

## LONDON IN 1689-90

BY

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(FROM A MS. VOLUME, TRANSCRIBED BY DR. DONALD MACLEAN,  
AND ANNOTATED BY N. G. BRETT-JAMES.)

## PART IV.

*Riding.*

Riding the great horse at Picadilly beyond Haymarket, they first sit the saddle of a horse tied by the head, and flinging before and behind when switched. 2. The horse is free and jumps sideways to throw his rider. The 3rd. horse leaps ditches. The 4th scrambles and leaps fiercely up the walls some steps.

*Tolling Bells.*

The bells of that parish church in which the dead are, ring the passing knell, and gives warning of some dead there, when it is slowly tolled.

*Servants' Wages.*

The common serving house-women have at least £3, £4, or £5 a year, and free at any time giving warning<sup>1</sup> a fortnight before. The laundresses have £6 or £7 and the footmen £5 with livery and diet.

*King James at Gravesend.*

King James at his first voluntary removal to Gravesend,<sup>2</sup> going alone in a mean habit, was discovered, roughly handled and boxed by seamen, till he told plainly he was King James.

*Attempt on Prince George.*

Prince George and Duke of Grafton coming to London a little before Prince of Orange, a papist youth ran out into the midst of the troops and offered to fire at Prince George in the coach, but his pistol misfiring, one of the troop ran him through with a sword in the back presently. So he fell dead.

*Prison and Counter Keepers.*

Prison and Counter keepers are usually obnoxious men and cunning thief-takers. Pickpockets drink in their houses. So they know them all that haunt any street, and oftentimes for lure get

again what is most dexterously purloined. A pickpocket if once convicted has R.T., remember Tyburn, the place of execution, burnt on the ball of his thumb. But if again apprehended they cannot escape being sent to sea, or the gibbet (for in England the water often bereaves the widdee [or whithe]). They are sent to serve in the plantations or men-of-war.

*Boys and the Cowkeeper.*

Cities in England are populous because the people eating much flesh and little bread, there be few farmers, the country being mostly cow-keepers, which occasion all the superfluous people to betake themselves to corporations and town to labour or serve, there being but one or two cow-keeper houses in a vast deal of ground. One cow-keeper nigh this city hounded his dog at a city boy washing himself in one of his cow ponds, which so hurt him that in a few days he died. He was no sooner buried than there came thousands of boys and killed most of the man's cows, drew down his house to the ground, encamped several days, and could not be pacified by the train bands pluffing powder at them, nor by the Mayor or My Lord Craven till the cow-keeper was delivered into their hands, whom they led to prison, and he was banished the kingdom for 14 years.

*Choosing a Wife.*

The most proper place for a man to choose a good wife in, at London, is the church. There be so many deceived by fame and appearance of persons, that unless one do observe them frequently to attend public prayers and sermons, in all other symptoms he may be more readily entangled and deluded.

*Clergy too Secular.*

Many men in orders in England go in a secular habit, and live as ordinary men. They may have £200 or £300 a year whereof they give £20 or £30 to a curate.<sup>3</sup> So they accept of the sacred function only as a trade to live by, and to get their fingers into the church revenues. This is an abuse, a grievance of the English Church among others, and they endeavour to make a strong party to hinder the present design of Comprehension and reformation of the church. Tis such as these in the clergy's habit that brings the name of lewdness in some of that order.

*Outed Regular Clergy.*

Some now in vogue twit the outed regular clergy as being at best but probationers, and to begin again. It is no wonder when we have probationer Kings and Lords. I have seen blocked arrows made choice shafts, and fine spinks splinted again.

Choleric men troubled with an overflowing of the gall ease and purge themselves by passionate writings.

*Fee Simple.*

No lands having fee simple can be sold in England without licence from Parliament, that lawful heirs be not defrauded.

*A Squire's Funeral.*

After a squire dies his coffin is fastened all about with 80 or 90 silver splints or hooks, then the coffin is laid in state, with mourners and bright candles about it, where all are welcomed to come and see it in a lower room. A scutcheon and mourning cloth are spread on the balcony. The hearse all surrounded with small scutcheons (it being a little wooden cell drawn by 6 black horses) is provided against the funeral day, with 50 hired coaches all covered in black, and 6 black horses in each, accompanying other nobles and gentlemen.<sup>4</sup>

*Aberfoyle Riches.*

Whenever a people and country become rich by their industry other emulous nations endeavour to make them a prey, which make many spend prodigally what they gain easily.

*No Cold Meats.*

The citizens care for no cold meats, nor salt meats,<sup>5</sup> but fresh and hot, having most plentiful meals on Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday.

*City Courtesans.*<sup>6</sup>

The city courtesans (who naughtily make sale of their bodies for money to any that's rogue enough), are usually urged to that unhallowed shift by either young men's dallying with them in way of marriage till they abuse them to the loss of their reputation and modesty; or inferior citizens' wives who have crabbed husbands, pinching their wives and tables beneath their estate and former usage wherewith they were educated. This makes them haunt plays, read romances, entertain witty companies pleasantly, drink wine, and do whatever mischief may follow.

*House-Warming.*

To young people lately married their relations and neighbours send special pieces of meat of all sorts, and then go dine in their houses, when all is prepared. This is called House-Warming to the young people, where they wish them a wise, cheerful, plentiful life.

*Street and Church Etiquette.*

In the street the wall is the most honourable place, on whatever hand it be. Therefore in the alley within the bars and ranges, they

will usually shun the way to give ladies and clergymen the wall; which being under the balconies, keeps almost all the way dry beneath, in time of rain. In the church also all sextons, whenever they see a minister in his gown, take him to a seat. The women sit in midst of church usually, and the men in seats and galleries by themselves about them. Every first Sunday of the month they have the communion, and the Sunday before it, the warden collecteth the alms in cups at the doors after sermon.

*City Divines Learned but Neglectful.*

Many of the city divines are very learned doctors, but live somewhat too secular lives, meeting daily at set times in coffee houses for converse, which accomplishes themselves with very ready gifts; but the sick, the uncatechised youth, and christian visiting of families neglected. I was frequently sent for to the Latin Coffee house (where Latin is mostly spoke), and had very edifying conversation with principal doctors and divines of the city.

The English doctors' learning is not so vast as the Scottish,<sup>7</sup> but more methodical, having grammar, philosophy, history, heraldry, divinity.

*Crimes and Punishment.*

Felony is stealing out of one's house, and the felon is only burnt on the hand, for the first crime, banished or hanged for the 2nd. Burglary or breaking up of locks is death at first evidence.

