much Happiness in their Male Offspring, and so take my Leave, which I did accordingly ; and was as greatly overjoyed when I got out of the House as ever Convict was that had broke Gaol or Detected Pick Pocket that had Escaped a Horse Pond.'

Having launched our baby thus far in life, we will see how he was treated when suffering from any of the numerous ailments which infancy is subject to. The marvel is that so many grew up. It was eminently 'the survival of the fittest.' Sanitary arrangements were extremely rudimentary ; little care being taken either as to the purity of the water supply, or the efficiency of drainage. Fever was always in their midst, and, neither inoculation nor vaccination being known, or practised, smallpox was rampant, and spared no class, from the Queen (Mary) to the beggar. Was the child fretful, there was that cordial dear to old nurses of the Gamp school—Daffy's Elixir. This remedy, which has survived as a popular nostrum to our own time, was not new in Queen Anne's reign. It must then ever have been a profitable property, for

rivals could afford to quarrel over it, as the following advertisements show :—

‘DAFFY’S FAMOUS ELIXIR SALUTIS,¹

PREPARED BY KATHARINE DAFFY.

The Finest now expos’d to Sale, prepar’d from the best Druggs, according to Art, and the Original Receipt, which my Father Mr. Thomas Daffy, late Rector of *Redmile*, in the Valley of *Belvoir*, having experienc’d the Virtue of it, imparted to his Kinsman Mr. *Anthony Daffy*, who publish’d the same to the Benefit of the Community, and his own great Advantage. This Very Original Receipt is now in my possession, left to me by my Father aforesaid, under his own Hand. My own Brother Mr. *Daniel Daffy*, formerly Apothecary in *Nottingham*, made this ELIXIR from the same Receipt, and Sold it there during his Life. Those who know me will believe what I Declare ; and those who donot may be convinc’d that I am no counterfeit, by the Colour, Tast, Smell, and just Operation of my ELIXIR. To be had at the *Hand and Pen* in *Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London* ; and many other Places in Town and Country.’

Primâ facie, the lady would seem to have made out her case ; but there were other aspirants to fame—as the following notice² will show :—

‘ADVERTISEMENT.

‘Forasmuch as Mrs. *Elizabeth Daffy* has lately Published an Advertisement containing Invidious Reflections upon me, in relation to my *Elixir Salutis*, I should be wanting to my Self if I should not obviate them in the like public manner, to let the World see they are Malicious, unreasonable, and false.

‘In the first place she charges me with Clandestinely taking the House in *Prugeon’s Court* ; which, by her leave, is equally absurd and unjust ; for the House was to be Lett a long time before I took it (nor had she any lease of the House, or any Power to Lett it), so consequently any one else might have taken the same. As for my pretending to have been her Husband’s Assistant in preparing the *Elixir*, I will only say

¹ *Harl.* 5931. 226.

² *Ibid.* 121.

this is just as true as the former Story ; and I challenge her to produce one single Evidence of Refutation to prove her Assertion : nor had I need of any such trifling pretence, having known the Secret some time before the Death of his Father Dr. *Anthony Daffy* ; which I presume was before the said *Elias Daffy* was privy to the preparing of the said *Elixir* (he being then a *Cambridge* scholar), and the same was communicated to me in the year 1684, at the time I was going to travel beyond Sea, where, in divers Countries, considerable Quantities of my *Elixir* has been taken by Persons of the greatest Rank, Quality, and Note, to their great Satisfaction.

‘ And whereas the said Mrs. Daffy is pleased to call my *Elixir* Spurious, and Insinuates as if it were hazardous to the Lives of Men ; the numerous Instances of Good it has done, both here and abroad, do manifestly evince the Contrary. And I appeal to all who have taken it in this City, or elsewhere, whether they have not found at least as much Benefit from This as from any Thing of the like Nature they have ever taken ; insomuch that I am well assured that those who have tried mine will apply themselves to nobody else for *Elixir Salutis*.

‘ JOHN HARRISON.

‘ From my House in Prujean’s Court in the Great Old Baly (The Original and famous *Elixir Salutis*) being wrote in Golden Characters over the Door fronting the Court Gate. March the 31st, 1709.’

One doctor at least, (John Pechy) made the diseases of infants and children his study, and wrote upon the subject. I have been unable to get his book, but a few remedies from the medical works then in vogue will show how these diseases were then treated. Here is a recipe for a child’s cough.¹

‘ Horehound $\bar{3}$ ix ; Liquorice, Maidenhair, Hyssop, Wild Thyme, Coltsfoot, Penny royal, ana $\bar{3}$ iiij. Aniseeds and Fennel seeds ana $\bar{3}$ iss. Raisins of the Sun $\bar{3}$ vj. Figs, Jujubes ana $\bar{3}$ iv. Elicampane $\bar{3}$ ij, boil all in lb. vj of water to $\frac{1}{2}$. Strain, and add Honey, Sugar, ana lb.j. Boil to a Syrup ; and when almost cold add Orrice, Woodlice, both in fine powder, ana $\bar{3}$ j.’

¹ *Collectanea Medica*, by Wm. Salmon, M.D.

This mixture might not have been bad, but why add powdered *woodlice*?

Worms in children were to be treated with 'Prevotius's Oyl to kill Worms.'¹ Take—Wormwood, Carduus, Scordium, Tobacco, ana Mj, Roots of Sow bread ʒfs, Coloquintida, ʒij, Oyl, Vinegar, ana lb. j : boil to the consumption of the vinegar, then add Myrrh in powder ʒj ; mix, and boil to the dissolution of the Myrrh. The Title shows the Virtues, anoint it upon the Stomach and Belly.' If this was not effective, the child might be given some lozenges made as follows—'Take Rhubarb, Citron seeds husked, Worm seeds, seeds of Purslain, of Coleworts, Broom finely powdered, ana ʒiij ʒ dulcis ʒij, White Sugar ʒxvj, all being in fine powder ; mix and incorporate with mucilage of Gum Tragacanth, made with Orange-flower water, of which Past make Lozenges each weighing ʒj. They kill all Worms in the Stomach and Bowels, and you may give one or two of the lozenges at a time to a Child in the Morning fasting, but some suppose that the best time is the last three days of the Moon.'

The Measles were simply treated—the patient only had a draught to soothe any cough, 'Let the sick keep their bed two days after the first coming forth of the spots.'²

In teething, a child should be soothed every four hours with a spoonful of black cherry water, in which two, three, or four drops of Spirits of Hartshorn have been mixed.³

There is⁴ 'An experimented Remedy for the Rickets. Take roots of Smallage, Parsly, Fennel, and Angelica Roots, slice and boil them in distilled water of Angelica, unset Hyssop and Coltsfoot, of each one part, till they are tender, then strain it, and boil it up to a syrup, with white Honey. Then take a stick of Liquorice, scrape it, and bruise one end of it, and give the Child with it of the syrup one spoonful in the Morning, at four of the Afternoon, and at night.'

There was also advertised 'A necklace that cures all sorts of Fits in children occasioned by Teeth or any other Cause ; as also all fits in Men and Women. To be had at Mr. Larance's in Somerset Court, near Northumberland House in

¹ *Collectanea Medica.*

² *The Family Physitian*, by Geo. Hartman.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

the Strand ; price 10s. for 8 days, though the cure will be performed immediately ;' and there was a palatable medium for the little ones in 'the so-much approved Purging Sugar Plumbs.'



THE NURSERY.

Of the Nursery we know very little ; indeed children are very seldom mentioned. It is most likely that, in well-to-do families, they were relegated to the nursery, and the care of

their mothers, until they were of fit age to go to school. The accompanying illustration, taken from 'The Ladies' Library,' ed. 1714, by Steele, gives us an excellent view of the nursery.

The very babies were amused much as now—for Addison, *Spectator* No. 1, speaking of his natural gravity, says, 'I threw away my rattle before I was two Months old, and would not make use of my Coral till they had taken away all the Bells from it.' Some of these corals were very beautiful and costly, even being made of gold.

We know how, from the earliest ages, a doll has been the favourite toy with girls, and the reign of 'Good Queen Anne' was no exception to the general rule—but they were not then called Dolls, but 'Babies'; so, indeed, were Powel's Marionettes—as also the milliner's models. 'On Saturday last, being the 12th instant, there arrived at my House in King Street, Covent Garden, a French Baby for the year 1712,' &c. Some were made of wax, but these were, of course, of the expensive sort, as must also have been those in Widow Smith's raffle—'large joynted dressed Babies.' Probably, dolls were the girls' only playthings. As to the boys, history records very little of their amusements. Give a boy in the nursery a whip, or a stick, to beat somebody, or something, he generally is content. How superlatively happy, however, must he have been in the possession of one of these wonderful horses?—warranted chargers—troop horses, every one! They also had card-board windmills on the end of sticks. We hear nothing of marbles, tops, or any other toys; but, doubtless, children's ingenuity supplied any defects that way, then as now, and made shift to play, and amuse themselves, until the time of enfranchisement came, and the boy could wander in the streets and see the marvels of the rare show, and



'TROOPE, EVERY ONE.'

buy 'hot baked wardens—hot,' or some of old 'Colly Molly Puffe's' pastry—or, should his tastes be simpler, there were 'Ripe Strawberries,' or 'Sixpence a pound fair Cherryes.'

These little folk, however, had their special literature. For there was compiled and printed 'A Play book for Children, to allure them to read as soon as they can speak plain; composed of small Pages so as not to tire children; printed with a fair and pleasing Letter, the Matter and Method plainer and easier than any yet extant.' The price of this was fourpence, and it must have been a favourite, for it is advertised as being in its second edition in 1703. Certainly, the little ones then, lacked many advantages in this way that ours possess—but, on the other hand, so much was



A RAREE SHOW.



'OH, RAREE SHOW!'

not required of them. There was no dreaded 'Exam.' to prepare for—no doing lessons all day long, and then working hard at night to get ready for the next day's toil. They were not taught half a dozen languages, and all the ologies, whilst still in the nursery; but, were the suggestions and advice given to 'the Mother' in Steele's 'Lady's Library' thoroughly carried out, they would grow up good men and women.

The boys, however, had strong meat provided for them in such tales as 'Jack and the Giants,' &c. Steele, in *Tatler*

95, says, speaking of a little boy of eight years old, 'I perceived him a very great historian in "Æsop's Fables," but he frankly declared to me his mind "that he did not delight in that learning, because he did not believe they were true," for which reason I found he had very much turned his studies for about a twelvemonth past unto the lives and adventures of Don Bellianis of Greece, Guy of Warwick, the Seven Champions, and other historians of that age. . . . He would tell you the mismanagements of John Hickerthrift, find fault



'RIPE STRAWBERRYES!'

'SIX PENCE A POUND FAIR CHERRYES!'

with the passionate temper in Bevis of Southampton, and loved Saint George for being the champion of England. . . . I was extolling his accomplishments, when his mother told me that the little girl who led me in this morning was in her way a better scholar than he. "Betty," says she, "deals chiefly in Fairies and Sprights; and sometimes in a winter night will terrify the maids with her accounts, until they are afraid to go up to bed."

In all probability the child learned his letters in the

first instance from a 'Hornbook,' such as were then commonly used and sold—as the following excerpt from an advertisement shows: 'Joseph Hazard at the Bible, in Stationers Court, near Ludgate, sells . . . Spelling books, Primers, *Hornbooks*, &c.' Hornbooks are now very scarce indeed, and the man lucky enough to possess a genuine one must feel proud of his rarity. It consisted of a small sheet of paper, generally about 4 in. × 3 in. or so—sometimes smaller—on which was printed the alphabet, both in capitals and small text, the vowels, and a few simple combinations, such as ab, eb, ib, ob, ab,—ba, be, bi, bo, bu, &c., and the Lord's Prayer. This was laid on a flat piece of board with a roughly shaped handle, and covered with a thin plate of horn, fastened to the board by copper tacks driven through an edging of thin copper. It therefore would stand a vast amount of rough usage before it would be destroyed—a fact of great importance in elementary education.

Private tuition existed then as now. 'A Grave Gentlewoman of about 50 years of age desires to be Governess to any Gentleman's Children; she can give a very good account of herself,' and 'Whereas in this degenerate Age Youth are kept for so many Years in following the Latin Tongue, and many of them are quite discourag'd, Mr. Switterda (who was formerly recommended to the late King William, and well known by their Excellences my Lord Sparkein and my Lord Methuen) offers a very easy and delightful Method, by which any Person of tolerable Capacity, who can but spare time to be twice a Week with him, and an Hour at a Time, nay, Children of ten Years of Age, may in one Year learn to speak Latin and French fluently, according to the Grammar rules, and to understand a Classical Author; and if they are not compleat in that time, he will teach them without any farther Charge, provided they will be manag'd.' Another gentleman, living in Abchurch Lane, offered to do the same, and, moreover, 'he offereth to be bound to every one for the performance thereof, and to give a Month's trial.'

But a Day School was the normal institution for a boy, although there were Boarding Schools. Judging by the advertisements, these must have been but few in the

beginning of the reign, as they gradually become more numerous towards its close. A record of one or two will suffice to show what kind of education they gave. 'At the upper end of Knights Bridge, near the Salutation, there is a Boarding School for young Gentlemen, where, besides French, are carefully taught, after the best English method, Latin, Greek, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, &c.' And again, 'At Lady Day next will be open'd a Boarding School for young Gentlemen at Kensington Gravel Pits, by Richard Johnson, A.M., author of the Grammatical Commentaries. . . . There will be taught also French, Writing, Arithmetick, and Mathematicks;' whilst another takes a wider range: 'A boarding School will be open'd after Easter, at Chertsey . . . for the Instruction of Youth in the English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, besides Geography, History, Mathematicks, Writing, and Accompts; to fit 'em either for the University, Study of the Law, or other Business.'

In London, too, were many free schools. There were Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Paul's, Greyfriars, Christ's Hospital, and St. Olave's, Southwark. There were three free schools in Westminster besides the Queen's School; these were, Palmer's in Tuttlefields, Almery School, and Hill's School. Besides which were Lady Owen's School, Islington, and Bunhill School—and there were free schools in Cherry-tree Alley, Castle Street (Tennyson's), Great Queen Street, Parker's Lane, Church Entry, Old Jewry, Whitechapel, Ratcliffe, Foster Lane, Hoxton, St. Saviour's, Southwark, Plough Yard, Rotherhithe, and East Smithfield—and this probably is not an exhaustive list.

Although French, High Dutch, and Italian were taught, it was a Classical age, and every gentleman was bound to be a fair, if not a good, classical scholar; indeed, other branches of education were neglected for this, as Steele complains (*Spectator*, No. 147) that boys at school, 'When they are got into Latin, they are looked upon as above English, the reading of which is wholly neglected, or at least read to very little purpose.' We might look a long time now-a-days for an advertisement such as the following: 'At Hogarth's Coffee House in St. John's Gate, the mid-way

between Smithfield Bars and Clerkenwel, there will meet every day at 4 o'clock some Learned Gentlemen who speak Latin readily, where any Gentleman that is either skilled in that Language, or desirous to perfect himself in speaking thereof, will be welcome. The Master of the House, in the absence of others, being always ready to entertain gentlemen in the Latin Tongue.' It is much to be doubted if that literary society, the Urban Club, which till lately held its meetings at the same place, St. John's Gate, could do the same.

Let us glance at a few of the school books then in vogue. First of all is one of the immortal Cocker, 'according to' whom, all correct calculations should be made. Although he had been long dead (since 1677), his works lived after him; and there were also other works on Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and the use of the Globes. (By the way, a pair of 9-in. diam. globes only cost a guinea.) There were Latin Dictionaries, Lilly's Latin Grammar, and an abridgment of it for the use of Blackheath School. There was that English Grammar which 'Isaac Bickerstaff' (Steele) puffed up so: 'That as grammar in general is on all hands allow'd the foundation of all arts and sciences, so it appears to me that this grammar of the English tongue has done that justice to our language which, till now, it never obtained;' and there was 'A Guide to the English Tongue, by Thos. Dyche, schoolmaster in London,' the second edition of which was published in 1710, but which has been so popular that a revised edition of it was published as late as 1816; and there were any quantity of books on writing—notably the 'Paul's Scholar's Copy Book, by John Rayner,' immortalised in *Tatler* 138. The writing of the age was very good—and many are the specimens of elaborate caligraphy in the 'Bagford Collection': for unassuming and yet good writing, perhaps, however, the best are in Harl. MS. 5995, 211, &c. In the eighteenth century penmanship was held in higher estimation than now, and in 1763 W. Massey published 'The Origin and Progress of Letters,' in which he gave the lives of the most famous writing masters during the preceding hundred years. He mentions some half-

¹ *Harl. MSS.*, British Museum.

dozen or more, as living in Anne's reign, but Charles Snell seems to have been the most famous.

As may be supposed, when so much pains was taken in writing, there were many curiosities of caligraphic art. Here is one: 'A piece of close Knotting, viz. 2 Boys holding Circles in their Hands, either being less than a Silver Penny, in which are perspicuously wrote the Lords Prayer in Latin and English. Invented and perform'd by John Dundas (who will shortly publish a Copy book with about 50 new Fancies). . . . N.B. Any Gentleman or Lady that desires small Writing for a Ring, Locket, or other Curiosity, may be furnished by the Author.'

That pens other than quill were in use is evidenced by an advertisement *re* a lost pocket-book, which contained 'a Brass Pen.'

Stenography was practised somewhat extensively, to judge by the numerous advertisements; but William Mason, living at the Hand and Pen, in the Poultry, claimed to be 'the Author and Teacher of the shortest Shorthand extant.'

And yet, with all these scholastic advantages, some boys would not be happy; but, as boys have done ever since boarding schools have been invented, they sometimes ran away. *Vide* the following advertisements: 'A Gentleman's only Child is run from School; he is about 12 years of Age, with light Cloaths lin'd with red, a well favour'd brisk Boy, with a fair old Wig: speaks a little thro' the Scots, his Name Alex Mackdonald: he has been in Spain and Portugal, which makes his Parents fear that some Ship may entertain him.' Whoever captured this lad was to be 'sufficiently rewarded,' whilst the next runaway was only valued at 'half a guinea and charges,' although he was dressed so smartly: 'A little slim, fair hair'd handsome English Boy, who speaks French very well, between 11 and 12 Years of Age, with a sad colour, coarse Kersay Coat trim'd with flat new Gilded Brass Buttons, with a whitish Calla-manca Waistcoat with round Plate Silver Buttons, and a little Silver Edging to his Hat, with fine white Worsted rowl'd Stockings, and with Silver Plate Buttons to his sad colour Sagathy Stuff Britches: went away from School on Thursday, the 6th Inst. Supposed to be gone

towards Wapping, Rotherif, Greenwich, or Gravesend, he having been seen near the Thames Side asking for a Master to go to sea.' Curious how, in every century since Elizabeth's time, the runaway English boy naturally flies to the water. Always the same tale: ran away and went to sea. Here were two well-nurtured lads, more than ordinarily accomplished, yet they were bitten by this same tarantula.

Let the *Spectator* describe the rising generation of that time after they had finished their academic career and had gone to the university. In No. 54, attributed to Steele, speaking of Cambridge, he says, 'Now for their manner of living: and here I shall have a large field to expatiate in; but I shall reserve particulars for my intended discourse, and now only mention one or two of their principal exercises. The elder proficients employ themselves in inspecting *mores hominum multorum*, in getting acquainted with all the signs and windows in the town. Some have arrived to so great knowledge, that they can tell every time a butcher kills a calf, every time any old woman's cat is in the straw; and a thousand matters as important. One ancient philosopher contemplates two or three hours every day over a sun-dial; and is true to the dial.

As the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shone upon.

Our younger students are content to carry their speculation as yet no further than bowling greens, billiard tables, and such like places.'

Of the reading men, he says, 'They were ever looked upon as a people that impaired themselves more by their strict application to the rules of their order than any other students whatever. Others seldom hurt themselves any further than to gain weak eyes, and sometimes headaches; but these philosophers are seized all over with a general inability, indolence, and weariness, and a certain impatience of the place they are in, with an heaviness in removing to another.

'The loungers are satisfied with being merely part of the number of mankind, without distinguishing themselves from amongst them. They may be said rather to suffer their time

to pass than to spend it, without regard to the past or prospect of the future. All they know of life is only in the present instant, and do not taste even that. When one of this order happens to be a man of fortune, the expense of his time is transferred to his coach and horses, and his life is to be measured by their motion, not his own enjoyments or sufferings. The chief entertainment one of these philosophers can possibly propose to himself is to get a relish of dress. This, methinks, might diversify the person he is weary of, his own dear self, to himself. I have known these two amusements make one of these philosophers make a tolerable figure in the world ; with variety of dresses in public assemblies in town, and quick motion of his horses out of it, now to Bath, now to Tunbridge, then to Newmarket, and then to London, he has, in process of time, brought it to pass, that his coach and his horses have been mentioned in all these places.' And this description, with a little alteration, would pass as a fair reflex of modern undergraduate existence at either Oxford or Cambridge.

Before closing the question of male education, we must not forget that in Queen Anne's time was inaugurated that system of charity schools which has played so prominent a part in our national system of education, and which has not yet been superseded by our Board Schools. Steele (*Spectator*, 380) notices this movement—

' St. Bride's, May 15, 1712.

' Sir,—'Tis a great deal of Pleasure to me, and I dare say will be no less Satisfaction to you, that I have an Opportunity of informing you that the Gentlemen and others of the Parish of St. Brides have raised a Charity School of fifty Girls as before of fifty Boys. You were so kind to recommend the Boys to the Charitable World, and the other Sex hope you will do them the same Favour in Fridays *Spectator* for Sunday next, when they are to appear with their humble Airs at the Parish Church of St. Brides. Sir, the Mention of this may possibly be serviceable to the Children ; and sure no one will omit a good Action attended with no expence.

' I am, Sir,

' Your very humble Servant,

' THE SEXTON.'

At the public thanksgiving for peace in 1713,¹ the charity children were placed in rising rows of seats in the Strand to see the procession pass, and the Queen go to St. Paul's to return thanks—and bitter must have been the disappointment of the little ones at the Queen's absence, on account of illness.

A contemporary account of this festival says: 'Upon the Thanksgiving day for the Peace, about Four Thousand Charity Children (Boys and Girls), new Cloath'd, were placed upon a Machine in the Strand, which was in Length above 600 Foot, and had in Breadth Eight Ranges of seats one above another, whereby all the Children appear'd in full View of both Houses of Parliament, in the solemn Procession they made to St. Paul's upon that joyful Occasion, and who, by their singing Hymns of Prayer and Praise to God for her Majesty, as well as by their Appearance, contributed very much to adorn so welcome a Festival; and gave great Satisfaction to all the Spectators, not without some Surprize to Foreigners who never had beheld such a glorious Sight. The Trustees of the several Charity Schools in and about London and Westminster readily agreed upon Measures for placing the Children in the expected View of Her Majesty, as a Testimony of their great Duty and humble Thankfulness to Her Majesty for the particular Countenance and Encouragement Her Majesty hath always vouchsafed to give to the Charity Schools,² whereby She may be truly stiled their Patron and Protector. Her Majesty not being present, the Hymns were both sung and repeated during the whole Procession, which lasted near Three Hours; and for the Satisfaction and Entertainment of the Publick they are printed as follows:—

' Hymns to be sung by the Charity Children upon the 7th of July, 1713, being the Thanksgiving Day for the PEACE.

¹ There is a very large and beautiful engraving of this scene, from which are taken the illustrations of carriages, *post*.

² The Queen recommended the design of charity schools to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in a letter dated August 20, 1711: 'And forasmuch as the pious Instruction and Education of Children is the surest Way of preserving and propagating the Knowledge and Practice of true Religion, it hath been very acceptable to US to hear, that for the Attaining these good Ends, many *Charity Schools* are now Erected throughout the Kingdom, by the liberal Contributions of OUR Good subjects; WE do therefore earnestly recommend it to you, by all proper

‘As Her MAJESTY goes to St. Paul’s—

Lord give the QUEEN Thy saving Health,
Whose Hope on Thee depends :
Grant Her Increase of Fame and Wealth,
With Bliss that never ends !
Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah !
Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah, Allelujah !

For Her our fervent Vows aspire,
Our Praises are Address’d ;
Thou hast fulfill’d Her Heart’s Desire
And granted Her Request.
Allelujah, &c.

A Nursing Mother to Thy Fold,
Long, long may She remain,
And then with Joy Thy Face behold,
And with Thee ever Reign.
Allelujah, &c.

As Her MAJESTY returns from St. Paul’s—

Glory to GOD who Reigns on High,
Whom Saints and Angels praise ;
Who from His Throne above the Sky,
The Sons of Men surveys.
Allelujah, &c.

PEACE, His best Gift, to Earth’s return’d,
Long may it here remain ;
As we too long its Absence mourn’d,
Nor sigh’d to Heav’n in vain.
Allelujah, &c.

Good Will, Fair Friendship (Heavenly Guest !)
And Joy and Holy Love,
Make all Mankind completely bless’d,
Resembling Those above.
Allelujah, &c.

Ways, to encourage and promote so excellent a Work, and to countenance and assist the Persons principally concerned in it, as they shall always be sure of Our Protection and Favour.’

CHAPTER II.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

(GIRLS.)

Boarding schools—Town and country educations—Pastry schools—
Dancing—Toasts—‘The little Whig’—Madame Spanheim.

GIRLS were not all educated at home—though, doubtless, the majority of them were, with the exception of their dancing lessons—but had boarding schools of their own; and the schoolmistresses seem always to have been harassed by malicious reports. For instance: ‘Whereas it is reported that Mrs. Overing who keeps a Boarding School at Bethnal Green near Hackney, is leaving off; this is to give Notice that the said Report is false, if not Malicious. And that she continues to take sober young Gentlewomen to board, and teaches whatsoever is necessary to the Accomplishment of that Sex.’ Take another: ‘Mrs. Elizabeth Tutchin¹ continues to keep her School at Highgate, notwithstanding Reports to the contrary. Where young Gentlewomen may be soberly Educated, and taught all sorts of Learning fit for young Gentlewomen.’ Observe the stress that was then laid on the *sobriety* inculcated in these establishments. Read the plays—read the essays of the time—and then, if they are to be taken at all as a just standard of feminine conduct, you will, undoubtedly, come to the conclusion that sobriety of conduct was just the very quality that required instilling into the heads of the maidenhood of the time. Pert little hoydens—ogling the men, flirting their fans, their thoughts always running on a husband—the schoolmistresses of that time must have had hard work to keep them serious, and need of most dragon-

¹ She was sister of Tutchin, of the *Observer*.

like guardianship. They were not taught much, these girls ; ' the Needle, Dancing, and the French Tongue,' says one—' a little Music, on the Harpsichord, or Spinet, to read, write, and cast accounts in a small way '—this was the sum of their education. Essentially were they to be housekeepers. Here is the description an exceptionally accomplished young lady gives of her own education :¹ ' You know my father was a tradesman, and lived very well by his traffick ; and I, being beautiful, he thought nature had already given me part of my portion, and therefore he would add a liberal education, that I might be a complete gentlewoman ; away he sent me to the boarding school ; there I learned to dance and sing, to play on the bass viol, virginals, spinet, and guitar. I learned to make wax work, japan, paint upon glass, to raise paste, make sweetmeats, sauces, and everything that was genteel and fashionable.' Here we see the best obtainable education of the town-bred lady. What was a girl's education in the country like ?²

Priscilla. Did she not bestow good breeding upon you there ?

Eugenia. Breeding ! what, to learn to feed Ducklings, and cram Chickens ?

Clara. To see Cows milk'd, learn to Churn, and make Cheese ?

Eugen. To make Clouted cream, and whipt Sillabubs ?

Clara. To make a Caraway Cake and raise Py Crust ?

Eugen. And to learn the top of your skill in Syrrup, Sweetmeats, *Aqua mirabilis*, and Snayl water.

Clara. Or your great Cunning in Cheese cakes, several Creams and Almond butter.

Prisc. Ay, ay, and 'twere better for all the Gentlemen in England that Wives had no other breeding, but you had Musick and Dancing.

Eugen. Yes, an ignorant, illiterate, hopping Puppy, that rides his Dancing Circuit thirty Miles about, lights off his tyred Steed, draws his Kit³ at a poor Country Creature, and gives her a Hich in her Pace, that she shall never recover.

Clara. And for Musick an old hoarse singing man riding ten miles from his Cathedral to Quaver out the Glories of our Birth and State, or it may be a Scotch Song more hideous and barbarous than an Irish Cronan.

Eug. And another Musick Master from the next town to Teach one to

¹ *The Levellers*, a dialogue between two young ladies concerning matrimony, &c.

² *The Scourers*, by Shadwell.

³ A pocket violin.

twinkle out *Lilly burlero*¹ upon an old pair of Virginals, that sound worse than a Tinker's Kettle that he cries his work on.

We saw that even the accomplished town young lady was taught how to raise paste, &c. ; indeed that was a regular branch of a girl's education, and all housewifely gifts were thoroughly appreciated.

Niece. Good madam, don't upbraid me with my Mother *Bridget*, and an excellent housewife.

Aunt. Yes, I say, she was, and spent her time in better Learning than ever you did. Not in reading of Fights and Battels of Dwarfs and Giants ; but in writing out receipts for Broths, Possets, Caudles and Surfeit Waters, as became a good Country Gentlewoman.²

But, if girls could not learn pastry-making at home, or wanted a higher class of education therein, there were the forerunners of our 'Schools of Cookery' in the shape of 'Pastry Schools,' where the professor demonstrated. Here is one of them. 'To all Young Ladies at Edw. Kidder's Pastry School in little Lincoln's Inn Fields, are taught all Sorts of Pastry and Cookery, Dutch hollow works, and Butter Works, on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays in the Afternoon, and on the same days, in the Morning, at his School in Norris Street in St. James's Market, and at his School in St. Martin's Le Grand, on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in the Afternoon. And at his School at St. Mary Overies Dock, Mondays Tuesdays and Wednesday mornings from 9 to 12.'

But one branch of a girl's education seems never to have been neglected—her dancing. Steele says,³ 'When a girl is safely brought from her nurse, before she is capable of forming one simple notion of anything in life, she is delivered to the hands of her dancing master, and with a collar round her neck, the pretty wild thing is taught a fantastical gravity of behaviour, and forced to a particular way of holding her head, heaving her breast, and moving with her whole body ;

¹ See Appendix. 'Lilli burlero' and 'Bullen a lah' are said to have been the watchwords used by the Irish Papists in their massacre of the Protestants in 1641. The ballad to this tune was written in 1686, when James II. made the Earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, Lieutenant of Ireland. The words are nonsensical, but the tune is catching, and became very popular. This song is said to have contributed greatly in bringing about the Revolution of 1688.

² *The Tender Husband* (Steele).

³ *Spectator*, 66.

and all this under pain of never having a husband, if she steps, looks or moves awry.'

He gives a humorous description of the dancing master: ¹ 'There was Colonel Jumper's Lady, a Colonel of the Train Bands, that has a great Interest in her Parish; she recommends Mr. Trott for the prettiest Master in Town, that no Man teaches a Jigg like him, that she has seen him rise Six or Seven Capers together with the greatest Ease imaginable, and that his Scholars twist themselves more ways than the Scholars of any Master in Town; besides there is Madam Prim, the Alderman's Lady, recommends a Master of her Own Name, but she declares he is not of their Family, yet a very extraordinary Man in his Way; for, besides a very soft Air he has in Dancing, he gives them a particular Behaviour at a Tea-Table, and in presenting their Snuff Box: to twirl, flip or flirt a Fan, and how to place Patchés to the best advantage, either for Fat or Lean, Long or Oval Faces.'

Indeed, dancing was much thought of as an accomplishment, and more will be said of it in its place among the social habits of the time. One book alone, 'The Dancing Master' for 1713, 15th ed., contains 358 different figures and tunes for country dances. It got to be a fine art, and books were written on 'Chorography' and 'Orchesography,' illustrated with wonderful and most perplexing diagrams. A contemporary sketch of a dancing academy is interesting. It is by Budgell.² 'I am a Man in Years, and by an honest Industry in the World have acquired enough to give my Children a liberal Education, tho' I was an utter Stranger to it myself. My eldest Daughter, a Girl of Sixteen, has for some time past been under the Tuition of Monsieur *Rigadoon*, a Dancing Master in the City; and I was prevailed upon by her and her Mother to go last Night to one of his Balls. I must own to you, Sir, that having never been at any such Place before, I was very much pleased and surprized with that Part of his Entertainment which he called *French Dancing*. There were several young Men and Women, whose limbs seemed to have no other Motion but purely what the Musick gave them. After this Part was over, they began a Diversion

¹ *Spectator*, 376.

² *Ibid.* 67.

which they call *Country Dancing*, and wherein there were also some things not disagreeable, and divers *Emblematical Figures*, compos'd, as I guess, by Wise Men for the Instruction of Youth.

' Amongst the rest, I observed one, which I think they call¹ *Hunt the Squirrel*, in which while the Woman flies, the Man pursues her ; but as soon as she turns, he runs away, and she is obliged to follow.

' The Moral of this Dance does, I think, very aptly recommend Modesty and Discretion to the Female Sex.

' But as the best Institutions are liable to Corruptions, so, Sir, I must acquaint you, that very great Abuses are crept into this Entertainment. I was Amazed to see my Girl handed by, and handing young Fellows with so much Familiarity ; and I could not have thought it had been in the Child. They very often made use of a most impudent and lascivious Step called *Setting*, which I know not how to describe to you, but by telling you that it is the very reverse of *Back to Back*. At last an impudent young Dog bid the Fiddlers play a Dance called *Mol Patley*,² and after having made two or three Capers, ran to his Partner, locked his Arms in hers, and whisked her round Cleverly above Ground in such manner that I, who sat upon one of the lowest Benches, saw further above her Shoe than I can think fit to acquaint you with. I could no longer endure these Enormities ; wherefore, just as my Girl was going to be made a Whirligig, I ran in, seized on the Child, and carried her home.'

Poor Budgell ! what would have been his feelings could he have but seen a galop, or a valse *à deux temps* ? *

We may now consider the girl's education complete, and, as she may be 'sweet seventeen' or so, she naturally would be, if either pretty or witty, 'a TOAST' among her male friends. This peculiar institution has its rise in Queen Anne's time, and is aptly described³ as 'a new name found out by the Wits, to make a lady have the same effect, as burridge in the glass when a man is drinking.' Pope, even, could hardly make it out.

¹ See Appendix.

² See Appendix.

³ *Tatler*, 31.

Say why are beauties prais'd and honour'd most,
 The wise man's passion, and the vain man's toast ?
 Why deck'd with all that land and sea afford,
 Why angels call'd, and angel-like adored ?

It was an old English custom to put a toast, a roasted pippin or so, in a hot drink, such as a tankard of spiced ale, or of sack ; and this is whimsically applied as the derivation of the word used to express the slavish adulation and worship of the fair sex, as embodied in this custom. ¹ 'Many of the Wits of the last age will assert that the word, in its present sense, was known among them in their youth, and had its rise from an accident at the town of Bath, in the reign of Charles the Second. It happened that, on a public day, a celebrated beauty of those times was in the Cross Bath, and one of the crowd of her admirers took a glass of the water in which the fair one stood and drank her health to the Company. There was in the place a gay fellow half fuddled, who offered to jump in, and swore, though he liked not the liquor, he would have the Toast. He was opposed in his resolution ; yet this whim gave foundation to the present honour which is done to the lady we mention in our liquors, who has ever since been called a TOAST. Though this institution had so trivial a beginning, it is now elevated into a formal order ; and that happy virgin, who is received and drunk to at their meetings, has no more to do in this life but to judge and accept of the first good offer. The manner of her inauguration is much like that of the choice of a Doge in Venice : it is performed by balloting ; and when she is so chosen, she reigns indisputably for that ensuing year ; but must be re-elected anew to prolong her empire a moment beyond it. When she is regularly chosen, her name is written with a diamond on a drinking glass. The hieroglyphic of the diamond is to shew her that her value is imaginary ; and that of the glass to acquaint her, that her condition is frail, and depends on the hand which holds her.' Many of the members of the 'Kit Cat Club'—Lords Halifax, Wharton, Lansdowne, and Carbury, Mr. Maynwaring and others—thus immortalised their Toasts.

¹ *Tatler*, 24.

One, by Lord Lansdowne, will amply serve as an illustration—

Love is enjoyn'd to make his favourite toast,
And HARE'S the goddess that delights him most.

There were two very famous toasts in Queen Anne's time ; one in particular was Lady Sunderland, a daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, who was known by the sobriquet of 'The Little Whig.' She was the toast of her party, and her nickname was so well known that it is said the first stone of Sir John Vanbrugh's theatre in the Haymarket had 'Little Whig' cut upon it. The other was Mademoiselle Spanheim, the daughter of Baron Spanheim, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Court of Prussia. She was very lovely ; indeed, her good looks were proverbial, as the current expression, 'as beautiful as Madam Spanheim,' shows. She was married early in the year 1710 to the Marquis de Montandre. Her father died here in November of the same year, aged 81 ; and the Queen presented the Marchioness de Montandre with a thousand guineas, which was the usual present then given to an ambassador on taking his leave.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE.

Eloping with heiresses—Marriage between children—Tax on bachelors—Valentines—Marriage settlements—Pin money—Posies—Drummers—Private marriages—Irregular marriages—Fleet parsons—Marriage Act—Facility of marriage—Liability of husbands—Public marriages—Marriage customs—Bride's garters—Throwing the stocking—The posset—Honeymoon.

WE will suppose our toast to escape the perils to which her position exposed her, and was not forcibly carried off by some bold knight, as had been known in this reign¹—'Same evening Sir Alexander Cumming, Knight of the Shire for Aberdeen, carried off from the Ring in Hyde Park madam Dennis and married her; she is said to be worth about £16,000.' Probably his position stood him in good stead, for it fared differently with one Haagen Swendsen,² who was, in 1702, convicted and executed for stealing Mrs. Rawlins, an heiress. Nowadays, he would have been unhesitatingly acquitted, even if he had ever been prosecuted, as there was no real case against him, and Mrs. Rawlins married him of her own free will.

That people could be married young enough is rendered sufficiently evident by the very painful case of Sir George Downing and Mary Forester, which excited much interest in the last year of Anne's reign. It is very lucidly put as a case for counsel's opinion.³

'THE CASE.

'I. G. D. without the Knowledge and Consent of his Father (then alive, but accounted not of sound Judgment) was at the Age of Fifteen, by the Procurement and Persuasion

¹ *Luttrell's Diary*, Sept. 12, 1710.

² British Museum, 515, l. 2, 196.

³ *The Counsellor's Plea for the Divorce of Sir G. D. and Mrs. F.*, 1715.

of those in whose Keeping he was, Marry'd, according to the Church form, to M. F. of the Age of Thirteen.

' 2. This young Couple was put to Bed, in the Day time, according to Custom, and continu'd there a little while, but in the Presence of the Company, who all testify they touched not one the other ; and after that, they came together no more ; —the young Gentleman going immediately Abroad, the young Woman continuing with her Parents.

' 3. G. D., after Three or Four Years Travel, return'd home to England, and being sollicit'd to live with his lawful Wife, refus'd it, and frequently and publickly declar'd he never would compleat the Marriage.

' 4. Fourteen Years have pass'd since this Marriage Ceremony was perform'd, each Party having (as is natural to think) contracted an incurable Aversion to each the other, is very desirous to be set at liberty ; and accordingly Application is made to the Legislative power to dissolve this Marriage, and to give each Party leave, if they think fit, to Marry elsewhere.

' The Reasons against such Dissolution are :—

' First. That each Party was Consenting to the Marriage, and was Old enough to give such Consent, according to the known Laws of the Kingdom ; the Male being Fifteen Years Old, the Female Thirteen ; whereas the Years of Consent are, by Law, Fourteen and Twelve.

' Secondly. They were actually Marry'd according to the Form prescrib'd by the Church of England ; the Minister pronouncing those solemn Words us'd by our Saviour, *Those whom God has joyn'd let no Man put asunder.* They are therefore Man and Wife both by the Laws of God and of the Land ; and, since nothing but Adultery can dissolve a Marriage, and no Adultery is pretended here, the Marriage continues indissoluble.'

And, in the course of some very able pleading, the author says, ' My Lords, the Years of Consent are not fix'd to Fourteen or Twelve either by *Nature, Reason, or any Law of God* ; but purely and meerly by the positive Laws of the Land, which

may change them to Morrow ;¹ and if they were chang'd to Day, no Man in England would, I dare affirm it, be dissatisfy'd ; it seems so senseless and unreasonable to give our Children the Power of disposing of their *Persons* for ever, at an Age when we will not let them dispose of Five Shillings without Direction and Advice.'

However, no pleading could prevail against the actual law, and this singularly married couple remained, legally, man and wife.

In 1690 there was a pamphlet issued by 'A Person of Quality,'² advocating a tax on bachelors, and on April 22, 1695, William III. gave his assent to an Act intituled 'An Act for granting his Majesty certain Rates and Duties upon Marriages, Births, and Burials, and upon Batchelors and Widowers for the term of five years, for carrying on the War with Vigour.'

	£	s.	d.
For the Burial of every person	0	4	0
„ of a Duke (above the 4s.)	50	0	0
„ of a Marquess, &c. &c., in proportion.			
„ of every person having a real estate £50 per annum or upwards, or a personal estate of £600 or up- wards	1	0	0
„ of the Wife of such person having such estate	0	10	0
For and upon the Birth of every person and Child, except the children of those who receive Alms	0	2	0
For and upon the birth of the eldest son of a Duke	30	0	0
„ of a Marquess and so forth.			
Upon the Marriage of every person	0	2	6
„ of a Duke	50	0	0
„ „ Marquess	40	0	0
„ „ Earl	30	0	0
and so forth.			
Bachelors above 25 years old, yearly	0	1	0

¹ But it never has been changed, and is now in force.

² *Marriage Promoted, &c.*

	£	s.	d.
Widowers above 25 years old, yearly	0	1	0
A Duke being Bachelor or Widower, yearly	12	10	0
A Marquess " " " "	10	0	0

By the Act 8 & 9 Will. III., 'For making good the Deficiencies of Several Funds therein mentioned,' these taxes were kept on, and were to be paid until Aug. 1, 1706, so that they were in force during four years of Anne's reign.

In a most amusing tract¹ this Act is alluded to as a law discouraging marriage, and proposes to make bachelors of 24 and widowers of 50 pay 20s. per annum, and estimates that a revenue of 2½ millions sterling would accrue.

There was every freedom of intercourse allowed between the young of both sexes: they visited, and we have seen that they mixed in the dancing academies. There was also the custom of valentines, now become obsolete and unmeaning. Misson describes it well, as indeed he did everything he saw in England. 'On the Eve of the 14th of Feb., St. Valentine's Day, a Time when all living Nature inclines to couple, the Young Folks in England, and Scotland too, by a very ancient Custom, celebrate a little Festival that tends to the same End. An equal Number of Maids and Batchelors get together, each writes their true or some feign'd Name upon separate Billets, which they Roll up, and draw by way of Lots, the Maids taking the Men's Billets, and the Men the Maids; so that each of the Young Men lights upon a Girl that he calls his Valentine, and each of the Girls upon a young Man which she calls hers: By this means each has two Valentines; but the Man sticks faster to the Valentine that is fallen to him, than to the Valentine to whom he is fallen. Fortune having thus divided the Company into so many Couples, the Valentines give Balls and Treats to their Mistresses, wear their Billets several Days upon their Bosoms or Sleeves, and this little Sport often ends in Love. There is another kind of Valentine; which is the first young Man or Woman that Chance throws in your Way in the Street, or elsewhere, on that Day.'

The whole of the literature of the day speaks of the ten-

¹ *The Levellers.*

dency of young men to avoid the trammels of matrimony. Most probably the wild blood engendered in Charles the Second's time had not yet cooled down, and the licence then habitual, had hardly been superseded by decorum ; but there were other causes, one of which was the introduction of marriage settlements. These were comparatively new. Steele calls attention to it :¹ 'Honest Coupler, the Conveyancer, says "He can distinguish, upon sight of the parties before they have opened upon any point of their business, which of the two has the daughter to sell." Coupler is of our Club, and I have frequently heard him declaim upon this subject, and assert "that the Marriage Settlements, which are now used, have grown fashionable even within his memory."'

When the theatre, in some late reigns, owed its chief support to those scenes which were written to put matrimony out of countenance and render that state terrible, then it was that pin money first prevailed ; and all the other articles were inserted, which create a diffidence, and intimate to the young people that they are very soon to be in a state of war with each other ; though this has seldom happened, except the fear of it had been expressed. Coupler will tell you also 'that jointures were never frequent until the age before his own ; but the women were contented with the third part of the estate the law allotted them, and scorn'd to engage with men whom they thought capable of abusing their Children.' He has also informed me 'that those who are the oldest Benchers when he came to the Temple told him, the first Marriage Settlement of considerable length was the invention of an old Serjeant, who took the opportunity of two testy fathers, who were ever squabbling, to bring about an alliance between their Children. These fellows knew each other to be knaves, and the Serjeant took hold of their mutual diffidence, for the benefit of the Law, to extend the *Settlement* to *three skins* of parchment.' This was undoubtedly the substance of a genuine conversation with a lawyer, and is further referred to in a subsequent paper. Nor did Steele like pin money : he not only disclaims against it in his essays, but in his dramatic works—in 'The Tender Husband,' where two fathers

¹ *The Tatler*, 199.

are squabbling over settlements. One, Sir Harry Gubbin, says—

Look y', Mr. Tipkin, the main Article with me is that Foundation of Wives Rebellion—that cursed Pin Money—Five hundred Pounds *per annum* Pin Money.

Tipkin. The Word Pin Money, Sir Harry, is a Term——

Sir H. It is a Term, Brother, we never had in our Family, nor ever will. Make her Jointure in Widowhood accordingly large, but Four hundred Pounds a Year is enough to give no account of.

Tipkin. Well, Sir Harry, since you can't swallow these Pins, I will abate to Four Hundred Pounds.

Sir H. And to Mollify the Article, as well as Specify the Uses, we'll put in the Names of several Female Utensils, as Needles, Knitting Needles, Tape, Thread, Scissors, Bodkins, Fans, Playbooks, with other Toys of that Nature.

Addison, too, must needs have a fling at it, and wrote a whole essay on pin money,¹ and, in a letter therein, gives a doleful case. 'The education of these my Children, who, contrary to my expectation, are born to me every Year, straightens me so much that I have begged their Mother to free me from the Obligation of the above mentioned Pin Money, that it may go towards making a Provision for her family. This Proposal makes her Noble Blood swell in her Veins, insomuch, that finding me a little tardy in her last Quarter's Payment, she threatens every Day to arrest me: and proceeds so far as to tell me, that if I do not do her Justice, I shall die in a Jayl. To this she adds, when her Passion will let her argue calmly, that she has several Play Debts on her Hand, which must be discharged very suddenly, and that she cannot lose her Money as becomes a Woman of her Fashion, if she makes me any Abatements in this Article.'

Supposing the vexed question of settlements or no settlements disposed of, a thing of primary importance before marriage was to provide the ring, and that, according to the custom of the day, must have a posy on it.² 'He has likewise promised me to get the measure of his Mistress's marriage finger, with a design to make a posy in the fashion of a ring which shall exactly fit it.' The posy was mostly a couplet—and as not much sentiment or poetry can be compressed into

¹ *Spectator*, 295.

² *Ibid.* 59.

two lines, the posies, as far as we can judge, are not very brilliant efforts of genius. The appended examples are all genuine of the time, as they are taken from the newspaper advertisements of things lost.

Two made one By God alone.	God's Providence Is our Inheritance.	God decreed Our Unity.
This in Love Join our Hearts To God Above.		Vertuous love Will never remove.

And now a word or two as to the Marriages of those times, and one is fairly surprised at the very little fuss that was generally made about it. On the Stage, a clergyman coupled the pair presently, or the young people just left the room and came back in a few minutes, duly married. And this really was somewhat like real life, and not a travesty. 'Aunt, Aunt, run for Doctor Dromedary, and let us be Married before the Sun reposes,'¹ was a not unnatural request for a young lady to make. A custom had grown up to avoid the noise and riot of a public wedding, which, besides, was very expensive—open house being but a small part of it; so it used to be, that the young people would get married with just sufficient legal witness, and with the full consent of the parents. Even the middle class were glad to get rid of the noise of drums, etc. (which still survives in the marrow bones and cleavers—the rough music of a lower-class wedding).

Here Rows of Drummers stand in Martial File,
And with their Vellom Thunder shake the Pile,
To greet the new made Bride ;²

and in one of Steele's *Spectators* (364) is a letter commencing 'I was marry'd on Sunday last, and went peaceably to Bed; but, to my Surprize, was awaken'd the next Morning by the Thunder of a Set of Drums,' For this noise the unfortunate bridegroom had to pay pretty smartly.

These private marriages had their inconveniences, as the following advertisement³ shows: 'Whereas, for several

¹ *Tunbridge Walks*, by Thos. Baker, 1703.

² *Trivia*, by Gay.

³ *Post Boy*, May 24/27, 1712.

Reasons, the Marriage of Mrs. Frances Herbert to Capt. James Price, Son to Brigadier Price of Ireland, was kept private for some time, which has occasioned some insolent People to censure her Virtue ; to prevent which Censures for the future, it is thought proper to give this Publick Notice that she was marry'd to the said Capt James Price on the 18th Day of June last at the Parish Church of St. Bennet's, Pauls Wharf, London, by License and before Witnesses.'

Misson adverts to this custom of private marriage as being very common. 'In England, a Boy may marry at fourteen Years old, and a Girl at twelve, in spite of Parents and Guardians, without any Possibility of dissolving their Marriage, tho' one be the Son of a Hog-driver, and the other a Duke's Daughter.¹ This often produces very whimsical Matches. There is another thing in it odd enough ; for those Children by this means not only become their own Masters, but obtain this Advantage at a very easy Rate. If to be marry'd it were necessary to be proclaim'd three Times in a full Congregation, their Friends would be inform'd of the Matter, and might find a Way to dissuade a little Girl, that had taken it into her Head to have a Husband, by giving her fine Cloaths, pretty Babies, and every Thing else that might amuse her ; but the Wedding is clapp'd up so privately, that People are amaz'd to see Women brought to Bed of legitimate Children, without having heard a Word of the Father. The Law, indeed, requires that the Bans should be publish'd ; but the strange Practice of a dispensing Power makes the Law of no Manner of Use. To proclaim Bans is a Thing no Body now cares to have done ; very few are willing to have their Affairs declar'd to all the World in a publick Place, when for a Guinea they may do it *Snug*, and without Noise ; and my good Friends the Clergy, who find their Accounts in it, are not very zealous to prevent it. Thus, then, they buy what they call a Licence, and are marry'd in their Closets, in Presence of a couple of Friends, that serve for Witnesses ; and this ties them for ever : Nay, the Abuse is yet greater, for they may be marry'd without a Licence in some Chappels, which have that Privi-

¹ There was a law against marrying the heiress of a noble family before the age of twenty-one years without the consent of her guardians.

lege. . . . Hence comes the Matches between Footmen and young Ladies of Quality, who you may be sure live no very easy Life together afterwards: Hence, too, happen Polygamies, easily conceal'd, and too much practised.'

Sometimes they were married at a tavern.¹ 'Whereas a Couple was marryed at the Ship Tavern without Temple Barr, London, in March, 1696. The Parson, or any other that was then Present, is desired to come or send to the Publisher of this Paper, and give an account of the said Marriage, and shall be satisfied for their charges of coming or sending, and loss of time.'

The irregular marriages were a crying evil of the times—in spite of legislative efforts to stop them. There was an Act passed, 6 and 7 Wm. III. cap. 7, sec. 52, for the better levying the 5*s.* duty on licences, and imposing a penalty of 100*l.* for marrying without one—and the 7 and 8 Wm. III. cap. 35 recites this Act, and says it was ineffectual, because the penalty of 100*l.* was not extended to every offence of the same parson—because the parsons employed poor and indigent ministers, without benefices, or settled habitations, and because many ministers, being in prison for debt or otherwise, married persons for lucre and gain.

There have been certain churches and chapels² exempted from the visitation of the ordinary—and the ministers of such, usually married without licence or banns—and these were called 'lawless churches.' In Anne's reign there was one famous one, St. James', Duke's Place, by Aldgate. Another was Holy Trinity, Minories, which exercised the same privilege. The Savoy had not yet been much heard of, and they did a good business. In the former case, privilege was claimed, because the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London were lords of the manor and patrons of the church, and therefore set up an exemption from the jurisdiction (in matters ecclesiastical) of the Bishop of London. In the latter, it was pleaded that the living was held direct

¹ *Postman*, August 28/31, 1703.

² Judging by the 8th and 9th Wm. III. cap. 26, which took away their pretended privileges, these were White Friars, the Savoy, Salisbury Court, Ram Alley, Mitre Court, Fuller's Rents, Baldwin's Gardens, Montague Close, the Minories, Mint and Clink or Dead Man's Place; but there were many others.

from the Crown, in whose gift it was, and that the minister held the same by an instrument of dotation, under the Great Seal of England, and that it was neither a rectory nor vicarage institutive. However, the arm of the ecclesiastical law did once reach Adam Elliott, rector of St. James', and on Feb. 17, 1686, he was suspended for three years, *ab officio et beneficio*, for having married, or having suffered persons to be married, at the said church, without banns or licence. He was, however, reinstated on May 28, 1687, after having petitioned the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but he began his old trade very shortly afterwards, in fact the next day, as appears in the marriage register of the church—'There were no marriages from the tenth of March till y^e 29 day of May' 1687.

People could be, and were, married without licence, both in the Fleet and Queen's Bench Prisons. It is probable that prisoners there were duly and properly married by banns in the prison chapel, long before 1674, which is the date of the earliest illicit Fleet Register in the Bishop of London's registry; for, in a letter, Sept. 1613, we read: ¹ 'Now I am to enform you that an ancyentt acquayntance of y^{rs} and myne is yesterday maryed in the Fleette, one Mr. Georg Lestor, and hath maryed M^{rs} Babbington, Mr. Thomas Fanshawe mother-in-lawe. It is sayed she is a woman of good wealthe so as nowe the man wylle able to lyve and mayntayn hymself in prison, for hether unto he hath byne in poor estate.' But, at all events, the law was set at nought in Anne's reign, as it was for many a long year afterwards. In 1702 the chaplain was Robert Elborough, who married but few without banns or licence, 'but under a colour doth allow his clerk Bartholomew Basset to do what he pleases,' and in 1714 Mr. John Taylor filled the same office, but he does not seem to have solemnised matrimony at the Fleet. There was, however, a low clergyman, named John Gaynam, otherwise Doctor Gaynam, who did a large trade there in marriages, from 1709 to 1740. A little anecdote of him, though not in Queen Anne's time, may not be amiss. He was giving evidence at the Old Bailey on the trial of Robert Hussey for bigamy, in 1733.

¹ Lansdowne MSS., 93-17.

Dr. Gainham. The 9th of September, 1733, I married a couple at the Rainbow Coffee House, the corner of Fleet Ditch, and entered the marriage in my register, as fair a register as any church in England can produce. I showed it last night to the foreman of the jury, and my Lord Mayor's Clerk, at the London Punch House.

Counsel. Are you not ashamed to come and own a clandestine marriage in the face of a court of justice?

Dr. Gainham (bowing). *Video meliora, deteriora sequor.*

The same practice was followed by others during this reign. Wm. Wyatt, who moved from the Two Sawyers, at the corner of Fleet Lane, to the Hand and Pen near Holborn Bridge, married from 1713 to 1750. John Floud, who was for some years a prisoner in the Fleet, married from 1709 to 1729. John Mottram, from 1709 to 1725. He was convicted, in 1716, in the Consistory Court, for marrying illegally, and was suspended from his ministerial functions for three years. Jerome Alley, from 1681 to 1707, when he left off marrying 'for some other preferment.' Draper, from 1689 to 1716. John Evans, from 1689 to 1729. Henry Gower, 1689 to 1718. Thos. Hodgkins, 1674 to 1728. Ed. Marston, 1713 to 1714. Oswald, 1712. Nehemiah Rogers, a prisoner, but rector of Ashingdon, Essex, married between 1700 and 1703. He seems to have been a specially bright specimen of the Fleet parson. 'He is a Prisoner, but goes at larg to his P. Living in Essex, and all places else; he is a very wicked man as lives, for drinking, whoring, and swearing, he has struck and boxed y^e bridegroom in y^e Chapple, and damned like any com'on soldier, he marries both within and without y^e Chapple like his brother Colton.' This was James Colton, who had been deprived of his living for evil practices, and married from 1681 to 1721. Benj. Bynes, 1698 to 1711. Walter Stanhope, 1711. Jo. Vice, 1689 to 1713; and J. Wise, in 1709.

The Queen's Bench was not behind its brother of the Fleet, but there even greater abuses existed—laymen officiating.¹ 'Tis expected that a Bill to prevent clandestine Marriages, under a severe Corporal Penalty, will be brought in very early next Session of Parliament. For which 'tis said too just Occasion has been given by a Discovery lately made

¹ The *Postboy*, October 13/16, 1711.

that Laymen have been suffer'd to marry at the Queen's Bench; and that John Sarjeant, who now acts there again as Clerk, has forg'd Certificates of pretended Marriages, for which he keeps Register books, with large blanks almost in every Page, whereby very mischievous Frauds are practicable. For preventing whereof, the late Chaplain labour'd hard with the most proper Person to command the said books out of the Clerk's Custody, and not prevailing, resign'd his Office, which he had discharg'd among the Prisoners, both in the House and in the Rules, above five years, charitably, having never receiv'd one Farthing of the Fees thereto annexed.—WILLIAM TIPPING.'

This evidently refers to the Marriage Act of Queen Anne (10 Anne, c. 19), which received the royal assent on May 22, 1712. This was a short Act smuggled in in a long money bill about duties on 'Sope' and paper, linen, silks, calicoes, stamp vellum, etc. It renewed, from June 24, 1712, the penalty of 100*l.* attaching to the performance of illegal matches, giving half the penalty to the informer, and, 'if any gaoler or keeper of any prison shall be privy to, or knowingly permit, any marriage to be solemnised in his said prison, before publication of banns, or license obtained as aforesaid, he shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds to be recovered and distributed as aforesaid.' There, then, was an extra duty of 5*s.* imposed upon every marriage licence, or certificate of marriage.

Marriages were made easy. You could go a country walk and pop in and get married. A newly built church at Hampstead thus¹ advertises: 'As there are many weddings at Sion Chapel, Hampstead, five Shillings only is required for all the Church fees of any Couple that are married there, provided they bring with them a license or Certificate, according to the Act of Parliament. Two Sermons are continued to be preached in the said Chapel every Sunday, and the place will be given to any Clergyman that is willing to accept of it, to be approved of.' Early in George the First's time, in 1716, they offered 'that all persons, upon bringing a licence, and who shall have their wedding dinner in the gardens, may be

¹ *The Postboy*, April 18/20, 1710.

married in the said Chapel, without giving any fee or reward whatsoever.'

Whilst on the subject of curious marriages, the following may well be noticed, extracted from the Parish Register: 'John Bridmore and Anne Sellwood, both of Chiltern All Saints, were married October 17, 1714.

'The aforesaid Anne Sellwood was married in her Smock, without any clothes or head gier on.'

This is not uncommon, the object being, according to a vulgar error, to exempt the husband from the payment of any debts his wife may have contracted in her ante-nuptial condition. This error seems to have been founded on a misconception of the law, as it is laid down¹ that 'the husband is liable for the wife's debts, *because* he acquires an absolute interest in the personal estate of the wife,' etc. An unlearned person from this might conclude, and not unreasonably, that if his wife *had no estate whatever*, he could not incur any liability.

Anyhow, after marriage they were liable, as the following gentlemen knew: 'Whereas Elizabeth Stephenson, Wife of George Stephenson, late of Falken Court, near the Queen's Bench, in Southwark, hath Eloped from her said Husband, and since hath contracted several Debts with a design to Ruin her said Husband. These are therefore to give notice to the Publick, That the said George Stephenson will not on any Account whatever Pay or allow of any Debt so Contracted by the said Elizabeth Stephenson, either before or since her elopement.' 'Whereas Isabella Goodyear, the Daughter of Rich. Cliffe of Brixhome in the County of Devon, and Wife of Aaron Goodyear of London, Merchant, about 18 months since abandon'd and forsook the Bed and since the Board of Aaron her said Husband, carrying with her in Goods, Plate, and other Goods to the value of £200 and upwards, and whereas the said Isabella hath as well been solicited by the said Aaron her Husband, as also by several of his acquaintance, to return to and Cohabit with him, under all assurances of being civilly receiv'd and maintain'd according to his quality and circumstances, which the said Isabella hath, and still doth obstinately

¹ *Bacon's Abridgment*, Tit. Baron and Feme.

refuse. These are therefore to give notice to all Traders, and all other persons whatsoever, that from and after this present Notice they do not maintain, sustain, or detain the said Isabella from the said Aaron her Husband, or any of his Goods or Plate carryed off by the said Isabella, either by lending her Money or Selling her Goods, or by any other ways whatsoever, under penalty of the law, and forfeiture of the credit, if any, given to the said Isabella from the Notice hereof.'

Having discussed the private hole-and-corner, and clandestine marriages, it may be well to inquire the reasons why these were preferred to the more ceremonious ones. Mainly on the score of expense, and to get rid of the uproarious and senseless festivities which accompanied them. Let Misson describe what one was like: 'One of the Reasons that they have for marrying secretly, as they generally do in England, is that thereby they avoid a great deal of Expence and Trouble. . . . Persons of Quality, and many others who imitate them, have lately taken up the Custom of being marry'd very late at Night in their Chamber, and very often at some Country House.¹ They increase their Common Bill of Fare for some Days; they dance, they play, they give themselves up for some small Time to Pleasure; but all this they generally do without Noise, and among very near Relations. Formerly in France they gave *Livrées de Nôces*, which was a knot of Ribbands, to be worn by the Guests upon their Arms; but that is practised now only among Peasants. In England it is done still among the greatest Noblemen. These Ribbands they Call Favours,² and give them not only to those that are at the Wedding, but to five hundred People besides; they send them about, and distribute them at their own houses. . . . Among the Citizens and plain Gentlemen (which is what they call the *Gentry*) they sometimes give these Favours; but it is very Common to avoid all Manner of Expence as much as Possible. When those of a middling Condition have a mind to be so extravagant as to

¹ Usually at the father's or guardian's of the lady.

² This custom partially survives, and originated in a division among the guests of the ribbons worn by the bride and bridegroom. These favours were worn for some weeks in the hat, and were made of a pretty large knot of ribbons of various colours—gold, silver, carnation, and white.

marry in Publick (which very rarely happens) they invite a Number of Friends and Relations; every one puts on new Cloaths,¹ and dresses finer than ordinary; the Men lead the Women, they get into Coaches, and so go in Procession, and are marry'd in full Day at Church. After Feasting and Dancing, and having made merry that Day and the next, they take a Trip into the Country, and there divert themselves very pleasantly. These are extraordinary Weddings. The Ordinary ones, as I said before, are generally incognito. The *Bridegroom*, that is to say, the Husband that is to be, and the *Bride*, who is the Wife that is to be, conducted by their Father and Mother, or by those that serve them in their room, and accompany'd by two Bride men and two Bride maids, go early in the Morning with a Licence² in their Pocket and call up Mr. Curate and his Clerk, tell him their Business; are marry'd with a low Voice, and the Doors shut; tip the Minister a Guinea, and the Clerk a Crown; steal softly out, one one way, and t'other another, either on Foot or in Coaches; go different Ways to some Tavern at a Distance from their own Lodgings, or to the House of some trusty Friend, there have a good Dinner, and return Home at Night as quietly as Lambs. If the Drums and Fiddles have notice of it they will be sure to be with them by Day break, making a horrible Racket, till they have got the Pence; and, which is worst of all, the whole Murder will come out. Before they go to bed they take t'other Glass, &c., and when Bedtime is come the Bride men pull off the Bride's Garters, which she had before unty'd that they might hang down, and so prevent a Curious Hand coming too near her knee. This done, and the Garters being fastened to the Hats of the Gallants, the Bride maids carry the Bride into the Bed chamber, where they undress her,³ and lay her in Bed. The Bridegroom, who by the Help of his Friends is undress'd in some other Room, comes in his Night-gown as soon

¹ This was absolutely necessary, and mourning was also temporarily left off, unless for a very near relation recently deceased.

² The licence was generally shown the clergyman the day before the wedding, and an appointment made for the ceremony.

³ There was then, and may be now, a curious superstition that every pin about the bride must be thrown away and lost. There would be no luck if one remained. Nor must the bridesmaid keep one, for should she do so she certainly would not be married before Whitsuntide.

as possible to his Spouse, who is surrounded by Mother, Aunt, Sisters, and Friends, and without any farther Ceremony gets into Bed. Some of the Women run away, others remain, and the Moment afterwards they are all got together again.¹ The Bridemen Take the Bride's Stockings, and the Bridemaids the Bridegroom's ; both sit down at the Bed's Feet and fling the Stockings over their Heads, endeavouring to direct them so as that they may fall upon the marry'd Couple. If the Man's stockings, thrown by the Maids, fall upon the Bridegroom's Head, it is a Sign she will quickly be marry'd herself ; and the same Prognostick holds good of the Woman's Stockings thrown by the Man. Oftentimes these young People engage with one another upon the Success of the Stockings, tho' they themselves look upon it to be nothing but Sport. While some amuse themselves agreeably with these little Follies, others are preparing a good *Posset*, which is a kind of Cawdle, a Potion made up of Milk, Wine, Yolk of Eggs, Sugar, Cinnamon, Nutmeg, etc. This they present to the young Couple, who swallow it down as fast as they can to get rid of so troublesome Company ; the Bridegroom prays, scolds, entreats them to be gone, and the Bride says ne'er a Word, but thinks the more. If they obstinately continue to retard the Accomplishment of their Wishes, the Bridegroom jumps up in his Shirt, which frightens the Women, and puts them to Flight. The Men follow them, and the Bridegroom returns to the Bride.

'They never fail to bring them another Sack Posset next Morning, which they spend in such Amusements as you may easily imagine. The young Woman, more gay and more contented than ever she was in her Life, puts on her finest Cloaths (for she was married only in a Mob²), the dear Husband does the same, and so do the young Guests ; they laugh, they dance, they make merry ; and these Pleasures continue a longer or shorter time, according to the several Circumstances of Things.'

¹ Pepys tells of a frolic Lady Castlemaine and the beautiful Frances Terese Stuart (the original of the Britania on the copper coinage) had : 'That they two must be married—and married they were—with ring and all other ceremonies of Church service, and ribbands, and a sack posset in bed, and flinging the stocking.'

² A mob was a *déshabille* dress, scarcely ever mentioned in terms of commendation.

There was no going away for the honeymoon for the newly married couple. That trying season was spent at home, in a somewhat stately manner—receiving company, and must have been excessively irksome, as the following amusing account of a citizen's honeymoon shows:¹ 'I have lately married a very pretty body, who being somewhat younger and richer than myself, I was advised to go a wooing to her in a finer suit of clothes than ever I wore in my life: for I love to dress plain, and suitable to a man of my rank. However, I gained her heart by it. Upon the wedding day I put myself, according to custom, in another suit, fine new, with silver buttons to it. I am so out of Countenance among my neighbours, upon being so fine, that I heartily wish my clothes well worn out. I fancy every body observes me as I walk the street, and long to be in my own plain geer again. Besides, forsooth, they have put me in a Silk Night gown and a gaudy fool's cap, and make me now and then stand in the window with it. I am ashamed to be dandled thus, and cannot look in the glass without blushing to see myself turned into such a pretty little master. They tell me I must appear in my wedding suit for the first month at least; after which I am resolved to come again to my every day's clothes, for at present every day is Sunday with me. . . . I forgot to tell you of my white gloves, which they say, too, I must wear all the first month.'

I am afraid some of these good gentlemen beat their wives sometimes; and even the gallant Sir Richard Steele says:² 'I cannot deny but there are perverse Jades that fall to Men's Lots, with whom it requires more than common Proficiency in Philosophy to be able to live. When these are joined to Men of warm Spirits, without Temper or Learning, they are frequently corrected with Stripes; but one of our famous Lawyers is of opinion, That this ought to be used sparingly.' On the other hand, we hear much of hen-pecked men—so that it is probable, so far as matrimonial jars were concerned, the world wagged then much as now—without the facility for separation and divorce which now exists.

¹ *Guardian*, No. 113.

² *Spectator*, 479.

CHAPTER IV.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

Longevity—Undertakers' charges—Costliness of funerals—Mourning—Burial in woollen—Burial societies—Burial by night—A cheat—Mourning rings—Funeral pomp—Monuments—Description of a funeral—A Roman Catholic funeral—Widows.

THAT some lived to a good old age there can be no doubt ; but a patriarch died in this reign at Northampton, April 5, 1706 :¹ 'This Day died John Bales of this Town, Button Maker Aged 130 and some Weeks ; he liv'd in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James the First, King Charles the First, Oliver, King Charles the Second, King James the Second, King William the Third, and Queen Anne.'

And this brings us—

Where the brass knocker, wrapt in flannel band,
Forbids the thunder of the footman's hand ;
Th' upholder, rueful harbinger of death,
Waits with impatience for the dying breath ;
As vultures o'er a camp, with hovering flight,
Snuff up the future carnage of the fight.²

Nay, if Steele is to be believed, they even feed heavily for early information of death.³

Sable. You don't consider the Charges I have been at already.

Lord Brampton. Charges? For what?

Sable. First, Twenty Guineas to my Lady's Woman for notice of your Death (a Fee I've, before now, known the Widow herself go halves in), but no matter for that. In the next place, Ten Pounds for watching you all your long Fit of Sickness last Winter.

Lord B. Watching me? Why I had none but my own Servants by Turns.

¹ *Daily Courant*, April 9, 1706.

² *Trivia*.

³ This and the following quotations are from *The Funeral or Grief à la Mode*, by Steele, ed. 1702.

Sable. I mean attending to give notice of your Death. I had all your long fit of Sickness last Winter, at Half a Crown a day, a fellow waiting at your Gate, to bring me Intelligence, but you unfortunately recovered, and I Lost all my Obliging pains for your Service.

This, of course, is exaggeration, but although, as we have seen, people were sparing in expense over births or marriages, they were absolutely *lavish* over funerals, and the undertaker could well afford to disgorge some of his gains. Was it the funeral of a rich man, the corpse must straightway be embalmed, roughly though it may be. 'Have you brought the Sawdust and Tar for embalming? Have you the hangings and the Sixpenny nails for my Lord's Coat of Arms?' The hatchment must be put up, and mutes must be stationed at intervals from the hall door to the top of the stairs. 'Come, you that are to be Mourners in the House, put on your Sad Looks, and walk by Me that I may sort you. Ha you! a little more upon the Dismal. This Fellow has a good Mortal look, place him near the Corps; That Wanscoat Face must be o' top of the Stairs; That Fellow's almost in a Fright (that looks as if he were full of some strange misery) at the Entrance of the Hall. So!—but I'll fix you all myself. Let's have no Laughing now on any Provocation: Look Yonder, at that Hale, Well looking Puppy! You ungrateful Scoundrel, Did not I pity you, take you out of a Great Man's Service, and show you the Pleasure of receiving Wages? Did not I give you Ten, then Fifteen and Twenty Shillings a Week to be Sorrowful? and the more I give you, I think the Glader you are!'

The undertaker issued his handbills—gruesome things, with grinning skulls and shroud-clad corpses, thigh bones, mattocks and pickaxes, hearses, and what not. 'These are to Notice, that Mr. John Elphick, Woollen Draper, over against St. Michael's Church in Lewes, hath a good Hearse, a Velvet Pall, Mourning Cloaks, and Black Hangings for Rooms to be Lett at Reasonable Rates.

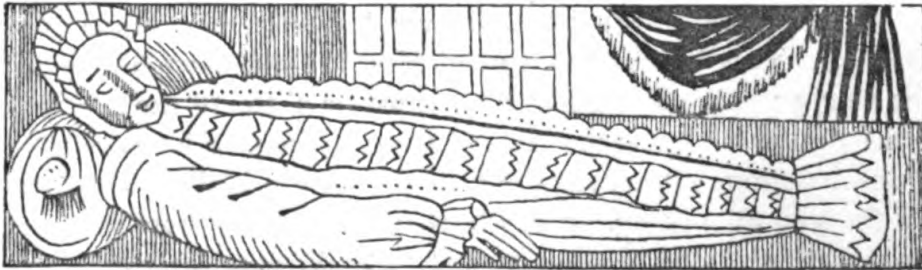
'He also Sells all sorts of Mourning and Half Mourning, all sorts of Black Cyprus for Scarfs and Hatbands, and White Silks for Scarfs and Hoods at Funerals; Gloves of all sorts and Burying Cloaths for the Dead.

'He sells likewise all sorts of Woollen Cloth Broad and

Narrow, Silks and Half Silks, Worsted Stuffs of all Sorts, and Prices of the Newest Fashions, and all sorts of Ribbons, Bodies and Hose, very good Penny worths.'

'Eleazar Malory, Joiner at the Coffin in White Chapel, near Red Lion Street end, maketh Coffins, Shrouds, letteth Palls, Cloaks, and Furnisheth with all other things necessary for Funerals at Reasonable Rates.'

