head with a parchment strip painted with signs of the zodiac. Spells, which were still asked for by those who consulted the wise woman, were of all kinds. The favourite was the blessed word Abracadabra.

"Thou shalt on paper write the spell divine,
Abracadabra called, in many a line,
Each under each in even order place,
But the last letter in each line efface.
As by degrees the elements grow few,
Still take away, but fix the residue.
Till at the last one letter stands alone,
And the whole dwindles to a tapering cone.
Tie this about the neck with flaxen string,
Nightly the god 'twill to the patient bring:
The wondrous potency shall guard his head
And drive disease and death far from his bed."

A B R A C A D A B R A
A B R A C A D A B R
A B R A C A D A B
A B R A C A D A
A B R A C A D
A B R A C A
A B R A C
A B R A
A B R
A B
A

Would you like to know how the eighteenth-century maiden inquired after her lover? She continued, in matters of importance, the magic and spells of her grandmother. She saw him in the coffee-grounds; at the bottom of the tea-cup; she got up on May Morning to hear the cuckoo, who told her about him; she made the dunch[1] cake, two and two, in order to dream of him. She sowed hempseed at midnight, saying, "Hempseed I sow; hempseed I hoe; and he that is my true love, come after me and mow."[2] Then she looked behind and actually saw him.

She took a clean clout, wetted it, turned it inside out, and hung it over a chair before the fire. Then her sweetheart came and turned it right again.

She stuck up two Midsummer-men[3]—branches,—one for herself, and one for him. If his branch died away, it was a bad sign; if it flowered, it was a good sign.

She went backwards into the garden on Midsummer Eve and gathered a rose, and put it away in clean sheets of paper till Christmas, when, if it was quite fresh,

[1] Heavy or doughy as bread (Murray's *New English Dictionary*).

[2] This charm is referred to in Burns's poem, "Halloween." Another version of it is, "Hempseed I saw thee, hempseed I saw thee; and him (or her) that is to be my true love, come after me and pou thee"; and on looking over one's shoulder one will see the appearance of the expected lover in the attitude of pulling hemp. —Note to J. A. Manson's *Annotated Edition of Burns* (A. and C. Black).

[3] "Midsummer-men, the plant called Orpine or Live-long, one of the Sedum tribe."—Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*.

she put it into her bosom, and her sweetheart came and took it out. On lying in a strange bed, she tied her garter nine times round the bedpost and knitted nine knots in it, saying: "This knot I knit, this knot I tye, to see my love as he goes by; in his apparel and array, as he walks in every day." She put bridecake under her pillow and dreamed of her lover. She threw apple-peel over her shoulder. She stuck two kernels on her forehead; her love's remained on, the other fell off. She gathered five bay-leaves—pinned four of them to the corners of her pillow, and the other one to the middle, boiled an egg, took out the yolk, filled up with salt, ate it all, shell and all, without speaking or drinking. After this, of course, she dreamed of her lover.

CHAPTER V

LIBRARIES

SINCE education has always been connected with religion, and libraries play a large part in the education of the people, we may here enumerate the libraries of London. There were not many free libraries, in the modern sense of the word. Yet there were one or two. Even after the foundation of the British Museum, if a person wanted to visit it he had to get a card of admission the day before, and was tied to a certain hour. But there can be no doubt that if a scholar desired to use one of the libraries, which were many and important, he would readily receive permission.

The public records, State papers, and letters of foreign princes were preserved in the White Tower and the Wakefield Tower; with them were many papers relating to the monasteries. Other records and State papers were kept in the Exchequer, Westminster, under the care of the Lord Treasurer. Here were kept the two Domesday Books, the one in folio and the one in quarto.

The Parliament Rolls were kept in "an old stone tower" in Old Palace Yard, now the so-called Jewel House; some were also kept in the Holbein Gate.

The Cotton Library, which went to the British Museum, was originally kept at Westminster in the house which had been Sir Robert Cotton's; it contained a thousand volumes of charters, grants, letters, instruments, genealogies, registers, etc.

The Williams Library was founded by Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Lincoln, the last ecclesiastic who held the Great Seal. He purchased most of the books from one Baker of Highgate, and opened the library for public use every day in term time, viz. from nine till twelve in the forenoon, and from two till four in the afternoon. The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, from which these notes are taken, states that by negligence many of the MSS. were burned. There was another "Williams" library. This was a library — still existing — originally of 25,000 volumes, bequeathed by the Rev. Dr. Williams, an eminent Presbyterian. He died in 1716. The library was originally deposited in Red Cross Street,

Cripplegate. A century or so later it was removed to Grafton Street, Tottenham Court Road.

There was a library at St. James's, and others at the royal palaces of Whitehall, Hampton, Windsor, and Greenwich, of MSS. and books, mostly collected by Leland after the dissolution of the monasteries. Where are those MSS. now?

The library of Lambeth Palace contained 14,572 printed books and 617 MSS. The nucleus of the library was the books belonging to Lord Dudley, Earl of Leicester; it was added to from time to time by different archbishops. Does any one know of the library founded by Prince Henry, son of James the First? It was between Leicester Fields and St. James's. The Prince laid out a piece of ground for the exercise of arms; at one end of it he built an armoury, with a library containing books relating to feats of arms, chivalry, fortification, military science of all kinds, for the custody of which he appointed a learned librarian. It was called the Artillery Ground, and continued till the Restoration, when Charles II. gave it to Lord Gerrard, who built upon it. What became of the books is not stated.

The records, charters, privileges, etc., of the City of London were preserved in the Guildhall in the custody of the town clerk. The Corporation possessed a library, which was kept in the chapel adjoining the Guildhall. The Duke of Somerset borrowed all the books for his new house in the Strand; they made five cartloads, and they were never returned.

Other libraries were: that of the Grey Friars, to which Whittington was a benefactor, dispersed at the Reformation; that of Sion College, the books of which were nearly all burned in the Great Fire (a new library, however, was got together); the Heralds' College, which contained a valuable collection of works connected with heraldry, court functions, genealogies, visitations, etc.; the French Church in Threadneedle Street had a library before the Fire; the Dutch Protestants of Austin Friars had a library for the use of foreign Protestants.

The remaining libraries are enumerated in alphabetical order:—

Castle Street Library.—Founded in 1633 by Tennison, vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, for the use of his school. It contained 4000 volumes in theology and history.

College of Physicians Library.—Containing 4940 books.

Sir Hans Sloane's Library.—42,000 volumes, besides collections of rarities. Both the Cotton and the Sloane Libraries were placed in the British Museum.

Doctors' Commons Library.—Every bishop on his consecration gave £20 to £50 towards the enrichment of the library.

Gray's Inn Library.—Books in eleven languages, but chiefly on law.

Inner Temple Library.—Remarkable for its collection of MSS.

Lincoln's Inn Library.—Called a "handsome collection."

Middle Temple Library.—Contained 3981 volumes.

Royal Society Library.—The history of this library is curious. On the death of Demetrius Corvinus, the last king of the Hungarian race, his library was sold. One third part of it, bought by Vilibaldus Perkeynherus of Nuremberg, was sold by him to the Earl of Arundel, who afterwards became Duke of Norfolk. He presented it in 1666 to the Royal Society. This princely gift contained 3287 printed books and 554 volumes of MSS. Another donor to the Royal Society was their whilom secretary, Francis Ashton. He gave the Society his own library, containing 3265 volumes.

The Surgeons' Library.—"A handsome collection."

The King's Library.—This was kept in 1756 in the old Dormitory, Westminster. It contained 10,200 printed books and 1800 MSS.

The Queen's Library, kept in a building specially erected for it at St. James's Palace, contained 4500 volumes.

The St. Paul's Library.

The Westminster Library, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, contained about 6000 volumes.

A curious story is related concerning the Jews and their library. The synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in Bevis Marks, possessed a library of great value, including many MSS. relating to their ceremonies and worship. The question arose among them whether, if these books fell into the hands of Christians, they might not be disgraced by shameful translations. To prevent this calamity, which might have been prevented by locking the box, they actually resolved upon burning the whole of them in a kiln at Mile End. I give the story as it is related in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. I confess that the thing itself, as related, seems to me incredible.

These were the public libraries. In addition there were the circulating libraries, an institution created in the eighteenth century. The first of these libraries opened in London was one by a bookseller named Batho, in 1740. His shop was in the Strand. At the end of the century there were twenty-two in London. The names of some still survive, and in a few cases the libraries are still continued—such as Colburn's, Hookham's, Hodgson's, Cawthorne's.