*Coffee and Tea.*

Coffee is good to thicken the blood, and make men fat, taking a glass of claret an hour after. Tea is cooling, clearing melancholy by thick blood, and suppresses the vapours of other hot liquors. Chocolate hath the effects of coffee.<sup>8</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

## LONDON AT WORSHIP.

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

*Bow-Church.*

At Bow-church, London, September 2, 1689 by Dr. Meriton on a fast day for the great fire in the city, 1666, a sermon on Isai. 26. 9, <sup>9</sup> latter part: When Thy judgments are in the earth the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness. Compare this with verses 5 and 10, and it may be feared that the parallel of this city and Jerusalem runs even and smooth as to place and people. The discourse went on 3 heads. . . .

*St. Martin's Church.*

September 8, 1689 at St. Martin's Church in the Strand, a country minister preached afternoon on Coloss. 3. 4: When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory.

In the first prayer he had humble confessions, then intercessions for others, than thanksgiving for creation, redemption &c. He used no notes and was without motions of the hands in the pulpit. His sermon ran thus. . . .

*Battersea.*

At Battersea, September 15, 1689, Mr. Stephens a Scottish-man in the south parts, preached for Mr. Jermin on Psalm 25. 5: Lead me in Thy truth, and teach me &c.

Mr. Hows<sup>10</sup> there in the afternoon on James 5. 16, latter part: the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous, availeth much.

To get leave to love God is a great attainment, but to get power to love Him is far greater, and a motive sufficient of itself (whoso felt it) to despise the most tempting and present pleasures of sense.

If the melodious harmony of psalms in a devout church be pleasant, spiritual and ravishing, what will the whole assembly of the faithful at last be in their doxologies to God and to the Lamb?

*Lincoln's Inn Chapel.*

On September 22, 1689 at Lincoln's Inn Chapel where Dr. Tillotson preaches by Mr. Royre a country preacher, who began with a prayer of confession, public intercessions, and thanksgivings for creation, redemption, preservation, and public blessings, on Galatians 6. 10: As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith. . . .

Some pray not at all when they end sermon, but 2 staves of a psalm are sung, the line not read. Some churches have organs accompanying, others not. Again others pray in a word, that God's holy truth taught may bring forth the fruit of good living to God's glory.

*St. Michaels, Cornhill.*

Sunday, September 29, 1689, about 6 in the morning, a sermon by Mr. Smidens in Michael's Church, Cornhill for the youth of the town, young men, young women, apprentices both of merchants and tradesmen. The minister's salary was the donation of one honourable person for that purpose. On the first Sunday of the month the worth of £5 stg. of bread was distributed to the poor by another, at the same church. The text 1 Kings 18. 12, of Obadiah to Elijah: but I Thy servant fear the Lord from my youth.

For his prayer he acknowledges that many were now in an irrecoverable state, who, in their youth were upon resolutions to repent. He prayed for the Worshipful Society for Trade. He besought that the 2 Universities, the fountains of learning, might never be poisoned, but send forth wholesome streams through the whole land.

*Lincoln Inn's Chapel.*

Mr. Royre again September 29, 1689 at Lincoln's Inn Chapel (the Counsel of Laws privilege) on Matthew 5. 3: For theirs is the Kingdom of heaven. (Forenoon sermon.)

He prayed for those dedicated to the study of Law, specially that Society so for prisoners and captives, and those under the peril of tempestuous seas.

*Algate Church.*

September 29, 1689, afternoon by Dr. Holinworth, minister of Algate church on Hebrews 2. 3: How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?

He prayed fervently (without a set form) for the city, its government and governors, for the armies by sea and land, for all captives and banished, for people expiring, and for the clergy.

The minister had his papers before him, but made seldom use of them; he was very prompt, apposite and ornate in his expressions.

*St. Andrews, Holborn.*

October 6, 1689 in St. Andrews, Holborn by Dr. Stillingfleet,<sup>11</sup> elect Bishop of Worcester, on Luke 16. 30, 31: neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead. (This was the Doctor's

last sermon in his church where he preached 24 years. I did sit that day in his pew, and in coming down from the pulpit he bid me come dine at his house, which I did; he gave also 10 Guineas to assist the printing of the Bible in Irish.)

The Sermon thus. . . .

On Sunday, October 6, dining with Dr. Stillingfleet, elect Bishop of Worcester, he came to enquire of the Second Sight, only heard to be in the Highlands of Scotland. When I told him some had it innocently of their predecessors, he said original sin came from ancestors, yet not innocently, and so sins of ignorance. When I said some acquired it by contact with evil men or spirits, he replied that, it being a voluntary act, and having no natural dependence of cause and effect, it was sinful. I said yawning was voluntary, yet it affected others by imitation, and that innocently, and there was no more dependence of the effect from the cause naturally, and understood by us, than of the loadstones drawing steel. He said that a curious desire to know the mystery was not without blame, because it was a trusting in them and believing their art which is an unusual gift, and hath neither a precept of God, nor promise of blessing in the pursuance. I answered, that in all Divine and Natural sciences, the inquirer must come learn the art without a previous belief in the artist's ability to perform it: but here a man possessed not with prejudice would get conviction. I added that it might be only an exaltation of the sight.

The Dr. called the Mason-word a Rabbinical mystery, where I discovered somewhat of it.

When I told it was reported by many that knew the woman, which was taken out of her bed when lying of a child, and a lingering likeness of her decayed, died and was buried, and yet the same woman was said to return to her husband 2 years after, and he after a long while's trial received her and had children by her, he said, he ought not to accept her without deliberation.

When I urged to the Doctor that as lynxes and cats see in the night beyond men, and as telescopes aid the natural sight by art, so may not some men have or attain complexionally to such a habit or faculty. He answered that by many subtle, unthought of insinuations the devil interposed in such cases, and sought no other invitation than the eager curiosity of the enquirer as of him that caught a fly and put it in the box &c. 2. That it was not an art or faculty in use or of good fame among men, or recommended of God. 3. If it be diabolic, it was no reality, but apprehension. I opposed 2 Kings 6. 17: And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.

*Covent Garden Church.*

London October 15, 1689 in Covent Garden Church preached by a country minister who took help of his notes 1 Timothy 1. 19: Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.

He ended with only private prayers in the pulpit. The Reader in a few words praying (off Book) that truth and unity may be triumphant in the world, with a few intercessions for all as is usual, and for the illumination of that particular congregation. Then the blessing, no psalm. Then the people had no ejaculation, praying the sermon might have good effect on all, either to reform or confirm them.

In this church are no organs, but psalms once sung when the minister is acoming. Women sing little. The men sing divers grave tunes; but all the tunes have only 2 notes for easiness to the commons, a higher and a lower. This chapel hath a clock on the north gallery, which, audibly to all, strikes the quarters and the hours. The minister may see the style or hand of the clock and the hour, when he pleases to observe it. I did see a glass used only in Algate and St. Clements.