The dead were then buried in woollen, which was rendered compulsory by the Acts 30 Car. II. c. 3 and 36 ejusdem c. 1. The first Act was entitled 'An Act for the lessening the importation of Linnen from beyond the Seas, and the encouragement of the Woollen and Paper Manufactures of the Kingdome.' It prescribed that the curate of every parish shall keep a register, to be provided at the charge of the parish, wherein to



A CORPSE.

enter all burials and affidavits of persons being buried in woollen; the affidavit to be taken by any justice of the peace, mayor, or such like chief officer in the parish where the body was interred; and if there be no officer, then by any curate within the county where the corpse was buried (except him in whose parish the corpse was buried), who must administer the oath, and set his hand gratis.

No affidavit to be necessary for a person dying of the plague. It imposed a fine of 5*l.* for every infringement, one half to go to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish.

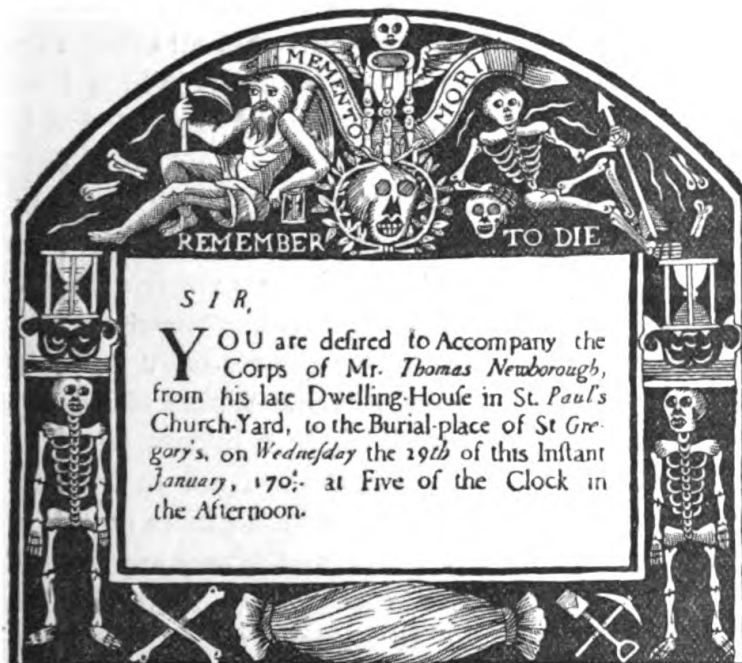
This Act was only repealed by 54 Geo. III. c. 108, or in the year 1815.

The material used was flannel, and such interments are frequently mentioned in the literature of the time, and Luttrell

mentions in his diary (Oct. 9, 1703) that the Irish Parliament had just brought in bills 'for encouraging the linnen manufacture, and to oblige all persons to bury in woollen.'

'Odious ! in woollen ! 'twould a saint provoke ;
 Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke ;
 ' No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
 Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face :
 One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead—
 And, Betty, give this cheek a little red.' ¹

Funeral invitations were sent out—ghastly things, such as the accompanying.



INVITATION TO A FUNERAL.

Elegies, laudatory of the deceased, were sometimes printed and sent to friends : these were got up in the same charnel-house style. Indeed, no pains were spared to make a funeral utterly miserable and expensive. Hatbands were costly items.

¹ Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle i. This is said to refer to Mrs. Oldfield, the famous actress of Anne's reign, who (*vide Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1731) 'was buried in Westminster Abby, in a Brussels lace Head dress, a Holland Shift, with Tucker and double Ruffles of the same Lace, and a Pair of new Kid Gloves.' 'Betty' was her old and faithful servant, Mrs. Saunders, herself an actress, taking widows' and old maids' parts.

‘ For the encouragement of our English silk called Alamodes, His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, the Nobility, and other persons of Quality appear in Mourning Hatbands made of that Silk, to bring the same in fashion, in the place of Crapes, which are made in the Pope’s Country where we send our Money for them.’ Gloves, of course, had to be given to every mourner. Indeed it is refreshing among the universal spoiling of the deceased’s survivors to find that one man advertises cheap mourning and funeral necessities. ‘ For the good of the Publick, I Edward Evans, at the Four Coffins in the Strand, over against Somerset House ; Furnish all Necessaries for all sorts of Funerals, both great and small. And all sorts of set Mourning both Black and Gray and all other Furniture suitable to it, fit for any person of Quality. Which I promise to perform 2s. in the Pound cheaper than any of the Undertakers in Town or elsewhere.’

Of course these remarks do not apply to the poor : they had already started burial clubs or societies, and very cheap they seem to have been. ‘ This is to give Notice, that the Office of Society for Burials, by mutual Contribution of a Halfpenny or Farthing towards a Burial, erected upon Wapping Wall, is now removed into Katherine Wheel Alley in White Chappel, near Justice Smiths, where subscriptions are taken to compleat the number, as also at the Ram in Crucifix lane in Barnaby Street, Southwark ; to which places notice is to be given of the death of any Member, and where any Person may have the Printed Articles after Monday next. And this Thursday about 7 o’clock Evening will be Buried by the Undertakers the Corpse of J. S., a Glover over against the Sun Brewhouse, in Golden Lane ; as also a Child from the Corner of Acorn Alley in Bishopsgate Street, and another Child from the Great Maze Pond, Southwark.’

We see in the invitation to Mr. Newborough’s funeral that it was to take place on an evening in January. This probably was so arranged by the Undertaker (indeed, the custom was general) to increase his costs, for then the mourners were furnished with wax tapers. These were heavy, and sometimes (judging from the illustrations to undertakers’ handbills) were made of four tapers twisted at the stem and then branch-

ing out. That these wax candles were expensive enough to excite the thievish cupidity of a band of roughs the following advertisement will show : ' Riots and Robberies. Committed in and about Stepney Church Yard, at a Funeral Solemnity, on Wednesday the 23rd day of September ; and whereas many Persons, who being appointed to attend the same Funeral with white Wax lights of a considerable Value, were assaulted in a most violent manner, and the said white Wax lights taken from them. Whoever shall discover any of the Persons, guilty of the said Crimes, so as they may be convicted of the same, shall receive of Mr. William Prince, Wax Chandler in the Poultry, London, Ten Shillings for each Person so discover'd, &c.¹

We get a curious glimpse of the paraphernalia of a funeral in the Life of a notorious cheat, ' The German Princess,' who lived, and was hanged, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the same funeral customs therein described obtained in Anne's time. She took a lodging at a house, in a good position, and told the landlady that a friend of hers, a stranger to London, had just died, and was lying at ' a pitiful Alehouse,' and might she, for convenience' sake, bring his corpse there, ready for burial on the morrow. The landlady consented, and ' that Evening the Corps in a very handsome Coffin was brought in a Coach, and plac'd in the Chamber, which was the Room one pair of Stairs next the street and had a Balcony. The Coffin being cover'd only with an ordinary black Cloth, our Counterfeit seems much to dislike it ; the Landlady tells her that for 20s. she might have the Use of a Velvet Pall, with which being well pleas'd, she desir'd that the Landlady would send for the Pall, and withal accommodate the Room with her best Furniture, for the next Day but one he should be bury'd ; thus the Landlady perform'd, getting the Velvet Pall, and placing on a Side-Board Table 2 Silver Candlesticks, a Silver Flaggon, 2 Standing gilt Bowls, and several other Pieces of Plate ; but the Night before the intended Burial, our counterfeit Lady and her Maid within the House, handed to their Comrades without, all the Plate, Velvet Pall, and other Furniture of the Chamber that was Portable and of Value, leaving the

¹ *Daily Courant*, Sept. 30, 1713.

Coffin and the suppos'd Corps, she and her Woman descended from the Balcony by Help of a Ladder, which her Comrades had brought her.' It is needless to say that the coffin contained only brickbats and hay, and a sad sequel to this story is, that the undertaker sued the landlady for the loss of his pall, which had lately cost him 40*l.*

Another very costly item in funerals was the giving of mourning rings. We see¹ the number of rings given at Pepys' funeral in 1703, and their value, 20*s.* and 15*s.*, especially when we consider the extra value of the currency at that period, must have been a sore burden to the survivors. Thoresby² shows to what a prodigal extent this custom might be carried. 'Afternoon, at the Funeral of my excellent and dear friend, Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York, who was interred with great solemnity: lay in state, 200 rings (besides scarfs to bearers and gloves to all) given in the room where I was, which yet could not contain the company.'

Naturally, a great many must have come to a man in the course of his life, as we may see by the contents of a box lost out of a waggon between Stamford and London: '3 Hair Rings, 6 with a Death's Head, about 2 penny weight apiece the Posie (Prepared be to follow me); 3 other mourning rings with W. C. ob. 18 Dec. 1702; 1 Ennamelled Ring, 3 Pennyweight twelve grains. W. Heltey, ob. 5 July, Æt. 61.' And their value may be guessed from 'Lost on Thursday, the 8th Instant one of the late Lord Huntingdon's Funeral Rings. Whoever brings it to Mr. White's at the Chocolate House in St. James's shall have two Guineas reward.'

Besides the rings, hatbands, scarves, and gloves, there was another tax; for Evelyn,³ noting Pepys' death and burial, says, 'Mr. Pepys had been for neare 40 years so much my particular friend that Mr. Jackson sent me *compleat mourning*, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies, but my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office.'

The pomp of funerals was outrageous. Gay, observant as he always was, notes this in 'Trivia,' book 3:—

¹ Appendix.

² *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, April 15, 1702.

³ *Diary*, May 26, 1703.

Why is the Herse with 'Scutcheons blazon'd round,
 And with the nodding Plume of Ostrich crown'd?
 No, the Dead know it not, nor profit gain :
 It only serves to prove the Living vain.
 How short is Life ! how frail is human Trust !
 Is all this Pomp for laying Dust to Dust ?

No wonder he exclaimed against these mortuary extravagances. Take an alderman's funeral as an example : ' On Wednesday last the Corps of Sir William Prichard, Kt., late Alderman, and sometime Lord Mayor of the City of London, (Who died Feb. 18) having lain some days in State, at his House in Highgate, was convey'd from thence in a Hearse, accompanied by several Mourning Coaches with 6 Horses each, through Barnet and St. Albans to Dunstable ; and the next day through Hockley (where it was met by about 20 Persons on Horseback) to Woburn and Newport Pagnel, and to his seat at Great Lynford (a Mile farther) in the county of Buckingham : Where, after the Body had been set out, with all Ceremony befitting his Degree, for near 2 hours, 'twas carried to the Church adjacent in this order, viz. 2 Conductors with long Staves, 6 Men in long Cloaks two and two, the Standard, 18 Men in Cloaks as before, Servants to the Deceas'd two and two, Divines, the Minister of the Parish and the Preacher, the Helm and Crest, Sword and Target, Gauntlets and Spurs, born by an Officer of Arms ; the Surcoat of arms born by another Officer of Arms, both in their rich Coats of Her Majesty's Arms embroider'd ; the Body, between 6 Persons of the Arms of Christ's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's, Merchant Taylors' Company, City of London, empaled Coat and Single Coat ; the Chief Mourner and his 4 Assistants, follow'd by the Relations of the Defunct, &c. After Divine Service was perform'd and an excellent Sermon suitable to the Occasion, preach'd by the Reverend Lewis Atterbury, LL.D., Minister of Highgate aforesaid, the Corps was interr'd in a handsome large Vault, in the Ile on the North side of the Church, betwixt 7 and 8 of the clock that Evening.'¹

But there was one thing they did not spend so much money upon as their forefathers did, *i.e.* on monumental

¹ *Daily Courant*, March 5, 1705.

statuary, &c. In this age the bust, or 'busto,' was used in preference to the recumbent, or half-figures, of the previous century ; but by far the greater number of mortuary memorials took the form of mural tablets, more or less ornate, according to the taste and wealth of the parties concerned. As a rule the epitaph was in Latin—this classical age, and the somewhat pedantic one that followed, could brook no meaner tongue in which to eulogise its dead ; and their virtues were pompously set forth in that language which is common to the whole of the civilised world.

No account of the funerals of this age would be complete without seeing what Misson says on the subject :—'As soon as any Person is dead, they are oblig'd to give Notice thereof to the Minister of the Parish, and to those who are appointed to visit dead Bodies. This Custom of visiting dead Bodies was establish'd after the dreadful Plague that ravag'd London in 1665, to the Intent that it might be immediately known if there was any Contagious Distemper, and proper Methods taken to put a Stop to it. They are generally two Women that do this. The Clerk of the Parish receives their Certificate, and out of these is form'd an Abridgment that is publish'd every Week. By this Paper you may see how many Persons of both Sexes dy'd within that Week, of what Distemper, or by what Accident.

'There is an Act of Parliament which ordains, That the Dead shall be bury'd in a Woollen Stuff, which is a Kind of a thin Bays, which they call *Flannel* ; nor is it lawful to use the least Needleful of Thread or Silk. (The Intention of this Act is for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture.) This Shift is always White ; but there are different Sorts of it as to Fineness, and consequently of different Prices. To make these Dresses is a particular Trade, and there are many that sell nothing else ; so that these Habits for the Dead are always to be had ready made, of what Size or Price you please, for People of every Age and Sex. After they have wash'd the Body thoroughly clean, and shav'd it, if it be a Man, and his Beard be grown during his Sickness, they put it on a Flannel Shirt, which has commonly a Sleeve purled about the Wrists, and the Slit of the Shirt down the Breast done in the same

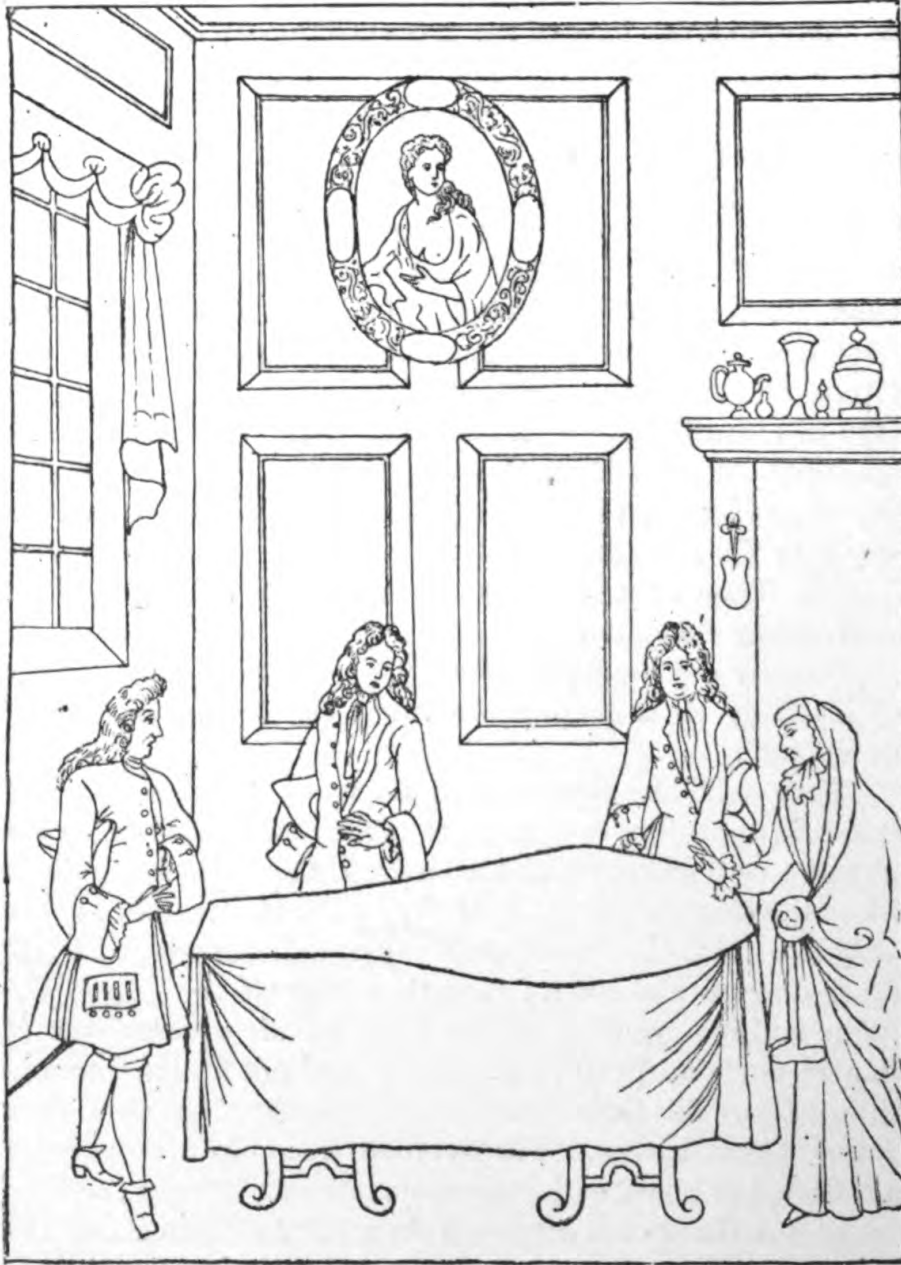
Manner. When these Ornaments are not of Woollen Lace, they are at least edg'd, and sometimes embroider'd with black Thread. The Shirt shou'd be at least half a Foot longer than the Body, that the Feet of the Deceas'd may be wrapped in it as in a Bag. When they have thus folded the End of the Shirt close to the Feet, they tye the Part that is folded down with a Piece of Woollen Thread, as we do our Stockings ; so that the End of the Shirt is done into a Kind of Tuft.

' Upon the Head they put a Cap, which they fasten with a very broad Chin Cloth, with Gloves on the Hands, and a Cravat round the Neck, all of Woollen. That the Body may ly the softer, some put a Lay of Bran, about four inches thick, at the Bottom of the Coffin. Instead of a Cap, the Women have a Kind of Head Dress, with a Forehead Cloth. The Body being thus equipp'd and laid in the Coffin (which Coffin is sometimes very magnificent), it is visited a second time, to see that it is bury'd in Flannel, and that nothing about it is sowed with Thread. They let it lye three or four Days in this Condition ; which Time they allow, as well to give the dead Person an Opportunity of Coming to Life again, if his Soul has not quite left his Body, as to prepare Mourning, and the Ceremonies of the Funeral.

' They send the Beadle with a List of such Friends and Relations as they have a Mind to invite ; and sometimes they have printed Tickets, which they leave at their Houses. A little before the Company is set in Order for the March, they lay the Body into the Coffin upon two Stools, in a Room where all that please may go and see it ; they then take off the Top of the Coffin, and remove from off the Face a little square Piece of Flannel, made on Purpose to cover it, and not fastened to any Thing ; Upon this Occasion the rich Equipage of the Dead does Honour to the Living. The Relations and chief Mourners are in a Chamber apart, with their more intimate Friends ; and the rest of the Guests are dispersed in several Rooms about the House.

' When they are ready to set out, they nail up the Coffin, and a Servant presents the Company with Sprigs of Rosemary : Every one takes a Sprig and carries it in his Hand 'till the Body is put into the Grave, at which Time they all throw their Sprigs

in after it. Before they set out, and after they return, it is usual to present the Guests with something to drink, either



LYING IN STATE.

red or white Wine, boil'd with Sugar and Cinnamon, or some such Liquor. Butler, the Keeper of a Tavern,¹ told me there

¹ The Crown and Sceptre in St. Martin's Street.

was a Tun of Red Port drank at his Wife's Burial, besides mull'd White Wine. Note, no Men ever go to Women's Burials, nor the Women to the Men's ; so that there were none but Women at the drinking of Butler's Wine. Such Women in England will hold it out with the Men, when they have a Bottle before them, as well as upon t'other Occasion, and tattle infinitely better than they.

'The Parish has always three or four Mortuary Cloths of different Prices,¹ to furnish those who are at the Charge of the interment. These Cloths, which they Call Palls, are some of black Velvet, others of Cloth with an edge of white Linnen or Silk, a foot broad, or thereabouts ; For a Batchellor or Maid, or for a Woman that dies in Child Birth, the Pall is white. This is spread over the Coffin, and is so broad that the Six or Eight Men that carry the Body are quite hid beneath it to their Waste, and the Corners and Sides of it hang down low enough to be born by those² who, according to Custom, are invited for that purpose. They generally give Black or White Gloves and black Crape Hatbands to those that carry the Pall ; sometimes also white Silk Scarves.

'Every Thing being ready to move (it must be remember'd that I always speak of middling People, among whom the Customs of a Nation are most truly to be learn'd), one or more Beadles march first, each carrying a long Staff, at the End of which is a great Apple or Knob of Silver. The Minister of the Parish, generally accompany'd by some other Minister, and attended by the Clerk, walks next ; and the Body carry'd as I said before, comes just after him. The Relations in close Mourning, and all the Guests two and two, make up the rest of the Procession. The Common Practice is to carry the corpse thus into the Body of the Church, where they set it down upon two Tressels, while either a Funeral Sermon is preach'd, containing an Eulogium upon the deceased, or certain Prayers said, adapted to the Occasion. If the Body is not bury'd in the Church, they carry it to the Church Yard belonging to the same, where it is interr'd in the Presence of the Guests, who are round the Grave, and they do not leave it 'till the Earth is

¹ The handsomest was let out on hire for twenty-five or thirty shillings.

² Called Pall-bearers—some six friends or so—and accounted a special honour.

thrown in upon it. Then they return Home in the same order that they came, and each drinks two or three Glasses more before he goes Home. Among Persons of Quality 'tis customary to embalm the Body, and to expose it for a Fort-night or more on a Bed of State. After which they carry it in a Sort of a Waggon¹ made for that Purpose, and cover'd with black Cloth, to the Place appointed by the Deceased. This Cart is attended by a long train of Mourning Coaches belonging to the Friends of the Dead Person.'

A notice of a Roman Catholic funeral must conclude this subject. It is taken from the will of 'Mr. Benjamin Dod, Citizen and Linnen Draper, who fell from his Horse, and dy'd soon after.'² 'I desire Four and Twenty Persons to be at my Burial . . . to every of which Four and Twenty Persons . . . I give a pair of white Gloves, a Ring of Ten Shillings Value, a Bottle of Wine at my Funeral, and Half a Crown to be spent at their Return that Night, to drink my Soul's Health, then on her Journey for Purification in order to Eternal Rest. I appoint the Room, where my Corps shall lie, to be hung with Black, and four and twenty Wax Candles to be burning ; on my Coffin to be affixed a Cross, and this Inscription, *Jesus, Hominum Salvator*. I also appoint my Corps to be carried in a Herse drawn with Six white Horses, with white Feathers, and followed by Six Coaches, with six Horses to each Coach, to carry the four and twenty Persons. . . . Item I give to Forty of my particular Acquaintance, not at my Funeral, to every one of them a Gold Ring of Ten Shillings Value. . . . As for Mourning I leave that to my Executors hereafter nam'd ; and I do not desire them to give any to whom I shall leave a legacy.' Here follows a long list of legacies. 'I will have no Presbyterian, Moderate Low Churchmen, or Occasional Conformists, to be at or have anything to do with my Funeral. I die in the Faith of the True Catholic Church. I desire to have a Tomb stone over me, with a Latin Inscription, and a Lamp, or Six Wax Candles, to burn Seven Days and Nights thereon.'

Widows wore black veils, and a somewhat peculiar cap, and had long trains—allusions to which are very frequent in the literature of the time. That they were supposed to

¹ A hearse.

² *The Flying Post and Medley*, July 27, 1714.

seclude themselves for six weeks, and debar themselves of all amusement for twelve months, is shown by the two following extracts from Steele's 'Funeral, or Grief à la Mode.'

'But, Tatty, to keep house 6 weeks, that's another barbarous Custom.'

'Oh, how my head runs my first Year out, and jumps to all the joys of widowhood! If, Thirteen Months hence, a Friend should haul one to a Play one has a mind to see!'





CHAPTER V.

HOUSES, FURNITURE, ETC.

'Queen Anne' houses—Vanbrugh's house—Real 'Queen Anne' houses—
Hangings and wall papers—Letting and rent—Prevention of fire—A
fire—Insurance companies—Water supply—Thames Water Works—
New River—Coals—Furniture—China—Bedsteads.

ALTHOUGH for the purpose of this work it is necessary to say somewhat of the houses of the period, it is not worth while discussing the so-called revival of the architecture of Queen Anne's time. The modern houses are quaint and pretty, but they are innocent of any close connection with her reign. Artists' and architects' holiday rambles in Holland are provocative of most of them; 'sweet little bits' having been brought home in sketch-books from Dordrecht and kindred happy hunting-grounds for the picturesque. The style was not even adopted for mansions—*vide* Marlborough House and Blenheim; and the exterior of the ordinary town houses, even of the better class, was singularly unpretentious. Hatton¹ is struck with admiration of Queen Square (now Queen Anne's Gate), and says it is 'a beautiful New (tho' small) Square, of very fine Buildings.' If he could thus eulogise its architecture, what must have been the plainness of the exterior of ordinary houses! It was not that there was a lack of good architects, for Wren and Vanbrugh were alive, but the houses and furniture were in conformity with the spirit of the times—very dull, and plain, and solid. We must never forget that during nearly the whole of this queen's reign a cruel war exhausted the people's finances, that trade was circumscribed, and that there were no mushroom *par-*

¹ *A New View of London*, 1708.

venus, with inflated fortunes made from shoddy or the Stock Exchange, to spend their wealth lavishly on architecture or art in any shape.

A dull mediocrity in thought and feeling prevailed, and if any originality in architecture was attempted, it would certainly have been satirised, as it was in the very little-known poem of 'The History of Vanbrugh's House.'¹

When Mother Clud² had rose from Play,
And call'd to take the Cards away ;
VAN Saw, but seem'd not to regard,
How MISS pickt ev'ry Painted Card ;
And Busie both with Hand and Eye,
Soon Rear'd a House two Story high ;
VAN's *Genius* without Thought or Lecture,
This hugely turn'd to *Architecture*.
He view'd the Edifice, and smil'd,
Vow'd it was pretty for a Child ;
It was so perfect in its Kind,
He kept the *Model* in his Mind.

But when he found the Boys at Play,
And Saw 'em dabling in their Clay ;
He stood behind a Stall to lurk,
And mark the Progress of their Work ;
With true Delight observ'd 'em All
Raking up *Mud* to build a Wall ;
The Plan he much admir'd, and took
The *Model* in his Table-Book ;
Thought himself now exactly skill'd,
And so resolv'd a *House* to build.
A real House, with *Rooms* and *Stairs*,
Five Times at least as big as *Theirs* ;
Taller than *MISS'S* by two Yards ;
Not a sham Thing of Clay, or Cards ;
And so he did : For in a while,
He built up such a monstrous Pile,
That no two Chairmen cou'd be found,
Able to lift it from the Ground ;
Still at *White Hall* it Stands in View,
Just in the Place where first it grew ;
There all the little School Boys run,
Envyng to see themselves outdone.

¹ See *Meditations upon a Broomstick and Somewhat Beside*, Swift, ed. 1710.

² The same lady satirised in *The Reverse*.

From such deep Rudiments as these,
 VAN is become by due Degrees,
 For Building Fam'd, and justly Reckon'd
 At Court, *Vitruvius* the *Second* ;¹
 No wonder, since wise *Authors* show,
 That *Best Foundations* must be Low ;
 And now the Duke has wisely ta'en him
 To be his *Architect* at *Blenheim* :
 But Railery for once apart,
 If this Rule holds in ev'ry Art ;
 Or, if his Grace was no more Skill'd in
 The Art of Batt'ring Walls, than Building,
 We might expect to find next Year
 A *Mouse trap* Man, Chief Engineer.

But should any reader wish to see good specimens of real Queen Anne's houses, I would recommend a visit to Nos. 10 and 11 Austinfriars. They are undoubtedly genuine (mark the date 1704 on the waterspout); and the staircase of No. 10, with its beautifully turned and carved balusters, and boldly yet easily carved soffits, is a real treat to see; and were it to be cleansed from its many coats of paint, and appear in its original state, it would be an almost matchless specimen of the domestic building of the time. The ceiling, too, at the top of the staircase is very beautifully painted, and was most probably the work either of Laguerre or Thornhill. It is good enough for either of them. No. 11 is inferior to No. 10, but were its neighbour away it would be looked upon as a very good type of a house in the reign of Queen Anne. See also an old house, now used as a Board school, formerly the residence of Sir C. Wren, in a courtyard in Water Lane, Eastcheap.

But a good plan is to judge of the houses by contemporary evidence and description. 'To be Let, a New Brick House, Built after the Newest Fashion, the Rooms wainscotted and Painted, Lofty Stories, Marble Foot paces to the Chimneys, Sash Windows, glaised with fine Crown Glass, large half Pace Stairs, that 2 People may go up on a Breast, in a new pleasant Court planted with Vines, Jesamin, and other Greens, next Door to the Crown near the Sarazen's Head Inn in

¹ Vanbrugh was Comptroller General of Works.

Carter Lane, near St. Paul's Church Yard, London.' So we see even as late as 1710 that a staircase capable of accommodating two people abreast was a novelty, only to be found in 'the last thing out' in houses. The windows of these houses were long but narrow; the smallness of the panes being rendered necessary by the fact that no large size could be made in window-glass, it being only of late years that the manufacture has improved to that extent. Here is another house described, *temp.* 1712. 'To be Lett, near Cheapside, A large new-built House that fronts two Streets of great Trade: The Shop is lined with Deal all round, and is about 60 Foot deep one way. There is under the Shop a very good dry Warehouse that is brickt at Bottom. Joyce and boarded over it, the Sides and Top is lined with Deal, it is 9 foot between Floor and Top. There is above Stairs 4 Rooms on a Floor, almost all Wainscotted, and a large Staircase all Wainscotted. All the Flat is covered with very thick Lead, with Rails and Bannisters round the Leads and a large Cupolo on the Top. Inquire of Mr. Richard Wright at the Perriwig in Bread Street.'

This must have been an extra good house, for they were mostly roofed with tiles, a fact which has practical demonstration, for after the terrible storm of Nov. 26, 1703, which damaged London alone to the extent of a million sterling, and cost us many men-of-war, the loss of over 1,500 sailors of the navy, and an unnumbered quantity of merchant seamen, the price of tiles rose tremendously. On Dec. 7 'there is to be sold Plain Tiles 50s. a Thousand, and Pan Tiles for 6l. a Thousand.' The plain tiles went still higher, for on Dec. 24 they were 65s. a thousand.

As a rule the rooms were fairly lofty, and the walls of the better class were mostly wainscotted with oak, walnut, chestnut, or cedar, and sometimes beautifully carved, and in the lower-class houses with deal, painted. But wall papers were coming in.¹ 'At the Blue Paper Warehouse in Aldermanbury (and nowhere else) in London, are sold the true sorts of figur'd Paper Hangings, some in pieces of 12 yards long, others after the manner of real Tapisstry, others in imitation of

¹ *Postman*, December 10/12, 1702.

Irish Stitch, flower'd Damasks, Sprigs and Branches ; others yard Wide, in imitation of Marble and other coloured Wainscoats ; others in yard wide, Emboss'd work, and a curious sort of Flock work in imitation of Caffaws, and other Hangings of curious figures and colours. As also Linnen Cloath, Tapestry Hangings, with a variety of Skreens and Chimney pieces, and Sashes for Windows, as transparent as Sarconet.' And another advertisement in next year gives 'imitation of Marbles and other Coloured Wainscoats, which are to be put in Pannels and Mouldings made for that purpose, fit for the Hanging of Parlours, Dining Rooms, and Stair Cases ; and others in Yard wide Emboss'd work, in imitation of Gilded Leather.' The old style of hangings did not go out at once, for in 1704 was advertised 'Three Suites of Hanging : one of Forrest Tapestry, one of clouded Camlet, and one of blue Printed Linsey ; the 2 first very good, scarce the worse for wearing—to be sold very reasonable.'

Stained glass was not used, generally, for decorative purposes, save for coats of arms ; indeed, the art seems to have been in a bad way, judging from the following advertisement :¹ 'Whereas the ancient Art of Painting and Staining Glass has been much discouraged, by reason of an Opinion generally received, That the Red Colour (not made in Europe for many Years) is totally lost ; These are to give Notice, That the said Red, and all other Colours are made to as great a Degree of Curiosity and Fineness as in former Ages by William and Joshua Price, Glasiers and Glass Painters near Hatton Garden in Holborn, London, where any Gentlemen, who have the Curiosity, may be convinc'd by Demonstration, there being a large Window just now finished for his Grace the Duke of Leeds, which will be sent into the Country in a few days.'

Houses were not always let by Agreement, but the leases were sold ; and it is by means of such advertisements that we are able to get at the rents, which seem to have been very low—even reckoning the difference of value in money. Certainly they had none of our modern appliances and conveniences, which add so considerably to the cost of buildings, nor do they seem to have been saddled with exorbitant ground rents.

¹ The *London Gazette*, June 14/18, 1705.

'To be sold a lease of 33 years to come in 5 Houses standing together on the North side of the Pall Mall, whereon 25*l.* per Ann. Rent is reserved. The Houses are let at 200*l.* a year.' 'A Gentleman has occasion for a lightsome fashionable House in some Genteel part of the Town, or very nigh the Town, and if accommodated with Coach House and Stables it will be better lik'd, of about 30*l.*, 40*l.*, or 50*l.* a year Rent.'

A little way out of town rents were even cheaper than this. Here would be a boon for rowing men. 'To be let at Barns adjoining to Mortlack, fronting the River Thames, is a convenient little New House, 2 rooms on a floor, so well situated that it may be shut up, and the Furniture Safe. The benefit of the air may be had at pleasure, for 6*l.* 10*s.* per Ann.' 'Also another House for more private Dwelling, well accommodated with a Garden, River Water, etc., well situated for a Gentleman belonging to the Custom, East India, or African House, or Navy or Victualling Office, and the rent but 10*l.* per Annum. Also a Brick House in the Country, 2 Miles off, standing pleasantly in a good Air, and but 5*l.* per Annum to be Lett.' These instances clearly prove that house rent was cheap in those days, which makes the price paid for apartments seem rather high. When Swift came to London in 1710, he says: ¹ 'I lodge in Bury Street, where I removed a week ago. I have the first floor, a dining room and bed chamber, at eight shillings a week; plaguy deep, but I spend nothing on eating,' etc. When he removed to Chelsea he had to pay more. 'I got here in the stage coach with Patrick and my portmantua for sixpence, and pay six shillings a week for one silly room, with confounded coarse sheets.'² On one of Ralph Thoresby's visits from Leeds to London³ he 'was surprised with the old gentlewoman's (Mr. Atkin's mother) demand of 4*s.* per week for my lodgings;' but then that could only have been a bedroom, for the old gentleman was always out the whole day.

It is needless to say that there was more danger of fire then than now; and the inhabitants of London, very many of whom must have had a vivid remembrance of that awful

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 4.

² *Ibid.* letter 21.

³ *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, August 22, 1712.

fire in 1666, were not altogether neglectful of their interests in this matter. In 1710 an Act was passed amending an Act made in the sixth year of Anne's reign, 'for the better preventing of Mischiefs that may happen by Fire.' This Act dealt with parochial fire-engines, rewards, rates for water supply and maintenance of same, the thickness of party walls, etc., and contained one very useful little clause. 'It is further enacted, That there shall be left at the House, upon which there is a Notice of a Fire Plug, a Key to open the Stop Cock, and also a Pipe for the Water to come thereout, to be made use of as Occasion shall require.'

They were also fully alive to the necessity of keeping life-saving appliances in their houses. 'This is to give Notice, That the Rope Ladders and other Ropes, so useful for preserving whole Families from the dismal Accidents of Fire, are to be sold,' etc.

There were three fire insurance companies, whose leaden badges used to be nailed on to the houses, to show they were insured, and in what office; and a reward was offered by the Friendly Society on July 14, 1705, for the discovery of persons who had stolen some of them.

These three insurance companies were: first, the Phoenix, which was at the Rainbow Coffee House, Fleet Street, and also by the Royal Exchange, established about the year 1682, and the assurers in 1710 numbered about 10,000. The system was to pay 30s. down, and insure 100*l.* for seven years. Second, the Friendly Society, in Palsgrave Court, without Temple Bar, which was the first (in 1684) that insured by mutual contribution, where you could insure 100*l.* for seven years by paying 6s. 8*d.* down, and an annual subscription of 1s. 4*d.* In 1710 the number of assured was 18,000. And thirdly, the Amicable Contributors, at Tom's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane (commenced about 1695). Here a payment of 12s. would insure 100*l.* for seven years, at the expiration of which time 10s. would be returned to the assured—who in 1710 numbered over 13,000. This society seems to have changed its name to the Hand-in-Hand Fire Office, who gave up their two establishments at Tom's Coffee House and the Crown Coffee House, behind the Exchange,

for more suitable premises in Angel Court, Snow Hill, and notified the change in the *Gazette* of Jan. 1, 1714.

All these employed several men in liveries, and with badges on their arms, to extinguish fire. The accompanying contemporary illustration is very rude, but it gives a vivid representation of a fire at that time.



A FIRE.

Gay gives the following graphic description of a fire, so that we may almost fancy we see the firemen at work.

But hark ! Distress with Screaming Voice draws nigh'r,
 And wakes the slumb'ring Street with Cries of Fire.
 At first a glowing Red enwraps the Skies,
 And borne by Winds the scatt'ring Sparks arise ;
 From Beam to Beam, the fierce Contagion spreads ;
 The Spiry Flames now lift aloft their Heads,
 Through the burst Sash a blazing Deluge pours,
 And splitting Tiles descend in rattling Show'rs.
 Now with thick Crouds th' enlighten'd Pavement swarms,
 The Fire-man sweats beneath his crooked Arms,
 A leathern Casque his vent'rous Head defends,
 Boldly he climbs where thickest Smoak ascends ;
 Mov'd by the Mother's streaming Eyes and Pray'rs,
 The helpless Infant through the Flame he bears ;
 With no less Virtue, than through hostile Fire,
 The *Dardan* Hero bore his aged Sire.
 See forceful Engines spout their levell'd Streams,
 To quench the Blaze that runs along the Beams ;
 The grappling Hook plucks Rafters from the Walls,
 And Heaps on Heaps the smoaky Ruine falls.
 Blown by strong Winds the fiery Tempest roars,
 Bears down new Walls, and pours along the Floors :
 The Heav'ns are all a blaze, the Face of Night
 Is cover'd with a sanguine dreadful Light.

Hark ! the Drum thunders ! far, ye Crouds retire ;
 Behold the ready Match is tipt with Fire,

The Nitrous Store is laid, the smutty Train
 With running Blaze awakes the barrell'd Grain ;
 Flames sudden wrap the Walls ; with sullen Sound,
 The shatter'd Pile sinks on the smoaky Ground.

The sanitary arrangements of these houses were very defective, and the streets at night time must have been anything but pleasant walks.

'We had not walk'd the usual distance between a *Church* and an *Alehouse*, but some Odoriferous *Civet Box* perfum'd the Air, and saluted our Nostrils with so refreshing a Nose-

gay, that I thought the whole City (*Edenborough-like*) had been over-flow'd with an inundation of Surreverence.'¹



'NEW RIVER WATER!'

The water supply, too, was not good. Old-fashioned wells and pumps, sunk in a crowded city full of cesspools and graveyards, could not have furnished a healthy supply. Of course there was the water brought by the city from Highgate and Hampstead, and there was the New River, but it evidently was not sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, or it would not have been hawked about.

More was furnished by the Thames Water Works by means of a huge water-wheel, which worked many force-pumps, and which was erected by a Dutchman named Peter Morrice, in 1582. This occupied a position on the old bridge, similar to its being placed close to the stairs by Fishmongers' Hall at the present time. Although the river was infinitely purer than at present, yet, being tidal, and the supply being taken from in shore, it could not have been good for drinking purposes. There was a new company formed to work this machine, and in the *London Gazette*, Oct. 28/Nov. 1, 1703, is an advertisement : 'This is to give Notice to such Persons

¹ *The London Spy.*

as have subscribed for Shares in the Thames Water, That the Transfers of the said Shares will be ready to be made to the respective Subscribers to-morrow the 2nd Instant, being the last day limited in the Contract, at Mr. Nicholas Opie's in Bartholomew Lane, where the said Contract or Subscription Roll now lies.'

Hatton says in his 'New View of London' that 'besides the old work erected by Mr. *Morris*, the New placed in the 4th Arch of the Bridge consists of 2 Wheels with 7 Engines set up about the Year 1702, so there are in all 13 Engines.

'They are the contrivance of that great English Engineer Mr. *Sorocold*, whereby the *Thames* Water is raised from the N. end of the Bridge to a very great altitude, by which means many parts of the City &c. are served with the *Thames* Water. The Flux and Reflux of the Water worketh the Engine. Here are several Proprietors who serve Houses for the most part at 20s. *per Ann.* paid quarterly, and they have proportionately more from Brewhouses, &c., according to what they Consume. To this Company also belongs the Works at *Broken Wharf* and the City Conduit Water.

'The Old Stock was 500 Shares, and valued at 500*l.* a Share, since which those Shares were divided into 1500 Shares, each valued at about 100*l.* *per Share.* They pay the City 700*l.* *per Ann.* for the Conduit Water, and about 10*l.* *per Ann.* for the Bridge; Also 300*l.* to Sir *Benj. Ayloff* or his Assignees for the *Broken Wharf*, to which place 2 of the Engines at the Bridge do Work, and there are also at that Wharf 2 Horse Works.

'They chiefly serve *Goodman's Fields*, *Minories*, *Houndsditch*, *White Chapel*, and *Birchin Lane*.

'*Merchant's Water Works* are in *Harts Horn Lane*.¹ He serves with the *Thames* Water by Horse Work and Engines. His Rates are 20s. *per Ann.*

'*Mill Bank Water* is raised and laid into Houses in the Parish of *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, from the *Thames*. The Water House is situate on the E. side of *Mill Bank*, for which the Proprietors, who are in Number 5, had a Patent granted

¹ Afterwards Northumberland Street, Strand.

them by K. Charles 2 about the Year 1673. Their Stock and Income is divided into 8 Shares. Rates are at least 10s. *per Ann.*, but commonly 20s., and for Brewers and extraordinary Occasions more than so many Pounds.'

The water was supplied in primitive pipes of wood, some being of the very small bore of one inch. 'The Governor and Company of the New River, being inclined to contract for Wooden Pipes of 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 Inches Diameter in the Bore, to be delivered at any Place within the Bills of Mortality, as occasion shall require, do hereby give notice, that they shall be ready to receive proposals for that purpose, any Thursday, at their Office at Puddle Dock.'¹

An adventurer's share in the New River Water Company was then worth 4500 guineas ; and Hatton, in his 'New View of London,' says : 'They now Let the Water to most Houses without Fine or Lease, according as they Consume Water, to none less than 22s. 8d. *per Ann.*, but to some Brewers, &c., for 40*l.* *per Ann.*, which, and all common Cocks, they Let by Lease and Fine.'

The river was scoured out twice a year, and a staff was kept of '12 Walkers between *Ware* and *London* (who daily take care that no Infectious or other thing be thrown into the River that might in any way prejudice it, whereby it is kept Sweet and Wholesome).'

The following advertisement appears in the *London Gazette*, April 20/May 3, 1703 : 'The Governor and Company of the *New River* brought from *Chadwell* and *Anwell* to *London*, having from time to time made several Orders and Regulations for the Ease and Benefit of those who make use of their Water ; but being informed, that several Misrepresentations are Industriously spread abroad to their Prejudice, they have thought fit to publish the following Orders, which have been made from time to time since at several Courts. Viz :

'*Ordered.* That no Private Family that is served with the Water of the *New River*, shall be required to take a Lease of the said Water ; but that what Rent shall be agreed on with

¹ *London Gazette*, Feb. 27/Mar. 1, 1714.

the Collectors to be paid, shall be received by them without the Charge of a Lease.

'Whereas Strict Charge hath been given to the Collectors, and all other Officers of the said *New River*, That they behave themselves Civilly and Respectfully to such as use the said Water : If any do otherwise

'*Ordered.* That upon any Complaints to the Meetings of the Company every *Thursday* at Three in the Afternoon, at their Office at *Puddle Dock*, Reparation shall forthwith be made to the Party grieved.

'*Ordered.* That any Tenant may employ their own Plummer to do their Work in mending, or laying any Branch, such Plummer first acquainting the Collector, and making use of the Company's Paviour of that Walk to dig the same.'

The leaden cisterns for holding the family supply were often very artistically and elaborately ornamented, either with flowers or classical subjects, and are nearly all dated. The few now spared in London are of course extremely curious, as being exemplars of the art manufactures of the time.

The houses were principally heated by coals, except in the bedrooms, and, coals being all sea-borne, prices were sometimes very high ; thus, latter end of April 1702—'Coals are at 33s. per Chaldron in the Pool, because of the great Impress. No Ships are to sail till the Fleet is compleatly mann'd.' Besides this, there was a tax of 2s. per chaldron, 'to be applyed towards finishing St. Paul's Cathedrall,' which was, on Nov. 26, 1702, ordered to be continued till after the year 1708.¹ This high price was partly fictitious, a 'ring' having been formed in coals ; but they managed those things better then than now, and held public inquiry on 'forestallers and regraters.'² 'The lords ordered several persons to attend upon account of engrossing Coals, and among them two noted quakers ; 'tis said the chief reason of their being so dear is, that several persons in the north, and some Londoners, have farmed most of the Coal pits about Newcastle, with design to sell them at what price they please.' It was even suggested that Government should take the matter up. 'Tis said a proposal is made to the parliament, that the queen be the free importer

¹ *Luttrell's Diary*, Nov. 26, 1702.

² *Ibid.* Nov. 13, 1703.

of Coals, and that they shal never exceed 25s. per Chaldron, nor be under 20s.'¹

Not only were they dear, but at times poor in quality. 'The late Common Practice at Sunderland of mixing bad sorts of Coals with the right Lumley Coals, giving such Mixtures the Name of pure Lumley Coals,' &c., was counteracted by certificates being given of their genuineness. In Oct. 1711 coals in the Pool were 25s. to 26s. a chaldron. Scotch coals had, however, been introduced, for we find an advertisement :

'At Mr. Folley's Warehouse on White Fryers Wharf, are a parcel of Scotch Coals to be Sold Reasonably, being the best that have come to London for many Years, and out of the Earl of Marrs Collyary.'²



'SMALL COALE !'

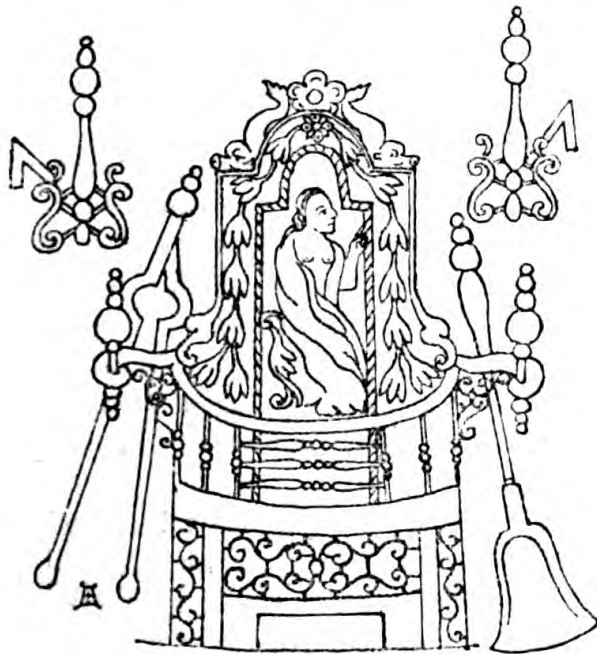
But if they were this high price, ex ship, and wholesale, those who bought in small quantities had to pay very heavily. Swift in his letters to Stella is always grumbling at the expense of his modicum of coals, and would stop longer in, and go earlier to, bed, in order to save. Then was it that the cry of 'Small coale!' was heard in the streets—a cry that will always be associated with the memory of Thomas Britton, the 'musical small

coal man,' who died Sept. 14, 1714.

The stoves used to burn coal were small and portable, taking the place of the old andirons, and standing unfixed in the somewhat wide chimney-pieces. It is needless to say that the modern 'Queen Anne' stoves bear very little likeness to the genuine article. The back plates were frequently very ornamental, sometimes having the arms of the owner of the house upon them. The accompanying illustration, being taken from an ironmonger's handbill, is probably copied from one he had in stock—if not, it most certainly represented those in use.

¹ *Luttrell's Diary*, Nov. 20, 1703. ² *Daily Courant*, Jan. 21, 1713.

Of the furniture of the time—the houses were, to our idea, very scantily furnished. Take any of the very few engravings of social life in this reign, and one is astonished at the bare look of the apartments: a table in the centre, a few high-backed and clumsy chairs, a square, box-like settee, are all that are movable; on the walls a picture or two, sometimes, not always, a looking-glass, occasionally an alcove with shelves for china and bric-a-brac, and window curtains—always curtains,—the possession of which must have entailed much trouble on many housekeepers. *Vide*



FIREPLACE AND UTENSILS.

the following advertisement: ¹ 'London, Nov. 24.—Having no longer since than last Night had the misfortune (with other of my Neighbours in Leicester Fields) to be robb'd by a very uncommon method; I desire you would (for the Good of the Publick) incert in your Paper the underwritten Advertisement, that Persons may thereby be put upon their Guard, and make such provision as may prevent the like Robberies.

'The Thieves observe those Houses whose Window-shutters, either outward or inward, reach not up to the top of the

¹ *Daily Courant*, Nov. 27, 1704.

Windows ; and taking out some Quarries of the Glass, put their Hands in and rob the Houses of their Window Curtains.'

Without doubt, the houses of the wealthy were better furnished, and more artistically. The virtuoso would bring with him on his return from his 'grand tour' some specimens, both of pictures and furniture, of the lands he visited. Of the former, they were invariably originals or copies of the Caracci, Titian, Palma, Van Dyck, etc., and they were always being imported or changing hands ; but of good furniture we seldom find any to be sold, such as, for instance, 'Two Cabinets, the one of 48 drawers, containing great variety of curious Shells, Agates, Corals, Mocus's' (the Mocha or Moco Stone), 'Medals, Minerals, and other Rarities. The other finely inlaid with Flowers and Birds of Stone by Baptist.'

And the merchants and well-to-do people undoubtedly had furniture almost invented to show off their china :¹ 'Whereas the New East India Company did lately sell all their China Ware, These are to Advertise, that a very large parcel there of (as Broken and Damag'd) is now to be sold by Wholesale and Retail, extreamly Cheap, at a Warehouse in Dyer's Yard. *Note.*—It's very fit to furnish Escrutores, Cabinets, Corner Cupboards or Sprigs, where it usually stands for Ornament only.'

Naturally, almost all the ornamental ceramics came from China or Japan—for the state of our own ceramic art was at a very low ebb ; in fact, it was only in its infancy in the middle of the last century. Some pottery was made in Staffordshire and York, but it was near London that the manufacture of the best, such as it was, was seated. The potteries at Fulham were at work, as also Lambeth and Vauxhall. Thoresby tells us of this latter :² 'We went by water to Foxhall and the Spring Garden : I was surprised with so many pleasant walks &c. so near London. After dinner there, we viewed the pottery and various apartments there ; was most pleased with that where they were painting divers colours, which yet appear more beautiful, and of different colours when baked.'

None of these wares were remarkable at that time for their beauty, and so the oriental porcelain was naturally the most

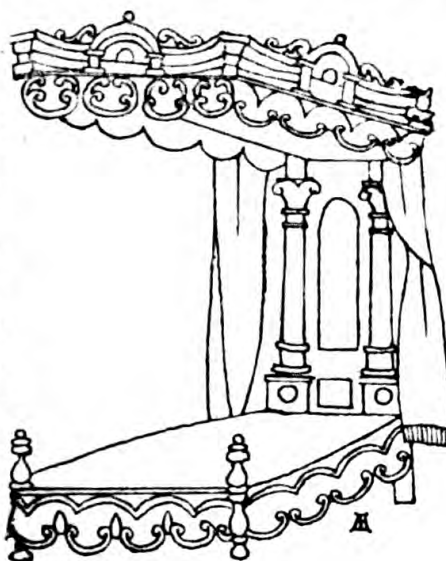
¹ *Harl.* 5996, 147.

² *Thoresby's Diary*, May 24, 1714.

admired, and consequently bore away the palm, both for beauty of form and design. The use of tea, too, largely helped the consumption of oriental China. The cups and teapots were home articles for the Chinese to make, and it was very many years before we, in England, were even nearly rivalling them.

Tea necessitated a smaller and more elegant table, so we find the want supplied by tea and Dutch tables. Lacquer ware was also in much request, as well for 'Tea Tables, Bowls, Dressing Suites, Cabinets, and Bellows Boards,' as for screens to keep off draughts.

But perhaps the most glorified piece of furniture in the house, was the bed, which could be had at all prices, from the¹ 'new sacking bottom'd Bedsteads as 11s. a piece' to that imperial couch which was a prize in a lottery 'by her Majesty's permission,'² 'A Rich Bed, 7 Foot broad, 8 foot long, and about 14 foot high, in which is no less than Two Thousand Ounces of Gold and



A BED.

Silver wrought in it; Containing four Curtains Embroidered on both sides alike, on a white Silk Tabby, Three Vallains with Tassels, three Basses, two Bonegraces, and four Cantoneers Embroider'd on Gold Tissue Cloth, cost 3,000*l.*, put up at 1,400*l.*' This, of course, was an extraordinary bed; but the price of bed Furniture really seems to have been 'from 6*l.* or 7*l.* per Bed to 40*l.* per Bed, with all sorts of fine Chain Stitch Work.' Velvet, both in crimson and other colours, was also a favourite for bed-hangings, and cost 40*l.* at least. One quilt is described, but I fairly give it up—'Stole out of the house of John Barnes, &c., a *Culgee* quilt.'

¹ *Harl.* 5996, 87.

² *Ibid.* 5961, 326.

CHAPTER VI.

SERVANTS.

Number of servants—Footmen—Wages—Liveries—‘How d’ye’—The Upper Gallery—Footmen’s Parliament—Accomplishments—White slaves from Barbary—Negro slaves—Runaways—Apprentices.

THE quantity of servants in vogue at that time, especially of male servants, seems to us to be excessive, but when we look how useful they were, apart from their menial duties, as guards, and assistants when the carriage stuck in a deep rut when travelling, and remember that the old feudal system of having retainers about one for show was then only moribund (it is not yet dead), their number is accounted for. First on the list stands my lord’s page, who wore his livery, although of more costly material than that worn by the footman. He served his apprenticeship as ‘a little foot page,’ but it was always understood that, afterwards, his rise in life should be looked to by his patron. It was very much the same relation that existed between knight and squire. How he accompanied his lord on state occasions is shown in one of the illustrations of carriages. Steele speaks disparagingly of the lad’s position.¹ ‘I know a Man of good Sense who put his Son to a Blacksmith, tho’ an Offer was made him of his being received a Page to a Man of Quality.’

But it was the footman of that age, and indeed of the whole of the early Georgian era, who was the perpetual butt of the satirist—probably not without reason. ‘There’s nothing we Beaus take more Pride in than a Sett of Genteel Footmen. I never have any but what wear their own Hair, and I allow ‘em a Crown a Week for Gloves and Powder ; if one shouldn’t, they’d Steal horridly to set themselves out, for now, not one in

¹ *Spectator*, 214.

ten is without a Watch, and a nice Snuff Box with the best Orangerie ; and the Liberty of the Upper Gallery, has made 'em so confounded pert, that, as they wait behind one at Table, they'll either put in their Word, or Mimick a body, and People must bear with 'em or else pay 'em their Wages.'¹ Steele, of course, could not resist such a tempting theme for his pen, and, consequently, devotes a whole *Spectator* (No. 88) to footmen. He says: 'They are but in a lower Degree what their Masters themselves are ; and usually affect an Imitation of their Manners ; and you have in Liveries, Beaus, Fops, and Coxcombs, in as high perfection, as among People that keep Equipages. It is a common Humour among the Retinue of People of Quality, when they are in their Revels, that is when they are out of their Master's Sight, to assume in a humourous Way the Names and Titles of those whose Liveries they wear.'

Indeed, the footmen of that age must have had a good time of it, for the custom of feeing them, or, as it was called, of giving them 'vails,' was very prevalent. It got worse later on—indeed, it became such a nuisance that it was obliged to be stopped. Yet even now it has to be done, like feeing waiters. Certainly their wages were not great. 'I love punctual Dealings, Sir ; Now my Wages comes to at Six Pound per Annum, Thirty two Pounds the Five Years and four Months, the odd Week two Shillings Sixpence, the two Hours one half-penny,' etc.² This, certainly, even at the then enhanced value of money, was not a great yearly wage, and to a certain extent must plead excuse for the custom of giving vails. As a rule they were treated like dogs by their masters, and were caned mercilessly for very trivial faults. They were very far from being faultless, and Swift's man Patrick seems to have been a specimen of his kind. How humorously Swift used to describe his faults to Stella ! how he was always going to get rid of him, and never did !

Their liveries were, perhaps, not so gorgeous as in the later Georgian time, but they liked fine clothes. 'Her footmen, as I told you before, are such Beaus, that I do not much care for asking them Questions ; when I do, they answer me with a sawcy Frown, and say that every thing, which I find fault with,

¹ *Tunbridge Walks*, ed. 1703. ² *The Perplexed Lovers*, by Mrs. Centlivre, ed. 1712.

was done by my Lady Mary's Order. She tells me that she intends they shall wear Swords with their next Liveries, having lately observed the Footmen of two or three Persons of Quality hanging behind the Coach with Swords by their Sides.¹

One part of their duty was to call on their master's or mistress's acquaintances, and ask, with their compliments, 'How do ye?'—equivalent to our sending in a card; and this custom is frequently mentioned in contemporary literature. 'And I'll undertake, if the How d'ye Servants of our Women were to make a Weekly Bill of Sickness,' &c.,² 'While she sleeps I'm Employ'd in Howdee's,'³ 'We have so many come with How-dee's, I never mind 'em.'

The upper gallery at the play was theirs by prescriptive right; their verdict greatly influenced the success or failure of a play, and they were worth conciliating. Pinkethman, who played to the gallery, knew this, and in Mrs. Centlivre's comedy of 'The Basset Table,' where he took a footman's part, spoke the prologue, in which he not only addressed them in preference to the other portion of the audience, but showed his power over them by making them rattle their sticks and clap their hands at his command.

Therefore dear Brethren (since I am one of you)
 Whether adorn'd in Grey, Green, Brown or Blue,
 This day stand all by me, as I will fall by you;
 And now to let—
 The poor Pit see how *Pinky's* Voice Commands,
 Silence—Now rattle all your Sticks and clap your grimy Hands.
 I greet your Love, and let the vainest Author show,
 Half this command on cleaner hands below,
 Nay, more to prove your Interest, let this Play live by you. }
 So may you share good Claret with your Masters,
 Still free in your Amours from their Disasters;
 Free from poor Housekeeping, where Peck is under Locks.
 Free from Cold Kitchings, and no Christmas Box:
 So may no long Debates i' th' House of Commons,
 Make you in the Lobby starve, when hunger summons;
 But may your plenteous Vails come flowing in,
 Give you a lucky Hit, and make you Gentlemen;
 And thus preferr'd, ne'er fear the World's Reproaches,
 But shake your Elbows with my Lord, and keep your Coaches.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 299. ² *Ibid.* 143. ³ *The Basset Table*, sc. i., ed. 1706.

Whilst waiting in the House of Commons, as alluded to in the foregoing, the footmen used to form a parliament of their own, and discussed politics like their masters. As a joke upon the poverty of the Scotch lords, it used to be said that, in the footmen's House of Lords, many questions were lost to the court party, which were carried in the real House, owing to there being so few footmen belonging to them. Swift alludes to this practice¹: 'Pompey, Colonel Hill's black, designs to stand speaker for the footmen. I am engaged to use my interest for him, and have spoken to Patrick to get him some votes.'

'Give you a lucky Hit' shows that the spirit of Chawles Jeames Yellow Plush was then in existence, and that he sometimes speculated; and, if the following newspaper paragraph is reliable, he sometimes won: and would be in a position to realise the last line in the prologue: 'The Ticket which entitled the Bearer to 10,000*l.* drawn in this present Lottery, belongs to a Brewer's Man and Maid Servant.'²

The accomplishments of male servants seem to have been varied. Addison says,³ 'I remember the time when some of our well-bred Country Women kept their *Valet de Chambre*, because, forsooth, a Man was much more handy about them than one of their own Sex. I myself have seen one of these Male *Abigails* tripping about the Room with a looking glass in his Hand, and combing his Lady's Hair a whole Morning together.' And another of the fraternity advertises thus: 'A likely sober Person, who can give a very good Account of himself, by several Gentlemen and others: He has a Mind to serve a Gentleman as a *Valet de Chambre* or Buttlér; or to wait on a single Gentleman in Town or Country; he is known to shave well, and can make Wigs; he well understands the Practice of Surgery, which may be of great Use to a Family in the Country or elsewhere; he is a Sportsman; he understands shooting flying, Hunting and Fishing, and all other Sports relating thereunto; he well understands a Horse.'

But (and it is a curious little revelation of social life) men did not monopolise the position of body servants to their

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 10.

² *Postboy*, Jan. 21/23, 1714.

³ *Spectator*, No. 45.

masters. Steele, writing as Isaac Bickerstaff, about his club, says¹: 'This may suffice to give the world a taste of our innocent conversation, which we spun out until about ten of the clock, when my *maid* came with a lantern to light me home.'

There was, however, another class of servants—black slaves; for the children of Ham were still in their cruel bondage here—and many are the advertisements respecting them, from 'a parcel of beads for the Guinea trade' to a 'Mulatto Maid missing.' It seems curious to us, now, to think of the somewhat inconsequent behaviour of those times, keeping black slaves with one hand, and redeeming white ones from Barbary with the other. One thing is, the poor whites only changed their method of slavery, for they were draughted into the navy, and in the long war that followed, there was very little hope of their release. The papers of March 10, 1702, tell of 143 out of 190 of these poor wretches going to St. Paul's, where the Bishop of London gave them 70*l.* between them, and the dean, Dr. Sherlock, 'admonished them to return thanks to the Government for their Deliverance, and to the People for their Charity, and that they should not pursue the Practices to which Sailors, &c., are too much addicted, viz. Swearing and Cursing. There are about 42 left behind, as 'tis said because some of the Powder, which was carried thither, happened not to be Proof.' And the *London Post*, March 11/13, tells a touching little romance of this event: 'This day the Slaves lately arrived from Barbary, went in a Body to the Admiralty Office, in order to enter themselves on Board the Queen's Ships; And 'twas observable, that when they came Yesterday out of Paul's, one of them was spy'd out by 2 of his Daughters who came thither only out of Curiosity, and so soon as they saw their Father, run with open Arms, imbraced and kissed him.'

It is needless to say that the negro slaves were always running away, and being advertised for; but, as the rewards given were not high, it is probable that recapture was almost certain. One or two instances will suffice: 'A Slender middle sized India Black, in a dark grey Livery with Brass Buttons,

¹ *The Tatler*, No. 132.

went from Mrs. Thwait's, in Stepney, the 4th of June, and is suppos'd to be gone on board some Ship in the Downs; who-soever secures and gives notice of him to Mrs. Thwait's or Mr. Tresham, two doors within Aldgate, shall have 10s. reward and reasonable Charges.' 'Went away from his Master's House in Drury Lane, upon Monday the 6th Instant, and has since been seen at Hampstead, Highgate and Tottenham Court, an Indian Black boy, with long Hair, about 15 Years of Age, speaks very good English; he went away in a brown Fustian Frock, a blew Wastecoate, and scarlet Shag Breeches, and is called by the name of Morat; Whoever brings him to, or gives Notice of him, so as he may be brought to Mr. Pain's House in Prince's Court, Westminster, shall have a Guinea Reward, and the Boy shall be kindly received.' Judging by his 'long Hair,' this boy was not a negro—indeed it would seem that it only needed a dark skin to constitute a slave; for 'an East India young man, named Cæsar,' ran away. 'A Negro Maid, aged about 16 Years, much pitted with the Small Pox, speaks English well, having a piece of her left Ear bit off by a Dog; She hath on a strip'd Stuff Wastcoat and Petticoat . . . they shall have a Guinea Reward and reasonable Charges.' Sometimes (indeed it was rather fashionable) the poor wretches had collars round their necks. 'A Tall Negro young fellow commonly known as Jack Chelsea, having a Collar about his Neck (unless it be lately filed off), with these Words; Mr. Moses Goodyear of Chelsea his Negro, ran away from his Master last Tuesday evening.' This habit of wearing collars is noticed by Steele,¹ who inserts a letter from 'a blackamoor boy—Pompey.' 'Besides this, the shock dog has a collar that cost almost as much as mine.' Sometimes these collars were of silver. 'Run away from his Master about a Fortnight since, a lusty Negroe Boy about 18 years of Age, full of pock holes, had a Silver Collar about his Neck engrav'd Capt. Tho. Mitchel's Negroe, living in Griffith Street in Shadwel.'

They were rarely advertised to be sold—indeed, I have only found one instance in all the newspapers of the twelve years of Anne's reign, and that is very simple. 'A Negro boy about 12 years of age, that speaks English, is to be sold.

¹ *Tatler*, No. 245.

Enquire of Mr. Step Rayner, a Watchmaker, at the sign of the Dial, without Bishopsgate.'

Another kind of servant must not be forgotten, although his servitude was but a limited one—and that is the apprentice, of whom Misson says: 'An Apprentice is a sort of a Slave; he wears neither Hat nor Cap in his Master's presence; he can't marry, nor have any Dealings on his own Account. All he earns is his Masters.' Misson is slightly in error in one part of this description, but it is a piece of delicate etiquette, which probably escaped a foreigner's eye: the apprentice might wear his cap in his master's presence during the last year of his time. A branch of industry then existed—although probably it was practised by very few:—'Attendance will be given at the Sun Coffee House in Queen Street, very near Cheapside, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, where Youth may be furnished with Masters to go Apprentices to Merchants, Wholesale or Retail Trades, or Handicraft Trades.'

CHAPTER VII.

DAILY LIFE.

(MEN.)

Out-of-door amusements—A holiday—Hatred of French fashions—Beaus' oaths—Kissing—Fops : their daily life.

PASSING to the social habits of the people, it is difficult where to commence the description. The men of the time were humdrum and prosaic—they went nowhere, at least according to our ideas—a journey to York, or so, was really fraught with peril and hardship, consequently no one ever moved about unless they were compelled. The suburbs were sparsely inhabited, and there was nothing much to see when one got there, except at Hampstead or Highgate. 'Your Glass Coach will go to *Hide Park* for Air. The Suburb fools trudge to *Lambs Conduit* or *Totnam*; your sprucer sort of citizen gallop to *Epsom*, your Meckanick gross Fellows, showing much conjugal affection, strut before their wives, each with a Child in his Arms, to Islington or Hogsdon.'¹ What a suburban holiday was like we may see in the following description, which, however, is somewhat condensed and revised :² 'Fearing Time should be Elaps'd and cut short our intended Pastime, we Smoak'd our Pipes with greater Expedition, in order to proceed on our Journey, which we began about Eleven a Clock; and marching thro' Cheapside, found half the People we either met, or overtook, equip'd for Hunting; walking backwards and forwards, as I suppose, to shew one another their Accoutrements. The City Beaus in Boots as black as Jet, which shin'd, by much rubbing, like a stick of Ebony; their Heels arm'd with Spurs, the travelling weapons to defend the Rider from the Laziness of his Horse, carefully

¹ *The Virtuoso*, ed. 1704.² *The London Spy*.

preserv'd bright in a Box of Cotton, and dazzled in the eyes of each beholder like a piece of Looking glass ; their Wastes hoop'd round with Turkey Leather Belts, at which hung a Bagonet, or short Scymitar, in order to cut their Mistresses Names upon the trees of the Forest : In the right Hand a Whip, mounted against the Breast like the Scepter of a King's Statue upon the Change, adorn'd with twisted Wiggs and crown'd with edg'd Casters ; being all over in such Prim and Order, that you could scarce distinguish them from Gentlemen. Amongst 'em were many Ladies of the same Quality, ty'd up in Safeguards so be-knotted with their two penny Taffaty, that a Man might guess by their Finery, their Fathers to be Ribbond Weavers. We crowded along, mix'd among the Herd, and could not but fancy the major part of the Citizens were Scampering out of town to avoid the Horse Plague. We mov'd forward, without any discontinuance of our Perambulation, till we came to the *Globe* at *Mile End*, where a Pretious Mortal made us a Short hand complement, and gave us an Invitation to a Sir-Loine of Roast Beef, out of which Corroborating Food we renew'd our Lives ; and strengthening our Spirits with a Flask of rare Claret, took leave of my Friend's Acquaintance and so proceeded.

'By this time the Road was full of Passengers, every one furnish'd with no small Appetite to Veal and Bacon. Citizens in Crowds, upon Pads, Hackneys, and Hunters ; all upon the *Tittup*, as if he who Rid not a Gallop was to forfeit his Horse. Some Spurring on with that speed and chearfulness, as if they intended never to come back again : Some Double, and some Single. Every now and then drop'd a Lady from her Pillion, another from her Side Saddle ; Sometimes a Beau would tumble and dawb his Boots, which, to shew his Neatness, he would clean with his Handkerchief. In this order did we March, like Aaron's Proselites, to Worship the Calf, till we came to the New rais'd Fabrick call'd *Mob's Hole*, where the Beast was to be Eaten. We press'd hard to get into the House, which we found so full, that when I was in, what with the smell of Sweat, Stinking Breaths and Tobacco, I thought there was but a few Gasps between the Place and Eternity. Some were Dancing to a Bag pipe ; others Whistling to a Base

Violin, two Fiddlers scraping Lilla burlero,¹ my Lord Mayor's² Delight, upon a Couple of Crack'd *Crowds*,³ and an old Oliverian trooper tootling upon a Trumpet.' After a rest and some liquid refreshment, they chatted and bantered with the holiday folk, until 'from thence went into the Kitchin, Built up of Furzes, in the Open Air, to behold their Cookery ; where the Major part of the Calf was Roasting upon a Wooden Spit : Two or three great Slivers he had lost off his Buttocks, his Ribs par'd to the very Bone, with holes in his Shoulders, each large enough to bury a *Sevil* Orange, that he look'd as if a Kennel of Hounds had every one had a Snap at him. Under him lay the Flich of Bacon of such an *Ethiopian* Complexion, that I should rather have guess'd it the side of a *Blackamore* : It looking more like a Cannibal's Feast than a Christian Entertainment. Being soon gluttet with the view of this unusual piece of Cookery, we departed from thence, and hearing a great bustle in the Upper Room of an Outhouse, we went up Stairs to see what was the matter, where we found a poor Fidler, scraping over the tune of *Now Ponder Well you Parents Dear* ;⁴ and a parcel of Country People Dancing and crying to 't. The Remembrance of the Uncles Cruelty to the poor Innocent Babes, and the Robin Red Breasts Kindness, had fix'd in their very Looks such Signs of Sorrow and Compassion, that their Dancing seem'd rather a Religious Worship, than a Merry Recreation. Having thus given ourselves a Prospect of all that the place afforded, we return'd to Stratford, where we got a Coach, and from thence to London.'



'THE MERRY FIDLER.'

This stay-at-home lot naturally disliked all who differed from them ; and their especial hatred, on whom all their vials

¹ See Appendix.

³ Fiddles.

² See Appendix.

⁴ See Appendix.

of wrath was poured out, and who provoked their most pungent satire, was the travelled fop who had brought back with him Continental ideas and fashions. In this matter John Bull, until he began to move about a bit, has always been most conservative. Anything 'un-English' was certain of condemnation, and of course, during the war, the French, and all belonging to them, were especially hated.

Our Native Speech we must forget, ere long,
 To learn the *French*, that much more Modish Tongue.
 Their Language smoother is, hath pretty Aires ;
 But ours is *Gothick*, if compar'd with theirs.
 The French by Arts of smoother Insinuation,
 Are now become the Darlings of the Nation ;
 His Lordship's Valet must be bred in *France*,
 Or else he is a Clown without Pretence :
 The *English* Blockheads are in Dress so coarse,
 They're fit for nothing, but to rub a Horse,
 Her Ladyship's ill-manner'd or ill-bred,
 Whose Woman, Confident, or Chamber Maid,
 Did not in *France* suck in her first breath'd Air,
 Or did not gain hir Education there ;
 Our Cooks in dressing have no Skill at all.
 They're only fit to serve an Hospital,
 Or to prepare a Dinner for a Camp ;
French Cooks are only of the Modish Stamp.¹

These affectations offended our insularity, and, probably, the following sketch was not at all ungenerous or uncalled for :—

And he who to his Fancy puts no Stop,
 Goes out a Fool, and may return a Fop ;
 And after he Six Months in *France* has been,
 Comes home a most Accomplish'd Harlequin,
 Drest in a tawdry Suit at *Paris* made,
 For which he more than thrice the Value paid.
French his Attendants, *French* alone his Mouth
 Can speak, his native Language is uncouth.
 If to the Ladies he does make Advance,
 His very Looks must have the Air of France,
 The *English* are so heavy and so dull,
 As if with Lead, not Brains, their Heads were full.
 But the brisk *Frenchman*, by his subtil Art,
 Soon finds Access to any Lady's Heart.