The book-club, in country towns, was found more useful than the circulating library. A certain number of the better sort formed the club; they paid a subscription of a guinea; this enabled them to start with books to the amount of their combined subscriptions. At the end of the year they sold the books to each other, carrying the proceeds forward to increase the number of books for the following year. It will easily be understood that in a few years the amount available for

purchase would roll up considerably. I believe that the torrent of rubbish issued in the form of three-volume novels proved the destruction of these book-clubs. They were impossible in London, owing to the difficulties of getting people together: in the country their success depended entirely on judicious management and mutual consideration. They were managed generally by ladies. A few of the country book-clubs still survive, but as a rule it is found less troublesome to depend on one or other of the great circulating libraries.

GOVERNMENT AND TRADE OF THE CITY

CHAPTER I

THE TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT

THE jurisdiction and temporal government of London in the eighteenth century represent the outcome before the attempt at any reform or change in the constitution of the City as we have read it. There was no more fear of losing the charter, or of finding the exchequer closed, or of being called upon for a benevolence, or a tallage, or a fifteenth. London was free and her freedom was assured. Let us therefore take the opportunity of describing the constitution of the City in the last century. This is—with certain changes and modifications, mostly insignificant—that of the present day.

The City of London was divided into twenty-six wards, each of which was under the jurisdiction of an Alderman, chosen at the ward mote by the free inhabitants of the ward. The Mayor, or supreme magistrate over the whole City, was chosen annually from the aldermen. His election took place on Michaelmas Day, and he entered upon his office on the 9th of November following.

The Common Councilmen were chosen in the same manner as the aldermen, by the free inhabitants of the ward at the ward mote. But there was this difference, that the Lord Mayor presided over the election of an alderman, and the alderman of the ward over the election of a Common Councilman. The Court of Common Council consisted of the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and the Common Councilmen. Nothing could be done for the City without the full concurrence of this court, which was called together whenever the Mayor chose.

The power of the Lord Mayor was very great. He was Perpetual Coroner and Escheater within the City and the Liberties of London and Southwark; he was Chief Justice of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery of Newgate; Judge of the ward mote on the election of an alderman; Conservator of the Rivers Thames and Medway; Commissioner of the River Lea; and Chief Butler of the Kingdom at all coronations. Besides which, his office did not terminate at the King's death. When this happened, the Lord Mayor was styled the principal officer in the kingdom, and took his place on the Privy Council until the new King was proclaimed.

The meaning of the last privilege or dignity was this:—On the death of the

King, all order and authority, save those of the Church, ceased; for the time there was actually no officer, magistrate, or judge in the whole country. If there was delay in proclaiming and crowning the King, the roads became covered with marauders and the seas with pirates. The Privy Council, therefore, fell back on the City as a centre of order and law. In case of doubt or dispute as to the rightful heir, London, at least, moved as one man, and could be trusted to maintain whatever side it espoused. We know how the City admitted William, and their price for his admission; how they elected Henry I. and Stephen.

The business of the City was transacted principally by means of committees. The aldermen were justices of the peace, each in his own ward; those who had passed the chair were justices of the quorum. An alderman continued in his post for life; if he refused to serve on election, he had to pay a heavy fine. This most useful regulation ensured that the freemen should take that active part or share in their municipal duties which is necessary for the maintenance of the City liberties. Every alderman was bound to hold ward motes for electing officers and for all business connected with the ward; but he might, if he pleased, appoint a deputy.

There were two Sheriffs of London and Middlesex; they were chosen annually on Midsummer Day, and entered upon their office on Michaelmas Day. A citizen might be alderman before he was sheriff, but he must have been sheriff before he could be Lord Mayor. A citizen chosen sheriff and refusing to serve was fined £400 to the City and £13: 6: 8 to the clergy of the prisons, unless he could swear that he was worth less than £15,000. The business of the sheriffs was to collect the revenues within their jurisdictions, to gather into the Exchequer all fines belonging to the Crown, to serve the King's writs of process, to attend the judges and execute their orders, to empanel the juries, to superintend the execution of criminals, and to discharge the orders of the Court of Common Council should they resolve to petition Parliament or to address the King.

The next officer was the Recorder, who was a lawyer; he was appointed by the Mayor and aldermen, for their guidance in matters of justice and proceedings according to law. He held office for life. In the Court of Common Council, and in all other courts, he took place before any who had not passed the chair. He was one of the justices of oyer and terminer, and justice of the peace. It was his office to speak in the name of the City, to read and present their addresses to the King, to deliver the sentence of the courts. His salary in the eighteenth century was £1000 a year.

The Chamberlain of London was chosen annually by the Livery on Midsummer Day; but the election was a matter of form, as, unless some complaint was alleged or proved against him, he held his office for life. He was the City Treasurer; he received and paid all the money belonging to the Corporation; he kept all bonds, securities, leases of the City.

There were also the following officers of the City:—the Coroner, the Town Clerk, the Common Serjeant, the City Remembrancer, the Sword Bearer, the Common Hunt, the Common Crier, the Water Bailiff, two Auditors, the Clerk of the Chamber, the Clerk to the Commissioners of the Sewers, the Surveyor of the City Works, the Printer to the City, the Justice of the Bridge Yard, the Steward of the Borough, the Bailiff of the Borough, the Comptroller of the Bridge House, Clerk to the Court of Conscience, and four beadles of the same court.

There were several City courts.

The Lord Mayor's Court was a "court of record," held before the Mayor, aldermen, and recorder in the King's Bench, Guildhall. At this court were heard actions of debt, trespass, attachments, covenants, etc., arising within the City and liberties. It was also a court of chancery and a court of appeal, and a court where suits between master and apprentices could be heard. In brief, suits of all kinds were heard here. It was claimed for this court that it was the cheapest in the kingdom, because an action could be commenced here for 4d. and finished for 30s., all in the space of a fortnight.

The Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen exercised a great deal of power. All leases requiring the City seal were executed by them; the assize of bread was ascertained; the City officers were tried by them; they disposed of many of the City offices; they elected annually eleven observers of the City watermen. No person could become a freeman of the City except by serving his apprenticeship, or by an order obtained from the courts.

So far, in brief. Let us now give in greater detail an account of the various courts and offices. The following account of the courts is taken from the *British Directory* of 1793:—

"The Court of Common Council consists of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and representatives of the several wards, who assemble in Guildhall as often as the Lord Mayor, by his summons, thinks proper to convene them. They annually select from among themselves a committee of twelve aldermen and twenty-four commoners, for letting the City lands, to which end they generally meet at Guildhall on Wednesdays, whereof two aldermen and four commoners are a quorum. They appoint another committee of four aldermen and eight commoners for transacting the affairs belonging to the benefactions of Sir Thomas Gresham, who generally meet at Mercers' Hall by appointment of the Lord Mayor. They also, by virtue of a royal grant, yearly appoint a governor, deputy, and assistants, for managing the Irish estates. They have likewise a right of disposing of the offices of town-clerk, common serjeant, judges of the Sheriffs' Court, common crier, coroner, bailiff of the borough of Southwark, and City garbler.

Common Hall.—In this court, on Midsummer Day, the livery of the respective companies choose their sheriffs, chamberlain, two auditors of the chamberlains' and

bridge-house accounts, two bridge masters, and four ale-conners. Here also the livery on Michaelmas Day return two aldermen to the court of Lord Mayor and aldermen, for them to choose a Lord Mayor for the following year.

The Sheriffs' Courts are courts of record held at Guildhall every Wednesday and Friday, for actions entered at Wood Street Compter, and on Thursdays and Saturdays for those entered at the Poultry Compter, of which the sheriffs being judges, each has his assistant, or deputy, who are called the judges of those courts, before whom are tried actions of debt, trespass, covenant, etc.