*St. Peter's Cornhill.*

Afternoon October 13, 1689, in St. Peter's Cornhill by a stranger on Exodus 20. 12: Honour thy father and thy mother. He was about 36. He prayed that all our works might begin, continue, and end in God, and for a further end he prayed as our Saviour commanded: Our Father &c. They usually but read the first line of the psalm, and the first note of the tune, so the people follow for two staves.

These and such notes I wrote out after I came to my lodgings on Sundays' nights.

This and diverse other churches had windows and casements on the sides or ends between it and inhabited houses, out of which people looked and hear sermon.

*Alders-gate Bury Church. (Aldermanbury Church?).*

At Alders-gate Bury Church October 20, 1689 by the Bishop of London-Derry, 2 Timothy 2. 19: He that nameth the name of Jesus, let him depart from iniquity.

He prayed that succeeding ages might reap the fruit of Protestant endeavour for the faith in this; and that the towers of David (the churches) might never want worthies to watch in them, day and night. He made use of notes.

*Crippel-gate Church.*

By Mr. Smithens, Lecturer on 1 Kings 18. 12: But I, thy servant fear the Lord from my youth.



There were about 4,000 people. The Clerk christened the children after sermon, and examined 3 boys before the congregation on the points of Catechism, before sermon (who stood at far end of church), in order to their confirmation.

*Guildhall Chapel.*

Dr. Groves at Guild-hall Chapel, October 27, 1689, before Sir M. Pilkinton, Lord Mayor, the Court of Alderman &c., on Romans 1.20.

*St. Clements' Church.*

St. Clements' by a country minister after the Holy Communion at 6 o'clock at night on Proverbs 21. 23: My son give me thy heart. He preached without book, much after the Presbyterian way, with demonstrations and tedious repetitions, which made some gentlemen there compare him to O. Cromwell's genius, Peters,<sup>12</sup> who in St. Andrew's, Holborn Church said (gentlemen if you please, come, let us have tother glass) so well-minded he was, and then in his sermon had this remark: As sure as I touch the head of the pulpit with my hand, the Roundheads and Cavaliers will all (go) to hell. But it being higher than he imagined, he was forced, after 3 or 4 jumps to it, to tell plainly: *Though I cannot reach this I suspect they will reach the other.*

*St. Giles' Tabernacle.*

December 29, 1689, by Dr. Sharp,<sup>13</sup> on Philipp. 2. 6-9: Thought it not robbery to be equal with God: and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.

Anne Hughes was here prayed for.

This Doctor had a clear notion of the Christian economy and a gift of eloquent expression, to be matched by very few but Dr. Tillotson, in either.

*Islington.*

Dr. Cave,<sup>14</sup> minister of Islington, within 2 miles of London, on Romans 1. 16: I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God &c., on Sunday, February 16, 1690. . . . 5. The persecutions and contempts that were to attend the Gospel, so that credenda, facienda, speranda, patienda were all hard enough; yet the Gospel went powerfully through. 6. It broke through as light and lightning, all darkness disappearing and flying before it, as ignorance, endeavours of devils, subtle scholars as Celsus, Porphyry and men that lived by shrines and instruments odolatry. It broke through all these prejudices as Samson the withes and gates.

This Doctor is a meagre slender black-complexioned man; made use of notes. He prayed for the King's Knights of the Garter.

He had no application, and I thought his small auditory understood not his sublime doctrine. He is about 52. *Aetatis facie*.

*Kinsington.*

At Kinsington (where there is a palace called Holland House, and Nottingham, where King William now keeps court, with fair gardens, and long gravel walks, and many back buildings, yet adoring, with their several spacious courts), Sunday, February 23, 1690, on Luke 18. 18: And a certain ruler asked him saying, Good Master what shall I do to inherit eternal life? (by a stranger).

*St. James' Church.*

Forenoon in St. James' Church (which with St. Ann's, St. Giles', Holborn and St. Paul's, Covent Garden, were separated from St. Martin, being but pendicles of that personage erected into churches, the minister of St. Martin's being Rector of them) by Dr. Burch on 1 Peter 4. 1: Forasmuch as Christ hath suffered &c.

*Covent Garden Church.*

At Covent Garden Church, March 8, 1690, afternoon by Henry Compton,<sup>15</sup> Lord Bishop of London, on John 14. 15: If ye love me, keep my commandments.

After sermon going to the communion table at the end of the church, he prayed and laid his hands on the heads of about 300 young men and gentlewomen to confirm them, having been examined the week before. He goes along all the churches thus in the time of Lent and conciliates great love to the order by this means, many come for his blessing who were confirmed before.

*St. Edmund's Church.*

Afternoon at St. Edmund's Church in Lumbard Street, by Dr. Scot who wrote 2 vols. of the Christian Life, January 19, 1690, on Ephesians 2. 8: For by grace are ye saved. From Christmas to February 8 all do preach of the purchased salvation. This Doctor is a low fat brown man. His pulpit, purple velvet cloth &c., cushion with gold fringe.

*New-church.*

Afternoon, February 16, 1690, at New-church in Ratclif Street above Wappin, below the tower on the Thames by a young Lecturer on Luke 7. 37,38: A woman in a Pharisee's house stood behind weeping, washed Jesus feet with tears &c. He prayed for the Navy and the Army and the seamen there. He spoke much against the crissing pins, lascivious ornaments and gestures, with the tempting learing looks of impudent women.

*Bishop Burnet.*

Dr. Burnet,<sup>16</sup> Bishop of Salisbury on a sermon on Acts 7. 26: Sirs ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another? Said it was necessary to condescend to rectify things offensive in the Liturgy, to reconcile all Protestants to one another, or leave them without excuse seeing they were no matters essential to religion: which would eternize the honour of the English church, though the dissenting Israel were not gained, since they went so far to meet such as would not deign to come one step towards them. To Pharaoh seeking to slay Moses, the reconciler and revenger, he compared King James, saying, some may say twere best now to reduce him to his rights since he sees how fatal it is to hector the Laws. But, said he, Pharaoh relented how long the plague was on him; but he repented of his repentance when it was off, and grew more obstinate than ever. Let me tell you, our Pharaoh will be Pharaoh still, do what you will to him.

## "DISSENTERS."

*Presbyterians.*

Mr. Richard Baxter<sup>17</sup> in a hall beside Charterhouse Hospital, November 10, 1689, on Matthew 5. 9: Blessed are the peacemakers for &c.

His clerk first sang a psalm, reading the line. Then the Reader reading 3 psalms, Isaiah 5 and Matthew 22, after he had spoken an extemporary prayer. Then the minister reading the papers of the sick or troubled in mind, or intending a journey &c. He prayed that heaven might not be looked on as a dream, or afar off, or never to appear; that people might not despise the gospel, the only charter and evidence of their salvation &c.