¹ *The Baboon A-la-mode, A Satyr against the French*, ed. 1704.

And again,¹ 'Then before they can Conster and Pearse,² they are sent into *France* with sordid illiterate Creatures, call'd Dry'd Nurses, or Governours; Engines of as little use as Pacing Saddles, and as unfit to Govern 'em as the Post Horses they ride to Paris on; From whence they return with a little smattering of that mighty Universal Language, without being ever able to write true English.'

If these descriptions be true, and they are so numerous and widely scattered as to leave little doubt of it, the young fellow came back a fribble, an emasculated nothing, except as regards his periwig, his clothes, and his snuff-box.

³ But *Art* surpasses *Nature*; and we find
Men may be transform'd into Womankind

—a creature who 'can Sing, and Dance, and play upon the Guitar; make Wax Work, and Fillagree, and Paint upon Glass'⁴—who swore pretty little oaths—odsbodikins!⁵ oh me! and never stir alive! or blister me!⁶ impair my vigour! enfeeble me! or could say to a lady,⁷ Madam, split me, you are very impertinent! who painted himself⁸ 'purely to oblige the ladies,'—and who, when he met a friend, must needs fall a-kissing him, described in one old play as 'the Embracing'⁹ and the fulsome Trick you Men have got of Kissing one another.' Or, as in another play, one of those travelled pretty dears says,¹⁰ 'Sir—You Kiss Pleasingly—I love to Kiss a Man, in *Paris* we kiss nothing else.'



MEN KISSING.

What was their life composed of, and how did they spend it? Naturally they got up late, breakfasted *en deshabelle*, held a sort of levée, till it was time to go to White's or the Cocoa Tree, or else lounged in the Mall, where Ward describes the scene as 'It seem'd to me as if the World was turn'd Top-Side turvy; for the ladies look'd like undaunted

¹ *The Virtuoso*.

² *Almonds for Parrots*, ed. 1708.

³ *Tatler*, No. 13.

⁴ *Tatler*, No. 2.

⁵ *Tunbridge Walks*.

⁶ Construe and parse.

⁷ *Tunbridge Walks*.

⁸ *The Beau's Duel*.

⁹ *St. James's Park, a Satyr*, 1709.

¹⁰ *Love Makes a Man*.

Heroes, fit for Government or Battle, and the Gentlemen like a parcel of Fawning, Flattering Fops, that could bear Cuckoldom with Patience, make a Jest of an Affront, and swear themselves very faithful and humble Servants to the Petticoat; Creeping and Cringing in dishonour to themselves, to what was decreed by Heaven their Inferiours; as if their Education had been amongst Monkeys, who (as it is said) in all cases give the Pre-eminence to their Females.' Or perhaps he would lounge down to the Exchange to buy a pair of gloves or a sword knot, and, under any circumstances, to ogle the shop girls. Ward's language may be a little rough, but it is sound, and it touches one of the social cankers of the day. Then dinner at Pontac's, or some ordinary; then a little more coffee-house, and a wind up at some side box—favourite haunt of beaux—at the play, where probably other of the *jeunesse dorée*—this time those who had received a home education—would arrive; would-be men-about-town, things of sixteen years old or so—whose future development would be first Mohock, then sot:¹ 'Such as come Drunk and Screaming into a Play House, and stand upon the Benches, and toss their full Perriwigs and empty Heads, and with their shrill unbroken Pipes, cry *Dam me, this is a Damn'd Play.*' A little Tunbridge or Bath in the season, and this was the sum of their existence, which, if the money held out, lasted until they either physically rotted, or settled down to married life! sated and blasé; or, if it was soon spent, and the brilliant meteor had flashed its course across the heavens, there was nothing but the living death of the debtors' gaol, from which release was next to impossible.

¹ *The Virtuoso.*

CHAPTER VIII.

DAILY LIFE.

(WOMEN.)

Receiving in bed—A lady's life—A fine lady's diary—Walking—Visiting—Tea-table scandal—Shopping—Daily church—Pets—Dancing—Books on ditto—A dancing master.

AND how did the women fare? We have seen that among the middle classes the domestic virtues were encouraged and highly extolled, and to be a 'notable housewife' was a legitimate and proper ambition; but how did the fine-lady class spend their time? Were their lives more usefully employed than those of the beaux? Addison says that he remembers the time when ladies received visits in bed, and thus graphically describes the custom:¹ 'It was then looked upon as a piece of Ill breeding for a Woman to refuse to see a Man, because she was not stirring; and a Porter would have been thought unfit for his Place, that could have made so awkward an Excuse. As I love to see everything that is new, I once prevailed upon my Friend Will Honeycomb to carry me along with him to one of these Travelled Ladies, desiring him at the same time, to present me as a Foreigner who could not speak *English*, so that I might not be obliged to bear a Part in the Discourse. The Lady, tho' willing to appear undrest, had put on her best Looks, and painted herself for our Reception. Her Hair appeared in a very nice Disorder, as the Night Gown which was thrown upon her Shoulders was ruffled with great Care.'

There is an amusing little pamphlet—not a chap book proper²—which, though undated, bears internal evidence

¹ *Spectator*, No. 45.

² *The English Lady's Catechism*. I have seen the original edition, dated 1703.—J. A.

of the time of its birth, which gives an account of a fine lady's life.

'How do you employ your time now?'

'I lie in Bed till Noon, dress all the Afternoon, Dine in the Evening, and play at Cards till Midnight.'

'How do you spend the Sabbath?'

'In Chit Chat.'

'What do you talk of?'

'New Fashions and New Plays.'

'How often do you go to Church?'

'Twice a year or oftener, according as my Husband gives me new Cloaths.'

'Why do you go to Church when you have new Cloaths?'

'To see other Peoples Finery, and to show my own, and to laugh at those scurvy, out of fashion Creatures that come there for Devotion.'

'Pray, Madam, what Books do you read?'

'I read lewd Plays and winning Romances.'

'Who is it you love?'

'Myself.'

'What! nobody else?'

'My Page, my Monkey, and my Lap Dog.'

'Why do you love them?'

'Why, because I am an English Lady, and they are Foreign Creatures; my Page from Genoa, my Monkey from the East Indies, and my Lap Dog from Vigo.'¹

'Would not they have pleased you as well if they had been English?'

'No, for I hate everything that Old England brings forth, except it be the temper of an English Husband, and the liberty of an English wife; I love the French Bread, French Wines, French Sauces, and a French Cook; in short, I have all about me French or Foreign, from my Waiting Woman to my Parrot.'

And Addison tells much the same story when he gives a portion of the diary of a lady of quality.²

'Wednesday. *From Eight 'till Ten.* Drank two Dishes of Chocolate in Bed, and fell asleep after 'em.

¹ This settles the date as being early in Anne's reign, as the galleons were captured at Vigo in 1702, and everything from Vigo was fashionable.

² *Spectator*, No. 323.

' *From Ten to Eleven.* Eat a Slice of Bread and Butter, drank a Dish of Bohea, read the *Spectator*.

' *From Eleven to One.* At my Toilet, try'd a new Head. Gave orders for *Veney* to be combed and washed. *Mem.* I look best in Blue.

' *From One till Half an Hour after Two.* Drove to the Change. Cheapned a couple of Fans.

' *Till Four.* At Dinner. *Mem.* Mr. *Froth* passed by in his new Liveries.

' *From Four to Six.* Dressed, paid a Visit to old lady *Blithe* and her Sister, having heard they were gone out of Town that Day.

' *From Six to Eleven.* At *Basset*. *Mem.* Never set again upon the Ace of Diamonds.

' *Thursday. From Eleven at Night to Eight in the Morning.* Dream'd that I punted to Mr. *Froth*.

' *From Eight to Ten.* Chocolate. Read two Acts in *Aurenzebe*¹ abed.

' *From Ten to Eleven.* Tea Table. Sent to borrow Lady *Faddle's Cupid* for *Veney*. Read the Play-Bills. Received a Letter from Mr. *Froth*. *Mem.* Locked it up in my strong box.

' *Rest of the Morning.* *Fontange* the Tire woman, her Account of my Lady *Blithe's* Wash. Broke a Tooth in my little Tortoiseshell Comb. Sent *Frank* to know how my Lady *Hectick* rested after her Monky's leaping out at Window. Looked pale. *Fontange* tells me my Glass is not true. Dressed by Three.

' *From Three to Four.* Dinner cold before I sat down.

' *From Four to Eleven.* Saw Company. Mr. *Froth's* opinion of *Milton*. His Account of the *Mohocks*. His Fancy for a Pin-cushion. Picture in the Lid of his Snuff-box. Old Lady *Faddle* promises me her Woman to cut my Hair. Lost five Guineas at Crimp.

' *Twelve a Clock at Night.* Went to Bed.

' *Friday. Eight in the Morning.* Abed. Read over all Mr. *Froth's* Letters. *Cupid* and *Veney*.

' *Ten a Clock.* Stay'd within all day—not at home.

' *From Ten to Twelve.* In Conference with my Mantua

¹ By Dryden.

Maker. Sorted a Suit of Ribbands. Broke my Blue China Cup.

' *From Twelve to One.* Shut myself up in my Chamber, practised Lady *Betty Modely's* Skuttle.

' *One in the Afternoon.* Called for my flowered Handkerchief. Worked half a Violet Leaf in it. Eyes aked and Head out of Order. Threw by my Work, and read over the remaining Part of *Aurenzebe*.

' *From Three to Four.* Dined.

' *From Four to Twelve.* Changed my Mind, dressed, went abroad, and play'd at Crimp till Midnight. Found Mrs. *Spitely* at home. Conversation : Mrs. *Brilliant's* Necklace false Stones. Old Lady *Loveday* going to be married to a young Fellow that is not worth a Groat. Miss *Prue* gone into the Country. *Tom Townley* has red Hair. *Mem.* Mrs. *Spitely* whispered in my Ear that she had something to tell me about Mr. *Froth*, I am sure it is not true.

' *Between Twelve and One.* Dreamed that Mr. *Froth* lay at my Feet and called me *Indamora*.¹

' Saturday. Rose at Eight a Clock in the Morning. Sate down to my Toilet.

' *From Eight to Nine.* Shifted a Patch for Half an Hour before I could determine it. Fixed it above my left Eyebrow.

' *From Nine to Twelve.* Drank my Tea and Dressed.

' *From Twelve to Two.* At Chappel. A great deal of good Company. *Mem.* The third Air in the new Opera. Lady *Blithe* dressed frightfully.

' *From Three to Four.* Dined. Miss *Kitty* called upon me to go to the Opera before I was risen from Table.

' *From Dinner to Six.* Drank Tea. Turned off a Footman for being rude to *Veney*.

' *Six a Clock.* Went to the Opera. I did not see Mr. *Froth* till the beginning of the second Act. Mr. *Froth* talked to a Gentleman in a black Wig. Bowed to a Lady in the Front Box. Mr. *Froth* and his Friend clapp'd *Nicolini* in the third Act. Mr. *Froth* cried out *Ancora*. Mr. *Froth* led me to my Chair. I think he squeezed my Hand.

¹ The heroine in *Aurenzebe*.

' *Eleven at Night*. Went to Bed. Melancholy Dreams. Methought Nicolini said he was Mr. *Froth*.

' Sunday. Indisposed.

' Monday. *Eight a Clock*. Waked by Miss *Kitty*. *Aurenzebe* lay upon the Chair by me. *Kitty* repeated without Book the Eight best Lines in the Play. Went in our Mobbs to the dumb Man,¹ according to Appointment. Told me that my Lover's Name began with a G. *Mem.* The Conjurer was within a Letter of Mr. Froth's Name,' &c.

Virtually, these two different versions of how an idle woman passed her time agree remarkably well, and they let a whole flood of daylight into the inner life of the time—on what they breakfasted, when they dined, what time the opera began, etc. Apart from opera, the play, and cards, how were the females of the middle class to amuse themselves of an evening? Say they had been busy all day, the evenings had to be passed somehow. There was very little of that domesticity and home life of which we are so proud, for the men spent their evenings at their club, their coffee-house, the tavern, or the play, so they had to amuse themselves with such innocent games as hot cockles, questions and commands, mottoes, similes, cross purposes, blindman's buff, and a game called 'Parson has lost his Cloak,' or else 'Bouts rimés,' which consisted of giving four terminal words of any kind so that they rhymed, and then some one else filling up the blank lines, and making four lines of sensible poetry.² In fact, just the same amusements that are now compelled to be resorted to as pastimes in a village home. The better class had musical evenings, for chamber music was popular, but the spinets and harpsichords were of moderate compass, and very slight in sound. They danced country dances too, any quantity of them; and there was the curse of the age—cards—as a never-failing resource.

The women did not walk much. Swift seems to think they did; but then a little walking went a long way with him. He quite boasts of his walk from and to Chelsea of a day, a good two-mile walk each way, as somewhat of a feat, and he

¹ Duncan Campbell, who pretended to tell fortunes by second sight.

² See *Spectator*, No. 60.

repeatedly grumbles at Stella for not walking more—tells her to knock off her claret and buy a pair of good strong boots and use them.¹ ‘When I pass the Mall in the evening it is prodigious to see the number of ladies walking there; and I always cry shame at the ladies of Ireland, who never walk at all, as if their legs were of no use, but to be laid aside. . . . I tell you what, if I was with you, when we went to Stoyte, at Donnybrook, we would only take a coach to the hither end of Stephen’s Green, and from thence go every step on foot; yes, faith, every step.’

The Mall was the fashionable lounge, or the Parade, where smoking was not allowed.² ‘From thence we walk’d into the Parade, which my Friend told me us’d, in a Morning, to be cover’d with the Bones of Red Herrings, and smelt as strong about Breakfast Times as a Wet Salter’s Shop at Midsummer. But now, says he, its perfum’d again with *English* Breath; and the scent of Oroonoko Tobacco no more offends the Nostrils of our squeamish Ladies.’ And there were the ducks to feed on the canal. But the Mall was *the* place. Ward goes into ecstasies over it: never was there such a sight. ‘From thence we went thro’ the *Pallace* into the *Park* about the time when the Court Ladies raise their extended Limbs from their dowry Couches, and Walk into the Mall to refresh their charming Bodies with the Cooling and Salubrious Breezes of the Gilded Evening. We could not possibly have chose a Luckier Minute to have seen the delightful *Park* in its greatest Glory and Perfection; for the brightest Stars of the Creation sure (that shine by no other Power than humane Excellence) were moving here with such awful State and Majesty that their Graceful Deportments bespoke ’em Goddesses,’ etc.

Of course they paid visits—how could women live without a little gossip? The invaluable Misson takes a note of the practice. ‘Persons of the first Quality visit one another in *England* as much as we do in *France*, generally about Evening; but the ordinary Sort of People have not that Custom. Among us all the little Shopkeepers, particularly the Women, go with their Gowns about their Heels to visit one another by Turns, either

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 23.

² *The London Spy*.

to crack and bounce to one another, or else to sit with their Arms a cross, and say nothing. What can be more tedious, impertinent, and ridiculous than such Visits? Here, Persons of that Condition go to see one another with their Work in their Hands and Cheerfulness in their Countenance, without Rule or Constraint. Upon certain Occasions, as upon Mourning or Marriage, they pay one another Visits of Ceremony.' Brown gives a most amusing description¹ of 'the City Ladies Visiting Day, which is a familiar Assembly, or a general Council, of the fair and charming Sex, where all the important affairs of their Neighbours are largely discuss'd, but judg'd in an arbitrary



A TEA PARTY.

manner, without hearing the Parties speak for themselves. Nothing comes amiss to these Tribunals; matters of high and no consequence, as Religion and Cuckoldom, Comodes and Sermons, Politicks and Gallantry, Receipts of Cookery and Scandal, Coquetry and Preserving, Jilting and Laundry; in short, every thing is subject to the Jurisdiction of this Court, and no Appeal lies from it. The Coach stops at the Goldsmith's or Mercer's Door, and off leaps Mr. *Skip Kennel* from behind it, and makes his Address to the Book Keeper or Prentice, and asks if his Lady (for that is always the name of

¹ *The Works of Thomas Brown*, ed. 1708, vol. iii p. 86.

the Mistress) receives any Visits that day or No ; some stay must be made till the Woman above stairs sends down her Answer, and then the Pink of Courtesie is receiv'd at the top of the Stairs, like King James by the French King, and handed to her stool of discourse. . . . Thus they take a sip of Tea, then for a draught or two of Scandal to digest it, next let it be Ratafia, or any other Favourite Liquor, Scandal must be the after draught to make it sit easie on their Stomach, till the half hour's past, and they have disburthen'd themselves of their Secrets, and take Coach for some other place to collect new matter for Defamation.'

Tea was then in its infancy, but it was an extremely fashionable beverage, in spite of its expense, and the teatable was the very centre of scandal and gossip.

How see we Scandal (for our sex too base),	}
Seat in dread Empire in the Female Race,	
'Mong Beaus and Women, Fans and Mechlin Lace,	}
Chief seat of Slander, Ever there we see	
Thick Scandal circulate with right Bohea.	}
There, source of black'ning Falshood's Mint of Lies,	
Each Dame th' Improvement of her Talent tries,	}
And at each Sip a Lady's Honour dies ;	
Truth rare as Silence, or a Negro Swan,	}
Appears among those Daughters of the Fan.	

Naturally, when out walking they did a little shopping,



A LADY AND FOOTMAN.

or what passed as such ; for then, as now, many a fine lady would go into a shop and look at the goods simply to pass away the time, regardless of the loss and inconvenience to the shopkeeper. Steele notices this—indeed, what little social blot ever went undetected by the omniscient *Spectator*?—in the following amusing strain :¹ ' I am,

niscient *Spectator*?—in the following amusing strain :¹ ' I am,

¹ *Spectator*, No. 337.

dear Sir, one of the top China Women about Town ; and though I say it, keep as good Things and receive as fine Company as any o' this End of the Town, let the other be who she will. In short I am in a fair Way to be easy, were it not for a Club of Female Rakes who, under pretence of taking their innocent rambles, forsooth, and diverting the Spleen, seldom fail to plague me twice or thrice a day to cheapen Tea, or buy a Skreen. What else should they mean? as they often repeat it. These Rakes are your idle Ladies of Fashion, who having nothing to do employ themselves in tumbling over my Ware. One of these No Customers (for, by the way, they seldom or never buy anything) calls for a set of Tea Dishes, another for a Bason, a third for my best Green Tea, and even to the Punch bowl ; there's scarce a piece in my Shop but must be displaced, and the whole agreeable Architecture disordered, so that I can compare 'em to nothing but to the Night Goblins that take a Pleasure to overturn the Disposition of Plates and Dishes in the kitchens of your housewifely Maids. Well, after all this Racket and Clutter, this is too dear, that is their Aversion ; another thing is Charming, but not wanted. The Ladies are cured of the Spleen, but I am not a Shilling the better for it.'

One famous place for shopping was the New Exchange, in the Strand, which must have been something like our arcades ; and many are the allusions, in contemporary literature, to the dangerous allurements of the Exchange shop-girls. 'Did you buy anything? Some Bawbles. But my choice was so distracted among the Pretty Merchants and their Dealers, I knew not where to run first. One little lispng Rogue, Ribbandths, Gloveths, Tippeths. Sir, cries another, will you buy a fine Sword Knot ; then a third, pretty voice and Curtsie, Does not your Lady want Hoods, Scarfs, fine green silk Stockings. I went by as if I had been in a Seraglio, a living Gallery of Beauties—staring from side to side, I bowing, they laughing ; so made my escape.'¹

This was the universal description of the New Exchange, and the character of their wares has been immortalised in a song by Ward :—

¹ *The Lying Lover.*

Fine Lace or Linnen, Sir,
 Good Gloves or Ribbons here ;
 What is't you please to Buy,
 Sir?
 Pray what d'ye ask for this?
 Ten Shillings is the Price ;
 It cost me, sir, no less,
 I Scorn to tell a Lye, Sir.

Madam, what is't you want,
 Rich Fans of India paint?
 Fine Hoods or Scarfs, my Lady?
 Silk Stockings will you buy,
 In Grain or other Dye?
 Pray, Madam, please your Eye ;
 I've good as e'er was made ye.

My Lady, feel the Weight,
 They're Fine, and yet not Slight ;
 I'd with my Mother trust 'em.
 For Goodness and for Wear,
 Madam, I Vow and Swear.
 I show'd you this same Pair
 In hopes to gain your Custom.

Pray tell me in a Word,
 At what you can afford,
 With Living Gain to sell 'em :
 The price is one Pound five,
 And as I hope to Live,
 I do my Profit give,
 Your Honour's very welcome.

Knives, Penknives, Combs or Scis-
 sors,
 Tooth Pickers, Sirs, or Tweezers ;
 Or Walking Canes to Ease ye.
 Ladies, d'ye want fine Toys,
 For Misses or for Boys?
 Of all sorts I have Choice,
 And pretty things to please ye.

I want a little Babye,
 As pretty a one as may be,
 With Head dress made of Feather:
 And now I think again,
 I want a Toy from Spain,
 You know what 'tis I mean :
 Pray send 'em home together.

Another female practice, then, was to go to daily service at church especially—and St. Paul's, Covent Garden, was a very fashionable church at which to worship, or ogle the beaux.¹ 'This Market and that Church,' says my friend, 'hides more faults of kind Wives and Daughters among the Neighbouring Inhabitants than the pretended Visits either to my Cousin at t'other end of the Town, or some other distant Acquaintance ; for if the Husband asks, Where have you been, Wife? or the Parent, Where have you been, Daughter? the Answer, if it be after Eleven in the forenoon, or between Three and Four in the Afternoon, is, At Prayers. But, if early in the Morning, then their excuse is, I took a walk to Covent Garden Market, not being very well, to refresh myself with the scent of the Herbs and Flowers ; Bringing a Flower, or a Sprig of Sweet Bryar, home in her Hand, and it confirms the matter.'

When not walking, ladies used either a coach or a sedan chair, and but seldom rode on horseback ; but, when they did so, they generally preferred the pillion to the side-saddle, as

¹ *The London Spy.*

in the accompanying illustration, and held on by the belt either of her cavalier or groom.

In the country, horse exercise was much more in vogue, and Swift repeatedly alludes to, and reminds Stella of, her riding. When riding, ladies very frequently wore masks to protect the countenance from the rays of the sun.

Frequent allusions are made to a lady's pets, her lap-dog or her parrot; but very few people know the very wide range of choice she had in the selection of those pets. Needless to say there were monkeys, both Marmoset and other kinds; there were paroquets, paroquets of Guinea, cockatoos and macaws, scarlet nightingales from the West Indies, lorries or luries, canaries, both ash and lemon colour, white and grey turtle doves from Barbary, white turtle doves, and the turtle doves from Moco, no bigger than a lark, spotted very fine. There were milk-white peacocks, white and pyed pheasants, bantams, and furbelow fowls from the East Indies, and top-knot hens from Hamburg. She would hardly want the 'Parcel of living Vipers, fresh taken, fat and good, are to be sold by the dozen,' nor would she care about the 'fine Tyger from the East Indies, who was brought over together with some fine geese from the same part of the world,' and some 'Amedawares.' In fact there were



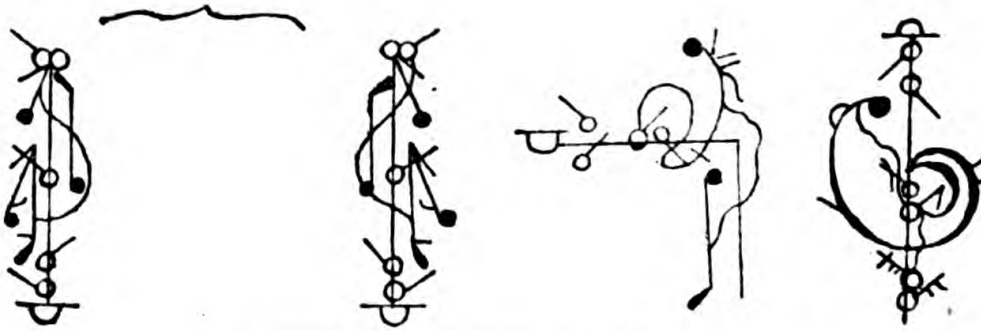
RIDING PILLION.

'Jamrachs' then as now, and many of the bird shops were in St. Martin's Lane, near which locality they still abound. There is a curious advertisement in the *Postman*, January 12/15, 1706, which settles the date of bird-seed glasses 'The so much approved and most convenient new fashion Crystal Bird Glasses, which effectually prevent the Littering of the Seeds into the Rooms.'

An innocent amusement, of which they were very fond, was dancing. And of dances there were a considerable quantity: country dances and jigs, of which there was an infinite variety, and minuets, rigadoons, and other more stately and stagey dances, as the 'Louvre and the French Bretagne.' These latter were elaborate, and absolutely in-

augurated a fresh literature devoted to their cult. This seems to have been started by one Thoinet Arbeau, in a book published by him in 1588, and he may be called the originator of the ballet. Both Beauchamp and Feuillet wrote on this subject in French. Feuillet's book was translated and improved upon by Siris, in 1706. John Weaver wrote on this subject (in his 'Orchesography') about 1708, and John Essex (in the 'Treatise of Chorography') in 1710. The object was to teach the different steps and dances, by means of diagrams. Thus coupées, bourées,* fleurets, bounds or tacs, contretemps, chasses, sissones, pirouettes, capers, entrechats, etc., all had their distinguishing marks.

The effect of learning by this method is whimsically given by Addison.¹ 'I was this morning awakened by a sudden



A BOURÉE AND A CONTRETEMPS.

A SISSONE.

shake of the house, and as soon as I had got a little out of my consternation I felt another, which was followed by two or three repetitions of the same convulsion. I got up as fast as possible, girt on my rapier, and snatched up my hat, when my landlady came up to me and told me "that the gentlewoman of the next house begged me to step thither, for that a lodger she had taken in was run mad, and she desired my advice," as indeed everybody in the whole lane does upon important occasions. I am not like some artists, saucy, because I can be beneficial, but went immediately. Our neighbour told us "she had the day before let her second floor to a very genteel youngish man, who told her he kept extraordinary good hours, and was generally home most part of

¹ *The Tatler*, No. 88.

the morning and evening at study ; but that this morning he had for an hour together made this extravagant noise which we then heard." I went up stairs with my hand upon the hilt of my rapier, and approached this new lodger's door.

' I looked in at the keyhole, and there I saw a well made man look with great attention on a book, and on a sudden jump into the air so high, that his head almost touched the ceiling. He came down safe on his right foot, and again flew up, alighting on his left ; then looked again at his book, and holding out his right leg, put it into such a quivering motion, that I thought he would have shaken it off. He then used the left after the same manner, when on a sudden, to my great surprise, he stooped himself incredibly low, and turned gently on his toes. After this circular motion, he continued bent in that humble posture for some time, looking on his book. After this, he recovered himself with a sudden spring, and flew round the room in all the violence and disorder imaginable, until he made a full pause for want of breath.

' In this *interim*, my women asked " what I thought." I whispered, " that I thought this learned person an enthusiast, who possibly had his first education in the Peripatetic way, which was a sect of Philosophers, who always studied when walking." But observing him much out of breath, I thought it the best time to master him if he were disordered, and knocked at his door. I was surprized to find him open it, and say with great civility and good mien, " that he hoped he had not disturbed us." I believed him in a lucid interval, and desired " he would please to let me see his book." He did so, smiling. I could not make anything of it, and therefore asked " in what language it was *writ*." He said, " it was one he studied with great application ; that it was his profession to teach it, and he could not communicate his knowledge without a consideration." I answered " that I hoped he would hereafter keep his thoughts to himself, for his meditation this morning had cost me three coffee dishes, and a clean pipe." He seemed concerned at that, and told me " he was a dancing master, and had been reading a dance or two before he went out, which had been written by one who had been taught at an Academy in France." He observed me at a stand, and

went on to inform me, "that now *Articulate* MOTIONS as well as SOUNDS were expressed by *Proper* CHARACTERS, and that there is nothing so common as to communicate a *Dance* by a letter." I besought him hereafter to meditate in a ground room.'

The public dancers were utilised in rather a curious way, if we may credit Mrs. Centlivre—who certainly ought to know. She says, in 'Love at a Venture,' '*Sir Paul Cautious*, Go to the Play House, and desire some of the Singers and Dancers to come hither,' and the servant, later on in the play, announces 'The Singers and Dancers are come, Sir. (Here is songs and dances.)'

CHAPTER IX.

GAMBLING AND SPECULATION.

Games at cards—Curious cards—Price—Tax on cards—Female passion for gambling—The Groom Porter's—Gaming houses—Gamesters—Noted gamesters—Debts of honour—Speculation—Life insurances—Marine and other insurances—Shopkeepers' lotteries—Government lotteries—Prizes and winners.

BUT primest and chief delight of men and women in this age was CARDS. Never, perhaps, was such a card-playing time—certainly not in England. Ombre, which is so vividly described in the third canto of the 'Rape of the Lock,' was a game which could be played by two, three, or five persons—generally by three; to each of whom nine cards were dealt. It takes its name from the Spanish, the person who undertook to stand the game making use of the words 'Yo soy l'hombre,' 'I am the man.' It was an improvement on *Primero*, which disappeared after its introduction. L'hombre is still played in Spain under the name of *Tresillo*, and in Spanish America it is called *Rocambor*. *Piquet* is now played. *Basset* was a very gambling game, closely resembling the modern *Faro*; *Whisk* or *Whist*, *Brag*, *Lanterloo*, or *Lanctre loo*, in which *pam*, or the knave of clubs, is the highest card:¹ 'Were she at her Parish Church, in the Height of her Devotion, should any Body in the Interim but stand at the Church Door and hold up the *Knave of Clubs*, she would take it to be a Challenge at *Lanctre Loo*; and starting from her prayers, would follow her beloved *Pam*, as a deluded Traveller does an *Ignis Fatuus*'; and *One and Thirty*, which does not seem a very extravagant game, judging by Swift's account of it.²

¹ Ward's *Adam and Eve stript of their Furbelows*.

² *Journal to Stella*, letter 53.

'Lord Treasurer has had an ugly fit of the rheumatism, but is now near quite well. I was playing at *one and thirty* with him and his family the other night. He gave us all twelvepence apiece to begin with.' These were some of the games¹ they delighted in; and the accompanying illustration very vividly brings before us a quiet and pleasant game at cards.

The implements of gaming, the cards themselves, were much smaller and thinner than those we are accustomed to play with. They were not always confined to the prosaic display of the pips and Court cards, as ours are, but took a far more fanciful flight. 'Geographical, Geometrical, Astro-



A CARD TABLE.

nomical and Carving Cards, each Pack price 1s.' 'Orange Cards, Representing the late King James's Reign and Expedition of the Prince of Orange, Plots of the Papists, Bishops in the Tower and Trial, Consecrated mock Prince of Wales, Popish Midwife, Fight at Reading, Pope's Nuncio, Captain Tom,

Essex's Murder, burning Mass Houses, Army going over to the Prince of Orange, etc. ; cards delineating the victories of Marlborough and other events in Anne's reign ; Sacheverel cards ; and anything for fashion—cards from Vigo—in 1702—after the great victory there ; proverb cards ; all kinds of cards. The ordinary playing cards were cheap enough in all conscience, 'the best Principal superfine Picket Cards at 2s. 6d. a Dozen ; the best Principal superfine Ombro Cards at 2s. 9d. a dozen ; the best Principal superfine Basset Cards at 3s 6d. a dozen' (packs understood). The price to

¹ Other games were cribbage, all fours, ruff and honours, French ruff, five cards, costly colours, bon ace, putt, plain dealing, Queen Nazareen, pennech, post and pair, bankafalat, beast.

retailers averaged $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pack, and it is marvellous how they could, at that time, be made for the money.

By an Act of 10 Anne, c. 18, s. 176, etc., a duty of six-pence per pack for cards, and five shillings a pair for dice, was imposed ; and all cards made and unsold before June 12, 1711, were to be brought in to be stamped, and pay a duty of one halfpenny per pack, and dice $6d.$ a pair.

The passion of women for gambling was a fruitful theme for satire in those days. 'She's a profuse Lady, tho' of a Miserly Temper, whose Covetous Disposition is the very Cause of her Extravagancy ; for the Desire of Success wheedles her Ladyship to play, and the incident Charges and Disappointments that attend it, make her as expensive to her Husband, as his Coach and six Horses. When an unfortunate Night has happen'd to empty her Cabinet, she has many Shifts to replenish her Pockets. Her Jewels are carry'd privately into Lombard Street, and Fortune is to be tempted the next Night with another Sum, borrowed of my Lady's Goldsmith at the Extortion of a Pawnbroker ; and if that fails, then she sells off her Wardrobe, to the great grief of her Maids ; stretches her Credit amongst those she deals with, or makes her Waiting Woman dive into the Bottom of her Trunk, and lug out her green Net Purse full of old Jacobuses, in Hopes to recover her losses by a Turn of Fortune, that she may conceal her bad Luck from the Knowledge of her Husband.'¹

Nay, worse subterfuges than these are more than openly hinted at in divers authors. One or two examples will suffice.

This Itch for play has likewise fatal been,
And more than Cupid draws the Ladies in,
A Thousand Guineas for Basset prevails,
A Bait when Cash runs low, that seldom fails ;
And when the Fair One can't the Debt defray
In Sterling Coin, does Sterling Beauty pay.²

No wonder that Steele bursts out,³ 'Oh, the damned Vice!

¹ 'The Gaming Lady, or Bad Luck to him that has her,' in *Adam and Eve stript of their Furbelows*.

² Epilogue to *The Gamester*, ed. 1705.

³ *The Tender Husband*.

That Women can imagine all Household Care, regard to Posterity, and fear of Poverty, must be sacrificed to a game at Cards.'

But we must not think that the fair ones monopolised the enjoyment of this passion—the sterner sex were equally culpable. Gaming houses were plentiful. The 'Groom Porter's' was still in full swing, *vide* this advertisement:¹ 'Whereas Her Majesty, by her Letters Patent to Thomas Archer Esq. constituting him Her Groom Porter, hath given full Power to him and such Deputies as he shall appoint, to supervise, regulate, and authorize (by and under the Rules, Conditions and Restrictions by the Law prescribed) all manner of Gaming within this Kingdom. And, whereas several of Her Majesty's Subjects, keeping Plays or Games in their Houses, have been lately abused, and had Moneys extorted from them by several ill disposed Persons, contrary to Law. These are therefore to give Notice, That no Person whatsoever, not producing his Authority from the said Groom Porter, under the Seal of his Office, hath any Power to act anything under the said Patent. And to the end that all such Persons offending as aforesaid may be proceeded against according to Law, it is hereby desired, that Notice be given of all such Abuses to the said Groom Porter, or his Deputies, at his Office at Mr. Stephenson's, a Scrivener's House, over against Old Man's Coffee House near Whitehall.'

The Groom Porter's own Gaming House must have been the scene of brawls.²

Sir Geo. Airy. Oh, I honour Men of the Sword; and I presume this Gentleman is lately come from Spain or Portugal—by his Scars.

Marplot. No, really, Sir George, mine sprung from civil Fury: Happening last night into the Groom Porter's—I had a strong Inclination to go ten Guineas with a sort of a—sort of a—kind of a Milk Sop, as I thought; A Pox of the Dice, he flung out, and my Pockets being empty, as Charles knows they sometimes are, he prov'd a Surly North Briton, and broke my face for my Deficiency.

If scenes like this were enacted at the Groom Porter's, what must have taken place at the other gaming houses?

¹ *The London Gazette*, Dec. 6/10, 1705.

² *The Busy Body*.

Let two contemporary writers, whose language, though rough, is trustworthy, answer the question. 'Gaming is an Estate to which all the World has a Pretence, tho' few espouse it



A GAMBLING SCENE.

that are willing to keep either their Estates, or Reputations. I knew two *Middlesex Sharpers* not long ago, that inherited a West Country Gentleman's Estate, who I believe, wou'd

have never made them his Heirs in his last Will and Testament.

'*Lantrillou* is a kind of a Republick very ill ordered, where all the World are Hail Fellow well met ; no distinction of Ranks, no Subordination observed. The greatest Scoundrel of the Town, with Money in his Pockets, shall take his Turn before the best *Duke* or *Peer* in the Land, if the Cards are on his side. From these Privileg'd Places not only all Respect and Inferiority is Banish'd ; but every thing that looks like Good Manners, Compassion, or Humanity : Their Hearts are so Hard and Obdurate, that what occasions the Grief of one Man, gives Joy and Satisfaction to his next Neighbour. . . .

'In some Places they call Gaming Houses *Academies* ; but I know not why they should inherit that Honourable Name, since there's nothing to be learn'd there, unless it be *Slight of Hand*, which is sometimes at the Expence of all our Money, to get that of other Men's by Fraud and Cunning. The Persons that meet are generally Men of an *Infamous* Character, and are in various Shapes, Habits and Employments. Sometimes they are Squires of the *Pad*, and now and then borrow a little Money upon the *King's High Way*, to recruit their losses at the *Gaming House*, and when a Hue and Cry is out, to apprehend them, they are as safe in one of these Houses as a *Priest* at the *Altar*, and practise the old trade of *Cross biting Cullies*, assisting the Frail *Square Dye* with high and low *Fullums*, and other *Napping* Tricks, in comparison of whom the common Bulkers, and Pickpockets, are a very honest Society. How unaccountable is this way to *Beggary*, that when a Man has but a little Money, and knows not where in the World to compass any more, unless by hazarding his Neck for 't, will try an Experiment to leave himself none at all : Or, he that has Money of his own, should play the Fool, and try whether it shall not be another Man's. Was ever any thing so Nonsensically Pleasant ?

'One idle day I ventur'd into one of these *Gaming Houses*, where I found an *Ogllo of Rakes* of several Humours, and Conditions met together. Some that had left them never a Penny to bless their Heads with. One that had play'd away even his Shirt and Cravat, and all his Clothes but his

Breeches, stood shivering in a Corner of the Room, and another comforting him, and saying, *Damme* Jack, who ever thought to see thee in a State of Innocency: Cheer up, Nakedness is the best Receipt in the World against a Fever; and then fell a Ranting, as if Hell had broke loose that very Moment. . . . I told my friend, instead of *Academies* these places should be call'd *Cheating Houses*: Whereupon a Bully of the *Blade* came strutting up to my very Nose, in such a Fury, that I would willingly have given half the Teeth in my Head for a Composition, crying out, Split my Wind Pipe, Sir, you are a Fool, and don't understand *Trap*, the whole World's a Cheat.'¹

Ward,² also, writing of gaming, says: 'Pray, said I, what do you take those Knot of Gentlemen to be, who are so Merry with one another? They, reply'd my Friend, are Gamesters, waiting to pick up some young Bubble or other as he comes from his Chamber; they are Men whose Conditions are subject to more Revolutions than a Weather Cock, or the Uncertain Mind of a Fantastical Woman. They are seldom two Days in one and the same Stations, they are one day very richly drest, and perhaps out at Elbows the next; they have often a great deal of Money, and are as often without a Penny in their Pockets; they are as much Fortunes Bubbles, as young Gentlemen are theirs; for whatever benefits she bestows upon 'em with one Hand, she snatches away with t'other; their whole Lives are a Lottery, they read no books but Cards, and all their Mathematicks is to truly understand the Odds of a Bet; they very often fall out, but very seldom Fight, and the way to make 'em your Friends is to Quarrel with them. . . . They generally begin every Year with the same Riches; for the Issue of their Annual Labours is chiefly to enrich the Pawnbrokers. They are seldom in Debt, because no Body will Trust 'em; and they never care to Lend Money, because they Know not where to Borrow it. A Pair of False Dice, and a Pack of mark'd Cards sets 'em up; and an Hours Unfortunate Play commonly breaks 'em.'

These professional swindlers belonged to all classes of society, and some who died in this reign have left names

¹ *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown*, ed. 1705.

² *The London Spy*.

behind them : St. Evremont, Beau Fielding, Macartney, who was Lord Mahun's second in his celebrated duel with the Duke of Hamilton, and the Marquis de Guiscard, who stabbed Harley, the Earl of Oxford. Their Lives, and many others, are given by Lucas,¹ from whom I shall only borrow one example, to show the equality that play made between the different social grades. Bouchier died in 1702, so that he just comes within this reign. 'Being at the *Groom Porter's*, he flung one Main with the Earl of *Mulgrave* for 500 Pounds, which he won ; and his Honour looking wistly at him, quoth he, *I believe I shou'd know you. Yes* (reply'd the Winner) *your Lordship must have some Knowledge of me, for my Name is Dick Bouchier, who was once your Footman.* Whereupon his Lordship supposing he was not in a Capacity of paying 500 Pounds in case he had lost, cry'd out, *A Bite, A Bite.* But the *Groom Porter* assuring his Lordship that Mr. *Bouchier* was able to have paid 1,000 Pounds provided his Lordship had won such a Summ, he paid him what he plaid for, without any farther Scruple.'

'Once Mr. *Bouchier* going over to *Flanders*, with a great Train of Servants, set off in such a fine Equipage, that they drew the Eyes of all upon them wherever they went, to admire the Splendor and Gaiety of their Master, whom they look for no less than a Nobleman of the first Rank. In this Pomp, making his Tour at K. *William's* Tent, he happen'd into Play with that great Monarch, and won of him above £2,500. The Duke of *Bavaria* being also there, he took up the cudgels, and losing £15,000 the Loss put him into a great Chafe, and doubting some foul Play was put upon him, because Luck went so much against him, quoth Mr. *Bouchier* : *Sir, if you have any suspicion of the least Sinister Trick put upon your Highness, if you please I'll give you a Chance for all your Money at once, tossing up at Cross and Pile, and you shall have the Advantage too of throwing up the Guinea yourself.* The Elector admir'd at his bold Challenge, which never the less accepting, he tost up for £15,000, and lost the Money

¹ *Memoirs of the Lives, Intrigues and Comical Adventures of the most famous Gamesters and Celebrated Sharpers in the Reigns of Charles 2, James 2, William 3, and Queen Anne, etc.* By Theophilus Lucas. London, 1714.

upon Reputation, with which Bouchier was very well satisfied, as not doubting in the least ; and so taking his leave of the King, and those Noblemen that were with him, he departed. Then the Elector of *Bavaria* enquiring of his Majesty, who that Person was, that could run the Hazard of playing for so much Money at a time, he told him it was a subject of his in *England*, that though he had no real Estate of his own, yet was he able to play with any Sovereign Prince in *Germany*. Shortly after *Bouchier* returning into *England*, he bought a most rich Coach and Curious Sett of Six Horses to it, which cost him above £3,000, for a present to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had not as yet paid him any thing of the £30,000 which he had won of him. Notice hereof being sent to his Highness, the generous Action incited him to send over his Gentleman of Horse into *England*, to take care of this Present, which he receiv'd Kindly at *Bouchier's* Hands, to whom he return'd Bills of Exchange also, drawn upon several eminent Merchants in *London*, for paying what Money he had lost with him at Play.'

Bouchier became very rich, and purchased an estate near Pershore, in Worcestershire, where he was buried—although he died in London.

The lower classes followed the example of their social superiors, and gambled ; but once only can I find such an instance of gaming fever as the following :¹ 'An Inditement is presented against a Person in Westminster, for playing away his Wife to another Man, which was done with her own consent.'

Losses at cards, or debts of honour, as they were then and are now called, were supposed to be punctually paid. See 'The Gamester.'

Hector. Then, Sir, here is two Hundred Guineas lost to my Lord Lovegame, upon Honour.

Sir Thos. Valere. That's another Debt I shall not pay.

Hector. How, not pay it, Sir. Why, Sir, among Gentlemen, that Debt is look'd upon the most just of any : you may Cheat Widows, Orphans, Tradesmen without a Blush ; but a Debt of Honour, Sir, must be paid. I cou'd name you some Noblemen that pays no Body—yet a Debt of Honour, Sir, is as sure as their Ready Money.

Sir Thos. He that makes no Conscience of Wronging the Man

¹ *The English Post*, October 12/14, 1702.

whose Goods have been deliver'd for his use can have no pretence to Honour, whatever Title he may wear.

There was a speculating mania arising, which boded ill for the future. In this reign was born the 'South Sea Bubble,' which burst so disastrously in the next, and involved thousands in ruin. Perhaps the mildest form it took was in insurances. We have already glanced at the fire insurances in Queen Anne's time; they now began to think of life insurance, and the first advertisement on this subject that I have noticed is in 1709. 'The Office of Assurance of Money upon Lives is at the Rainbow Coffee House in Cornhill, where Men or Women may Subscribe on their own Lives for the benefit of their Children, or other Person's Lives for the benefit of themselves, and have them approv'd without their Knowledge, paying 10s. Entrance, and 10s. towards the first Claim for each Life, and shall have a Policy for £1,000 for each Life subscribed upon in the said Society. This Office may be proper for such Persons as have Annuities, Estates, or Places for Life; and for such Persons to make Assurance upon Lives where Debts are dubious if the Person die. This Office will assure Money much Cheaper per cent. than private Persons.' This looks very much as if it were the first life insurance company that was started, in lieu of private enterprise; and as this is the only company that is advertised in Queen Anne's reign, it was probably the sole forerunner of the numerous similar enterprises now in existence.

Hatton says, 'Offices that *Insure Ships* or their Cargo are many about the *Royal Exchange*, as Mr. Hall's, Mr. Bevis's, etc., who for a *Premium* paid down procure those that will subscribe Policies for Insuring Ships (with their Cargo) bound to or from any part of the World, the *Premium* being proportioned to the Distance, Danger of Seas, Enemies, etc. But in these Offices 'tis Customary upon paying the Money on a Loss to discount 16 per cent.'

A curious marine insurance was in existence early in 1711, of which the following is the advertisement; but it seems a sporting insurance, and only meant to cover the war risk. 'For the Encouragement of Navigation for Masters, Mates and other Seafaring Men that are Burnt, Sunk or Taken.

That 4,000 Persons by paying 2s. 6d. for a Policy, and 5s. to the 1st Quarter, which will be paid 21 days after Midsummer for the Lady Day Quarter, to the Sufferer or Sufferers £1,000 in full, or in proportion to what is paid in, and continuing to pay 5s. every Quarter or 14 days after ; likewise if 4,000 persons by paying 2s. 6d. for a Policy, and 2s. for the 1st if full, £400 or in proportion to be paid 21 days after Midsummer for this Lady Day Quarter, and likewise 4,000 by paying 2s. 6d. for Policies and 1s. per Quarter, the Sufferer or Sufferers to receive the benefit of £200 if full, or else in proportion, to be paid in 21 days after Midsummer ; the Office was opened on Saturday last, the 27th past, by Hen Willson, Gent, in Jacob Street Southwark. Note. When 1,000 Policies are taken out, Trustees will be Chosen and Land Security given. Any Person may Insure in all 3 Offices. Proposals at large may be had at the Office. Note, that £6 per cent. will be deducted out of the Money paid for the trouble and charges.'

There were besides—and they sprang up as if by magic—insurances for everything: for marriages, for births, for baptisms—rank swindles all. And lotteries! why, every thing, unsaleable otherwise, was tried to be got rid of by lottery. The papers teemed with advertisements. Take one newspaper haphazard ; for example, the *Tatler*, Sept. 14/16, 1710: 'Mr. Stockton's Sale of Jewels, Plate, &c., will be drawn on Michaelmas Day.' 'The Lottery in Colson's Court is to be drawn the 21st Inst.' 'The Sale of Goods to be seen at Mrs. Butler's, &c., will certainly be drawn on Tuesday the 19th Inst.' 'Mrs. Povy's Sale of Goods is put off to Saturday 23rd Inst.' 'Mrs. Symond's Sale of Goods will begin, &c., on Wednesday the 20th of this Instant.' 'Mrs. Guthridge's Sixpenny Sale of Goods, &c., continues to be drawn every Day.'

The financial atmosphere was getting unwholesome, Government had to step in, and an Act was passed which duly appeared in the *London Gazette*, June 28/July 1, 1712, which enacted 'That every Person who, after the 24 June 1712, shall erect, set up, or keep any Office or Place for making Insurance on Marriages, Births, Christnings, or

Service, or any other Office or Place, under the Denomination of Sales of Gloves, of Fans, of Cards, of Numbers, of the Queen's Picture, for the improving of small sums of Money,¹ or the like Offices or Places under pretence of improving small sums of Money, shall Forfeit for every such Offence the sum of 500*l.*, to be recovered with full Costs of Suit, and to be divided as aforesaid.' This had the desired effect, and both in the *British Mercury*, June 27/30, 1712, and the *Postboy*, Aug. 21/23, 1712, we hear of prosecutions of illicit lotteries—and they soon ceased.

Of course, morally speaking, the Government had no right to complain, for they had begun the system—by legalising a lottery for £1,500,000 in 1709—from which time until 1824 no year passed without Parliament sanctioning a Lottery Bill. It is not worth while going into the schemes of the various lotteries in Queen Anne's reign, but it may be interesting to note the constitution of the one which inaugurated an indefensible system of immoral finance, which lasted over a century. There were 150,000 tickets at £10 each, making £1,500,000, the principal of which was to be sunk, and 9 per cent. to be allowed on it for 32 years. Three thousand seven hundred and fifty tickets were prizes from £1000 to £5 per annum; the rest were blanks—a proportion of thirty-nine to one prize, but, as a consolation, each blank was entitled to fourteen shillings per annum during the thirty-two years.

People rushed after the tickets, and they were taken up at once. '21 Jan. 1710.—Yesterday books were opened at Mercer's Chappel for receiving subscriptions for the lottery, and, 'tis said, above a Million is already subscribed; so that, 'tis believed, 'twill be full by Monday 7 night.'²

And the same authority tells us³ that 'Mr. Thomas Barnaby, who lately belonged to the 6 clerk's office, has got the £1000 per ann. ticket in the lottery.'

Among the prize-holders of the next lottery (at least, so

¹ Here is a sample of one of these traps to catch gulls: 'At Nixon's Coffee House, at Fetter Lane End in Fleet S', is open'd an Office call'd the Golden Office, where by putting in Monys, not exceeding 5 Guineas, may receive Cent per Cent in three Weeks time. Proposals may be had at the Place aforesaid.'—*Postboy*, April 26/29, 1712.

² Luttrell.

³ *Ibid.* August 15, 1710.

Swift writes Stella, Aug. 29, 1711) was a son of Lord Abercorn's. 'His second son has t'other day got a prize in



A LOTTERY.

the lottery of four Thousand pounds, beside two small ones of two hundred pounds each ; nay, the family was so fortu-

nate, that my lord bestowing one ticket, which is a hundred pounds, to one of his servants, who had been his page, the young fellow got a prize, which has made it another hundred.'

In some of the lotteries the prizes were very valuable, for we read in the *Post Boy*, Jan. 6/8, 1713, that 'Yesterday was drawn No. 22858, which entitles the Bearer to £36,000.'

The accompanying engraving shows us exactly how the lotteries were drawn; and, as it is taken from a book published in 1710, in all probability it is a correct representation of the famous first State lottery of 1709. Bluecoat boys, then, as in 1824, drew out the tickets.

As in all lotteries, superstition attaches a peculiar value to some number, or combination of numbers, in the ticket: so it was in Anne's time, and the *Spectator* (191) comments on an advertisement in the *Post Boy* of Sept. 27, 1711—'This is to give notice, That Ten Shillings over and above the Market Price will be given for the Ticket in the £1,500,000 Lottery No. 132, by Nath. Cliff, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside.'

CHAPTER X.

SUPERSTITION.

Astrologers—Their advertisements—Their tricks—Witchcraft—Cases of witchcraft.

It is not for us to decry the superstition of that age—we should look to ourselves in this matter. Perhaps they were more open in their expression of belief in the supernatural, and perhaps that belief was wider spread than at present. The seventh *Spectator* gives a very good account of the minor superstitions, but does not touch on the grosser ones, such as the consulting of astrologers, and the belief in witches. These two things still exist in England, though nothing like to the extent they did in the early part of the last century. In spite of Hudibras and Sidrophel, an astrologer was a very important entity. He published his almanacs—he drew horoscopes ; and, as to witches, why, of course there were plenty of them. An old, ugly, soured, and malevolent woman earned a right to be considered such.

As for the astrologers, it is needless to say they were unscrupulous, needy sharpers, who lived ‘in all the By-Allies in Moorfields, White Chappel, Salisbury Court, Water Lane, Fleet Street, and Westminster.’ Their advertisements have come down to us, and a selection of two or three of them will furnish both amusement and information.

‘In Cripplegate Parish, in Whitecross Street, almost at the farther End near Old Street (turning in by the sign of the Black Croe in Goat Alley, straight forward down three steps, at the sign of the Globe) liveth one of above Thirty Years Experience, and hath been Counsellor to Counsellors of several Kingdoms, who resolveth these Questions following—

‘Life Happy or Unhappy? If Rich, by what means attain it. What manner of Person one shall Marry? If Marry the Party desired. What part of the City or Country is best to live in? A Ship at Sea, if safe or not. If a Woman be with Child, with Mail or Female, and whether Delivered by Night or by Day? Sickness, the Duration, and whether end in life or death? Suits at Law, who shall overcome, With all lawful Questions, that depend on that most Noble Art of CHRISTIAN ASTROLOGY.

‘Likewise, he telleth the Meaning of all *Magical Panticles, Sigils, Charms, and Lamens*, and hath a Glass, and helpeth to further Marriages.

‘He hath attained to the Signet Star of the Philosopher.

‘He likewise hath attained to the *Green, Golden, and Black Dragon*, known to none but *Magicians, and Hermetick Philosophers*; and will prove he hath the true and perfect Seed and Blossom of the *Female Fern*, all for Physician’s uses. And can tell concerning every serious Person, what their Business is on every Radical figure, before they speak one Word; secondly, What is past in most of their Life, What is present, and what is to come; where that they have Moles, what colour they are, and what is the meaning of them, &c.

‘He hath a Secret in Art, far beyond the reach or Knowledge of common Pretenders.’¹

In this case we see the astrologer using the jargon of the alchemists, to enhance his value in the eyes of his dupes. It was still familiar to the ears of the people, and Jonson’s ‘Alchemist’ was a popular play. The succeeding examples are more commonplace:—

‘To be spoken with every day in the Week except *Saturday* at the *Golden Ball* (being the Third House on the Left Hand) in *Gulstone Square*, next Turning beyond *Whitechappel Bars*: And for the convenience of those who live in *Westminster, Southwark, &c.*, He is to be spoken with every *Saturday* at the *Golden Ball* and 2 *Green Posts*, (There being a Hatch with *Iron spikes* at the door) near the Watch House in *Lambeth Marsh*.

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 231.

' A Person who by his Travels in many Remote parts of the World, has obtained the Art of Presaging or Foretelling all Remarkable Things, that ever shall happen to Men or Women in the whole course of their Lives, to the great Admiration of all that ever came to him ; and this he does by a Method never yet practised in *England*: He might give Multitudes of Examples, but will give but one of a Sort.

' A Young Woman, who had a Person pretended Love to her for many Years ; I told her, she would find him False and Deceitful to her, and that he never design'd to Marry her, which was a great Trouble to her to hear, by reason she had plac'd her Affection on him, but she found it True, for shortly after he Married another : Soon after she had several Sweethearts at a Time, and came to me again for Advice ; I told her, there was but one of those she could be happy with, and describ'd him to her ; she took my Advice and Married him, and they prove a very Happy Couple.

' I have prevented the Ruin of Hundreds of Young *Men* and *Women*, by advising them to whom to dispose of themselves in Marriage.

' Another who had been many Years Plagued with a Bad Husband, I told her in a very few Months she'd Bury him and Marry again very happily, which she found True,' &c., &c. ¹

The next is much shorter : ' Noble, or Ignoble, you may be foretold any thing that may happen to your Elementary Life : as at what time you may expect prosperity : or, if in Adversity, the end thereof : Or when you may be so happy as to enjoy the Thing desired. Also young Men may foresee their fortunes, as in a Glass, and pretty Maids their Husbands, in this Noble, yea, Heavenly Art of ASTROLOGIE. At the Sign of the *Parrot* opposite to *Ludgate* Church within *Black Fryars* Gateway.' ²

Ward,³ with his keen observation, naturally attacked these gentry, lashed them unmercifully, and at great length. A short extract must suffice for our purpose, and will sufficiently show the estimation in which these astrologers were held by persons of common sense.

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 233.

² *Ibid.* 5931, 236.

³ *The London Spy.*

‘No common *Errours, Frauds, or Fallacies*, in the World, have so far subdu’d the Weaker, and Consequently the Greater part of Mankind, as the *Fuggles and Deceits* practicable in a parcel of pretending *Astrologers*; who undertake to resolve all manner of Lawful Questions, by Jumbling together those distant Bodies, in whose Nature or Influence they have just as much Knowledge, as a Country *Ale Woman* has of *Witchcraft*, or a *German Fuggler* of *Necromancy*. In the first place, I have had an opportunity of examining several Nativities Calculated by those who have had the Reputa-



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tation of being the best Artists of this Age; wherein I have observ'd Sickness, Length of Days, and all other Fortunate and Unfortunate Contingencies assign'd the Natives, have been as directly opposite to what has happen'd thro' the whole Course of their Lives, as if the Fumbling *Star Groper* had rather, thro' an Aversion to *Truth*, study'd the *Rule of Contraries*, that he might always be found in the *Wrong on't*.

‘In the next place, their method in deceiving people who come to enquire after *Stolen Goods*, is such a bare fac'd ridiculous piece of Banter, that I wonder any Creature that bears

Humane Shape, can be so stupidly Ignorant, as not to plainly discern the Impositions that are put upon them by their *canting Albumazer*; Who, in the first place, enquires about what time, and in what manner the things were lost; and what strangers they had in the House? From whence he reasonably infers, whether the Spoon, Cup, Tankard, or whatsoever it be, was taken away by the Common Thief, or stolen by a Servant, or Person that uses the House, or whether Conceal'd by the Master or Mistress on purpose to make the Servants more diligent. If his Conjecture be, that it was taken by a Common Thief, he describes a Swarthy Black Ill looking Fellow, with a down look, or the like; most wisely considering, That such sort of Rogues are seldom without a Gallows in their Countenances: Telling withall, That the Goods are Pawn'd, and will scarcely be recoverable, without they take the Thief speedily, in order to effect which, he will give them his best Directions; which the credulous *Ignoramus* desires in Writing, for fear he should forget; which the Sower look'd Conjuror gives him accordingly, after the following manner:—*Go a quarter of a Mile from your own Dwelling, and then turn Easterly, and walk forward till you come to the Sign of a large Four Footed Beast, and Search within three or four Doors of that Sign, and you will go near to take him, if you go soon enough, or hear of him, who is of a middle Stature and in poor Habit.* Away goes the Fool, as well satisfied with the Note, as if he had the Rogue by the Elbow, and if by any Accident they do hear of the Thief, all is ascrib'd to the wonderful Cunning of their *Wissard*: But if on the contrary, he believes it to be taken by a Servant, or any Body that uses the House, he bids 'em, hab nab at a venture, *Go home satisfied, for they shall certainly find the Spoon, &c. in three or four days' time, hid in a private Hole, in such a part of the Kitchen, or he'll make the Devil to do with those that have it; and force them to bring it in open shame and disgrace at Dinner time, and lay it down upon the Table in the Sight of the whole Family.* Away goes the Person well satisfied with what their *Ptolomist* had told 'em: and declares to every one in the House how the Thief was Threaten'd, and after what manner the Spoon should be found within the time

appointed, or else woe be to them that have it. This Frightful Story coming to the Ears of the Guilty, brings 'em under such dreadful Apprehensions of the Conjuror's Indignation, if they do not lay what they've taken within the time, according to the Direction ; that the first opportunity they have, they will place it to the utmost exactness in whatever Hole or Corner he has appointed for the finding of it.'

The belief in witchcraft was still firmly rooted in the country in spite of the more enlightened feeling on the subject which prevailed in the metropolis. Addison¹ tells us of the Coverley Witch, Moll White, how he and Sir Roger went and visited her hovel, and found a broomstick behind the door, and the tabby cat, which had as evil a reputation as its mistress, and how 'In our return home, Sir Roger told me that Old Moll had been often brought before him for making Children spit Pins, and giving Maids the Night Mare ; and that the Country People would be tossing her into a Pond and trying Experiments with her every Day, if it was not for him and his Chaplain.'

A little before this was written, two women had been executed at Northampton for witchcraft, and at that very time an old woman named Jane Wenham, living at a little village in Hertfordshire called Walkerne, was charged with, and next year tried for, witchcraft. She was condemned, reprieved, and pardoned. But in 1716 Mrs. Hicks and her daughter were executed at Huntingdon, and their crime was that of selling their souls to the devil, etc. Indeed, the capital sentence against witchcraft was only abolished by an Act 9 Geo. II. cap. 5.

There are two other published cases of witchcraft in Queen Anne's time. One² is the 'Full and True Account of the Apprehending and Taking of Mrs. Sarah Mordike, Who is accused for a Witch. Being taken near Paul's Wharf on Thursday the 24th of this Instant, for having Bewitch'd one Richard Hetheway, near the Faulken Stairs in Southwark. With her Examination before the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Lane, Sir Owen Buckingham, and Dr. Hambleton in

¹ *Spectator*, No. 117.

² British Museum, 515, l. 2.
15.

Bow Lane.' It was an ordinary case: the bewitched person lost his appetite, voided pins, etc., and got better when he had scratched and brought blood from Moll Dyke, as she was familiarly called. The other, if at all credible, is a much worse case: ¹ 'A Full and True Account of the Discovering, Apprehending and taking of a Notorious *Witch*, who was carried before Justice *Bateman* in *Well Close*, on *Sunday July* the 23. Together with her Examination and Commitment to *Bridewel Clerkenwel*.

'*Sarah Griffith* who Lived in a Garret in *Rosemary lane* was a long time suspected for a bad Woman, but nothing could be prov'd against her that the Law might take hold of her. Tho' some of the Neighbours' Children would be strangely effected with unknown Distempers, as Vomiting of Pins, their Bodies turn'd into strange Postures and such like, many were frighted with strange Apperitions of Cats, which of a sudden would vanish away, these and such like made those who lived in the Neighbourhood, both suspicious and fearful of her: Till at last the *Devil* (who always betrays those that deal with him) thus brought the Truth to Light. One Mr. *John* — at the *Sugar loaf* had a good jolly fellow for his Apprentice: This Old *Fade* came into his Shop to buy a quartern of *Sope*, the young fellow happened to Laugh, and the Scales not hanging right, cryed out he thought that they were be Witch'd; The Old Woman hearing him say so, fell into a great Passion, judging he said so to Ridicule her, ran out of the Shop and threatned Revenge. In the Night was heard a lumbring noise in the Shop, and the Man coming down to see, found a strange Confusion, every thing turn'd topsy turvy, all the goods out of order; but what was worse, the next day the poor fellow was troubled with a strange Disease, but (by) the good Prayers of some Neighbouring Divines the power of the *Devil* was restrain'd.

'Two or three days after it happened, that the Young Man with two or three more walking up to the New River Head, who should they see but Mother *Griffith* walking that way. They consulted together to try her, and one of them said let

¹ British Museum, 515, l. 2.
199.

us toss her into the River, for I have heard that if she Swims 'tis a certain sign of a Witch ; in short they put their design in Execution, for coming up to her, they tossed her in ; but like a Bladder when forc'd under Water pops up again, so this Witch was no sooner in but Swam like a Corke ; they kept her in some time, and at last let her come out again ; she was no sooner out but she smote that Young Man on the Arm, and told him he should pay dear for what he had done. Immediately he found a strange pain on his Arm, and looking on it found the exact mark of her Hand and Fingers as black as a Cole ; he went home where he lay much Lamented and wonderfully affrighted with the Old Woman coming to afflict him, and at last died with the pain, and (was) Buried in St. *Pulchers* Church Yard.

'Mr. John — fearing some further mischief, takes a Constable and goes to her Lodging, where he finds the Old Woman, and charges the Constable with her. She made many attempts to escape, but the Devil who owed her a shame had now left her, and she was apprehended. As she was conducted towards the Justices' House she tried to leap over the Wall, and had done it, had not the Constable knocked her down. In this manner she was carried before the Justice, there was Evidence that was with him in his Sickness could Witness that he had unaccountable Fits, Vomitted up Old Nails, Pins and such like, his body being turned into strange postures, and all the while nothing but crying out of Mother *Griffith* that she was come to torment him, his Arm rotted almost off, Gangreen'd, and Kill'd him. When she came before the Justice she pleaded innocence, but the Circumstances appeared so plainly that she was committed to Bridewel, where she now remains.

'Witness my Hand,

'July 24, 1704.

'THOS. GREENWEL.'

And Thoresby, in his semi-pious way, mentions (Feb. 18, 1712), 'With Mrs. Neville, Cousin Cookson, and others of the Grand Jury to see a reputed witch, who, though aged, could not repeat the Lord's Prayer ; a fit instrument for Satan.'

CHAPTER XI.

COSMETICS, ETC.

Habit of snuff-taking—Perfumes—Charles Lillie—List of scents—Soaps—Wash balls—'Complexions'—Tooth powder—Hair dye—Spectacles.

THERE was one social habit that the two sexes had in common, and that was in taking snuff: nay, it was more than hinted that some of the fair sex smoked—not nice little fairy 'Paquitas' or dainty little cigarettes, but nasty, heavy, clumsy clay pipes. The subject will be discussed in another part, but now we merely glance at the prevalence of the habit—not so much with the ladies, as it was later on in the century, but with the gentlemen; and the quantity taken, in the latter part of the reign, was excessive.

It is a marvel how the ladies at first allowed it, for it was the custom in society for a gentleman to kiss all the ladies in a room—a custom frequently mentioned in contemporary literature, and therefore only requiring one quotation¹ to illustrate it: 'The other Day entering a Room adorned with the Fair Sex, I offered, after the usual Manner, to each of them a Kiss; but one, more scornful than the rest, turned her Cheek. I did not think it proper to take any Notice of it till I had asked your Advice.'

Besides, the ladies were undoubtedly fond of sweet smells, perfumes, and scents; and one, in particular, seems to have possessed remarkable properties. 'The Princely Perfume. Being a most delightful Powder, which incomparably scents Handkerchiefs, Gloves, and all Sorts of Linnen, making them smell most deliciously oderiferous, fine and charming; it perfumes the Hands, the Hair of the Head, and Periwigs

¹ *Spectator*, No. 272.

most delicately, also all Manner of Cloaths, Beds, Rooms, Scrutores, Presses, Drawers, Boxes, and all other Things, giving them a most admirable, pleasant and durable Scent, which is so curiously fragrant, so delectably sweet, reviving and enlivening, that no Perfume or Aromatick in the World, can possibly come near it; it never raises the vapours in Ladies, but, by its delicious Odour, Fragrancy and charming Perfume (which is really Superior to all other Scents upon Earth) it refreshes the Memory, cures the Head Ach, takes away Dulness and Melancholy, makes the Heart glad, and encreases all the Spirits, Natural, Vital, and Animal, to a Wonder.¹ And there was a much bepuffed scent called the 'Royal Essence,' which, besides being a paragon of perfume, had the useful quality of curling the Periwig.

But the prince of perfumers and puffers was Charles Lillie, whose connection with the *Tatler* is so well known, and who was so belauded, that Addison, or Steele, in No. 96, had to issue a disclaimer. 'Whereas several have industriously spread abroad, that I am in partnership with CHARLES LILLIE the perfumer, at the corner of Beaufort Buildings; I must say with my friend PARTRIDGE, that they are *Knaves* who reported it. However, since the said CHARLES has promised that all his customers shall be mine, I must desire all mine to be his; and dare answer for him, that if you ask in my name for Snuff, Hungary or orange water, you shall have the best the town affords at the cheapest rate.'

When Lillie died, he left his MS. receipts behind him, made into a book, but it was never published till 1822; and he gives a long list of the scents in use.

Spirit of ambergris	Otto of roses and sandal
" " musk	citron
" " benjamin (benzoin)	Perfumed catchui
" " orange	Essence of jessamine
" " lemons and citrons	" " orange flowers
" " bergamot	Lavender water
" " lavender	Hungary water
Red spirit of lavender	Aqua Mellis, or King's honey
	water

¹ *Daily Courant*, Feb. 14, 1708.

Portugal and Angel water	Eau Sans Parcil
Oil of Rhodium	Eau de Carm
„ „ roses	Jessamine water
„ „ lavender	Bergamot water
„ „ rosemary	Orange flower water
„ „ cloves	Myrtle water
„ „ cinnamon	Rose water
„ „ marjoram	Cordova water
„ „ coriander	

This reads like a very sufficient list of scents ; that it was not greater was undoubtedly owing to the disturbed state of trade, and the absence of geographical discovery—which of late years has greatly increased the perfumer's *répertoire*.

There were soaps enough, in all conscience—Joppa, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Genoa, Venice, Castille, Marseilles, Alicant, French, Gallipoly, Curd, Irish, Bristol, Windsor, Black, and Liquid Soaps—and yet the ladies would use abominations called 'Wash balls.' These must have been a profitable manufacture, for the makers advertised freely in the papers. Let us look into a 'Composition for best Wash balls. Take forty pounds of rice in fine powder, twenty-eight pounds of fine flour, twenty-eight pounds of Starch powder, twelve pounds of white lead, and four pounds of Oris root in fine powder ; but no whitening. Mix the whole well together, and pass it twice through a fine hair seive ; then place it in a dry place, and keep it for use. Great care must be taken that the flour be not Musty, in which case the balls will in time crack, and fall to pieces. To this composition may be added Dutch pink, or brown fine damask powder, &c., according to the Colour required when the wash balls are quite dry.' These wash balls were in some variety—common, best camphor, ambergris, Bologna, marbled, figured, Greek, Marseilles, Venice, and chemical.

This making up of complexions was an art, and would not bear trifling with. 'Madam, who dress'd you ? Here's this Tooth set in the wrong way, and your Face so besmear'd ! What Complexion do you use ? This is worse than they

daub Sign posts with ; I never saw any thing so frightful.'¹ Naturally, with such an ingredient as white lead in their composition, these wash balls were injurious to the skin—*vide* a letter in *Spectator*, No. 41. 'Her skin is so tarnished with this Practice, that when she first wakes in a Morning, she scarce seems young enough to be the Mother of her whom I carried to bed the Night before.' No wonder, for they used carmine, French red, Portuguese dishes, Spanish wool and papers, Chinese wool, and they had, also, pretty little lacquered boxes of paints for the toilette sent over from China. There was a wonderful 'bloom' advertised, 'The famous Bavarian Red Liquor, which gives such a blushing Colour to the Cheeks of those that are white or pale, that it is not to be distinguished from a natural fine Complexion, nor perceived to be Artificial by the nearest Friend, is nothing of Paint, or in the least hurtful, but good in many Cases to be taken inwardly ; it renders the Face delightfully handsome and beautiful, is not subject to be rub'd off like Paint, therefore cannot be discovered by any one.' There were also pearl and bismuth powders for the face.

Rose and white lip salves were used as now, but their dentifrices were peculiar, to say the least, if this is a fair sample : 'Take four ounces of Coral, reduced to an unpalpable powder, eight ounces of very light Armenian bole, one ounce of Portugal Snuff, one ounce of Havanah Snuff, one ounce of the ashes of good tobacco, which has been burnt, and one ounce of gum myrrh, which has been well pulverised. Mix all these well together, and sift them twice.' An inferior tooth powder was made by leaving out the coral and substituting *old broken pans* (brown stone ware) reduced to a very fine powder. These mixtures were either rubbed on the teeth with the finger, or else used with a vegetable tooth brush or 'Dentissick Root,' which seems to have been made out of the roots of the marsh mallow, partially dried, and then fried in a mixture of rectified spirits, dragon's blood, and conserve of roses, until they were hard ; when one end was bruised with a hammer, in order to open the fibres and form a rudimentary brush. There were dentists, both male and

¹ *The Gentleman Cully*, ed. 1702.

female, and they seem to have been so far successful that some of them guarantee their patients being able to eat with the false teeth after they were fixed. 'So firm and exact as to be eat on, and not to be discover'd by any Person from Natural Ones.'

The usual way of darkening the hair was by the mechanical means of a leaden comb.¹ 'Jenny Trapes! What that Carrot pated Jade that Lodges at the Corner of *White Horse Alley!*—The Same indeed, only She has black'd her Hair with a Leaden Comb.' But there were also 'Hair Restorers' in those days, as we find by an advertisement, that 'All Persons who, for themselves or Friend, having red or grey Hairs, and would have them dy'd, or turn'd black or dark brown, will find entire Satisfaction, as a great many have already, by the use of a Clear Water,' etc.

Should the sight fail, it could be aided by spectacles, as now—but they were awesome things—with heavy horn, tortoiseshell, or silver rims, and were certainly no adjuncts to personal appearance. They varied in price from 4*d.* to 25*s.* per pair.

¹ *Tunbridge Walks*, ed. 1703.

CHAPTER XII.

TRADE, ETC.

The penny post—Dockwra's vindication of himself—Abolition of penny post—Post days and rates—Halfpenny post—Method of doing business—The Exchange—Description of frequenters—Bankers—Curious advertisement of Sir Richard Hoare's.