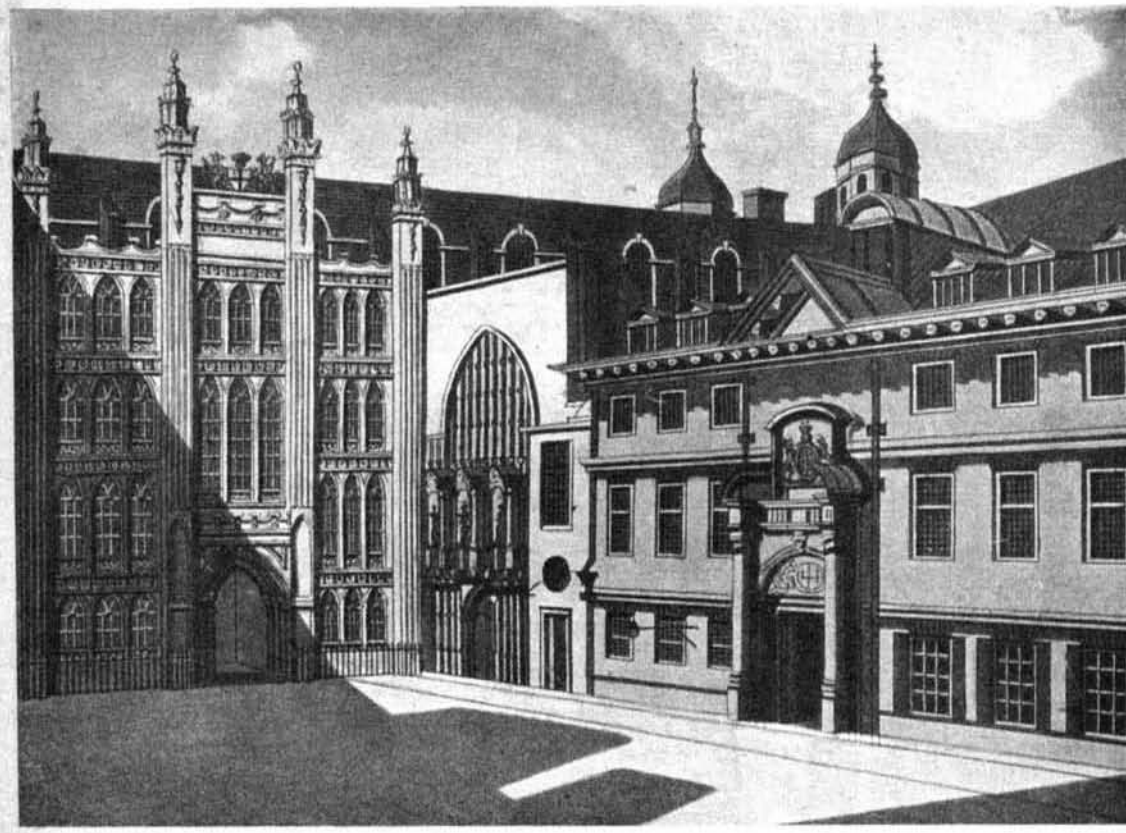
The Court of Hustings is the supreme court of judicature in the City of London as that of the Common Council is of its legislature. In this court all lands and tenements, rents and services, within the City and liberties of London are pleadable, in two hustings, the one called husting of a plea of land, the other husting of common pleas, which are held distinctly. The judges of this court are the Lord Mayor and sheriffs for the time being, who are assisted by the recorder in all cases of consequence; the pleas are held distinctly, one court of pleas merely real, and another for actions mized.

The Court of Wardmote answers to that of folkmote among the Saxons, and is defined to be an assembly of the whole people,—that is, free citizens of one ward duly summoned by the Lord Mayor, and held before the proper alderman of the ward or his deputy,—to correct disorders, remove annoyances, and to promote the common interest of the ward. In London, parishes are as towns, and wards as hundreds: wherefore this court resembles that of the leet in the country; for, as the latter derives its authority from the County Court, so does the former from that of the Lord Mayor, as is manifest by the annual precept issued by the Lord Mayor to the several aldermen, for holding their respective wardmotes on St. Thomas's day, for the election of proper officers in each ward.

The Court of Conservancy is held four times a year before the Lord Mayor, at such places and times as he shall appoint within the respective counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey; in which several counties he has a power of summoning juries, who for the better preservation of the fishery of the river Thames, and regulation of the fishermen that fish therein, are upon oath to make inquisition of all offences committed in and upon the said river from Stainesbridge in the west to Yenfleet in the east.

The Court of Requests or Court of Conscience determines all disputes between citizens where the debt is under 40s. It is of great use to persons who have small debts owing to them, which they could not otherwise recover without entering into expensive proceedings; and it is also of great benefit to such persons as are not able to pay their debts at once, as the court determines the payment to be made in such portions as are suitable to the debtor's circumstances. The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen appoint monthly such aldermen and commons to sit as commissioners in

this court as they think fit: any three of whom compose a court, kept in Guildhall every Wednesday and Saturday, from eleven till two o'clock, to hear and determine such cases as are brought before them. In this court a cause may be brought and determined for the value of tenpence, viz. sixpence for the plaint and summons, and fourpence for the order; if the defendant does not appear the first court day after the summons, an attachment may be awarded against him; on neglect or refusal then to appear, he will be committed to prison.



THE GUILDHALL

From a print published in 1800.

Court of Escheator.—This court is held before the Lord Mayor (he being Perpetual Escheator within the City) or his deputy; to him all original writs of *Diem clausit extremum, Mandamus devenerunt, Melius inquirend*, etc., are directed to find an office for the King, after the death of his tenant who held by knight's service. The Escheator may also find an office for treason, felony, etc.

Chamberlain's Court.—This is an office kept in Guildhall, in a room on the right-hand side of the passage leading into the Court of King's Bench, where the Chamberlain attends every day to determine differences between masters and apprentices, to

enrol and turn over the latter, and to admit all who are duly qualified to the freedom of the City.

The Court of Orphans.—This court is held before the Lord Mayor and aldermen, who are guardians to the children of all freemen under the age of twenty-one years of age, at the decease of all fathers. The common serjeant of the City is the only person entrusted by the Court of Aldermen to take accounts and inventories of freemen's estates; and the youngest attorney of the Mayor's Court, being clerk to that of the orphans, is appointed to take securities for their several portions, in the name of the Chamberlain of London, who for this purpose is a sole corporation of himself, for the service of the said orphans. A recognisance or bond, therefore, made to him on the account of an orphan shall, by the custom of London, descend to his successor. It is here to be observed, that a freeman's widow may require a third part of his personal estate after all incumbrances are discharged; his children are entitled to another third part thereof, and he may dispose of the remaining third part by his will. If he leaves no children, his widow may require a moiety of his personal estate. If a citizen dies without a will, administration shall be granted to his wife, who may claim one third part by the custom of London; one third part must be divided among the children, and the remaining third part between the wife and children; in this case the widow is generally allowed two-thirds of this last third part. It is likewise to be observed, that when a freeman dies, and leaves property to his children, either in money or estates, the executor or executors make application to the Court of Aldermen to admit such property into the Orphan's Fund. On this application a wheel is brought into the court, containing a number of tickets, which mention the respective sums belonging to those who have arrived at full age, or whose stock has been sold or transferred to some other person. The Lord Mayor then draws from the wheel as many tickets as contain the sum requested to be admitted by the new claimant, when the proprietors of the old stock have notice given them to receive their property in three months. Four per cent is allowed for the money during the time it continues in the fund.

The Court of Hallmote.—This is the court which each of the City companies keep in their respective halls or places of meeting, for the transaction of their private affairs.

Pie Powder Court.—This court is held by the Lord Mayor and the steward during Bartholomew Fair in the City of London, to administer justice between buyers and sellers, and for the redress of such disorders as may be committed there, in breach of a proclamation, which is annually made before the Lord Mayor on the eve of St. Bartholomew, for the better regulation of the said fair.

Justice Hall Court, in the Old Bailey.—This court is the Court of Session, held eight times a year by the King's commission of Oyer and Terminer, for trying offenders for crimes committed within the City of London and county of Middlesex.

The judges of this court are, the Lord Mayor, the aldermen past the chair, and the recorder, who on all such occasions are attended by both the sheriffs, and generally by one or more of the national judges. The offenders for crimes committed in the City are tried by a jury of citizens, and those committed in the county by a Middlesex jury. The offences tried in this court are high and petty treason, murder, felony, forgery, petty larceny, burglary, etc. To the courts already enumerated, which are properly City courts, may be added the two following, which are held within the City, though exempt from its jurisdiction :—

St. Martin's le Grand Court.—This court belongs to the liberty of that name, and is subject to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. It is a court of record, held weekly on Wednesdays, for the trial of all personal actions whatever; the leading process is a capias against the body or an attachment against the goods; so that a man's goods may be seized upon in his own house, if his person is not seized before: which is according to the practice of all ancient liberties or franchises.