Mr. Baxter prayed in general for the King and Royal Family, and Parliament, for Jacobites, Grecians and Armenians; enlightening in further knowledge; for Christians distressed with burning, dislodging and oppression of merciless enemies. He repeated the Lord's prayer at the end of his last prayer. The congregation all kneeled or stood up at prayer. The most of the men were discovered the whole time of sermon, yet some few kept on their hats when the scriptures were areading. He was to preach on (Nov. 5) the Gunpowder day, but was indisposed.

Mr. Richard Baxter, on Jeremiah 17. 11: As the partridge sitteth on eggs &c. November 17, 1689.

He prayed for the success of King William and Queen Mary in Ireland, a blessed effect on the Convocation, that all the members might have a sound mind and a quiet disposition for reconciling all differences, that party nor sect be never more heard among Protestants.

As Mr. Silvester, Reader and Lecturer, with reading of scripture, repeated the Belief (and in the article of Hell said, He descended into the unseen state), and out of Exodus 20 read the 10 commandments, so Mr. Baxter repeated the Lord's prayer, and in blessing at last, said, blessed of God are all who consider, believe, love and obey this word, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ &c. When he repeated the Lord's prayer, he said, let thy name be hallowed, let thy kingdom come, etc.

The people stood all up at prayer and Belief, and were discovered in time of sermon. The minister and reader both read and spoke (of the charity from house to house that was to be collected for the aged and weak Piedmont people driven to Suesses by the French, their young men having returned to recover their land from the French); that this was by King William committed to the care of the Lord Mayor, and Lord Bishop of London, King's Counsellor.

Mr. Baxter confesses that after 30 years flourishing under popular applause, now, both regular clergy and dissenters despise him. He alloweth organs in churches and any art that may aid our devotion in praising of God, the mind being directed aright.

A sermon preached by a Presbyterian Doctor in an old Meeting-house in Hackney, a mile on the north of London, Dr. Bates, November 1, 1689, forenoon, on Psalm 34. 8: Oh taste and see that the Lord is good &c.

This Dr. Bates<sup>8</sup> (who wrote on the Divine Attributes) is one of the most serious, devout and learned Presbyterians now living; about 66. He had no Reader nor scripture read. He had a little green pulpit with a red flowered velvet cushion on.

He prayed not for King and Queen, nor Church. He reflected on none, used not the Lord's prayer; prayed not for success of Convocation as Mr. Baxter did. He prayed to deliver Ireland from anti-christian tyranny and superstition; prayed for the Parliament direct by the name of the great Council of the land. All the men and women there stood or kneeled at prayer. He read not sermon from his notes. He as the regular clergy had all intercessions and thanksgivings in his first prayer, where he began beseeching we might approach God with a filial freedom. He thanked God we were not already as many past all prayers and in an irrecoverable state.

Mr. Burgess<sup>10</sup> Lecture on John 3. 12,13: If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how &c. Then Mr. Burgess gave a young man his cloak and began his sermon thus. . . .

The application for afternoon.

This was a Presbyterian of considerable note, who in a meeting-house nigh the Strand with a real velvet cushion embroidered with flowers delivered the foregoing discourse, repeating the most of his

sermon in his last prayer. He sung that paraphrase of the Psalms that was made for the Independents of New England, and in the end the Doxology thus:—

“To Father, Son and Holy Ghost,  
All glory be therefore,  
As we are in our Baptism bound,  
Both now and ever more.

He prayed for New Testament grace, else they could not do New Testament service. In his last prayer also he prayed only for governors, King and Queen in general, as do all the Presbyterians, but named not what King. He prayed that the Church and ministry of England might be freed of Lords over God's heritage, and that they may no more have ministers who do not preach, and preachers that are not of truth and sound. Before the blessing he said, it was fit every man challenged himself quickly; that he has been doing service all his life, and yet knows not his master. He had many additions to the usual form of blessing. Not any two Presbyterian preachers do I find keep one way. Mr. Baxter reads the scriptures and preaches. Dr. Bates only has one sermon and two prayers. Mr. Burgess lectures, preaches, sings Doxology, and in his bold doctrine speaks diminutively of the King, saying, that before God, King and chimney-sweeper were all one, and death values them so too.

#### *Lutheran Church.*

In the Lutheran Church,<sup>20</sup> Fish Street, where are two galleries with rails on iron rods, all green taffeta. These are for the Dutch Ambassadors or German. Few women were in the Church, nor was it full of men. It is very neat with a pulpit covered with green cloth and cushion. The minister who had a robust open voice, went to the chancel or communion table, and prescribed the Psalm before sermon. After reading of the scriptures by the Reader, the organs followed. They sing artificially and more vigorously than the French, as the French more than the English. They have a little book, all composed of songs not metrically set down, but with artificial stops thus:—*Salvator nobis nascitur: Halle Hallelujah: Debemus gratias agere: Halle Hallelujah.* They have 8 syllables in both lines. They have breaks, and go quickly through some; on others they stay longer. The music of the people were they very numerous is very angelical and grave and would make the earth ring and echo back. They sing long; twice before sermon and twice after. Have one sermon with prayer before and after. The prayers he uses after is the Lord's prayer only. Then he prescribes a psalm and comes down from the pulpit. After the Psalm he goes (having only a long black cloak) to the altar, and there calls for and

examines 9 or 10 boys and girls in the hearing of all, as to the points of the catechism very edifyingly, then causes sing and from that same place ends all with the benediction.

*Quakers.*

December 15, 1689, at the Bull and Mouth nigh Aldersgate, there was a house full of seats containing about 200 people, having along one side a higher seat containing 16 or 18 of the most notour persons, with standing bars only and an overtree to lean on. About 10 o'clock rises a tradesman Quaker, holding out half an hour, talking of the worshipping of God in spirit and in truth, amassing a huddle of incoherent scriptures, and giving a word of each of them, ending with a general word of regeneration and the new man. After a little pause and grunting of the people to themselves, as if they were humming over the tune of some song, another strong young man stands up in the same place and canted over without text or determinate subject a great heap of scriptures in the usual translation without giving an account of chapter or verse, but that an ancient follower of Jesus spoke so and so. He called Solomon a prophet. He had many allegorical texts about the vine and the branches, the soul and a watered garden &c., much of them not only misapplied, but contradicting the passage he brought them for. This man spoke with such vehemence, deformity of carriage, fetching of his body, sneezing at the nose, and writhing of the head, that it appeared he was either convulsed, demented or possessed indeed with more than his own spirit. He spoke nothing of Faith, Repentance, or Reformation of life. To show they spoke not infallibly, they were oft telling of ending, and yet another word brought on twenty. The third arose, who was more calm, laying his hat and coat aside, as the former did, and plyed his discourse to excuse Quaker's religion, as he called it, saying they owned perfection, because Jesus came to redeem us from all sin.