AMONG the social institutions then in existence, was the penny post, which cannot be better, or more tersely, described than in Misson's own words: 'Every two Hours you may write¹ to any Part of the City or Suburbs, he that receives it pays a Penny, and you give nothing when you put it into the Post; but when you write into the Country, both he that writes and he that receives pay each a Penny. It costs no more for any Bundle weighing but a Pound, than for a small Letter, provided the Bundle is not worth more than ten Shillings. You may safely send Money, or any other thing of Value, by this Conveyance, if you do but take care to give the Office an Account of it. It was one Mr. *William Dockwra* that set up this New Post, about the beginning of the Reign of King Charles 2, and at first enjoy'd the Profits himself; but the Duke of *York* who had then the Revenue of the General Post, commenc'd a Suit against him, and united the Penny Post to the other.'

Misson makes a slight error here. The penny post was started in 1683 by Rob. Murray, an upholsterer, but next year, several charges being brought against him, he was removed, and the concern was handed over to Dockwra, who was dispossessed as above, by an action in which he was cast both in damages and costs; but, about a year after, he

¹ Besides the six great offices for taking in letters, there were 600 smaller ones in different parts of London, for the convenience of correspondents.

was appointed Controller of the District Post. He was allowed a pension in the time of William and Mary (variously stated of from £200 to £500 a year), but he only enjoyed it four years, when he was discharged on account of some charges of malversation, etc., which were brought against him.

In January 1703, when Dockwra tried for the Chamberlainship of the City of London—which candidature, however, he soon abandoned—he found it necessary to issue disclaimers, and tell his version of the history of the penny post.¹

‘Whereas a malicious false Report has been industriously spread, that one *Robert Murray* was the first Inventor of the *Penny Post*, and that he has been in Articles with me *William Dockwra*, and wrong’d and hardly used ; the World is desired to take notice, That as to the first Pretence, it is utterly false; for *Dr. Chamberlen*, one *Henry Neville*, *Payne*, and others pretended themselves the first Inventors ; And after I had actually set up the Office, one *Mr. Foxley* came and shew’d me a Scheme of his concerning a *Penny Post*, which he had offer’d to Sir *John Bennet*, Post Master General, eight Years before I ever Knew *Murray*, but that was rejected as impracticable, as indeed were all the rest of their Notions ; nor was it by any of them, or any other Person whatsoever, put into any Method to make it practicable, till at my sole Charge and Hazard I begun it in the Year 1680.

‘As to the Articles, they were sacredly Kept on my part, but never perform’d by *Murray*, to my great Loss and Damage, as by the very Articles themselves will evidently appear ; and I am ready at any time to demonstrate, it is so far from having One Shilling due to him, or using him any way hardly, That on the Contrary, in Compassion to his distressed Condition, I have often bayl’d him to keep him out of Prison, and redeem’d him from thence, lent him several Sums of Money, which he never took care to pay again ; and to this day I have Notes and Bonds to Produce, that he owes me more than One hundred and Fifty Pounds : So that these most unjust and ungrateful Allegations in *Murray*, are at this time reviv’d to be made use of, as malicious Reflections to lessen my Service to this City, and to stain my Reputation

¹ *Daily Courant*, January 11, 1703.

and Integrity thereby, to hinder my Fellow Citizens Kindness upon the Election for Chamberlain, which I hope will make no Impression, since I do affirm myself to be the first that ever put the Penny Post into Practice at a vast Expence and great Loss to me and my Family.

‘WILLIAM DOCKWRA.’

And in the next day's *Courant* he was obliged to defend himself from other allegations.

‘Whereas some Malicious Persons, designing to lessen me in the good Opinion of my Fellow Citizens, have spread a False and Scandalous Report, that I, *William Dockwra*, was remov'd from being Comptroller of the *Penny Post*, because of Injuries done to the Subject ; and that I sunk the Revenue at least one fourth part to the Crown. I do hereby declare, That on the Contrary, I rectified many Abuses in the Management of that Office, and never wrong'd either Crown or Subject of the Value of a Shilling : And I do positively affirm, That I prov'd undeniably before the Post Master General by the Accounts then made up, that I advanced that small Revenue above Four Hundred Pounds : Yet neither my Right to the whole (being the only Person that ever brought the *Penny Post* to Perfection) nor the faithful Discharge of my Trust while Comptroller thereof, were sufficient to protect me against those Artifices too often made use of to remove useful and honest Men from publick Employment : Nor have I receiv'd any of the Pension formerly granted me these two Years and half past. So that I hope the Impartial World will consider the great Loss I and my Family have sustain'd, by being depriv'd of the *Penny Post*, whilst the Publick daily reaps the Benefit and Advantage thereof and will do so to Posterity.

‘WILLIAM DOCKWRA.’

In 1711 an act was passed abolishing the penny post, and on June 23 of that year a proclamation was issued putting it in force. A notice had previously appeared in the *London Gazette* of June 12/14, assimilating all rates to those of the General Post, although for ‘the Accommodation of the Inhabitants of such Places, their Letters will be convey'd with

the same Regularity and Dispatch as formerly, being first Tax'd with the Rates, and Stamp'd with the Mark of the General Post Office, and that all Parcels will likewise be Tax'd at the Rate of One Shilling per Ounce as the said Act directs.'

In 1709 the Foreign and Inland Post Letter days were:—

- ' MONDAY. To Spain, Italy, Germany, Flanders, Denmark, Sweedland, Downs and Kent.
- ' TUESDAY. Germany, Holland, Sweedland, Denmark, North Britain, Ireland and Wales.
- ' WEDNESDAY. Kent and the Downs.
- ' THURSDAY. Spain, Italy, and all parts of North Britain and England.
- ' FRIDAY. Italy, Germany, Flanders, Kent, Holland, Sweedland, Denmark and Downs.
- ' SATURDAY. All parts of Wales, North Britain, England, and Ireland.

' Letters return from all parts of England and North Britain, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; from Wales, Mondays and Fridays, from Kent and the Downs every day; but from beyond Sea uncertain.

' The Carriage is 2*d.* a Sheet 80 Miles, double 4*d.* and 8*d.* an Ounce for more than Letters. All Letters more than 80 Miles is 3*d.* Single and 6*d.* Double Pacquet 12*d.* an Ounce. A Letter to Dublin 6*d.* Single, Double 1/ and 1/6 an Ounce.'

Foreign postage was not so very dear. In 1705, for instance, a letter of a single sheet could be carried *to* the West Indies for 1*s.*/3*d.* and 2 sheets for 2/6; whilst *from* thence to England it was respectively 1/6 and 3/, or by weight 6/ per oz.

In 1708 Mr. Povey established a foot post—carrying letters, in the London district only, for one halfpenny. How long he kept it up does not seem clear; the Post Office authorities stopped him; but there is an advertisement referring to it in the *Daily Courant* of July 4, 1710: 'Whereas a Person in some Distress sent a letter by the Halfpenny

Carriage on Monday night last,' etc., and this clearly shows it was in existence at that date.

The *Gazette* Nov. 29/Dec. 1, 1709, has the following Advertisement: 'Whereas Charles Povey and divers Traders and Shop Keepers in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Parts adjacent, and several Persons ringing Bells about the Streets of the said Cities and Borough, have set up, imploy'd, and for sometime continued a Foot Post for Collecting and Delivering Letters within the said Cities and Borough, and Parts adjoining, for Hire under the Name of the Halfpenny Carriage. Contrary to the Known Laws of this Kingdom, and to the great Prejudice of her Majesty's Revenues arising by Posts; her Majesty's Postmaster General has therefore directed Informations in her Majesty's Court of Exchequer, to be exhibited against the said Charles Povey, and several Shop Keepers and Ringers of Bells, for Recovery against every of them of £100 for such setting up, and for every week's continuance thereof; and also £5 for every Offence in Collecting and Delivering of Letters for Hire as aforesaid, contrary to the Statute for erecting and establishing a Post Office.'

These additions to the rate of postage, of course, induced people to look after franks—the granting of which, however, had not assumed anything like the proportions it did later on.

But there was not the hurrying and driving in business then as now. Men lived over their shops or counting houses, and, being easily accessible, did their work in a deliberate, leisurely manner, and began their business very early in the day. For instance, when Sir William Withers, Lord Mayor in 1707, was putting up for a seat in Parliament, he adduced, as showing he would have time for his parliamentary duties, that 'There is not above one Cause in a Day throughout the whole Year, to be Heard after Ten a Clock in the Morning.'¹ 'Change was earlier than now; 'Crowds of People gather at the *Change* by One, disperse by Three.'² It is thus humorously described:³ 'The Exchange is the Land's Epitome, or you might call it the little Isle of *Great*

¹ *Daily Courant*, October 30, 1707.

² *A Comical View of London and Westminster*, ed. 1705, p. 100.

³ *Hickelty Pickelty*.

Britain did the Waters encompass it. It is more, 'tis the whole World's Map which you may here discern in its perfectest Motion, justling and turning. 'Tis a vast heap of Stones, and the confusion of Languages makes it resemble *Babel*. The Noise in it is like that of Bees; a strange Humming or Buzzing, of walking tongues and feet; it is a kind of a still Roaring, or loud Whisper. It is the great Exchange of all Discourses, and no Business whatsoever but is here on Foot. All things are sold here, and Honesty, by Inch of Candle; but woe be to the Purchaser, for it will never thrive with him.'

In the centre of the Exchange was a statue of Charles II., and here the stock jobbers hovered about—when they were not at Robin's or Jonathan's in Exchange Alley; and all about, each under his own nationality, stood the trim Italian, the Hollanders and Germans, with their slovenly mien, and uncouth, unkempt beards and moustachios. The Dons, in flat crowned hats and short cloaks, took snuff prodigiously, and smelt terribly of garlic; there were the lively Gauls, animated and chattering, 'ready to wound every Pillar with their Canes, as they pass'd by, either in Ters, Cart, or Saccoon.' Jews of course, amber necklace sellers from the Baltic in fur caps and long gowns, a sprinkling of seedy military men, and the merchants. These were the constituent parts of 'Change in those days, and it must have been a sight worth seeing. Round about were shops as now, where the spruce young Cits ogled the pretty glove sellers, or bought a Steinkirk, or a sword knot. Contemporary accounts of these fair damsels are not very good, but it was rather a libellous or scurrilous age as regards women, and they might not be true, or at all events be taken with much salt.

Ward¹ gives an amusing account of the exterior. 'The Pillars at the Entrance of the Front *Porticum* were adorn'd with sundry Memorandums of old Age and Infirmity, under which stood here and there a *Jack in a Box*, like a Parson in a Pulpit, selling Cures for your Corns, Glass Eyes for the Blind, Ivory Teeth for Broken Mouths, and Spectacles for the

¹ *London Spy*.

weak sighted; the Passage to the Gate being lin'd with Hawkers, Gardeners, Mandrake Sellers, and Porters; after we had Crowded a little way amongst the Miscellaneous Multitude, we came to a *Pippin Monger's* Stall, surmounted with a *Chymist's* Shop; where *Drops, Elixirs, Cordials, and Balsams* had justly the Pre-eminence of *Apples, Chesnuts, Pears, and Oranges,* etc., showing a view of the motley group of coster-mongers without. The pillars of the Exchange were hung round with advertisements, as indeed they were until very recently.

Some well-known names of bankers were then in existence—Child's, Hoare's, Stone's, and Martin's. In Harl. MSS. 5,996, 153 is a somewhat curious advertisement of Sir Richard Hoare's. 'WHEREAS there hath been several false and Malicious Reports industriously spread abroad reflecting on Sir *Richard Hoare*, Goldsmith, for occasioning and promoting a Run for Money on the *Bank of England*; and in particular, several of the Directors of the said Bank reporting, That the said Sir *Richard* sent to the Bank for Ten of their Notes of £10 each, with a design to send several Persons with the said Notes to receive the Money thereon, so as to effect his ill Designs, and to bring a Disreputation on the Bank, and occasion a Disturbance in the City of *London* :

'This is to satisfie all Persons, That the Right Honourable the Lord *Ashburnham*, Father of the Honourable Major *Ashburnham*, Major of the First Troop of Her Majesty's Life Guards, who was ordered to march for *Scotland*, sending to the said Sir *Richard Hoare* for a large Quantity of Gold, and for Ten Bank Notes of £10 each, for the said Major to take with him to bear his Expenses. The Gold was sent to his Lordship accordingly, and Sir *Richard's* Servant went to the Bank for ten Notes of £10 each, which the Cashier of the Bank refus'd to give: But if Sir *Richard* had intended to promote a Run for Mony on the Bank, he could have done it in a more effectual manner, having by him, all the time that the great demand for Mony was on the Bank, several Thousand Pounds in Notes payable by the Bank; and also there was brought to Sir *Richard* by several Gentlemen, in the time of the Run on the Bank, Notes payable by the said Bank,

amounting to a great many Thousands of Pounds, which he was desir'd to take and receive the Mony presently from the Bank, which he refus'd to do until the great Demand on the Bank for Money was over.

'N.B. That the Reports against Sir *Richard* have been more Malicious than herein is mention'd, which he forbears to insert for brevity's sake.'

Ward, for some reason, disliked bankers : he says, 'What methods do they take now to improve their Cash? The chief advantage they now make is by supplying the Necessities of straiten'd Merchants and great Dealers, to pay (for) the Goods imported, rather than they should fall under the Discredit as well as Disadvantage of being run into the King's Ware House, or by assisting of 'em in the purchase of great Bargains, or the like ; for which they make 'em pay such unreasonable extortion, that they devour more of the Merchants Profit than Snails, Worms or Magpies, do of the Farmers Crop, or the Gardiner's Industry.' If this was all the fault he could find, their iniquities were not very glaring.



CHAPTER XIII.

MEN'S DRESS.

A beau—An inventory of him—Hats—Wigs : their price : varieties—Hair powder—Robbery of wigs—Natural hair—Neck cloths—Shirts—Open waistcoats—Colonel Edgworth—Coats—Cheap clothiers—Stockings—Boots and shoes—Shoeblocks and blacking—Handkerchiefs—Muffs—Swords—Walking sticks—Watches—Over coats—Night caps—Night gowns.

WE have seen the birth, marriage, and funeral of these good people, and have noted some of their social habits. Next is, how did they dress? Far plainer than in Charles the Second's time, rather richer than under solemn and austere Dutch William, yet not nearly as finely as during the Georgian era. That, of course, is speaking of ordinary mortals—neither the titled ones of the land, who showed their rank by their dress, nor the beaus, who formed no inconsiderable portion of metropolitan life, and at whom were levelled stinging little shafts of satire from all sides, mostly good-humoured. The macaroni, the dandy, the buck, the blood, the swell—all are fine, but the beau of Anne's time was *superfine*, and modelled on the messieurs of the time of Louis XIV. He cannot be dismissed in a few words, for he was an institution of the time. There were travelled fops, and they were hated—there were those of home manufacture, and they were laughed at. Misson notes that 'A Beau is so much the more remarkable in *England*, because generally speaking, the *English* Men dress in a plain uniform manner,' and he describes them as 'Creatures compounded of a Perriwig and a Coat laden with Powder as white as a Miller's, a Face besmear'd with Snuff, and a few affected airs ; they are exactly like Molière's Marquesses, and want nothing but that Title, which they would infallibly assume in any other Country but England.'

Cibber¹ describes him as one 'that's just come to a small Estate, and a great Perriwig—he that Sings himself among the Women—He won't speak to a Gentleman when a Lord's in Company. You always see him with a Cane dangling at his Button, his Breast open, no Gloves, one Eye tuck'd under his Hat, and a Toothpick.' Verily, there is little new under the sun, and we, in these our latter days, have been familiar with the *Toothpick*.

Ward naturally loves him—impales him on his entomological pin—and enjoys his wriggles. He puts him under his microscope and minutely observes him, and then gives us the benefit of his description: 'A Beau is a *Narcissus* that is fallen in Love with himself and his own Shadow. Within Doors he is a great Friend to a great Glass, before which he admires the Works of his Taylor more than the whole Creation. His Body's but a Poor Stuffing of a Rich Case, like Bran to a Lady's Pincushion; that when the outside is stript off, there remains nothing that's Valuable. His Head is a Fool's Egg, which lies hid in a Nest of Hair; His Brains are the Yolk, which Conceit has Addled. He's a stroling Assistant to Drapers and Taylors, showing every other Day a New Pattern, and a New Fashion. He's a Walking Argument against Immortality; For no Man by his Actions, or his Talk can find he has more Soul than a Goose. He's a very Troublesome Guest in a Tavern; and must have good Wine chang'd three or four Times till they bring him the worst in the Cellar, before he'll like it. His Conversation is as intolerable as a young Council's in Term Time, Talking as much of his *Mistresses*, as the other does of his *Motions*; and will have the most Words, tho' all he says is nothing. He's a Bubble to all he deals with, even to his Periwig Maker; and hates the sordid Rascal that won't Flatter him. He scorns to condescend so low, as to speak of any Person beneath the dignity of a Noble man; the Duke of such a Place, and my Lord such one, are his common Cronies, from whom he knows all the Secrets of the Court, but dares not impart 'em to his best Friends, because the Duke enjoy'd him to Secrecie. He is always furnish'd with

¹ *The Careless Husband*, 2nd ed., 1705.

new Jest from the last New Play, which he most commonly spoiles with repeating. His Watch he compares with every Sun Dial, Swears it corrects the Sun; and plucks it out so frequently in Company, that his Fingers go oftener in a Day to his Fob, than they do to his Mouth, spending more time every Week in showing the Rarity of the Work, than the Man did in making on't; being as forward to tell the Price without desiring, as he is to tell you the Hour without asking; he is a constant Visitor of a Coffee house, where he Cons over the News Papers with much indifference; Reading only for Fashion's sake and not for Information. He's commonly of a small standing at one of the Universities, tho' all he has learnt there, is to Know how many Taverns there are in the Town, and what *Vintner* has the handsom'st Wife. . . . He's a Coward amongst *Brave men*, and a *Brave fellow* among *Cowards*; a *Fool* amongst *Wise men*, and a *Wit* in Fool's company.'

Pretty hard hitting; but it is borne out on all hands. Try another description: ¹ 'His first Care is his Dress, the next his Body; and in the uniting these Two lies his Soul and Faculties. His business is in the Side Box, the Stage, and the Drawing Room; his Discourse consists of Dress, Equipage, and the Ladies, and his extream Politeness in writing *Billet deux*; which he never fails to shew in all Companies. The nice Management of his *Italian* Snuff box, and the affected Screw of his Body, makes up a great Part of his Conversation, and the Pains he takes to recommend himself, wou'd set *Heraclitus* a Laughing. He's perpetually Laughing to shew his white Teeth, and is never serious but with his Taylor. His whole Design is bent upon a Fortune, which if he gets, the Coach and Equipage is still supported; if not his fine Cloaths and he prove stale together, and he is commonly buried ere he dies in a Gaol, or the Country, two places equally disagreeable to a Man of his Complexion.'

And, not to be wearisome, we will conclude with John Hughes' 'Inventory of a Beau': ² 'A very rich tweezer case, containing twelve instruments for the use of each hour in the day.

¹ *Hickelty Pickelty*.

² *Tatler*, No. 113.

‘Four pounds of scented snuff, with three gilt snuff boxes; one of them with an invisible hinge, and a looking glass in the lid.

‘Two more of ivory, with the portraiture on their lids of two ladies of the town; the originals to be seen every night in the side boxes of the play house.

‘A sword with a steel diamond hilt, never drawn but once at May fair.

‘Six clean packs of cards, a quart of orange flower water, a pair of French scissors, a toothpick case, and an eye brow brush.

‘A large glass case, containing the linen and cloaths of the deceased; among which are two embroidered suits, a pocket perspective, a dozen pairs of *red heeled shoes*, three pairs of *red silk stockings*, and an amber headed cane.

‘The strong box of the *deceased*, wherein were found five billet doux, a Bath shilling, a crooked sixpence, a silk garter, a lock of hair, and three broken fans.

‘A press for books; containing on the upper shelf Three bottles of diet drink—Two boxes of pills.

‘On the second shelf are several miscellaneous works; as Lampoons, Plays, Taylor’s Bills, And an Almanack for the year 1700.

‘On the third shelf, a bundle of letters unopened, indorsed, in the hand of the deceased “Letters from the old Gentleman,” Lessons for the flute, Toland’s “Christianity not mysterious,” and a paper filled with patterns of several fashionable stuffs.

‘On the lower shelf, one shoe, a pair of snuffers, a French Grammar, a mourning hatband; and half a bottle of usquebaugh.

‘There will be added to these goods, to make a complete auction, a collection of gold snuffboxes and clouded canes, which are to continue in fashion for three months after the sale.’

In a description of men’s dress, we will begin at his hat, and descend gradually to his boots. The hats were rather low crowned, made of felt, with very broad flapping brims—which were looped up, or cocked—very much at the fancy of the wearer—and the absence of this cocking denoted a sloven.

'Take out your Snuff Box, Cock, and look smart, hah!'¹ says Clodio to his bookworm brother Carlos; and their numerous shapes are alluded to by Budgell,² 'I observed afterwards, that the Variety of Cocks into which he moulded his Hat, had not a little contributed to his Impositions upon me.'

They were universally of black hue; at least I have never met with mention of any other colour, except in sport: 'I shall very speedily appear at *White's* in a *Cherry coloured Hat*. I took this Hint from the Ladies Hoods, which I look upon as the boldest Stroke that Sex has struck for these three hundred Years last past.'³ They had a gold or silver lace hat band, but ordinary people seldom had their hats edged. A hatband was considered *de rigueur* for servants, and Swift's man, Peter, even bought a silver one for himself, rather than be without one. Feathers were only worn by military men. 'The Person wearing the Feather, though our Friend took him for an Officer in the Guards, has proved to be an arrant Linnen Draper,'⁴ *i.e.* only in the train bands.

But it was in the periwig, the Falbala, or Furbelow, the dress wig of the age, that all care was centred, and in which all the art of dress culminated. Originally invented by a French courtier to conceal a deformity in the shoulders, either of the Dauphin, or the Duke of Burgundy, its use spread all over Europe; but, perhaps, the fashion never was so preposterous at any time, as it was in Anne's reign, if we except the wonderful wig of the spendthrift Sir Edward Hungerford (whose bust used to be in a niche in Hungerford Market) in the middle of the previous century, who is said to have given five hundred guineas for a wig! They were made from women's hair—or, at least, were so presumably. Of this we have many examples; take one: 'A noisie Temple *Beaux* with a Peruke of his Sister's Hair ill made';⁵

They made our Sparks cut off their Nat'ral Hair,
A d—d long W——'s Hair Periwig to wear.⁶

¹ *Love Makes a Man*, C. Cibber, ed. 1701.

² *Spectator*, 319.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *The Roving Husband Reclaim'd*, ed. 1706.

⁶ *The Baboon à la Mode, A Satyr against the French.*

Women's hair was a valuable commodity, judging by the following: 'An Oxfordshire Lass was lately courted by a young man of that County, who was not willing to marry her unless her friends could advance £50 for her portion; which they being incapable of doing, the lass came to this City to try her fortune, when she met with a good Chapman in the Strand, who made a purchase of her Hair (which was delicately long and light), and gave her *sixty pounds* for it, being 20 ounces at £3 *an ounce*; with which money she joyfully returned into the Country and bought her a husband.'¹ Indeed, it was an article of general purchase and sale: 'We came up to the corner of a narrow Lane, where *Money for old Books* was writ upon some part or other of every Shop, as surely as *Money for Live Hair*, upon a *Barber's Window*.'²

Men used to travel the country on horseback and collect it, and it was not unfrequent for suspected highwaymen, when stopped and brought before the authorities, to declare they were dealers in hair, roaming about, following their avocation—although it could not have been a very remunerative one, if we can believe the advertisements for the apprehension of deserters from the army: 'said he was a dealer in hair' being frequently mentioned. Here is an advertisement which gives a graphic picture of one of these gentry: 'Lost on Tuesday Night last the 14th Instant, about 6 in the Evening, from behind a Gentleman in Piccadilly, a Pair of Bags, in which were three Bladders with Hair in, two Holland Shirts, Neck-cloaths, and other Linnen, A Leather Bag with an Iron Instrument and Hair in it, a pair of small Perriwig Cards, with Read the Maker's Name in Flower de Luce Court in Fleet Street, and other small matters beside,'³ etc.; and we may note that 'At the Sugar Loaf in Bishopsgate Street near Cornhil, is the House of Call, where Perriwig Makers can have Men, and Men may have Masters.'⁴

'Did you ever see a Creature more ridiculous than that stake of human nature which dined the other day at our house, with his great long wig to cover his head and face;

¹ *Protestant Mercury*, July 10, 1700.

² *London Spy*.

³ *Daily Courant*, Oct. 17, 1712.

⁴ *Postman*, Nov. 13/16, 1708 (? misprint for 1707).

which was no bigger than a *Hackney Turnep*, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great platter of French Soup, with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat?'¹ And they must have been heavy. 'His Wigg I believe had a pound of Hair and two pounds of powder in't.'² And again, 'One Impudent Correcter of Jade's Flesh, had run his Poles against the back Leather of a foregoing Coach, to the great dammage of a *Beau's* Reins, who peeping out of the Coach door, with at least a *fifty Ounce Wig* on,' etc.³

The furbelow, or dress wig, was sometimes called a 'long Duvillier' (see *Tatler* 29), from a famous French per-ruquier of that name; and these wigs were not only long, but tall: *vide* the humorous advertisement in the *Tatler* (180): 'N.B. Dancing Shoes, not exceeding four inches in height in the heels, and periwigs not exceeding three feet in length, are carried in the coach box *gratis*.' Not to have it in perfect curl was unendurable. 'I think standing in the Pillory cannot be a more sensible Ignominy to a Gentleman that wears tolerable Cloaths, than appearing in Publick with a rumpled Periwig.'⁴ Pretty dears! they used to carry ivory or tortoiseshell combs, curiously ornamented, with them, and comb their precious wigs in public—ay, the most public places—walking in the Park, or sitting in the Beau's Paradise, the side box of the theatre, and when paying visits. But it seems to have been in anybody's power, by the exercise of a little trouble, to keep his wig in proper curl. 'The Secret White Water to Curl Gentlemen's Hair, Children's Hair, or fine Wigs withal, that are out of Curl; being used over Night, according to Directions, it performs a Curl by next Morning as substantial and durable as that of a new Wig, without damaging the Beauty of the Hair one jot; by it old Wigs that look almost scandalous, may be made to shew inconceivably fine and neat, and if any single

¹ *The Levellers, a Dialogue.*

⁴ *The Gentleman Cully*, ed. 1702.

² *The Gamesters.*

³ *London Spy.*

⁵ *Postman*, Sept. 23/26, 1710.

Lock or part of a Wig be out of Curl, by the pressing of the Hat or riding in windy or rainy Weather, in one Night's time it may be repaired hereby to Satisfaction. The Directions are so ample and large that Gentlemen's Men may perform the work with all the ease imaginable, the like thing never done before. Invented by an able Artist, and sold only at the Glover's Shop under the Castle Tavern, Fleet Street. Price 1s. a Bottle.'

These wigs were expensive—that is, if Steele and Addison do not exaggerate. Take this example from the *Tatler*, No. 54. 'He answered Phillis a little abruptly at supper the same evening, upon which she threw his perriwig into the fire. "Well," said he, "thou art a brave termagant jade; do you know, hussy, that fair wig *cost forty guineas?*"' And in the *Guardian* (No. 97), 'This gave me some encouragement; so that to mend the matter, I bought a fine flaxen long wig that cost me thirty guineas.' But there were wigs and wigs, and probably these highly priced ones were somewhat abnormal; at all events, ordinary people could not have afforded them, for we find Swift loud in his laments about paying *three guineas* for one.¹ 'It has cost me three guineas to day for a periwig. I am undone! It was made by a Leicester lad, who married Mrs. Worrall's daughter, where my mother lodged; so I thought it would be cheap, and especially since he lives in the city.'

It must not be imagined that the periwig was the only variety. On the contrary, there were several kinds of wig. 'I had an humble Servant last Summer, who the first time he declared himself, was in a Full Bottom'd Wigg; but the Day after, to my no small Surprize, he accosted me in a thin Natural one. I received him, at this our second Interview, as a perfect Stranger, but was extreamly confounded, when his speech discovered who he was. I resolved, therefore, to fix his Face in my Memory for the future; but as I was walking in the Park the same Evening, he appeared to me in one of those Wiggs that I think you call a *Night Cap*, which had altered him more effectually than before. He afterwards

¹ *Journal to Stella*, let. 13.

played a Couple of Black Riding Wiggs upon me, with the same Success,'¹ etc. The 'Night Cap' wig was a sort of periwig, with a short tie and a small round head. Then there was a 'Campaign' wig, which was imported from France; and this was made very full, was curled, and eighteen inches in length in the front, with drop locks. In the contemporary prints of Marlborough's victories, the back part of the wig is sometimes shown as being put in a black silk bag. We get an approximate idea of their value from the following advertisement: 'Lost &c. a Campaign Perriwig, fair Hair with a large Curl, value about 7 guineas,' etc.

I have come across one mention of a 'Spanish Wigg,' but as this was worn by a runaway ship's apprentice, it was probably of foreign manufacture, and the species had no place here. Lastly, there was the 'Bob' wig, or attempt to imitate the natural head of hair. This wig was mostly in use among the lower orders; and many are the descriptions of it, and its various colours, in the advertisements for army deserters. But the better class also used it. We have seen, in the *Spectator*, No. 319, how a man wore 'a thin Natural' wig; so also we read in Steele's 'Lying Lover,' 'What shall I do for powder for this smart Bob?'

The proper quality, and quantity, of his powder, must have been a serious weight upon the mind of a beau. Its groundwork, or basis, was starch, very finely ground and sifted; but this was adulterated with burnt alabaster, plaster of Paris (which was called in the trade *Old Doctor*), whitening, fine flour, flour from pearl barley, and other things; and it was scented—well, we should think to a sickening degree—with ambergris, musk and civet, violets, orris root, rose, bergamot, orange flowers, and jessamine. And there were different coloured hair powders. The black was made with starch, Japan ink, and ivory black; a cheaper sort was made of pounded coal-dust. Brown was made with starch and umber—according to the shade required. Grey was produced by mixing some of the black powder with more starch, and adding a little smalts.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 319 (Budgell).

Gay presents us with a curious little piece of economy :—

When suffocating Mists obscure the Morn
Let thy worst Wig, long us'd to Storms, be worn ;
 This knows the powder'd Footman, and with Care,
 Beneath his flapping Hat, secures his Hair.¹

We are indebted also to Gay² for the following vivid description of the manner in which the beaux were robbed of their cherished chevelure :—

Nor is thy Flaxen Wigg with Safety worn ;
 High on the Shoulder, in the Basket born,
 Lurks the sly Boy ; whose Hand to Rapine bred,
 Plucks off the curling Honours of the Head.

This was an ingenious plan, but it was almost equalled in the very early years of George I. by a practice which sprung up, of cutting a hole in the leather backs of the carriages, boldly clutching the occupant's wig, and dragging it through the hole.

Some few had the courage to wear their own hair, and here is a hairdresser's advertisement on the subject :³ '*Next door to the Golden Bell in St. Bride's Lane Fleet Street, Liveth Lydia Beecroft, who Cutteth and Curleth Ladies, Gentlemen's, and Childrens Hair ; and selleth a fine Pomatum, which is mixt with Ingredients of her own making, that if the Hair be never so Thin, it makes it grow Thick ; if Short, it makes it grow Long : If any Gentlemens or Childrens Hair be never so Lank, she makes it Curle in a little time like a Periwig. She waits on Ladies, if desir'd, on Tuesdays and Fridays ; the other Days of the Week, she is to be spoken with at Home.*' So that we see the 'Professors' of those days were very similar to their congeners of ours, and had invaluable nostrums—'prepared only by,' etc. Bear's grease used to be imported from Russia ; but a spurious kind was also sold, made out of dog's, or goat's, fat, or rancid hog's lard. There were common, hard, black, and brown pomatums, to say nothing of powders and liquids for thickening the hair, principally made of burdock root and small beer, and a powder for cleansing the hair, made with cassia wood and white vitriol.

¹ *Trivia*, book 1.

² *Ibid.* book 3.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 242.

We next come to the neckcloth, as no collar or band of the shirt was shown; and the one most in fashion was the 'Steinkirk,' so called from the battle of that name, which was fought on Aug 3, 1692, when the English under William III. were defeated, and the campaign broken up. This style of neckcloth was introduced from Paris, and it was highly fashionable there, because its negligent style was popularly supposed to imitate the disordered dress of the victorious French generals, who were so eager to rush into the fight that they did not stop to finish dressing—or, at all events, to tie their neckcloths. It was a very graceful fashion, and the ends, which were laced or fringed, were sometimes tucked in the waistcoat or shirt. They are frequently alluded to as 'snuff grimed.' Ladies also wore them, as in 'The Careless Husband' Lady Easy 'takes her Steinkirk from her Neck and lays it gently over his Head.'

And there was the 'Berdash.' 'I have prepared a treatise against the Cravat and berdash, which I am told is not ill done.'¹ Some have imagined that the word haberdasher is derived from this neckcloth, but it is too ridiculous to think of for a moment, as there were haberdashers as early as Edward the Third's reign, and at the time of which we write there were 'haberdashers of hats.' In the epilogue to Mrs. Centlivre's 'Platonick Lady,' 'design'd to be spoken by Mrs. Bracegirdle but came too late,' it is mentioned—

Yet, tell me, Sirs, don't you as nice appear
With your false Calves, *Bardash*, and Fav'rites here?²
[pointing to her forehead.]

The *Daily Courant*, Nov. 4, 1708, says: 'Also very fine Muslin Neckcloths to be sold at 5s. a Piece.'

A gentleman's shirt was of fine holland, and was somewhat dear—the fronts were worn very open, and the ruffles were not laced, at least for ordinary wear: this piece of extravagance was reserved for a later time. Showing so much of the shirt necessitated clean linen, but it is hardly likely that many followed the example of Tom Modely,³ whose 'business in this world is to be well dressed; and the greatest

¹ *Guardian*, No. 10. ² Small curls on the forehead. ³ *Tatler*, No. 166.

circumstance that is to be recorded in his annals is that he wears *twenty shirts a week.*' That they were costly, we may judge from the fact that Swift was not extravagant in his dress, and that he bought them first-hand in Holland, by means of his friend Harrison, who was under great obligations to him. '28 Feb. 1718. I have sent to Holland for a dozen shirts,'¹ etc.—and again he writes: 'Jan. 31, 1713. I paid him (Harrison) while he was with me seven guineas, *in part* of a dozen of shirts he bought me in Holland.'

This having the waistcoat unbuttoned to show the shirt is very frequently mentioned, but it was eminently a young man's practice. A lady, speaking of her husband, says: 'You must know, he tells me that he finds London is a much more healthy place than the Country; for he sees several of his old acquaintance and schoolfellows are here *young fellows with fair full-bottomed perriwigs.* I could scarce keep him this morning from going out *open breasted.*'² Again³: 'There is a fat fellow whom I have long remarked, wearing his breast open in the midst of winter, out of an affectation of youth. I have therefore sent him just now the following letter in my physical capacity:—

'“ Sir,

“From the twentieth instant to the first of May next, both days inclusive, I beg of you to button your waistcoat from your collar to your waistband.”'

It was supposed to have a most killing effect on the fair sex. 'A sincere heart has not made half so many conquests as an open *waistcoat.*'⁴ The waistcoats, otherwise, were seldom mentioned; they were long, but not so long as they afterwards became; and, with the exception of very fine suits, seem to have been quite plain. One or two advertisements of fine clothes will tell us a great deal about them 'Lost &c.—a Red Waistcoat Wove in with Gold, 2 Cravats, and 2 pair of Ruffles, 1 being grounded Lace very fine, the other Colebatteen.' 'Stolen &c.—a new Cinnamon Colour Cloth Coat, Wastcoat and Breeches, Embroider'd with Silver

¹ *Journal to Stella.*

³ *Ibid.* 246.

² *Tatler*, No. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.* 151.

4 or 5 inches deep down before, and on the Sleeves, and round the Pocket Holes and the Pockets and Knees of the Breeches. They are lin'd with a Sky Blue Silk.' 'Left in a Hackney Coach &c. a light brown colour'd Hanging Coat, with long Sleeves, upper Cape Black Velvet, with Gold Buttons and Button Holes.' 'Taken from a Gentleman's House &c. a Dove Coloured Cloth Suit embroider'd with Silver, and a pair of Silk Stockings of the same Colour; a Grey Cloth Suit with Gold Buttons and Holes; a Silk Drugget Salmon Coloured Suit lin'd with white Silk; a Silver Brocade Waistcoat trim'd with a knotted Silver Fringe, and lin'd with white Silk; A floured Satin Nightgown, lin'd with a Pink coloured Lustring, and a Cap and Slippers of the Same; a Thread Satin Nightgown, striped red and white, and lin'd with a Yellow Persian, and a Cap of the same; a yellow Damask Nightgown lin'd with Blue Persian; a Scarlet Silk net Sash to tye a Nightgown.' These were clothes fit for 'the prince of puppies, Colonel Edgworth,'¹ who went one day to see his brother who lived but a day's journey from him; yet he took with him a led horse loaded with port-manteaus. On his arrival, these were unpacked, and three suits of clothes, each finer than the other, were displayed on chairs, his nightgown on another, and his shaving plate all put out. Next morning he appeared at breakfast with his boots on, and his brother asked him where he was going for a ride before dinner. He replied that he was going home; that he had only just come to see him, and must go back at once, which he did. The poor man afterwards died mad in the common Bridewell at Dublin.

Noblemen wore their stars on their coats, and their ribands, but it must have been a Collar day when the following happened: 'On Wednesday morning last between 11 and 12 at St. James's Gate, was dropt from a Nobleman's Coller of Esses, an enamel'd George; if brought to Mr. Mead's, a Goldsmith, at the Black Lyon within Temple Bar, shall have a Guinea Reward, and no Questions ask'd.'² The reward does not indicate reckless prodigality on the part of the nobleman.

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 6.

² *Postboy*, Feb. 25, 1714.

We have seen that there was a great variety of colours in men's clothing. A little curiosity in colour must not pass unnoticed.

The City Prentices, those upstart Beaus
In short spruce Puffs and *Vigo* coloured clothes¹

—a colour which might puzzle for some time, were it not for the huge quantity of *snuff* captured at *Vigo* in 1702.

There were clothes of *Drap du Barri* and *D'Oyley* suits, so called after the famous haberdasher, whose name still survives in the dessert napkin. They were made of druggit and sagathay, camlet, but the majority of men wore cloth. It is scarcely necessary to describe the shape of the coat, for the illustrations show it better than any printed description. There is but one peculiarity I would point out—that in 1711 the coats used to be *wired* to make them stick out. 'The Skirt of your fashionable Coats forms as large a Circumference as our Petticoats; as these are set out with Whalebone, so are those with Wire, to encrease and sustain the Bunch of Fold that hangs down on each side.'²

The cheap clothiers lived in Monmouth Street, St. Giles, (now called Dudley Street), and there was no love lost between them and their higher-priced brethren, as the following advertisement shows: 'Whereas the Monmouth Street Men and other Taylors in and about the City, have by divers Advertisements in the Postman and other publick Prints, and by Bills given from Door to Door, boasted what mighty Pennyworths Persons may have of them, in selling Sagathy and Druggit Suits, the smallest sized Men for 3 Guineas, and the largest sizes for £3 10s. and Men's Cloth Suits at £4 and £4 10s. This is to acquaint all Persons that have occasion for such Suits, if they please to make Tryal, may have the same as Cheap in Birchin lane, and as well and as fashionable made, and may be assured of seeing more choice both of broad Cloaths, Camblet, Druggits and Sagathys than many of those Upstarts can pretend to.'³

A perusal of the advertisements of these 'Monmouth

¹ Epilogue to Mrs. Centlivre's *Love's Contrivance*, ed. 1703.

² *Spectator*, No. 145.

³ *Postman*, Nov. 15, 1707.

Street Men' confirms these prices, and one will serve as a type of all. 'At the sign of the *Golden Heart* in *Monmouth Street* in *St. Giles*' in the Fields. All Gentlemen and Others, may be Furnished with all sorts of Cloathes and chuse their Patterns and have them made very well and Fashionable, of Cloath, Druggets, or Sagathie, the first size Drugget or Sagathie at *Three Pounds*, the second size at *Three Guineas*, and the largest size at *Three Pound Ten Shillings*; with all sorts of Cloath Suits very Reasonable, and Cheaper than any hath yet pretended to make them: With all sorts of Plain Liveries at *Three Pound Fifteen* and *Four Pound* a Suit, and Laced Liveries proportionable; As likewise all sorts of Camblet Suits very Reasonable, and Campaign Coats at *Fifteen* or *Sixteen Shillings* a Coat; All sorts and sizes of Boys Cloathes, very Good and Cheap.'¹ In reading these advertisements, and indeed in all quotations of price, the different value of money—then and now—should never be forgotten; three pounds being equivalent to seven or eight. So that, according to our ideas, clothing was dearer then than now.

In the country, owing to the very little correspondence between it and the metropolis, of course the fashions were some time in reaching remote distances, and were equally long in departing from thence, to make way for new ones. Addison humorously describes the fashions for men in Cornwall in 1711. 'From this place, during our progress through the most western parts of the kingdom, we fancied ourselves in King Charles the Second's reign, the people having made very little variations in their dress since that time. The smartest of the country Squires appear still in the Monmouth Cock, and when they go a wooing, whether they have any post in the militia or not, they generally put on a red coat. We were indeed very much surprised, at the place we lay at last night, to meet with a gentleman that had accoutred himself in a night cap wig, a coat with long pockets and slit sleeves, and a pair of shoes with high scallop tops; but we soon found by his conversation that he was a person who laughed at the ignorance and rusticity of the country people, and was resolved to live and die in the mode.'²

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 205.

² *Spectator*, 129.

Of men's breeches, and the materials of which they were made, very little mention is made ; but the stocking is frequently brought to notice. They were of cloth, knitted woollen, thread, and silk. The latter were of all colours, to suit the beaus' costumes, but black silk was the wear of your well-to-do citizen, professional man, or gentleman. Misson says 'The *English* Silk Stockings are one of its famous Merchandizes;' and solemn old Thoresby records how he and his cousin 'bought each a pair of black silk rolling stockings in Westminster Hall.' There is no mention of gaiters as a protection against cold, rain, or mud. Addison grumbles that 'another informs me of a Pair of silver Garters buckled below the knee, that have lately been seen at the *Rainbow* Coffee house in *Fleet Street*,'¹ and considers it his mission 'to Correct those Depraved Sentiments that give Birth to all those little Extravagances which appear in their outward Dress and Behaviour.'

With regard to shoes, there seems to have been much foppery. Red heels are specially railed against by the *Spectator*. The beaus wore the heels very high, as indeed was the fashion with the fair sex. Gay speaks, among his *de omnibus rebus*, of shoes, and gives the following advice² :—



' 4 PAIRE FOR A SHILLING,
HOLLAND SOCKS !'

When the *Black Youth* at chosen Stands rejoice,
And *Clean your Shoes* resounds from ev'ry Voice ;
When late their miry Sides Stage Coaches show,
And their stiff Horses thro' the Town move slow ;
When all the *Mall* in leafy Ruin lies,
And Damsels first renew their Oyster Cries :

¹ *Spectator*, No. 16.

² *Trivia*, book 1.

Then let the prudent Walker Shoes provide
 Not of the *Spanish* or *Morocco* Hide ;
 The wooden Heel may raise the Dancer's Bound,
 And with the 'scallop'd Top his Step be crown'd :
 Let firm, well hammer'd Soles protect thy Feet
 Thro' freezing Snows, and Rains, and Soaking Sleet.
 Should the big Laste extend the Shoe too wide,
 Each Stone will wrench th' unwary Step aside :
 The sudden Turn may stretch the swelling Vein,
 Thy cracking Joint unhinge, or Ankle sprain ;
 And when too short the modish Shoes are worn,
 You'll judge the Seasons by your shooting Corn.

Shoe-strings had gone out, and buckles were in fashion ; but they had not assumed the proportions they did in after years. Boots were never worn except for riding ; and there was in



JACK BOOT.

this reign very little improvement on the heavy and clumsy riding-boot of William the Third's time, which was still worn by Marlborough and his cavalry. Many are the pairs, with their spurs, that are advertised for, as being left in coaches.

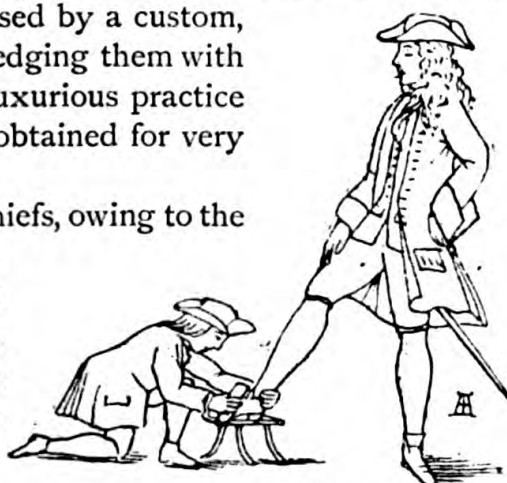
In those days of bad pavements and defective sewage, when men had hardly begun the general use of the chair, and a coach was, as now, the luxury of the few, shoeblocks were a necessity ; and, although a man might, like the Templar in 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' 'have his shoes rubbed and his periwig powdered at the Barber's, as you go unto the Rose,' yet a large number of '*Black Youth* at chosen Stands rejoice ; and *Clean your Shoes* resounds from ev'ry Voice.' They were very numerous ; and from them is derived our word *blackguard*, for so were they called about Charing Cross and White Hall.

There were different kinds of blacking, but, judging from the dispraise awarded to each other's goods by rival manufacturers, they could have been neither pleasant nor effective. 'London Fucus for Shoes ; being an unparallel'd Composition of the most pure and rich Blacks, Choice Oils, &c., and is a thing so adapted to this Use, that the World never yet produc'd the like Invention, having gain'd a General Ap-

plause, causing the straitest Shoes to wear with delight and ease ; beautifies them to admiration, preserves the Leather from cracking or rotting to the very last ; and frees the Feet from all Pains, Corns, Swellings, &c. . . . Price 12*d.* a Roll. Note, one Roll serves one Person near half a year.' And then the famous 'Spanish Blacking' advertised, and called the poor 'Fucus' names.

The little odds and ends of male attire must be noted. Gloves, for instance, were in constant use, and we have seen how prodigally they were given away at funerals. The ire of the *Spectator* was aroused by a custom, then just brought up, of edging them with silver fringe, but this luxurious practice does not seem to have obtained for very long.

The pocket-handkerchiefs, owing to the prevalence of the practice of snuff-taking, were nearly always of silk, though cambric was used ; and although we do not hear of 'Moral Pocket-handkerchiefs,' they were somewhat similarly util-



SHOE-BLACK.

ised, as the following advertisement shows : ' A Silk Handkerchief Printed, with a Draught of the Roads of England according to Mr. Ogleby's Survey, shewing the Roads and distance in measured Miles from London to the several Cities and Towns in England. Also the Victory Handkerchief, which gives an account of the Success of 5 most glorious Victories obtain'd by the Confederates over the French. Ornamented with the Arms of the Empire and Great Britain, Prussia and Holland : They will both Wash in a weak Lather of Soap without Prejudice. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*' Others were printed with the Queen's Speech to Parliament, April 5, 1710 ; the standards and ensigns taken from the French, with the queen's effigies at full length ; Dr. Sacheverell and the six bishops who voted with him ; the four seasons of the year with the sun in the centre, curiously ornamented ; and the last one I can find

advertised in Anne's reign was one printed on white silk with 'An Abstract of the Peace made between England and France, with the lively Effigies of all the Confederates, Princes and the several Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.'

In the early part of Anne's reign it was fashionable for men to wear muffs, as it had been ever since Charles the Second's time. Ward (1703) says: 'What is he in the long Whig, with his Fox skin Muff upon his Button, and his Pocket book in his Hand? Why he (replied my school-fellow) is a Beau.' But they seem to have become less popular in 1710 (*vide Tatler*, No. 155). 'I saw he was reduced to extreme poverty, by certain shabby superfluities in his dress: for, notwithstanding that it was a very sultry day for the time of the year, he wore a loose great Coat and a *Muff*,' etc. Yet in 1711 Addison writes (*Spectator*, No. 16): 'I have receiv'd a Letter, desiring me to be very satirical upon the little Muff that is now in Fashion.'

Every gentleman carried a sword, and we are able to get accurate descriptions of them, from the very numerous descriptions of them in the advertisements of lost and stolen swords—how they used to lose them! Probably the company at the tavern or club was jovial, the claret good, and the way home was badly lit, and in the morning the silver-hilted sword was a-missing. I wonder if they ever got them back? They cried after them loudly enough, although they did not offer great rewards, a guinea or so at the outside. Gay thus warns the walker in the streets:—

Where the Mob gathers, swiftly shoot along,
Nor idly mingle in the noisy Throng.
Lur'd by the Silver Hilt, amid the Swarm,
The subtil Artist will thy Side disarm.

With a beau, his sword, as every other part of his dress, received his special attention, and he very seldom was without it, except when dancing. His sword-knot was of some gay colour, and was very long; and he was solicitous as to the carriage of his sword. 'But my sword—does it hang careless?' asks Bookwit in the 'Lying Lover'; and yet withal the hilts very seldom seem to have been of much value, either

diamond-cut steel, gilt, or plain silver hilts. The following are some of the better sort, and of the most artistic merit. 'A large plain Silver hilted Sword with Scrowls and gilt in parts, with a broad gutter'd hollow Blade gilt at the shoulder, and the edges ground very sharp and a strong silver gilt handle.' 'A Hanger with a fine Aggat Haft, Belt, and Silver buckle.' 'A Silver gilt Sword, done with several Figures, with a Chequer Gold handle done one half of it with a Black Ribbon.' 'A Silver and Gold Hilted Sword wrought with Figures and Images about the handle, being tyed with a broad black Ribbon, the Blade broad from the Hilt halfway, and stain'd with blew and Gold.' 'A Silver and Gold hilted Sword of a Trophy Pattern, with a man on Horseback on the Middle of the Pommel, and the same in the Shell, with the Figures lying down on each side of the Horse, the Button of the Pommel being in Squares.'

Here is an advertisement which shows how a poor innocent was led astray: 'June 24, 1712. Whereas a Gentleman coming to Bradbery's Hazard Table last Night, and not a Gamester, but brought by an Acquaintance to see the Nature of it, lost his Silver hilted Sword, which some of the Company took from his side; This is to give Notice that any body that produces the Sword to Mr. John Waters, Perfumer, in the Strand, over against the Talbot Inn; or to Mr. Hosier, over against the Bunch of Grapes in New Street, Fetter Lane, shall have 10s. Reward, and no Questions ask'd; and if the Sword is not produc'd, the Man that keeps the Table will be indited.'

Towards the end of Anne's reign swords were worn of a preposterous length, which excited the satire of the *Guardian*.¹ 'When Jack Lizard made his first trip to town from the university, he thought he could never bring up with him enough of the gentleman; this I soon perceived in the first visit he made me, when I remember, he came scraping in at the door, encumbered with a bar of Cold iron so irksomely long, that it banged against his Calf, and jarred upon his right heel, as he Walked, and came rattling behind him as he ran down the stairs. But his sister Annabella's raillery soon

¹ *Guardian*, No. 143.

cured him of this awkward air, by telling him that his sword was only fit for going up stairs, or walking up hill, and that she shrewdly suspected he had stolen it out of the College kitchen.'

Equal, at least, in importance to the sword, was the cane, 'the nice conduct' of which was part of a gentleman's education—and, if swords were plentifully lost or stolen, how many more despairing owners mourned their canes? There were useful, as well as ornamental canes.

If the Strong Cane support thy walking Hand,
Chairmen no longer shall the Wall command ;
Ev'n sturdy Car-men shall thy Nod obey,
And rattling Coaches stop to make thee Way :
This shall direct thy Cautious Tread aright,
Though not one glaring Lamp enliven Night.
Let Beaus their Canes with Amber tipt produce,
Be theirs for empty Show, but thine for use.¹

The majority of those lost were hardly worth advertising for; but we will pick out a few, as specimens of what the better sort were like: 'A fine Cane with a Gold Head, engraved with a Cypher and Crown on the top of it.' 'A Cane with an Aggot head.' 'A small cane with an Amber head and a Black Silk Ribbond in it, a Princes Metal Hoop, and a Silver Ferril at the bottom.' 'A Cane with a Silver Head and a Black Ribbon in it, the top of it Amber, crack'd in two or three places, part of the Head to turn round, and in it a Perspective Glass.' 'A Cane with a croched Head, a Silver Ferrel and a Silver ring.' 'A Cane with a Silver Head, with the Figure of the Tower of Babel upon it, done in Chaced Work.' 'A Cane with a Silver Head and Scent Box, and a Ferril of Silver at the Bottom.'

His snuff-box, too, was an object of his solicitude, though, as the habit of taking snuff had but just come into vogue, there were no collections of them, and no beau had ever dreamed of criticising a box as did Lord Petersham, as 'a nice Summer box.' So many of them have come down to us that they need no description, and I may merely say that those of the middle classes were chiefly of silver, or tortoise-

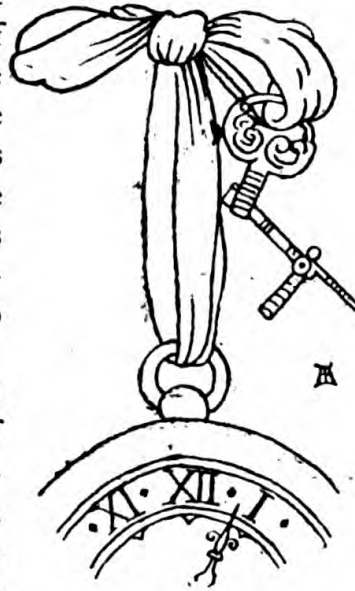
¹ *Trivium*, book 1.

shell, or mother-of-pearl; sometimes of 'Aggat'—or with a 'Moco Stone' in the lid. A beau would sometimes either have a looking-glass, or the portrait of a lady inside the lid.

We have seen how proud the beau was of his watch, which he wore in a fob, or pocket, in his breeches. A seal or two, generally of small value, and a watch key, were attached to it by a ribbon; chains, either of gold, silver, or steel, being sparingly used. The seals, of course, were then necessary, as, there being no gummed envelopes, every letter had to be properly sealed, either by wax or wafer. Tompion was the great watch-maker, and he lived at the Three Crowns, at the corner of Water Lane in Fleet Street, where he was afterwards succeeded by George Graham. The value of Tompion's watches may be gathered from the fact that from seven to ten guineas were generally offered for their recovery when lost, or from eighteen to twenty-five guineas of our money.

The watch of that day, and indeed of the whole Georgian era, consisted of the watch proper, and an outer ornamental case, which was lined with a pad of coloured velvet or satin, to make it fit tight to the watch. We now never see watch-cases made of other materials than the precious metals, or imitations thereof; but then, beautiful cases were made of shagreen of various colours, or tortoiseshell inlaid, or studded, with gold. Some beautiful specimens may be seen in the library of the Corporation of the City of London, in the Clockmakers' Company's collection.

As umbrellas were not used by men, as being too effeminate, and india-rubber waterproofing was only to be discovered more than a century later, men, in Anne's reign, had to put their trust in good broadcloth coats or cloaks.



A WATCH RIBAND.

Nor should it prove thy less important Care,
 To Chuse a proper Coat for Winter's Wear.
 Now in thy Trunk thy *Doily* Habit fold,
 The silken Drugget ill can fence the cold ;
 The Frieze's spongy Nap is soak'd with Rain,
 And Show'rs soon drench the Camlet's cockled Grain.
 True *Witney* Broad Cloth with its Shag unshorn,
 Unpierc'd is in the lasting Tempest worn :
 Be this the Horse man's Fence ; for who would wear
 Amid the Town the Spoils of *Russia's* Bear ?
 Within the *Roquelaure's* Clasp thy Hands are pent,
 Hands, that stretch'd forth invading Harms prevent.
 Let the looped *Bavaroy* the Fop embrace,
 Or his deep Cloak be spatter'd o'er with Lace.
 That Garment best the Winter's Rage defends,
 Whose shapeless Form in ample Plaits depends ;
 By various Names ¹ in various Counties known,
 Yet held in all the true *Surtout* alone :
 Be thine of *Kersey* firm, though small the Cost,
 Then brave unwet the Rain, unchill'd the Frost.²

Scarlet seems to have been the favourite colour for the roquelaure or cloak, and some must have been 'exceeding magnificent,' scarlet rocklows and rocliers, with gold buttons and loops, being advertised as lost. Ah! the men of that time! they were always losing something.

In doors, in their hours of ease, the precious furbelow wig was discarded, and their closely cropped or shaved heads were clad in handsomely worked caps—called *night caps*, although only worn in the daytime ; some kind of night cap having been an article of dress ever since the time of Elizabeth. They were as common presents from ladies to gentlemen, as a pair of slippers, or a smoking-cap would be now. Says Swift, 'Your fine Cap, Madam Dingley, is too little, and too hot. I will have that fur taken off ; I wish it were far enough ; and my old Velvet cap is good for nothing. Is it velvet under the fur? I was feeling but cannot find ; if it be, it will do without it, else I will face it ; but then I must buy new velvet : but may be I may beg a piece. What shall I do?'³

The loose dressing gown, too, was called a *night gown*—

¹ *A Joseph, a Wrap Rascal*, etc.

² *Trivia*, book I.

³ *Journal to Stella*, letter 8.

why, I know not, because it was not worn at night. 'You must know I am in my night gown every morning betwixt six and seven, and Patrick is forced to ply me fifty times before I can get on my nightgown.'¹ They were made of costly materials as well as 'Callicoe'; indeed, they were generally of brocade, or some embroidered material. Men used even, early in the day, to lounge into the coffee-houses dressed in them. One example will show both their price



' OLD CLOAKS, SUITS,
OR COATS !'



' OLD SATIN, OLD TAFFETY
OR VELVET !'

and the materials of which they were sometimes made. 'Whereas on Tuesday the 23d of December last, 3 Night Gowns was agreed for, and taken away from a Shop in Exchange Alley, viz. One Man's Night Gown of yellow Sattin with Red and white Flowers lined with a pale Blue Sattin, Value £6 10s. One ditto of blue Ground Sattin, with red and white Flowers, lined with a plain yellow Sattin, Value £5 10s. One ditto of red and white broad stript Thread Sattin, lined with a green and white Persian,

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 8.

Value £2 10s. for which the Payment left was not satisfactory. If the Person who bought the said Gowns will give notice to Mr. Gray at the Rainbow and Punch bowl in Gilt Spur Street, so as they may be had again, shall have 6 Guineas Reward, and no Questions asked.'

As the ultimate fate of all these fine clothes was the old clothes man, a picture of him will as appropriately close this portion of the disquisition on male dress, as one of his mate will open that on female costume.

CHAPTER XIV.

WOMEN'S DRESS.

The commode—Description of ladies' dress—The petticoat—The bodice—A costly wardrobe—Underlinen—Dressing like men—Scents—Patches—Patching Whig and Tory—Masks—The hood—High-crowned hats—Furs—Umbrellas—Pattens—The fan—Mobs—Shopping—Stuffs—List of Indian stuffs—Lace—Linens—Tallymen—Jewellery—Diamonds—Plate—Children's jewellery.

THE 'commode' must have been so named on the same *lucus à non lucendo* principle as the night cap and gown; for a more inconvenient headdress, perhaps, was never invented. It originated in the Court of Louis XIV., and was there called a *fontange* because it had been introduced by Mademoiselle Fontange.¹ It was also named a 'head,' or a 'top knot,' and was made of rows of plaited muslin, or lace, stiffened with wire, one over the other, diminishing as they rose. During the reign, their fashion and shape altered very much, as is noticed by Addison: 'There is not so variable a thing



A COMMODE.

¹ It is said to have had its origin in a hunting party, where the hair of the royal favourite got loose. She hurriedly tied her laced handkerchief round her head; and the effect produced was so pretty, and artistic, that it delighted

in Nature as a Lady's Head Dress : Within my own Memory I have known it rise and fall above thirty Degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great Height, inso-much that the Female Part of our Species were much taller than the men.¹ The numerous examples given in the illustrations of this book render any further reference to the 'commode' unnecessary, as the reader will there see it depicted in every stage. The cut on the preceding page is only given because it shows it on a larger scale than any other, and is, besides, interesting, as forming one of a pack of cards (1707).

Ward give us his definition of a *Belle*, or 'Modish Lady,' as he prefers to call her, who was—

At *Hackney*, *Stepney*, or at *Chealsea* Bred,
In Dancing perfect and in Plays well Read.

Impatient of Extrems, with Pride half Craz'd,
Then must her Head, a Story higher be rais'd.
In her next Gaudy Gown, her Sweeping Train
Is order'd to be made as long again ;
All things must vary from the common Rode,
And reach a Size beyond the Decent Mode :
Thus Monstrously Adorn'd, to make a show,
She walks in State, and Courtsies very low,
And is a proper Mistress for the *Fool*, a *Beau*.² }

We get a very good, and at the same time humorous, description of female dress in 1707 out of Mrs. Centlivre's play of 'The Platonick Lady,' wherein one of the characters is Mrs. Dowdy, 'a Somersetshire Widow, come to Town to learn Breeding.'

Act. 3. Enter Mrs. *Dowdy*, Mrs. *Brazon* the Matchmaker, Mrs. *Wheedle* the Milliner, Mrs. *Turnup* the Manto Maker, Mrs. *Crispit* the Tire Woman, and *Peeper*, her Maid. They all seem Talking to her.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. We'l, we'l la you now, la you now, Shour and Shour you'l Gally me.

Turnup. Here's your Ladyships Manto and Petticoat.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. Ladyship, why what a main difference is here between this Town and the Country. I was never call'd above Forsooth in all my

Louis XIV., who begged her to keep it so arranged for the remainder of the day—a hint not wasted on the other ladies, who next day appeared 'coiffées à la Fontange.'

¹ *Spectator*, No. 98, June 21, 1711.

² *London Spy*.

Life. Mercy on me, why you ha spoil'd my Petticoat, mum : zee, *Peeper*, she has cut it in a Thousand Bits.

Peeper. Oh, that's the Fashion, these are Furbelows Madam—'tis the prettiest made Coat.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. Furbelows, a murrain take 'em, they spoil all the Zilk. Good strange, shour London Women do nothing but study Vashions, they never mind their Dairy I warrant 'em.

Turnup. Ladies have no other employment for their Brain—and our Art lies in hiding the defects of Nature. Furbelows upwards, were devised for those that have no Hips, and too large ones, brought up the full bottom'd Furbelows.

Milliner. And a long Neck and a hollow Breast, first made use of the Stinkirk—and here's a delicate one for your Ladyship. I have a Book in my pocket just come from *France*, Intituled, *The Elements of the Toylet*.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. Elements, mercy on me! what do they get up in the Sky now?

Peeper. A Learned Author to be sure,—let me see that, Mrs. *Wheedle*.

Milliner. Here, Mrs. *Peeper*, 'tis the Second Volume; the first only shews an Alphabetical Index of the most notable Pieces which enter into the Composition of a Commode.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. Well, I shall ne'er mind these hard Names; Oh Sirs, *Peeper*, what swinging Cathedral Headgear is this?

Peeper. Oh, Modish French Night Clothes; Madam, what's here—all sorts of dresses painted to the Life. Ha, ha, ha, head cloaths to shorten the Face. Favourites to raise the Forehead—to heighten flat cheeks flying Cornets—four Pinners to help narrow Foreheads and long Noses, and very forward, to make the Eyes look Languishing.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. Ay—that, *Peeper*, double it down, I love Languishing.

Peeper. Take it and read it at your leisure, Madam.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. I shall never ha done shour zeeing all my vine things. Hy day, what's these two pieces of Band Box for?

Turnup. 'Tis Past board, Madam, for your Ladyship's Rump.¹

Mrs. *Dowdy*. A Rump, ho, ho, ho, has Cousin *Isbel* a Rump, *Peeper*?

Peeper. Certainly Madam.

Mrs. *Dowdy*. If Cousin has one, as I hope to be kiss'd, I'll have it, Mrs. *Turnup*.

It is hardly within the scope of this work to follow the varying fashions of the reign, so one more extract must suffice. It is from 'The Humours of the Army,' by Charles Shadwell (a son, or nephew, of the Poet Laureate, 1713): 'But there are some fashionable Creatures at the other End of the Town, that give great Hopes of their being very odd

¹ The extremely *bouffée* furbelows were called rump furbelows, and the brooches inserted in the centre were called rump jewels or rumphlets.

and Whimsical ; for their Head dresses are no bigger than the Skull-caps they us'd to wear ; their Petticoats are up to their knees ; their Stays up to their chins ; and their Fans up to their Nostrils ; and the mody Shrug makes 'em wear their Shoulders up to their Ears ; their Lappets reach down to the Frenching of their Petticoats, which are widen'd with Abundance of Whalebone ; They stoop forward when they should walk upright ; they shuffle along a tip Toe, curtsy on one Side, smile on those they would ridicule, and look very grave on their intimate acquaintances.'

Begin my Muse and sing in *Epick* Strain
The PETTICOAT ; (nor shalt thou sing in vain,
The PETTICOAT will sure reward thy Pain !)¹

Before its introduction, women to improve their figures, or to follow the fashion, wore false hips, but these speedily disappeared when the hooped petticoat made its appearance, about 1709. Addison wrote a very funny paper, a mock trial of it,² in which the arguments for and against are duly heard, and he winds up his judgment with 'I consider women as a beautiful romantic animal, that may be adorned with furs and feathers, pearls and diamonds, ores and silks. The lynx shall cast its skin at her feet to make her a tippet ; the peacock, parrot and swan shall pay contribution to her muff, the sea shall be searched for shells, and the rocks for gems ; and every part of nature furnish out its share towards the embellishment of a creature that is the most consummate work of it. All this I shall indulge them in ; but as for the petticoat I have been speaking of, I neither can nor will allow it.' Vain, idle words ! the fashion crept on, until under the Georges it was absolutely outrageous. At present it was a somewhat mild hooping of whalebone, compressible—at least such was the under framework ; for the word petticoat meant the skirt of the dress—over which was the furbelow. They were made of varied and rich materials ; one example will serve to illustrate : 'Stolen &c. A Cloth Colour Gown and Petticoat of Grazet, an Ash Coloured Grazet Gown and Petticoat, a

¹ *The Petticoat ; an Heroi-Comical Poem*, by Joseph Gay (pseudo for J. Durant de Brevel), 1716.

² *Tatler*, 116.

Hair Colour plush Petticoat, a black Russel Petticoat flower'd, an Ash colour Silk Quilted Petticoat, a Cloth Colour'd Silk Sattinet Gown and Petticoat,' &c.

The bodices were laced, open in front, over very tight stays, showing them; and they varied in material from 'a pair of stays cover'd with Black Tabby Stitched, lin'd with Flannel,' to one 'with 8 diamond Buckles and Tags,' for which Sir Richard Hoare, of the Golden Bottle in Fleet Street, would give the finder twelve guineas. The bodices were worn low, showing the bosom—which, however, was partially concealed by the 'tucker' or 'modesty piece,' which was an edging going round the top of the dress and front of the bosom. In 1713 this was beginning to be discontinued, and deep, and many, were the growls over it in the *Guardian*.

The sleeves of the bodice were somewhat short (only coming a little below the bend of the arm), and were worn hanging, to show the white muslin, or lace, hanging sleeve, which came nearly to the wrist—a very pretty fashion; and an apron was worn, made somewhat ornamental by frilling, etc.

This formed the outward costume of a lady; only sometimes it was of extremely rich material, vide the following: 'Stolen out of the house of Mr. Peter Paggen in Love Lane near Eastcheap . . . One Isabella colour Kincob Gown flowered with Green and Gold, one Silver lace half Ell deep; One Silver Orrice a quarter of a Yard deep; A large Parcel of Black and Silver Fringe; One dark colour Cloth Gown and Petticoat with 2 Silver Orrices; One Purple and Gold Atlas Gown; One Scarlet and Gold Atlas Petticoat edged with Silver; One wrought under Petticoat edged with Gold; one Black Velvet Petticoat; three Black and White Norwich Stuff Gowns and Petticoats; One Black fine Cloth Gown and 2 Petticoats; One White Satin Gown lined with Black Silk; One Alejah Petticoat striped with Green, Gold, and White; One Silver Net half Yard deep; One White Sarsnet Scarf; Two Yards of White and Gold Atlas; one Blue and Silver Silk Gown and Petticoat; One Blue and Gold Atlas Gown and Petticoat; Two Silver Laces each a quarter of a Yard deep, One yellow Chintz Gown and Petticoat, one

Workt Petticoat ; one White Holland Gown and Petticoat drawn for Stitchin ; One pair of Shoes and Clogs laced with Silver ; One dark Colour Cloth Petticoat with a Silver Orrice, one White Sarsnet Scarf,' etc.

Of ladies' underlinen we get a glimpse in the following : ' Lost &c., a deal box containing 4 fine Holland Shifts, 7 fine Cambric Handkerchiefs, 2 Night rails and Aprons, one with edging and the other flowered, 2 yards of fine loopt Macklen Lace, one Suit of Muslen Lace Night Cloaths, 2 Holland Wastcoats, 3 Diaper Towels, One Powder Box and 6 combs.'

The stockings were either of thread or silk ; in the latter case they were sometimes of bright colours. We have already seen how the little temptress of the New Exchange asked, ' Does not your Lady want . . . fine green Silk Stockings ? ' The shoes were beautifully made, of satin or silk, embroidered, or of fine Morocco leather, with high heels.

Oddly enough, even in those days, which we are somehow inclined to clothe in idyllic simplicity, women dressed like men, as far as they could. Budgell notes this : ' They already appear in Hats and Feathers, Coats and Perriwigs.'¹ And Addison points out to them² that if their design in so doing is to ' smite more effectually their Male Beholders,' they are mistaken, for ' how would they be affected should they meet a Man on Horseback, in his Breeches and Jack Boots, and at the same time dressed up in a Commode and a Night rail ? '

The same little feminine vanities existed then as now. We had a glance at the cosmetics and scents, so will only just give one more illustration which supplies some then missing scents. ' I have choice good Gloves, Amber, Orangery, Gensa, Romane, Frangipand, Nerol, Tuberose, Jessimine and Marshal. All manner of Tires for the Head, Locks, Frowzes and so forth ;'³ so that they were not altogether independent of the barber's art as regards false hair.

There stands the *Toilette*, Nursery of Charms,
Completely furnish'd with bright Beauty's Arms ;

¹ *Spectator*, 331.

² *Ibid.* 435.

³ *The Virtuoso*

The Patch, the Powder Box, Pulville, Perfumes,
Pins, Paint, a flatt'ring Glass, and Black lead Combs.

So Love with fatal Airs the Nymph supplies
Her Dress disposes, and directs her Eyes.
The Bosom now its naked Beauty Shows,
Th' experienced Eye resistless Glances throws ;
Now vary'd Patches wander o'er the Face,
And Strike each Gazer with a borrow'd Grace ;
The fickle Head dress sinks and now aspires,
And rears it's tow'ry Front on rising Wires :
The Curling Hair in tortured Ringlets flows,
Or round the Face in labour'd Order grows.¹

The mode of coiffure was far less pretentious than in succeeding reigns. When a cap or commode was worn, the hair, except in front, was almost entirely concealed. When worn without a cap, as in the house—especially for dress occasions—it was rolled, as in the accompanying illustration, in a style both elegant and informal.

That curious practice of patching the face was in force, but was used in greater moderation than either in the reign of Charles I., when suns, moons, stars, and even coachés and four were cut out of sticking plaister, and stuck on the face, and even the mercers patched, to show the effect to their customers—or in the Georgian era, when the face was covered with a sooty eruption. The effect on a pretty face, as shown



COIFFURE.

¹ *The Fan*

in the accompanying illustration, is far from unpleasant. But it was an art, and required judgment.

Penelope. But alas, Madam, who patch'd you to Day? Let me see. It is the hardest thing in Dress. I may say without Vanity I know a little of it. That so low on the Cheeks pulps the Flesh too much. Hold still, my dear, I'll place it just by your Eye—(*Aside*) Now she downright squints.



PATCHING.

Victoria. There's nothing like a sincere Friend; for one is not a Judge of one's self. I have a Patch box about me. Hold, my dear, that gives you a sedate Air, that large one near your Temples.

Penelope. People, perhaps, don't mind these things: But if it be true, as the Poet finely sings, That all the Passions in the Features are, We may show, or hide 'em, as we know how to affix these pretty artificial Moles.

Victoria. And so catch Lovers, and puzzle Physiognomy.¹

When not properly applied see the result. 'Han't I got too many Beauty Spots on, in my Mind now my Vace

looks just like a Plumb Cake var all the World,² whilst they possibly might call forth some uncomplimentary remarks, such as 'You pert Baggages, you think you are very handsome now, I warrant you. What a devil's this pound of hair upon your paltry frowns for? what a pox are those patches for? what, are your faces sore? I'd not kiss a Lady of this Age, by the Mass, I'd rather kiss my Horse.'³

Misson notes the difference between his countrywomen and ours. 'The Use of Patches is not unknown to the

¹ *The Lying Lover.*

² *The Platonick Lady.*

³ *The Virtuoso.*

French Ladies ; but she that wears them must be young and handsome. In England, young, old, handsome, ugly, all are *bepatch'd* till they are Bed-rid. I have often counted fifteen Patches or more upon the swarthy wrinkled Phiz of an old Hag threescore and ten, and upwards. Thus the English Women refine upon our Fashions.'