The Court of the Tower of London.—This is a court of record held by prescription within the verge of the City on Great Tower Hill, by a steward appointed by the Constable of the Tower of London, by whom are tried actions of debt for any sum, damage, and trespass.

Besides the civil government of London already described, it is also subject to an ecclesiastical and military government, the first of which is under a bishop, archdeacon, and ministers or pastors.

The military government is vested in a Court of Lieutenancy, composed of a number of citizens, the principal of whom are the Lord Mayor and aldermen, who appoint the officers to the six regiments of the City Militia, which are distinguished by the titles of the Blue, Green, Yellow, Orange, White, and Red regiments. These corps are now put on a plan similar to the respective counties: the City of London boasting a peculiar privilege in not having the military quartered on the inhabitants, for which singular advantage they maintain in time of peace their own militia, which maintenance arises from a tax levied by virtue of the King's letter, denominated Trophy Tax. This exemption is of such importance that the greatest care should be taken to have an effective body of men for the service of the inhabitants, in aid of the civil magistracy and for the defence of the kingdom. . . . The Honourable Artillery Company, which is one of the most ancient, claims the honour of being founded and supported by many royal authorities. It was formerly of the first consequence in this kingdom, for military achievements, and could boast the most distinguished personages, as well royal as noble, for its members. The original foundation was in the year 1537 by patent, and has continued to the present period. It has a royal charter from his present Majesty, with considerable privileges, as well as a capital estate for its maintenance and

support, and a noble parade, called the Artillery Ground, which, from its institution, was demised and granted as a military field for the citizens of London. . . .

The four representatives in Parliament for the City of London, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Bridge masters, and other City officers, are elected at the Common Halls, at which the sheriffs for the time being are the presiding judges, and the whole body of liverymen, who live in the City, or the suburbs and out-parts, or wheresoever dispersed throughout the kingdom, are entitled to give their votes, provided they are not disqualified by any established rules or regulations within the City, whereby these elections are governed.

It is required that every elector shall be both a freeman and a liveryman, and that his name shall have been entered upon the Livery twelve calendar months previous to the day of election, or he can have no vote; but if he takes up his freedom of the City at any time before the commencement of the election, it is, as to that qualification, deemed sufficient. And here let it be particularly observed that the day of commencement of an election, by which all claims in point of time are to be decided, is the day on which the candidates present themselves to fill the vacancies, and their election is declared by a show of hands; the poll and scrutiny which follow being only subsequent proceedings, to adjust the numbers and qualifications of the electors. If a liveryman applies to the Court of Aldermen, to be translated from one company to another, he should be careful to see the particulars of that translation faithfully recorded on the Chamberlain's books; for if he votes in the company to which he has been translated, before such record is entered, it will annul his right to vote; for example, if I. S., formerly a cooper, having gained his license to be transferred over to the Vintners' Company, should vote in that company, and his name not appear on the record, it would be contended that there is no such person as I. S., vintner; and, upon his name being made on a poll or scrutiny, it would be too late to show that his name appears as a liveryman on the books of the former company, because every man's right, as to that election, must abide by the test of the qualification upon which he was admitted to vote.

It is also further provided, that no person shall have a title to vote, who has not duly paid his Livery fines; or who, having paid the same, shall receive all or part thereof back again, or accept of any allowance in respect thereof. So that the receiving back the fine, or any part of it, or any allowance as an equivalent, is in every instance where it can be proved equally the same disqualification as if the fines had not been paid at all. It is, however, an indulgence not unfrequently granted by most of the companies, to take a promissory note at six months after date for the fine; if therefore it can be proved at the time of election that the voter, who must have been twelve clear months upon the Livery, has refused or been unable to satisfy his note, after demand made since it became due, he is liable to be set aside for such non-payment, equally the same as if he had been admitted without any note being given, because his

fines, in this case, are not *bonâ fide* paid; but if, on the other hand, such note be paid, at any time before the election, or it be proved that the elector was always ready and willing to pay it, but no demand had been made, it is then to be deemed equally legal. Another disqualification may happen to liverymen who are householders within the jurisdiction of the City, that does not apply to liverymen who are householders out of the City, nor to any liverymen not householders. It arises upon the 14th section of the Statute II. George I., which enacts 'that no householder in the City, who has within two years next before any such election requested to be, and who is accordingly discharged from paying to the rates and taxes which the citizens of London, inhabiting therein, are liable unto, shall vote at such elections.' And again, there is another disqualifying clause, which extends alike to all liverymen, whether in or out of London, and to all other persons whatsoever, voting at any election within the City, and that is 'for having taken or received, within two years next before the election, any charity or alms whatsoever.' Upon proof in either of these cases, the vote of every person so circumstanced is to be 'declared null and void to all intents and purposes. . . .'

The election of all ward officers must be at a Court of Wardmote, viz. for the alderman of the ward, its common-council-men, etc., which courts are held by virtue of a precept from the Lord Mayor, who is the presiding judge on those occasions. Any citizen may be chosen alderman of a ward, although he be not an inhabitant thereof, for if he be free of the City, and of sufficient ability, these are all the qualifications prescribed to entitle him to the right of filling that high office, in any ward where there is a vacancy, notwithstanding he may live in another part, or even without the walls of the City. It is, however, expressly directed that every common-council-man shall be an inhabitant of the ward for which he serves, otherwise he is ineligible for the office. The electors consist of all the inhabitants within the ward, who are 'freemen of London, occupying houses of the value of £10 a year or upwards, and paying scot and bearing lot when required.' All such are entitled to vote at their respective wardmotes, on the election of alderman, common-council-man, or other officer belonging to their ward, unless disqualified by any of the following rules and regulations stipulated for their good order and government.

The first qualification for an elector at a wardmote is that of being a freeman of the City of London; so that, on one hand, to be free of a company only is not sufficient; nor is it necessary, on the other, that he should be on the Livery; nor is any time limited how long he ought to have taken up his freedom, so that it be done before the holding up of hands at the election. A freedom obtained after the holding up of hands, in order to entitle the elector to take the oath when he is polling 'that he is then a freeman,' may indeed enable him to swear what is true, but cannot antedate his right of voting, or make it legal. Such freeman, in the next place, must be an householder, to the amount of £10 per annum, 'and the real occupier

for twelve calendar months next before the election.' So that, if a landlord is only in the possession of a house which he never lives in, though rated thereto, but suffers another to be the sole occupier thereof, who is not taxed, in such cases neither the owner nor occupier are entitled to vote; for it must be distinguished in either instance that the being rated to a house, and not in the occupation of it, or being the occupier and not rated, are equally insufficient qualifications. A citizen, however, having two houses in different wards, each of the value of £10 per annum, making use of one for his trade, and the other for the residence of his family, and rated to both, entitles him to a vote in each ward. A person also in possession of two houses in the same ward, which both together amount to £10 a year, though separately they are neither of them of that value, yet if he pays equal rates, and performs the same duty as a person inhabiting a house of the rent of £10, he has a legal title to vote. Occupancy, however, in all cases must be proved for twelve clear months, previous to the day appointed for the election.

The next qualification is 'that every such householder shall have been rated and charged, and contributed and paid, his scot to all and singular the rates and taxes (except annual aids granted by Parliament) whereunto he shall or may be liable, or shall have paid in the whole, to the said rates and taxes, or some of them, thirty shillings a year, at the least, otherwise his vote shall be null and void at all such elections.' And further, 'that every freeman, being liable to the rates and assessments for lamps and watch, and neglecting and refusing, or desiring to be excused from the payment of the same, shall be under the like incapacity of voting as those persons are who do not pay their scot and lot, which the citizens of London are liable unto.' But in order that these disqualifications should have their full force, it will be necessary to prove that a regular demand has been made of all such rates and assessments, by the person legally authorised to receive them, otherwise no objection can or ought to be made to the vote. It is likewise always to be remembered, 'that nothing shall be construed to oblige persons to pay any scot, or bear any lot, from the doing of which they were exempted by Act of Parliament, charter, or writ of privilege,' which is understood as a saving clause to physicians, apothecaries, attorneys, etc., who claim the privilege of being excused by reason of their other necessary avocations. Also to constables, or other ward officers, in such wards only where, by custom, service is accepted as an equivalent for the payment of rates; or, in the case of a certificate in the possession of a person who has apprehended and convicted any one guilty of stealing in that ward, either by night or day, goods to the amount of 5s., that then, and in all such cases, these privileges of exemption are to be admitted, so far as they shall prove to be within the plain intent and meaning of the writ, charter, or Act of Parliament on which they may be grounded.

