

LONDON IN 1689-90.

(FROM A MS. VOLUME, TRANSCRIBED BY
DR. DONALD MACLEAN).

THE Rev. Robert Kirk, A.M., the writer from whose MS. the following account of London has been extracted, was the seventh son of the Rev. James Kirk, A.M., of Aberfoyle, and the grandson of John Kirk, writer, of Edinburgh. His father lost his whole patrimony—house and land left by his father—and his wife's "tocher" in litigation against a strong and cruel party of barbarian Highland rebels, who despoiled him of his books, corn and "hail guids." The Rev. James Kirk was among the signatories to Scotland's Complaint against the introduction of the Liturgy.

Robert Kirk was born in Aberfoyle on 9 December, 1644. He held a bursary under the Presbytery of Dunblane, took his degree in Edinburgh, and studied theology at St. Andrews. On 9 November, 1664, when a month less than twenty years he was admitted Minister of Balquhiddar. He married first, Isobel, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell, of Mochester, by whom he had a son, Colin. She died in December, 1680. His second marriage was to a daughter of Campbell of Fordy. By her he had a son, Robert, who became the first post-Revolution Presbyterian Minister of Dornoch. On 9 June, 1685, Kirk was translated to his native parish of Aberfoyle, a place familiar to all readers of Rob Roy.

There he actively discharged the functions of a zealous Christian minister to the end of his days. He died on 14 May, 1692, an unrepentant Episcopalian, who bravely describes himself in his last extant letter as "still ready to serve you and the Church." It says much for his piety and popularity that in these stirring times when history books tell us, not always quite truthfully, that curates were remorselessly robbed, Kirk

was allowed to continue unmolested in the full enjoyment and emoluments of his benefice in a parish wholly Presbyterian. He died at the early age of 47 years and 4 months, probably of heart failure, as he was walking up a slight eminence, to the west of the present Manse.

There was a strange romance, which gathered round Kirk's departure, to the effect that he did not die, but was carried away by the fairies. Sir Walter Scott gave wide currency to this tale in his edition of the *Fairies*, in *Rob Roy* and in the *Legend of Montrose*.

Kirk left behind him, as the fruits of his short life, three books. One was a complete metrical version of the Psalms in Gaelic, which was published in 1684. His version was not without melody, and he showed a scholarly knowledge of Gaelic in respect of its grammar, idiom and syntax. But, as it was executed after the Irish or classical form of orthography, it never became popular, and was superseded by the version of the Presbyterians of the Synod of Argyle.

The second of his books was *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Faunes and Fairies*, which is said to have been published in 1691, but no copy has ever been discovered. The next edition was edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1805, and the third, or more correctly the second, appeared in 1893, edited by Andrew Lang.

But it is with the Gaelic Bible that bears his name, that Kirk sheds lustre on tireless industry and cheerful devotion to a high purpose such as his countrymen should never forget.

There are three names inseparably connected with the first successful effort to place the Scriptures in the vernacular within the reach of all Highlanders. The first is that of the famous natural philosopher, chemist and Christian philanthropist, the Honourable Rober Boyle. It was by his generous charity that the scheme was largely financed. The second is that of the Rev. James Kirkwood, who initiated the enterprise and influenced Boyle to support it. The third is that of the

Rev. Robert Kirk, who was the indispensable instrument in the execution of it. Kirk tackled single-handed the task of transcribing Bedell's Irish Bible and Donellan's New Testament from Irish to Roman characters. In a little over a year he transcribed the whole of the Scriptures, a task entailing close mental concentration and the application of accurate scholarship in detecting and correcting errors.

In the summer of 1689 Kirk proceeded on his hazardous journey to London with his version of the Scriptures carefully packed and guarded. To adventure on the highways to London when the nation was weltering in the aftermath of a revolution was to court personal risks, but Kirk went on to face perils which might have daunted a less fearless man. While in London, he met many persons of interest, especially Divines, and examined all the historic buildings of the vast city, as it seemed to his eyes.

He wrote down his experiences in a small octavo common-place book, which is preserved in the Edinburgh University Library. The hand-writing is round, neat and legible and the orthography is quite modern.

His description of London is of great interest, as it describes a time just between the London depicted in Macaulay's famous third chapter, and that of Ned Ward in his *London Spy*. It is nearly 20 years earlier than Edward Hatton's *New View* (1708) and almost 30 years before Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London* (1720).

It views London from the point of view of an onlooker, and gives us glimpses of the social and religious life of the time.

He attended church three times every Sunday while he was in London, and provides pictures of Sharp and Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Baxter, Compton, Bates and Burgess, and other distinguished preachers of his time.

He yearned for a union of all the orthodox in a grand

national Protestant Church, and was grievously disappointed that this superb opportune hour to bring about comprehension should be allowed to pass.

This brief life of Robert Kirk is based on the researches of the Rev. Donald Maclean, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Edinburgh, and the notes have in the main been supplied by N. G. Brett-James, the Honorary Editor of the *TRANSACTIONS*.

Title-page of Original Manuscript.

Sermons, conferences, men's opinions of the late Transactions with a description of London, ann. 1689 written (when the Irish Bible was printed in a small Roman letter) there by

Mr. Ro: Kirke Min^r at
Aberfoyle in Menteith,
who then attended
the Press.

And divers Religious Meditations interwoven

Wee on the inconstant sea of this world having in Adam cast ourselves overboard desperately out of the Ship of God's Favour, if we hold not fast by the Plank of God's mercy cast to us through J.Christ in Baptism, still fastening to it by REPENTANCE and a Lively Faith; we need never expect a third way to Salvation.

1689.

LONDON IN 1689-90.

BY

THE REVD. R. KIRK.

Arms.

London arms¹ are a cross and a dagger in the upper part of the field.

London Bridge.

London Bridge hath 21 arches, pretty high. On the bridge is a street of rich shops on either hand.

Population and Churches.