One would hardly imagine that this fashion could have been pressed into the service of party passion, but so it was, if Addison was not jesting—and, after all, perhaps it is not so astonishing, when we recollect that the Tory ladies stayed away from the Queen's Drawing Room—on her Majesty's birthday too—because she gave a flattering reception, and a costly sword, to Prince Eugene: 'About the Middle of last Winter I went to see an Opera at the Theatre in the Haymarket, where I could not but take notice of two Parties of very fine Women, that had placed themselves in the opposite Side Boxes, and seemed drawn up in a kind of Battle Array one against another. After a short Survey of them, I found they were Patch'd differently ; the Faces on one Hand being spotted on the right Side of the Forehead, and those upon the other, on the Left. I quickly perceived that they cast Hostile Glances upon one another ; and that their Patches were placed in those different Situations, as Party Signals to distinguish Friends from Foes. In the Middle Boxes, between these two opposite Bodies, were several Ladies who Patched indifferently on both Sides of their Faces, and seem'd to sit there with no other Intention but to see the Opera. Upon Inquiry I found that the Body of *Amazons* on my right Hand were Whigs, and those on my Left, Tories : And that those who had placed themselves in the Middle Boxes were a Neutral Party, whose Faces had not yet declared themselves. These last however, as I afterwards found, diminished daily, and took their Party with one Side or the Other ; insomuch that I observed in several of them, the Patches, which were before dispersed equally, are now all gone over to the Whig or Tory side of the Face.'

It has been noticed that masks were used in the country by ladies when taking horse exercise ; in fact, it was a sub-

¹ *Spectator*, 81.

stitute for the modern veil ; and, in previous reigns, it had been used generally out of doors. But in Anne's time it had got to be associated with disreputable females, so much so that at concerts, and at Powel's puppet show, no person wearing a mask was admitted. They were still worn at the theatres, but scarcely by ladies. Still they were worn sometimes even by them, on the first night of a play, in case there might be any allusion, which might afterwards be excised, which would make them blush. They were not expensive luxuries.

No change in Government the Women stop,
For Eighteen Pence in Velvet sets them up.¹

Seeing the class by whom they were worn, people having them on were naturally liable to insult. The following illustrates the manners of the time :



A MASK OR VIZARD.

‘ An Arch Country Bumpkin having pick'd up a Frog in some of the adjacent Ditches, peeping into the Coach as he pass'd by, and being very much affronted that they hid their Faces with their Masks, Ads blood, Says he, you look as ugly in those black Vizards as my Toad here ; e'en get you all together, tossing on't into the Coach : At which the frightened Lady birds Squeak'd out, open'd the Coach

Doors, and leap'd among the throng, to shun their loathsome Companion.'²

Of course, when the commode was worn, no other head-covering could be worn with it ; but, when it came to be lowered, and almost disappear, a graceful fashion came up of scarves or hoods, and thus bright colours are alluded to more than once by contemporary writers, especially in the *Spectator*³ : ‘ I took notice of a little Cluster of Women sitting together in the prettiest colour'd Hoods that I ever saw One of them was Blue, another Yellow, and another Philomot ;⁴ the fourth

¹ Epilogue to *The Modish Husband*, ed. 1702.

² *London Spy*. ³ No. 265. ⁴ *Feuille-mort*.

was of a Pink Colour, and the fifth was of a pale Green. I looked with as much pleasure upon this little party Coloured Assembly, as upon a Bed of Tulips, and did not know at first whether it might not be an Embassy of Indian Queens,' etc. Whatever made Steele attack the hood as he did in a manner so scurrilous, and utterly unlike him?—though, after all, his objurgations are directed more against the cloak than the hood.

Your Hoods and Cloaths or rather Riding Hoods
 Were first invented to steal People's Goods—
 For when their Wearers came with a Pretence
 To Buy—Tho' looking with much Innocence,
 Lace, Silk, or Muslin privately they steal
 And under those same Cloaks their Theft Conceal.¹

The tall broad-brimmed hat (which still exists in Wales, only made in beaver) of James the First's reign was still used by country women, and the poorer class in towns. Ward, talking of an 'Assembly of Fat Motherly Flat Caps' at Billingsgate, says: 'Their Chief clamour was against High Heads and Patches; and said it would have been a very good Law, if Q. *Mary* had effected her design, and brought the proud Minks's of the Town, to have worn High Crownd Hats instead of Top Knots.'² And in 'Tunbridge Walks': 'Oh! the joys of a Country life, to mind one's Poultry, and one's Dairy, and the pretty business of milking a Cow, then, the soft diversions of riding on Horseback, or going to a Bull baiting, and the Charming Conversation of *High Crown'd Hats*, who can talk of nothing but their Hogs and their Husbands.'

Furs were worn, and of course duly lost. From one advertisement we get to know the name of 'a Sable Tippet or *Zar*'; and from another we learn something of its shape, 'a round Sable Tippet, about 2 yards long, the Sable pretty deep and dark, with a piece of black Silk in the Square of the neck.' They also had muffs, not only of feathers, as we have already seen, but of fur of all sorts, from otter skin to 'the Cats' fur. But ladies did not go out more than they could

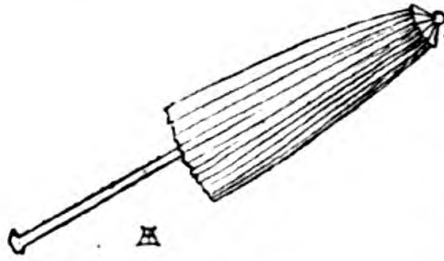
¹ *Female Folly, or the Plague of a Woman's Riding Hood and Cloak*, 1713.

² *London Spy*.

help, either in cold or wet weather. The streets were so bad, and, although to them was accorded the 'umberellow (for it was far too effeminate a thing for men to carry, no Jonas Hanway having yet arisen), yet they did not stir out unless obliged ; and it was only

The tuck'd up sempstress walks with hasty strides
While Streams run down her oil'd umbrella's sides.¹

Curious clumsy things these old umbrellas must have been. For a man to have used one, he would have deserved, and received, some such satire as 'The Young gentleman



AN UMBRELLA.

belonging to the Custom House, that for fear of rain borrowed the Umbrella at Will's Coffee House in Cornhill of the *Mistress*, is hereby advertised that to be dry from head to foot on the like occasion he shall be welcome to the *Maid's Pattens*.²

Good Huswives all the Winter's Rage despise,
Defended by the Riding Hood's Disguise ;
Or underneath th' *Umbrella's* oily Shed,
Safe thro' the Wet on clinking Pattens tread.
Let *Persian* Dames th' *Umbrella's* Ribs display,
To guard their Beauties from the sunny Ray ;
Or sweating Slaves support the shady Load,
When Eastern Monarchs shew their State abroad ;
Britain in Winter only knows its Aid,
To guard from chilly Show'rs the walking Maid.
But O ! forget not, Muse, the *Patten's* Praise,
That female Implement shall grace thy Lays ;
Say from what Art Divine th' Invention came,
And from its Origine deduce the name.³

And then Gay tells the legend of how Vulcan fell in love with Martha (or Patty), the daughter of a Lincolnshire yeoman; how to save her feet from the cold and wet he studded her shoes with nails ; but still she had a cold and lost her voice,

¹ *The Tatler*, No. 238. ² *The Female Tatler*, Dec. 12.

³ *Trivia*, book 1.

until he hit upon the happy idea of the 'patten,' the use of which completely restored her to health, and

The Patten now supports each frugal Dame,
Which from the blue ey'd *Patty* takes the name.

But we must not forget that potent weapon in woman's armoury, the fan.

The Fan shall flutter in all Female Hands,
And various Fashions learn from various lands,
For this, shall Elephants their Iv'ry shed ;
And polished Sticks the waving Engine spread :
His clouded Mail the Tortoise shall resign,
And round the Rivet pearly Circles shine.
On this shall *Indians* all their Art employ,
And with bright Colours stain the gaudy Toy ;
Their Paint shall Here in wildest Fancies flow,
Their Dress, their Customs, their Religion show,
So shall the *British* Fair their minds improve,
And on the Fan to distant Climates rove.
Here shall the *Chinese* Dame her Pride display,
And silver Figures gild her loose Array ;
She boasts her little Feet and winking Eyes,
And tunes the Fife, or tinkling Cymbal plies ;
Here Cross leg'd Nobles in rich State shall dine,
When on the Floor large painted Vessels shine,
For These, O *China*, shall thy Realms be sought,
With These, shall *Europe's* mighty Ships be fraught,
Thy glitt'ring Earth shall tempt their Ladies Eyes,
Who for thy brittle Jars shall Gold despise.
Gay *France* shall make the Fan her Artists' Care,
And with the Costly Trinket arm the Fair.

While Widows seek once more the Nuptial State,
And wrinkled Maids repent their Scorn too late,
As long as youthful Swains shall Nymphs deceive,
And easie Nymphs those youthful Swains believe,
While Beaus in Dress consume the tedious Morn,
So long the *Fan* shall Female Hands adorn.¹

To anyone interested in the use of the fan at this period, a perusal of Addison's article in the *Spectator* (No. 102) is recommended: it is too long for reproduction here, and would be thoroughly spoilt by merely making use of extracts

¹ *The Fan*, by Gay, ed. 1714.

from it. They seem to have been seldom lost, or if so, were not of sufficient value to advertise—in fact, I have only met with one advertisement, ‘A painted Landskip Fann, cutt, gilded Sticks,’ and for this a reward of 7s. 6d. was offered. That they were largely imported is evident by the following notice: ‘For Sale by the Candle, at the Marine Coffee House in Birchin Lane &c.—Forty Thousand Fans of Sundry Sorts;’ but these most probably were either Chinese, Japanese, or Indian palm fans.

Before closing the subject of women’s costumes the ‘Mob’ must be noticed—that dress of which Swift writes: ‘The ladies were all in Mobs; how do you call it?—undressed.’¹ This negligent costume, of which no actual contemporary description seems to exist, is never mentioned except to be decried—as, for instance, the question is asked, ‘How is a man likely to relish his wife’s society when he comes home and finds her slovenly, in a Mob?’ And there were one or two other articles of dress not usually mentioned, and not described, as ‘Women’s laced Head Cloaths commonly called *Quaker’s Pinders*’ and ‘*Dowds*.’

What woman could exist without shopping nowadays? And the habit was the same among the ladies of Queen Anne’s time. The *Female Tatler* (1709) gives us the following graphic description of shopping: ‘This afternoon some ladies, having an opinion of my fancy in Cloaths, desired me to accompany them to Ludgate Hill, which I take it to be as agreeable an amusement as a lady can pass away three or four hours in. The shops are perfect gilded theatres, the variety of wrought silks so many changes of fine scenes, and the Mercers are the performers in the Opera; and instead of “*vivitur ingenio*,” you have in gold capitals “*No trust by retail*.” They are the sweetest, fairest, nicest, dished out creatures; and by their elegant and soft speeches, you would guess them to be Italians. As people glance within their doors, they salute them with—Garden silks, ladies, Italian Silks, brocades, tissues, cloth of Silver, or cloth of Gold, very fine Mantua Silks, any right Geneva velvet, English velvet, velvet embossed. And to the meaner sort—

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 11.

Fine thread satins both striped and plain, fine mohair silk, satinets, burdets, Persianets, Norwich Crapes, anterines, silks for hoods and scarves, hair camlets, druggets or sagathies, gentlemen's nightgowns ready made, shallons, durances, and right Scotch plaids.

'We went into a shop which had three partners; two of them were to flourish out their silks; and after an obliging smile and a pretty mouth made, Cicero like, to expatiate on their goodness; and the other's sole business was to be gentleman usher of the shop, to stand completely dressed at the door, bow to all the coaches that pass by, and hand ladies out and in.

'We saw abundance of gay fancies, fit for Sea Captain's wives, Sheriff's feasts, and Taunton dean ladies.¹ This, Madam, is wonderfully charming. This, Madam, is so diverting a Silk. This, Madam—my stars! how cool it looks. But this, Madam.—Ye Gods! would I had 10,000 yards of it! Then gathers up a sleeve, and places it to your shoulders. It suits your Ladyship's face wonderfully well. When we had pleased ourselves, and bid him ten shillings a yard for what he asked fifteen; Fan me, ye winds, your lady ship rallies me! should I part with it at such a price, the weavers would rise upon the very Shop. Was you at the Park last night, Madam? Your ladyship shall abate me sixpence. Have you read the Tatler to day? &c.

'These fellows are positively the greatest fops in the kingdom; they have their toilets and their fine night gowns; *their chocolate in the morning*, and *their green tea two hours after*; Turkey polts for their dinner; and their perfumes, washes, and clean linen, equip them for the Parade.'

We get a glimpse at the prices of silk dresses in the following advertisement: 'The Silk Gowns formerly sold in Exchange Alley, are removed to the sign of the Hood and Scarf, directly over against Will's Coffee House in Cornhill, where any Gentleman or Lady may be furnished with any

¹ Why *Taunton dean ladies* I am at a loss to say, unless, as Somersetshire was then considered as the 'ultima Thule' of civilisation, it is meant that the dresses were as fine and gaudy as a country belle would wear, in contradistinction to the better taste of her town-bred sister.

Size or Price, there being all Sorts of Silks, from rich Brocades of 7 Guineas Price to Thread Sattin Gowns of 37s.,' etc.

Besides the stuffs described in the *Female Tatler*, there were 'Silver Tishea, Pudsway Silks, Shaggs, Tabbeys, Mowhairs, Grazets, Brochés, Flowered Damasks, Flowered Lustrings, ditto striped and plain, Sarsnets, Italian Mantuas, Silk Plushes, Farendines, Shagreen, Poplins, Silk Crapes and Durants'; whilst among the woollen goods were 'Hair and Woollen Camlets, Hair Plushes, Spanish and English druggets, Serge Denims, Calamancoes, Russels, Serges, Shalloons, Tammeys, Ratteens, and Salapeens.' Ladies' black broadcloth cost 13s. 6d. per yard, fine scarlet 15s. 6d., and superfine do. 17s. 6d.

Of Indian stuffs there is a formidable list, and as the names are curious, and are probably lost and forgotten, I reproduce them:—

Bafts	Pallampores	Bulchauls	Shalbafts
Baguzzees	Quilts	Cushlahs	Tainsooks
Ponabaguzzees	Sallampores	Emerties	Brawles
Chelloes	Sovaguzzees	Humadees	Seerbetties
Chints	Tapsiels	Moorees	Paunches
Do. Persia	Byrampants	Seerbettees	Palampores
Do. Culme	Cuttannees	Tanjees	Sooseys
Do. Mamoodies	Doorguzzees	Anjengo	Addatties
Do. Romalls	Gurrahs	Izzarees	Allibannies
Betellees. Oringal	Mickbannies	Sannoos	Aubrowahs
Coopees	Rehings	Coffees	Bafraes
Doreas	Tepoys	Allejars	Bejurapauts
Gorgorans	Jamwars	Atlasses	Betellees
Mahmudhiattees	Romalls	Cuttances	Chowtars
Peniascoes	Nillaes	Carradarries	Culgees
Seersuckers	Soofeys	Photaes	Ginghams
Terrindams	China cherrys	Pelongs	Luckhouries
Callowaypoose	Goaoncheleras	Cheaconines	Neganepants
Deribands	Cherriderrys	Chucklaes	Seerbands
Guinea stuffs	Elatches	Gelongs	Taffaties
Mamoodies	Gurracs	Jamdannies	Doodamies
Niccannees	Humhums	Mulmuls	Succatums

Having a Queen upon the throne—one that kept her Court, and dressed well—lace was naturally an article in demand. The Queen was somewhat moderate at her Coronation, for her point lace only came to £64 13s. 9d. It was Flanders lace, and was allowed to be imported, provided it was not made in 'the dominions of the French king.' Mechlin and Brussels lace first made their appearance in this reign, and, in 1710, the Queen paid £151 for twenty-six yards of fine edged Brussels lace. Indeed, Brussels lace was somewhat dear: 'One Brussels Head is valued at £40; a grounded Brussels head £30; one looped Brussels £30.' 'Lost betwixt Hemming's Row and Owin Street near Leicester Fields, a Tin Box with Lace; whoever brings it to Mrs. Beck at the Angel and Star in Fleet Street shall have £10 Reward and no Questions ask'd.' '9 pieces of fine Bone Lace belonging to a Person of Quality' were also lost, and £10 reward offered. This lace does not always seem to have been made of thread, for, 'Whereas two pieces of Silver Bone lace, was brought to a shop in Winchester Street to be weighed, the Lace being suppos'd to be stol'n, is stoped.' Four pieces of 'Macklin' lace, lost, induced a reward of five guineas, and the finder of three pieces of 'Brussels edging Lace' is supposed to be tempted by the offer of 10s. to bring them back.

We have read in the robbery from Mr. Paggen's of a number of garments with gold and silver lace, and with silver 'Orrices,' and the use of bullion lace grew to such an extent, that in 1711, its entry was forbidden under pain of forfeiture, and a fine of £100.

The linen of this reign was finer, and better, than in those preceding, and one linen draper of the time has handed his name down to posterity, viz. 'Thomas Doyley at the Nun in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.' A list of the linens then in vogue, is, as far as I can learn, as follows: 'White and Brown Osnabrigs, Dowlas's, Kentings, Muslins, Bed ticks, Garlets, Spotted Lawns, Sletias, Harford Blue, White Shorks, Holland, Cambricks, Gentings, Callicoes, Damask, Diaper, Huckabacks, Dimmities.'

Of these 'fine double threaded Cottons for Sheetings' was 12d. per yard and muslin 5s. 6d.

The 'Tally Man' was an institution in those days, and was well known. His handbills remain, and there is a singular unanimity among them; with one voice they make Monday the day for purchases and payments. The reason for this is obvious; at that early period of the week the Saturday's earnings ought not to be spent. As a rule, the terms were, 'Paying one shilling a Week for Thirty Shillings, untill the Sum is paid for which they Contract.' One gentleman sticks up for his dignity, and begs you to 'Note. That these goods are not to be sold by a Tally man, but the Money is to be taken by Weekly, or Monthly Payments, according as it shall be agreed upon for the Ease of the Customers.' This system was as pernicious then as now, only, as the law of arrest for debt was in full force, the prisons held plenty of victims.

It was not a particularly ostentatious age for jewellery, and we can get a good idea of what was worn, by one or two advertisements of lost property. 'Stolen the 11th of this Instant February 1703¹ between 6 and 7 of the clock at night, from the Golden Buck in Lombard Street, a Show Glass, in which, besides several things not remembr'd, were these Particulars, viz. A gold Moco² Stone Chain set in Gold with a Crown at the top. One Grain Gold Watch Chain mark't C. O. One large Saphyre loose and 1 a little less. One string of Pearls from 2 Grains to 5 or 6 Grains a piece; one large Pearl with a large Hole in it, about 12 Grains, with several other loose Pearls; with several Diamond Rings, Rubies and Garnet Grislets set in the Middle. One very large Sized Ring, with 12 Diamonds, one being out, with an Ametheist broke in the middle. One fine Medal of Cardinal Richelieu; one Smaller Gold Medal with two Heads. Several Stone and plain Locketts, and Gold Hearts, with Stones on the top to open. One Gold Chain with three links, links and end, 15 d. wt. and one Brilliant Diamond Ring, set round with 8 Diamonds in the middle; one longish Diamond weighing about 2 grains and a half, or 3 at most. One large Garnet

¹ In reality it was 1704. In the old style of reckoning 1704 did not begin till the 25th of March, and the *London Gazette* of this reign always kept to the old style.

² 'Moco' stones are what are now called moss agates.

set in Gold to hang to a Watch, and several Hoops and Joints mark T. S. Several Gold Rings set with Turkey and Vermillions. Several Gold Buttons, some plain and some set with Moco Stones, and a Cornelian Ring Set. One pair of plain Gold Buttons link'd with a Chain nock fashion'd, 8. d. weight and half. Several false Stone Ear Rings, and Rings of several Colours, set in Gold. One pair of Ear Rings, Diamonds and Drops, value about 4*l.* 10*s.* Several right Garnet Ear Rings set in Gold with Drops. Two Red Watch Bottles rib'd with Gold. Several gilt Watch Bottles and other Toys. One gilt Coral with a double branch. One Necklace with Pearls and Vermillions; one Moco Stone Bracelet, 1 large piece of Coral, weight 1 Ounce 8 p. wt., a plain gold Socket to it, 14 or 15 p. wt., 1 Cornelian set in Gold, and very finely enamelled, 3 or 4 Cornelian Seals set strong in Gold, several Gold Ear Rings with Tops and Drops to 'em, 1 little Padlock in Gold and Silver and a Gold Key, and several Corellionel Keys, &c.'

'Lost, &c. A Gold Watch made by Richards, with a Gold Seal and Cornelion set in it, a Griffin Rampant engrav'd thereon, a pair of Drops hanging at the end of the Chain; a Rumphlet¹ of Diamonds set in Silver and gilt. 2 Necklaces of Pearl, 1 middling, the other small; 1 Diamond Ring containing 7 Stones set in Gold. 1 Mourning Ring mark'd H. G. in a Silver Box.' 'A Bristow Stone² Necklace set in Silver.'

There was lost a very interesting memorial ring, to which, in those Jacobite days, no doubt a particular value was attached. 'A Gold ring with 7 Diamonds in the form of a Rose, which opens, and within the effigies of K. Charles I. Enamelled, next the finger is C. R. with a Death's Head in the middle.'

Diamonds were much worn, and frequently lost. For the following, a reward of 10 per cent. of their value was offered. 'Lost &c. 42 loose Diamonds, some of them large, belonging to a Necklace, and two with holes made behind for Screws to be put in, all strung on a white silk; and two Tags with 16 small Diamonds.' For the next 100*l.* was offered, or proportionate sums for portions. 'Lost by a Person of Quality,

¹ See *ante*, 'Rumps.'

² Probably what we call 'Bristol diamonds.'

a Diamond Cross of 6 Brilliant Diamonds and a large Brilliant Stone loose in a Collet. The middle stone in the Cross weighs 10 grains, and the other 5 together 29 grains, and the Diamond in the Collet 15 grains or thereabouts.'

The greatest loss of diamonds in this reign was the following, for which a reward of 1,000 guineas, and the Queen's pardon, was offered. 'Whereas there were brought from India in the Ship Albemarle (which was driven ashore at Pielpora near Plimouth about the 9th of this instant December) Five Bulses of Diamonds, which are pretending to be missing or lost. . . . Amongst which said Diamonds was one very uncommon, remarkable Diamond, viz. One cut Table Stone of the first Water, and in all Perfection, weighing about 26 Carrats and a Quarter, and one Pointed rough Stone weighing about 18 Carrats and a Quarter; and one other rough Stone weighing about 21 Carrats, a Point some thing fallen, Crystalline, White and Clean.'¹ One is glad to read in 'Luttrel's Diary,' January 15, 1709, 'Part of the Diamonds missing out of the Ship Albemarle are found, and brought to the Secretary's Office.'

'Lost April 23 (1702) upon the day of Her Majesty's Coronation, in or near Westminster Hall, a Diamond Stomacher, with a Row of Rose Diamonds down the Middle, with knots of small Rose Diamonds on each side; in the setting there being a joint between each knot; they being all set in Silver, and sow'd upon black Ribbon. Lost also at the same time one large Rose Diamond set in Silver, and fastened to a Bodkin.'

The Queen herself lost some diamonds on this memorable occasion, but nothing of great value, as only ten guineas were offered as a reward. 'Whereas there was Ten Small Diamonds singly set in Silver, but made up together into a Sprig fastened by a Wire, which were lost from her Majesty's Robes in the Procession upon the Coronation Day,' etc. This, however, was not the only loss the Queen suffered during her reign, some of her subjects conceiving a violent affection for her plate—*vide* the following advertisements. 'Whereas several pieces of Plate, as Dishes, Trencher Plates, Knives, forks,

¹ *London Gazette*, Dec. 23/27, 1708.

spoons and salts, together with Pewter of all Sorts, Table Linen and other Necessaries, which were provided and used in Westminster Hall at her Majesty's Coronation Feast on 23 Inst., have been taken away from thence, and are yet concealed,'¹ etc. 'Lost last night, being the 10th of this Instant, January, the following Pieces of Plate, viz, a large Monteith² with the Queen's Arms; a Salver, with the Royal Arms; 3 Salts Nurl'd; 4 Spoons, with W. R. in a Cypher, and a Crown over them; One Plate with the late King's Arms, and W. R.; the bottom of a Mustard Caster, with A. R. in a Cypher, and a Crown over it.'³ 'Lost at Somerset House, at the Entertainment of the Venetian Ambassadors, one of Her Majesty's Knurl'd Dishes, weight 52 Ounces, and one Silver Mazerine, Weight 20 Ounces, both engrav'd with His late Majesty's Arms.'⁴ 'Lost from Her Majesty's Palace at Windsor, on Sunday the 4th Instant, Two Silver Trencher Plates of Her Majesty's Engraven'd A. R. and the Arms of England before the Union.'

The plate of this reign was heavy and cumbrous, and of very little artistic merit. It was greatly in use, and was an outward and visible sign of its owner's wealth. To such an extent did its use obtain, that taverns were ordered not to have silver tankards, the temptation to steal them being so great.

Ladies occasionally wore chatelaines in the street, and lost them, whilst they seem only to have worn their watches for the sake of losing their outer case, judging by the numbers of advertisements. Being worn outside, there was nothing easier to steal. Not the whole watch; oh no! but gently to press the spring, and the gold case was in the thief's possession, with next door to no risk. They were absolutely asking

¹ *London Gazette*, Jan. 8/11, 1704-5.

² A Monteith was a kind of punch-bowl, with scallops or indentations in the brim, the object of which was to convert it into a convenient tray for bringing in the wine-glasses. These being placed with the brims downwards, radiating from the centre, and with the handles protruding through the indentations in the bowl, were easily carried without much jingling or risk of breaking. Of course the bowl would then be empty of liquor!

'New things produce new words, and thus *Monteith*
Has by one Vessel, sav'd his name from Death.'

Dr. King's *Art of Cookery*, etc., p. 37.

³ *London Gazette*, May 26, 29, 1707.

⁴ *Ibid.* Oct. 20/24, 1713.

to be stolen. Even the little children must needs be decked out with watches and chains. 'Whereas a Gold Watch, with a Gold Chain with 6 lockets, one of them with a Cypher L. T. set with Pearl and Green Stones, was lost from a Child 11 years old.' 'Stop't, a Child's Gold Chain suppos'd to be stolen.' 'Cut off from a Child's neck yesterday, a Gold Chain, four times about her Neck.' 'Taken from a Child, a Gold Chain with this Motto, *Memento Mori.*' 'Lost from a Child's side a Silver Scissor Case, Open Work, with Scissors in them; to it a Chain and flat Hook gilt with Gold.'



COSTUME OF A LADY.

CHAPTER XV.

FOOD.

(SOLID.)

English fare—Time of dining—Pontack's—Other ordinaries—Books on Cookery—Receipts—Pudding—Fish—Oysters—Poultry—Assize of bread—Markets—Vegetables—Lambeth gardeners—Fruit—Dried fruit.

IN the matter of food, people were not *gourmets* as a rule. The living was plentiful, but plain, and a dinner was never more than two courses; as Addison wrote, 'two plain dishes, with two or three good natured, chearful, ingenious friends, would make me more pleased and vain than all that pomp and luxury can bestow;' and this sentiment pervaded the whole of society. Dinner is almost the only meal ever mentioned, and one looks in vain for details of breakfast or supper. They were taken, of course, but men, then, did not sufficiently deify their stomachs, as to be always talking about them: dinner was *the* meal of the day, and there is no doubt that the most was made of that opportunity. Misson says: 'The English eat a great deal at dinner; they rest a while, and to it again, till they have quite stuff'd their Paunch. Their Supper is moderate: Gluttons at Noon, and abstinent at Night. I always heard they were great Flesh eaters, and I found it true. I have known several people in England that never eat any Bread, and universally they eat very little: they nibble a few crumbs, while they chew the Meat by whole Mouthfuls. Generally speaking, the English Tables are not delicately serv'd. There are some Noblemen that have both *French* and *English* Cooks, and these eat much after the *French* manner; but among the middling Sort of People they have ten or twelve Sorts of common Meats, which infallibly

take their Turns at their Tables, and two Dishes are their Dinners: a Pudding, for instance, and a Piece of Roast Beef; another time they will have a piece of Boil'd Beef, and then they salt it some Days before hand, and besiege it with five or six Heaps of Cabbage, Carrots, Turnips, or some other Herbs or Roots, well pepper'd and salted, and swimming in Butter: A Leg of roast or boil'd Mutton, dish'd up with the same dainties, Fowls, Pigs, Ox Tripes, and Tongues, Rabbits, Pidgeons, all well moistened with Butter, without larding: Two of these Dishes, always serv'd up one after the other, make the usual Dinner of a Substantial Gentleman, or wealthy Citizen. When they have boil'd Meat, there is sometimes one of the Company that will have the *Broth*; this is a kind of Soup, with a little Oatmeal in it, and some Leaves of Thyme or Sage, or other such small Herbs. They bring up this in as many Porringers as there are People that desire it; those that please, crumble a little Bread into it, and this makes a kind of *Potage*.'

Here, then, we have a very graphic, and evidently un-biassed, account of the cuisine of this reign. Two o'clock seems to have been the middle-class time of dining, but people with any pretension to fashion dined later. 'Why, does any Body Dine before Four a Clock in London? For my Part, I think it an ill bred Custom to make my Appetite Pendulum to the Twelfth Hour. Besides, 'tis out of Fashion to Dine by Day light.'¹ And Steele, writing about 'Rakes,' says: 'All the noise towards six in the evening is caused by his mimics and imitators;'² thus leading to the inference that, dinner being at four, and wine being plentifully drunk after it, they rose from table half drunk, and went noisily to the coffee-houses.

This, probably, was the case at such a place as Pontack's, which held the first rank among the restaurants of the time. It was situated in Abchurch Lane, and was said to have derived its name from Pontack, a president of the Parliament of Bordeaux, who gave his name to the best French clarets; but this could hardly be the case, as all contemporary writers call the proprietor Pontack. Misson speaks in high terms of

¹ *The Basset Table.*

² *Tatler*, No. 27.

the place. Swift writes to Stella: 'I was this day in the City, and dined at Pontack's with Stratford, and two other merchants. Pontack told us, although his wine was so good, he sold it cheaper than others, he took but seven shillings a flask;' and again, 'I dined in the City at Pontack's with Stratford; it Cost me Seven Shillings.' 'Would you think that little *lap dog* in Scarlet there, has Stomach enough to digest a Guinea's worth of Entertainment at *Pontack's* every Dinner Time?'¹ 'Mr. Montgomery said you had better go to *Pontack's*, Gentlemen, I think there is none here but knows Pontack's, it is one of the greatest Ordinaries in England.'² 'Your great Supper lies on my Stomach still, I defie *Pontack* to have prepar'd a better o' th' sudden.'³

There were others nearly as good.

At Locket's,⁴ Brown's and at Pontack's enquire,
What modish Kick shaws the nice Beaus desire,
What famed Ragoust, what new invented Salate
Has best pretensions to regale the Palate.⁵

Ward describes a tavern ordinary well; he is in his element; but to give his description would take up too much room. On entering the bar, the principal person visible was the *dame de comptoir*, 'all Ribbons, Lace and Feathers.' Having passed her, and taken a seat at the table, he had 'a Whet of Old Hock' to sharpen his appetite for dinner, which consisted of two calves' heads, a couple of geese, and Cheshire cheese; after which they all fell to a-drinking wine.

There were cheaper places, or ordinaries, than these to dine at. 'I went afterwards to *Robin's*,⁶ and saw People who had dined with me at the Five penny Ordinary just before, give Bills for the Value of large Estates;'⁷ and twopenny ordinaries are mentioned, but they must have been for the very poor.

In spite of what Misson says, there was good cookery to be got, only it hardly came into ordinary life; and there are

¹ *Works of T. Brown.*

² *An Account of the Behaviour, Confession and last Dying Speech of Sir John Johnson.*

³ *Lying Lover.*

⁴ Charing Cross.

⁵ Prologue to Centlivre's *Love's Contrivance.*

⁶ A Stock Jobbing Coffee House in Change Alley.

⁷ *Spectator*, No. 454.

two cookery books¹ which give most excellent receipts, and show that there was plenty of variety, both in the material and cooking of food; nay, even in the elegances of the table, which were well cared for, as the following receipt of Howard's shows: '*How to dish up a Dish of Fruits with preserved Flowers.*—Take a large Dish, cover it with another of the same bigness, and place the uppermost over with Paste of Almonds, inlaid with red, white, blue, and green Marmalade in the figure of Flowers and Banks; then take the branches of candied Flowers, and fix them upright in Order, and upon little Bushes erected, and covered with Paste: Fix your preserved and Candied Cherries, Plumbs, Pease, Apples, Goosberries, Currans, and the like, each in their proper place; and for Leaves, you may use Coloured Paste or Wax, Parchment, or Horn; and this, especially in Winter, will be very proper.' Some of the dishes he gives are hardly in vogue now; as for instance: '*Spinage Tarts.*—Take Marrow, Spinage, hard Eggs, of each a handful, Cloves, Mace, Nutmeg, Limon-peel shred very fine; then put in as many Currans as you think fit, with Raisins stoned, and shred, candied, Orange and Citron peel; sweeten it to your taste, make Puff Paste, and make them into little square Pasties; bake or fry them.'

Perhaps few people now would care to make Mr. Lamb's '*Patty of Calves' Brains.*—The Calves Brains being clean, scald them, then blanch some Asparagus, and put it in a Sauce pan, with a little Butter and Parsley; being Cold, put the Brains in the Patty, with the Asparagus, five or six Yolks of hard Eggs, and Forc'd Meat; season it with Pepper and Salt. When it is bak'd, add the Juce of a Lemon, drawn Butter and Gravy. *So serve it.*'

Listen to Misson's ecstasies over our national dish—the PUDDING. '*The Pudding is a Dish very difficult to be describ'd, because of the several Sorts there are of it; Flower, Milk, Eggs, Butter, Sugar, Suet, Marrow, Raisins, &c., &c., are the most common Ingredients of a Pudding. They bake*

¹ *England's Newest way in all Sorts of Cookery, etc.*, by Henry Howard, and '*Royal Cookery, or the Complete Court Cook*, by Patrick Lamb, Esq. Near 50 years Master Cook to their late Majesties King Charles 2. King James 2. King William and Queen Mary, and to Her present Majesty Queen Anne.'

them in an Oven, they boil them with Meat, they make them fifty several Ways: BLESSED BE HE THAT INVENTED PUD-DING, for it is a Manna that hits the Palates of all Sorts of People; a Manna better than that of the Wilderness, because the People are never weary of it. Ah, what an excellent Thing is an *English Pudding!* To come in Pudding time, is as much as to say, to come in the most lucky Moment in the World.¹

Of fish he says: 'In Proportion Fish is dearer than any other Belly-timber at London;' and as a matter of fact we hear very little about it as an article of food. The country, inland, was of course entirely dependent upon fresh-water fish, such as carp, jack, perch, etc. The London market was at Billingsgate (which kept up its reputation for its peculiar vernacular), but that was also waterman's stairs, and a place of departure for boats; and here was sold whatever fish was brought to London. A little before every Lent came vessels loaded with salt cod, which were sold at 1s. 6d. to 2s. a couple, and sometimes at 1d. per lb. Mackerel, on account of its perishable nature, was allowed to be sold on Sunday, as Gay notes, 'Ev'n Sundays are prophan'd by Mackrell cries.'



'FOUR FOR SIXPENCE,
MACKERELL!'

From Billingsgate the fish was distributed to the various stalls throughout London:—

You'll see a draggled Damsel, here and there,
From *Billingsgate* her fishy Traffick bear.

¹ There was 'the Royal Peace Pudding. Tickets 1s. each, Made on Thanksgiving Day, 1713, 9 feet long, 20½ inches broad, and 6 inches deep,' and there were the famous 12d. Marrow puddings. Blood Puddings were also in vogue. See *Trivia*:—

'Blood stuff'd in Skins is *British* Christian Food,
And *France* robs Marshes of the croaking Brood;
Spongy *Morells* in strong Ragousts are found,
And in the *Soupe* the slumy Snail is drown'd.'

And these stalls are thus described:—

When fishy Stalls with double Store are laid ;
The golden belly'd Carp, the broad-finn'd Maid,
Red speckled Trouts, the Salmon's silver Soul,
The jointed Lobster, and unscaly Soale,
And luscious 'Scallops, to allure the Tastes
Of rigid Zealots to delicious Fasts ;
Wednesdays and *Fridays* you'll observe from hence,
Days, when our Sires were doom'd to Abstinence.

Care was taken for the preservation of salmon, as the following notice shows: 'Whereas by divers ancient statutes made to prevent the Destruction of the Fry and Brood of Salmons, it is ordained, That none shall be taken in any of the Rivers or Waters, wherein Salmon is taken, between the 8th of September and the 11th of November; and that none shall be taken in the Waters in the County of Lancaster between the 29th of September and the 2d of February; and by a late Statute, That no Salmons shall be taken in the County of Southampton and the Southern Parts of Wiltshire between the 30th of June and the 11th of November, nor be exposed to Sale under the Penalties thereby provided: These are to give Notice that all Salmons taken out of their Seasons, and exposed to Sale in London, will be destroyed, as many lately have been, by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of the said City, as not fit to be sold for Victuals, being taken out of their Seasons, contrary to the Statutes afore mentioned: And that every Person bringing before the Lord Mayor such unseasonable Salmons, shall have a Reward for the same, to be paid by the Company of Fishmongers, London, as the Lord Mayor for the time being shall think fit.'¹

Our River Thames, then, was really the *habitat* of good fish, for we read: 'A Sturgeon was taken the last Week in the River near Stepney, which the Lord Mayor sent as a Present to Her Majesty.'²

It causes a sigh of regret to read of the great plenty, and wonderful cheapness, of real native oysters. They were then, as now, only considered fit to eat during the months with R

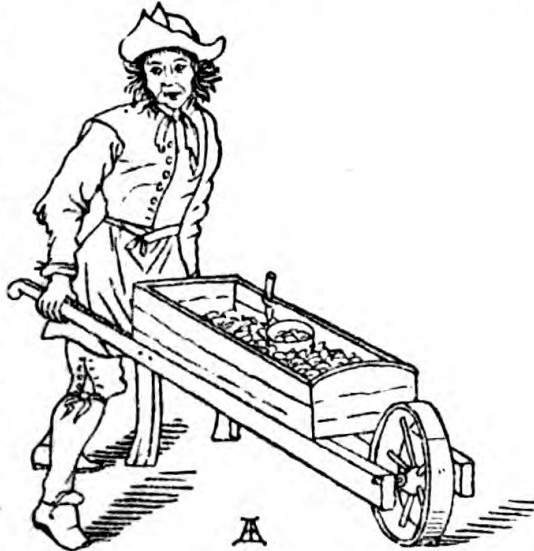
¹ *London Gazette*, Oct. 31/Nov. 4, 1706.

² *The English Post*, June 5/8, 1702.

in them ; and Gay, speaking of autumn, says, as a sign of its arrival, 'And Damsels first renew their Oyster Cries'; and in another part of 'Trivia' he gives the following sound advice:—

If where *Fleet Ditch* with muddy Current flows,
You chance to roam ; where Oyster Tubs in Rows
Are rang'd beside the Posts ; there stay thy Haste,
And with the sav'ry Fish indulge thy Taste :
The Damsel's Knife the gaping Shell commands,
While the salt Liquor streams between her Hands.

And they were wonderfully cheap, sold in the streets by the wheelbarrow men at 'Twelve Pence a Peck.' There was keen competition in them, and rival fishmongers advertised the superior excellence of their oysters. One will serve as a sample of the whole. 'Thomas West Fishmonger in Honey Lane Market near Blossom's Inn, gives notice, That all Persons who have occasion for the Choicest of Oysters called Colchester Oys-



'TWELVE PENCE A PECK, OYSTERS !'

ters, may be supplied for this Season with the largest pick't Fat and Green for 3*s.* a Barrel; Those somewhat smaller at 2*s.* 6*d.* of the same sort; Fat and Green, of a lesser size for 2*s.* the Barrel: The large pickt, white, fat Oysters for 2*s.* 6*d.* The smaller white fat Oysters 1*s.* 8*d.* At all these Prizes I will sell the right Colchester Oysters, which, without considering their goodness beyond other sorts, are cheaper than the Town Wheel barrow Oysters: And that all Persons in City or Country, that send for them, may no ways be deceived of having the right sort, the prizes are all branded on the side of the Cask. Note, they are all branded at the Pits, where they are pickt, so that if there be any

Cheat, it must be by the Oyster Man, which hath been too often practised to my Loss and their shameful Gain. My Oysters Comes in on Monday's, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays by Water Carriage. No Trader in the City or Suburbs having them come in so often, by reason of which, they will hold good the farthest Journey, to please the nicest Eater. Those that are not bought at my own Shop, will, by reason of the Extraordinary Charge be *2d.* in a Barrel avanc'd; and all that are desirous to have them from my Shop, the same day that they come in of, they shall be delivered, if desired, as far as St. James for *2d.* Temple Bar *1d.* And all other places proportionable, and when all is said, I hope tryal will be your Satisfaction.'

Pickled oysters were also imported from Jersey, and sold at *1s. 8d.* per hundred. Swift writes Stella¹ how 'Lord Masham made me go home with him to night to eat boiled oysters. Take Oysters, wash them clean, that is, wash their shells clean; then put your oysters in an earthen pot, with their hollow sides down, then put this pot covered, into a great Kettle with water, and so let them boil. Your oysters are boiled in their own liquor, and (do) not mix water.'

Poultry, with the exception of game, was the same as now; the only importation from foreign parts, seemingly, being ortolans, which were brought over in September of each year. The English ortolan, too, was keenly relished by epicures. 'You have a coarse stomach, and to such a one, a Surloin of Beef were better than a dish of Wheat ears.'²

For relishes, there were anchovies *8d.* per lb., neats' tongues and York hams *6d.* per lb.; but salt was somewhat dear. The home manufacture did not supply the whole demand, as now, and it was imported both from Portugal and France. Still, it was made at home. 'Whereas it hath been reported, that there was not a sufficient quantity of Salt made at Shirley wich, in the county of Stafford, to supply the customers that came for it. This is to give notice, that with the Additional Works, there is now twice the quantity made out of the new Pit, much better and stronger than was formerly.'³

¹ *Journal*, March 6, 1712.

² *The Virtuoso*.

³ *Postman*, June 9/12, 1705.

Bread, as usual, was made the subject of legislation, and the following proclamation was issued:—

‘ London May 3.

‘ GARRARD. MAYOR.

‘ *Martis 2 do die Maii 1710. Annoque Reginæ
Annæ Magnæ Britannix &c. Nonæ.*

By Virtue of an Act Passed in the last Session of Parliament, Intituled, *An Act to Regulate the Price and Assize of Bread*, This Court doth Order and Appoint, That the Assize of all White, Wheaten and Household Bread, to be made of Wheat for Sale within this City and Liberties thereof, shall for the future be Penny, Two Penny, Six Penny, Twelve Penny, and Eighteen Penny Loaves, and no other; and that on every Loaf be fairly Imprinted or Marked, several Letters for Knowing the Price and Sort thereof, as followeth, that is to say

	<i>Finest or White.</i>	<i>Wheaten.</i>	<i>Houshold.</i>
On every Penny Loaf	I. F.	I. W.	I. H.
Two Penny Loaf	II. F.	II. W.	II. H.
Six Penny Loaf		VI. W.	VI. H.
Twelve Penny Loaf		XII. W.	XII. H.
Eighteen Penny Loaf		XVIII. W.	XVIII. H.

And in further Pursuance of the said Act, this Court doth appoint, That the Assize and Weight of the said Bread shall be as followeth.

	<i>White.</i>			<i>Wheaten.</i>			<i>Houshold.</i>		
	Lb.	Oz.	Dr.	Lb.	Oz.	Dr.	Lb.	Oz.	Dr.
The Penny Loaf to Weigh by } Avoirdupois or Common Weight }	—	4.	3.	—	6.	5.	—	8.	7.
The Two Penny Loaf	—	8.	7.	—	12.	10.	1.	0.	14.
The Six Penny Loaf	—	—	—	2.	5.	15.	3.	2.	9.
The Twelve Penny Loaf	—	—	—	4.	11.	13.	6.	5.	2.
The Eighteen Penny Loaf	—	—	—	7.	1.	11.	9.	7.	11.

Whereof all Bakers and others concern'd are to take Notice, and to Observe the same under the Penalties in the said Act contained to be inflicted on all such who shall Neglect so to do.

‘ Note, That 16 Drams make One Ounce and 16 Ounces One Pound.

‘ GIBSON.’

And so they continued to regulate the price, according to the fluctuations of the corn market.

Milk was produced from cows kept in London, and was carried round by women, or milkmaids, as they were called.

On Doors the sallow Milkmaid chalks her Gains ;
Ah ! how unlike the Milkmaid of the Plains !

And the milch-asses went their daily rounds. Asses' milk was in great request, and many were the advertisements of milch-asses for sale. Its price was 3*s.* 6*d.* per quart.

Before proud Gates attending Asses bray,
Or arrogate with solemn pace the Way ;
These grave Physicians with their milky Chear,
The Love sick Maid, and dwindling Beau repair.

Butter was got from the surrounding villages, but already there was a trade in this article with Ireland, for on August 14, 1705, was sold at the Marine Coffee House thirty-eight casks of Irish butter and forty-nine casks of Irish beef.

There were several markets in London, each with its specialty.

Shall the large Mutton smoke upon your Boards ?
Such *Newgate's* copious Market best affords ;
Would'st thou with mighty Beef augment thy Meal ?
Seek *Leaden hall* ; Saint *James's* sends thee Veal.
Thames street gives Cheeses ; *Covent garden* Fruits ;
Moor fields old Books ; and *Monmouth Street* old Suits.

Vegetables were principally supplied from the Lambeth market gardens, which are thus mentioned by Steele¹: 'When we first put off from Shore, we soon fell in with a Fleet of Gardeners bound for the several Market Ports of *London* ; and it was the most pleasing Scene imaginable to see the Chearfulness with which those industrious People ply'd their Way to a certain Sale of their Goods. The Banks on each Side are as well peopled, and beautified with as agreeable Plantations, as any Spot on the Earth ; but the *Thames* itself, loaded with the Product of each Shore, added very much to the Landskip. It was very easie to observe by their Sailing, and the Countenances of the ruddy Virgins who

¹ *Spectator*, No. 454.

were Supercargoes, the Parts of the Town to which they were bound. There was an air in the Purveyors for *Covent Garden*, who frequently converse with Morning Rakes, very unlike the seemly Sobriety of those bound for *Stocks Market*.'

Neither Ward nor Brown viewed the Lambeth gardeners in such a *couleur-de-rose* aspect; and haply they described the scene more accurately. The former says: 'A scoundrel crew of *Lambeth* Gardeners attacked us with such a Volley of saucy Nonsense, that it made my Eyes stare, my Head ake, my Tongue run, and my Ears tingle.' Brown tells us that 'the next diverting Scene that the River afforded us, was a very warm Engagement between a Western Barge, and a Boat full of *Lambeth* Gardeners, by whom *Billingsgate* was much outdone in stupendious Obscenity, tonitrous Verbosity, and malicious Scurrility, as if one side had been *Daniel D—f—s*¹ Party, and the other the *Observer's*.' And they both give examples of this bargee slang, which, it is needless to say, are utterly unfit for reproduction.

From these market gardens came the 'Asparagrass' and 'Sallary,'² the 'Apricocks' and those melons which the *Spectator* noted were consigned by Mr. Cuffe of Nine Elms to Sarah Sewell and Company, at their stall in Covent Garden.

Misson says, 'Fruit is brought only to the Tables of the Great, and of a small number even among them. The Desert they never dream of, unless it be a Piece of Cheese.' That possibly was correct, but still a great deal of fruit was eaten. The *Daily Courant* of Feb. 20, 1714, mentions the following—Pears: 'Bon chrestien,' 'Mesir jean,' 'Beuré.' Apples: 'Pomme Royal,' 'Pomme Dâpy,' 'Reinette Grise,' and the 'Magdelaine' peach. We also see that

Walnuts the Fruit'rer's Hand, in Autumn stain,
Blue Plumbs, and juicy Pears augment his Gain;
Next Oranges the longing Boys entice,
To trust their Copper Fortunes to the Dice.

'Lisbon, China Oranges, and Sower Oranges' were sold in Love Lane, near Billingsgate; as were also 'a Parcel of Pot

¹ Daniel Defoe.

² Potatoes in any large quantity were $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.

China Oranges, of a pleasant taste and flavour, landed out of the Lisbon Fleet, now a delivering.' Oranges were favourite trees to grow here, and one advertisement mentions 7,000 of them for sale. The retail price of oranges was not excessive, considering the restricted commerce, and the small tonnage of the shipping. 'We have the finest oranges for two pence a piece,' writes Swift.

The foreign fruit market was, as now, near Billingsgate, and here were sold olives, raisins, currants, French 'Pruants,' and the choicer sorts of French dry fruits, 'Pears of Rousselet, of Champagne, Prunes of Tours, and Muscadine Grapes,' 'Candid Maderas Citrons, and Sweet Barbary Almonds.'

CHAPTER XVI.

FOOD.

(LIQUID.)

Beer—Hard drinking—‘Whettors’—Wines—List of French and Spanish wines—Wines of other countries—Duties on wines—Spirits—Liqueurs—Home-made wines—Prices of tea—Adulteration—Price of coffee—Chocolate—Its price—Duty on.

BEER always has been the alcoholic liquor most largely consumed in England, and, among the poorer and lower middle classes, it was so in Anne’s reign; but it was looked down upon, and despised, by the upper classes. It was of different qualities, from the ‘penny Nipperkin of Molassas Ale’¹ to ‘a pint of Ale cost me fivepence.’² Not only were there the local brewers in London, but the excellence of ‘right Darby’ and ‘Sleaford or Lincolnshire’ ales was such that these breweries were represented. ‘Right North Country Pale Ale ready bottled at 4s. per dozen’ was also to be had; and pale ale was exported. ‘Any Merchant that has occasion for Pale Ale and Stout, to send to the West Indies, may at any time be supplied at the Fountain Brewhouse, by the Hermitage, with Beer for Shipping at reasonable rates.’ Dantzic Spruce was also imported. Beer was taxed then, as now, by the barrel. ‘Yesterday the Commons, in a Committee of Ways and Means, resolved, That an additional duty of 3*d.* per barrel be laid upon all beer and ale above 6*s.* per barrel; and under 6*s.*, 1*d.*; vinegar 9*d.*; cyder per hogshead 5*d.*; strong waters mead and matheglin 1*d.* per gallon.’³

But, for well-to-do people, wine was the drink, and the variety was nearly as great as in our time. It was a hard-drinking age, and the habit was universal. ‘I look’d to have

¹ *London Spy*.

² *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 29, 1710.

³ *Luttrell’s Diary*, Jan. 24, 1710.

found you with your Head ake and your morning Qualms'¹ must have been a not unusual salutation ; but it was not done for the same reason as by those gentlemen mentioned in the *Guardian* (No. 58), 'who drink vast quantities of ale and October to encourage our manufactures ; and another who takes his three bottles of French claret every night because it brings a great custom to the Crown.'

*Nightly on bended knees, the musty Putt,
Still Saints the Spigot, and Adores the Butt ;
With fervent Zeal the flowing Liquor plies
But Damns the Moderate Bottel . . . for its size.
The Tripe Club, Swift.*

These evening potations rendered a morning's draught generally necessary ; but, after that, drinking was again postponed till the day's work was over. The modern system of 'nipping' did obtain to a slight degree, but it was reprobated. 'Whereas Mr. Bickerstaff, by a letter bearing date this twenty fourth of February, has received information that there are in and about the Royal Exchange a sort of people commonly known by the name of WHETTERS, who drink themselves into an intermediate state of being neither drunk nor sober before the hours of Exchange, or business ; and in that condition buy and sell stocks, discount notes, and do many other acts of well disposed citizens ; this is to give notice, that from this day forward no WHETTER shall be able to give or endorse any note, or execute any other point of Commerce, after the third half pint, before the hour of one ; and whoever shall transact any matter or matters with a WHETTER, not being himself of that order, shall be conducted to Moorfields² upon the first application of his next of kin.'³

The war with France made the French wines somewhat scarcer than they would otherwise have been, and opened a trade for wines from other countries ; still the number of prizes taken, laden with clarets, etc., and the efforts of smugglers, kept the market pretty well supplied. The wines seem to have been good, although the Spanish and Portuguese wines were fortified with 'Stum,' a fact well known, especially

¹ *The Virtuoso.*² Bedlam.³ *Tatler*, 138.

as to its effects : 'get drunk with Stum'd wine.'¹ The French wines were very numerous—some even unknown to us by their names—comprising Champagne, Burgundy, Frontinac, Muscat, Anjou, Bouvrie (? Vouvray), Bayonne, Obrian (Hautbrion), Pontack, Claret, Bomas (? Pomard), High Priniac (Preignac), La Fitt, Margouze (Margeaux), La Tour, Graves, Cahorze, Blacart, Monson, Hermitage, Langoon, Bosmes (? Beaumes), Macco (? Macon), Languedoc, and Cap Breton clarets. Their prices were various : ordinary clarets from the wood 4s. to 6s. per gallon ; good bottled clarets from 3s. or 4s. to 10s. a bottle. Champagne came over in baskets or hampers containing ten dozen to two hundred bottles per basket, and was sold retail about 8s. a bottle. Good Burgundy cost 7s. a bottle, but these prices varied, as they do now, with the quality.

French wines, however, were not universal favourites. 'A Bottle or two of good solid Edifying Port, at honest *George's*, made a Night chearful, and threw off Reserve. But this plaguy *French* Claret will not only Cost us more Money, but do us less Good,' growls Steele.² Being at war with France, it was considered patriotic not to drink French wine, and Port became popular. Its introduction was owing to the treaty with Portugal in 1703, called the Methuen Treaty, from the name of our minister at Lisbon. It is famed as being the shortest treaty known, consisting of only two clauses, one that the Portuguese should take British cloths, and the other that Portuguese wines should be admitted here at one third less duty than the French wines paid. Red Viana seems to have been frequently substituted for port, and it was sold at about 5s. a gallon. Then there were White Viana, Lisbon, Passada, Annadea, Bende Carlo (Beni Carlos), Barrabar, Carcavella, and Ribidavia, whilst the Spanish wines were Sherry, Malaga, Tent, Saragusa, Villa Nova, Barcelona, Alicant, Re Gallicia, Sallo or Mattero, and White Muscadine. There were Florence wines, which came over in rush-covered flasks with oil in the neck of the flasks—Chiante, Multapulchana (? Montepulciano), Madeira, Canary, Tockay from Hungary, and also (verily, there is very little new under the sun) *Carlowitz*, from the

¹ Shadwell's *Epsom Wells*.

² *Spectator*, No. 43.

same country ; there were wines from Neuchatel, and a wine I cannot class, called Mount Allaguer. We hear very little of Rhenish wines. In 'Tunbridge Walks' an uncomplimentary reference is made, 'Dam rotgut Rhenish'; but fine old hock was selling in 1713 at 26s. a dozen, including bottles, or new Rhenish might be had for 1s. 8d. a quart, or 6s. a gallon. It is hardly worth going into the prices of these miscellaneous wines. One advertisement will be sufficient. 'Advertisement to Private Families of 33 Dozen Bottles of excellent rich Palm Canary Wine, a Flower; also 45 Dozen of Curious Red Zant, a most noble and scarce Wine, no Champaign or Burgundy drinks finer, and likewise 60 Dozen of Choice Florence Wine, true Flavour and Colour, all perfect Neat, and as good as ever was tasted, reserv'd by a Gentleman for his own drinking, but oblig'd to sell them: The Palm Wine at 30s. a Dozen, the Zant and Florence each 36s. Bottles and all (none less than 4 Bottles) which is but at the rate of 2s. 3d. a Quart for the Palm Wine, and 2s. 9d. for the Zant and Florence, tho' would fetch more if the Owner could Keep them, the like being scarcely to be had in Town, at leastwise not under 3s. a Quart the first, and 3s. 6d. the last, if for that, and will be dearer.'

Retailers had to take out a licence to sell wine; and of course there were customs duties. Luttrell says, Dec. 4, 1703: 'Yesterday the Commons, in a Committee upon the Supply, resolved, nemine contradicente, that 1s. per gallon be laid upon all Wines over and above the present Customs, to be paid by the retailer;' but, afterwards, he writes, Jan. 15, 1704, that the Commons rejected the bill for 1s. per gallon upon wines. On March 20, 1706, the Queen gave her royal assent to an Act 'for a further duty on low Wines'; and, in 1713, French wines paid a duty of 4s. 6d. per gallon!

The wine merchants of the time were an enterprising firm named Brooke & Hellier (mentioned in the *Spectator* more than once), who had several branch establishments in various parts of London, even brought wine by road from Bristol, and one year paid as much as 25,000*l.* customs duties; but they came to grief in 1712, and dissolved partnership. Brooke afterwards set up in business by himself.

There was Batavian arrack for those that liked it, usquebaugh (both green and golden), and brandy—especially Nants brandy—beloved of the poor in penny drams. Not but what there were other brandies—Gaudarella, Viana or Fial (? Fayal), Strasburg, Spanish, and even our familiar old friend *British* brandy. The average retail price of ‘right Nants’ seems to have been about 12s. per gallon, but Spanish could be got 2s. 6d. per gallon cheaper. In 1713 the customs duty on brandy was 6s. 8d. per gallon; freight and leakage came to 2s. 6d.; so that it did not leave much profit after paying for the brandy.

There were liqueurs and cordials; and they must have been very diversified, for the name of the ‘Still room’ was not then an empty sound; and scandal just whispered that it was sometimes possible that the dear creatures tasted their own manufactures. Are we to believe the following sketch? ‘It would make a Man smile to behold her Figure in a front Box, where her twinkling Eyes, by her Afternoon’s Drams of Ratifée and cold Tea, sparkle more than her Pendants . . . Her Closet is always as well stor’d with Juleps, Restoratives, and Strong Waters, as an Apothecary’s Shop, or a Distiller’s Laboratory; and is herself so notable a Housewife in the Art of preparing them that she has a larger Collection of Chemical Receipts than a Dutch Mountebank . . . As soon as she rises, she must have a Salutary Dram to keep her Stomach from the Cholick; a Whet before she eats, to procure Appetite; after eating, a plentiful Dose for Concoction; and to be sure a Bottle of Brandy under her Bed side for fear of fainting in the Night.’¹

These cordials were not always palatable, if we can believe Addison’s description of ‘Widow Trueby’s Water,’ which Sir Roger ‘always drank before he went abroad.’ There were the ‘Ratafia of Apricocks,’ the ‘Fenouillette of Rhé,’ ‘Millefleurs,’ ‘Orangiat,’ ‘Burgamot,’ ‘Pesicot,’ and citron or cithern water, with many others. Elder and other home-made wines were in use. Let us see how they were appreciated. ‘Her female Ancestors have always been fam’d for good Housewifry, one of whom is made immortal,

¹ *Adam and Eve Stript of their Furbelows.*

by giving her Name to an Eye Water and two sorts of Puddings. I cannot undertake to recite all her Medicinal Preparations; as Salves, Sere cloths, Powders, Confects, Cordials, Ratifia, Persico, Orange Flower, and Cherry Brandy, together with innumerable sorts of Simple Waters. But there is nothing I lay so much to Heart, as that detestable Catalogue of Counterfeit Wines, which derive their Names from the Fruits, Herbs or trees of whose Juices they are chiefly compounded: *They are loathsome to the taste and pernicious to the health*; and as they seldom survive the Year, and then are thrown away, under a false Pretence of Frugality, I may affirm they stand me in more than if I entertain'd all our Visiteres with the best Burgundy and Champaign.¹

Punch had begun to make its appearance, but it was a simple liquor to what afterwards became known by that name. Here is a receipt given by a noted brandy merchant of the time: 'Major Bird's Receipt to make Punch of his Brandy. Take 1 Quart of his Brandy, and it will bear 2 Quarts and a Pint of Spring Water; if you drink it very strong, then 2 Quarts of Water to a Quart of Brandy, with 6 or 8 Lisbon Lemmons, and half a Pound of fine Loaf Sugar: Then you will find it to have a curious fine scent and flavour, and Drink and Taste as clean as Burgundy Wine.'

There was also an intoxicating liquor, still in limited use, called 'Brunswick Mum,' whose price was '9s. the dozen without doors, and 10s. within.' The name of this compound is supposed to be derived from its power of making men *speechlessly* drunk.

The clamorous crowd is hush'd with mugs of mum,
Till all, turn'd equal, send a general hum.

Bottled cyder, too, could be obtained at 6s. per dozen.

The antidote to all these intoxicants was to be found in 'The Essence of Prunes, Chymically prepar'd by a Son of Monsieur Rochefort, a Sworn Chymist of France. It gives English Spirits the smell and taste of Nantz Brandy; *it prevents any Liquor from intoxicating the Brain.*'

We must not forget, however, that tea, coffee, and chocolate were in much demand, and that both the coffee and

¹ *Spectator*, 328.

chocolate houses really supplied these beverages as their staple article. Tea was more of a home drink, and was very dear, reckoning the different values of money. Perhaps there were greater fluctuations in its price than in any other article of food. Black tea varied in 1704 from 12s. to 16s. per lb. ; in 1706, 14s. to 16s. ; in 1707, which seems to have been an exceptionally dear year, 16s., 20s., 22s., 24s., 30s., and 32s. ; in 1709, it was from 14s. to 28s. ; and in 1710, 12s. to 28s. Green tea in 1705 was 13s. 6d. ; in 1707, 20s., 22s., 26s. ; in 1709, 10s. to 15s. ; and in 1710, 10s. to 16s. The difference between old and new is given once. The new tea is 14s., and the old 12s. and 10s.

The margins in price are not only accounted for by the difference in age, but it was well known that old leaves were redried, and used in the cheaper sorts ; indeed, there is a very curious advertisement in the advertising portion of the *Tatler*, Aug. 26, 1710 : 'Bohea Tea, made of the same Materials that Foreign Bohea is made of, 16s. a Pound. Sold by R. Fary only, at the Bell in Grace Church Street, Druggist. Note. The Natural Pecko Tea will remain, after Infusion, of a light grey Colour. All other Bohea Tea, tho' there be White in it, will Change Colour, and is artificial.'

Luttrell writes, Dec. 16, 1704 : 'The Commons in a Committee of wayes and means, resolved to double the duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate.'

The first noteworthy incident in the price of coffee in this reign is an advertisement.¹ 'Whereas Coffee was formerly sold at 2s. 6d. per pound, and is now already amounted to betwixt 6s. and 7s. per pound, the Majority of the Retailers have thought it reasonable to request their Customers to pay 3 half pence per Dish, and do assure that no person that sells Coffee for 1d. a Dish can make good Coffee.' It is rather interesting to watch the fluctuations in price. In 1706, from 6s. to 6s. 8d. per lb. ; in 1707, from 7s. it fell to 5s. 10d. and 5s. 4d. ; in 1708 it rose, either owing to speculation, or a failure in the crop, to 8s. 4d., 10s., and 11s. 6d., which was the highest price, when it fell to 9s. 10d. and 9s. In 1709 it still further fell—7s. 4d. and 6s. 8d. ; and in 1710 it was 5s. 8d.

¹ *Postman*, April 27/30, 1706.

Attention was paid to its manufacture, for we find that 'Thomas Burges, Druggist, removed from Snow hill to the Blew Anchor in Fleet Street, near Serjeants Inn, sells the best of Coffee roasted after a new way, having a better flavour, and is a much sweeter way than the common method of roasting Coffee.'

As tea came into favour, chocolate-drinking fell into disuse, although it was generally taken as a drink the first thing in the morning, before taking tea and toast. It was of two kinds, Caracas or Caraco, and Martineco; and the former was the most esteemed. It was roasted and ground, and either sold plain or mixed with sugar. Its usual price was 3s. per lb. for the one, and 2s. 6d. for the other. Early in 1703, a man advertised a machine of his invention, for making chocolate of a far superior quality, at least 1s. per lb. under the then prices; and, as his advertisements are somewhat curious, an example is given: 'To the Nobility and Gentry. Whereas the Author of the new Invention for making Chocolate, hath given a general Satisfaction both for its fineness, goodness and Cheapness, to all those that ever yet drank of the same, besides the Satisfaction all persons have of its being cleanly made, upon sight of the Invention, which some Malicious persons, the better to impose upon the World to vend their foul broken Nuts does imitate; but for the working part are as Ignorant as a Natural Bull. But the Author of this Invention thinks himself oblig'd to declare to the World, after 10 Years improving the same with great charge and labour, as many honourable persons in London can testifie; and if any person can make it appear, that they were the first Inventers of this so great a conveniency, as does no ways exceed 12 Inches, before himself, the Author will lay it by, and Act no more, notwithstanding he is now actually petitioning Her Majesty for a Patten, and, till such time as he shall obtain the same, will continue to make and sell his Chocolate at these Rates following, *viz.* All Spanish Nut with Vanello at 4s. 8d. a pound, plain 4s. 2d. all Marteneco Nut with Vanello 3s. 8d.—plain 3s. 2d.—both sorts made up with Sugar answerable. If any Chocolate maker, or others, can make it appear he reserves above 8d. in selling a pound

for labour and charges in making, a farther remittance shall be made in the price.' This gentleman subsequently advertised that he sold it at '2*d.* per Dish liquid—14*d.* a Quart without doors. Sundays excepted.'

The duty on the nuts was sufficiently high to induce smuggling. 'Last Week 6 Sacks of Cocoa Nuts were seiz'd by a Custom House Officer, being brought up to Town for so many sacks of Beans.'¹

¹ *London Post*, April 14/17, 1704.

CHAPTER XVII.

TOBACCO.

Habit of smoking—Women and children smoking—Prices of tobacco—Customs duty—Origin of snuff-taking—The Vigo Expedition—Snuff rasps—Ladies taking snuff—Proper use of the snuff-box—Use of a spoon—Prices of snuffs—List of ditto—Duty on snuff.

ALLUSION has been made to the prevalent use of tobacco, both in smoking and as snuff; and, perhaps, at no time in the century was there a larger consumption. The habit of meeting convivially at the coffee-houses, and taverns, favoured the practice of smoking among the men. Ward, who disliked smoking, gives the following account of a famous tobacco shop in Fleet Street. Speaking of the company assembled, he says: 'There was no Talking amongst 'em, but *Puff* was the Period of every Sentence; and what they said was as short as possible, for fear of losing the Pleasure of a Whiff, as *How d'ye do?* Puff. *Thank ye.* Puff. *Is the Weed good?* Puff. *Excellent.* Puff. *It's fine Weather.* Puff. *G—d be thanked.* Puff. *What's a clock.* Puff, &c. Behind the Counter stood a Complaisant Spark who I observ'd show'd as much Breeding in the Sale of a Pennyworth of Tobacco, and the Change of a Shilling, as a Courteous Footman when he meets his Brother *Skip* in the Middle of *Covent Garden*; and is so very Dexterous in Discharge of his Occupation, that he guesses from a Pound of Tobacco to an Ounce, to the certainty of one single Corn. And will serve more Pennyworths of Tobacco in half an Hour, than some Clouterly *Mundungus Sellers* shall be able to do in half Four and Twenty. He never makes a Man wait the Tenth part of a Minute for his Change, but will so readily fling you down all Sums, without Counting, from a Guinea to three Pennyworth of Farthings, that you would think he had it ready

in his Hand for you before you ask'd him for it. He was very generous of his Small beer to a good Customer; and I am bound to say thus much in his behalf, That he will show a Man more Civility for the taking of a Penny than many *Mechanicks* will do for the taking a Pound.'

'Tobacco is very much used in England. The very Women take it in Abundance, particular'y in the Western Counties,' writes Misson, and Brown also mentions the practice; but, although Jorevin reports that in Charles the Second's time, in Worcestershire, it was not only usual for the women to join the men in smoking, but that the children were sent to school with pipes in their satchels, and the schoolmaster called a halt in their studies whilst they all smoked—he teaching the neophytes—yet Thoresby runs him very hard. '20 Jan. 1702. Evening with brother &c. at Garraway's¹ Coffee House; was surprised to see his sickly child of three years old fill its pipe of Tobacco and smoke it as *audfarandly* as a man of three score; after that, a second and a third pipe without the least concern, as it is said to have done above a year ago.'

The tobacco was twisted into rope and made up in rolls, more after the fashion of Varinas Knaster than of our other twisted tobaccos, and it generally had to be cut up before using. Its price may be learned from the following advertisements. 'Whereas there has been several Persons who have pretended to sell the true Spanish roll'd Tobacco; These are therefore to inform the World, that Jeremiah Stoaks at Garraway's Coffee House in Exchange Alley, bought the whole Parcel that was brought into England, as by Prize taken by Her Majesty's Fleet at Vigo, and that there is not a Nett Portacco in England but what he has in his Hands; These are therefore to advise all Gentlemen, that they may be furnish'd with the same tobacco at 8s. per Pound, at the above mentioned Place, and no where else.' This class of tobacco was evidently exceedingly choice, comparing it with the ordinary price. 'Benjamin Howes, Tobacconist, at the Corner of Shoe Lane in Fleet Street, London, who hath lived there 30 years and up-

¹ At Leeds.

wards ; he was Partner with Mr. Montague, did sell his best old, mild, sweet-scented Virginia Tobacco for 2s. per Pound, does now, and will continue to sell the same for 20*d.*, either Large Cut, Small or Long Cut, and Penny Papers for Taverns or Publick Houses, full half Ounces for 20*d.* a Pound (for present Money). He sells right Spanish in the Roll for 8s. a Pound, and Spanish and Virginia mixt for 3s. a pound, and Encouragement to Country Chapmen.'

There was a Customs duty on tobacco, of course ; and we find, in 1707, the Irish Parliament increasing this tax, among many others, in order to vote a supply of 135,000*l.* to Her Majesty. 'Dublin, 5 Aug. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee that the said Additional Duty be three pence halfpenny per Pound weight on all Tobacco which shall be so Imported into this Kingdom, from and after the said 29th day of September 1707 over and above the Hereditary Duty of two pence halfpenny per Pound, payable for the same.'

But it was the singular growth of the practice of taking snuff that specially marks the reign of Anne, before which time it was comparatively unknown. Lillie, the perfumer, previously mentioned, sold snuff, as all his craft did : and from him we get a very interesting account of its rise. He says : 'Before the year 1702, when we sent out a fleet of ships under the command of Sir George Rooke, with land forces commanded by the Duke of Ormond, in order to make a descent on Cadiz, snuff taking was very rare, and, indeed, little known in England ; it being chiefly a luxurious habit among foreigners residing here, and a few of the English gentry who had travelled abroad. Among these, the mode of taking the snuff was with pipes of the size of quills, out of small spring boxes. These pipes let out a very small quantity of snuff, upon the back of the hand, and this was snuffed up the nostrils with the intention of producing the sensation of sneezing, which, I need not say, forms now no part of the design, or rather fashion of snuff taking.

'But to return to our expedition by sea. When the fleet arrived near Cadiz, our land forces were disembarked at a

place called Port St. Mary, where, after some fruitless attempts, it was resolved to re-embark the troops, and set sail for England. But previous to this, Port St. Mary, and some adjacent places were plundered. Here, besides some very rich merchandize, plate, jewels, pictures, and a great quantity of cochineal, several thousand barrels and casks of fine snuffs were taken, which had been manufactured in different parts of Spain. Each of these contained four tin canisters of snuff of the best growth, and of the finest Spanish manufacture.

‘With this plunder on board (which fell chiefly to the share of the land officers) the fleet was returning to England; but, on the way, it was resolved to pay a visit to Vigo, a considerable port in Spain, where the Admiral had advice that a number of galleons from the Havannah, richly laden, had put in. Here our fleet got in and destroyed most, or all of the Spanish shipping, and the plunder was exceedingly rich and valuable.

‘It now came to the turn of the *sea* officers and *sailors* to be snuff proprietors and merchants; for, at Vigo, they became possessed of prodigious quantities of gross snuff, from the Havannah, in bales, bags, and scrows,¹ which were designed for manufacture in different parts of Spain. Thus, though snuff taking was very little known or practised in England, at that period, the quantities taken in this expedition, (which was estimated at fifty tons weight,) plainly shew that in the other countries of Europe, snuff was held in great estimation, and that the taking of it was considered not at all unfashionable.

‘The fleet having returned to England, and the ships being ordered to be laid in their several ports, the sea officers and sailors brought their snuff (which was called, by way of victorious distinction, Vigo Snuff,) to a very quick and cheap market; waggon-loads of it being sold at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, for not more than three or four pence per pound.

‘This sort of bale snuff had never been seen or known in England before, except through some Spanish Jews, who,

¹ Raw hide packages.

in the present case, bought up almost the whole quantity at a considerable advantage.