He at last bowed the knee. All the people stood discovered, and he praying they might have more of the light of God revealed to them, and that all their brethren travelling to propagate the truth might have protection and success. With some words to the praise of Jesus Christ he ended. He prayed not for magistracy, ministry, nor sought all in the name of Jesus the mediator.

*Two Quakers.*

Hearing two Quakers, the first (an Englishman) rose up abruptly after a long silence, and (the schoolhouse in Longacre full of people of common rank) thus began:—

The foundation of God stands sure. There be limits betwixt the faithful and the reprobate; the cherubims guard the corners of

Eden; so in a confused rhapsody commenting upon one scripture which introduced another, and applying all to a mystical incoherent meaning, he ran his career, without any solid edification by a methodical handling of any subject which concerned faith or manners. The other, a Northern Scot, a while after stood up and treated of the difficulty of being a Christian. He did instance for this loosely; but intermixed with breaks, grumbles, inconsistencies and words without good sense, that tis strange any rational person should consider it a serious proposing of the only methods of salvation. Among other things, he said, all the scholars in Oxford and Cambridge could not bind the devil; he still stayed in his own house, in his own hole. They acknowledged the Holy Scriptures and Jesus Christ is all, though they applied all mystically and inartificially, irregularly, so as there was nothing looked like inspiration if the Holy Ghost in it. Nay they were restrained and kept time with the meeting and dissolving of the churches, and so had some art, though they pretended impulse. They concluded with prayer for direction into all truth and assistance to afflicted brethren everywhere, but nothing for christians in general, nor for the church nor magistrates &c. It gave me therefore in my thoughts that if there were no more christians in the world than Quakers (as their practice intimated and implied) the catholic church of Jesus Christ was a very small number. In London there be about 6 or 7 Quaker meeting-houses, about 200 in every house. They ask nothing in the name of Jesus, but end giving God glory. They begin not with prayer; have no text or book; no psalms, yet all standing at this last prayer. They have no blessing to conclude with. Pretending inspiration and apostolic example (which is not easy to know) they are become rude and insipid, having little prayer or praise to worship God in public or private. So that I think there is little good morality, piety or what is truly divine and rational among them; canting and gibberish taking up their time, and in all probability that same incondite way of talking by the heavings of their body appears to be by a possession of some deceitful flattering spirit that furnishes chat in those superficial performances like the Pythonisses and belly-runners of old. The titles they gave God were: Loving Father, and Righteous Lord of favour.

*Anabaptists.*<sup>22</sup>

An anabaptist called Mr. Plant,<sup>23</sup> nigh Cripl-gate, who had been a milliner, or seller of hoods, gloves and small ware, now having £100 stg. for preaching, was never in orders, had over 200 hearers. (The Quakers wear rich cloths but without lace or ribbon, trading among themselves, to enrich the men of their own profession with great cunning. The Anabaptists are persons of some better quality and garb, using laces &c., but moderately. The Presbyterians are

in divinity and garb again higher than they. But for stately carriage, gorgeous attire, grave devotion, divine and rational discourses, the regular people that hold to the church are far superior.) This Mr. Plant for 4 days sung psalms, but many of his people forsaking him for it, because the scriptures command it not, he desisted from it, and this day preached from Ephes. 3. 17, 18, 19: That ye, being rooted and grounded in love. May be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height. He cited of the loving disciple's epistles, and called him St. John, and Paul, St. Paul, which Presbyterians and Quakers do not. He prayer after sermon for the King expressly, but for not more except the sick, and that assembly. He was a very corpulent man, had no hour glass set him. The Quakers had neither sense, reason nor sound religion. The Baptist had sense, but no rational coherence nor deduction from the scope and design of the text. Therefore at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I went to hear some principal Presbyterian preachers, whom to my apprehension, I found to have sound sense, reason, and religious piety, but very uncharitable to the most of men, and as adverse from government when they touched these heads.

*Presbyterians.*

In [Bartholomew] lane, then did preach Mr. Glasco<sup>24</sup> on Psalm 51. 5: I was conceived in sin &c. . . . Finally he prayed only for the sick and succeeding speaker, and so joined the blessing to his prayer, putting on his coat and hat again in the pulpit.

About half an hour after ascended Mr. Trail, son to Mr. R. Trail,<sup>25</sup> sometime minister at Greyfriars, Edinburgh, a little very big corpulent man. He began with prayer for success to the word, then preached a pathetic, plain, familiar, practical sermon on the text Hebrews 9. 27: It is appointed for all men once to die &c. So Quakers, Baptists and Presbyterians held all either on metaphysical points of spirits, power, love, or on generalities of interest in Christ, peace of conscience, preparing for death; which are nothing but roving and unintelligible words without describing what they are, and how attend in the exercise of a good and virtuous life following the commandment of God. This it seems all parties leave to the church and regular clergy, who truly do it to the life, and with but too great art and learning, and have by far the advantage of all the sorts of dissenters by refuting their singularities, and loud pretensions. One thing I remarked further of. The Quakers, they being illiterate, did frequently miscall the words, gave bad construction, and had pedantic, and childish expressions, not like rightly inspired men, as victors over the world; all and every particular; my was in a travel; pressured by the spirit until I delivered myself to you; one spirit said make breads of stone, but



another said man lives not by &c. Now Mr. Trail in his last prayer remembered no person's necessities, but the sick; nor the church at all; and the state in these terms only: make the Rulers repairers of the breaches and not makers and wideness of the breaches, as almost all before them have been. O! the monstrous and numerous whoredoms and sins among us like Sodom (God be merciful to London) that we have neither a magistrate that will restrain them, nor a prophet that will stand in the gap and plead to withhold a judgment; which has evidently as a plague fallen and blasted our counsels and armies by sea and land. O! help poor Ireland. What profane miscreants are there! Will God work his glorious work of wonder there with the devils tools &c.? A godless army, &c.

The Baptist had one passage contrary to the Quaker (on, Be ye perfect), and that is, said he, be ye strong, in respect of God imperfect, but in respect of Jews that lived under the ceremonial law, perfect; so only comparatively perfect. The Baptists communicate sitting once a month. They were of late made to pray for magistrates. They have formal pulpits, with a brown velvet fringed cushion, preach in querps. Men of all persuasions stand or kneel at prayer, and are discovered. Quakers and Anabaptists have many old men and women of their way.

#### *Independents.*

In a meeting-house of 2 rooms (a hall and a little parlour) did preach in [Aldersgate] Street, Mr. Cockcain<sup>26</sup> an Independent preacher on Hebrews 12. 14: Follow peace with all men and holiness &c.