The foregoing are the qualifications which the sole occupier of a house ought to possess, in order to maintain his right of voting at these elections; but in cases of

partnerships it is further to be remarked, 'that if any two or more persons carry on a joint trade in any such house together, and shall have been householders such space of time as aforesaid, such partners shall, upon paying their scot, and bearing their respective lot, in manner aforesaid, when required, have good and legal votes; provided, nevertheless, that such house wherein such partners carry on their joint trade shall be of the true and real value of as many respective sums of £10 a year, computed together, as there are partners.' There is likewise another provision, very singular, 'that where two persons, and no more, not being partners, shall have, by the space aforesaid, severally inhabited in the same house, such two persons, severally paying their scots, and bearing their respective lots, shall have votes, etc., so as such house, wherein such two persons inhabit, be of the yearly value of £20, and that each of them pay the yearly rent of £10 for their respective parts thereof.' Yet nothing is to be hence inferred, that a house of £30 a year should give votes to three persons, and so on, it being, by the statute, confined only to two. In all cases, however, that relate to the elections of wardmote, it is absolutely declared, 'that the vote of every person, who has at any time within two years next before the election, requested to be, and accordingly has been, discharged from paying all or any of the rates and taxes which the citizens of London inhabiting therein are liable unto, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.'

The same disqualifying clauses, which operate against persons for receiving alms, in elections at the common-halls, likewise hold good in elections at wardmotes; and therefore all persons, however sufficiently qualified in other respects, are incapacitated from voting, who have asked and received any sum of money as charity from any private person, or public collection, or from any charitable legacies or bequests, or the share of any forfeiture by a penal Act of Parliament to the use of the poor, or part of the King's annual bounty money, or of the ward charity coals distributed within the City. Such who have been in any hospital or infirmary, for relief of the sick or lame, or received physic or advice from thence gratis, as out-patients; or have been in the London or any parish workhouse; such also as have been confined in any prison, and received part of the allowance of bread and beer, or of the box-money, or bequests to prisoners, or have been released by the charity of some other person,—these and all similar instances of temporary relief totally disqualify the parties from giving their votes at any election within the City of London." (*See* Appendix IV., Taxes and Inferior Offices.)

CHAPTER II

CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE CITY

ATTENTION has already been called to the changed relations of Crown and City when the latter ceased to be the lender and advancer of money to the King. It seems to me that the City, all through the century, failed to grasp the new situation. Else why did the Common Council and the Livery continue to send in one remonstrance after another, all leading to no result? They remembered, I believe, the great power wielded by the City in history; a power acknowledged, conciliated, courted by king after king—by William, whom they acknowledged as Conqueror, and by his successors. Perhaps they remembered who deposed Richard and set up Henry; who set up Edward the Fourth; who turned out James the Second. But the King no longer wanted to borrow money of them; their wealth no longer gave them power; they had become politically powerless except through their representatives in the House, and the House itself was in the hands of a majority of placemen. As for any influence and weight which their opinions and their voices might command upon the nation at large, it was as yet but small owing to the difficulty of getting at the nation. What did York or Exeter know of the strength and bitterness of the City's opinions on the American War? Little or nothing. The King, therefore, had no longer any fear of the City: he could afford, so long as that majority in the House was maintained, to rule in defiance of the City; and he did so. And the Livery, seeing the impotence of their own efforts, marvelled; and, not understanding that they were as those who beat the air with strenuous hands, they cried, "Let us make more remonstrances, more addresses, more petitions." They did so, and got mighty little by their pains.

Meantime, out of all these humiliations there arose the perception, growing daily stronger, that reform was necessary. Alas! there wanted fifty years before that reform could be carried out—fifty years, of which nearly half were to be spent in a struggle for existence. In 1779 (Sharpe, iii. 174) some of the Lords protested that "in such a situation a change of system appears to us to be our indispensable duty to advise." The Common Council sympathised with them, and was convinced that the cause of the troubles lay in the "enormous and undue influence of the

Crown." Committees of "Association" were formed, their object being economy and the abolition of sinecures. Burke introduced a Bill for reform, which had to be abandoned.

In 1780 Dunning moved that it is "the opinion of this Committee that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The reforms chiefly wanted, in the opinion of the country, were (1) the cutting down of public expenditure, (2) shortening the duration of parliaments, and (3) reforming the representation.

The work of these committees was for a time checked by the mischief due to the Protestant Associations and the clamour against Catholic Emancipation. The history of the Gordon Riots will be found in another place. And as for reform, we hear little more of it until the French Revolution and the Corresponding Societies.

The ten years that passed between the Peace of Paris and the declaration of war in 1793 were for the most part those happy years in which there is no history beyond that of domestic events. The Protestant dissenters were active in endeavouring to procure a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; they failed in 1789 by a small majority, and hoped in 1790 to secure the co-operation of the Common Council. In this they were disappointed, for the court passed by a large majority the following resolutions:—

"I. That it is the indispensable duty of this court to support the rights and privileges of the Church of England, as by law established; they being essentially connected with, and forming a part of, our happy constitution.

II. That a full, perfect, and free toleration, in the exercise of religious duties, must be the wish and glory of every liberal mind; but, to remove the two bulwarks to our sacred constitution, in Church and State, by a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, would tend to produce that civil anarchy, which at first pointed out to the legislature the necessity of making such wise and salutary restrictive laws.

III. That this court do consider themselves called upon to strengthen the hands of those friends to the Established Church in the House of Commons who have twice successfully opposed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, by expressing their public thanks for such conduct; and to solicit the members of this court, who have seats in Parliament, strenuously to resist every attempt that shall be made to obtain that repeal."

The Excise Bill of Walpole (see p. 12) aroused an opposition which that minister was totally unable to understand. We have another example of incredible inability to understand the mind of the people in the tax upon shops imposed by Pitt. Retail trade is, except in comparatively rare instances, a mode of livelihood which is anxious, precarious, and cut down by competition to the narrowest margin possible. Conceive, therefore, the dismay with which the world learned that Pitt was laying a tax upon retail shops. This was in May 1785. A committee was

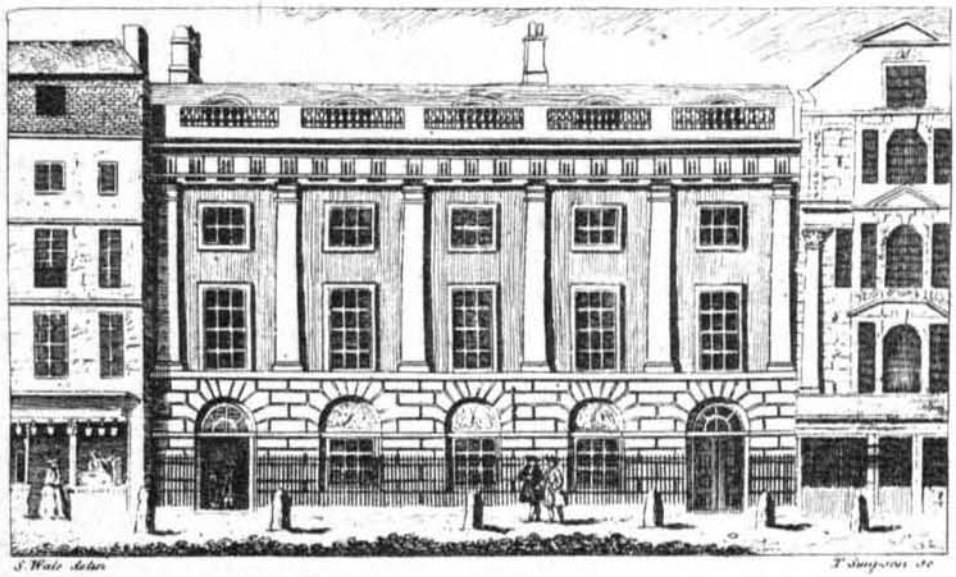
instantly formed and a conference held with Pitt. Nothing came of the conference, however, except a recommendation by Pitt that they should raise the price of their goods, so as to make the customer pay. He was unable to understand that this general rise of so much per cent all round is, in trade, an absolute impossibility; and that, in any case, as the tradesmen buy of each other, they would themselves be the payers of the tax.