'The land officers, who were possessed of the fine snuffs taken at Port St. Mary, sold some of them in the several ports at which they landed. Others of them, however, understood better the nature of the commodity which had fallen to their share, and kept it for several years, selling it off by degrees, for very high prices.

'From the above mentioned quantity of different snuffs, thus distributed throughout the kingdom, novelty being quickly embraced by us in England, arose the custom and fashion of snuff taking; and, growing upon the whole nation, by degrees, it is now almost as universal here, as in any other part of Europe.'

But snuff was not always sold ready made: people made their own, out of roll tobacco—by means of rasps, which were generally carried in the pocket. Specimens of these rasps may be seen at the South Kensington Museum, but, unless they are in some loan collection, they are very poor examples. In private collections, and especially on the Continent, are some of them, being exquisite specimens of ivory carving. 'Then there's the Miscellany, an apron for Stella, a pound of chocolate, without sugar, for Stella, a fine snuff rasp of ivory, given me by Mrs. St. John for Dingley, and a large roll of tobacco, which she must hide, or cut shorter out of modesty, and four pair of spectacles for the Lord knows who.'¹

Here we see how customary it was for ladies to take snuff in 1711, although Steele seems to be shocked at it, as quite a new fashion in 1712. Vide his letter in *Spectator* (344): 'I have writ to you three or four times to desire you would take notice of an impertinent Custom the Women, the fine Women, have lately fallen into, of taking Snuff. This silly Trick is attended with such a Coquet Air in some Ladies, and such a sedate Masculine one in others, that I can not tell which to most complain of; but they are to me equally disagreeable. Mrs. Saunter is so impatient of being without it, that she takes it as often as she does Salt

¹ *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 3, 1711.

at meals ; and as she affects a wonderful Ease and Negligence in all her manners, an upper Lip mixed with Snuff and the Sauce is what is presented to the Observation of all who have the honour to eat with her. The pretty Creature her Niece does all she can to be as disagreeable as her Aunt ; and, if she is not so offensive to the Eye, she is quite as much to the Ear, and makes up all she wants in a confident Air, by a nauseous Rattle of the Nose, when the Snuff is delivered, and the Fingers make the Stops and Closes on the Nostrils. . . . But *Flavilla* is so far taken with her Behaviour in this kind, that she pulls out her Box (which is indeed full of good *Brazile*) in the middle of the Sermon ;¹ and to shew she has the Audacity of a well bred Woman, she offers it to the Men, as well as to the Women who sit near her. . . . On Sunday was sennight, when they came about for the Offering, she gave her Charity with a very good Air, but at the same Time asked the Church warden if he would take a Pinch.'

But, if the ladies took snuff, how much more did the men ? who were especially addicted to 'the humour of taking SNUFF, and looking dirty about the mouth by way of ornament.' They took snuff 'with a very Jantee Air,'² as is well exemplified by Steele's humorous puff in *Spectator* (138): 'The Exercise of the Snuff Box, according to the most fashionable Airs and Motions, in opposition to the Exercise of the Fan, will be taught with the best plain or perfumed Snuff at Charles Lillie's, Perfumer, at the Corner of Beaufort Buildings in the Strand, and Attendance given for the Benefit of the young Merchants about the Exchange for two hours every day at Noon, except Sundays, at a Toy Shop near Garraway's Coffee House. There will likewise be Taught The Ceremony of the Snuff box, or Rules for offering Snuff to a Stranger, a Friend, or a Mistress, according to the Degrees of Familiarity or Distance ; with an Explanation of the Careless, the Scornful, the Politick, and the Surly Pinch, and the Gestures proper to each of them.'

Snuff was not always taken with the finger and thumb,

¹ See also *Tatler*, 140.

² Centlivre's *The Wonder, a Woman Keeps a Secret*, ed. 1714.

but a spoon was used—as it is now, in some parts of Scotland, Lapland, Sweden, Norway, and China. In the prologue of a play called ‘Hampstead Heath,’ published in 1706, this habit is mentioned.

To Noddles cram'd with Dighton's musty Snuff
Whose nicer Tasts think Wit consists alone
In Tunbridge Wooden Box with Wooden Spoon.

And in the play (Act 3):—

Chum. Madam, I beg your Pardon, 'tis what the Jews take; but I carry sweet Snuff for the Ladies. (*Shows another box.*)

Arabella. A Spoon too, that's very gallant; for to see some People run their fat Fingers into a Box is as nauseous as eating without a Fork.

The prices of snuffs varied much in this reign: the following is the best list I can make out:—

	1705.	1706.	1707.	1711.	1713.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Lisbon, p. oz.	1 6	1 8 and 1s. 2d.	2 p. lb 26s.	—	1 6 or p. lb. 20s.
Tunquin „	—	1 6	—	—	—
Spanish „	—	6 p. lb. 2s. 6d. & 4s.	—	3 6 to 5s. p. lb.	—
Havanna „	—	6	—	6 0 p. lb.	—
Seville „	—	6	—	—	—
Italian „	—	1 6 and 1s.	—	—	—
Burgamot „	—	1 6 and 1s.	—	—	—
Musty „	—	6	—	—	—
Brazile „	—	6	6s. p. lb. 84s.	2s. 6d. p. lb.	3s. 3s. p. oz.

A more exhaustive list could have been made, but enough is given to show the difference in price of the various sorts. These were more than have just been given, and included Oronoko, Barcelona, Portugal, Tonkar, Orangerie, Port St. Mary's, Alicant, Rancia, and Cabinet Havannah.

And there were snuffs which hardly came under the category of harmless sternutatories: as, ‘The true Imperial Golden Snuff; which thousands of People have found to be the most effectual Remedy ever known, for all Distempers of the Head and Brain; It immediately cures the Head-ach, be the Pain ever so violent; instantly removes Drowsiness, Sleepiness, Giddiness and Vapours; it is most excellent against Deafness and Noise in the Ears; cures stoppages or cold in the Head, &c.; and far exceeds all other Snuff

for all Humours in the Eyes and Dimness of sight, and certainly prevents Appoplexies and Falling Sickness.'

Snuff played its part in helping to pay for the long war with France.¹ '9 Feb. 1710. Yesterday the House of Commons, in a Committee on Ways and means, resolved, that . . . a duty of 3s. per pound be laid upon Snuff above what it already pays, except that of Her Majesty's growth.'

¹ *Luttrell.*



CHAPTER XVIII.

COFFEE-HOUSES AND TAVERNS.

Universal use of coffee-houses—Their convenience—Company—First coffee-house—Number of them—Anecdote of Bishop Trelawney—Description of interior—The news—Advance in price—Chocolate-houses—Famous coffee-houses—Button's Lion—Lloyd's—Sales by candle—Jenny Man—Don Saltero's collection—Taverns—Noblemen frequenting them—Drinking own wine—Purl houses—List of old taverns.

THE coffee-house was not a new institution in Anne's reign, but then it reached the zenith of its popularity. It was the centre of news, the lounge of the idler, the rendezvous for appointments, the mart for business men. Men might have their letters left there, as did Swift;¹ 'Yet Presto² ben't angry, faith, not a bit, only he will begin to be in pain next Irish Post, except he sees M. D.'s little handwriting in the glass frame at the bar of St. James's Coffee House, where Presto would never go but for that purpose.' They were alike the haunt of the wit and the man of fashion—a neutral meeting-ground for all men, although they naturally assorted themselves, like to like, by degrees. There

The gentle *Beau* too, Joyns in wise Debate,
Adjusts his Cravat, and *Reforms* the State³

—and he might even rub shoulders with a highwayman, as Farquhar suggests, when he makes Aimwell say to Gibbet,⁴ who is a highwayman, 'Pray Sir, ha'nt I seen your face at Will's Coffee House?' and he replies, 'Yes Sir, and at White's too.' But the excellent rules in force, and the good common sense of the frequenters, prevented any ill effects

¹ *Journal to Stella*, letter 14.

² A nickname of Swift's—a play on his name.

³ *The Tripe Club*.

⁴ *The Beaux' Stratagem*, act iii. sc. 2.

from this admixture of classes. All were equal, and took the first seat which came to hand. If a man swore, he was



A COFFEE HOUSE.

fined 1s., and if he began a quarrel he was fined 'dishes' round. Discussion on religion was prohibited, no card-

playing or dicing allowed, and no wager might be made exceeding 5s. These were the simple rules generally used, and, if they were only complied with, all must have felt the benefit of such a mild despotism.

Wood mentions that the first coffee-house was at Oxford, and was kept, in 1650, by Jacobs, a Jew. The first in London, seems to have been kept by a foreigner named Rosa Pasquee, in 1652, in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, whilst Hatton says¹: 'I find it Recorded that one *James Farr*, a Barber, who kept the Coffee House which now is the *Rainbow*, by the Inner Temple Gate, (one of the first in England) was in the year 1657 presented by the Inquest of St. Dunstons in the W. for Making and Selling a sort of Liquor, called Coffee, as a great Nuisance and Prejudice of the neighbourhood, &c. And who would then have thought London would ever have had near 3,000 such Nusances, and that Coffee should have been (as now) so much Drank by the best of Quality and Physicians.' Of these 'near 3,000' I have, in my searches through the newspapers, etc., of the period, found the names of over 500, which, to preserve them again from falling into oblivion, are to be found in the Appendix to this book.

These coffee-houses sold alcoholic liquors as well as coffee; a fact which is somewhat whimsically illustrated in the following extract from a letter of Bishop Trelawney to Bishop Sprat, July 20, 1702 or 3.² 'I had a particular obligation to Burnett, and will publicly thank him in print (among other matters I have to say to him, and to his Articles against our religion) for his causing it to be spread by his emissaries that I was drunk at Salisbury the 30th of January; whereas the Major General,³ Captain Culleford, a very honest Clergyman, and the people of the Inn (which was a coffee house too) can swear I drank nothing but two dishes of Coffee; and, indeed I had not stopped at all, but to enable

¹ *New View of London*, 1708.

² *Atterbury's Correspondence*, ed. 1784, vol. iii. p. 87.

³ His brother. Bishop Trelawney was also a baronet; and he had an unepiscopal habit of swearing occasionally, but when such a *faux pas* occurred he always said it was the baronet, not the bishop, that swore. The inconvenience of this arrangement was pointed out to him one day by a friend, who remarked that, if the baronet was damned for swearing, what would become of the bishop?

my children, by a very slender bait, to hold out to Blandford, where I dined at 6 that night.'

Misson, speaking of coffee-houses, says: 'These Houses, which are very numerous in London, are extremely convenient. You have all Manner of News there: You have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please; You have a Dish of Coffee, you meet your Friends for the Transaction of Business, and all for a Penny, if you don't Care to spend more.' Yes, that was all—anybody, decently dressed, might have all this accommodation for *One Penny*. 'Laying down my Penny upon the Bar,' writes Addison,¹ and 'so briefly deposited my Copper at the Bar,' says Brown, show that the *habitués* spent no more; and Steele, in the first number of the *Tatler*, speaking of the expenses attending the production of the paper, says: 'I once more desire my readers to consider, that as I cannot keep an ingenious man to go daily to Will's under two pence each day, merely for his charges; to White's under sixpence; nor to the Grecian, without allowing him some plain Spanish (snuff) to be as able as others at the learned table,' etc.

A man with leisure got rid of some hours daily at the coffee house, or houses, and such a one would spend from 10 A.M. till noon, and again, after his two-o'clock dinner, would be there from 4 to 6, when he would leave for the theatre, or his turn in the park.

The illustration gives us an excellent idea of the interior of a coffee-house, and its domestic economy—the *dame de comptoir*, the roaring fire with its perpetual supply of hot water, and its coffee and tea pots set close by, so as to be kept warm, and the very plain tables and stools, show the accommodation that was required, and accepted, by the very plain-living people of that day.

A coffee-house is necessarily a *pièce de resistance* with Ward. He describes it graphically, though somewhat roughly, and he brings the scene of the interior vividly before our eyes. 'Come, says my Friend, let us step into this Coffee House here; as you are a Stranger in the Town, it will afford

¹ *Spectator*, No. 31.

you some Diversion. Accordingly in we went, where a parcel of Muddling *Muckworms* were as busy as so many *Rats* in an old *Cheese Loft*; some Going, some Coming, some Scribbling, some Talking, some Drinking, some Smoaking, others Jangling; and the whole Room stinking of Tobacco, like a Dutch Scoot or a Boatswain's Cabbin. The Walls being hung with Gilt Frames, as a Farriers shop with Horse shoes; which contain'd abundance of Rarities, viz. Nectar and Ambrosia, May Dew, Golden Elixirs, Popular Pills, Liquid Snuff, Beautifying Waters, Dentifrisis, Drops, Lozenges, all as infallible as the Pope,

Where every one above the rest
Deservedly has gain'd the Name of Best

(as the famous *Saffold* has it).'

Brown, also, has plenty to say about them, but one short extract only will be borrowed: 'Every Coffee House is illuminated both without and within doors; without by a fine glass Lantern, and within by a Woman so light and splendid, you may see through her without the help of a Perspective. At the Bar the good Man always places a Charming Phillis or two, who invite you by their amorous glances into their smoaky Territories, to the loss of your sight.' These 'pretty barmaids' are spoken of by Steele¹: 'Upon reading your late Dissertation concerning *Idols*, I cannot but complain to you that there are, in Six or Seven Places of this City, Coffee houses kept by Persons of that Sisterhood. These *Idols* sit and receive all Day long the adoration of the Youth within such and such Districts,' etc. Another contemporary² notices that 'A Handsom Bar keeper invites more than the Bush. She's the Loadstone that attracts Men of Steel, both those that wear it to some purpose, and those that wear it to none. No City Dame is demurer than she at first Greeting, nor draws in her Mouth with a Chaster Simper; but in a little time you may be more familiar, and she'll hear a double Entendre without blushing.'

Steele³ gives a polished account of coffee-house frequenters and politicians: 'I, who am at the Coffee house at Six in a

¹ *Spectator*, No. 87.

² *Hickelty Pickelty*.

³ *Spectator*, 49.

Morning, know that my friend *Beaver* the Haberdasher has a Levy of more undissembled Friends and Admirers, than most of the Courtiers or Generals of Great Britain. Every Man about him has, perhaps, a News Paper in his Hand ; but none can pretend to guess what Step will be taken in any one Court of Europe, till Mr. *Beaver* has thrown down his Pipe, and declares what Measures the Allies must enter into upon this new Posture of Affairs. Our Coffee House is near one of the Inns of Court, and *Beaver* has the Audience and Admiration of his Neighbours from Six 'till within a Quarter of Eight, at which time he is interrupted by the Students of the House ; some of whom are ready dress'd for Westminster, at Eight in a Morning, with Faces as busie as if they were retained in every Cause there ; and others come in their Night Gowns to saunter away their Time, as if they never designed to go thither. I do not know that I meet in any of my Walks, Objects which move both my Spleen and laughter so effectually, as these young Fellows at the Grecian, Squire's, Searle's, and all other Coffee Houses adjacent to the Law, who rise early for no other purpose but to publish their Laziness. One would think these young *Virtuosos* take a gay Cap and Slippers, with a Scarf and Party Coloured Gown, to be Ensigns of Dignity, for the vain things approach each other with an Air, which shews they regard one another for their Vestments. . . . When the Day grows too busie for these Gentlemen to enjoy any longer the Pleasures of their *Deshabille* with any manner of Confidence, they give place to Men who have Business or Good Sense in their Faces, and come to the Coffee house, either to transact Affairs or enjoy Conversation.'

News was, of course, one of the prime objects of these gatherings. 'I love News extreamly, I have read Three News Letters to day. I go from Coffee House to Coffee House all day on Purpose,'¹ was literally true of some men. Not that their little newspapers gave them much—but of them hereafter. Yet there was a chance of hearing some news before it got into the papers ; and the *quidnuncs* would go to the Windsor, where was to be had 'also the Transla-

¹ *The Scourers.*

tion of the Harlem Courant, soon after the Post is come,' or to Grigsby's, where 'all Foreign News is taken in, and Translated into English immediately after the arrival of any Mail,' or to Elford's, where 'is to be seen and read Gratis, the Journal of the famous Voyage of the Duke and Dutchess Privateer of Bristol, that took the rich Aquíapulca Ship containing many remarkable Transactions. Also an Account of a Man living alone 4 Years and 4 Months in the Island of John Fernando, which they brought with them.' This was, of course, Alexander Selkirk, who was brought off the island on February 12, 1709; and this log, or the coffee-house gossip anent it, probably furnished the inspiration for 'Robinson Crusoe,' which Defoe published in 1772.

We have seen how the coffee-house keepers tried to advance their beverages from 1*d.* to 1½*d.* because of the rise in coffee; but the effort was spasmodic, and did not last. They had a far better cry in 1712, as we find in the *Daily Courant* of August 8 in that year. 'These are to give Notice, That the Coffee Men by reason of the present Taxes on Coffee, Tea, Paper, Candles, and Stamps on all Newspapers, find themselves under a necessity of advancing some of their Liquors to the prices following; viz, Coffee 2*d.* per dish: Green Tea 3 halfpence; and all Drams 2*d.* per Dram: to commence from this day.' Let us hope when they got this huge advance they made their tea stronger, and did not give their customers 'that pall'd Stuff too often found in mean Coffee Houses.'¹

No doubt, from the familiar abbreviations, such as Tom's, Ned's, Will's, John's, etc., some of the coffee-houses were kept by waiters who had saved a little money—such an one as 'Tom the Tyrant; who, as first Minister of the Coffee House, takes the Government upon him between the Hours of Eleven and Twelve at night, and gives his Orders in the most Arbitrary manner to the Servants below him as to the Disposition of Liquors, Coal and Cinders;'² while Kidney, the waiter at the St. James's Coffee House, immortalised in the *Tatler* as having 'the ear of the greatest politicians that come hither,' could not be spoken with 'without clean linen.'

¹ Motteux, in the Preface to his *Poem in Praise of Tea.* ² *Spectator*, No. 49.

The chocolate-houses seem to have been a specialty, and they were few in number. In the commencement of the reign, in 1702, chocolate was sold at 12*d.* the quart, 2*d.* the dish. I can only find the names of five chocolate-houses (describing themselves as such), and but two of them are of any note, White's and the Cocoa Tree. White's was started in 1698, and was, in Queen Anne's reign, situated five doors from the bottom of the west side of St. James's Street, ascending from St. James's Palace. It had a small garden attached to it. This house was burnt down in 1723, the King and Prince of Wales looking on. Hogarth has immortalised this event in Plate 6 of the 'Rake's Progress.' It was to all intents and purposes a gambling house. When White died is not known, but *Mrs.* White had it in March 1712. Afterwards it passed into the hands of Arthur, who had it when it was burnt down; and he removed next door to the St. James's Coffee House. It soon ceased to be a chocolate house, and became a club. In 1755 it was removed to No. 38, on the opposite or east side of St. James's Street. White's Club is supposed to be political; but, apart from its members being Conservative, it takes no leading part, contenting itself with being extremely aristocratic.

The Cocoa Tree Chocolate House stood at the end of Pall Mall, on the site of what now is 87 St. James's Street. It was a Tory house; indeed, Defoe says, 'A Whig will no more go to the Cocoa Tree or Ozinda's, than a Tory will be seen at the Coffee house of St. James's.' The Cocoa Tree Club is now held at 64 St. James's Street.

As the coffee-houses occupied so prominent a part in the social economy of the time, a very brief notice of some of the best known will be of interest. Anderton's is still in Fleet Street, beloved of Freemasons and literary men. Batson's, in Cornhill, was a famous meeting-place for physicians. The Bay Tree still stands in St. Swithin's Lane. Button's, which was opposite Tom's, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, was a great resort of Addison's; and here contributions to the *Guardian* could be received. The lion's head which served as a letter-box has been immortalised in that

paper. It was in imitation of the famous lion at Venice. The original is still in existence, but is not always accessible to the curious. It was removed from Button's when that coffee-house was taken down, and took refuge in the Shakespeare's Head Tavern, Covent Garden. For a time it was placed in the Bedford Coffee House, and was used as a letter



THE LION AT BUTTON'S.

box for contributions to *The Inspector*. It returned to the Shakespeare's Head in 1769, and remained there till 1804. It was then bought by Charles Richardson, the proprietor of Richardson's Hotel, and at his death it came into the possession of his son, who sold it to the Duke of Bedford, and it is now preserved in Woburn Abbey.

Child's was in St. Paul's Churchyard, and was famous for its learned frequenters. It was not far from the College of Physicians, which was then in Warwick Lane, so doctors came there, and, chief among them, Dr. Mead. Sir Hans Sloane and other members of the Royal Society dropped in, and the house was a noted resort of clergymen—so much so, that it is mentioned as such in the *Spectator* (No. 609): 'For that a young Divine, after his first Degree in the University, usually comes hither only to shew himself, and on that Occasion is apt to think he is but half equipp'd with a Gown and Cassock for his publick Appearance, if he hath not the additional Ornament of a Scarf of the first Magnitude to entitle him to the appellation of Doctor from his Landlady, and the Boy at *Child's*.'

The Camisards was in St. Martin's Lane, and took its name from the Camisars, who were French religious fanatics, who, being persecuted in their own country, came over here in 1707. They claimed the gifts of prophecy, and of working miracles. The sect soon died out. Dick's, in Fleet Street, still stands, and was so called from its first proprietor, Richard Turner, in 1680.

Garraway's is famous, and derived its name from its original proprietor, Thomas Garway, a tobacconist and coffee-man, who had it in the middle of the 17th century. He is said to have been the first to retail tea. It was always a mercantile resort, and here were sold wines, etc., by auction. The Grecian, in Devereux Court, Temple, was chiefly visited by learned men; it was from this place that Steele, in his scheme of the *Tatler*, said that all accounts of learning should appear under the title of Grecian. It was not, however, because of this proclivity that it obtained its classical name: it was kept by a Greek named Constantine. Apart from its being naturally frequented by the lawyers, the scientific *élite* went there, as we gather from Thoresby, June 12, 1712: 'Attended the Royal Society, where I found Dr. Douglas dissecting a dolphin, lately caught in the Thames, where were present the President, Sir Isaac Newton, both the Secretaries, the two Professors from Oxford, Dr. Halley and Keil, with others, whose company we afterwards enjoyed at

the Grecian Coffee House.' The Guildhall Coffee House still survives.

Jonathan's was essentially a stockjobbers' house, and was in Exchange Alley, as was also Baker's, which had a similar *clientèle*. 'I have been taken for a Merchant upon the *Exchange* for above these Ten Years, and sometimes pass for a *Few* in the assembly of Stock Jobbers at Jonathan's,' writes Addison in the first number of the *Spectator*. 'Stock Jobbers busie at Jonathan's from Twelve to Three,' says Ward. The St. James's was as thoroughly a Whig house as White's was Tory; and 'Foreign and Domestic News you will have from St. James's Coffee House' was part of the *Tatler* programme. We have seen how Swift used it, and how his letters used to be directed there; but what he wrote to Stella was hardly the reason of his frequenting the house. He seems to have got on very friendly terms with Elliot, the proprietor, rather early in his London career, for he writes: 'I dined to day with poor Lord Mountjoy, who is ill of the gout; and this evening I christened our Coffeeman Elliot's child; where the rogue had a most noble supper, and Steele and I sat among some scurvy company over a bowl of punch, so that I am come home late, young woman, and cannot stay to write to little rogues.'¹ The Jamaica is still in existence, although not where it was in Anne's reign. It was then in Cornhill, 'by the Ship and Castle.' The Jerusalem was then, as it used to be not so long since, 'near Garraway's.'

Lloyd's was then in Lombard Street, and indeed to this day, on Lloyd's policies, is stated that this policy shall have the same effect as if issued in Lombard Street. 'And it is agreed by us the Insurers, that this Writing or Policy of Assurance shall be of as much Force and Effect as the surest Writing or Policy of Assurance heretofore made in *Lombard Street*, or in the *Royal Exchange*, or elsewhere in *London*.' Both Steele² and Addison³ mention this coffee-house; and for mercantile purposes it shared, with the Marine in Birchin Lane, the reputation of being the busiest. Here were sales of wine and ships, and the latter business is still transacted there.

¹ *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 19, 1710. ² *Tatler*, 247. ³ *Spectator*, 46.

A curious custom obtained in this reign—that of selling goods, notably wines, by ‘the Candle.’ Pepys notes it in his diary as being new to him, so that it had not been long in vogue. Lloyd’s and the Marine Coffee Houses were the principal places where these singular auctions were held.

When the custom died out I cannot learn, but probably it was during the first quarter of this century. The latest account I can find of its being practised is in *The Saturday Bristol Times and Mirror* of March 29, 1873. ‘Sale by Candle. The practice of letting by inch of Candle still prevails in the County of Dorset. At the annual letting of the parish meadow of Broadway, near Weymouth, which occurred a few weeks ago, an inch of candle was placed on a piece of board nine inches square, and lighted by one of the parish officers. The biddings were taken down by one of the parish officers, and the chance of taking the meadow was open to all while the candle was burning. The last bidder before the candle went out was the incoming tenant. This year the candle was extinguished suddenly. The land, about two acres in extent, was in 1624 presented to the poor by William Gould, the object of the gift being to keep the poor from working on the highways.’ The custom, for aught I know, may still exist in some out-of-the-way places.

Information on maritime matters was even then forwarded to Lloyd’s (although his *News* was not published after Feb. 23, 1696, till 1726), as is shown by the following episode: ‘*London*, August 4th. Yesterday Morning a Letter was sent by the Penny Post to Mr. Edward Lloyd, Coffee man, in Lombard Street; which letter was subscrib’d Jo. Browne, was dated from on Board the Little St. Lewis off Bantry Bay in Ireland. July. 22. and contain’d in Substance, That the said Browne coming in a Vessel of which he was Master, from the Bay of Campeachy for Ireland, was taken by the said little St. Lewis, a French Frigate of 30 Guns, the 14th of July.’¹ He then went on circumstantially to relate how an officer on board had told him that the French had taken the Island of St. Helena and fifteen English East India ships; and that their fleet intended to sail for the Cape, to intercept our out-

¹ *Daily Courant*, Aug. 4, 1704.

ward-bound East India ships. The editorial comment on this news is: 'Tis very probable this Letter is a Forgery, but as we cannot possibly determine whether it be or not, and the Story having made a great Noise in Town, we found ourselves oblig'd to give an Account of it.' It turned out a hoax, for, next day, Lloyd received a letter saying that the rumour had served its turn. 'To which Mr. Lloyd thinks fit to Answer. Sir, Whoever you are that wrote these two letters to Mr. Lloyd, he makes it his Request to you, that you would please to Confirm your Willingness to take off the Amusement made by the first, by writing him a third Letter in the same Hand the first was, which the second is not.' Lloyd died on Feb. 15, 1713.

There were several coffee-houses kept by persons of the name of Man. There was Old Man's, Young Man's, Man's New Coffee House, Charing Cross, Man's in Birchin Lane, and Man's in Chancery Lane, opposite Lincoln's Inn Gate. Old Man's was in the Tilt Yard, Whitehall, and was the rendezvous for officers in the army. The Paymaster-General's office is now built upon its site. It was kept by the well-known Jenny Man, whom Brown describes as 'pledging an Irish Colonel in Usquebaugh.' The *Postboy*, June 3/5, 1712, notices her: 'Expect something Extraordinary¹ in our Next. In the mean time, we are inform'd, that Jenny — Man is indispos'd'; and in the *Flying Post*, Nov. 6/8, 1712, is a song, one verse of which refers to her:—

Alas ! alas ! for *Jenny Man*,
 'Cause she don't love the Warming Pan,²
 High Church with all her Actions Scan
 Since she was an Inch long, Sirs ;
 She is no Friend to Right Divine,
 Therefore she must not sell French Wine,
 But Tea and Coffee, very fine,
 And sure that is no Wrong, Sirs.

Young Man's was at Charing Cross, and was a fashionable lounge. It was also a gambling house, for Brown says of it :

¹ News of the peace.

² An allusion to the story of the Pretender's being smuggled in a warming-pan, and evidence of Jenny's Hanoverian proclivities.

' *Young Man's Coffee House* threw it self in my way, and very kindly offer'd its Protection. I acquiesced then, knowing myself secure from more Dangers than one, and immediately upon my entrance mounted the Stairs, and mingled my Person with the Knights of the Round Table, who hazard three Months Revenue at a single Cast.' Ward is disgusted with the superfine air of the place, and says of its frequenters, 'their whole Exercise being to Charge and Discharge their Nostrils; and keep the Curles of their Periwigs in proper Order. . . . They made a Humming, like so many Hornets in a Country Chimney, not with their talking, but with their Whispering over their New *Minuets* and *Bories*, with their Hands in their Pockets, if freed from their Snush Box. . . . Amongst them were abundance of Officers, or Men who by their Habit appear'd to be such; but look'd as tenderly, as if they Carried their Down beds with them into the Camp, and did not dare to come out of their Tents, in a cold morning, till they had Eat a Mess of Plum Panada for Breakfast, to defend their Stomachs from the Wind. . . . Having sat all this while looking about us, like a Couple of *Minerva's* Birds, among so many Juno's Peacocks, admiring their Gaiety; we began to be thoughtful of a Pipe of Tobacco, which we were not assur'd we could have the liberty of Smoaking, lest we should offend those Sweet Breath Gentlemen. But, however, we Ventur'd to call for some Instruments of Evaporation, which were accordingly brought us, but with such a Kind of unwillingness, as if they would much rather have been rid of our Company; for their Tables were so very Neat, and Shin'd with Rubbing, like the Upper Leathers of an Alderman's shoes. The floor as clean Swept, as a *Sir Courtly's* Dining Room, which made us look round, to see if there were no Orders hung up to impose the Forfeiture of so much *Mop Money* upon any Person that should spit out of the Chimney Corner.'

Nando's was in Fleet Street, at the corner of Inner Temple Gate, the house wrongly described as being formerly the palace of Cardinal Wolsey, and now a hairdresser's. It was not particularly famous for anything in Anne's time, only the name is familiar to students of that epoch, as being next

door to the shop of Bernard Lintot the bookseller, and mentioned by him in all his advertisements.

Ozinda's was in St. James's Street, and ranked with White's as a Tory house. Robin's was in Exchange Alley. Swift dated some of his letters to Stella from this coffee-house, and Steele mentions it as a Stock Exchange house in the *Spectator*, No. 454. The Rainbow in Fleet Street is still in existence, and Ward¹ classes it thus: 'Coffee and Water Gruel to be had at the Rainbow and Nando's at Four.' It seems to have been a favourite sign, for I have seven on my list.

Squire's was in Fulwood's (now called Fuller's) Rents in Holborn, and has been rendered historical by Addison, who makes Sir Roger ask him² 'if I would smoak a Pipe with him over a Dish of Coffee at Squire's. As I love the old Man, I take delight in complying with everything that is agreeable to him, and accordingly waited on him to the Coffee House, where his venerable Figure drew upon us the Eyes of the whole Room. He had no sooner seated himself at the upper End of the high Table, but he called for a clean Pipe, a Paper of Tobacco, a Dish of Coffee, a Wax Candle, and the *Supplement* with such an Air of Cheerfulness and Goodhumour, that all the Boys in the Coffee room (who seemed to take pleasure in serving him) were at once employed on his several Errands, insomuch that no Body else could come at a Dish of Tea till the knight had got all his Conveniencies about him.' Squire died in 1717.

The following note on the Smyrna Coffee House is the best description possible to give of it.³ 'This is to give notice to all ingenious gentlemen in and about the cities of London and Westminster, who have a mind to be instructed in the noble Sciences of Music, Poetry, and Politics, that they repair to the Smyrna Coffee House in Pall Mall, betwixt the hours of eight and ten at night, where they may be instructed gratis, with elaborate *ESSAYS by word of mouth* on all, or any of the above mentioned Arts. The disciples are to prepare their bodies with three dishes of bohea, and purge their brains with two pinches of snuff. If any young student gives

¹ *Comical View of London.*

² *Spectator*, No. 269.

³ *Tatler*, 78.

indication of parts, by listening attentively, or asking a pertinent question, one of the professors shall distinguish him by taking snuff out of his box in the presence of the whole audience—

‘N.B. The seat of learning is now removed from the corner of the chimney on the left hand towards the window, to the round table in the middle of the floor over against the fire; a revolution much lamented by the porters and chairmen, who were much edified through a pane of glass that remained broken all the last summer.’

John Salter’s (or, as he was christened by Steele, or Rear Admiral Sir John Munden, ‘Don Saltero’) was situated in the middle of Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. He was originally a servant to Sir Hans Sloane, and, when he left his service to set up as barber and coffee-house keeper, Sir Hans gave him some odds and ends from his Museum. Other kind friends followed, and Don Saltero’s became a place of note, the curiosities, natural and otherwise, taking up much of the space. Indeed, Steele, in recording a visit to the Don’s, says,¹ ‘When I came into the Coffee house, I had not time to salute the Company, before my eye was diverted by ten thousand jimcracks round the room and on the ceiling.’ The first catalogue of his curiosities that he published, was in 1729, and in the preface he says, ‘The first Donor was the Honourable Sir John Cope, bart., to whom and Family I am much obliged for several very valuable pieces, both of Nature and Art.’ The list comprises 249 articles, which in the 12th edition, 1741, was increased to 420, so that, probably, in Anne’s time there were not more than a couple of hundred. Apart from the natural curiosities, which were numerous, were many undoubtedly spurious, as ‘(2) Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem with the Pillar, to which our Saviour was tied when scourged, with a Motto on each.’ ‘(40) The Queen of Sheba’s Fan.’ He seems to have invested largely in this royal lady’s property, for we have ‘(53) Queen of Sheba’s Cordial Bottle,’ and ‘(55) The Queen of Sheba’s Milk Maid’s Hat.’ No. 56 was ‘Pontius Pilate’s Wife’s Chambermaid’s

¹ *Tatler*, No. 34.

Sister's Sister's Hat'—a relic which, Steele declares, was made within three miles of Bedford.

These rather detract from the possible authenticity of the historical relics, which were numerous, and, if genuine, were curious and valuable. '(15) A Wooden Shoe put under the Speaker's Chair in K. James II's Time.' '(37) Gustavus Adolphus's Gloves.' '(38) Harry VIIIth's Coat of Mail.' '(39) Queen Elizabeth's Stirrup.' '(41) Katherine Q. Dowager's Coronation Shoes.' '(42) King Charles II's Band, which he wore in Disguise in the Royal Oak.' '(43) William the Conqueror's Flaming Sword.' '(44) Oliver's Sword.' '(45) King James II's Coronation Shoes.' '(46) King William the III's Coronation Sword.' '(47) King William's Coronation Shoes.' '(49) Queen Anne's Testament.' '(50) 'Henry the VIIIth's Gloves.' '(51) The Czar of Moscow's Gloves;' and last but not least—an undeniable forgery, '(242) Robinson Crusoe's and his Man Friday's Shirts.'

Steele describes the Don as 'a sage of a thin and meagre countenance; which aspect made me doubt whether reading or fretting had made it so philosophic; but I very soon perceived him to be of that sect which the ancients call *Gingivistæ*; in our language, tooth drawers.' Besides shaving and tooth drawing, he played on the violin: 'if he would wholly give himself up to the string, instead of playing twenty beginnings to tunes, he might, before he dies, play *Roger de Caubly*¹ quite out. I heard him go through his whole round, and indeed he does play the "Merry Christ Church Bells"² pretty justly;' and another authority says, 'There was no passing his house, if he was at home, without having one's ears grated with the sounds of his fiddle, on which he scraped most execrably.' Steele recommends some of his curiosities to be taken away, 'or else he may expect to have his letters patent for making punch superseded, be debarred wearing his Muff next winter, or ever coming to London without his wife.' Either of these would have punished Saltero severely, for he was known out of doors by his old grey muff, which he carried up to his nose; and Mrs. S. had a temper of her own, to escape which the Don sometimes slipped off to London by

¹ See Appendix.

² See Appendix.

himself. His collection seems to have dwindled away, for when it was sold in 1799 there were only 121 lots, and the whole seem to have sold for a little over 50*l*.

Slaughter's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane afterwards superseded Old Man's as a military meeting-place, and in the latter half of the century it was frequented by artists and sculptors. Searl's, or Serle's, was a legal coffee-house, and was situated at the corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Of Tom's—I have a list of six—perhaps the best known was that in St. Martin's Lane, where, as we have seen, was one of the first insurance offices. The Virginia, which was in St. Michael's Alley, and afterwards in Cornhill, has disappeared within the last few years.

'All accounts of POETRY, under Will's Coffee House,' says the *Tatler*; it was situated No. 1 Bow Street, at the corner of Russell Street, and took its name from its proprietor, William Urwin. If Ward can be trusted, gamblers as well as wits frequented it, for he says¹ there was 'great shaking of the Elbow at *Will's* about Ten.' Still it was, *par excellence*, the *Wits* coffee house, a class who are very happily described by a contemporary writer:² 'All their words go for Jest, and all their Jest for nothing. They are quick in the Fancy of some ridiculous Thing, and reasonable good in the Expression. Nothing stops a Jest when it is coming; and they had rather lose their Friend than their Wit.' And they are also written of as being 'Conceited, if they had but once the Honour to dip a finger and thumb in Mr. D——'s³ snush box, it was enough to inspire 'em with a true Genius of Poetry, and make 'em write Verse, as fast as a Taylor takes his stitches.' In fact, it was on Dryden's reputation that Will's coffee-house was then living; and his going there is noticed by Pepys, 'Feb. 3, 1664—In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee house there, where I never was before: where Dryden, the poet, I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole, of our College. And, had I time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither,

¹ *A Comical View of London and Westminster.*

² *Hickelty Pickelty.*

³ Dryden's.

for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.' Here also Pope saw the old man, whom he described as 'a plump man with a down look, and not very conversible.'

Such, then, were some of the principal coffee-houses. What were the taverns like? There were then no hotels proper, such as we know them: a man had to live in private apartments, and, when he wanted dinner, he had to betake himself to a tavern, or ordinary. As Misson remarks, 'At London they hardly so much as know what an *Auberge* is: There are indeed a thousand and a thousand Taverns, where you may have what you please got for you.' A tavern was a far more free-and-easy place than a coffee-house—in fact, it is a question whether the *convenances* of a coffee-house would admit of a man 'washing his teeth at a tavern window in Pall Mall';¹ indeed, the keeping of them was hardly considered reputable, for we find² that 'Her Majestie sign'd a warrant for continuing the salaries of the prince's servants during her life, provided they kept no publick houses.'

Ward describes³ the freedom and jollity of these places: 'Accordingly we stept in, and in the Kitchen found half a dozen of my Friends Associates, in the height of their Jollitry, as Merry as so many *Cantabridgians* at *Sturbridge Fair*, or *Coblers* at a *Crispins Feast*. After a Friendly Salutation, free from all Foppish Ceremonies, down we sat; and when a Glass or two round had given fresh Motion to our drowsy Spirits, and abandon'd all those careful thoughts which makes Man's Life uneasie, Wit begot Wit, and Wine a Thirsty Appetite to each Succeeding Glass. Then open were our Hearts and unconfined our Fancies; my Friend and I contributed our Mites to add to the Treasure of our Felicity. *Songs* and *Catches* Crown'd the Night, and each Man in his Turn pleased his Ears with his own Harmony.'

The most singular thing was, that it was not at all derogatory for a nobleman or gentleman to go to a tavern for a carouse—and all clubs were held at taverns. Thoresby relates that, after his reception by the Queen, as one of a

¹ *Tatler*, 11. ² *Luttrell*, Jan. 1, 1709. ³ *London Spy*.

deputation from Leeds, on July 2, 1712, 'We left the Duke there, but returned in the High Sheriff's coach to Sir Arthur



A TAVERN SCENE.

Kaye's, who, with Sir Bryan Stapleton, accompanied us; from Sir Arthur's we went to the Tavern to drink her

Majesty's health, and stayed full late.' And Swift writes to Stella:¹ 'After dinner we went to a blind tavern, where Congreve, Sir Richard Temple, Eastcourt, and Charles Main were over a bowl of bad punch. The Knight sent for six flasks of his own wine for me, and we staid till twelve.' This sending for one's own wine was a peculiar arrangement, but doubtless the landlord was satisfied with a premium on 'corkage.' Swift frequently speaks of this custom: 'To-day I dined with Lewis and Prior at an eating house, but with Lewis's wine.' 'I dined in a Coffee house with Stratford upon Chops, and some of his Wine.' Again he was with Lords Harley and Dupplin, the son and son-in-law of the Earl of Oxford—and 'we were forced to go to a tavern, and send for wine from Lord Treasurer's.'

But the frequenters of taverns were not all so respectable as these examples; and Brown supplies particulars of another section of society. 'A *Tavern* is a little *Sodom*, where as many Vices are daily practised, as ever were known in the great one; Thither *Libertines* repair to drink away their Brains, *Aldermen* to talk Treason, and bewail the loss of Trade; *Saints* to elevate the Spirit, hatch Calumnies, coin false News, and reproach the Church; *Gamesters* to shake their Elbows; Thither *Sober Knaves* walk with *Drunken Fools* to make Cunning Bargains and overreach them in their Dealings; Thither *Young Quality* retire to spend their Tradesmens Money; Thither *Bullies* Coach it to Kick Drawers, and invent new Oaths and Curses; Thither run *Sots* purely to be drunk, *Beaux* to shew their Vanity, *Cowards* to make themselves valiant by the Strength of their Wine, *Fools* to make themselves witty in their own Conceits, and *Spendthrifts* to be made Miserable by a Ridiculous Consumption of their own Fortunes.'

There were lower depths yet: there were the *purl houses*, where 'Tradesmen flock in their Morning gowns, by Seven, to cool their Plucks,' and the *mug houses*,² which in George

¹ *Journal*, Oct. 27, 1710.

² 'Here is nothing drunk but Ale, and every Gentleman hath his separate Mug, which he Chalks on the Table, where he sits, as it is brought in; and every one retires when he pleases, as from a Coffee House.'—*A Journey through England*, 1722.

the First's time were made into political clubs. 'King George for Ever' was then the mug-house cry, which the coffee-houses countered with 'High Church and Ormonde; no Presbyterians; no Hanover; down with the Mug.'

The following is a list of the principal taverns then in existence, for some of which I am indebted to Timbs 'Club Life of London.' 'The Bear,' at the foot of London Bridge, Southwark and west side, which was in existence in 1463, was not pulled down till 1761. The 'Boar's Head,' in Eastcheap; Pontack's, in Abchurch Lane; and the 'Pope's Head' tavern in Pope's Head Alley, were all standing; and the 'Cock,' in Threadneedle Street, was only destroyed in 1851. There was the 'Salutation' in Newgate Street, where Wren used to smoke his pipe, whilst St. Paul's was rebuilding. Dolly's chop-house, in Paternoster Row, was established in Queen Anne's reign. The 'White Hart' in Bishopsgate Without, which bore the date 1480, was not pulled down till 1829. The 'King's Head,' in Fenchurch Street, at the corner of Mark Lane, was the hostel at which Queen Elizabeth is *said* to have dined in May 1554. The 'Devil,' in Fleet Street, now occupied by Childs' bank, was flourishing, and Steele describes it¹ as 'a place sacred to mirth tempered with discretion, where Ben Jonson and his Sons used to make their liberal meetings,' and he says that in the Apollo room were the rules of Ben's Club, painted in gold letters over the chimney piece.

This tavern was so popular that a rival sprung up on the other side of the street, the 'Young Devil,' and here, for a year or so, from the beginning of 1708, till some time in or about 1709, the Society of Antiquaries held their meetings, afterwards at the 'Fountain' tavern, Inner Temple Gate. The 'Cock,' in Fleet Street, has only just been demolished. There was another famous tavern which was near St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, called 'The Hercules' Pillars,' which was visited by Pepys, as appears by four entries in his diary. Another tavern of this name, at Charing Cross, will be noted when treating of the amusements of the people

¹ *Tatler*, 79.

The 'Mitre' tavern must not be confounded with the coffee-house of that name in Mitre Court, but was the one frequented by Dr. Johnson, and so often referred to by Boswell.

The 'Palsgrave's Head,' on the south side of the Strand, near Temple Bar, was then a coffee-house, and was so named from the Palsgrave Frederick, afterwards King of Bohemia, who married the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The 'Crown and Anchor,' which stretched along the Strand from Arundel Street to Milford Lane, was famous as being the place where the Academy of Music was instituted in 1710. The 'Rose' tavern in Drury Lane is frequently mentioned in the literature of this time. It was afterwards absorbed into Drury Lane Theatre, when Garrick enlarged it in 1776. The 'Rummer Tavern,' at Charing Cross, near Locket's Ordinary, is often mentioned in advertisements, and Brown and Ward speak of 'Heaven' and 'Hell,' which were two ale-houses near Westminster Hall. Pepys notices one of them on January 28, 1660—'And so I returned, and went to Heaven, where Ludlin and I dined.' And last, not least, was the 'Bumper' tavern, which 'Dick Estcourt,' the actor, opened on January 1, 1712, and which Steele so kindly puffed in *Spectator* No. 264. An exhaustive catalogue of the taverns in the City is given by Ward in his 'Vade Mecum for Maltworms,' a very curious and now rare book; but it is hardly worth while to reproduce their names, even in an appendix.

CHAPTER XIX.

CLUBS.

Origin—October Club—Calves Head Club—Kit Cat Club—Other clubs—
Suggested clubs.

THE name of Club, is undoubtedly taken from the practice of a jovial company to 'club,' or divide the whole expenses of the entertainment; and 'the payment of our Clubs'¹ is a frequently mentioned wind-up of any festivity. Naturally, such agreeable meetings were repeated until they became habitual, and the society, or *club*, was formed; and these humble beginnings laid the foundation of that great social organisation which nowhere flourishes better than in England.

The principal clubs of Queen Anne's time were the October Club, the Calves Head Club, and the Kit Cat Club. The October Club was a Political Club, of high Tory proclivities, and it was so called from the 'October Ale' which was supposed to be the drink of the members. It was held at the 'Bell Tavern,' in King Street, Westminster, and they succeeded in plaguing the Whigs to their hearts' content. Swift writes Stella of them:² 'We are plagued here with an October Club; that is, a set of above a hundred Parliament men of the Country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the Parliament, to consult affairs, and drive things on to extremes against the Whigs, to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The ministry seem not to regard them, yet one of them in confidence, told me that there must be something thought on to settle things better.' Swift wrote a little pamphlet called 'Some Advice Humbly Offered to the

¹ *London Spy*.

² *Journal*, Feb. 18, 1711.

Members of the October Club, in a letter from a Person of Honour,' which met with varying fortunes ; for he tells Stella, 'The little twopenny letter of "Advice to the October Club," does not sell : I know the reason ; for it is finely written, I assure you ; and like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell : you know that it is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world ; if I had hinted it to be mine, every body would have bought it, but it is a great secret.'¹ A few days later, and he writes, February 1, that it 'begins now to sell ; but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland.' There is no doubt but that it partially had the desired effect—of making these troublesome gentlemen less obstructive. Poor Swift was once nearly getting into a dilemma with regard to this club, and his story is as follows : 'Then Ford drew me to dine at a tavern, it happened to be the day and the house where the October Club dine. After we had dined, coming down, we called to inquire, whether our yarn business had been over that day, and I sent into the room for Sir George Beaumont. But I had like to be drawn into a difficulty ; for in two minutes out comes Mr. Finch, Lord Guernsey's son, to let me know, that my Lord Compton, the steward of this feast, desired, in the name of the club, that I would do them the honour to dine with them. I sent my excuses, adorned with about thirty compliments, and got off as fast as I could. It would have been a most improper thing for me to dine there, considering my friendship for the Ministry. The Club is about a hundred and fifty, and near eighty of them were then going to dinner at two long tables in a great ground room.'² Afterwards the October Club was split, and the more Jacobite portion formed themselves into the March Club.

The Calves Head Club was decidedly an opposition one, and its history, true or not, is told in a little book which some people have attributed to Ward,³ 'The SECRET HISTORY of the CALVES HEAD CLUB : or, the REPUBLICAN UNMASK'D. Wherein is fully shewn the religion of the CALVES HEAD Heroes in their Anniversary Thanksgiving

¹ *Journal*, Jan. 28, 1712.

² *Ibid.* April 13, 1714.

³ *Brit. Mus.* 1093, c. 73.

Songs on the Thirtieth of *January*, by them called Anthems, for the years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697. NOW PUBLISHED to demonstrate the Restless, Implacable Spirit of a certain Party still among us, who are never to be satisfied till the present Establishment in Church and State is subverted. The Second Edition.

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos. Virg.

London.

Printed, And Sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. 1703.'

The author tells the history of the club as follows: 'Happening in the late Reign to be in the Company of a certain active Whigg, who in all other Respects was a Man of probity enough; he assured me, that to his Knowledge, 'twas true, That he knew most of the Members of that Club, and that he had been often invited to their Meetings, but that he had always avoided them: Adding, that according to the Principles he was bred up in, he wou'd have made no scruple to have met *Charles* the First, in the Field, and oppos'd him to the utmost of his Power; but that since he was Dead, he had no further Quarrel to him, and looked upon it as a cowardly piece of Villany, below any Man of Honour, to insult upon a Memory of a Prince, who had suffer'd enough in his Life Time.

'He farther told me, that *Milton*, and some other Creatures of the Commonwealth, had instituted this Club, as he was inform'd, in Opposition to Bp. *Fuxon*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Hammond*, and other Divines of the Church of England, who met privately every 30th of *January*; and, tho' it was under the Time of the Usurpation, had compil'd a private Form of Service for the Day, not much different from that we now find in the Liturgy. . . .

'By another Gentleman, who, about Eight Years ago, went out of meer Curiosity to see their Club, and has since furnish'd me with the following Papers; I was inform'd that it was kept in no fix'd House, but that they remov'd as they saw convenient; that the place they met in when he was

with 'em, was a blind Ally, about *Morefields*; ¹ that the Company wholly consisted of *Independents* and *Anabaptists* (I am glad for the Honour of the *Presbyterians* to set down this Remark); that the Famous *Ferry White*, formerly Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwell*, who, no doubt on 't, came to sanctify with his Pious Exhortations, the Ribbaldry of the Day, said Grace; that after the Table Cloth was removed, the Anniversary *Anthem*, as they impiously call'd it, was sung, and a Calves Scull filled with Wine or other Liqueur, and then a Brimmer went about to the Pious Memory of those worthy Patriots that had kill'd the Tyrant, and deliver'd their Country from his Arbitrary Sway; and lastly, a Collection made for the Mercenary Scribler, to which every Man contributed according to his Zeal for the Cause, or the Ability of his Purse.'

The following 'Anthem,' if not the most refined of the series, is, at least, the most spirited and characteristic:—

An Anthem on the 30th of January 1696.

There was a King of *Scottish* Race, a Man of Muckle might a,
Was never seen in Battels Great, but greatly he would sh— a;
This K. begot another K. which made the Nation sad a,
Was of the same Religion, an Atheist like his Dad a:
This Monarch wore a Picked Beard, and seem'd a Doughty Hero,
As *Dioclesian* Innocent, and Merciful as *Nero*.
The Churches darling Implement, but Scourge of all the People,
He Swore he'd make each Mother's Son Adore their Idol Steeple:
But they perceiving his designs, grew plagy shy and jealous,
And timely Choppt his *Calve's* head off, and sent him to his fellows.
Old *Rowly* did succeed his Dad, such a King was never seen a,
He'd lye with every nasty Drab, but seldom with his Queen a.

¹ In the ninth ed., 1714, after 'Morefields' it goes on: 'Where an Axe hung up in the *Club Room*, and was revered as a principal Symbol in this Diabolical Sacrament. Their Bill of Fare was a large Dish of *Calves-Heads*, dressed several ways, by which they represented the King and his Friends, who had suffer'd in his Cause; a large *Pike* with a small one in his Mouth, as an Emblem of Tyranny; a large *Cod's Head*, by which they pretended to represent the Person of the King singly; a *Boar's Head* with an Apple in its Mouth, to represent the King, by this, as Bestial, as by their other Hieroglyphicks they had done Foolish and Tyrannical. After the Repast was over, one of their Elders presented an *Ikou Basilike*, which was with great Solemnity burn'd upon the Table, whilst the *Anthems* were singing. After this, another produc'd *Milton's Defensio Populi Anglicani*, upon which all laid their Hands, and made a Protestation in the form of an Oath, for ever to stand by, and maintain the same;' then the text goes on as above.

His Dogs at Council Board wou'd sit, like Judges in their Furs a,
 'Twas hard to say which had most Wit, the Monarch or his Curs a.
 At last he died, we know not how, but most think by his Brother,
 His Soul to Royal *Tophet* went to see his Dad and Mother.
 The furious *James* Usurp'd the Throne, to pull Religion down a ;
 But by his Wife and Priest undone, he quickly lost his Crown a.
 To *France* the wand'ring Monarch's trudg'd, in hopes relief to find a,
 Which he is like to have from thence, even when the D——'s blind a.
 Oh ! how shou'd we Rejoyce and Pray, and never cease to Sing a,
 ☞ If *Bishops* too were Chac'd away, and Banished with their *King* a :
 Then Peace and Plenty wou'd ensue, our Bellies wou'd be full a,
 The enliven'd Isle wou'd Laugh and Smile, as in the days of *Noll* a.

Whether this 'Secret History' be true or not, it would almost appear that there was a Calves Head Club in George the Second's reign, for in the *Monthly Intelligencer*, which was a portion of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, we find¹: 'Friday, January 30, 1735. Some young Noblemen and Gentlemen met in a Tavern in *Suffolk Street*,² called themselves the *Calves Head Club*; dress'd up a Calfs Head in a Napkin, and after some Huzzas threw it into a Bonfire, and dipt Napkins in their red Wine, and wav'd them out at Window. The Mob had strong beer given them, and for a time hallood as well as the best; but taking Disgust at some Healths propos'd, grew so outrageous, that they broke all the Windows, and forc'd themselves into the House, but the Guards being sent for, prevented further Mischief.' Different accounts exist of this occurrence, variously modifying it, until they end in a total denial; but engravings exist professing to give the 'True Effigies' of the scene. Apropos of this, in the 1714 edition of the 'Secret History' is an engraving of 'the Westminster Calf's Head Club,' which is none other than the representation of a coffee-house already produced (see p. 215), but altered somewhat to suit the occasion. For instance, the *dame de comptoir* is erased, and in her place is a huge axe.

Perhaps one of the now best-known clubs of Anne's time was the Kit Cat, which derived its peculiar cognomen (so Addison says) 'from a Mutton Pye.' Attempts have been made to attribute its origin to a political gathering of Whig

¹ *Gent. Mag.* vol. v. p. 105.

² Charing Cross.

noblemen and gentlemen, but contemporary authorities all agree that it was founded by Jacob Tonson, the bookseller ; and Sir R. Blackmore, who wrote a poem called 'the Kitcats' in 1708, may be considered as knowing something about what he wrote. Whether the pieman's name was Christopher Cat, or Christopher, living at the sign of the Cat and Fiddle, does not much matter : certain it is that the pies from which the club was named were called Kit Cat's pies.

Various domiciles have been given to the club, but Sir R. Blackmore says it was held at the Fountain in the Strand, a site now occupied by the Cigar Divan, as is denoted by the name of Fountain Court.

On the fair *Strand* by which with graceful Pride,
Unrival'd *Thamis* rolls his alternate Tyde,
Between the Courts which most the People awe,
(In one the Monarch reigns, in one the Law.)
A Stately Building rear'd its lofty Head,
Which both the *Thames* and *Town* around survey'd.
Here crown'd with Clusters *Bacchus* kept his Court,
Where mighty Vats his chearful Throne support ;
High o'er the Gate he hung his waving Sign,
A *Fountain* Red with ever-flowing Wine.

One Night, in Seven, at this convenient Seat,
Indulgent BOCAJ¹ did the Muses treat,
Their Drink was generous Wine, and *Kit Cat's* Pyes their Meat. }
Here he assembled his Poetic Tribe,
Past Labours to Reward, and new ones to prescribe ;
Hence did th' Assembly's Title first arise,
And *Kit-Cat* Wits sprung first from *Kit-Cat's* Pyes.
BOCAJ the mighty Founder of the State
Led by his Wisdom, or his happy Fate, }
Chose proper Pillars to support its Weight }
All the first Members for their Place were fit
Tho' not of Title, Men of Sense and Wit.

They showed they had sense at all events, for in the summer they went into the fresh air, and held their meetings at the *Flask* at Hampstead.

Or when Apollo like, thou'rt pleas'd to lead
Thy Sons to feast on *Hampstead's* airy Head ; }
Hampstead that now in name *Parnassus* shall exceed. }

¹ Jacob transposed.

Another proof, if it were needed, that Tonson was the founder of the club, is that forty-two of its members presented him with their portraits, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, to adorn his house at Barn Elms. As the room was not lofty enough to admit of their being the regulation size, special canvases were had (36 × 28 in.), and this is still called Kit Cat size. These portraits are still in existence, and were all shown at the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, and some at the International Exhibition of 1862. This club was famous for the toasts engraved on its drinking glasses, many of which have survived to this day ; and this gave rise to Dr. Arbuthnot's epigram—

Whence deathless Kit-Cat took his name,
 Few Critics can unriddle :
 Some say from pastry cook it came
 And some from Cat and Fiddle.
 From no trim beaus its name it boasts,
 Grey statesmen or green wits,
 But from this pell mell pack of toasts
 Of old Cats and young Kits.

There were numerous social clubs, the Beefsteak, and the Saturday Club, of which Swift makes frequent mention in his letters to Stella. Take one instance¹: 'I dined with lord-treasurer, and shall again to-morrow, which is his day, when all the ministers dine with him. He calls it whipping day. It is always on Saturday, and we do indeed usually rally him about his faults on that day. I was of the original club, when only poor Lord Rivers, lord keeper, and Lord Bolinbroke came ; but now Ormond, Anglesey, lord Steward, Dartmouth, and other rabble intrude, and I scold at it ; but now they pretend as good a title as I ; and, indeed, many Saturdays I am not there.' He also belonged to a club or society for social converse and the encouragement of literature, which was founded in the latter part of the year 1712. Its meetings were on Thursday, and it was the custom of the members to entertain their brethren in turns. He gave one dinner at the Thatched House²: 'it will cost me five or six pounds ; yet the secretary says he will give me wine.' But

¹ *Journal to Stella*, Jan. 9, 1713.

² *Ibid.* Feb. 21, 1712.

they soon got extravagant, for their very next dinner is noted¹ as 'The Duke of Ormond's treat last week cost £20 though it was only four dishes, and four without a dessert; and I bespoke it in order to be cheap;' and this did not include wine. In this society, when money was raised for a benevolent purpose, the members were assessed according to their several estates: thus, the Duke of Ormond paid ten guineas, Swift half a guinea.

Steele, in *Tatler* No. 9, gives an amusing and graphic account of a club, held at a tavern called the Trumpet, in Shire Lane; and, to show how prevalent the establishment of clubs was in this reign, the following are some of suggested ones (of course only in fun) to be found in the *Spectator*: The Amorous, Chit Chat, Everlasting, Fox hunters, Fringe glove, Hebdomadal, Henpecked, Lazy, Lawyers, Mohock, Moving, Rattling, The Romp, Sighing, Spectator's, Street, Twopenny, Ugly, Widows; and the *Guardian* supplies a list of supposed clubs of little men, and the Short, Silent, Tall, and Terrible Clubs.

¹ *Journal to Stella*, March 5, 1712.

CHAPTER XX.

SIGHT-SEEING AND FAIRS.

Royal visits to the City—Lord Mayor's show—The lions at the Tower—The Armoury—Tombs at Westminster—Bartholomew Fair—Description—Shows—Tight-rope dancing—Natural curiosities—Theatrical performances, etc.—Abolition—May fair—Lady Mary—Pinkethman—Shows—Visit to—Abolition—Southwark Fair—Its shows.

BUT clubs were not the only social enjoyments. The populace had, during this reign, many free sights—and the numerous visits of the Queen to the City provided fine shows gratis. She dined at Guildhall on the Lord Mayor's day after her accession, and she visited the City again on November 12 the same year, accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, to return thanks for the successes at Vigo. Certainly January 19, 1704, was kept as a fast; but on September 7 of that year the Queen again went to St. Paul's, in commemoration of the victory at Blenheim and the capture of Gibraltar; and on January 3, 1705, the standards¹ taken at Blenheim were carried, by a detachment of horse and foot guards, from the Tower, and hung up in Westminster Hall. On the 6th of the same month the Duke of Marlborough dined, by invitation, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at Goldsmiths' Hall. Once more the Queen visited St. Paul's, on August 23, 1705, to return thanks for the Duke's forcing the French lines in Brabant, and yet again for the victory at Ramilies on

¹ There was an engraving made of these standards; and a handbill about it (*Harl. MSS.* 5996, 40) is curious, as showing how they pushed trade then. 'The Colours being only to be seen in *Westminster Hall*, several Gentlemen and Others have desired to share in the *Commemoration* thereof, by placing the *Representation* of 'em in their Halls and Houses: And now to accommodate those who are so disposed, the said *Representation* with the *Imbellishments* above mention'd, is done on fine *Imperial Paper*, and will in a Day or Two be left at your house for your Perusal, till call'd for next Day, when you are desired either to return it, or be pleased to pay Two Shillings and Sixpence to the Person that deliver'd the Same.'

June 27, 1706. This time, the colours taken were deposited in the Guildhall, with great pomp, on December 19, 1706: the Queen, and Prince George, going into St. James's Park to see them pass. On this occasion the Duke dined with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in Vintners' Hall. On December 30 of the same year, the Queen gave thanks at St. Paul's for the successes of the last campaign in Spain and Italy; and, as the newspaper account informs us, 'the Night ended with Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, Illuminations, and other Rejoycings.'

Yet again was there another day of public rejoicing, on May 1, 1707, to celebrate the union with Scotland, and the Queen once more visited St. Paul's. But this was to be the last. On thanksgiving day, July 7, 1713, to celebrate the conclusion of peace, Anne was too unwell to play her accustomed part, and was reluctantly compelled to abandon it and remain at home. The fireworks on this occasion were splendid. 'Those in Smithfield began about Ten at Night, and ended about Eleven; when those upon the Thames, over against Whitehall, began, and lasted till after Midnight. Besides that these were in both Places Excellent in their kind, they were play'd off with the utmost Régularity and good Order; so that we have not heard of the least Mischief done either upon the River or in Smithfield;' and, as was observed in the *Guardian*, No. 103: 'In short, the artist did his part to admiration, and was so encompassed with fire and smoke that one would have thought nothing but a Salamander could have been safe in such a situation.' But these seem to have been eclipsed by a display at Dublin in honour of the Queen's last birthday, February 6, 1714, as is recorded in the *Daily Courant* of February 16, 1714.

The Londoner, too, had his Lord Mayor's Show, with its fun, perhaps just a trifle rougher than in our day. Owing to the difference of old and new style, Lord Mayor's day was on October 29 instead of November 9 as now. Ward naturally revels in it¹: 'Tuesday 29. Windows in *Cheapside* stuck with more Faces at Ten, than the Balconies with Candles on an Illumination Night. Wicked havock of Neats-

¹ *Comical View of London and Westminster.*

Tongues and Hamms in the Barges about Eleven. Artillery Men march by two and two, burlesqued in Buff and Bandileers. The Vintners and Brewers, the Butchers and Apothecaries jostle about precedence; 'Tis pity they are not incorporated. The Ladies pelted with dead Cats instead of Squibs from Twelve to Three. Mob tumultuous. Boys starting to see that which, as the Old Woman said, they must all come to one Day.' And in the *London Spy* he gives a very long account of the show, its pageants, and the rough humour of the spectators.

'I took three lads, who are under my Guardianship, a rambling, in a hackney Coach, to shew them the town; as the lions, the tombs, Bedlam.'¹ These were the three great sights of London: the lions at the Tower, the tombs in Westminster Abbey, and the poor mad folk in Bedlam. 'To see the lions' is proverbial, and these had to be visited by every one new to the City. In 1703 there were four, two lions and two lionesses—one with a cub. In this reign three of the lions died almost at the same time, and it was looked upon by some as an event of dire portent. Addison laughingly alludes to the popular idea of something awful happening on the death of a 'Tower' lion, when, in the *Freeholder*, he makes the Jacobite squire ask the keeper whether any of the lions had fallen sick when Perth was taken, or on the flight of the Pretender. When dead they were sometimes stuffed, as Ward relates. He also says there was a leopard, three eagles, two owls, and a hyena. That was in 1703; and Thoresby, writing in 1709, went to see the 'lions, eagles, catamountains, leopards, &c.' He also relates² his experiences of a visit to the Tower itself: 'Walked with Mr. Dale to the Tower; was mightily pleased with the new and excellent method the Records³ are put into (of which see a letter of the Bishop of Carlisle to me;) and viewed many great curiosities of that nature, and original letters from foreign kings and potentates, upon parchment, and paper as old (reckoned as great a rarity) to the Kings of England, very ancient tallies, Jewish stars, &c., which the obliging Mr. Holms showed

¹ *Tatler*, No. 30.

² *Diary*, Jan. 21, 1709.

³ The records were kept in the Tower until the present reign.

me, who also gave me an autograph of Queen Elizabeth, that was his own property ; then went to view the several armouries, as that more ancient of the weapons taken in the year 1588 from the pretended Invincible Armada, and those modern from Vigo, and in other memorable transactions of this age ; the present armoury for use is put to a surprising method, in the form of shields, pyramids, trophies, &c. Some of the elder and later kings' armour are placed as though mounted on horseback.'

Ward also visited the Tower, after seeing the lions, and has left a most amusing account of what he saw, which is far too long for transcription. He first noted ' a parcel of Bulky Wardens, in old fashion'd Lac'd Jackets, and in Velvet Flat caps, hung round with divers colour'd Ribbons, like a Fool's hat upon a Holiday.' Indeed, their costume was identical with their present state dress, only it was utterly marred by their wearing portentous periwigs. Under the guidance of one of these gentry he was shown Traitor's Gate, the White Tower, and St. Peter's Church ; and afterwards, the Grand Armoury, where he was particularly delighted to see that ' at the corner of every Lobby, and turning of the Stairs, stood a *Wooden Granadier* as Sentinel, painted in his proper Colours, cut out with much exactness upon Board.' Arrived in the arsenal, he was handed over to one of the armourer's men, who had 'everything as ready at his fingers' ends, as the Fellow that shows the Tombs at Westminster. The first Figure at our Coming in, that most effected the Eye, by reason of its bigness, was a long Range of *Muskets* and *Carbines*, that ran the length of the *Armory*, which was distinguish'd by a Wilderness of Arms, whose *Locks* and *Barrels* were kept in that admirable Order, that they shone as bright as a Good Housewifes *Spits* and *Pewter* in the *Christmas Holidays*, on each side of which were *Pistols*, *Baggonets*, *Scimiters*, *Hangers*, *Cutlaces*, and the like Configured into *Shields*, *Triumphal Arches*, *Gates*, *Pillasters*, *Scollopshells*, *Mullets*, *Fans*, *Snakes*, *Serpents*, *Sun Beams*, *Gorgon's Heads*, the *Waves of the Ocean*, *Stars* and *Garters*, and in the middle of all, *Pillars of Pikes*, and turn'd *Pillars of Pistols* ; and at the end of the *Wilderness*, fire Arms plac'd in the Order of a

great *Organ*.' Coming thence, he noticed the Tower rooks, as he called those men who asked 'Whether you will see the Crown, the whole Regalia or the King's Marching Train of Artillery?' He would have none of them, but went with a warder into the armoury proper, where he 'View'd the Princely Scare crows, and he told us to whom each Suit of Armour did belong Originally, adding some short Memorandums out of History, to every empty Iron side ; some True, some False, supplying that with Invention, which he wanted in Memory.' He would not see the Regalia, but got a description of it from the warder, 'and so Cozened the Keeper of our Eighteen Pence a piece.' The warder told them 'there was a Royal Crown, and a new one made for the Coronation of the late Queen *Mary*, and three others wore by his Majesty with Distinct Robes, upon several occasions ; also the Salt, Spoons, Forks and Cups, us'd at the Coronation.' Altogether, a visit to the Tower then very much resembled one nowadays.

As to the tombs at Westminster, what more do we want to know about them, as they then were, than what is contained in *Spectator* No. 26, where Addison grumbles at Sir Cloudesley Shovel's monument, 'Instead of the brave rough English Admiral, which was the distinguishing Character of that plain gallant Man, he is represented on his Tomb, by the Figure of a Beau, dress'd in a long Perriwig, and reposing himself upon Velvet Cushions under a Canopy of State?' And for all else in the grand old abbey, have we not the lifelike description of Sir Roger's visit? ¹ how he saw Jacob's pillar, sat in the Coronation Chair, handled Edward the Third's sword, and afterwards wanted the Spectator to call on him 'at his Lodgings in *Norfolk Buildings*, and talk over these Matters with him more at leisure.' It would be a literary profanity to deal with them except in their entirety.

But the lions, the tombs, and Bedlam could never be sufficient recreative pabulum for a large city, so there were outlets for the exuberance of their spirits in the three fairs, Bartholomew, May fair, and Southwark. Bartholomew fair stands pre-eminent, both for its antiquity, its size, and length of duration. In Anne's time it was no longer the great mart

¹ *Spectator*, 329.

for cloth it used to be—and the fair was given over to rioting and unlimited licence. This fair is a most congenial subject for Ward's pen, and he gives it free range—too free, alas! for many extracts. He describes the entrance to it as a '*Belfegor's* Concert, the rumbling of *Drums*, mix'd with the intolerable Squalling of *Cat Calls* and *Penny Trumpets*,' so, to get out of the noise and smell, prominent in which latter was 'the Singeing of Pigs, and burnt Crackling of over Roasted Pork' (which was a specialty in the fair), he turned into an ale house, where he had doctored beer, and was so annoyed by a waiter, who would constantly inquire, 'Do you call, sirs?' that he threatened to kick him downstairs. From this upper room he could see the booths, and note the humours of the fair: the mock finery of the actors, who were 'strutting round their Balconies in their Tinsey Robes, and Golden Leather Buskins;' and the sorry buffoonery of the Merry Andrews. Having rested, he sallied forth into the fair, saw the rope-dancers, one of whom was a negress, who set a countryman near Ward into fits of laughter, which he explained: 'Master, says he, I have oftentimes heard of the Devil upon two Sticks, but never Zee it bevore in me Life. Bezide, Maister, who can forbear Laughing to see the Devil going to Dance?' He speaks in high terms of the German rope-dancer, of whom Lauron gives two portraits. He then went into a booth to see 'a Dwarf *Comedy*, Sir-nam'd a *Droll*,' but does not seem to have cared much about it. He and his friend then refreshed themselves with 'a Quart of Fill-birds, and Eat each of us two Penny worth of Burgamy Pears,' and witnessed another performance. They then needed solid food, so determined to have a quarter of a pig (sucking pig of course), and made their way to Pye Corner, 'where Cooks stood dripping at their Doors, like their Roasted Swine's Flesh,' but the total absence of cleanliness in the cookery was so repulsive, that they had to forego the luxury.

After undergoing the certain penalty of having his handkerchief stolen, he went to see another droll, the plot of which seems to have been perfectly inexplicable, and he came to the conclusion that '*Bartholomew Fair Drolls* are like *State Fire Works*, they never do any Body good, but those that

are concern'd in the Show.' The wax-work was then visited, and then they went to a music and dancing booth, in which they not only had a most discordant instrumental concert, but saw a woman 'Dance with Glasses full of Liquor upon the Backs of her Hands, to which she gave Variety of Motions, without Spilling,' and a youthful damsel perform a sword dance, which was succeeded by 'abundance of Insipid Stuff.' They got away, and passed by the 'Whirligigs,' went into a raffling shop, and the Groom Porter's, after which he went to an alehouse to rest himself and smoke a pipe, and finally went home, thoroughly tired.

This, then, was a true record of a visit to Bartholomew Fair, by the aid of which we shall thoroughly appreciate the following advertisements of the amusements there :—

'At the great Booth over against the Hospital Gate, during the time of *Bartholomew Fair* will be seen the Dancing on the Ropes, after the French and Italian Fashion, by a Company of the finest Performers that ever yet have been seen by the whole World. For in the same Booth will be seen the two Famous French Maidens, so much admired in all Places and Countries wherever they come (especially in *May fair* last), where they gain'd the highest Applause from all the Nobility and Gentry, for their wonderful Performance on the Rope, both with and without a Pole ; so far out doing all others that have been seen of their Sex, as gives a general Satisfaction to all that ever yet beheld them. To which is added, Vaulting on the High Rope, and Tumbling on the Stage. As also Vaulting on two Horses, on the great Stage, at once. The Stage being built after the Italian manner, on which you will see the Famous *Scaramouch* and *Harlequin*. With several other Surprizing Entertainments, too tedious here to mention. Perform'd by the greatest Masters now in *Europe*. The like never seen before in *England*.'