There be reckoned fifteen hundred thousand people within the

¹ E. Hatton, *A New View of London*, 1708, writes "The Armorial Atchievements of the most opulent City London are Argent, a cross gules, on ye 1st quarter a sword (by some falsely called yt of St. Paul, by others ye dagger of Sr. Wm. Walworth; but I take it to represent yt of Justice.

city¹ and suburbs of London, 40,000 are said to be within St. Martin's parish, 150 churches and 60 Presbyterian meeting houses, 20 Independents, 10 Quaker, 2 Lutheran, 3 Jewish Synagogues (but cannot contain them all) and 6 Anabaptists.²

Newgate.

In anno 1630 Sr Ja. Campbell³ being Lord Mayor, the prison of Newgate was re-built and his name set on it.

*Royal Chapel.*⁴

The Royal Chapel roof is adorned with lines of gold through the white. There be two pair of organs, very harmonious singers. Both men and choirister boys; a few seats for noblemen and Ladies, but a great crowd to see King and Queen. The King's loft is all covered with glass of large pure square panes, and a cloth of red velvet with gold embroidery. There be two little galleries, one on either side. The pulpit is carried into the middle of the floor; the altar glorious with big white candles one yard long.

Montague House.

Saturday Feb. 15. 1690 I was at Montague House⁵ on the north

¹ This estimate is entirely erroneous. The question is discussed in C. Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, 2 vols, 1891; Walter G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, 1918, and *The Great Plague of London in 1665*, 1924; F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, . . . Earlier writers who hazarded estimates were Captain Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations*; Sir William Petty, see C. H. Hull, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, 2 vols, 1899, and *The Petty Papers*, 2 vols, 1927; Maitland, *History of London*, 2 vols. It seems probable that the estimate given above is about twice too large.

² A fuller account of the churches and conventicles is given later in the Diary and these have been summarised in a pamphlet by Dr. Donald Maclean, *London at Worship*, pub. in 1929 by the Presbyterian Historical Society of England.

³ Hatton, *op. cit.*, remarks "I find Newgate at present is a very strong, well-built and beautiful gate, adorned on the Wly side with three Ranges of pilasters, and their Entablament of the Tuscan Order, over the lowest is a circular Pediment, and above that the Queen's Arms; the other inter-columnns are 4 Niches replenished, with as many figures well carved in Stone, standing in full Proportion; and there is a Foot Postern on the N. side. The E. side is adorned with a Range of Pilasters etc., as before; and in 3 Niches are the Figures of Justice, Mercy and Truth; and here is this inscription: 'This part of Newgate was begun to be repaired in the Mayoralty of Sir James Cambell, Knt., Anno 1630, and finished in the Mayoralty of Sir Robert Ducie, Baronet, April Anno 1631; and being damaged by the Fire in 1666, it was repaired in the Mayoralty of Sir George Waterman, Ann. Dom. 1672'."

⁴ Presumably the Chapel in St. James's Palace.

⁵ "Montague House," says Macaulay in his *History of England*, ch. iii, "celebrated for its frescoes and furniture, was, a few months after the death of Charles the Second, burned to the ground, and was speedily

of London beyond St. Ann's. It has a large court and yards and orchards. 'Tis a square court with two pyramids to the street and a gate in the middle. The main house is 4 storey high, 2 large rooms wide, 16 very large glass windows in each breadth of the 4 stories and 4 in the end or gable of the house. The floors are laid first with fir, then wholly indented over with waintscot, all in small pieces drawn in different figures and angles and circles, all coming to a vast charge, etc. 'Tis preferable to Whitehall banqueting house or any other I saw yet in England.

Monuments at Westminster.

The same day I saw the monuments at Westminster in King Henry 7 Chapel (for 3d.) where the convocation of clergy sit. Whereof some are in common stone, most in marble, some in wax.¹ Whereof also some stand upright in boxes, others within iron rails, lying at length with hands lifted up. There was King James 6, our 6th, in robes right lively, so our Queen Mary, so Gen. Monk,² so Prince Henry, etc. But above all King Charles the 2nd in wax and robes and lincens altogether as if he were living, a curious piece of workmanship, with red and white robes, white taffeta cloth, studded golden belt and tissued gold belt upon red silk with knob coming down from his neck, etc. On the morrow I saw the monument³ nigh

succeeded by a more magnificent Montague House." Evelyn speaks of the first Montague House, built by Robert Hooke, Curator of the Royal Society, in 1678. The Earl of Devonshire was living in it at the time of the Fire and his Countess and children escaped in blankets to Southampton House.

¹ "The exhibition," writes Peter Cunningham, "originated in the old custom of making a lively effigy in wax of the deceased—a part of the funeral procession of every great person, and of leasing the effigy over the grave as a kind of temporary monument." See *Handbook of London, Past and Present*.

² Among the many who have described their sensations in the Abbey is Rev. R. H. Barham in *The Ingoldsby Legends*, where he says—

"I stood alone!—a living thing 'midst those that were no more—
I thought on ages past and gone—the glorious deeds of yore—
On Edward's sable panoply, on Cressy's tented plain,
The fatal roses twined at length—on great Eliza's reign.

I thought on Naseby—Marston Moor—on Worc'ster's 'crowning fight';
When on mine ear a sound there fell—it chill'd me with afright,
As thus in low, unearthly tones I heard a voice begin,
'This here's the cap of Giniral Monk!—Sir! please put summat in!'"

³ In Ned Ward's *London Spy*, edited by A. L. Hayward, 1927, we read "You'll be mightily pleased with the loftiness of this slender column, for its very height was the first thing that ever occasioned wry necks in England by the people staring at the top on't. To the glory of the City, and the everlasting reputation of the worthy projectors of this high and mighty Babel, it was built more ostentatiously than honestly by the poor

the Bridge where the great fire began anno 1666 which in 3 days, between Sunday night and Wednesday burnt near all within the 7 gates of the city. 'Tis high and in a clear morning gives a good prospect of the largeness of the city and suburbs. Among the monuments at Westminster I saw also the 2 chairs of state wherein the King and Queen used to be crowned. They are of plain wood without carving rising in a cone at the back. That of King hath the old Jacob's stone, or fatal marble chair beneath the seat, which is a square stool of marble somewhat too low to sit on, with some carvings round it, and four feet of the same, cut out in the shape of little lions. The wooden frame of a chair is joined to it above.