They then drew up a petition against the Bill, but the composition of the House would not allow any weight to be attached to these representations of the shopkeepers. The agricultural labourers might make their grievances heard, but not the shopkeepers, of whose lives and necessities the House of country squires understood nothing. For four years the shopkeepers bombarded the House with petitions and remonstrances. At last, in 1789, they got the Bill repealed.

CHAPTER III

TRADE

THE South Sea Company, which was not killed by the Bubble of 1720, obtained permission from the Spanish Government to send one ship every year to trade with the Spanish ports of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1721 they sent out a trading ship to Porto Bello and Carthagena; in 1723 another to Vera Cruz; in 1725 they sent ships



EAST INDIA HOUSE

to the Arctic Seas for the whale-fishery. Over the last venture, however, they lost nearly £180,000 in eight years. In 1730 their ship the *Prince Frederick* returned from Santa Cruz with a cargo worth £350,000.

The principal trade of the country was carried on by means of the companies founded in the sixteenth century: the Levant, the Russia, the East India, the South Sea, the Hudson's Bay, and the Royal African.

The West Indies sent us sugar, coffee, cotton, mahogany, logwood, and indigo;

Virginia sent us tobacco; from the northern parts of America we had timber, tar, and other things formerly supplied from the Baltic.

A large number of vessels were employed in the slave-trade; London was the centre of the diamond-trade. The East India Company had seventeen ships one year sailing from India. The following table (Capper's *Port and Trade of London*) shows the extent and the nature of the exports and imports for one month:—

EXPORTS FROM LONDON FOR THE MONTH OF MAY 1730

Woollen cloths	5357 pieces
Bays, Colchester, etc.	6990 ,,
Stuff, druggets, etc.	24,484 ,,
Perpets and serges	4108 ,,
Hats	2028 dozen
Hose	9368 doz. pairs
Flannels and cotton	53,053 yards
Frieze	7858 ,,
Gartering	774 gross
Leather	2290 cwt.
Block tin	1036 ,,
Pewter (wrought)	499½ ,,
Lead	184 fodder
Ditto in shot	847 cwt.
Alum	1275 ,,
Copperas	4033 ,,
Tobacco	866,163 lbs.
Calicoes	76,847 pieces
Gold watches	47
Silver ,,	113
Wrought plate	972 ounces

Besides 339,353 oz. of silver and 36,294 oz. of gold.

IMPORTS INTO LONDON, MAY 1730

Wines	4299 casks
Ditto from Leghorn	459 chests
Ditto Rhenish	1019 aums
Brandy from Dunkirk	24,687 galls.
Rum from British Colonies	6327 ,,
Sugar ,, ,,	1421 hhds.
Rice from Carolina	3025 ,,
Spanish wool	1144 bags
Indigo from Spain and our Colonies	57,784 lbs.
Hemp from the East Country	1160 cwt.
Thrown silk from Italy	31,218 lbs.
Raw silk	3441 ,,
Coffee from Turkey only	1781 cwt.
Oil from Gallipoli	390 tons
Holland cloth or fine linen	66,286 ells

Ditto from Hamburgh and Bremen	1,232,209 ells
Irish linen	179,114 yards
Irish yarn from Hamburgh	73,450 lbs.
Coffee from Mocha	5000 bales

In the year 1732 the colony of Georgia was founded, with the incentive of providing for some of the wretched prisoners for debt—those, that is, who were able-bodied and willing to become emigrants. A subscription was opened for them; the first batch of settlers went out in 1733. The promoters in London provided the new colonists with seeds of everything likely to prove useful; they also procured a grant of land from the Government; they sent out European vines in the hope of creating the production of wine, and Piedmontese to instruct in the manufacture of silk. At first this industry promised fairly well: in 1758 they sent home 7000 lbs.; in 1764, 15,000 lbs.; but the Georgian cocoons were found to be "round and spongy," being badly wound. Therefore, the silk trade declined and the cotton trade took its place.

The Spanish War (1729–1748) checked the advance of trade for a time. The result of the war was that Spain kept her right of search, but that trade was permitted with Spanish ports in Europe, a concession which gave Great Britain considerable advantages. Spain began to buy largely English manufactures for export to her colonies; and the South Sea Company lost its right of sending one ship every year to the Spanish-American ports.

On the termination of this war the private traders grew restless at seeing the whole trade in the hands of a few companies. They first attacked the Hudson's Bay Company: they charged the company with neglecting to develop the mines, fisheries, and the fertile lands which they controlled. The Government considered the case, and decided that the company had done, and was doing, the best in its power. Therefore the Hudson's Bay Company remained, and it remains to this day.

Private traders, however, were more successful with the Royal African Company, which surrendered its charter, its lands, forts, and stores, and gave up its trade. Private traders, also, were more successful with the Levant Company, for they obtained an Act of Parliament throwing open all the privileges of that company for any who would pay £20 to the use of the company.

The years 1756-1763 were marked by war with France. This war lasted for seven years. The British arms were successful both by land and sea;—there were checks and losses at sea, as was inevitable with the seas swarming with privateers; yet to drive the French out of Canada was a great achievement, while on the whole the prosperity of our trade went on increasing steadily.

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce was established in 1754.

Maitland gives a list of all the ships that belonged to the Port of London in the year 1728. In all there were 1417 vessels, with a tonnage of 178,557 tons,

and 21,927 men; most of these vessels were very small, some of no more than 20 tons. Taking one column alone of 90 ships, there are 42 over 100 tons, 14 over 200 tons, 9 over 300, and 4 over 400 tons. In this column there are none over 500 tons; but in other columns are found a few exceeding this tonnage, and in one case we find a ship of 700 tons. The names given to these vessels continually recur. For instance, it must have been impossible to know the *Dolphin* of London when there were 10 *Dolphins;* or the *Anne* when there were 19 *Annes;* or the *Charming Sally* when there were 6 Charmers named *Sally;* or the *Mary* when there were 44 ships of that name.

The ships which entered the Port of London during the year 1728 were—

(1) British vessels from beyond the seas . .	1839
(2) Foreign ships ,, ,, ,, . .	213
(3) Coasters from British ports . . .	6837
(4) Foreign ships ,, ,, . . .	2052

For unloading the merchandise arriving, and for loading the ships which were taking in cargo, there were 144 wharves, 2000 lighters, barges, and boats, and 607 great carts or waggons. Maitland does not tell us the number of men employed in the service of the wharfingers and barge-owners.

The war with the revolted colonies proved very disastrous to our trade. In 1778 it was estimated that our merchants had lost 733 ships, with cargoes estimated at £2,600,000. The African trade had been practically destroyed; sugar and other colonial produce had been doubled in price; both imports and exports were greatly reduced. It was little comfort for the London merchant to learn that the Americans had lost 900 ships and that their fisheries had been destroyed. The insurance on vessels homeward bound from the West Indies rose, in 1777, to the rate of 23 per cent. In that year the Thames was filled with foreign ships waiting to be laden, instead of London ships, which they feared to send out.

The next year, 1778, promised things still worse; for France joined America and laid an embargo on all English shipping in her ports. At one time the French fleet held the Channel, and the greatest fears were entertained for the safety of the East and West Indian fleets. Admiral Keppel, however, fortunately defeated the French fleet off Brest and forced them to retreat into another port. This done, the position was reversed, and the English fleets and the English privateers speedily captured French ships to the value of £400,000. In fact, the alliance of France with America gave us a chance of plunder: there was little to be got from America, but a great deal from France; we fitted out hundreds of privateers, Liverpool alone sending out 170, with 1986 guns and 8754 men. Spain and Holland next joined France and America. Great Britain was thus carrying on war with four States at once.

The history of the war belongs to the history of the country. It is sufficient to record that peace was signed in 1783.

The spinning-mills of Arkwright were now beginning to change the north of England from an agricultural to a manufacturing country; the roads and postal communications were greatly improved; machinery of all kinds was invented and perfected. A complete system of inland communication by canals was opened, London being connected with the middle and the west of England by canals which enabled her to despatch and to receive merchandise at a rate very much below the old charge of freight by waggon.

In 1793 the National Convention of France declared war against Great Britain. A commercial panic followed, in which many houses failed. Pitt called a meeting at the Mansion House, passed resolutions of confidence, and issued Exchequer Bills to the extent of £5,000,000, by which means he restored confidence.