Rope-dancing was evidently very popular, for there is another booth, in which Blondin is outdone. 'It is there you will see the Italian Scaramouch dancing on the Rope, with a Wheel Barrow before him with two Children and a Dog in it, and with a Duck on his Head ; who sings to the Company, and causes much laughter.' And yet one more, for it intro-

duces us to the most famous rope-dancer of the reign—'Lady Mary.' 'Her Majesty's Company of Rope Dancers. At Mr. Barnes and Finly's Booth, between the Hospital Gate and the Crown Tavern, opposite the Cross Daggers, during the usual time of Bartholomew Fair, are to be seen the most famous Rope dancers in Europe. And 1st. 2 young Maidens, lately arrived from France, Dance with and without a Pole to admiration. 2. The Famous Mr. Barnes, of whose performances this Kingdom is so sensible, Dances with 2 Children at his Feet, and with Boots and Spurs. 3. Mrs. Finly distinguished by the name of Lady Mary for her incomparable Dancing, has much improv'd herself since the last Fair.' Lady Mary is frequently mentioned in contemporary literature, and on one occasion is alluded to 'as little dressed as Lady Mary.' This probably arose from her dispensing with petticoats in dancing. The German rope-dancer, immortalised by Lauron, is dressed in a fine frilled Holland shirt, trunk hose, and tights—in fact, the usual acrobatic dress; and Ward notices two dancers, 'who, to show their Affection to the Breeches wor'em under their Petticoats; which, for decency's sake, they first Danc'd in; But they doft their Petticoats after a gentle breathing.' This probably accounts for the caustic remark in the *Spectator* (No. 51), 'The Pleasantry of stripping almost Naked has been since practised (where indeed it should have begun) very successfully at *Bartholomew Fair*.'

There were, also, natural curiosities to be seen. 'At the next Door to the Sign of the *Greyhound* in *Smithfield*, is to be shown (by Her Majesty's Order) a Wonderful and Miraculous Sight, a Male Child which was born in *Garnsey* of the body of *Rebecca Secklin*, and now sucks at her Breasts, being but Thirty Weeks old, with a prodigious big Head, being above a yard about, and hath been shown to several Persons of Quality.'

'By Her Majesties Authority. At the Hart's Horn's Inn in Pye Corner, during the time of Bartholomew Fair, will be seen these strange Rarities following, *viz.* A Little *Farey Woman*, lately come from *Italy*, being but Two Foot Two Inches high, the shortest that ever was seen in *England*, and

no ways Deform'd, as the other two Women are, that are carried about the Streets in Boxes from House to House, for some years past, this being Thirteen Inches shorter than either of them ; if any Person has a desire to see her at their own Houses, we are ready to wait upon them any Hour of the Day.

' Likewise a little *Marmazet* from *Bengal* that dances the *Cheshire Rounds*,¹ and Exercises at the Word of Command. Also a strange Cock from *Hamborough*, having Three proper Legs, Two Fundaments, and makes use of them both at one time. *Vivat Reginæ*' (*sic*).

' Next Door to the Golden Hart in West Smithfield, between the Hospital Gate and Pye Corner during the time of Bartholomew Fair, is to be seen the Admirable Work of Nature, a Woman having three Breasts ; and each of them affording Milk at one time or differently, according as they are made use of. There is likewise to be seen the Daughter of the same Woman, which hath breasts of the like Nature, according to her Age ; and there never hath been any extant of such sort, which is wonderful to all that ever did, or shall behold her.'

Theatrical performances naturally took a prominent part ; for the two theatres shut up during Fair time, and Mills, Doggett, and Penkethman, all fair actors, and belonging to the regular stage, had booths here, and did well ; in fact, Penkethman became wealthy. As Ward remarks²: ' After struggling with a Long See-Saw, between *Pride* and *Profit* ; and having Prudently consider'd the weighty difference between the Honourable Title of one of His *Majesties Servants*, and that of a *Bartholomew Fair Player*, a *Vagabond* by the Statue, did at last, with much difficulty, conclude, That it was equally Reputable to Play the Fool in the *Fair* for Fifteen or Twenty Shillings a Day, as 'twas to please Fools in the *Play House* at so much a week.'

At Parker's Booth was played the Famous History of Dorastus and Fawnia, ' With very pleasant Dialogues and Antick Dances.'

' Never Acted before. At Miller's Booth, over against

¹ See Appendix,

² *London Spy*.

the Cross Daggers, near the Crown Tavern, during the time of Bartholomew Fair will be presented an Excellent new Droll call'd

‘The Tempest, or the Distressed Lovers,

With the English HERO and the Highland Princess, with the Comical Humours of the Inchanted Scotchman, or Jockey and the three Witches. Shewing how a Nobleman of England was cast away upon the Indian Shore, and in his Travels found the Princess of the Country, with whom he fell in Love, and after many Dangers and Perils, was married to her ; and his faithful Scotchman, who was saved with him, travelling thorow Woods, fell in among Witches, where between 'em is abundance of Comical Diversion. There in the Tempest, is Neptune with his Tritons in his Chariot drawn with Sea Horses and Mairmaids singing. With Variety of Entertainments, Performed by the best Masters ; the Particulars would be too tedious to be inserted here. Vivat Regina.’

There seems to have been another version of this play, which, after all, was only a travesty of Shakespeare's ‘Tempest.’

‘At Doggett's Booth, Hosier Lane End, during the Time of Bartholomew Fair, will be presented a New Droll, called the Distress'd Virgin, or Unnatural Parents, Being a True History of the Fair Maid of the West ; or The Loving Sisters. With the Comical Travels of Poor Trusty in search of his Master's Daughter, and his encounter with Three Witches.

‘Also Variety of Comick Dances and Songs, with Scenes and Machines never seen before—Vivat Regina.’

In the next advertisement we see three of ‘Her Majesty's Servants’ combine in keeping a booth in the Fair.

‘At Pinkeman's, Mills', and Bullock's Booth,

In the Old Place over against the Hospital Gate, During the

time of Bartholomew Fair will be presented, A New Droll call'd

'The Siege of Barcelona, or the Soldier's Fortune,
With the taking of Fort Mount jouy,

Containing the Pleasant and Comical Exploits of that Renown'd Hero Captain Blunderbuss and his Man Squib; His Adventures with the Conjuror; and a Surprizing Scene of the Flying Machine, where he and his Man Squib are Enchanted; Also the Diverting Humour of Corporal Scare Devil.

'The Principal Parts Acted by the Comedians of the Theatre Royal,

viz.

Colonel Lovewell	.	.	.	Mr. Mills.
Captain Blunderbuss	.	.	.	Mr. Bullock.
Squib, his Man	.	.	.	Mr. Norris, alias Jubilee Dicky. ¹
Corporal Scare Devil	.	.	.	Mr. Bickerstaff.
Maria, the Governor's Daughter	.	.	.	Mrs. Baxter.
The Dame of Honour	.	.	.	Mrs. Willis.

'To which will be added the Wonderful Performance of the most celebrated Master, Mr. Simpson the famous Vaultier; Who has had the Honour to teach most of the Nobility in England; and at whose request he now performs with Mr. Pinkeman to let the World see what Vaulting is. Being lately arrived from Italy.

'The Musick, Songs and Dances are all by the best Performers of their kind, whom Mr. Pinkeman has Entertained at extraordinary Charge, purely to give a full Satisfaction to the Town. Vivat Regina.'

'At *Ben Johnson's* BOOTH (by Mrs. Mynn's Company of Actors). In the Rounds in *Smithfield*, during the FAIR, Will be presented an excellent Entertainment, being the Famous History of WHITTINGTON, Lord MAYOR of LONDON: Wherein besides the Variety of SONGS and DANCES, will be

¹ So called because in 1699 he played the part of Dicky in Farquhar's *Constant Couple, or a Trip to the Jubilee*.

shown an extraordinary View of several stately and surprising SCENES; as a Rowing Sea, bearing a large Ship under Sayl, with *Neptune*, Mermaids, Dolphins, &c. Also a Prospect of a *Moorish* Country, so swarming with Rats and Mice, that they over run the King and Queen's Table at Dinner; Likewise a large diverting SCENE of Tapestry, fill'd with all living Figures; and lastly, concluding with a *Lord Mayor's* Triumph, in which are presented nine several Pageants, being Six Elephants and Castles, a Magnificent Temple, and two Triumphal Chariots, one drawn by two Lyons, and the other by two Dolphins; in all which are seated above twenty Persons in various Dresses; with Flaggs, Scutcheons, Streamers, &c. The Preparation and Decoration of which infinitely exceed both in Expence and Grandeur, all that has ever been seen on a Stage in the FAIR. *The Chief Parts are performed by Actors from both Theatres. Vivat Regina.'*

Here we see a departure from the old drolls, and a reliance on the part of the management on mechanical and spectacular effects: besides which, there was the puppet show, pure and simple. 'By Her Majesties Permission. At HEATLY'S Booth, Over against the *Cross Daggers*, next to Mr. *Miller's Booth*; During the time of *Bartholomew Fair*, will be presented a *Little Opera*, Call'd, *The Old Creation of the World* Newly Reviv'd, With the Addition of the *Glorious Battle* obtained over the *French* and *Spaniards*, by his Grace the *Duke of Marlborough*. The Contents are these—

1. The Creation of *Adam* and *Eve*.
2. The Intreagues of *Lucifer* in the Garden of *Eden*.
3. *Adam* and *Eve* driven out of Paradise.
4. *Cain* going to Plow. *Abel* driving Sheep.
5. *Cain* Killeth his Brother *Abel*.
6. *Abraham* Offering his Son *Isaac*.
7. Three Wisemen of the *East* guided by a Star, who Worship him.
8. *Joseph* and *Mary* flee away by Night upon an *Ass*.
9. King *Herod's* Cruelty, his *Men's* spears laden with *Children*.

'10. Rich *Dives* invites his *Friends*, and orders his Porter to keep the Beggars from his Gate.

'11. Poor *Lazarus* comes a begging at Rich *Dives's* Gate, the Dogs lick his Sores.

'12. The good Angel and Death contends for *Lazarus's* Life.

'13. Rich *Dives* is taken Sick and dieth, he is buried in great solemnity.

'14. Rich *Dives* in Hell, and *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* Bosom, seen in a most glorious Object, all in machines, descending in a Throne, Guarded with multitudes of Angels, with the Breaking of the Clouds, discovering the Palace of the Sun, in double and treble Prospects, to the Admiration of all Spectators. Likewise several Rich and Large Figures, which Dances *Figgs*, *Sarabands*, Anticks, and Country *Dances*, between every Act; compleated with the merry Humours of Sir John Spendall, and *Punchanello*, with several other things never yet Expos'd. Perform'd by Mat Heatly. Vivat Regina.'

This show seems to have been popular, for in another fair we have it again with variations: 'At *Crawly's* Booth, over against the *Crown Tavern* in *Smithfield* during the time of *Bartholomew Fair*, will be presented a little *Opera* call'd, *The Old Creation of the World*, yet newly reviv'd, with the addition of *Noah's Flood*; also several Fountains playing Water during the time of the Play.

'The last Scene does present *Noah* and his *Family* coming out of the Ark, with all the Beasts, two by two, and all the *Fowls* of the Air seen in a Prospect sitting upon the Trees. Likewise over the Ark is seen the Sun rising in a most glorious manner, moreover a multitude of Angels will be seen in a double rank, which presents a double prospect, one for the Sun, the other for a Palace, where will be seen six Angels, ringing six Bells.

'Likewise Machines descends from above, double and triple, with *Dives* rising out of Hell, and *Lazarus* seen in *Abraham's* bosom, besides several *Figures* dancing *Figgs*, *Sarabands*, and *Country Dances*, to the Admiration of all

Spectators ; with the merry Conceit of Squire *Punch* and Sir *John Spendall*.

'All this is compleated with an Entertainment of Singing and Dancing with several Naked Swords, Perform'd by a Child of Eight Years of Age, to the general Satisfaction of all Persons. Vivat Regina.'

As a specimen of the dancing booth Ward visited, take the following handbill : 'James Miles, From *Sadler's Wells*, at *Islington* ; NOW keeps the GUN MUSICK BOOTH, in *Bartholomew Fair*. Whereas Mr. *Miles* by his Care and Diligence to oblige the Gentry, and all others that are Lovers and Judges of good Musick, has put himself to an extraordinary Charge, in getting such Performers, as, no doubt, will give a general Satisfaction to all. This is also to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, That they may be accommodated with all Sorts of Wine, and other Liquors ; with several extraordinary Entertainments of Singing and Dancing, which was never perform'd at the Fair, viz. :—

'1. A New Dance between Three Bullies and Three Quakers.

'2. A New Dance between Two Spirits and Two Scaramouches.

'3. A New Dance between Four Swans and Four *Indians* riding on their Backs.

'4. A Wrestler's Dance, performed by Two Youths.

'5. Likewise Dancing on the Tight Rope, and a Young Man that Vaults the Slack Rope, with variety of Tumbling.

'6. A New Dance of Eight Granadiers, who perform the whole Exercise of War, in their proper Accoutrements, to the just Time of Musick.

'7. A New Scotch Dance, with their Habits and Bonnets, perform'd by Two Boys, to Admiration.

'8. A New Entertainment between a Scaramouch, a Harliquin, and a Punchanello in Imitation of Bilking a Reckoning.

'9. A New Cane Chair Dance by Eight Persons.

'10. A New Dance by Four Scaramouches, after the *Italian* Manner.

'11. A New Dance by a Scaramouch and a Country Farmer.

'12. A New Swan's Dance, perform'd by Four young Lads, to the Amazement of all Spectators.

'13. We shall also present you with the Wonder of her Sex, a young Woman who dances with the Swords, and upon the Ladder, with that Variety, that she challenges all her Sex to do the like.

'14. A Cripples Dance by Six Persons with Wooden Legs and Crutches in Imitation of a Jovial Crew.

'15. A Posture Dance, perform'd by Eight Persons.

'16. A Dance by Six Men, wherein Two Coopers, Two Grinders, and Two Butchers perform everything natural to their Trades.

'17. The *Vigo* Dance, perform'd by an *English* Man, a *Dutch* Man, a *French* Man, and a *Spaniard*.

'18. A Blacksmith's Dance.

'19. A Tinker's Dance ; together with other extraordinary Entertainments too long to be inserted. Vivat Regina.'

There was a famous Merry Andrew who used to act for Pinkethman, and who, at other times, followed the vocation of a Horse Doctor. There is a very curious elegy upon him, still extant¹ :—

That us'd to visit *Smithfield* or *May Fair*,
To partake of the Lewdness that is acted there ;
T' oblige the Mobb, that did some Pastime lack,
He'd *Merry Andrew* turn ; and name of Quack
Forsake a Fortnight, then that time expir'd
The Name of *Doctor* was again acquir'd.

Occasionally there were rather more refined exhibitions, but they were very rare. Here is one, 'In the first Booth on the left Hand from the Hospital Gate, over against the Royal Oak Lottery, in Bartholomew Fair, from 9 o'clock in the Morning till 9 at Night, will be exposed to publick View, all the most valuable wrought Plate taken by her Majesties Fleet at *Vigo*. Having been first Lodged in the Tower and never exposed before but in the Tower, viz., a fine large

¹ *Harl. MSS.*, 5931, 251.

Altar Piece with 6 Angels at full proportion, standing round on Pedestals, 4 Apostles supporting the 4 pillars, and 4 Angels attending them, with each a lamp for Incence in their Hands, also a Crown set with Valuable Stones, a Holy Water Pot garnish'd with Curious Fillegrin Work, and a great many other extraordinary Curiosities of Gilt and Fillegrin Plate, all brought from Vigo. The like never seen in England before. Price 6*d.*'

Bartholomew Fair began on August 24 of each year, being St. Bartholomew's Day, and lasted fourteen days. In 1691 and 1694 it was reduced to the old term of three days, and in 1697, 1700, and 1702 stage plays were prohibited in the fair. The revenue derived from it formed part of the income of the Lord Mayor, and in 1697 a proposal was made to allow the Lord Mayor 4,000*l.* a year for the maintenance of his office, and abolish his perquisites; when Bartholomew Fair was valued at 100*l.* per annum.

On June 2, 1708, 'the Common Council of this City Mett, and the lease for holding Bartholomew Fair expiring the 11th of August, agreed, That for the future none should be kept for Stage Plays, raffling Shops &c. which tend to debauchery; but only 3 dayes for the sale of leather and Cattle, according to its antient custome.'¹ The raffling shops were clearly illegal, for the same writer says, October 11, 1705: 'Yesterday the grand jury found bills of indictment against all those persons who kept raffling shops in the Cloysters during Bartholomew fair.' But all the legislation in the world was impotent to put down this fair, until, in this century, public opinion as to the expedience of fairs was changed, and 'Bartlemy' fair was proclaimed for the last time in 1855.

May Fair, or, as it was originally called, St. James's Fair, was of old date, as Machyn mentions it in his 'Diary for 1560.' Pepys, also, calls it by the latter name when he speaks of it: its name of *May* fair was comparatively recent, and was, of course, owing to its being held in that month. It was held on the north side of Piccadilly, and seems to

¹ Luttrell.

have had even a more evil repute than Bartholomew Fair. The *Observer* says: 'Can any rational men imagine that her Majesty would permit so much lewdness as is committed in May Fair, for so many days together, so near to her royal Palace, if she knew anything about the matter?' Anyhow the fair flourished during the major portion of Anne's reign.

The shows were very much like those at the larger fair. Here is one in 1702: 'At MILLER'S Booth in *May Fair*, the Second Booth on the Right Hand coming into the Fair, over against the Famous Mr. Barnes the Rope Dancer, will be presented an Excellent Droll, call'd *Crispin* and *Crispianus*; or a Shoemaker a Prince. With the Comical Humours of Barrady and the Shoemaker's Wife. With the best Machines, Singing and Dancing, ever yet in the Fair. Where the Famous Ladder Dancer performs those things upon the Ladder never before seen, to the Admiration of all Men. Vivat Regina.'

'Lady Mary' was at the same fair, and advertises herself by means of a disclaimer: 'Whereas it hath been maliciously reported that Mrs. Finley, who for her incomparable Dancing on the Rope, is unwillingly distinguish'd by the Name of the Lady Mary, was Dead; This is to inform all Persons, That the said Report is Notoriously false, she now being in Mr. Barnes's and Finley's Booth, over against Mr. Pinkethman and Mr. Simson's, next to Mr. Mills, and Mr. Bullock's in May Fair,' &c. And she was there again in 1704: 'At Mr. Finley and Mr. Barnes's Booth, During the time of May Fair, will be seen a Compleat Company of near 20 of the best Rope Dancers, Vaulters and Tumblers in Europe, who are all excellent in their several Performances, and do such wonderful and surprizing things, as the whole World cannot parallel; where Finley, who gave that extraordinary satisfaction before Charles III. King of Spain on Board the Royal Katherine, performs several new entertainments, and where the Lady Mary, likewise shows such additions to her former admirable perfections, as renders her the wonder of the whole world.' She was very popular, as Pinkethman somewhat bitterly remarks in the 'Epilogue to the Bath' (acted

at Drury Lane, 1701), where he says he made grimaces to empty benches, while Lady Mary had carried all before her :—

Gadzooks, what signified my Face?

This, however, did not prevent Pinkethman from going there again ; for in 1704 he issued the following advertisement : ‘ In Brookfield Marketplace at the East corner of Hide Park, is a Fair to be kept for the space of Sixteen days, beginning the First of May : The first three days for Live Cattle and Leather, with the same Entertainment as at Bartholomew Fair, where there are shops to be Lett ready built, for all manner of Tradesmen that usually keep Fairs ; and so to continue yearly at the same Time and place ; being a Free Fair ; and no person to be arrested or molested during the Time of this Fair by Virtue of Pye Powder Court. And at Mr. Pinkeman’s Droll Booth will be performed several Entertainments which will be expressed at large upon the Bills, especially one very surprizing that the whole World never yet produced the like, viz, He speaks an Epilogue upon an Elephant between Nine and Ten Foot high, arriv’d from Guinea, led upon the Stage by Six Blacks. The Booth is easily known by the Picture of the Elephant and Mr. Pinkethman sitting in State on his back, on the outside of his Booth. Any body that wants Ground for Shops or Booths, may hire it of Mr. Pinkeman, enquire at the Bull Head in Brookfield Market, alias May Fair.’

He was there again in 1707. ‘ At Pinkeman’s Booth in May Fair, to entertain the Quality, Gentry, and others, he has got Eight Dancing Doggs, brought from Holland, which are Admir’d by all that see them : and they will dance upon Mr. Pinkeman’s Stage in each Show. This Extraordinary Charge he’s at (in procuring these Doggs) is purely to divert the Town. They are the Wonder of the World, The last Show beginning between 8 & 9 a Clock for the Entertainment of the Quality, as the Park breaks up.’

There was another theatrical company : ‘ At the NEW PLAY HOUSE in MAY FAIR, During the time of the FAIR will be Play’d, the True and Ancient Story of MAUDLIN *the Merchants Daughter of BRISTOL and her lover ANTONIO.*

How they were Cast away in a Tempest upon the Coast of *Barbary*; where the Mermaids were seen floating on the Seas, and Singing on the Rocks, foretelling their danger. The DROLL intermingled with most delightful merry Comedy, after the manner of an OPERA, with extraordinary variety of Singing and Dancing: By his Grace the Duke of *Southampton's* Servants. *The Place will be Known by the Balcone adorn'd with Blue Pillars twisted with Flowers. Vivat Regina.'*

May Fair boasted of its natural curiosities, as the two following advertisements testify: 'Near Hide Park Corner during the Time of May Fair, near the Sheep pens over against Mr. Penkethman's Booth; Is to be seen the Wonder of the World in Nature, being a Mail Child born with a Bear growing on its Back alive, to the great Admiration of all Spectators, having been shown before most of the Nobility of the Land.'

'By Her Majesties Permission. This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies and others, that coming into May Fair, the first Booth on the left Hand, over against Mr. Pinkemans Booth; During the usual time of the Fair, is to be seen, a great Collection of Strange and Wonderful Rarities, all Alive from several parts of the World.

'A little Black Man lately brought from the West Indies, being the Wonder of this Age, he being but 3 Foot high and 25 Years Old.

'Likewise 2 Wood Monsters from the East Indies, Male and Female, being the Admirablest Creaturs that ever was seen in this Kingdom; they differ from all Creaturs whatsoever, and are so Wonderful in Nature that it is too large to insert here.

'Also a little Marmoset from the East Indies, which by a great deal of Pains is now brought to that perfection, that no Creature of his Kind ever perform'd the like; he Exercises by Word of Command, he dances the Cheshire Rounds, he also dances with 2 Naked Swords, and performs several other Pretty Fancies. Likewise a Noble Civet Cat from Guiny which is admir'd for his Beauty, and that incomparable Scent, which Perfumes the whole Place. Also a Muntosh from Rushy, being very Wonderfully Marked.

'Also a Helliscope from Argier, being the Beautifuls Creature in all the World ; specked like a Leopard. Vivat Regina.'

The 'London Spy' would be incomplete without an account of a scene so congenial as May Fair, so of course he visited it ; but it does not appear to have vied in any degree with Bartholomew Fair. 'We order'd the Coach to drive thro' the Body of the Fair that we might have the better View of the Tinsey Heroes' and the gazing Multitude ; expecting to have seen several Corporations of Stroling Vagabonds, but there prov'd but one Company, amongst whom Merry *Andrew* was very busie in coaxing the attentive Crowd into a good Opinion of his Fraternitie's and his own Performances ; and when with abundance of Labour, Sweat, and Nonsense he had drawn a great cluster of the Mob on his Parade, and was just beginning to encourage them to *Walk in and take their Places* ; his unlucky opposite, whose boarded Theatre entertain'd the Publick with the wonderful activity of some little *Indian* Rope Dancers, brings out a couple of Chattering *Homunculusses*, drest up in *Scaramouch* Habit ; and every thing that Merry *Andrew* and his Second did on the one side, was mimick'd by the little Flat nos'd Comedians on the other, till the two Diminutive Buffoons, by their Comical Gestures had so prevail'd upon the gaping Throng, that tho' Merry *Andrew* had taken pains, with all the wit he had to collect the Stragling Rabble into their proper order, yet like an unmannerly Audience, they turn'd their Backs upon the *Players*, and devoted themselves wholly to the Monkeys, to the great vexation of *Tom Fool* and all the Strutting train of imaginary Lords and Ladies. At last comes an Epitome of a Careful Nurse, drest up in a Country Jacket, and under her Arm a Kitten for a Nurslin, and in her contrary hand a piece of Cheese ; down sits the little Matron with a very Motherly Countenance, and when her Youngster *Mew'd*, she Dandled him, and Rock'd him in her Arms, with as great signs of Affections as a loving Mother could well shew to a disorder'd Infant ; then bites a piece of the Cheese, and after she had mumbled it about in her own Mouth, then thrust it with her Tongue into the Kitten's. Just

as I have seen some Nasty Old Sluts feed their Grand-children.'

The other shows in the fair seem to have been very poor: two or three dancing booths, a puppet show, 'a Turkey Ram, with as much Wooll upon his Tail as would load a Wheelbarrow,' and a couple of tigers, were all Ward could find worth recording.

The fair was disorderly, and in 1702 an incident occurred which materially assisted its downfall. 'Westminster, May 16. The Constables of this Liberty being more than ordinary vigilant in the discharge of their duty, since the coming forth of her Majesty's pious Proclamation again Vice and Debauchery, and having in pursuance thereof taken up several Lewd Women in May Fair, in order to bring them to Justice, were opposed therein by several rude Soldiers, one of whom is committed to Prison, and the rest are diligently enquired after.'¹ In fact, among them they managed to kill a constable, named John Cooper—for which murder a fencing-master named Cook was afterwards hanged at Tyburn; and, although the fair lingered a few years longer, yet it became such a nuisance that in November 1708 the Grand Jury of Westminster 'did present as a publick Nuisance and Inconvenience, the yearly riotous and tumultuous Assembly in a place called *Brook Field*, in the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, in this County, called *May Fair*.'²

This was the beginning of its end, and 1708 saw the last of the fair. 'Saturday 30 April 1709. Yesterday was published a proclamation by her Majestie, prohibiting the erecting or making use of any booths or stalls in Mayfair, for any plays, shows, gaming, musick meetings, or other disorderly assemblies.'³ That this had been expected is shown by Steele, writing on April 18, 1709. 'Advices from the upper end of Piccadilly say, that May Fair is utterly abolished.'⁴

The *Tatler* (No. 21) makes merry over its downfall, and says, 'if any lady or gentleman have occasion for a tame elephant, let them enquire of Mr. Pinkethman, who has one to dispose of at a reasonable rate. The downfall of May-fair

¹ *Postman*, May 14/16, 1702.

³ Luttrell.

² *Stow's Survey*, ed. 1720.

⁴ *Tatler*, No. 4.

has quite sunk the price of this noble Creature, as well as of many other Curiosities of Nature. A tiger will sell almost as cheap as an ox ; and I am Credibly informed, a man may purchase a cat with three legs, for very near the value of one with four. I hear likewise that there is a great desolation among the gentlemen and ladies who were the ornaments of the town, and used to shine in plumes and diadems ; the heroes being most of them pressed, and the queens beating hemp.'

There was also a fair at Southwark, but of this very little mention is made in the newspapers or handbills. It was an old one, dating from 1492, and was founded by a Charter granted by Edward IV., to hold a fair 'for three days, that is to say, the 7th, 8th, 9th days of September to be holden, together with a Court of Pie Powders, and with all the liberties to such Fairs appertaining.' It used to be opened with some degree of state by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and was generally called 'Our Lady's Fair.'

The indefatigable public caterer, Pinkethman, was there, in 1704, with 'the same Company that was at Bartholomew Fair over against the Hospital Gate, particularly the two famous French Maidens, and the Indian Woman ; and also Italian Interludes of Scaramouch and Harlequin, by those two Great Masters of their kind Mr. Sorine and Mr. Baxter ; and likewise extraordinary Performances on the Manag'd Horse by the famous Mr. Evans and Mr. Baxter, who both perform several new things in their Way. And also Mr. Evans walks on the Slack Rope, and throws himself a Somerset through a Hogshead hanging eight Foot high, with several other Entertainments too tedious to insert here.'

In 1705 'the two famous French Maidens the Lady Isabella and her Sister,' again attended the fair, accompanied by 'the Famous Mr. Luly, who walks on the Slack Rope without a Pole, and stands upon one Legg distinctly playing a tune on the violin ; and likewise turns himself round on the Rope with as much freedom as if on the Ground.'

An old friend was also there, 'The Whole Story of the Creation of the World, or Paradise lost,' but seemingly its sole attraction was not sufficient, for it was accompanied by

'The Ball of *Little Dogs* come from *Lovain*, which performs, by their cunning tricks, Wonders in the World by Dancing. You shall see one of them named *Marquis of Gaillardin*, whose Dexterity is not to be compared; he dances with Mrs. *Poncette* his Mistress, and the rest of their Company at the sound of Instruments; observes so well the Cadance, that they amaze every Body. They have danced in most of the Courts of *Europe*, especially before the Queen and most of the Quality of *England*. They are carried to Persons of Qualities Houses if required. They stay but a little while in this Place. They give a General Satisfaction to all People that see them.'

Here also was to be seen the English Sampson, William Joyce, described by Ward as 'the *Southwark Sampson*, who breaks Carmens Ribs with a Hug, snaps Cables like Twine Thread, and throws Dray Horses upon their backs, with as much Ease as a *Westphalia Hog* can crack a Cocoa Nut.' When he exhibited before William III., he lifted 1 ton and 14½ lbs. of lead, tied a very strong rope round him to which was attached a strong horse, which, although whipped, failed to move him: this rope he afterwards snapped like pack thread. 'We are credibly inform'd that the said Mr. *Joyce* pull'd up a Tree of near a Yard and a half Circumference by the Roots at *Hamstead* on *Tuesday* last in the open View of some Hundreds of People, it being modestly computed to Weigh near 2000 weight.'



CHAPTER XXI.

OTHER SIGHTS.

The Lincolnshire ox—The large hog—The whale—Monkeys and wild beasts—‘The Lest Man and Hors in the World’—Performing horse—Dwarfs and giants—Human curiosities—Helen and Judith—Conjurors—Posture masters—Mr. Clinch—Waxwork—Mrs. Salmon, etc.—Westminster Abbey wax-figures—Powell’s puppets—Moving pictures—Glass-blowing—Miraculous fountain—Winstanley—His waterworks—The four Indian chiefs.

BUT it must not be imagined that these fairs monopolised all the rarities and natural curiosities. On the contrary, there were plenty on exhibition elsewhere, as we shall see. ‘This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, that the Great Ox that hath been so long talk’d of, and that hath been in the News so often, is now come to *London*, and is to be seen any Hour of the Day, at the *White Horse Inn* in *Fleet Street*, at the same place where the great *Elephant* was seen. This Large and Famous Beast, otherwise called the True *Lincolnshier* OX, is Nineteen Hands High, and Four Yards Long, from his Face to his Rump, and never was Calv’d nor never Suckt, and two Years ago was no bigger than another Ox, but since is grown to this Prodigious Bigness. This Noble Beast was lately shown at the University of *Cambridge*, with great Satisfaction to all that saw him. The like Beast for Bigness was never seen in the World before. Vivat Regina’ (*sic*). Other dimensions are given when it was exhibited at May Fair. ‘His shin being 36 inches round, and an Ell broad from Huckle Bone to Huckle Bone across the Back.’ The following looks suspiciously like a newspaper puff: ‘Yesterday the 17th Instant, was proffer’d for the Great Lincolnshire Ox, 350 Guineas.’¹

¹ *Daily Courant*, Nov. 28, 1703.

Then there was a 'Large *Buckinghamshire* Hog, above 10 Foot long; 13 Hands high; above 7 foot and a half round the Body; almost 5 Foot round the Neck, and 18 inches round the fore Leg, above the Joynt.' And 'At the White Horse in Fleet Street' could be seen the 'Wonderful *Worcestershire* Mare 19 Hands high, curiously shaped, every way proportionable.'

These were native productions, and, although abnormal, could not compete with rarities from foreign lands—especially with the whale, *vide Daily Courant*, September 15, 1712: 'There being last Week a Royal Parmacitty Whale taken in the Thames, which is the noblest Fish ever seen in England, the same will for the curiosity of Gentlemen, &c., be exposed to view in a Barge near the Faulcon over against Black Fryers at 2*d.* a piece.' It got rather odoriferous by keeping, so we read in the *Daily Courant* of September 22, that 'the Royal Whale, supposed to be the Spermacete so much admired, will be exposed to Sale by Auction to-morrow at 4 o'clock.' Its purchaser is unknown, but we hear of it again: 'We called at the Isle of Dogs to see the Skeleton of a whale, forty-eight yards long, and thirty-five round.'

Of course there was no Zoological Society at that time, and the only way of seeing foreign animals was by small private collections, which, for want of capital, never contained any very rare specimens. Still, it was something even to get this, and we must not forget that our own Zoological collection is the work of the present century, and is an example followed by scarcely any other town in England, where still, as in the villages, people are dependent upon the travelling menageries for any practical knowledge they may possess of the natural history of any land other than their own. In London a permanent collection of wild beasts, or at all events lions and tigers, had existed at the Tower, where once was a white bear, which used, duly fastened by a cord, to fish in the Thames; and we have seen that these animals were one of the principal sights of the city.

'At the White Horse Inn in Fleet Street, any time of the Day or Evening,' were to be seen '1. A little Black Hairy

¹ *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, July 14; 1714.

Pigmeey, bred in the Desarts of Arabia, a Natural Ruff of Hair about his Face, two Foot high, walks upright, drinks a Glass of Ale or Wine, and does several other things to admiration. 2. A Hyenna. 3. A Murino dear, one of the seven Sleepers. 4. The Remark from the East Indies. 5. The Noble Histix from the West Indies. 6. The little Whifler, admired for his extraordinary Scent. 7. The Mock call, the Bird of Paradise.'



A LEOPARD.

'To all Gentlemen and others that are lovers of Rarities. Are to be seen divers sorts of Outlandish Beasts lately brought over, which, altho by Nature feirce and Savage, are here to be seen very gentle and tame, giving great Satisfaction to all the beholders. As first A Leopard, a beast of excellent beauty, presented to an English Merchant in Turkey by the king of the Arabs, as a particular mark of favour for eminent Services performed, who for the Maintenance of it in its voyage from Aleppo, gave One hundred and ninety

of the best and fattest fowls. Likewise two Dromedaries Male and Female, the Male being the largest that ever was in England, being seven foot high, and ten foot in length; his common burden is twelve hundredweight, with which he travels 40 miles a day; there is also to be seen a Civet Cat giving a pleasant smell throughout the Room. Likewise a Wolf and other wild beasts are there to be seen at any time of the day (all being alive).'

A dromedary seems to have been considered a great curiosity, and the following advertisement gives a wonderful description of it. 'By Her Majesties Authority. Betwixt the *Queen's Head* and *Crooked Billet* near *Fleet Bridge*. This is to give notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and others, that there is here to be seen, two strange wonderful and remarkable monstrous Creatures, an old She *Dromodary*, being seven foot high, and ten foot long, lately arriv'd from *Tartary*, and her young One, being the greatest Rarity and Novelty that ever was seen in the three Kingdoms before. These Creatures is much admired above all other *Creatures* in their way of bringing forth their young, for they go fourteen Months with young; these Creatures resembles several sorts of Creatures, and yet but one at the last; they are headed like a Horse, ey'd like an Ox, nos'd like a Deer, cloven Lipt like a Hare, also neck'd like a Swan, and Tail'd like a Mule, and cloven footed like a Cow, also the young Creature shewing several Actions by the word of Command. Note also that natural Dromodarys (as these be) are the swiftest Creatures upon Earth: These Creatures are to be seen at any hour of the day from eight in the Morning till nine at night. Vivat Regina.'

'By Her Majesty's Authority. Is to be seen, the Hand of a Sea Monster which was lately taken on the Coasts of *Denmark*; the whole Creature was very large, and weigh'd (according to Computation) at least fifty Tuns, and was seventy foot in length: His upper part resembled a Man; from the middle downwards he was a Fish, &c. Likewise there is a Man Teger, lately brought from the *East Indies*, a most strange and wonderful Creature, the like never seen before in *England*, it being of Seven several Colours, from

the Head downwards resembling a Man, its fore parts clear, and his hinder parts all Hairy ; having a long Head of Hair, and Teeth 2 or 3 Inches long ; taking a Glass of Ale in his hand like a Christian, Drinks it, also plays at Quarter Staff. There is also a famous Porcupine, a Martin Drill, a Pecari from the Deserts of Arabia, the Bone of a Giant above a Yard long, with several other Monstrous Creatures too difficult to describe, all alive. This is to give notice that the *Man Teger* is removed from *Holborn Bars* to the sign of the *George* against the steps of *Upper More Fields*. Vivat Regina.'

'This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, that are Lovers of Ra-arities, that over against the *Muse Gate*, near *Chairing Cross*, is to be seen the same Creature that was shown at *Epsom* and the *Bath* all this Summer. This Noble Creature, which much resembles a Wild *Hairy Man*, was lately taken in a Wood at *Bengall* in the *East Indies*, he Dances upon the strait Rope with a Pole in his hands, he cuts Capers upon the Rope, and Dances true to the Musick. Likewise this Creature walks the Steep Rope with a Pole in his hands. He walks upon a small Slack Rope Swinging, at the same time drinks a Glass of Ale, and all this is performed on a Rope no bigger than a penny Cord ; and swings on it, to the great Admiration of all Spectators. He pulls off his Hat, and pays his Respects to the Company, and smoaks a *Pipe of Tobacco* as well as any Christian. This Noble Creature flings a *Strapader*, and hangs by his Hands and his Feet, and performs such Wonderful Things, that ne'er was done by any Rope Dancer whatever.' This was the rope-dancer spoken of by Addison : 'He is by birth a Monkey ; but swings upon a Rope, takes a pipe of Tobacco, and drinks a glass of Ale, like any reasonable Creature.'¹

Occasionally, but very rarely, the nobler beasts were shown. 'At the Duke of Marlborough's Head in Fleet Street, is to be seen these Rarities following. 1. The noble and majestic Lion, lately brought from Barbary, which for its most surprizing Largeness, and its being so wonderful tame, far

¹ *Spectator*, No. 28.

exceeds any that ever was seen in the world. 2. A young Lion lately brought over from Algier, so wonderful tame that any Person may handle him as well as his keeper. 3. The noble Panther lately brought from Egypt, one of the beautifullest Creatures in the World for variety of Spots of divers Colours ; a Creature much admired by all the Gentlemen, and Ladies that ever saw him. 4. The Noble Pelican or Vulture, lately arrived from America 3 foot high, 9 over. The Head like a Griffin, Neck like a Swan ; the like never seen in this kingdom before.'



'THE LEST MAN AND HORS IN THE WORLD.'

A rhinoceros could only be seen stuffed, and with its skeleton.

In the latter part of 1711 there was a show of 'the Lest Man and Hors in the World,' which Addison has immortalised in the *Spectator* (No. 271), saying that the man, his wife, and horse 'are so very light, that when they are put together into a Scale, an ordinary Man may weigh down the whole Family.' These were combined with some wild animals, which evidently would not pay to exhibit by themselves.

'By Her Majesty's Permission. This is to give Notice to
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all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, that JUST over against the *Mews Gate* at *Charing Cross*, is to be seen a Collection of strange and wonderful Creatures from most Parts of the World, all alive.

'The First being a little *Black Man*, being but 3 Foot high, and 32 Years of Age, strait and proportionable every way, who is distinguished by the Name of the *Black Prince*, and has been shown before most Kings and Princes in *Christendom*. The next being his Wife, the *Little Woman*, NOT 3 Foot high, and 30 Years of Age, strait and proportionable as any Woman in the Land, which is commonly call'd the *Fairy Queen*, she gives a General satisfaction to all that sees her, by Diverting them with Dancing, being big with Child. Likewise their little *Turkey Horse*, being but 2 Foot odd Inches High, and above 12 Years of Age, that shews several diverting and surprising Actions, at the Word of Command. The least Man, Woman and Horse that ever was seen in the World Alive. *The Horse being kept in a Box*. The next being a strange Monstrous Female Creature, that was taken in the Wood in the Desarts of ÆTIOPIA in Prestor *John's* Country, in the remotest parts of AFRICA, being brought over from *Cape de Bon Esperance* alias *Cape of Good Hope*; from hir Head downwards she resembles Humane Nature, having Breasts, Belly, Navel, Nipples, Legs, and Arms like a Woman, with a long Monstrous Head, no such Creature was ever seen in this part of the World before, she showing many strange and wonderful Actions which gives great satisfaction to all that ever did see her. The next is the Noble *Picary* which is very much admir'd by the Learned. The next being the Noble *Jack-call*, the Lion's provider, which hunts in the Forest for the Lion's Prey. Likewise a small *Egyptian Panther*, spotted like a *Leopard*. The next being a strange monstrous Creature, brought from the *Coast of Brazil*, having a Head like a Child, Legs and Arms very wonderful, with a long Tail like a Serpent, wherewith he feeds himself, as an *Elephant* doth with his Trunk. With several other Rarities too tedious to mention in this Bill.'

Before quitting the natural history shows we must notice

‘The finest Taught Horse in the World.

These are to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, that are Lovers of Sport and Ingenuity, that at the *Ship on Great Tower Hill* will be shewn a Dancing Horse, which performs a great many Dexterous Actions at the Word of Command, Viz., He fetches and carries like a Spaniel Dog, if you hide a *Glove Handkerchief, Door Key, Pewter Bason*, or so small a thing as a *Silver Two Pence*, he will seek about the Room till he finds it and brings it to his Master.

‘Turn him loose in the Room without either Bridle or Halter on his Head, altho’ there were a hundred People in the Room, some paying as they come in, and some not paying, yet let them sit and be mixed one amongst another, he will find them out that have not payd from the rest.

‘Borrowing several pieces of Money of Persons in the Room, Blind fold this Horse whilst the Money is in Borrowing, yet giving him the Money, he will take it in his Mouth one piece after another and will give it where ’twas Borrowed, and will give account what Pieces they are when he delivers them. He tells all Numbers and findeth any one Person from another; he plays at Cards, at Putt, a thing much to be admired, he plays with as much readiness as any one that plays with him. Tell him that there is an Express Warrant come to press him, and that he must leave his Master to go and serve the *French King*, unless he can find some way to deceive the Press Masters, he presently falleth so Lame, that he can hardly set one Foot before another, but telling him if he is Alive he must go, he throweth himself on the Ground, and with his Legs stretched out stiff, and his Tongue lying out of his Mouth, as if he were Dead; but telling him that he must rise and Serve *Queen Anne*, he riseth up and is Extraordinary Brisk and Cheerful; he turns his Body round on one Foot, and will Leap through Hoops, and performs Sixty Actions at Command without Bridle on his Head; the like never seen by no dumb Creature in the World. *Vivat Regina.*’

Dwarfs always have been shown about, and the following advertisement is probably that of one of the rivals to that spiteful ‘little Farey Woman’ already noticed.

‘At the Brandy Shop over against the *Eagel* and *Child* in *Stocks Market*, is to be seen any hour of the Day, from 8 in the Morning till 9 at Night, a little *German* Woman, the Dwarf of the World, being but 2 Foot 8 Inches in Height, and the Mother of 2 Children, as straight as any Woman in *England*; she sings and dances incomperable well, she has had the honour to be shown before Kings and Princes, and most of the Nobility of the Land, she is carried in a little Box to any Gentleman’s House, if desir’d.’

‘In *Bridges Street* in *Covent Garden*, over against the *Rose Tavern*, is to be seen a Living FAIRY, suppos’d to be a Hundred and Fifty Years Old; his Face being no bigger than a Child’s of a Month: was found Sixty Years ago; Look’d as Old then as He does now. His Head being a great piece of Curiosity, having no Scull, with several Imperfections worthy your Observation.’

‘There were giants in the earth in those days,’ and at the ‘Hercules’s Pillars at Charing Cross’ might be seen a German giant, seven and a half feet high, and an Italian giantess ‘above Seven foot high, and every way proportionable weighing 425 Pounds Weight.’ This seems to have been the normal height of giants, for the Saxon giant¹ who was ‘but Twenty Five Years of Age, he is Seven Foot and Five Inches in height, and every way Proportionable.’ He was shown to the Queen and Prince George at Windsor; but, previously, ‘he had the Honour to be presented with a piece of Armour proportionable to his Bigness, by the King of the *Romans*.’

Germany, however, was not to have the monopoly of supplying us with giants—that, our patriotism could not stand—so a real live British giant was produced, warranted genuine. The only fault about him is that he does not state his height, so that we have no means of comparing him with the foreign importations.

‘This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladys and Others, that there is now to be seen in this Place, a Tall

¹ ‘This is to satisfie all People that have been inform’d that the High German Tall Man, had kill’d a Man, and was to be hang’d; that it is all false, and has been given out by other Show Keepers, on purpose to take away his Credit and Good Name.’—*The Post Boy*, April 12/14, 1709.

BRITAIN, Born on a *Mountain* near *Llanriost*; from the *Age* of 16 Years he has Travelled abroad, and has been shown before all the Foreign Kings and Princes in Christendom; and is now lately come into *England*, and had the Honour to have been shown before Her Present *Majesty* of *Great Brittain* and her Royal Consort the *Prince* to the great Satisfaction of all Spectators that have seen him, he being the *Tallest Man* that ever was show'd in this Kingdom.'

'There is lately brought to this Place from America a Savage; being a Cannibal Indian or Man Eater who was taken in a Skirmish near South Carolina, between the Natives of that Place and some of the Wild Savage Men. Likewise an Indian Woman, a Princess of that Country.'

Divers freaks of humanity were shown, but it requires



HUNGARIAN YOUTH.

some credulity to take in the following: 'At the *Herculus Pillars* at *Charring Cross*, is to be seen a Girl, that was found on a *Mountain*, in the west of *England*; When an Eminent Gentlewoman observing her to be without *Fingers* or *Toes*; and without *Speech*, in regard to her *Distress*, ordered her to be brought to her *Habitation*; this Gentlewoman for many Years, was troubled with *Convulsions* of a severe kind, was perfectly Cured in a very short time, by the *Girls Stroaking*. This Girl hath like Success in *Pains* that arise from the *Spleen*, *Sores*, and *Swellings*, and many other *Distempers*,

and what is very Remarkable also in her ; She never spoke one Word in Four Years, and then by a Prophetick Spirit, said, the Gentlewoman that preserved her, would Die by Two a Clock which happened accordingly. The Girl is Ingenious, and can Work at her Needle ; and perform several other things worth Observation ; Price for seeing her Six Pence a Piece. She Toucheth Gratis.'

' This young Man was Born in *Hungary*, and is about 18 years of Age, a Foot and a Half High : In the places where the Thighs, or Legs should be ; hath Two Breasts in all points like a Woman's on which He Walks. The Natural parts are of the Male kind ; Climes, or gets from the Ground upon a Table, and sits on a Corner of it, but 3 Quarters of an Inch broad, and shews more Artful Tricks, to the General Diversion, Satisfaction, and Admiration of all Spectators, and speaks several Languages. Vivat Regina.'

The following, although a curious, could hardly have been a pleasing, exhibition. ' The Bold Grimace *Spaniard*. At the *Ram's Head* Inn in *Fanchurch Street*, is to be seen a *Bold Grimace Spaniard*, lately brought over, by *David Cornwall*, in the *Bilboa Merchant* : He liv'd 15 Years among wild Creatures in the Mountains, and is reasonably suppos'd to have been taken out of his Cradle, an Infant, by some Savage Beast, and wonderfully preserv'd, 'till some Comedians accidentally pass'd thro' those Parts, and perceiving him to be of human Race, pursu'd him to his Cave, where they caught him in a Net. They found something wonderful in his Nature, and took him with 'em in their Travels thro' *Spain* and *Italy*. He performs the following surprising Grimaces, viz. He lolls out his Tongue a Foot long, turns his Eyes in and out at the same time ; contracts his Face as small as an Apple ; extends his Mouth six Inches, and turns it into the Shape of a Bird's Beak, and his Eyes like to an Owl's ; turns his Mouth into the Form of a Hat cock'd up three ways ; and also frames it in the manner of a four square Buckle ; licks his Nose with his Tongue, like a Cow ; rolls one Eye Brow two Inches up, the other two down ; changes his face to such an astonishing Degree, as to appear like a Corpse long buried ; Altho bred wild so long, yet by travelling with

the aforesaid Comedians 18 years, he can sing wonderfully fine, and accompanies his Voice with a thorrow Bass on the Lute. His former natural Estrangement from human Conversation obliged Mr. *Cornwell* to bring a Jackanapes over with him for his Companion, in whom he takes great Delight and Satisfaction.'

Queen Anne's time could also match our age with 'Two Headed Nightingales,' 'Siamese Twins,' or 'Pygopagi.' 'At Mr. John Pratt's, at the Angel in Cornhil . . . are to be seen two Girls, who are one of the greatest Wonders in Nature that ever was seen, being Born with their Backs fasten'd to each other, and the Passages of their Bodies are both one way. These Children are very Handsome and Lusty, and Talk three different Languages; they are going into the 7th year of their Age. Those who see them, may very well say, they have seen a Miracle, which may pass for the .8th Wonder of the World.' These were Helen and Judith, who were born at Tzoni, in Hungary, October 26, 1701; lived to the age of twenty-one, and died in a convent at Petersburg February 23, 1723. They were well shaped, very good looking, and very fond of each other. They spoke Hungarian, high and low Dutch, French, and English.

There was also exhibited 'A young fresh country Lad just arriv'd from *Suffolk*; who is covered all over his Body, except the Face, Palms of the Hands, and Soles of his Feet, with Bristles like a Hedgehog, as hard as Horn, which shoots off yearly.'

'There is lately arrived a Person that was born without either Arms or Hands, and he does such miraculous things with his Feet, that the like never was known in the World. . . . He writes very fine with his *Mouth*, right and left Foot without discerning, which is the best, and in five sorts of Languages, and makes his own Pens with a Pen Knife; he walks upon his two great Toes, and stands upon one Toe; he lays his Foot in his Neck, and hops upon the other, he stands upon the top of a little Stool, and reaches a Glass with his *Mouth* from under it; he threads a very fine and small Needle, and sows very prettily; and all Actions whatsoever is done by Hands, he does with his Feet: he Combs

or dresses a Perriwig very well, shaves himself, dresses and undresses himself &c., and all with his feet, &c.'

There were conjurors, especially 'the incomparable German. . . . He makes pass through his Cups 60 Balls, without touching them, and they are turn'd into little live Birds, which whistle upon the Table. He takes a parcel of Cards, and throws them about the Room, and they are turn'd into little live Birds.' He was only equalled by 'An admirable Piece of Ingenuity in Hanging Sword Court, the Middle of Fleet Street,' where twice a day 'several Persons may



A POSTURE MASTER.

be Entertained at Table, with various Dishes, and different kinds of Liquors, arising from Fountains on the Table to the drinking Glasses of the Entertained; of the which, when they are satisfied, a Serpent arising from a Box on the Middle of the Table, flyeth away with the Table and what's thereon remaining; and that very moment another Table of the same Dimensions, and furnished with another service, is in place where the former Table stood, without any visible Cause.'

Posture masters, as the acrobats were then called, abounded, and one of the chief among them was Higgins, successor to the famous Clark, who could dislocate and deform himself at pleasure. But he must have found a worthy imitator in 'The young Posture Master from *Exeter*, who performs those Postures of Body, that none never yet did; he extends his Body into all deform'd Shapes of Stature; he makes his Hip and Shoulder Bones meet together; he stands upon one Leg and extends the other in a direct Line half a Yard above his Head; he drinks her Majesty's Health on his Head; he lays his Head on the Ground, and turns his Body round twenty Times, without stirring his Face from the Place; he sucks all

his Bowels into his Breast, making a pack Saddle on his Back, that he will bear the lustiest Man that will be pleas'd to sit upon his Rump ; he will sit in a Posture as if his Body was split, and so divides his Legs that his Toes are separated Six Foot ten Inches from Toe to Toe ; he stands on a Table and turns his Head backwards below his Heels ; he likewise dances any Dance upon his Knees with his Toes in his Hands, and dances true to the Musick.' But even all these accomplishments do not seem to have been sufficiently attractive of themselves, for with him was 'a Child of five Years of Age, who does the Activity of Tumbling to the greatest Perfection. After which, Mr. *Cornwall* takes an empty Bag, and turns it twenty times, and stamps on it, if requir'd, and then commands several Eggs out of it, and at last the live Hen.'

Children then, as now, had to go through acrobatic performances. There was 'a Boy that walks upon a Slack Rope no thicker than a Penny Cord, and a little Girl that vaults on the high Rope ;' but, even in our time, we should hardly like to see 'a little Child about two Years and a half old, perform such wonderful things on the Stiff Rope, as is surprising to all that behold him.' We hear more of this poor little thing. 'Whereas it has been industriously and falsly reported that the little Child that is under 3 years old, that danced on the Rope and tumbled, is dead ; Mr. Francis thought it proper to certify all People, that the Child is living and well ; and he challenges all Europe to produce a Child of his Age to perform what he does, both for Dancing and Tumbling. Likewise the little Girl about 7 Years old, that danced the Rope, vaulted the Slack Rope, and tumbled to the Admiration of all who saw her.'

There was a curious entertainment that lasted nearly the whole of Anne's reign ; of which the first notice I can find is in the *Daily Courant*, November 27, 1704. By degrees Clench enlarged his *répertoire* until he did all described in the accompanying handbill. 'These are to give Notice to all *Gentlemen, Ladies* and *Others*, that Mr. *Clench* of *Barnet* who imitates the *Horn, Huntsman* and *Pack of Hounds*, the *Sham Doctor, Old Woman, Drunken Man*, the *Bells, Flute, Double*

Curtell,¹ the *Organ with three Voices*, by his own *Natural Voice*, to the greatest Perfection; (being the only man that ever could Attain to so great an Art,) will perform,' etc. Clinch is mentioned in the *Tatler* (No. 51): 'A good company of us were this day to see, or rather to hear, an artful person do several feats of activity with his throat and wind-pipe. The first thing wherewith he presented us, was a ring of bells, which he imitated in a most miraculous manner; after that, he gave us all the different notes of a pack of hounds, to our great delight and astonishment.' Thoresby went to see him, and reports: ² 'Evening to hear the memorable Mr. Clench, whose single voice, as he has learned to manage it, can admirably represent a number of persons, at sport and in hunting, and the very dogs and other animals, but none better than a quire of Choristers chanting an anthem, &c.'

Waxwork figures have always been a popular exhibition, and then was living a Mrs. Salmon, whose fame was as great as Madame Tussaud's. Her handbills were curiosities in their way, but they are so long that one only can be transcribed. 'The Royal Off Spring: Or, the Maid's Tragedy Represented in Wax Work, with many Moving Figures and these Histories Following. King *Charles* the First upon the Fatal Scaffold, attended by Dr. *Juxon* the Bishop of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with the Executioner and Guards waiting upon our Royal Martyr. The Royal Seraglio, or the Life and Death of *Mahomet* the Third, with the Death of *Ireniæ* Princess of *Persia*, and the fair Sultanness *Urania*. The Overthrow of Queen *Voaditia*, and the Tragical Death of her two Princely Daughters. The Palace of *Flora* or the *Roman* Superstition. The Rites of *Moloch*, or the Unhumane Cruelty, with the manner of the *Canaanitish* Ladies, Offering up their First-born Infants, in Sacrifice to that ugly Idol, in whose Belly was a burning Furnace, to destroy those Unhappy Children. *Margaret* Countess of Heningbergh, Lying on a Bed of State, with her Three hundred and Sixty Five Children, all born at one Birth, and Baptized by the Names of *Johns* and *Elizabeths*, occasioned by the rash Wish of a poor beggar

¹ Sort of bassoon.

² *Diary*, Jan. 14, 1709.

Woman. *Hermonia* a Roman Lady, whose Father offended the Emperor, was sentenced to be starved to Death, but was preserved by Sucking his Daughter's Breast. Old Mother *Shipton* that Famous *English* Prophetess, which fortold the Death of the *White King*; All richly dress'd and composed with so much variety of Invention, that it is wonderfully Diverting to all Lovers of Art and Ingenuity. All made by Mrs. *Salmon*, and to be seen near the *Horn Tavern* in *Fleet Street*. Vivat Reginae (*sic*).'

Of the miraculous accouchement of Margaret, Countess of Heningberg, Thoresby says¹: 'After, walked to Gray's Inn to Mr. Smith, who most courteously entertained me, and gave me some inscriptions he had taken for me in his travels, particularly that for the memorable Countess who had 365 children at a birth; he saw the two basins they were baptized in.'

Nor was this the only exhibition of the kind; there was yet another similar show. 'The Effigies of his late Majesty King William III. of Glorious Memory, is Curiously done in Wax to the Life, Richly Drest in Coronation Robes, standing by the Effigies of his late Royal Consort, Queen Mary in the like Dress; likewise the late Duke of Gloucester in his Garter Robes. Together with the Effigies of several Persons of Quality and Others, all which are Alive, or have been so of late Years, whereby the Spectators may Judge of Likeness. They are to be seen every Day at Mr. Goldsmith's in Green Court in the Old Jury.'² This is the same artist who is spoken of in a newspaper paragraph. 'On *Wednesday* last Mrs. *Goldsmith*, the famous Woman for Wax-work, brought to *Westminster Abbey* the Effigies of that celebrated Beauty the late Duchess of *Richmond*, which is said to be the richest Figure that ever was set up in King *Henry's* Chapel.'³

'To be seen in *Exeter Change* in the *Strand*, as well in *Christmas* and other Holidays, as at all other times, tho' the *Change* be shut, only then you must go in at that end towards *Charing Cross*.

¹ *Diary*, July 14, 1712.

² *The English Post*, March 23/25, 1702.

³ *Daily Courant*, Aug. 6, 1703.

Note. The Prices are Six-pence, Four-pence, and Two-pence a-piece

Just
 finish'd
 and to be
 seen. The present
 Court of *England*
 in Wax, after (and as
 big as) the Life, in the
 Inner Walk of *Excter Change*
 in the *Strand*, much exceeding that
 which was at the *New Exchange* tho'
 both made by the most deservedly famous
 Mrs. *Mills*, whom in that Art, all ingenious
 Persons own, had never yet an Equal: The names
 of the chief Persons, are, The QUEEN, his Royal
 Highness Prince *George*, the Princess *Sophia*, his Grace
 The Duke of *Marlborough*, the Countess of *Manchester*,
 the Countess of *Kingstone*, the Countess of *Musgrave* &c.
 As likewise the Effigies of *Mark Anthony*, naturally
 acting that which render'd him remarkable to the
 World; *Cleopatra* his Queen, one of her
Egyptian Ladies, *Oliver Cromwell* in
 Armour, the Count *Tallard*: with ma-
 ny others too tedious here to men-
 tion. To be seen from 9 in the
 Morn, till 9 at Night. You
 may go in at any of the
 Doors in the *Change*,
 and pass thro' the
 Hatter's Shop in
 the Outward
 Walk.

There is the Effigies of a Comedian walking behind the Queen

Persons may have their Effigies made, or their deceas'd Friends on reasonable Terms.'

The Westminster waxwork figures were then in a sadly dilapidated condition. Brown says¹: 'As soon as we ascended half a Score Stone Steps in a dirty Cobweb hole, and in old Worm eaten Presses, whose Doors flew open on our

¹ *A Walk round London and Westminster.*

approach; here stood *Edward* the Third, as they told us, which was a broken piece of Waxwork, a batter'd Head, and a Straw stuff'd Body, not one quarter cover'd with Rags; his beautiful Queen stood by, not better in Repair; and so to the number of half a score Kings and Queens, not near so good figures as the King of the Beggars make, and all the begging Crew would be ashamed of their Company. Their Rear was brought up with good *Queen Bess*, with the Remnants of an old dirty Ruff, and nothing to cover her Majesty's Nakedness.'

One of the most popular exhibitions was the puppet shows kept by Robert Powell, a dwarfish deformity. 'This is Mr. *Powell*—That's he—the little Crooked Gentleman, that holds a Staff in his Hand, without which he must fall.'¹ His 'Punch's Theatre' was in the little Piazza, Covent Garden—and Steele makes the under sexton of St. Paul's² Church grumble at his entertainment, because it took people away from him. Defoe says: 'Mr. Powell by Subscriptions and full Houses, has gathered such Wealth as is ten times sufficient to buy all the Poets in England; that he seldom goes out without his Chair, and thrives on this incredible Folly



PORTRAIT OF POWELL.

to that degree, that, were he a Freeman, he might hope that some future Puppet Show might celebrate his being Lord Mayor, as he has done Sir R. Whittington.'³ Both in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* he is frequently referred to, especially in the former. In the season he took himself and his puppets to Bath, so that he always kept them employed.

His performances were very varied, one being 'The History of King Bladud, Founder of the Bath. The Figures being drest after the manner of the Ancient Britains. With the Walks, Groves, and Representation of the King's Bath

¹ Introduction to *A Second Tale of a Tub*, ed. 1715.

² *Spectator*, No. 14. ³ *Groans of Great Britain*.

and new Pump house. The Figures of Ladies and Gentlemen all moving in real Water.' He caught the passing folly as it flew, and depicted it as in 'The City Rake or Punch turn'd Quaker,' 'Poor Robins Dream or the Vices of the Age Exposed;' or, he had a puppet 'of a Rope Dancer, being an exact Pattern of the present Lady Isabella.' He was for ever bringing out some novelty, even if it was such rubbish as 'a New Piece of Machinery after the British Manner, contrived and just finished by Powell, which represents a Paradise wonderful surprising. At the breaking of the clouds arise several Triumphal Arches, which form several most agreeable Prospects; beautify'd by her most Serene Majesty of Great Britain in her Royal Robes, attended by her Peers and Officers of State; under their Feet are represented the Trophies taken from the French and Bavarians by her Majesty's Arms this War.'

One of the last of Powell's advertisements, in Queen Anne's reign, was: 'Whereas it has been reported that Punch of the Bath and Covent Garden was dead, these are to inform the Publick that he was only in a small consumption, but by the long experienc'd Cordial of the Golden Elixir is recovered, and remov'd for the Air to the Great Masquerading House in Spring Garden, where he hopes once more to see his noble Benefactors.'

Pinkethman was far too keen to let Powell have the monopoly of this sort of entertainment, so we find a hand-bill: 'This is to give Notice, that Mr. PENKETHMAN, who, by his Indefatigable Industry, has ever made it his Study to Invent Something New and Excellent to please the *World*, has, with the Greatest Diligence, Labour and Expence, set himself to contrive, which he has now, after Several Years Application, brought to Perfection, a most Surprising and Magnificent *Machine*, call'd the PANTHEON, consisting of several Curious Pictures, and Moving Figures, representing the Fabulous History of the HEATHEN GODS.

'The Whole contains Fourteen several Entertainments, and near a Hundred Figures (besides *Ships, Beasts, Fowl*, and other Embellishments) some near a Foot in Height; all which have their respective and peculiar Motions, their very

Heads, Legs, and Arms, Hands and Fingers, Artificially moving exactly to what they perform, and setting one Foot before another, as they go, like Living Creatures, in such a Manner that Nothing but *Nature* itself can exceed it. In short, the PAINTING is by the Finest Hands, and the *Story* and Contrivance so Admirable, that it justly deserves to be esteemed One of the Greatest Wonders of the Age.' This show is casually mentioned in *Spectator* (No. 31).

Pinkethman was also proprietor of a moving picture, for in an advertisement¹ he says: 'Mr. Pinkethman In order to divert and oblige the Gentry and others of Greenwich, Deptford, Woolwich, Lee, and other adjacent places thereabouts, has remov'd the most Famous Artificial and Wonderful Moving Picture that came from Germany, and was to be seen at the Duke of Marlborough's Head in Fleet Street, is now to be seen at the Hospital Tavern in Greenwich,' etc. Thoresby² saw this picture when in London in 1709, and was highly delighted with it. He also says: 'I had some discourse with the German inventor of it, Mr. Jacobus Morian.' The following is its handbill:—

'To All Gentlemen, Ladies and others

Notice is hereby given, that here is arrived from *Germany*, a most artificial and Wonderful Original Picture, the like never seen in all *Europe*: Part of this fine Picture represents a Landskip, and the other part the Water on Sea: In the Landskip you see a Town, out of the Gates of which cometh a Coach Riding over a Bridge through the Country, behind, before, and between the Trees till out of sight; coming on the Bridge, a Gentleman sitting on the Coach, civilly salutes the Spectating Company, the turning of the Wheels and motion of the Horses are plainly seen as if natural and Alive. There Cometh also from the Town Gate a Hunter on Horseback, with his Doggs behind him, and his Horn at his side, coming to the Bridge he taketh up his Horn and Blows it that it is distinctly heard by all the Spectators. Another Hunter painted as if Sleeping, and by the said Blowing of the Horn awaking, riseth up his Head, looks about, and then lays

¹ *Daily Courant*, May 9, 1709.

² *Diary*, Feb. 11, 1709.

down his Head again to Sleep, to the great Amazement and Diversion of the Company. There are also Painted and Represented, Country men and Women, Travellers, Cows and Pack horses going along the Road till out of sight. And at a seeming distance on the Hills are several Windmills continually Turning and Working. From a River or Sea port, you see several sorts of Ships and Vessels putting to Sea, which Ships by degrees lessen to the sight as they seem to Sail further off. Many more Varieties too long to be inserted here, are Painted and Represented in this Picture to the greatest Admiration, Diversion and Satisfaction of all Ingenious Spectators. The Artist Master of this Piece hath employed above 5 years in contriving, making and perfecting it. It was design'd for a present to a great Prince in *Germany*, to be put in his chiefest Cabinet of greatest Rarities, but that Prince Dying, the maker kept it to himself, and now presents it to the View and Diversion of all ingenious Persons.' This picture is just noticed in the *Tatler* (No. 129): 'and I doubt not but it will give as good content as the moving picture in Fleet Street.'

There was another of these mechanical toys, exhibited at the same place. 'Far exceeding the Original formerly shewn, and never publish'd before the beginning of the present Year 1710. Representing several stately ships and vessels sailing out of the Port of a City; a Coach, drawn by four Horses going over a bridge into the Town; a Cart with an Old Woman in it, drawn by two Horses, the Wheels moving: A Gentleman carry'd in a Chair, saluting the Company, A Windmill continually turning round; Swans swimming, which dip their Heads in the Water: A Man digging with a Pick Ax: All in lively Motion,' etc. And still one more appeared in 1713, which was a representation of the sky effects of morning, moon, and night, with ships sailing, and saluting the forts as they passed.

At the Duke of Marlborough's Head, too, was to be seen 'a true and very natural Representation of the most famous Antiquities and Stupendious Works commonly called the Seven Miracles of the World; All which cannot but be pleasant to the Eyes of all curious Beholders, and perhaps

more agreeable than may by Words be expressed,' but there is no record of what this exhibition was like.

'In Bell Yard, over against the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet Street, next door to the Bell Inn, at the Arms of Amsterdam, will be shewn for the satisfaction of all persons of Quality and others, most Curious and exact Model of the famous City of Amsterdam, being between 20 and 30 foot long, and near 20 foot broad; with all the Churches, Chappels, Stadt house, Hospitals, noble Buildings, Streets, Trees, Walks, Avenues, with the Sea, Shipping, Sluices, Rivers, Canals, &c., most exactly built to admiration; In short, the Situation and Representation of the whole City is performed with such Art and Ingenuity, to the wonderful satisfaction of the States General of the United Provinces, several Foreign Princes, our Nobility, Gentry, Artificers and others, that have seen it, that it is allowed to be one of the greatest curiosities ever yet seen in England. This great piece of Work was 12 years in finishing, and cost a vast sum of Money.'

It is always interesting to watch glass-blowers at work, and see them turn out their pretty but fragile toys; and doubtless they yielded as much, or more, delight in Anne's time.

'By Her Majesties Authority.

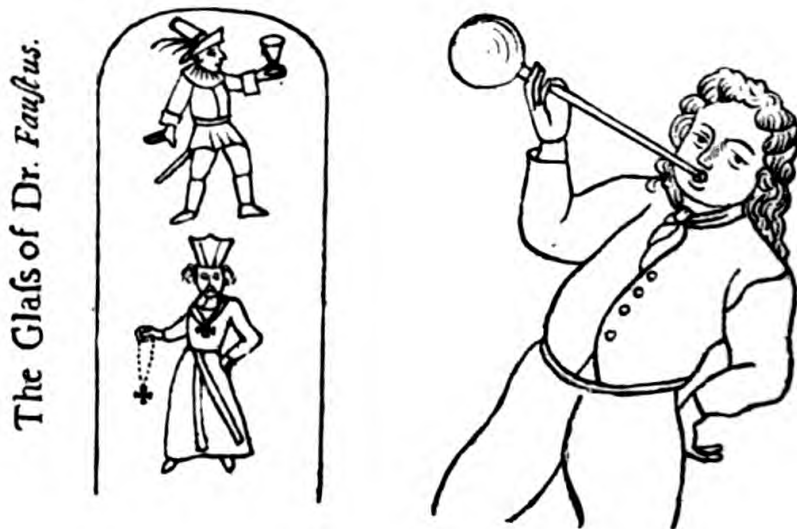
This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, That there is lately arriv'd in this Place, a *Rare and Curious* ARTIST, which in the presence of all Spectators maketh all Sorts and Fashions of Indian, China, and all Sorts of Curious Figures &c. As *Fars Teapots, Coffee Dishes, Bottle and Flower Pots*, as small as they please; being very dexteriously intermixed with *red, blew*, and other Colours, as Natural as the *Indian* painting: As also all sorts of *Beasts, Birds, Fowls, Images, Figures of Men, Women, and Children*, which he bloweth of all Colours in Glass, so curiously, the like was never seen in this Kingdom.

'Besides all this, he sheweth you a most wonderful and admirable Glass of Water, wherein are four or five Images, which he maketh every one to come up and down as he pleases, without any help or assistance, being very pleasant

and delightful to all Spectators ; with several other Rarities too tedious to Mention.

‘There is a *Wheel* that’s turn’d by Humane power, which Spins Ten Thousand Yards of *Glass* in less than half an hour.

‘He also maketh Artificial Eyes of Glass to admiration, they being so curiously made and colour’d, that they cannot be discerned from the *Natural Eyes* ; Likewise he teacheth how they may fix them in their Heads themselves, to the great Satisfaction of all persons that make use of them, . . . Vivat Regina.’

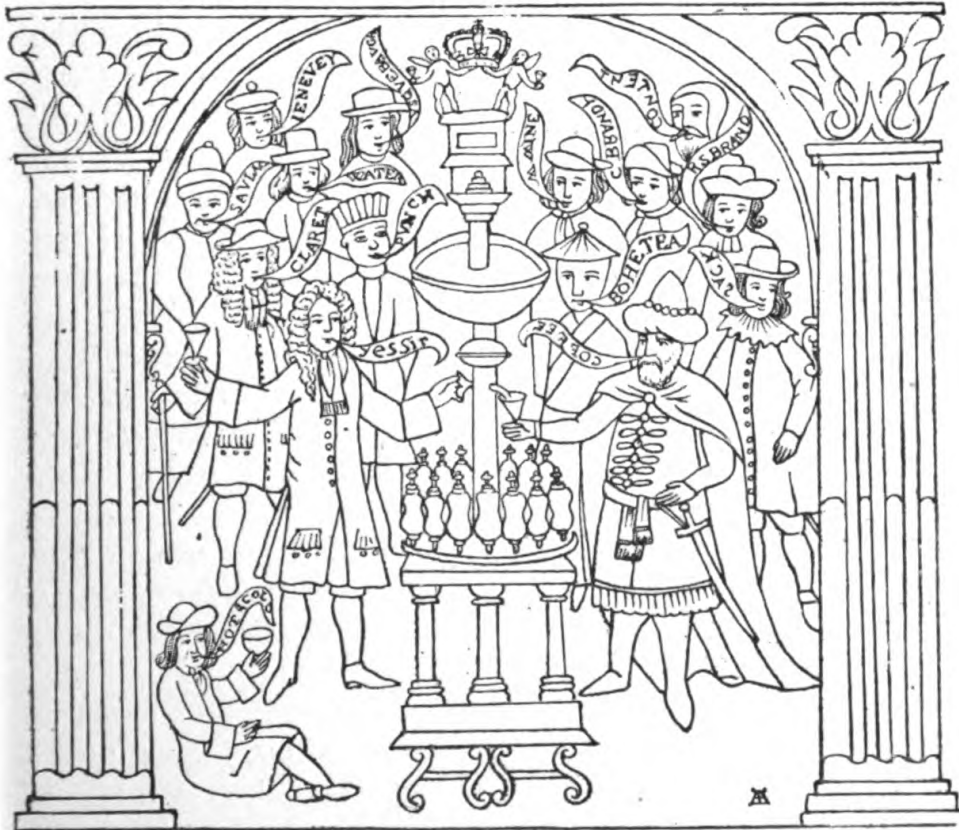


GLASS-BLOWING.

There was another artist in glass who blew ‘Swans, Ducks, Birds, Knives, Forks, and Scabbards, Decanters, Cruets, Bottles and Ladles, with pipes to smoke Tobacco, and Grenadoes to stick by the Snuff of a candle that gives a report like a Gun ; blows Tea Pots and other fancies imitating China.’