This teacher had no psalms before or after sermon. The people heard sermon with heads covered; stood at prayer. Few persons of good rank were present, only 2 coaches or so attended the doors. 200 persons were within and were much straitened for room. Sermon began afternoon at half hour past one. The minister prayed not for the protestant churches, nor English church, nor for any churchmen, only barely for the King and High Council, without naming the Queen. He prayed for the reducing of Ireland, saying Britain was happy for its peace and privileges; for oppressed brethren under Papists abroad, and in America; for Jews' conversion and preparation to die well. He prayed that God's rod might be sanctified to some that had losses of late; gave thanks for some recovered from sickness; some who had profited by wordly success &c. He did plead with God vehemently for a young man at the grave's mouth, the only hope and visible standing of his father's family saying loud: tis rare to find a good man, more a young good man. Thou sparest thousands of debauched youths, may not this one not dry but tender and fruitful branch escape the blast of thy displeasure! Save his soul! Spare his body! Sanctify all to the

parents, seeing thou dost it! Not theirs or ours but Thy will be done! The preacher was a very low, but a very corpulent man, of good plain passable parts. He had not the blessing at the end. This was delivered Sunday January 5, 1690. The minister vested in a black coat.

*Roman Catholics.*

Sunday January 12, 1690, I went to the popish chapel in Summer-set-House<sup>27</sup> (the Queen Dowager's lodging) where mass had been acelebrating, and now the priest gray-haired (his hair of some length) girded with a white surplice, dipped wafers in a silver cup full of wine, and gave one to each person as they approached on their knees. The house had been now filled the second time with people.<sup>28</sup> It held 200 at once, all of them dipping their finger in a bason of holy water within the door, and crossing their face with it, then all kneeling at once looking towards the wafer and cup. On the altar at the further end toward the sunrising was like an image, but veiled over with a mantle of white satin, two candles burning; but 4 or 5 steps on either side were there, but not lighted. Were 2 men with maces come and bid us kneel down with the rest, which we refusing, one said, we came to despise the festive; said, I came to behold only, and so we went forth. The most of the people were like poor ignorants; no person of quality I did see there, and the priest spoke nothing when he was distributing the hosties.

Immediately after I went to hear Mr. Burgess, a Presbyterian, because it was hard by, who preached on Philipp. 2. 12: Work out the work of your salvation with fear and trembling, for God it is who giveth both to will and to do.

Then he prayed for about an hour, having many long narratives and expostulations, as if we had as many souls as sins. One sin would destroy them all.

Very many in this meeting-house put not on their hats at all while within doors. All stood at prayer. They sung that of Isaiah paraphrased in metre (If you turn your feet from my Sabbath, and not do your own wills on My holy day, then &c.), which he ended with the Doxology. There are more people in one church than in 6 meeting-houses. Some say the Presbyterians are not protestants, because they make not use of the service book which is the test of protestants. Mr. Burgess had cushion before him of purple velvet, embroidered with all variety of sewings. Some take pleasure in a huge of bold doctrine, which astonishes the hearers, and makes them shrug, as much as it edifies them. They are so accustomed to irreverence toward the King of Kings, that they can pay but little respect to his deputy princes on earth. In every meeting-house is a large mounter that shows and strikes the hour.

*Jews.*

On Saturday (or Sabbath) January 25, 1690, I went to Creek Church-Alley<sup>28</sup> (about midway between the royal exchange and Al-gate, where was the Jewish synagogue, divided in 3 parts as were the tabernacle and temple; The court for the people, the *sanctum* for the priests, and the *sanctum sanctorum*, where was the ark and the law in it folded up in a very long parchment inclosed into several broidered mantles and a silver ornament of three tier height, all hung about with small bells on the top of the staves about which the law was written, and the like, but of less value on the top of the staves on which the prophetic books and hagiographa were written and incased about. The Jews have bad English, some Latin, but all of them Hebrew, and do not read it as their Rabbi goes before them. These broad parchments of the law are solemnly taken forth, with psalms, all the house using a motion as if betwixt reading and singing, no way harmonious. The Rabbi or scribe has a pulpit inrailed, or rather a table before him, having many seats behind it within the rails for those two who hold the books by turns. The scribe in a black garb, a cloak laid aside, putting a veil of white taffeta about his hat, ranging all about him (as have all the multitude, being about 150 men, about the room, 60 boys in the middle, and 7 or 8 women in the galleries above, hardly perceived by any). Only the women had no veils. When the Rabbi (who looked not like a grave learned man; for he and many Jews would have laughed and talked when they ended a paragraph) read, all did read audibly enough in Hebrew, all said Amen. They never prayed, nor discovered their heads, nor bowed the knee. The Rabbi called 6 or 7 to come to him after another and taught them, pointing with a silver pen. They had no methodical worship. They were all very black men, and indistinct in their reasonings as gipsies.

*French Church.*

In the French Church they communicate every first Sunday of the quarter. The men sit at a table by themselves, and the women by themselves. The minister keeps on his hat delivering the sermon, and the people are discovered, he being God's ambassador to his subjects. The collections are given in a plate held in a warden's hand at church or meeting-house doors when the people dismiss. There are many poor also attending.

At Pinner's hall nigh near Bedlam £249 stg. were collected in one day for poor Presbyterian ministers in the country.

*Sermons.*

English ministers, penning all their sermons, occasions their being prompt to write exactly on any subject; it prevents long

tedious discourses, nonsense and tautologies, yet has its inconveniences of wanting fervour to work on the affections and their being over complimentary and polite, hinder them from being understood, and operating on the very reason of the generality.

*Use of Surplice.*

An inferior reason for wearing surplice is, if the slovenliness or poverty of some curates cannot afford them decent garments to accost God with, so as not to be contemptible to the people in a time of worship by prayer and praises. The church furnishes all her sons with a common vesture to conceal their corporal infirmities and indecencies, and then when they go to preach, that being their own collections and thoughts on a text for advancing of virtue, they reassume their own garb.

*Organs.*

Every church in London have not organs, but the most have. All the pulpits have a deep velvet cloth and cushion, red, purple, chequered, and striped, or such other colours, with large fringes of the same colour intermixed with gold. Some are wholly gold or silver. They have their fonts within the entry of the churches, and the minister or reader (in orders) christens the children after sermon, when the people are dismissed. These take the children in *their own arms from the godfather, sprinkles water on their faces*, signs the cross with their fingers, then dries the child's face with its own linens, and gives it back to the godmother which named it, the father and a gossip standing by, but the godfather and godmother engaging to train up the child in the love of religion.

*Bowing.*

Men bow their heads and women their whole bodies at the Blessed Trinity or name of Jesus in the repetition of the creed in church.