Dr. Tenison's Library.

In Dr. Tenison's open library¹ are a closet full of Manuscripts and many books of the ancients. It is a little above Charing Cross. It is dedicated by him to the Ministers of the town's use, with a large school where they teach the scholars music. The masters' salaries are dedicated by the Doctor though he have children of his own.

*Surgeon's Hall.*²

In the Cherugeons Hall nigh Crippel-gate are the stopped skins of a man and woman, some skeletons with a pompous apartment where they cut up and anatomize bodies.

Sion College.

In Sion College³ nigh Crippel-gate is a library free for those that orphans' money. Many of them have since begged their bread and the City has here given them a stone."

Compare Pope's criticism of the lying inscription, which, when Kirk visited London, had probably not been recut after its removal by order of James II:—

"Where London's Column, pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies."

¹ Founded in 1684 by Dr. Tenison, then Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Evelyn speaks of it in his Diary under date 15 Feb. 1683-4, and says that Tenison built it to keep young parsons out of taverns, and consulted Wren and Evelyn "about the placing and structure thereof."

² In Monkwell Street and built by Inigo Jones adjoining a bastion of the City Wall. Pepys went there both before and after the Great Fire. Much of it managed to survive, including Holbein's famous picture of Henry VIII, granting a charter to the Company of Surgeons. Pepys hoped to buy for £200 this picture which he was told was worth £1,000. Hatton, *op. cit.*, says "The Theatre is commodiously fitted with four degrees of cedar seats, one above another, in elliptical form, adorned with the figures of the seven Liberal sciences, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and a bust of King Charles I."

³ Sion College, in London Wall, was founded in 1623 by Dr. White, the Library being given by the Rev. John Sampson, rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street. It was removed to the Victoria Embankment in 1884.

preach before my Lord Mayor. This college beneath Cripplegate on right hand, was founded by Dr. White, vicar of St. Dunstons giving a legacy of £4,000 stg. for buying of books (to be open for all ministers and strangers, once giving 6d. to the keeper), maintaining a keeper of the library and 20 old decayed men, allowing them apartments to lodge in and £6 stg. per annum, with 2 feasts after 2 Latin lectures in the year to the President, 2 deans, and 4 assistants, all ministers of London, elected by the magistrates. The books are chained, big and old. The library is 40 paces in length. There is a hall and lodgings besides. It was consumed by the fire anno 1666, but is a repairing again. Many persons mortifying sums to it. Dr. White did this and the like at Bristol 1624.¹

Gresham College.

In Bishopsgate Street is Gresham College² for the virtuous of any nation or profession, and instruments suiting all arts and sciences, with creatures dried in their proper shapes, such fowls, fishes, beasts, serpents, as be most rare.³

¹ Daniel Defoe writes, in his *Journey through England*, 1722, Vol. I, p. 254, "This College and Library is designed for the use of the Clergy in and about London; where Expectants may lodge till they are provided with houses in the several parishes in which they serve cure. It is also an Hospital for ten poor men and ten poor women; and the whole is governed by a President, Two Deans and Four Assistants who have their apartments in the College." One-third of the books were destroyed in the Fire, but this was remedied by the confiscation of Jesuit books in 1679 and by a gift of half the Library of Sir Robert Coke about the same time.

² Hatton in his *New View of London*, 1708, writes that it is on the west of Bishopsgate Street and on the south-east side of Broad Street. "So-called from the worthy and famous Sir Thomas Gresham, Agent to Q. Elizabeth, whose Dwelling-house it sometime was. Here he founded the following Lectures by the Will dated 1579, viz. He gave half the Royal Exchange and the Building thereto belonging to the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London and their successors for ever in Trust, that they provide 4 qualified Persons to read Lectures of Divinity, Geometry, Musick and Astronomy . . . and to the Company of Mercers the other society, who were also to find 3 readers, viz. of Civil Law, Physick and Rhetorick."

³ The first Gresham College was taken down in 1768, and a new building was erected in 1843 in Basinghall Street. It was found inadequate quite recently and a new building has been erected in its place in 1913, the architects being Dendy Watney and Sydney Perks.

Ned Ward, in *The London Spy* (p. 49), calls Gresham College, Wiseacre's Hall. He mentions a melancholy cloister where he saw "a philosopher walking, ruminating, as I suppose, upon his entities, essences and occult qualities, or else upon the Philosophers' Stone, looking as if he very much wanted it. His steps he measured out with such exactness and deliberation, that I believe, had the right number failed to bring him to the end of the cloister, he would have been in a great passion with his legs."

Astrologers Hall.

In Greenwich Park¹ is the Astrologers Hall with all optic glasses. 'Tis 2 miles down the river. Mr. Framsted,² a minister is professor and King's professor in it.

Hackney.

At Hackney³ 2 miles north-east of London is a garden or wilderness so overtopped and shadowed with cypress trees all the year over that hardly can any see to read any day in any place of the garden.

Chelsea College.

The French King has nigh Paris a palace for invalids and lodgings there for the great Marishal. He keeps a constant great army there of persons not so mutilated but they may serve, some on foot, some on horseback. These can in a sudden eruption command all Paris. Each soldier has 100 livres (or Scottish £) yearly divided proportionately from the pay of each officer and soldier in the army, which is one weak side of the French King. For they should be maintained from the public revenue and not in a hospital, but where they pleased during life. For honour's sake they will not call them hospitals, but palaces, Colleges etc., as Chelsea College⁴ here.

King William's Pavillion.

King William has a pavillion for a camp amaking for him having diverse rooms, all jointed and ready to be taken sunder and carried in parcels. Others have 3 rooms under one covering made in Lyster-fields.