A singular mechanical toy, too, deserves special mention : ‘At the Black Horse in Hosier Lane, near West Smithfield is to be seen a large piece of Water Work, 12 Foot long and 9 foot high, with a new Mathematical Fountain 8 foot high, made in white flint glass, in which is a Tavern, a Coffee house and a Brandy shop, which at your command runs at one Cock hot and Cold liquor, as Sack,

Whitewine, Claret Coffee, Tea, Content, plain, cherry and Raspberry Brandy, Geneva, Usquebaugh, and Punch. All these liquors of themselves rising much higher than their level, and each liquor drawn singly at one Cock ; The like never performed in any Nation by any Person till Now, by CHARLES BUTCHER.



WONDERFUL FOUNTAIN.

For satisfaction your own eyes believe,
 Art cannot blind you, nor your Taste deceive ;
 Com and welcom my friends, and tast e're you pass,
 It's but 6*d.* to see't and 2*d.* each glass.'

But the man who did most with hydraulic power was Winstanley, the builder of the fantastic, semi-Chinese pagoda lighthouse on the Eddystone rock. Winstanley had been a mercer in London, and, having made some money, retired from business, and went to live at Littlebury in Essex. Here

he constructed ingenious but useless hydraulic toys, and, from being locally famous, he opened an exhibition of them in London.

The first mention I can find of it in this reign, is in the *Postman*, May 1/4, 1703: 'Mr. Henry Winstanley's Water Works, will be Opened on Thursday being the 6th of May; And All Persons that please to see them, are desired to be there between 3 and 4 of the Clock. The House is at the lower end of Pickadilly, towards Hide Park.' In the *Daily Courant*, August 14, 1703, he notifies that: 'Mr. Henry Winstanley's Water Works being now open'd, and several Persons coming too late, by reason of the days being shorter, this is to satisfie and give notice, that they will be shewn from Monday next at Four of the Clock. And therefore all Persons that are disposed to see them, are desired to be there before the time, or exactly at it. And also this is further to acquaint, that they will not be shewn this Season longer than 10 or 14 days, by reason of Mr. Winstanly's having extraordinary Occasions of going out of Town.'

It was a disastrous 'out of town' for him, for he had his wish gratified in being in his gimcrack lighthouse 'in the greatest storm ever known,' namely, that of November 27, 1703, which clean swept away the building, Winstanley, and five other persons.

For some years after his sad death his exhibition was in abeyance, until we see by the *Daily Courant*, June 5, 1707: 'The famous Water Works of the late Ingenious Mr. Henry Winstanley are now open'd, and will continue to be shown this present June, and the ensuing Month of July (for the Benefit of his Widow) by his old Servants, with several Additions. And all Persons that please to see them, are desir'd to be at the House by 5 of the clock at the farthest, and they will not lose time in staying. The House is at the lower End of Picadilly towards Hide Park, and is known by the Wind Mill on the top of it. As also his famous House at Littlebury in Essex is kept up, and shewn as formerly, with several additions.' His widow continued to show them, with many variations, every summer during the remainder of the reign. In 1711 there were shown 'Sea Gods and God-

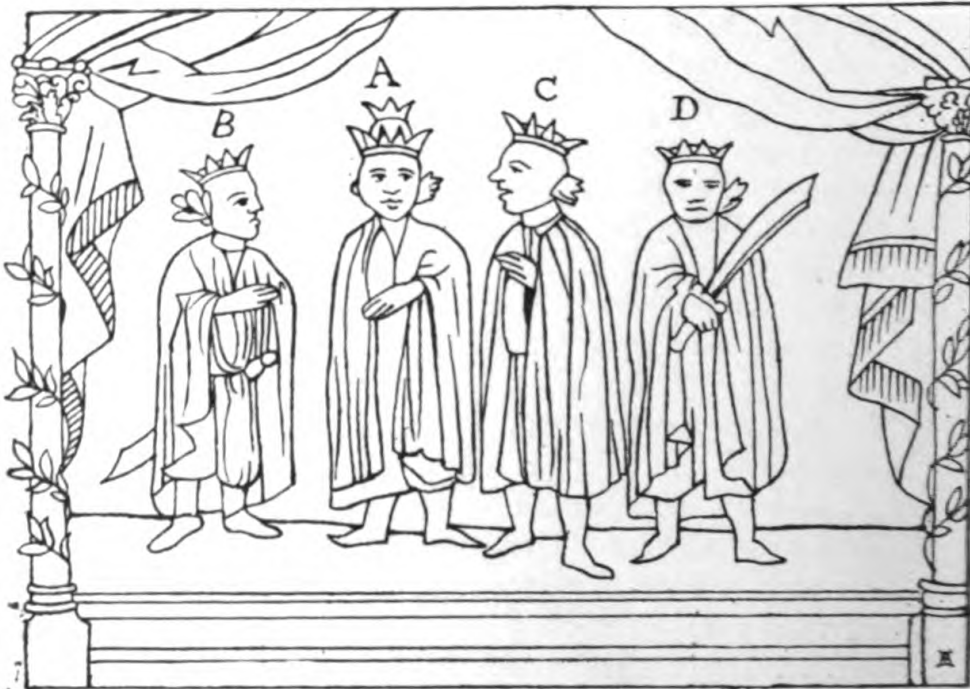
desse, Nymphs, Mermaids, and Satirs, all of them playing of water as suitable, and some Fire mingling with the water, and Sea Triumphs round the Barrel that plays so many Liquors ; all which is taken away after it had perform'd its part, and the Barrel is broke in Pieces before the Spectators.' In 1712 there is the same entertainment, but fuller details are given : it was 'of 6 several sorts of Wine, and the best brandy and biskets, all coming out of the famous Barrel, and given to the Boxes and Pit ; with Geneva, Cherry beer, and Cyder to the first Gallery, there is also Coffee and Tea as at all other times.'

In 1713 'the Curious Barril will be made a Spring Garden, entertaining the Boxes and Pit with Cool Tankards, Spaw Waters, Bisquits, Milk, Ale, Beer, Sullibubs, Cake, and Cheese Cakes, and Flowers playing of Water : And a very delightful part will be added to the 3 Parts that are usually performed. There is Galuthetis's Flight from Polyheme, and as she is carried in State by Neptune attended by many Figures playing of Water, and some with Fire mingling with it ; then will be a great Tempest of Thunder and Lightning and burning Flames rolling in great Cascades of Water, to the Expence of 300 Tun extraordinary.' In 1714, 'the Curious Barrel will be made a Dairy House, entertaining the Boxes and Pit with Curds, several sorts of Creams, Milk, Whey, Cakes, Cheese Cakes, Sullibubs, New Butter, Butter Milk, which a Woman will be seen to churn, and a flying Zepherus, a Flora presenting the Spectators with a Basket of Fruit. . . . There is Galathea's flight from Polypheme guided by two flying Boys, with a flaming Torch playing Water through the Flames : A flying fiery Dragon, out of whose Mouth comes great Fire Balls, flames of Fire, a large sheet of Water, with many Cascades of Water, to the expence of 800 Tuns extraordinary.' It was a very popular exhibition, and ranked, as we see,¹ with the opera and the play.

In 1710 the good folks of London were treated to a somewhat unusual spectacle—that of four real live Indian chiefs, or kings, as they were called. They came over in April of that year, and were treated as guests of the nation ; apart-

¹ *Spectator*, No. 168.

ments being obtained for them at an upholsterer's in King Street, Covent Garden,¹ and they were taken in two of the royal carriages to visit the Queen. Luttrell says: '20 Aprill. Four Indian Sachems, or Kings of the 5 Indian Nations, lately arrived here, offering their services to assist her majestie against all her enemies in those parts, and secure her from the French in and about Canada in America, had yesterday audience of the queen, and accepted very graciously ; her majestie ordered them presents, the lord Chamberlain to entertain them at her charge, and that they be shown what is remarkable here.' On



THE FOUR INDIAN KINGS

the 21st they visited, in a royal barge, Greenwich Hospital and Woolwich Dockyard, and on the 22nd they saw the Banqueting Hall and Chapel at Whitehall. On the 26th they were present at a review of cavalry and infantry in Hyde Park. On the 28th the New England and New York merchants gave them a feast, and the Archbishop of Canterbury presented them each with an English Bible. On May 3 they had their audience of leave, and then went by way of

¹ *Taller*, 171.

Hampton Court to Windsor, from whence they travelled to Portsmouth, and, embarking on board the *Dragon*, sailed from Spithead on the 8th May, and landed safely at Boston July 15 of the same year.

The following handbill shows that at some period of their stay they went to see Powell's Marionettes.

' At PUNCH'S Theatre
' For the Entertainment of the
' FOUR INDIAN KINGS, *viz.*

- ' (A) The Emperor *Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row.*
- ' (B) King *Sa Ga Yeau Qua Rah Tow.*
- ' (C) King *E Tow oh Koam.*
- ' (D) King *Oh Nee Yeath Tow no Riow.*

' At the Upper End of *St. Martin's Lane*,¹ joyning to *Litchfield Street*, will be presented a NEW OPERA, performed by a Company of *Artificial Actors*, who will *present you* with an *incomparable Entertainment* call'd

' The Last Years CAMPAIGNE

With the Famous Battle fought between the Confederate Army (commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*) and the *French* in the *Woods* near *Blaguiers*. With *several Comical entertainments of Punch in the Camp*. Also *variety of Scenes; with a most Glorious Prospect of both Armies, the French in their Entrenchments, and the Confederates out; where will be seen several Regiments of Horse and Foot engaged in Forcing the French Lines. With the Admirable Entertainments of a Girl of Five Years Old Dancing with Swords.*' The *50th Spectator* gives an amusing account of their supposed description of this country.

¹ This was before Powell removed to the Piazza, Covent Garden.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROUGH SPORTS.

Bear-baiting—Bear-gardens—Bull-baiting—Description—Extraordinary bull-bait—Cock-fighting—Cock-pits—Value of matches—Training.

BUT all amusements at this time were not so innocent as the foregoing: there were fiercer and more blood-stirring excitements for the men. Take bear and bull baiting. The former was dying out, and was no longer as popular as it was during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

*Slender.*¹ Why do your dogs bark so? be there bears i' the town?

Anne. I think there are, Sir; I have heard them talked of.

Slender. I love the sport well; but I shall as soon quarrel at it as any man in England. You are afraid, if you see the bear loose, are you not?

Anne. Ay, indeed, Sir.

Slender. That's meat and drink to me now: I have seen Sakerson² loose twenty times, and have taken him by the chain; but, I warrant you, the women have so cried and shriek'd at it, that it pass'd; but women, indeed, cannot abide 'em; they are very ill-favoured rough things.

We learn something of a bear-baiting from Hudibras.

And round about the pole does make
A circle, like a bear at stake,
That at the chain's end wheels about,
And overturns the rabble rout.
For after solemn proclamation
In the bear's name, as is the fashion,
According to the law of arms,
To keep men from inglorious harms,
That none presume to come so near
As forty feet of stake of bear;

¹ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. sc. 1.

² This bear belonged to Henslow and Alleyn, proprietors of Paris Garden, near the Globe Theatre, Bankside.

If any yet be so fool hardy,
 T' expose themselves to vain jeopardy,
 If they come wounded off, and lame,
 No honour's got by such a maim.

Indeed, in 1709, Christopher Preston, of Hockley-in-the-Hole, was attacked and partially devoured by one of his own bears. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Pead, then incumbent of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

The animals destined for combat were paraded through the streets, as we learn from Gay ('Trivia,' Book 2).

Experienc'd Men, inur'd to City Ways,
 Need not the *Calendar* to count their Days.
 When through the Town, with slow and solemn Air,
 Led by the Nostril walks the muzzled Bear ;
 Behind him moves majestically dull,
 The Pride of *Hockley Hole*, the surly Bull ;
 Learn hence the Periods of the Week to name.
Mondays and *Thursdays* are the Days of Game.

That these places of so-called sport were disorderly need not be said ; indeed, to 'make a place a bear-garden' is proverbial. The rough element wanted some safe outlet for its energy, and found it in such exhibitions. Nor must we be too hasty to decry them when we recollect that it was only in 1835 that it absolutely became illegal to keep any house, pit, or other place for baiting or fighting any bull, bear, dog, or other animal. We have our dog-fights now—prize-fighting is not yet extinct, many a quiet main of cocks is fought, many a rat-pit exists, and badger-drawing is not altogether an unknown thing.

There were three bear-gardens—at Hockley-in-the-Hole (Clerkenwell), at Marrybone Fields (at the back of Soho Square), and at Tuttle (Tothill) Fields, Westminster, and at all these baiting was carried on. Of the latter we find an advertisement promising plenty of sport :¹ 'At William Wells's Bear Garden, in Tuttle Fields, Westminster, this present *Monday* the 10th of *April*, will be a *Green Bull Baited* ; and 20 *Doggs* fights for a *Coller*, and that *Dogg* that runs farthest and fairest wins the *Coller* ; with other *Diversion of Bull Baiting* and *Bear Baiting*.'

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 282.

'Here follows the Manner of those Bull Baitings which are so much talk'd of: They tie a Rope to the Root of the Horns of the Ox or Bull, and fasten the other End of the Cord to an Iron Ring fix'd to a Stake driven into the Ground; so that this Cord being about 15 Foot long, the Bull is confin'd to a Sphere of about 30 Foot Diameter. Several Butchers, or other Gentlemen, that are desirous to exercise their Dogs,¹ stand round about, each holding his own by the Ears; and when the Sport begins, they let loose one of the Dogs: The Dog runs at the Bull: the Bull immovable, looks down upon the Dog with an Eye of Scorn, and only turns a Horn to him to hinder him from coming near: The Dog is not daunted at this, he runs round him, and tries to get beneath his Belly, in order to seize him by the Muzzle, or the Dewlap, or the pendant Glands: The Bull then puts himself into a Posture of Defence; he beats the Ground with his Feet, which he joins together as close as possible, and his chief Aim is not to gore the Dog with the Point of his Horn,² but to slide one of them under the Dog's Belly (who creeps close to the Ground to hinder it) and to throw him so high in the Air that he may break his Neck in the Fall. This often happens: When the Dog thinks he is sure of fixing his Teeth, a Turn of the Horn, which seems to be done with all the Negligence in the World, gives him a Sprawl thirty Foot high, and puts him in danger of a damnable Squelch when he comes down. This Danger would be unavoidable, if the Dog's Friends were not ready beneath him, some with their Backs to give him a soft Reception, and others with long Poles which they offer him slant ways, to the Intent that, sliding down them, it may break the Force of his Fall. Notwithstanding all this care, a Toss generally makes him sing to a very scurvy Tune, and draw his Phiz into a pitiful Grimace: But, unless he is totally stunn'd with the Fall, he is sure to crawl again towards the Bull, with his old Antipathy, come on't what will. Sometimes a second Frisk into the Air disables him for ever from playing his old Tricks; But, sometimes, too, he fastens upon

¹ These dogs were only a moderate size.

² If too sharp, the bull's horns were covered with wooden sheaths.

his Enemy, and when once he has seiz'd him with his Eye teeth, he sticks to him like a Leech, and would sooner die than leave his Hold. Then the Bull bellows, and bounds, and Kicks about to shake off the Dog ; by his Leaping the Dog seems to be no Manner of Weight to him, tho' in all Appearance he puts him to great Pain. In the End, either the Dog tears out the Piece he has laid Hold on, and falls, or else remains fix'd to him, with an Obstinacy that would never end, if they did not pull him off. To call him away would be in vain ; to give him a hundred blows would be as much so ; you might cut him to Pieces Joint by Joint before he would let him loose. What is to be done then ? While some hold the Bull, others thrust Staves into the Dog's Mouth, and open it by main Force. This is the only Way to part them.'¹

This, however, was not always the case. Look at the other side :—

Curs'd dog, the bull reply'd, no more
 I wonder at thy thirst of gore ;
 For thou (beneath a butcher train'd,
 Whose hands with cruelty are stain'd,
 His daily murders in thy view)
 Must, like thy tutor, blood pursue.
 Take then thy fate. With goring wound
 At once he lifts him from the ground :
 Aloft the sprawling hero flies,
 Mangled he falls, he howls, and dies.²

Here is a refinement of cruelty : ' At the *Bear Garden* in *Hockley in the Hole*, 1710. This is to give notice to all Gentlemen, Gamsters, and Others, That on this present *Monday* is a Match to be fought by two Dogs, one from *Newgate* Market, against one of *Honey Lane* Market, at a Bull, for a Guinea to be spent. Five Let goes out off Hand, which goes fairest and farthest in Wins all ; like wise a *Green Bull* to be baited, which was never baited before, and a Bull to be turned lose with Fire works all over him ; also a Mad Ass to be baited ; With variety of Bull baiting and Bear baiting ; and a Dog to be drawn up with Fire works.'³ These novelties took, for a subsequent advertise-

¹ Misson.

² *Gay*, Fable 9.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 46.

ment tells us that 'The Famous Bull of Fire works pleased the Gentry to Admiration.' Indeed, it must have been popular, for in an advertisement of the *Tatler*, Jan. 3/5, 1709 (1710), we find: 'This Day is published The Bull Baiting, or Sach—ll¹ dressed up in Fire works; lately brought over from the Bear Garden in Southwark, and exposed for the Diversion of the Citizens of London: at 6d. a piece.' This book, however, is very dreary fun.

But bears and bulls, though baited, were never allowed to be killed by their adversaries, which, however, was not the case with cock-fighting, a pastime passionately indulged in in this reign. There were many cock-pits—one historical one, the Council Chamber at Whitehall, where in 1710 Guiscard stabbed Harley with his penknife, and which went by the name of the Cockpit certainly till 1810. There was 'The Royal Cock Pit on the South Side of St. James Park,' where mains used to be fought for such prizes as '4 Guineas a Battel and 40 the odd Battel.' And there was a famous one near Gray's Inn Walks, or Gardens, where dear Sir Roger walked with the *Spectator*, and which Brown describes as 'The Lawyer's Garden of Contemplation, where I found (it being early in the Morning) none but a parcel of Superannuated Debauchees, huddled up in Cloaks, Frize Coats and Wadded Gowns, to preserve their old Carcasses from the searching sharpness of *Hampstead* Hair.' There had been one there previous to 1704, when we find 'At the *New* Cock pit at the Bowling Green, behind Grays Inn Walks, this present Tuesday being the 28th of *March*, will begin a great Match of Cock fighting, for Ten Guineas a Battle, and Two Hundred Guineas the odd Battle, between the Gentlemen of *Essex* and *Cambridgeshire*, against the Gentlemen of London and *Surry*.' In 1706 it was to let, and in 1708 it was burnt down under sad circumstances. 'There had been a great Match fought on *Saturday*, and the Weather being hard, two of the Feeders, *Crompton* and *Day*, would stay all Night with their Cocks; when by Negligence their Candle fell among the Straw, which took Fire. In the Morning one Mr. *Newberry*, a great Cocker, sent his two Sons to see his

¹ Sacheverell.

Cocks fed, who wonder'd they saw no Snow upon the Cock pit; when coming thither they saw a great Smoak, and before they cou'd make any Body hear, the place was all on Fire. One of the feeders was found burnt, only some part of his Body remaining, and the other is missing.'¹ It was repaired and re-opened 1709, but was again to be re-let in 1710. There were many others, even extending to the suburbs, such as Hampstead.

Misson's description of them is amusing, but it would hardly appear from it that he ever witnessed a fight. 'Cock fighting is one of the great *English* Diversions; they build Amphitheatres for this Purpose, and Persons of Quality sometimes appear at them. Great Wagers are laid; but I'm told, that a Man may be damnably bubbled, if he is not very sharp.'

County matches used to be arranged; but for a spice of arrogance little can beat this: 'At the New Cock Pit by the Bowling Green behind Gray's Inn Walks, next Tuesday, will begin a great Match of Cock Fighting which will continue all the Week; the Gentlemen of Essex against all the rest of Great Britain, for 10 Guineas a Battle and 500 Guineas the Odd Battle.' These were the highest stakes ever publicly advertised in Queen Anne's reign, whatever might have been done at private matches—as, for instance, in the Tatler's Club (*Tatler*, 132), Sir Jeffrey Notch, their chairman, would talk about his favourite old game-cock Gauntlett, 'upon whose head, the Knight, in his youth, had won five hundred pounds, and lost two Thousand.'

The cocks sometimes fought in silver spurs, but generally with steel ones, and of these there were several kinds. 'Note that on Wednesday there will be a single battle fought with Sickles, after the East India manner. And on Thursday there will be a Battle Royal, one Cock with a Sickle, and 4 Cocks with fair Spurs. On Friday there will be a pair of Shake bags fight for 5*l*. And on Saturday there will be a Battle Royal, between a Shakebag with fair Spurs, and 4 Matchable Cocks which are to fight with Sickles, Launcet Spurs, and Penknife Spurs, the like never yet seen. For the Entertainment of the foreign Ambassadors and Gentlemen.'

¹ *A Looking-glass for Swearers, etc.*, 1708.

Cock-fighting even had a literature of its own. In 1709 was published 'The Royal Pastime of Cock fighting &c. by R. H. a Lover of the Sport'; and in the same year was printed another edition of 'The Compleat Gamesters, by C. Cotton,' in which are full directions as to the breeding, feeding, and fighting of cocks. As so little is now known of this cruel sport, a few short extracts from this latter work will make us more thoroughly comprehend it as it was then practised.

In shape, the cock must be neither too large nor too small; with a small head and strong legs; his spurs, though long and sharp, turning slightly inwards. He should walk very upright and stately; and if he crows frequently in his pen it is a sign of courage. The combs or wattles are to be cut as soon as they appear; and the cock chickens are to be separated as soon as they begin to peck each other. Fighting cocks should not begin their career as such until they are two years old; and before a battle they should be dieted—*i.e.* for four days they should be fed with stale bread three times a day; after which they may have a spar, or sham fight, with another cock, their spurs being carefully guarded with leather balls. They must then be stoved, which meant putting them in deep baskets filled with straw, covering them with straw and shutting down the lids; but before undergoing this 'sudatorium' they were to be fed with sugar candy, chopped rosemary, and butter. In the evening the cock was released, and fed with wheat meal and oatmeal, ale, white of eggs, and butter. 'The second day after his sparring, take your Cock into a fair green Close, and having a Dunghill Cock in your arms, show it him, and then run from him, that thereby you may entice him to follow, you permitting him to have now and then a blow; when he begins to pant, being well heated, take him up and carry him home.' He was then to have a dose of pounded leaves of herb of grace, hyssop, and rosemary, mixed with butter, and then stoved till the evening. Next day he was to rest, and the day after to be sparred, which treatment was to be continued for a fortnight; but for the next month, by which time he was to be fit for fighting, he was merely to be fed and stoved. He was not to be fed before fighting.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HORSE-RACING, HUNTING, SHOOTING, &c.

The Queen's love of racing—Visit to Newmarket—Queen's plates—Value of matches—Race meetings—Tregonwell Frampton—His horse Dragon—The Queen's love of hunting—Sir Roger de Coverley—Fox-hunting—Stag-hunting—Hare-hunting—Coursing—Packs of hounds—Fishing—Hawking—Netting—The Game Act—Shooting, sitting and flying—Match shooting—Archery.

THE horse, necessarily, in those days, when locomotion was only obtainable through its agency, was of prime importance: farriery was fairly understood, and some voluminous disquisitions on it were published, with most curious receipts for the various ills horseflesh is heir to, and elaborate engraving of fleams, firing irons, bits (some of them very cruel), and all sorts of harness—even down to curry-combs, dandy-brushes, and stable utensils. But it is not here that the hack or roadster is to be spoken of, but the horse kept for sport—the race horse—about which they had already found out the fact, 'Like Race Horses cost more in keeping them than they're worth.'¹ The Queen was fond of racing, and gave her 100*l.* gold cups to be run for, as now: nay more, she not only kept race horses, but ran them in her own name. Her six-year-old grey gelding Pepper ran for her gold cup at York (over Clifton and Rawcliffe Ings) on July 28, 1712. Over the same course, and for the same stake, on August 3, 1714, ran her grey horse Mustard, by the Taffolet Barb, which, according to the *Daily Courant* of May 14, 1714, was entered to run 'in Whitsun week at Guildford in Surrey for the 50*l.* plate'; and, sad to tell, her brown horse Star (afterwards called Jacob) ran at York for a plate of the value of

¹ *Tunbridge Walks.*

14*l.*, and won it, on July 30, 1714, the very day on which the Queen was struck with apoplexy, expiring the next day.

She paid a visit to Newmarket in April 1705, going to Cambridge once or twice during her stay. Luttrell says: 'Aprill 26, 1705. The queen has ordered her house at Newmarket to be rebuilt, and gave 1000*l.* towards paving the town; and bought a running horse of Mr. Holloway, which cost a 1000 guineas, and gave it to the prince.' Prince George shared his august consort's love of horse-racing, and in the *Gazette*, June 18/21, 1705, we find: 'These are to give notice, That his Royal Highness the Prince is pleased to give a Gold Plate, value One Hundred Guineas to be run for at Black Hambleton in Yorkshire, over the four Miles old Beacon course, the last Thursday in July, by any Horse five years old last Foaling time: No Horse to be admitted to run but such as bring a Certificate from the Breeder of his Horses Age; and likewise to be judged and approved to be no older than aforesaid, by the Gentlemen whose Horses run for the said Plate; each horse to carry ten Stone weight, and start at the usual hours.

'And his Royal Highness is also pleased to give another Gold Plate, Value One Hundred Guineas, to be run for the second Thursday in October next, one Heat, over the Heat's Course at Newmarket, ten Stone, by Horses five years old, whose Age must be certified as aforesaid, and likewise allowed by Gentlemen whose Horses run. This year no Mare will be admitted to run for either of those Plates: Although for the future his Royal Highness designs to give a Plate of the like Value, to be run for at each of the aforesaid Courses by Mares only, of the said Age.'

Indeed, in that year of 1705 the royal couple seemed mightily given to racing, for 'the queen has appointed horse races to be at Datchet after her return from Winchester to Windsor.'¹

Her gold plates, as far as can be made out from newspaper advertisements, were, in 1703, 100*l.*, at Stapleton Leys, Yorkshire, September 2; one at Newmarket on April 12, 1705; at Langton Wold, near Malton, Yorkshire, July 24,

¹ *Luttrell*, Sept. 1, 1705.

1707: in 1709 at Black Hambleton, Yorkshire, July 26; one of 50*l.* at Datchet, August 24; one of 100*l.* at Newmarket, October 6; while the Prince's Cup of 100*l.* for mares four years old was run for on October 8 the same year; in 1711, at Clifton and Rawncliffe Ings; in 1712 at Black Hambleton, on July 26; and at Clifton Ings, on July 28; in 1713 at Hambleton, August 1; Clifton, August 3; and in the same year one was run for at Ascot Heath on August 12—the first mention that I can find of racing there; in 1714, Clifton Ings, on July 28.

A few racing mems of this time will illustrate to what an extent this passion for the turf was carried. 1702: 'They write from Newmarket, That the Lord Godolphin's and Mr. Harvy's Horses ran for 3,000*l.* His Lordship won; As also the Earl of Argile, and the Duke of Devonshire's; the latter's Horse won, by which Mr. Pheasant got a considerable sum.' 1703: 'The great horse race at Newmarket, run for 1000 guineas between the lord Treasurer and the Duke of Argyle, was won by the latter.' Perhaps the earliest sporting paper is 'News from *New Market*: or An Account of the Horses Match'd to Run there in *March, April, and May* 1704, The Weight, Miles, Wages and Forfeits. Printed for *John Nutt* near Stationer's Hall. Price 2*d.*' 1707: 'Last Monday was a horse race at Newmarket, between the lord Granby's Grantham and Mr. Young's Blundel, for 3000*l.*—the latter won.' On April 10, 1708, at Newmarket, the Duke of Bedford's bay horse (9 stone) had a match with Mr. Minchall's bay colt (8½ stone) for 1,000 guineas; but there is no record of which won. These were the highest stakes recorded during the reign: they were generally for 200 or 300 guineas.

Luttrell records a somewhat singular match against time: '14 April 1709. Some days since, a baker at Clerkenwell Green, laid with a Vintner there, a wager of 400 guineas against 16 Guineas, that his horse could not run from Shore-ditch Church to Ware and back again (being 40 miles) in 2 hours and 36 minutes, which race was last Tuesday, and performed in 2 hours and 28 minutes, but the horse since dead.'

The first mention, in this reign, of Epsom Races, as far as I can find, is in the *London Gazette* April and May 26/3, 1703, when three small plates were to be run for, of 30*l.*, 10*l.*, and 5*l.* value. On May 25, 1704, there was only one to be competed for, and that of 20*l.* They had very early 'Epsom Spring Meetings'; for, in the *Daily Courant*, February 15, 1709, it says: 'On Epsom Downes in Surrey, on the first Monday after the Frost, a Plate of 20*l.* will be run for,' etc.

Races for stakes of little value were common all over the country, and were deemed of sufficient importance to be advertised in the London papers. Take a few haphazard: Nottingham, Kerfall, Boston, Winchester, Croydon, Coventry, Quainton, Horsham, Woodstock, Mansfield; nay, there was even a 'Jockey Field betwixt Bedford Row and Gray's Inn, having a full Prospect of Hampstead and Highgate.'

What a vast difference there was between those old race-courses and ours! No grand stands, no howling ring, no carriages, no ladies; not even a special dress for the jockeys. According to a nearly contemporary print, there were very few spectators even—and but a sorry booth, or so, for the sale of liquor.

The most famous sporting man of his time was Tregonwell Frampton, Esq., of Moreton, Dorsetshire, 'the Father of the Turf,' who was keeper of her Majesty's running horses at Newmarket—a post he had filled in the time of William III., and which he continued to hold under Georges I. and II. He is described as being 'the oldest, and as they say the cunningest jockey in England; one day he lost 1,000 *gs.*, the next he won 2,000, and so alternately. He made as light of throwing away 500*l.* or 1,000*l.* at a time, as other men do of their pocket money, and was perfectly calm, cheerful and unconcerned when he lost a thousand pounds as when he won it.' This may be true, but I find no record of his running for any such large sums in any match. 'April 6, 1708. Mr. Frampton's Monkey and Mr. Cotton's Snap, 100 Guineas. Ap. 27. Sir Cecil Bishop's Quaker and Mr. Frampton's Monkey 200 guineas. Ap. 28. Mr. Minchall's Cork and Mr. Frampton's Trumpeter 500 guineas. Oct. 1, 1709. Mr. Pullen's Slouch against Mr. Frampton's White Neck 200 *g's.* 5 Oct. Mr.

Frampton's Teller against L'd Dorchester's Colt, 200 g's.' And even his sporting bid in Sept. 1713 was not for high stakes, although he challenged dukes to compete. 'Mr. Frampton that keeps the Queen's Running Horses, has made a Sporting Proposal to three Dukes, allowing them to joyn their Stables, and Name to him any 6 Horses or Mares (the Horse called Wyndham¹ excepted) against 6 of his now in his Stables . . . they are to run for 100*l.* each horse,' etc.

Thus we see he owned many horses, but the most famous of all was one named Dragon, to whom it is alleged Frampton behaved with cruel barbarity. On Oct. 30, 1712, Dragon ran against Lord Dorchester's Wanton for three hundred guineas, and on April 22, 1713, encountered the redoubtable Wyndham for the same stakes. His alleged mutilation and death are told by Dr. John Hawkesworth in No. 37 of *The Adventurer*. There is no record of his death, but in an old song, called 'Newmarket Horse Race,' belonging to the early part of George the First's reign, it says—

For I'll have the brown Bay, if the blew bonnet ride,
And hold a thousand Pounds of his side, Sir ;
Dragon would scow'r it, but *Dragon* Grows old ;
He cannot endure it, he cannot, he wonnot now run it,
As lately he could :
Age, age, does hinder the Speed, Sir,

which would infer that Dragon was old and worthless as a racer before his death, and the other story falls to the ground.

When young, the Queen was very fond of hunting, and, in fact, pursued it after her accession to the throne, when, from her increasing size, she no longer mounted the saddle. 'The Queen came last Thursday to Hampton Court, and having assisted in council, and dined there, returned at night to Windsor, where she takes the divertisement of hunting almost every day in an open Calash in the forest,'² *i.e.* she drove down the long rides and saw what she could of the hunt. Again,³ three years later : 'This morning her Majestie and the prince went for Winchester to take the diversion

¹ Belonging to the Duke of Somerset.

² *Luttrell*, Aug. 15, 1702.

³ *Ibid.* Aug. 28, 1705.

of hunting.' Still later¹: 'The queen was hunting the stag till four this afternoon, and she drove in her chaise, above forty miles.'

The country gentry then, as now, were ardently fond of sport; but then the hunting field was a thoroughly neighbourly gathering, there were no subscription packs, and no fast trains to bring every snob that possesses, or can hire, a 'hunter.' The runs might not be so fast as now, nor were they ever recorded in any sporting paper—horrible disadvantages, doubtless, but still they brought neighbours together, engendered a kindly feeling, and gave legitimate occupation to people whose brains were not addled with too much reading. Where can there be a prettier picture of a thoroughbred old English sportsman than that which Addison draws of Sir Roger²: 'The Walls of his great Hall are covered with the Horns of several kinds of Deer that he has killed in the Chace, which he thinks the most valuable Furniture of his House, as they afford him frequent Topicks of Discourse, and shew that he has not been Idle. At the lower End of the Hall, is a large Otter's Skin stuffed with Hay, which his Mother ordered to be hung up in that manner, and the Knight looks upon it with great Satisfaction, because it seems he was but nine Years old when his Dog killed him. A little Room adjoining to the Hall is a kind of Arsenal filled with Guns of several Sizes and Inventions, with which the Knight has made great Havock in the Woods, and destroyed many thousands of Pheasants, Partridges, and Woodcocks. His Stable Doors are patched with Noses that belonged to Foxes of the Knights own hunting down. Sir Roger shewed me one of them that for Distinction Sake has a Brass Nail struck through it, which cost him about fifteen Hours riding, carried him through half a dozen Counties, killed him a Brace of Geldings, and lost above half his Dogs. This the Knight looks upon as one of the greatest Exploits of his Life. The perverse Widow, whom I have given some Account of, was the Death of several Foxes; for Sir Roger has told me that in the course of his Amours he patched the Western Door of his Stable. Whenever the Widow was

¹ *Stella.*

² *Spectator*, 115.

cruel, the Foxes were sure to pay for it. In proportion as his Passion for the Widow abated, and old Age came on, he left off Fox hunting; but a Hare is not yet Safe that Sits within ten Miles of his House.'

Hunting commenced both earlier in the season and in the day than now. 'It must be imagined it was near Day when we went to Bed and therefore could not be expected we should get out a Hunting at Five or Six in the Morning.'¹ From a set of nearly contemporary prints we gather that possibly little attention was paid to earth-stopping, when fox-hunting, for one part of the engraving shows a fox being dug out. In another part the hounds are breaking up the fox, which has not been denuded of his brush. Only the gentlemen are represented as being on horseback, the huntsmen having leaping poles. This was better for them than being mounted, for the country was nothing like as cultivated as now, and perfectly undrained, so that they could go straighter on foot, and with these poles leaps could be taken that no horseman would attempt.

Nor should the Fox shun the pursuing Hound
Nor the Tall Stag with branching Antlers crown'd.²

From the engravings referred to, we find that the stag was first found, or harboured, with a bloodhound—the stag-hounds were coupled, and let loose when wanted by the huntsmen, who were on foot. Its death was duly celebrated by a 'Mort,' or blowing of horns, when a hunting knife was presented to the principal man present, to cut off its head, after everyone had passed his opinion as to his age, weight, etc.: the deer was then carted home. Guns were carried wherewith to shoot the stag, if necessary, when at bay.

Budgell, in *Spectator* No. 117, well describes a run after a hare, and the discipline of the hounds who were close upon the hare, when the huntsman threw his pole between them—this the well-tutored dogs would not pass, and the hare was rescued. Gay, too, tells the story of a run well:—

Now at a Fault the Dogs confus'dly stray,
And try t'unravel his perplexing Way;

¹ *The Quaker's Art of Courtship*, 1710.

² *Rural Sports*, Gay, ed. 1713.

They trace his artful Doubles o'er and o'er,
 Smell every Shrub, and all the Plain explore,
 'Till some stanch Hound summons the baffled Crew,
 And strikes away his wily Steps anew.
 Along the Fields they scow'r with jocund Voice,
 The frighted Hare starts at the distant Noise ;
 New Stratagems and various Shifts he tries,
 Oft' he looks back, and dreads a close Surprize ;
 Th' advancing Dogs still haunt his list'ning Ear,
 And ev'ry breeze augments his growing Fear :
 'Till tir'd at last, he pants, and heaves for Breath ;
 Then lays him down, and waits approaching death.¹

Or what better description could we have of coursing a hare than the following :—

The Greyhound now pursues the tim'rous Hare,
 And shoots along the Plain with swift Career ;
 While the sly Game escapes beneath his Paws,
 He snaps deceitful Air with empty Jaws ;
 Enrag'd, upon his Foe he quickly gains,
 And with wide Stretches measures o'er the Plains ;
 Again the Cunning Creature winds around,
 While the fleet Dog o'ershoots, and loses Ground ;
 Now Speed he doubles to regain the Way,
 And crushes in his Jaws the Screaming Prey.

Many packs of hounds were advertised for sale during Anne's reign—not such large packs as we now have, but small packs, with which a man could then show sport, and yet the keeping of which need not be costly. Two or three are given for example's sake : 'Any Gentleman that hath a mind to purchase a good pack of cloddy strong Hounds, fit for any Country, from 15 couple to 10, may be accommodated,' etc. 'There are to be dispos'd of 18 Couple of Hare Hounds, well siz'd and well mark'd, at reasonable rates.' 'There are 9 Couple of good Fox Hounds (with a Tarrier) (4 Couple being stanch finders) to be sold at a very reasonable Price. These Hounds are as proper for Deer as Fox.' 'Lost the 16th Instant from the Earl of Litchfield's Foxhounds in some Woods near Crawford in Kent, a small White Beagle, with Red Spots on her Ears, and a short Tail, (being a Tarrier),' etc.

There were cockney hunts, with deer, both at Hampstead

¹ *Rural Sports*, Gay, ed. 1713.

and Muswell Hill, and live deer were bought and sold commonly ; indeed there is one advertisement which has a touch of old Leadenhall Market about it. 'Any person who has Beagles, Foxes or Hares to dispose of, may hear of a Purchaser by giving Notice to the Porter at Sion Chappel near Hamsted.'

One sport then in vogue must not be omitted from the list—otter-hunting.

If you'd preserve a num'rous Finny Race,
Let your fierce Dogs the Rav'nous Otter chase ;
Th' amphibious Creature ranges all the Shores,
Shoots through the Waves, and ev'ry haunt explores :
Or let the Gin his roving Steps betray,
And save from hostile Jaws the Scaly Prey.

Angling was extensively practised, with almost the same appliances and tackle as now, even down to the wicker creel at the side. Will Wimble 'makes a May fly to a Miracle ; and furnishes the whole country with angle rods.' Isaac Walton had not long been dead (Dec. 15, 1683), and his disciples in the 'Contemplative Man's Recreation' were many and experienced. Hear what Gay says about making a fly to suit the water :—

Of't have I seen a skillful Angler try
The various Colours of the treach'rous Fly ;
When he with fruitless Pain hath skim'd the Brook,
And the coy Fish rejects the skipping Hook,
He shakes the Boughs that on the Margin grow,
Which o'er the Streams a waving Forrest throw ;
When if an Insect falls (his certain Guide)
He gently takes him from the whirling Tide ;
Examines well his Form with Curious Eyes,
His gaudy Colours, Wings, his Horns and Size,
Then round his Hook a proper Fur he winds,
And on the Back a speckled Feather binds.
So just the Properties in ev'ry part,
That even Nature's Hand revives in Art.

Hawking, too, was a sport not then extinct, the land not being so parcelled into fields, and fenced in, as now ; so that the flight of the birds could be easily followed. The birds were startled by five or six spaniels trained to the work. Here

is a description of one lost by the Earl of Abingdon: 'a small black and white Hawking Spaniel. his Hair not very long, more black than white, long Back, with a thick Head.' In brook hawking, men used to beat the rushes with poles, and they also hawked partridges and pheasants. The latter are depicted in the engraving as being poked off their roosts with poles.

They went bat-fowling with the same nets as are now used, and they also netted partridges at night, with the aid of a lanthorn. In wild-fowl shooting they also used a horse for stalking. There were decoys for ducks, and we get an insight as to how they were managed. 'These are to give Notice, that if any Person that understands the management of a Decoy, wants a place, he may have one about 40 Miles from London provided he brings a Certificate from the last Master he served as to his ability . . . he shall have as good Wages as is usually given, or a third Bird, as he shall agree when he seeth the Decoy.'

It was not every person that might shoot game: 'The first of them, says he, that has a Spaniel by his Side, is a Yeoman of about an hundred Pounds a Year, an honest Man; He is just within the Game Act and qualified to kill an Hare or a Pheasant; he knocks down a Dinner with his Gun twice or thrice a Week; and by that means lives much cheaper than those who have not so good an Estate as himself. 'He would be a good Neighbour if he did not destroy so many Partridges; in short he is a very sensible man; shoots flying; and has been several times foreman of the Petty Jury.'¹ This game Act, which he was just within, was the 3rd James I. cap. 14, clause 5, which says that no one not having forty pounds per annum, or 200*l.* worth of goods and chattels, may shoot game; and should they do so, 'then any person having lands, tenements or hereditaments, of the clear yearly value of one hundred pounds a year, may take from the person or possession of such malefactor or malefactors, and to his own use for ever keep, such guns, bows, cross-bows, &c. &c,' and this Act was in force till 1827, when it was repealed.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 122.

Shooting flying was not an ordinary accomplishment : it was but just coming in, and most people took 'pot shots,' and would not risk shooting at a bird on the wing.

The dreadful Sound the springing Pheasant hears
Leaves his Close Haunt, and to some Tree repairs ;
The Dog, aloft the painted Fowl surveys,
Observes his Motions, and at distance Bays.
His noisie Foe the stooping Pheasant eyes,
Fear binds his Feet, and useless Pinions ties,
Till the sure Fowler, with a sudden Aim,
From the tall Bough, precipitates the Game.

Partridges, because they flew well, and strongly, were then not shot, but snared, by means of a trained dog.

Now the warm Scent assumes the Covey near,
He treads with Caution, and he points with Fear.
Then lest some Sentry Fowl his Fraud descry,
And bid his Fellows from the Danger fly,
Close to the Ground in Expectation lies,
Till in the Snare the flutt'ring Covey rise.

'But if I miss Sitting, I commonly hit 'em Flying,' says Bellair in Mrs. Centlivre's 'Love at a Venture,' which shows that it was only when the former failed, that he tried the latter plan. And, in an advertisement for a gamekeeper, it is noticed : 'Any one that is a very good Coach man, and can Shoot flying, perfectly well, may hear of a good Place.' If being a good coachman was useful to a gamekeeper, what can we say to this : 'Any Gentleman that wants a Man for Shooting, Hunting, Setting, or any Manner of Game, may hear of one well qualified. He is a good Scholar, and shaves well.'

Luttrell notes, Mar. 15, 1707 : 'Yesterday the lords past the bill for the preservation of the game, in which is a clause, that if any poulterer, after the 1st of May next, sells hare, pheasant, partridge &c. shall forfeit 5*l.* for every offence, unless he has a certificate from the lord of the manor that they were not taken by poachers.' The killing of game must have been earlier than now, for, appended to *Spectator* No. 156, Aug. 29, 1711, is the following : 'ADVERTISEMENT—

Mr. *Spectator* gives his most humble service to Mr. R. M. of *Chippenham* in *Wilts*, and hath received the Partridges.'

There were rifle matches in those day. One was shot at the artillery ground, Finsbury, on July 16, 1703, for a cup value twenty-five guineas: 'No gun to exceed 4 foot and a half in the Barrel, the distance to be 200 yards, and but one Shot a piece, the nearest the Centre to win.' On July 7, 1709, was a match for four pieces of plate: 'to stand 100 yards distance from the Target.' A deer, value 50s., was to be shot for more than once—and the prize once sank as low as 'a pair of breeches.' There was one very singular prize: 'A very fine brass Gun, in the form of a Walking Cane, to be us'd as a Gun or Pistol, and in it a fine Prospect Glass, and a Perpetual Almanack engrav'd about the Head, and a Sun Dial in the Head, and several other ingenious Utensils.'

Archery was still kept up, as we see by the following advertisement¹: 'All Gentlemen who are Lovers of the Ancient and Noble Exercise of *Archery*, are hereby Invited by the Stewards of the *Annual Feast* for the *Clerkenwell* Archers, to Dine with them at Mrs. *Mary Barton's*, at the Sign of Sir *John Oldcastle*, upon *Friday* the 18th Day of *July* 1707 at One of the Clock, and to pay the Bearer *Thomas Beaumont*, Marshal to the *Regiment of Archers*, Two shillings and Sixpence; and to take a Sealed Ticket, that the certain Number may be known, and Provision made accordingly.'

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5961, 154.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SWORD-PLAY AND OTHER SPORTS. GARDEN, ETC.

Challenges—The stakes—The combatants—Description of fights—
 General combativeness—Boxing—Cudgel-playing—Pedestrianism—
 Tennis—Cricket—Football—Skating—Billiards—Country wakes—
 Bowling—Bowling greens—Formal gardening—Clipping trees—
 Books on gardening—Trees and flowers—Town and country life—
 Country labourers.

IN those days, when everyone with any pretensions to gentility wore a sword, and duelling was rife, it is no wonder that exhibitions of skill in that weapon were favourites. Like modern prize fights, they drew together all the scum and riff-raff, as well as the gentry who were fond of so-called *sport*. They were disreputable affairs, and were decried by every class of contemporary. The preliminaries were swagger and bounce, as one or two out of a very large number will show ¹:—

‘At the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole.


A Tryal of Skill to be Performed between two Profound Masters of the Noble Science of Defence on *Wednesday* next, being this 13th of the instant July 1709 at Two of the Clock precisely.

‘I, *George Gray*, born in the City of Norwich, who has Fought in most Parts of the *West Indies* viz. *Jamaica, Barbadoes*, and several other Parts of the World; in all Twenty five times, upon a Stage, and was never yet Worsted, and now lately come to *London*; do invite *James Harris*, to meet and Exercise at these following Weapons viz. :—

<i>Back Sword,</i>	}	{	<i>Single Falchon</i>
<i>Sword and Dagger,</i>			AND
<i>Sword and Buckler,</i>			<i>Case of Falchons,</i>

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 50.

‘I, *James Harris*, Master of the said Noble Science of Defence, who formerly rid in the Horse guards, and hath Fought a Hundred and Ten Prizes, and never left a Stage to any Man: will not fail (God Willing) to meet this brave and bold Inviter at the Time and Place appointed, desiring Sharp Swords, and from him no Favour.


‘ *Note.* No person to be upon the Stage but the Seconds. *Vivat Regina.*’

‘At the Bear Garden in Hockley in the Hole.
A Tryal of Skill to be Performed between these two following Masters of the Noble science of Defence, on *Wednesday* the Fifth of *April*, 1710, at Three of the Clock precisely.

‘I, *John Parkes* from *Coventry*, Master of the Noble Science of Defence, do Invite you *Thomas Hesgate*, to meet me and Exercise at these following Weapons, viz:—

<i>Back Sword,</i>	}	{	<i>Single Falchon,</i>
<i>Sword and Dagger,</i>			<i>Case of Falchons,</i>
<i>Sword and Buckler,</i>			<i>And Quarterstaff.</i>

‘I, *Thomas Hesgate* a *Barkshire* Man, Master of the said Science, will not fail (God willing) to meet this brave and bold Inviter, at the Time and Place appointed; desiring Sharp Swords, and from him no Favour.

‘ *Note.* No Person to be upon the Stage but the Seconds. *Vivat Regina.*’¹

The challenger would wager some twenty or thirty pounds, and the stakes would be deposited and delivered to the challenged: the challenger receiving the money taken at the door,² or, as we should term it, gate money; which, frequently, twice or thrice exceeded the value of the stakes.

There is one remarkable exception, I have found, to this monetary arrangement, but it is the only one in my experience. For, in an advertisement of the usual character, there comes: ‘*Note.* That *John Stokes* fights *James Harris*, and *Thomas Hesgate* fights *John Terriwest* three Bouts each at Back Sword, for Love.’

Preliminaries arranged, handbills printed and distributed,

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 5931, 277.

² De Sorbière.

the combat duly advertised in at least one newspaper, and the day arrived: like the bull and bear, the combatants paraded the streets, preceded by a drum, having their sleeves tucked up and their swords in hand. All authorities agree that the fights were to a certain extent serious: 'The Edge of the Sword was a little blunted, and the Care of the Prize fighters was not so much to avoid wounding each other, as to avoid doing it dangerously: Nevertheless, as they were oblig'd to fight till some Blood was shed, without which no Body would give a Farthing for the Show, they were sometimes forc'd to play a little ruffly. I once saw a much deeper and longer Cut given than was intended.'¹

Ward² gives a short description of one of these fights: 'Great Preparations at the Bear Garden all Morning, for the noble Tryal of Skill that is to be play'd in the Afternoon. Seats fill'd and crowded by Two. Drums beat, Dogs yelp, Butchers and Foot soldiers clatter their Sticks; At last the two heroes, in their fine borrow'd *Holland* Shirts, mount the Stage about Three; Cut large Collops out of one another, to divert the Mob and Make Work for the Surgeons: Smoking, Swearing, Drinking, Thrusting, Justling, Elbowing, Sweating, Kicking, Cuffing all the while the Company stays.'

Steele gives a good account of a prize fight³: 'The Combatants met in the Middle of the Stage, and shaking Hands, as removing all malice, they retired with much Grace to the Extremities of it; from whence they immediately faced about, and approached each other, *Miller* with an Heart full of Resolution, *Buck* with a watchful untroubled Countenance; *Buck* regarding principally his own Defence, *Miller* chiefly thoughtful of annoying his Opponent. It is not easie to describe the many Escapes and imperceptible Defences between Two Men of quick Eyes, and ready Limbs; but *Miller's* Heat laid him open to the Rebuke of the calm *Buck*, by a large Cut on the Forehead. Much Effusion of Blood covered his Eyes in a Moment, and the Huzzas of the Crowd undoubtedly quickened his Anguish. The Assembly was divided into Parties upon their different ways of Fighting: while a poor Nymph

¹ Misson.

² *Comical View of London and Westminster.*

³ *Spectator*, No. 436.

in one of the Galleries apparently suffered for *Miller*, and burst into a Flood of Tears. As soon as his Wound was wrapped up, he came on again in a little Rage, which still disabled him further. But what brave Man can be wounded with more Patience and Caution? The next was a warm eager Onset, which ended in a decisive Stroke on the Left Leg of *Miller*. The Lady in the Gallery, during the second Strife, covered her Face; and for my Part, I could not keep my thoughts from being mostly employed on the Consideration of her unhappy Circumstance that Moment, hearing the Clash of Swords, and apprehending Life or Victory concerned her Lover in every Blow, but not daring to satisfy herself on whom they fell. The Wound was exposed to the View of all who could delight in it, and sowed up on the Stage. The surly Second of *Miller* declared at this Time, that he would that Day Fortnight fight Mr. *Buck* at the Same Weapons, declaring himself the Master of the renowned *German*; but *Buck* denied him the Honour of that Courageous Disciple, and asserting that he himself had taught that Champion accepted the Challenge.'

I have been, to my great regret, unable to find a contemporary print of one of these combats; the nearest approach to it being the fight between Dr. Sacheverel and Dr. Hoadley, which furnishes a graphic, though burlesque, representation of the scene.

Looking at the class from which these gladiators sprung, it is not surprising to hear that some of these prize fights were pre-arranged, or, to use modern slang, 'squared.' In *Spectator* 449 is a letter, from which the following is an extract: 'Being in a Box at an Alehouse, near that renowned Seat of Honour above mentioned,¹ I overheard two Masters of the Science agreeing to quarrel on the next Opportunity. This was to happen in the Company of a Set of the Fraternity of Basket Hilts, who were to meet that Evening. When this was settled, one asked the other, Will you give Cuts or receive? the other answered, Receive. It was replied, Are you a Passionate Man? No, provided you cut no more nor no deeper than we agree.'

¹ *Hockley in the Hole.*

The very children were bitten with the mania. 'Apprentices, and all Boys of that Degree, are never without their *Cudgels*, with which they fight something like the Fellows before mention'd, only that the Cudgel is nothing but a stick ; and that a little Wicker Basket which covers the Handle of the Stick, like the Guard of a *Spanish* Sword, serves the combatants instead of defensive Arms.'¹

This sword-fighting, however, was seeing its last days, and was, in the next reign, to be superseded by pugilistic encounters. At present, boxing, although extensively practised, had not been reduced to a science. Whatever was it made everybody so pugnacious? 'Anything that looks like fighting,' says Misson, 'is delicious to an Englishman. If two little Boys quarrel in the Street, the Passengers stop, make a Ring round them in a Moment, and set them against one another, that they may come to Fisticuffs. When 'tis come to a Fight, each pulls off his Neckcloth and his Waistcoat, and give them to hold to some of the Standers by ; then they begin to brandish their Fists in the Air ; the Blows are aim'd all at the Face, they Kick one another's Shins, they tug one another by the Hair &c. He that has got the other down may give him one Blow or two before he rises, but no more ; and let the Boy get up ever so often, the other is obliged to box him again as often as he requires it. During the Fight, the Ring of Bystanders encourage the Combatants with great Delight of Heart, and never part them while they fight according to the Rules. The Father and Mother of the Boys let them fight on as well as the rest, and hearten him that gives Ground or has the Worst.

'These Combats are less frequent among grown Men than Children, but they are not rare. If a Coachman has a Dispute about his Fare with a Gentleman that has hired him, and the Gentleman offers to fight him to decide the Quarrel, the Coachman consents with all his Heart : The Gentleman pulls off his Sword, lays it in some Shop, with his Cane, Gloves and Cravat, and boxes in the same Manner as I have describ'd above. If the Coachman is soundly drubb'd, which happens almost always, that goes for payment ; but if he is

¹ Misson.

the *Beator*, the *Beatee* must pay the Money about which they quarrell'd. I once saw the late Duke of Grafton at Fisticuffs in the open Street, with such a Fellow whom he lamb'd most horribly.'

There was cudgel playing—for a new hat; 'he that breaks most Heads to have the Hat; he that plays puts in six-pence.' Quarterstaff was played, and there was a somewhat dangerous game—'there will be three bouts with *threshing flails*.' 'A Tryal of Skill is to be fought &c. between John Parkes¹ of Coventry, and John Terrewest. Note—They fight at the Ancient Weapon called the Threshing Flail.'

Mild athleticism seems to have obtained among a few of the upper middle class: for instance, Addison speaks² of the dumb-bell with which he used to practise every morning, and also of a kind of Indian club exercise, 'brandishing of two short Sticks grasped in each Hand, and loaden with Plugs of Lead at either End. This opens the Chest, exercises the Limbs, and gives a Man all the Pleasure of Boxing, without the Blows.'

There were foot races, but I can find but one or two notices of them, and there is very little like professional pedestrianism, except the following very mild feat: 'A Wager of 100*l.* was laid last week, that a German of 64 years old, should walk in Hyde Park 300 miles in 6 dayes, which he did within the time, and a mile over.'³

Tennis was a fashionable game, although I only find one public court mentioned, 'facing Oxenden Street near the Haymarket.' Ward gets quite moral on the subject of this game: 'Rightly considered, it's a good Emblem of the World. As thus: the Gamesters are the Great Men, the Rackets are the Laws, which they hold fast in their Hands, and the Balls are we little Mortals which they bandy backwards or forwards from one to t'other as their own Wills and Pleasure directs 'em.'

¹ John Parkes or Sparkes was buried at Coventry, and on his tombstone was inscribed, *inter alia*, that he was a man of mild disposition, a gladiator by profession, who fought 350 battles in different parts of Europe, when he retired. He died, 1733.

² *Spectator*, No. 115.

³ Luttrell, Sept. 13, 1709.

Cricket was played, and sufficient interest was felt in the matches: on one or two occasions they were advertised in the newspapers. In 1705: 'This is to give notice, That a Match at Cricket is to be plai'd between 11 Gentlemen of the West part of the County of Kent against as many of Chatham for 11 Guineas a man, at Mauldon in Kent on the 7th of August next.' And in 1707: 'There will be two great Matches at Cricket plaid, between London and Croydon; the first at Croydon on Tuesday July 1, and the other to be plaid in Lamb's Conduit Fields near Holborn, on the Thursday following, being the 3rd of July.'

On the approach of winter football came into vogue, and it was played in the streets.

When lo! from far
I spy the furies of the Foot ball war:
The 'prentice quits his Shop, to join the Crew,
Increasing Crowds the flying Game pursue,
Thus, as you roll the Ball o'er Snowy Ground,
The gathering Globe augments with every Round.
But whither shall I run? the Throng draws nigh,
The Ball now skims the Street, now soars on High;
The dext'rous Glazier strong returns the bound,
And jingling sashes on the Penthouse sound.¹

'In Winter *Foot-balls* is a useful and charming Exercise. It is a Leather Ball about as big as ones Head, fill'd with Wind: This is kick'd about from one to t'other in the Streets, by him that can get at it, and this is all the Art of it.'²

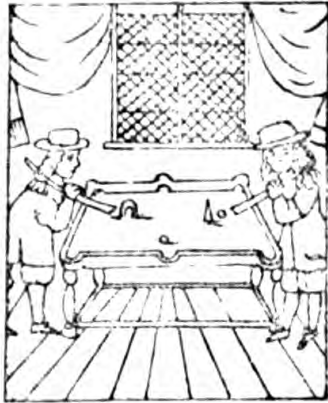
Skating, although practised here in the time of Fitz-Stephen, had fallen into desuetude, until it was reintroduced by the Cavaliers who had been with Charles II. in Holland. Pepys thought it was 'a very pretty art,' yet got very nervous over the Duke of York's skating. 'To the Duke, and followed him into the Parke, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his scates, which I did not like, but he slides very well.' Skating was popular in London in Anne's reign, but it is doubtful whether it obtained in the remote parts of the country. Writes Swift to Stella, Jan. 31, 1711: 'The Canal and Rosamonds Pond

¹ *Trivia*, book 2.

² Misson.

full of the rabble sliding, and with skates, *if you know what those are.*'

'The Gentile, cleanly and most ingenious Game at Billiards' was a resource at home; and it was played on a table like ours—an oblong wooden table, covered with green cloth, and with pockets of netting, in precisely the same position as now, the cushions being stuffed with fine flax or cotton. The game was not played as we play it, but there were two balls, a port or archway at one end, and a king or cone at the other. The cues were not like ours, but more like maces, only much heavier. 'Your Sticks ought to be heavy, made of *Brazile Lignum Vitæ*, or some other weighty



BILLIARDS.¹

wood which at the broad end must be tipped with Ivory.' The game was not only played in private, but in coffee houses. 'At the Greyhound Coffee House near Monmouth Street in Soho, are to be sold two new Billiard Tables, and all other goods and conveniences fit for a Coffee House,' etc. And again: 'A very good French Billiard Table little the worse for wearing, full size, with all the Materials fit for French or English play &c. Enquire at Scot's Coffee House.' Indeed

Cotton says there were few towns of note in England which had not a public billiard-table. He, however, warns people against 'those spunging Caterpillars, which swarm where any Billiard Tables are set up, who make that single room their Shop, Kitching and Bed Chamber.'

The rough sports, such as cudgel-playing, football, wrestling, throwing, boxing, leaping, and running, were kept alive by the country wakes, which took place on the dedication festival of the parish church. These were sometimes supplemented by a grinning match, such as that which drew down

¹ This illustration, although from the 1709 edition of Cotton's *Compleat Gamester*, is of older date; indeed, it is identical with the first edition of 1674. The fact of its being a text-book in Anne's reign shows that the game had not then been modified.

Addison's wrath,¹ and which was afterwards abandoned, in deference to his opinion.

Near London these wakes, like Hampstead or Deptford wakes, were well kept up; and there was my Lady Butterfield in Epping Forest, of whose entertainment and calf-roasting we have already had a description through Ward's instrumentality. Here is one of her advertisements: 'My Lady Butterfield gives a Challenge to all England, to Ride a Horse, Leap a Horse, Run on Foot or Hallow with any Woman in England Ten years younger, but not a Day older, because she would not under value herself. Gentlemen and Ladies, whilst in the Spring 'tis worth your while to come to hear the Nightingal Sing in Wanstead within a Mile of the Green Man, in Essex, at my Lady Butterfields at Nightingal Hall. This is to give notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies, and all the best of my Friends, that on the last Wednesday of April is my feast, where is very good Entertainment for that Day, and for all the Year after from my Lady Butterfield.'

Or another:—

TO ALL GENTLEMEN AND LADIES.

If Rare Good young Beans and Pease can Tempt Ye,
Pray pass not by my Hall with Bellies Empty;
For Kind Good Usage every one can tell,
My Lady Butterfield does al excell;
At Wanstead Town, a Mile of the Green Man,
Come if you dare and stay away if you can.

She had a rival later on, in 1713. 'This is to acquaint all Jolly Lads and Lasses. That on Monday the 28th Instant, there will be a Meeting of several Gentlemen and Ladies at the Opening of Mr. Tucker's new House upon Epping Forest, where the Company will be provided with good Music and Dancing, and be likewise entertain'd by Country People with the following Diversions, viz. A Beaver Hat to be Cudgell'd for, A Pair of Buckskin Breeches to be wrestled for; and a lac'd Holland Smock to be danced for, by 6 young Women. N.B. The Sport begins at 10 a Clock

¹ *Spectator*, No. 173.

in the Morning; and such care is taken that the Company may not return a hungry, One Ox will then be roasted and given *gratis*.'

Women raced for smocks, silk stockings, or topknots; whilst one would surely have won Sir John Astley's heart. 'This is to give Notice, That there is a young Woman, born within 30 Miles of London, will run, for Fifty or a Hundred Pounds, a Mile and an half, with any other Woman that has liv'd a Year within the same Distance; upon any good Ground, as the Parties concern'd shall agree to.'

Even a woman's suspected infidelity was turned into sport. 'At *Hammersmith* near *Kensington*, to morrow, being Friday, will be rode a SKIMMINGTON TRIUMPH, according to the Manner described in *Hudibras*,' which the reader will find, if he be curious in the matter, in Part. II. Canto II. of Butler's immortal poem.

One harmless diversion should not be passed over. 'At Epsom Old Wells . . . on Whitsun Tuesday will be Moris Dancing Set against Set, for Lac'd Hats, at 10 a Clock, with other Diversions.'

But the game, *par excellence*, which combined out-of-door sport with the minimum of fatigue, suitable alike to the mercurial young, and the steady middle-aged, was bowling; and the bowling greens multiplied exceedingly in this reign, especially (judging by the advertisements) after 1706. We hear of them starting up in all the suburbs: at Putney, Hoxton, Maribone, Hampstead, Stoke Newington, Ham Lane, etc.

That the bowls were the same as are now played with we see by the following advertisement: 'Lost out of the Bowl House belonging to Pemlico Green in Hogsdon near Shoreditch two pair of Lignum Vitæ Bowls and one pair of a reddish Wood.' It was not an expensive recreation. 'The New Green over against Bunhill fields will be open'd on Saturday next, and the Old Green to be Bowled on for Six Pence and One Penny for taking up.' Sometimes there were prizes bowled for, as 'At the Black Gray hound Dog at Bristow Causey, will be a Silver Tobacco Box Bouled for, value 30s.'

It was essentially a sober cit's amusement. 'I wonder how so many Fat Gentlemen can endure the Green all Day, tho' tis pleasant enough to look out o' the window and observe 'em—To see a Tun o' Grease, with a broad fiery Face, and a little black cap, waddle after a Bowl, rub, rub, rub, rub, rub, and lose more Fat in getting a Shilling—Than wou'd yield him a Crown at the Tallow Chandler's.'¹ 'A Bowling Green is a Place where there are three Things thrown away besides Bowls, viz. Time, Money, and Curses; the last ten for one. The best Sport in it, is a sight of the Gamesters, and the looker on enjoys it more than him that Plays. It is the School of Wrangling, nay worse than the Schools, for Men will cavil here for a Hair's bredth, and make a Dispute, where a Straw might end the Controversie. No Antick screws his Body into such strange Postures; and you would think 'em mad, to hear 'em make Supplication to their Bowls, and exercise their Rhetorick to intreat a good Cast.'² A great nuisance in these public bowling-grounds were the people who betted on the players' skill. '*Cuff*. Let's be sure to bet all we can. I have known a great Bowler whose Better's place was worth above 200*l.* a year, without venturing a farthing for himself.'³

'A Bowling Green is one of the most agreeable Compartments of a Garden, and, when 'tis rightly placed, nothing is more pleasant to the Eye. It's hollow Figure covered with a beautiful Carpet of Turf very Smooth, and of a lively green, most commonly encompassed with a Row of tall Trees with Flower bearing Shrubs, make a delightful composition; besides the Pleasure it affords us, of lying along upon its sloping Banks, in the Shade, during the hottest weather.'⁴ It must have delighted a gardener's heart, in those days, to have had something which must, almost of necessity, be ornamented in a somewhat formal manner. There were no landscape gardeners then, they were all fettered by the precision style of elaborate parterres, terraces, cut trees, statuary; and although a more educated mind pined for a better state of things, as is evidenced throughout the *Spectator*

¹ *Tunbridge Walks.*

² *Hicke.ty Pickelty.*

³ *Epsom Wells.*

⁴ *The Theory and Practice of Gardening*, by J. James, 1712.

whenever mention is made of a garden, the tyranny of custom and the gardeners prevailed. 'Our trees rise in Cones, Globes, and Pyramids. We see the Marks of the Scissors upon every Plant and Bush. I do not know whether I am singular in my Opinion, but, for my own part, I would rather look upon a Tree in all its Luxuriancy and Diffusion of Boughs and Branches, than when it is thus cut and trimmed into a Mathematical Figure; and cannot but fancy that an Orchard in flower looks infinitely more delightful than all the little Labyrinths of the most finished Parterre.'¹ These parterres were made in as elaborate devices as some of our specimens of leaf-gardening, and looked very formal.

In the *Guardian* (No. 173) this practice of clipping trees is ridiculed most unmercifully. 'I know an eminent cook, who beautified his Country seat with a Coronation dinner in greens; where you see the Champion flourishing on horse-back at one end of the table, and the queen in perpetual youth at the other. For the benefit of all my loving Countrymen of this Curious taste, I shall here publish a Catalogue of greens to be disposed of by an eminent town gardener. . . . Adam and Eve in Yew; Adam a little Shattered by the fall of the Tree of Knowledge in the great Storm; Eve and the Serpent very flourishing.

'St. George in box; his arm scarce long enough, but will be in a Condition to Stick the dragon by next April.

'A Green dragon of the same with a tail of ground Ivy or the present.—N.B. These two not to be sold separately.

'A pair of Giants stunted, to be sold Cheap.

'A quickset hedge, shot up into a porcupine, by its being forgot a week in rainy weather,' etc.

There were many works on gardening published in this reign, notably that by James, which was a translation from the French. It is enriched with beautiful designs for parterres, etc., and is undoubtedly the handsomest work on the subject. Van Oosten's 'Dutch Gardener' is another translation, as is 'the Retir'd Gard'ner' of London and Wise. The latter is a book of about 800 pages, with several woodcuts

¹ *Spectator*, No. 414.

and copperplate engravings, and consists of two parts—one a translation of 'Le Jardinier Solitaire,' and the other from the work of the Sieur Louis Ligers. This was edited by George London and Henry Wise, who are more than once mentioned in the *Spectator*. They were practical gardeners, and their nurseries far surpassed all others in England. London was chief gardener to William and Mary, and afterwards to Anne. During her reign the nurseries were let to a man named Swinburne, but the name of the original firm was still kept up.

There is, however, an excellent book in English called 'the Clergy Man's Recreation,' by John Laurence, A.M., 1714, but it is all about the cultivation of fruit trees.

Plants would even grow out of doors in the City then, and we find the fore courts of houses planted, or at all events the walls covered, with jasmines, vines, etc. Whilst the newspapers advertise for sale, 'Yews, Hollys and all sorts of Fillbrea Laurell &c. with all sorts of Fine Flowering Trees as Honi suckles, Cittisus, Roses, Sævays both Headed and Pyramid, Orange Trees, and Spanish Jesemins, Gilded Hollys Pyramid and Headed, Filleroyes, Lawrel Tines, and Arbour Vitæ,' and amongst the flowers were 'Double Emonies, Ranckilos, Tulips, Aurickelouses, Double Anemonies, Double Ranunculos and Double Junquils.' *Ranunculus* seems to have been a puzzling word, for once again we find it spelt 'Renunculices.'

Town and country were eminently antagonistic. The want of means of communication kept country people in a state of stagnation, compared to their brethren of the town, whose more fastidious taste could not brook the boorish behaviour, and coarse pleasures, of the countryman.

'*Woodcock*. No *Londiner* shall either ruin my Daughter, or waste my Estate—If he be a Gamester 'tis rattl'd away in two Nights—If a lewd fellow, 'tis divided into Settlements—If a nice Fop, then my Cherry trees are cut down to make Terras-Walks, my Ancient Mannor House, that's noted for good Eating, demolish'd to Build up a Modern Kickshaw, like my Lord *Courtair's* Seat about a Mile off, with Sashes, Pictures and *China*; but never any Victuals

dress in the House, for fear the Smoke of the Chimney should Sully the New Furniture.

‘*Reynard.* So that instead of providing her a Gentleman, you’d Sacrifice her to a Brute; who has neither Manners enough to be thought Rational, Education enough for a Justice of the Peace, nor wit enough to distinguish fine Conversation from the Yelping of Dogs; Hunts all the Morning, topos all the Afternoon, and then goes lovingly Drunk to Bed to his Wife.

‘*Woodcock.* And pray, what are your Town Diversions? To hear a parcel of *Italian* Eunuchs, like so many Cats, squawll out somewhat you don’t understand. The Song of my Lady’s *Birthday*, by an honest Farmer, and a Merry Jig by a Country Wench that has Humour in her Buttocks, is worth Forty on’t; Your Plays, your Park, and all your Town Diversions together, don’t afford half so substantial a Joy as going home thoroughly wet and dirty after a fatiguing Fox Chace, and Shifting one’s self by a good Fire.’ Neither are we Country Gentlemen such Ninnies as you make us; we have good Estates, therefore want not the Knavery and Cunning of the Town; but we are Loyal Subjects, true Friends, and never scruple to take our Bottle, because we are guilty of nothing which we are afraid of discovering in our Cups.’¹ A very pretty quarrel as it stood, and one on which, as Sir Roger remarked, ‘much might be said on both sides,’ for Addison² rather grumbles at the old-fashioned courtesy of the well-bred squire, as opposed to the greater ease of manners then in vogue: ‘If, after this, we look on the People of Mode in the Country, we find in them the Manners of the last Age. They have no sooner fetched themselves up to the Fashion of the polite World, but the Town has dropped them, and are nearer to the first State of Nature than to those refinements which formerly reign’d in the Court, and still prevail in the Country. One may now know a Man that never conversed in the World, by his Excess of Good Breeding. A polite Country Squire shall make you as many Bows in half an hour, as would serve a Courtier for a Week. There is infinitely more to

¹ *Tunbridge Walks.*

² *Spectator*, No. 119.

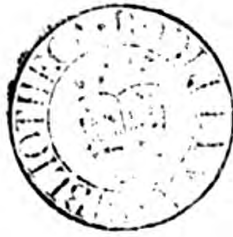
do about Place and Precedency in a meeting of Justices Wives, than in an Assembly of Dutchesses.'

But if the country aristocracy were so behindhand, in what state were the labourers? Their lot was hard work and scant wage, only relieved by a village wake or a country fair; no education, no hope of any better position, of the earth, earthy; a man rose at early morning, worked hard all day, came home to sleep, and so on without intermission. Gay thus describes him and his labours:—

If in the Soil you guide the crooked Share,
 Your early Breakfast is my Constant Care.
 And when with even Hand you strow the Grain,
 I fright the thievish Rooks from off the Plain.
 In misling Days when I my Thresher heard,
 With Nappy Beer I to the Barn repair'd ;
 Lost in the Musick of the whirling Flail,
 To gaze on thee I left the smoaking Pail ;
 In Harvest, when the Sun was mounted high,
 My Leather Bottle did thy Drought supply ;
 When e'er you mow'd I follow'd with the Rake,
 And have full oft been Sun burnt for thy Sake ;
 When in the Welkin gath'ring Show'rs were seen,
 I lagg'd the last with *Colin* on the Green ;
 And when at Eve returning with thy Carr,
 Awaiting heard the gingling Bells from far ;
 Strait on the Fire the sooty Pot I plac't,
 To warm thy Broth I burnt my Hands for Haste.
 When hungry thou stood'st *staring, like an Oaf*,
 I slic'd the Luncheon from the Barly Loaf,
 With crumbled Bread I thicken'd well thy Mess,
 Ah, love me more, or love thy Pottage less !¹

The dress of the labourer at this time was a broad-brimmed flap felt hat, a jerkin, or short coat, knee breeches and stockings; whilst the women wore their dresses very plainly made—necessarily without furbelows and hoops, and, for headgear, had a very sensible broad-brimmed straw hat, or, on holidays, the high-crowned felt hat.

¹ *The Shepherd's Week—The Ditty*, ed. 1714.



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