*Pulpit Oratory.*

The oratory of the English is grave and solid reason, without affectation, sobbing, chanting, inarticulate sounds of admiration, gestures of persuasion, or drawing words in length to tickle fancy, or tingle in the ear. A minister stands stable in the pulpit, takes much pains in composing his sermon, and then he has no more ado. So he is sure beforehand what he delivers is safe. He may be easily found out if he deliver what is unsound or disloyal; or he can justify himself. The thing that makes his sermon better than the read one at home is, that he is bound to apply discourse to time, place, persons, vices as his prudent piety sees fittest. Yet sometimes I find one stumble as much in reading as others in extempore preaching.

*English and Scottish Preaching Compared.*

Englishmen's sermons delivered in writing require more pains, are more strong, rational, convincing than the Scotch harangues communicated *viva voce*, which move the affections to aid and contribute for the practice before the judgment be fully cleared. Besides writing bringeth men to a habit of teaching methodically on any subject. Many clergymen would, however, wish only to read homilies and prayers. They value not the substance of religion, but form, syllabub, froth and ceremonies.

*What Counts in Preaching.*

To be curious of sermons have terse language, nimbleness of repartee; and the other accomplishments of knowledge and wit are mere froth, and give no durable solid satisfaction to a man when adying; which is the great point, and the main critical palate to discern and judge of things truly good and bad. What relishes not then is *NOTHING*, or worse.

*Bibles for the People.*

In many churches, specially within cities where the confluence of people is so great they cannot all come near to hear sermon, there are bibles with Erasmus notes, and other old commentaries in large character, 5 or six of them on writing tables nigh the church doors for the people to read on. Several pious noblemen and gentlemen have the like chained to proper tables in their halls.

*Dr. Beverage's Church.*

Dr. Beverage's<sup>30</sup> Church (St. Michael's Cornhill) retains much of the ancient simplicity and devotion in their public worship. They for most part communicate every Lord's day, which keeps the live-coal still burning on the altar of their souls, and permits no gap to peep or open itself for letting in temptations. They ply their business so closely.

*Praying Societies.*

There be 2 Societies, one at St. Clement's Church, another at St. Lawrence, nigh Guildhall belonging to the Mayor and Aldermen, where about 60 in each, contribute for daily prayers, and meet one hour twice a week for conference about cases of conscience, questions of divinity to be resolved, advice for advancing trade, getting a maintenance, helping the sick of their society, visiting and exhorting them, with the like. These are all young men, apprentices of divers trades, exemplary in piety and virtue.

## NOTES.

1. J. Chamberlayne, *Magnæ Britanniae Notitia*, remarks, "Ordinary servants are hired commonly for one year, at the end whereof they may be free, giving Warning three Months before, and may place themselves with other Masters; only it is accounted discourteous and unfriendly to take another Man's Servant before leave given by his former Master; and unlawful (the Penalty being five Pounds) to take a Servant without Certificate of his Discharge and of his Faithfulness in his Service to his Former." It would seem that notice varied for men servants and maid servants.

2. Burnet, *History of his own Times*, Vol. II, p. 435, says James was caught at Faversham, not Gravesend.

3. J. Stoughton, *Religion in England*, Vol. V, p. 234, says "Wesley's 1st income was £30 a year from a curacy in London, and if so small a sum was paid in the Metropolis, what must it have been in some of the provinces?" K. suggests £30 a maximum.

4. See Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Times of the Stuarts*, pp. 309, 310.

5. Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

6. Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1700) ed. A. L. Humphreys (1917) and E. Ward, *London Spy*, same editor, have much to say on these topics.

7. This must be surprising to students of history, for Kirk heard such distinguished ornaments of English Church as Tillotson, Tenison, Stillingfleet, Burnet, Beveridge, Patrick, Sharp.

8. Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

9. See *London at Worship*, by Dr. Donald Maclean, read before the Presbyterian Historical Society of London.

10. Probably the famous Nonconformist divine, Dr. John Howe, Cromwell's chaplain, of whom Edmund Calamy wrote a good Life, in addition to a brief account in his *Nonconformists' Memorial*. He suffered imprisonment and deprivation under Charles II and spent some time in Ireland. He discussed Church Union with Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop, but had again to leave England and spent some time in Holland, meeting the Prince of Orange. He returned after James II's Declaration of Indulgence, but spoke against the dispensing power, and, as head of the Dissenting Ministers, welcomed William III. Macaulay says that "if any man stood higher than Baxter in the estimation of Protestant Dissenters, that man was John Howe."

11. Edward Stillingfleet, b. Cranborne, 1635, died 1699, wrote in 1659 his *Irenicum*, suggesting a compromise between the English Church and the Presbyterians. He was consecrated Bishop of Worcester a week after Kirk met him, and on Tillotson's death was recommended as Archbishop by Queen Mary.

12. Hugh Peters, the Regicide, who suffered death after the Restoration. He was prominent in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where his only child married John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. Their daughter, Margaret, married John Curwen, son of Captain George Curwen and Elizabeth Winthrop, daughter of Governor Edward Winthrop. Four well-known Nonconformist families were thus united, and they were also related to William, Susanna, Resolved and Peregrine White, well-known as passengers on the "Mayflower." From John and Margaret Curwen were descended Jonathan Curwen, famous for his witchcraft trials, Rev. George Curwen, Congregational minister of Salem, and Samuel Curwen, the

diarist. Their descendants still live in Pennsylvania, so that there are links in U.S.A. to-day with Hugh Peters.

13. Dr. Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, a "great ornament of the Church of England, a great preacher and divine; a strenuous but candid and urbane controversialist."

14. William Cave, Vicar of Islington and Rector of All Hallows, Thames Street. He was learned and communicative, a florid and eloquent preacher whose fame rests chiefly on his *Church History*.

15. Henry Compton as Bishop of London refused James II's demand that he should suspend Dr. Sharp for his vigorous attacks on Roman Catholicism. He was himself suspended and was the only Bishop to sign the invitation to William of Orange. He was a keen botanist and much improved the gardens at Fulham Palace. The fact that he was not appointed Archbishop to succeed Sancroft was a matter of vexation to him.

16. Gilbert Burnet (1615-1691) was born in Edinburgh, and so was perhaps naturally in favour of religious union. He was like many of Kirk's friends a "Latitude-man." He won honour by accompanying Lord William Russell on his journey to the scaffold.

17. Richard Baxter spent some years of Charles II's reign at the Priory, Totteridge, Herts, where he had as near neighbours, Richard Swift, late Vicar of Edgware, who had a boys' school at Mill Hill, and Francis Wareham, late Vicar of Hendon, who was living in retirement, also at Mill Hill. He was an advocate of union between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.