The war did not, however, as was expected, bring very material injury upon the trade of London, as is shown by the following figures:—

IMPORTS	
1792	£19,659,358
1800	£30,570,605
EXPORTS	
1792	£24,905,290
1800	£43,152,019

In 1799 London possessed one-third of the whole trade of the Empire. The amount of property lying in the Pool every year was estimated as worth £70,000,000.

The following *résumé* of the trade of London is given in the *British Directory* for 1791:—

"The commerce of the world being in perpetual fluctuation, we can never be too watchful, not only for preserving what we are now in possession of, but for availing ourselves of the mistakes or negligences of other nations, in order to acquire new branches of it. Who could have imagined, three hundred years ago, that those ports of the Levant, from whence, by means of the Venetians, England, and almost all the rest of Christendom, were supplied with the spices, drugs, etc., of India and China, should one day come themselves to be supplied with those very articles by the remote countries of England and Holland, at an easier rate than they were used to have them directly from the East; or that Venice should afterwards lose to Lisbon the lucrative trade of supplying the rest of Europe with them; or lastly, that Lisbon should afterwards lose the same to Amsterdam; or that Amsterdam and Haerlem should gradually lose, as in great part they have

done, their famous and fine linen manufactures to Ireland and Scotland? At present, our woollen manufacture is the noblest in the universe; and second to it is our metallic manufacture of iron, steel, tin, copper, lead, and brass, which is supposed to employ upwards of half a million of people. Our unmanufactured wool alone, of one year's produce or growth, has been estimated to be worth two millions sterling; and, when manufactured, it is valued at six millions more, and is thought to employ upwards of a million of our people in its manufacture; whereas in former times all our wool was exported unmanufactured, and our own people remained unemployed. Even within the three last centuries, the whole rental or value of all the lands and houses in England did not exceed five millions; but by the spirited exertions of the City of London, seconded by the merchants of the principal trading towns in the country, the rental of England is now estimated at twenty millions per annum, or more; of which vast benefit our nobility, gentry, and landholders begin to be fully sensible, by the immense increase in the value or fee-simple of their lands, which has gradually kept pace with the increase and value of our commercial intercourse with foreign nations, of which the following are at present the most considerable.

To Turkey we export woollen cloths, tin, lead, and iron, solely in our own shipping; and bring from thence raw silk, carpets, galls, and other dyeing ingredients, cotton, fruits, medicinal drugs, etc.

To Italy we export woollen goods of various kinds, peltry, leather, lead, tin, fish, and East India merchandise; and bring back raw and thrown silk, wines, oil, soap, olives, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, dried fruits, colours, anchovies, etc.

To Spain we send all kinds of woollen goods, leather, lead, tin, fish, corn, iron and brass manufactures, haberdashery wares, assortments of linen from Germany and elsewhere for her American colonies; and receive in return wines, oils, dried fruits, oranges, lemons, olives, wools, indigo, cochineal, and other dyeing drugs, colours, gold and silver coins, etc.

To Portugal we mostly send the same kind of merchandise as to Spain; and make returns in vast quantities of wines, oils, salt, dried and moist fruits, dyer's ingredients, and gold coins.

To France we export tobacco, lead, tin, flannels, horns, hardware, Manchester goods, etc., and sometimes great quantities of corn; and make our returns in wines, brandies, linens, cambricks, lace, velvets, brocades, etc. But as a commercial treaty has so lately taken place with France, added to the attention of its people being drawn off from trade, and almost wholly engrossed with the establishment of its late wonderful revolution, it is impossible to state the relative operations of this trade at present.

To Flanders we send serges, flannels, tin, lead, sugars, and tobacco; and make returns in fine lace, linen, cambricks, etc.

To Germany we send cloth and stuffs, tin, pewter, sugars, tobacco, and East India merchandise; and bring from thence linen, thread, goatskins, tinned plates, timbers for all uses, wines, and many other articles.

To Norway we send tobacco and woollen stuffs; and bring from thence vast quantities of deals and other timber.

To Sweden we send most of our home manufactures; and return with iron, timber, tar, copper, etc.

To Russia we send great quantities of woollen cloths and stuffs, tin, lead, tobacco, diamonds, household furniture, etc.; and make returns in hemp, flax, linen, thread, furs, potash, iron, wax, tallow, etc.

To Holland we send an immense quantity of different sorts of merchandise, such as all kinds of woollen goods, hides, corn, coals, East India and Turkey articles imported by those respective companies, tobacco, tar, sugar, rice, ginger, and other American productions; and return with fine linen, lace, cambricks, thread, tapes, incle, madder, boards, drugs, whalebone, train-oil, toys, and various other articles of that country.

To America we still send our home manufactures of almost every kind; and make our returns in tobacco, sugars, rice, ginger, indigo, drugs, logwood, timber, etc.

To the coast of Guinea we send various sorts of coarse woollen and linen goods, iron, pewter, brass, and hardware manufactures, lead-shot, swords, knives, firearms, gunpowder, glass manufactures, etc.; and bring home vast numbers of negro slaves, and gold dust, dyeing and medicinal drugs, redwood, Guinea grains, ivory, etc.

To Arabia, Persia, East Indies, and China we send much foreign silver coin and bullion, manufactures of lead, iron, and brass, woollen goods, etc.; and bring home muslins, and cottons of various kinds, calicoes, raw and wrought silk, chintz, teas, porcelain, coffee, gold-dust, saltpetre, and many drugs for dyer's and medicinal uses. These are exclusive of our trade to Ireland, Newfoundland, West Indies, and many other of our settlements and factories in different parts of the world, which likewise contribute an immense annual return.

Our trade to the East Indies certainly contributes one of the most stupendous political as well as commercial machines that is to be met with in history. The trade itself is exclusive, and lodged in a company, which has a temporary monopoly of it, in consideration of money advanced to the Government. Without entering into the history of the East India trade, within these twenty years past, and the Company's concerns in that country, it is sufficient to say that, besides their settlements on the coast of India, which they enjoy under certain restrictions by Act of Parliament, they have, through the various internal revolutions which have happened at Indostan, and the ambition or avarice of their servants and officers, acquired such territorial possessions as render them the most formidable commercial republic (for

so it may be called in its present situation) that has been known in the world since the demolition of Carthage. Their revenues are only known, and that but imperfectly, to the Directors of the Company, who are chosen by the proprietors of the stock; but it has been publicly affirmed that they amount annually to above three millions and a half sterling. The expences of the Company in forts, fleets, and armies, for maintaining those acquisitions, are certainly very great; but after these are defrayed the Company not only cleared a vast sum, but was able to pay to the Government £400,000 yearly for a certain time, partly by way of indemnification for the expences of the public in protecting the Company, and partly as a tacit tribute for those possessions that are territorial and not commercial. This republic, therefore, cannot be said to be independent, and it is hard to say what form it may take when the term of its charter is expired, which will be in the year 1794. At present it appears to be the intention of Government that its exclusive commercial privileges shall then finally cease, and no new charter be granted."

About this time it was found that the wharves and the old system of lading and unlading had long ago become insufficient and dangerous; it was necessary to find less cumbersome and safer methods. Accordingly, the West Indies merchants obtained an Act of Parliament for the construction of docks, with wharves and warehouses, for the conduct of their trade. With the construction of the new docks the history of London trade in the eighteenth century enters upon a new chapter under new conditions; while to the riverside population, thus deprived of the means of robbery with impunity, the opening of the docks must have meant blank amazement and despair. What? no lighters wanted? No boats to receive casual odds and ends? No aprons with deep and ample pockets allowed? No one to leave the docks without having his pockets felt? Nothing for the honest dock-labourer but his wages? And if it was bad for him, it was worse for the fence. For him, after many years of living on the dishonest labours of the lighterman, to have nothing more to buy—no rum, no sugar, no spice, no parcels of silk and satin! Alas! poor fence!

I consider elsewhere the condition of the river, with its hordes of sharks and robbers. The whole of the cargoes brought to the Port of London had to be unladen by those persons in their lighters, barges, punts, lugger-boats, and billy-boys. There were between 3000 and 4000 of these boats engaged in this service; they employed many thousand labourers. It is easy to imagine that these people would resist to the uttermost any change which would deprive them of their work and their power of robbery. At the same time, the opposition came not from them—probably they hardly understood what was coming,—but from the vested interests, especially the owners of the "sufferance" wharves. There were only certain places where merchandise could be laded—on the "legal" quays, which extended for 1419 feet on the north side of the river, between the Bridge and the Tower; the "sufferance" wharves occupied about twice the area belonging to that line. Now it was estimated

that if the whole of the sugar were stored in all the wharves there would not be enough storage-room.