¹ J. Strype in his edition of *Stow's Survey, 1720, Book i, p. 43, writes:* "Adjoining to this Palace is a small, but pleasant Park; and upon a Hill, about Half a Mile from the House, is a fair Lodge House, which affords a delectable prospect. In this House, there was a part allotted by King Charles the Second, for Mr. Flamstead, for his making his Cælestical observations of the Planets &c. in order to further Knowledge and Improvement of Astronomy; having a good stipend settled on him, and being accommodated with Telescopes of the largest and best contrivancy as also with other Mathematical Instruments, fit for such use; and having also a deep well, to make his observations in."

² Flamstead.

³ A fuller account of Hackney is given in Strype's edition of *Stow, Appendix, p. 122.*

⁴ Chelsea College was founded in 1610 by Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, but it was not a success and fell before it was really established. Evelyn tells us that he was imprisoned there during the Civil War; and that it was given in 1667 to the Royal Society by the King. The King bought the College back through Sir Stephen Fox in 1681-2 and laid the foundation stone of the Hospital himself. Nell Gwynne is traditionally said to have suggested the erection of a refuge for soldiers and Wren designed the building. The story of the building is contained in an inscription on the frieze of the great quadrangle:—"Condidit Carolus Secundus, Auxit Jacobus Secundus, perfecere Gulielmus et Maria Rex et Regina, MDCXC."

Charterhouse.

On Monday March 6 16⁸⁹/₉₀ I dined in Charterhouse¹ with Dr. Barnet master there, Mr. Patrick, minister, Mr. Walker, School-master, the Overseer, and the Lecturer. This is a large edifice with courts suitable, gardens, orchards and wilderness, bequeathed by Squire Sutton, Esq., who is said to have formed the coalmines of Newcastle for 3 leases at 10, 20, 30 thousand £. stg. a year. 80 old men, 40 scholars, and 29 at the University are here maintained in all, with their masters, and their salaries, extending nigh to £6,000 stg. per annum.

Largest Buildings.

The most spacious fabrics in and about London are the Tower, below the bridge, old work, square form, walled and ditched and spacious; Paul's Church² exceeds all for state and workmanship, then Westminster Abbey and Hall; then Montague Square³ on North of London beyond Holborn; then the high Pyramid or monument where the dreadful fire began in 1666; then Lincoln's Inn Chapel for curious paints and pictures in the glass of the large windows⁴; then Chelsea College or Hospital for 1,000 old or lame soldiers; then Guildhall and halls of all.

Best Bells.

The bells in Bow Church in Cheapside, the heart of the city, and in St. Martin's Church⁵ spire in the Strand or suburbs are the best.

¹ A full, almost contemporary account of the Charterhouse is given in Hatton's *New View*, 1708, pp. 765-80. The master mentioned should be Dr. Thomas Burnet, the minister, Dr. Patrick. Dr. Burnet representing the Trustees refused James II's demand that he should admit a Roman Catholic, named Popham, into the Institution. Macaulay writes in his *History*, "Thomas Burnet, a clergyman of distinguished genius, learning and virtue, had the courage to represent them [Trustees] though the ferocious Jeffreys sat at the Board."

² St. Paul's Cathedral was not finished, when Kirk visited London.

³ Montague Square. This must be Bloomsbury Square, which was formed by Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the father of Lady Rachel Russell. Evelyn dined with him on 9 Feb. 1665 and speaks of the "noble Square or Piazza, a little touné." There was behind Montague House a large open space, famous for duels. Montague House became the British Museum in 1753 and the old house was demolished between 1840 and 1849.

⁴ The glass in Lincoln's Inn Chapel is very much the same as that in Lincoln College at Oxford. See *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London*, Vol. II, West London, 1925, plates 231-235, and Stephen A. Warner, *Lincoln College, Oxford*, 1908, plate opposite p. 52.

⁵ St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Royal Society Hall.

March 21, 1690, I also saw Gresham College where the hall pertaining to the Royal Society¹ is, bestowed for the use of inquirers into nature's phenomena and mysteries. It is in Bishop Street on left hand as you go forth to Bishop's gate. There is a square court there and a pole for mathematical experiments. But the Hall for containing the curious rarities is not large, but full of varieties, above 2,000. Among which the main that I remarked and remembered were 3 manacodiatas with plain bills, long wings and tails, walking feet. I took a feather out of the wing of one of them and out of the tail of the ostrich's skin. The bird of paradise is carnivorous. I saw the pelican black, its bill was broad and as long as my arm with a collar beneath. A Hudson's Bay partridge white and long with a few black feathers in the tail. A serpent of East India 7 yards in length, a small head and body as big as my leg at the ankles. A cassawait, a duskish black fowl as big as an ostrich for bones, though not so long necked. The bones of his leg are as gross as those of a man's arm, the neck about a yard and half length, the legs 3 quarters. The black and white pigritia,² in shape like a man, a big body and slender legs. It goes but a yard and half a day though tis bigger than a cat. It climbs a tree, eats itself fat with fruit, and becomes lean before it creeps to the root of the tree. A crocodile. An embalmed princely body above 3,000 years old. The linens are embalmed 40 fold about it. There be antique paints on some outer war clothes, hieroglyphicks and spread eagle, armed men etc. A salamander black but like our asps. The rattling serpent, the most deadly. The star fish. A microscope. A hammock of silk grass like bristles to lie in for shunning of serpents. The reddish brown capull-caille, bigger than a Turkey cock. A calf with two

¹ Compare this account of the Royal Society's possessions in Gresham College with the account given by Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, pp. 49, 50. After describing the magnet which "made a paper of steel filings pick themselves up one upon the back of the others, so that they stood pointing like the bristles of a hedgehog, and gave such life and merriment to a parcel of needles that they danced . . . as if the devil were in them," he described "shell-flies almost as big as lobsters, armed with beaks as big as those of jackdaws," a Unicorn's Horn, an aviary of dead birds, including a Bird of Paradise, as mentioned above, and noted that "a feather of this fowl, carried about you, is an infallible security against all evil temptation." Finally there were "sundry sorts of serpents, as the Noy, Pelonga, Rattle Snake, Alligator, Crocodile, etc., so that looking round me, I thought myself hemmed in amongst a legion of devils. When we had taken a survey of these monsters, we turned towards the skeletons of men, women and monkeys, birds, beasts and fishes . . . and abundance of other memorandums of mortality." See also Hatton's *New View*, pp. 664-689, where a catalogue of 323 curios is given. Bishop Street is Bishopsgate Street within.