18. William Bates (1625-1699) the "silver-tongued divine," was in favour of comprehensive union, and like Baxter declined preferment in the English Church. He was a practical theologian and died Presbyterian minister of Hackney.

19. Daniel Burgess (1645-1713) was born at Staines, educated at Winchester and Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and for eight years was master of a school at Charleville, Co. Cork. He came to London in 1685 and for nearly 30 years was minister to a large congregation at Brydges Street, Convent Garden. He was a conspicuous example of pith and vivacity and of exuberant amination. He was a humorous preacher, inclined to buffoonery, and he figures in Tom Brown's *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1700), ed. A. L. Humphreys (1917). There is a description of his preaching and an imaginary letter from Hugh Peters to Daniel Burgess, dated from the lower world, with a suitable reply. Peters tells Burgess that he will be "doubly damned hereafter among us for the signal services you have done to the sable protector of these populous regions" and hints that hell will never be empty so long as Burgess continues preaching. Burgess, in his reply, not unfairly calls Peters "a mere pulpit merry-andrew." Burgess's father, also Daniel, of Magdalen College, Oxford, was minister of Staines, then of Sutton-Veny, then of Collingbourn, to which he was presented by the Duke of Somerset through his brother, Isaac Burgess, J.P. and High Sheriff. Much to the grief of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset he left Collingbourn in 1662 and retired to Marlborough. He died in 1679. See W. Wilson, *Dissenting Churches* (1810), Vol. III, pp. 492-501.

20. This is evidently Holy Trinity the Less, which Strype tells us "Consumed in the Great Devastation by Fire, is indeed rebuilt; but is become a Church for Lutherans to serve God with."

"The converting of this Trinity Church into a Church for Protestant Foreigners . . . is founded upon the King's Letters Patents, dated the

13th of September, 24 Car. II to Theodore Jacobson, and five other gentlemen more, named in the Patent; and to their Heirs and Assignes; by the Consent and Approbation of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and Lord Maior. Free Liberty being granted them to cause a Temple to be erected on the ruins where the Church of the Holy Trinity, before the Fire of London, stood. Which ground they had purchased of the City of London, for the free exercise of the Augustan Confession in the Germain Tongue; with divers other Powers and Authorities mentioned in the said Letters Patents. And according to those Powers granted to the Patentees, they made several orders or laws for the better regulating of themselves and for the good of the said congregation."

Subsequently in 1703 there was a dispute between the Trustees appointed by Jacobson and the Minister and Deacons. There was a suit in Chancery, the issue of which Strype does not tell us. J. Strype, *Stow's Survey of London* (1720), Vol. III, pp. 208-9.

21. See M. Sefton-Jones, *Old Devonshire House, by Bishopsgate* (1923). Strype says "The Bull and Mouth Inn is large and well built, and of a good resort by those that bring Bone Lace, where the shopkeepers and others come to buy it. And in this part of St. Martin's is a noted meeting-house of the Quakers, called the Bull and Mouth, and where they met long before the Fire. Strype, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 121.

22. Frank Bate, in *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672* (1908) discusses the Rise of Organised Dissent; and in the Introduction, Sir Charles Firth points out that this effort on the part of Charles II to redeem the promise of Breda gave a permanent existence to English Nonconformity. The Declaration of James II and the Toleration Act of William III completed the work.

23. Mr. Plant was minister at the Baptist meeting-house in Paul's Alley, on the south side of Barbican, nearly opposite to Bridgewater Square. He succeeded John Gosnold in 1678 and was minister for 15 years. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches* writes "His popularity in preaching excited so much the rage of his persecutors, that he had once nine warrants out against him at a time; but he was so beloved in the parish, that all the constables that had the warrants sent him private notice to get away. His meeting, however, was disturbed and the pulpit and forms broke to pieces by order of the Earl of Bridgewater, whose house stood in the neighbourhood, but was not long afterwards burnt down to the ground, and two of his children, together with the person who used to go in his name and disturb the meetings, burned in it." Vol. III, pp. 235-6.

24. Possibly Francis Glasscock, a well-known Nonconformist divine of the period.

25. Robert Trail, the elder, was of the same family as Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1385, and was great grandson of Colonel Andrew Trail, who served in Bruges against Philip II of Spain. He was imprisoned and banished to Holland, where his son Robert, a "Pentland rebel," joined him. The son was ordained in London, suffered persecution in Scotland, was imprisoned on the Bass Rock. He preached in London from 1682 and in 1689 was chosen colleague of Rev. Nathaniel Mather, of Lime Street.

He preached from notes, but many of his sermons were printed. "The simplicity and evangelical strain of his works have been useful to many and will ever be so, while a taste for scriptural religion is in request." See Wilson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 237-240; *The Scots Worthies; Works of Rev. Robert Trail*, 3 vols; *Select Practical Writings of Robert Trail*.

26. Sir Henry Ashurst, Bart., a friend to Baxter, granted a lease of Hare Court to the Rev. George Cockayn, ejected from St. Pancras, Soper



Lane, and the Church was built in 1688. Cockayn preached before the House of Commons in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and was chaplain to Bulstrode Whitlock. He had some hand in the *English Greek Lexicon*, 1658, and joined other Independent ministers in a renunciation of Venner's insurrection. Alderman Tichbourne and Sir John More were among his congregation, and he spoke somewhat freely about the Quakers, for which he was animadverted upon by George Fox, in his *Great Mystery*. Wilson thinks that he died in 1689, but evidently not, as his sermon heard by Kirk was preached in 1690.

27. Charles I assigned Somerset (Denmark) House to Henrietta Maria in the ninth year of his reign and caused a chapel to be added to the building, for the free use of the Roman Catholic religion. The Chapel was designed by Inigo Jones and the first stone laid 14 September, 1632. In May, 1665, Catherine of Braganza came into residence and stayed until May, 1692.

28. Kirk's observations do not bear out a statement made in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, Vol. IX, that "unfortunately the Revolution (1688) put a sudden and complete end to the short-lived hopes of Catholics. Chapels and schools were closed and Catholics had to withdraw once again into concealment." Macaulay (ed. Firth), Vol. III, 1297 speaks of William III's tolerance towards Roman Catholics, which was commended by the Pope and by Spain.

29. This is the synagogue visited in 1664 by Thomas Greenhalgh, and the size of the congregation indicates the increase and freedom of the Jewish population. (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. IX, p. 157.)

30. William Beveridge (1637-1708), later Bishop of St. Asaph, was opposed to comprehension, and at convocation he preached against a union between England and Scotland on the ground that Scottish Presbyterianism would endanger the national Church of England. He hesitated as to whether he should follow the Non-Jurors or not, and so failed to secure a Bishopric under William and Mary.