The Sloth.

heads etc. This is the best show in Christendom. The Society meets once a week and have experiments and Latin and English Lectures. Besides I saw the Antelops like a goat, a small round body. An Unicorn horn, white and wreathed, straight and small at top, hard as elephant's tooth. It stuck 22 inches in a ship's keel; tis 2 yards and a half long. A sea beast. A camel.

The Vast City.

The city is a great vast wilderness. Few in it know the fourth part of its streets, far less can they get intelligence of the hundredth part of the special affairs and remarkable passages in it, unless by public printed papers, which come not to every man's notice. The most attend their business. and an inquisitive stranger will know more of the varieties of the city than a hundred inhabitants.

Montague Square.

Montague Square on the north-west of the city is one of the most glorious fabrics in or about London.

Below Temple Bar.

In that end of the city below Temple Bar and next Whitehall and the Court, the people or commodities are not so solid by far as within the city; nor keep the inhabitants so good hours usually betaking to bed about midnight. Their ware is likewise frothy and slight, having show without lastingness.

Bedlam.¹

Bedlam is a large stately building over against Moorfields where, in each of the two stories, are 56 little chambers in the length of the house, divided by an iron grate in the middle. In the eastern half are the demented men, in the Western the women. The house holds in whole 112. The distractions are of several kinds and degrees, some dumb, others talkative, some furious, many childishly furious numbering straws and making caps of straw. They give £5 stg. for each person entered there, who is all his life maintained with milkmeats there and correction, or recovered and sent home. One of the number answered me (when I wished him to seek a stable mind and sound judgment from God) that he would serve the devil

¹ Erected in 1676 at a cost of £17,000. There is a view of it in Strype's 1720 edition of *Stow's Survey*. Pepys writes "Slipt into Bedlam, where I saw several poor miserable creatures in chains; one of them was mad with making verses." The rules drawn up in 1677 are printed in Strype, and the eighth plate of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress* represents a scene in Bedlam, with two well-dressed ladies visiting the Hospital, having, presumably, paid the two pence demanded from each visitor. The original hospital was founded in 1247 by Simon Fitz-Mary, one of the Sheriffs of London, in honour of St. Mary of Bethlehem. (See E. G. O'Donoghue, *The Story of Bethlehem Hospital*, 1914.)

all the week, but God on Sunday.¹ In Bidewell, upon Fleetditch (an ancient palace and court) are put whores and idle drones, to be set awork for manufacturers. In Ludgate are poor men for debt; in Counters the men of account when become bankrupt; in Newgate notorious whores, pickpockets, picklocks and malefactors who deserve death.²

Play Houses.

Stage plays are each afternoon³ in Moorfields, Lincoln's Inn fields and Tower Hill. Plays and Comedies are at York buildings and night Covent Gardens.⁴

Merchant Schools.

The merchant Tailors have a free school containing 500 scholars, sending 2 yearly to the University. The Mercers or silkmerchants have another of 100 scholars. St. Paul's has 150. Christ's blue-coat and cap Hospital has 500 boys and 100 blue girls.

Thames' Shipping.

The ships of the river of Thames are like one entire wood or forest from below the Bridge of London to Gravesend, a distance of 20 miles.⁵

¹ Ward, *The London Spy*, pp. 51-55, describes his visit, and when his friend mistook the magnificent edifice for the Lord Mayor's Palace. "In truth, I think they were mad that built so costly a College for such a crack-brain society. . . . It was a mad age when this was raised and no doubt the chief of the City were in a great danger of losing their senses, so contrived it the more noble for their own reception, or they would never have flung away so much money to so foolish a purpose."

² Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-110, gives a vigorous account of Bridewell as he saw it sometime before 1698.

³ The time at some theatres for the production of plays was 3 o'clock. Pepys tells of visits to the theatre in Moorfields. The Lincoln's Inn Theatre was the Duke's Theatre, opened in 1662 by Sir William Davenant. The Tower Hill Theatre may be that in Goodman's Fields, adjacent.

⁴ An early attempt at something like Italian opera was begun in York Buildings and in 1703 interludes and musical entertainments of singing and dancings were given in Italian there.

⁵ All foreigners were impressed by the Thames and its Ships. In the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (1534-54) we read of the Thames and its "convenience and profit to the inhabitants, as it ebbs and flows every 6 hours like the sea, scarcely ever causing inundation or any extraordinary floods; and up to London Bridge, it is navigable for ships of 400 bales burden, of which a great plenty arrive with every sort of merchandise." Henry Belasye in 1657, writes "From [Greenwich] to London is loaded with so many tall ships that their very masts looke like an old forest." (*An English Traveller's First Curiosity: or the Knowledge of his owne Country, Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections*, Vol II, pp. 201-2.) See also Missen's *Travels in England* (1697).

Streets, etc.

Streets, lanes, alleys, courts, corners, turns are the several names of the passages in the city according to their order and largeness. Posterns at the gates, bars, where the chains are to keep out horses, as far as the city has privileges towards the suburbs.

Unconquerable London.

Many public missions in the late reign, who found themselves totally outwitted in their designs for an *absolute authority* quickly turned about and enquiring of mean persons all acquainted with the public genius, what way was most in favour with the *mobile*, immediately steered their course that path, because they saw Earls Clarendon, Shaftesbury and others forced to shift for themselves in face of the general clamour. For truly the voice of the people prevails with the House of Commons their representatives, and that prevails all over the kingdom. Yea, the very city of London, if a learned, politic, sagacious, Lord Mayor was over it, could command in 3 hours warning 120,000 with a continual recruit of men and supply of amunitions and victuals to their camp, by reason of their number and riches.¹ And no domestic or foreign force could easily land so many, or convene or bring them so long a journey without much expense and fatigue, or maintain them so long at a siege against so potent a garrison.² The only thing in the world that can conquer London is division intestine.

An Intelligence Office.

In the Strand is an intelligence office,³ where masters of all sorts and servants and apprentices, and nurses of all kinds will find in a short time what they desire, so also hunters, stewards, butlers, chamber-maids of rooms, milkmaids, lacqueys. There are 2 or 3 of such in the city where everything gives and gets money.

¹ It was clear that the attitude of the City towards Charles I was the most powerful factor in giving the victory in the Civil War to the Parliamentary side. When the City grew tired of the Commonwealth, it was their support of Monk that brought about the Restoration. The exhaustion, brought about by the long war and the double disaster of Plague and Fire, left the city a prey to the cunning of Charles II in his *Quo Warranto*, but London again by supporting William and Mary helped very largely to drive out James II.

² The fortification of London in 1642-3 to withstand a possible attack is discussed in the *London Topographical Society*, Vol. XIV (paper by N. G. Brett-James).

³ This is an early reference to the "Servant's Registry." There were dangers of unemployment and worse perils for young women arriving in London. M. D. George in her *London Life in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 113, quotes from several contemporary accounts of these perils, and sums up the matter by saying "The first scene in Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* was one frequently played in real life."

*Act against residing in London.*¹

Tis probable the Parliament will frame an act discharging the city of London to enlarge its circuit by further building,² because there being such temptation of company pleasures and luxury in the city, it occasions the drawing of most of the nobility and gentry in the kingdom to come and live in it. The act is to prohibit any who is not publicly employed to pass above 3 months in the city, and commands them to live at their dwellings the other 9. The country is growing waste, barbarous and poor by losing the masters' presence, authority and example; and by drawing all the money to the city, and spending, partly necessarily, partly superfluously, what should be given to the tenantry to furnish their own houses at home. This was moved and formed long ago, but delayed till now.

*Orphans' property.*³

All orphans' goods and patrimony was deposited in the city's hands, and was there in banks for public works' interest and to return the principal whenever those citizens' children grew up to improve it. But, after the great plague and fire of London, 1665, 1666, what with the cleansing of Fleet-ditch, building the monument, and public steads and halls, the public purse was exhausted. Yet the city having credit till it emerged from that calamitous strait, each orphan was answered in his money, until, since the Presbyterians finding the cash somewhat scarce in the town treasury, presently divulged that he who set out to get his money presently, would want altogether. This put each to call for his own, emptied the treasury and left many thousands of orphans destitute, who now petition the Parliament 1689, Nov. 20, to see how they may have compensation and maintenance.

¹ See *Index to Remembrancia*, p. 408, where there is a reference to the Queen's order in 1601, that all knights, gentlemen and others of good possessions and abilities are to reside upon their estates in the country; and p. 419 where a similar order was issued in 1632 by Charles I.

² The first proclamation against building was issued by Queen Elizabeth from Nonsuch on 7 July, 1580 and an Act of Parliament was passed on the same lines in 1593. Much of the early part of the seventeenth century is full of similar efforts to check London's growth and a detailed examination of them will be published in the next issue of these TRANSACTIONS.

³ By the custom of London the Mayor and Aldermen were the recognised guardians of all the citizens' orphans, and as such took charge of their property until they came of age or married. The *Remembrancia* is full of references to Orphanage, pp. 307-320, and in R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, II, p. 544, there is a note that Charles II by refusing to repay the City's loans in 1672 brought disaster on the orphans. Attempts were made in 1689 to restore order, and Dr. Nicholas Barbon tried to establish an Orphans' Bank.

*Shoreditch.*¹

Shoreditch is a suburb without Bishop's gate, so named from Jean Shore, first wife to a goldsmith in Lumbar'd Street, then went to him to be King Richard's concubine, where, having lived splendidly till another King Richard II succeeded, she was then forbidden food or lodging by any, and so died miserably in a ditch in this place.

London's power.

London is so powerful in men, money, arms and amunition that were it not there being divided into factions,² it were impossible for any foreign or interested enemy to prevail against it. But such is its ease and riches, that it usually yields to any who gives the best offer, for fear of losing it.

Organs.

The best organs in England are those of Temple Church.³ They cost £1,500 stg. All in Britain are but quarter organs. 'Tis said

¹ There are several mistakes here. The origin of the name is incorrect and Jane Shore was mistress to Edward IV not Richard. A ballad in Percy's *Reliques* perpetuates the legend, but Stow in his *Survey* wrote: "Soersditch, so-called more than 400 years since, as I can prove by record." Sir John de Shordych was M.P. for Middlesex at the end of the fourteenth century. Jane Shore did not die in a ditch.

² Kirk is possibly referring to the dissensions in the Civil War and later which enabled the King to play off two factions against one another. But for unanimity, cp. Narcissus Luttrell, *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 75, who writes, "The Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Lieutenancy of London attended her Majesty (11 July, 1690) in Council and declared the unanimous resolution of the City to defend and preserve their Majesties and the Government with their lives, and the utmost of their power, acquainting her Majesty that the several regiments of the City Militia consists in about 9,000 men, well armed and appointed and ready to proceed in their Majesties service."

The City also resolved unanimously to raise a regiment of horse, 1,000 dragoons strong, 6 auxiliary regiments were ordered to be prepared and colonels were appointed, and the militia of the outposts of London was ordered to be ready at an hour's warning and with a month's pay. The 6 regiments, 9,000 strong, were all reviewed by the Queen in Hyde Park (*op. cit.*, pp. 79-80).

³ The Temple Church was restored by Wren in 1682, and a new organ was discussed on the same occasion. There were two famous organ makers at the time, Father Bernard Smith, of German origin, and René Harris, of French origin. Owing to a divergence of opinion between the Inner and Middle Temples, both makers were allowed to set up their organs in the Church, to be tested, Smith's by Blow and Purcell, that of Harris by Queen Catherine's organist, Giovanni Battista Draghi. The competition between them writes J. Bruce Williamson, in his *History of the Temple, London*, "ceased to be a merely domestic affair of the Temple. The whole musical world became the audience, the struggle assumed Homeric proportions." The matter, after much disputing, was referred to the Lord Chancellor, Jeffreys of ill-repute, and in 1687 he gave the verdict most impartially, against the wishes of his own Inn, to Bernard Smith. £1,000 was paid for the organ and a solatium of £200 was granted to Harris. Father Smith's famous organ is that still used by Sir Walford Davies.

there are no whole organs in Europe but one pair in Germany that cost fifteen hundred thousands pounds stg.

London gates.

London hath Al-gate, Crippel-gate, Moor-gate, Bishop's-gate, Alder-gate, New-gate, Lud-gate, but its privilege reacheth the chained bars without those gates, an arrow flight or two.

Wells.¹

Wells about London are Epsom, 16 miles eastward, Tunbridge, 6 miles northward, also 3 wells called, Spars, Sadler, and Young at Islington, a little way beyond Smithfield of this form. They are deep dug, paved and built about with smooth stones. At Young's are two fountains of different waters and relish, arising about a yard length one from another. There be many curious walks and groves there, music cabins, dancing rooms, neat houses of offices etc.

Temples and Inns of Law.

The 2 Temples, Lincoln's Inn, Inn's Court and Gray's Inn beyond Holborn, for Law, where are Attorneys or agents, and Counsellors or Advocates.

Parishes.

There be in the City of London and suburbs 134 parishes,² each having two ministers, or a minister and lecturer. So there are 268 ministers, whereof some have £400 a year, some 2 or 3.

The Highest Street.

The highest street and stone in London is in that end of Paternoster Row³ next to Cheapside. Next to that is Holborn of the suburbs. There is a gentle declivity in all the streets and lanes, carrying away the kennel to the Thames, but no precipices like to any of the windings in Edinburgh.

¹ A full account of the Wells at Islington is given in W. Worth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, 1896. Mr. Kirk is muddled in his directions and distances, but he probably thought that New Tunbridge Wells was the real name of Islington Spa. Wroth tells us that the name was acquired at least as early as 1690 (*op. cit.*, p. 15). This perhaps puts it back a year.

² It is not difficult to see how Kirk arrived at his figures. There are 109 parishes in the City of London included in the Bills of Mortality, and these were increased by 1636 to 129. There were thereafter added in 1647, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1670, St. Paul's, Shadwell, in 1671, Christ Church, Surrey, in 1685, St. James's, Westminster, and in 1686, St. Anne's, Soho.

³ In 1688, on 26 August, an inscription was put up in Pannier Alley, saying:—

"When you have sought the City round
Yet still this is the highest ground."

There is a pannier, with a boy setting on it, holding a bunch of grapes.

Re-building of London.

Since the burning, London is built uniformly, the streets broader, the houses all of one form and height.¹ Each inhabitant hath the whole lodging being 3 or 4 house high, seller, kitchen, parlour and gallery with collateral apartments. The servant women have only to do the washing and cleaning the rooms twice a week and dressing of victuals. There be very foggy black choking vapours in the houses, which soone blacks linens and mens' very shirts, keep they the house never so clean. Many have the entry to their houses through the shop, whose doors and windows make all one open gap, the breadth of the shop, when laid aside. So all their large and rich shops are thoroughly seen. Except in courts that are not passable at both ends, every lane, turning, street and corner are full of shops of all kinds of ware. There be above 40 large square plots of ground wherein are markets for fleshes, fruits, and plenty of all victuals, every street having one or two of these very nigh them.²

Guildhall.

Guildhall or town hall is 77 paces in length and 24 in breadth.

Surgeons' Hall (Barber Surgeons.)

Friday, March 21, 1690, did I see the Cherurgeon's Hall, in Silver Street, near Crippel-gate. There is a large hall with an ascent at one end for a stately table, a large room above for their wives, and a balcony towards the hall. Every hall has houses and tenements, paying rent, belonging to it and the company have public dinners about six times a year, others but twice or once. There is a gallery of musicians. But especially is there a theatre with seats raised, and large circular room where 6 times a year they get a malefactor and dissect him publicly, giving a lecture of anatomy. I saw there a woman's skin stopped so as it stood and appeared vivid and smooth in all its proportions, an ostrich's anatomy as high as a man's head could reach, only reach the head; a man flayed etc.

Ships.

The city of London alone furnishes out as many (if not more) ships of merchandise as doth all Scotland.

¹ These changes are fully discussed in W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*.

² Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London* (1720) refers to "Leaden-Hall, the Stocks Market, situate where formerly St. Mary Woolchurch stood, Honey-Lane Market, where formerly *Athallows Honey-Lane Church* was, and *Newgate Market*; also that in *Spittal Fields*, on the back side of *Old Street*, that in *Wapping*, and that in *Southwark* besides several more within the *City of Westminster*." Their rules are printed in Strype (*op. cit.*) Book v, pp. 308-10 and 398-9. Others mentioned elsewhere in Strype are Billingsgate and Blackwell Hall.

An interesting account of Markets in London occurs in J. P. Malcolm, *Manners and Customs of London*, 2nd edition, 1811, Vol. III, pp. 231-236. It is taken from Harleian MS. 5900.

Exchanges.

Of exchanges and place of converse and traffic are:—The Royal Exchange in Cornhill, having a walk for every nation of 6 or 7 next them. The Exeter Exchange is in the Strand. Salisbury and Old Exchange are a good way below, having both rooms upper and lower. There are house and land broker officers also beside the royal exchange for such as would buy and sell.¹

Free Schools.

Dr. Tenison as Vicar of St. Martin's has £1,600 a year with other places worth £1,000 and an estate of £500. He with Dr. Patrick maintains two free schools, putting the boys to trades when ready, and wherein the master has £80 a year, the usher £40, the musician £30. They have likewise a public library and keeper.²

Woodstock Bower.

At Woodstock, 30 miles from London, King Edward III made a bower for his beloved concubine, fair Rosamund, in way of a labyrinth, and put a knight and armed men to guard her, when himself went to war in France. His queen, in his absence, took a progress with a train of men, killed the knight guardian, got into the labyrinth, and made the Lady drink a cup of poison. The queen was put away for this afterwards and died in misery.³

¹ Of Exeter Exchange we read in Strype's Edition of *Stow* (1720), Book iv, p. 119, "This Exchange contains two walks below stairs, and as many above, with shops on each side for sempsters, milliners, hosiers, &c., the builders judging it would come in great request; but it received a check in its infancy, I suppose, by those of the New Exchange, so that instead of growing in better esteem, it became worse and worse." These remarks are initialled R.B., which implies that they are written about 1700. Salisbury House, in the Strand, stood between Worcester House and Durham House, and was divided into two. Part of it was "converted into an Exchange, and called the Middle Exchange, which consisted of a very large and long room (with shops on both sides) which from the Strand run as far as the water-side, where was a handsome pair of stairs to go down to the water-side . . . few or no people took shops there . . . and it lay useless except three or four shops towards the Strand." Strype, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 120. It was pulled down in 1695.

² A School and Library were founded by Tenison, and are mentioned in Evelyn's diary, under the date 15 Feb., 1684.

³ Our author is at fault here. Woodstock is more than 60 miles from London and the King was Henry II. It is possible that the story of Rosamund was suggested by Rosamund's Pond in St. James's Park, "long consecrated," as Warburton writes, "to disastrous love and elegiac poetry.

Rosamund Clifford, daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford of Hertfordshire, bore to Henry II two sons, William Longsword, who married the daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who became Archbishop of York. She entered Godstow Nunnery in 1157 to end her days there and after 20 years of residence she died, and her epitaph runs as follows:—

*"Hic jacet in tumulo Rosa Mundi, non Rosa Munda
Non redolet sed olet quae redolere solet."*

Dress.

Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Lawyers must only wear bands. If any of Counsel have a cravat he is put from the bar, till he come more gravely.

Pious Works.

There be very many public and pious works through England done by contributions and voluntary subscriptions, as free schools set up, hospitals, lamp-works. Merchant Tailors in Cannon Street, at London stone, have a fair hall, and free school containing 500 boys. Inventors of lamps,¹ penny post office² and intelligence, were supplanted.

¹ Edward Heming in 1685 obtained letters patent granting him the sole right of lighting London, and the lighting was started in 1687. Previous attempts to provide light for London include "certaine lanthornes of stone, for lights to be placed in the winter evenings, for commoditie of travellers" on Fleet Bridge (Stow's *Survey*, Kingsford's edition, Vol. I, p. 26). A lanthorn on Bow steeple, "whereby travellers to the Cittie might have better sight thereof, and not to misse of their wayes" (*op. cit.*, p. 256).

In 1416 Henry Barton "ordayned lanthornes with lights to bee hanged out on the winter evening betwixt Hallowtide and Candlemasse" (*op. cit.*, II, p. 171).

In 1662 John Cook gave by will 20s. yearly to maintain a lanthorn for travellers passing through Thames Street and St. Michael's Lane (see W. G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, p. 21) and by *Stat. 14 Chas. II, C.2*, all householders near the street had on pain of 1s. fine from dark till 9 o'clock in the evening, to show a light. By *Stat. 2 Wm. and Mary*, session 2, C.8 (1690), the occupier of a house within the Bills of Mortality, which might adjoin "unto, or is neare the streete from Michaelmas unto our Ladyday yearly shall sett or hang out candles or lights in lanthornes on the outside of the house next the streete to enlighten the same for the conveniency of Passengers, from time to time as it shall grow darke, untill twelve of the Clocke in the Night, upon paine to forfeit the summe of two shillings for every default, excepting such person or persons as shall agree to make use of lamps of any sort to be placed at such distances in the Street as shall be approved by the two or more Justices of the Peace." (See *Statutes of the Realm*.)

A reference to a new kind of lamp occurs in the City Orphans Act, 1694 (5 W. & M., C.10), where the patentees are to contribute £600 per annum in respect of their new convex lights. These are referred to in Missen, *Travels in England* (1697), "Instead of lanterns they set up in the streets of London, lamps which by means of a very thick convex glass, throw out great rays of light which illuminate the path for people that go on foot, tolerably well. They begin to light up these lamps at Michalemas and continue them till Lady Day; they burn from six in the evening till mid-night, and from every day after the full moon to the sixth day after the new moon." Ned Ward, *London Spy*, p. 22, writes, "The streets were all adorned with dazzling lights whose bright reflections so glittered in my eyes that I could see nothing but themselves, and thus walked amazed, like a wandering soul in its pilgrimage to heaven when it passes through the spangled regions."

² For Post Offices see Strype (*op. cit.*), V, p. 400.

Lord Mayor "Begging."

Three times a year my Lord Mayor and some Aldermen with him go a-begging through all the markets for flesh, bread etc. to the poor within the prisons and counters.

Casual Revenues.

The King of England have of casual revenues from the merchant customs house of London £20,000 stg. a week; of the excise £20,000 a week; of the General Post Office £10,000 stg. a week, besides poll-money and other assessments and imports throughout the Kingdom. The customs of Newcastle coal is allocated by King and Parliament from anno '81 for building St. Paul's Church London, which will require as yet 7 more years to finish it.¹

Anniversaries.

October 29 my Lord Mayor's solemn day,² in which he takes oath of fidelity at Whitehall. November 4 Prince of Aurange William de Nassau's birthday. November 5, the gunpowder treason; all kept solemn in London. October 30 St. Andrew's day. All Scotchmen in London were avowed by blue and white St. Andrews crosses on hat and shoulders.

¹ This is a surprisingly accurate forecast, as Divine Service was held in St. Paul's for the first time on 2 December, 1697, on the day of thanksgiving for the Peace of Ryswick.

² Owing to Lord Chesterfield's Reform of the Calendar, Lord Mayor's day is now November 9.

(*To be continued.*)