In 1795 the West Indies merchants opened a subscription for funds to construct a dock, and in two days raised a capital of £800,000.

The West India Docks were opened in August 1802. The Corporation, which had obtained permission to cut a canal through the Isle of Dogs, finished and opened it; but it proved a failure. In 1805 the London Docks were opened; in 1803 Parliament granted powers for the construction of the East India Docks; in 1810 the Rotherhithe Docks were commenced; and in 1828, after great opposition, the St. Katherine's Dock Company obtained their Bill. The construction of the Victoria Docks completed the dock system of the Port of London, unless we take into account the docks at Tilbury opened a few years since.

The coinage towards the end of the century became debased to an extent which greatly interfered with trade.

The state of the coinage and the establishment of the Mint were reported to a committee of the Lords in the year 1798. This committee continued to sit and to act until the year 1816, when they sent in their Report. It was to the effect that :—

(i.) Since they had begun to sit they had erected a new Mint near the Tower (where the coinage had been carried on). This Mint is the present building, designed by Sir Robert Smirke and Mr. John Johnson, and completed in 1810.

(ii.) That the Mint had been fitted with the most complete apparatus. This continued in use until the year 1881, when it was improved.

(iii.) That the return of peace, which had restored the precious metals to their normal value, made it possible to consider the subject of a new issue; and that the sum of £2,500,000 in silver would be issued as soon as possible. This Report was adopted on the 21st of May 1816.

Meantime, the whole community was suffering from the bad condition of the current coin. It was light; it was so much worn that they could not tell whether it was French or English; an immense amount of false coin was in circulation; numbers of men and women were constantly indicted for forging and uttering false coin; and traps of all kinds were set for making children, sailors, countrymen, and other innocent-looking persons pass the base money. One instance is that of a certain Solomon, commonly called, from a deformity in one of his feet, "Bubblefoot." His occupation was that of a secret agent of the police, for whom he looked about for criminals who were "wanted." He had to do this with the utmost circumspection, because his appearance was such that he could not disguise himself; besides, he had himself been more than once tried at the Old Bailey. This occupation giving him a little leisure, he employed it in creating offenders, with the connivance of the police-officers. He stationed himself somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Tower where sailors are found, and there he looked about for some ragged sailor

who had spent his money, and gave him a shilling, which the poor man took to the nearest tavern. When he proffered the coin in payment, he was seized by a police-officer, taken to prison, and tried for uttering base money. When these facts were discovered, it was found that eighteen persons were in Newgate, either tried and convicted or waiting trial, all brought there by the conspiracies of the police—who got £10 reward for every case—and the worthy "Bubblefoot."

The preparations for the new coinage lasted longer than was expected at first. In the autumn of 1816 the Bank of England issued a notice that it would buy up all the old shillings, with notes and tokens. This offer was eagerly accepted; but the consequences were at first embarrassing, for a kind of panic set in among retail dealers. In Westminster the police-office was crammed with people asking advice of the magistrates. One man had taken £50 in plain silver that morning, and no other tradesman would take any of it; pawnbroking was stopped; and at the markets the people began to get riotous. The panic was stopped by a handbill posted up in the streets ordering the people to take the current silver as usual. The new silver coinage was issued early in 1817.

CHAPTER IV

TRADES UNIONS

In 1744 the first serious and important attempt at a Trades Union, or at united action on the part of working-men, was made in London. The journeymen tailors and staymakers, to the number of 15,000, formed a combination for the advancement of their wages beyond the limit imposed by Act of Parliament. The same craftsmen, to the number of 7000, had attempted a combination in 1720. The "limit" of wage was that fixed in the year 1720. The Privy Council made short work with this union. They sent a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, then Custos Rotulorum for the county of Middlesex, and another to the Lord Mayor, commanding them to enforce the Acts regulating the wages of journeymen; to revoke the licences of those publicans who encouraged combinations; to commit any man, who refused to work for the regulated wage, for two months; and to fine any master who gave a higher rate of pay, £5 for each case. The men sent a deputation and a petition to the House. They complained of their loss of the liberty which every Englishman should enjoy by Magna Charta; but they got nothing by their action.

If, however, the journeymen were forbidden by Act of Parliament to make combinations or enter into unions, the law, on the other hand, gave them a minimum wage and protected them against the employment of non-freemen. A case was tried in the Lord Mayor's Court in the year 1750, between a club (not a union) of journeymen painters as plaintiffs, and a certain Row, citizen and master painter, defendant, for employing persons not free of the City to work for him in the City. The defendant pleaded that work had to be performed; that he could not get enough freemen; and that he never refused freemen. The jury were at first unable to agree; this seems to point to sympathy with the employer—no doubt it was a common practice,—but also to a desire to maintain the law. They sat over their verdict from two in the afternoon until six the next morning, without food, candle, or fire—and it was a night in December. They brought in, at last, a verdict for the plaintiffs.

That this verdict was a blow to the masters is proved by their immediate action

in drawing up a petition against the verdict and in praying for permission to employ non-freemen. The journeymen also sent in their petition.

The Common Council appointed a committee of sixteen, who sat over the case for nearly a year. Finally, it was decided that a master might employ one who was not a freeman, provided he could not get freemen, and had at the time, or had had during the last twelve months, an apprentice.

Another instance of the jealousy with which the journeymen regarded the law protecting the freemen was that in 1751, in which the tinplate-workers indicted one Milton at Hick's Hall for working at their trade without serving an apprenticeship. They depended upon a statute of Queen Elizabeth, which, however, was found not to help them, because they were not incorporated until after that statute was passed.

The condition of trade among the tailors and staymakers continued to be unsatisfactory. The number of petitions, indeed, from the masters in many trades at this time indicates uneasiness on the part of the masters and discontent on the part of the men. The master tailors and staymakers declared that they had been perfectly willing to comply with the recent Act for regulating the wages and work of their journeymen, but that they were constantly terrified, abused, and threatened by the men; that they had requested the magistrates at the Quarter Sessions of Middlesex to settle the wages afresh; that this had been done, giving the men 2s. a day in winter and 2s. 6d a day in summer; but that, in short, they wanted more.

Trade petitions were continually showered down upon Parliament. For instance, the hatmakers complained of foreign competition, and demanded protection, petitioning Parliament to that effect.

The merchants generally petitioned against the naturalisation of foreigners.

The merchants generally prayed also for protection against foreign cambrics.

The linen-drapers prayed for the prevention of smuggling. The sugar merchants prayed against the price of Muscovada sugar.

The history of trades unions and of the war between employer and employed belongs to the history of the country. All over the country during the eighteenth century the journeymen tried to wage war with the masters, and failed; rings were formed, unions were formed, which seemed for a time strong enough to crush the masters; yet in the long-run the masters crushed the men. The employers could persuade Parliament; there was the bogey of trade going abroad; there were divisions among the men; lastly, the Combination Acts of 1798 and 1800 for a time proved the death-blow of the trades unions. All trade combinations, by these Acts, were declared illegal. Yet only a few years afterwards, in the face of the Acts, unions, combinations, strikes, and lock-outs began again.

I have made notes of a few of the eighteenth-century strikes. The year 1768 was a year in which there was a great deal of turbulence.

Thus, on the 5th of May 1768, a body of sailors went on board their ships in the

Thames and unreefed their topsails, swearing that no ships should leave port till their wages were raised. The next day they assembled in St. George's Fields with flags, drums, and fifes, and went to St. James's with a petition to the King.

On the 11th of May a large body, estimated at 5000 to 15,000, marched to Palace Yard with a petition to Parliament. Afterwards they consented to meet the merchants and discuss their grievances.

On the 9th of May the watermen assembled before the Mansion House, anxious to ventilate their sorrows. The Lord Mayor advised them to lay their grievances before Parliament.

On the same day, the 9th of May, the hatters struck for higher pay. On the 10th the sawyers assembled and pulled down a new sawmill in order to bring their employers to a sense of their spirit. The coalheavers also met at Stepney and went to Palace Yard, where they were met by Sir John Fielding, who persuaded them to agree to a meeting with some of the masters. On the 11th of May the coalheavers again marched from Shadwell to Essex Stairs, calling on the Lord Mayor on the way. The Mayor, however, refused to help them or come to hear them.

On the 15th of May the glass-grinders assembled to petition Parliament for more wages, and on the same date the journeymen tailors also assembled for the same reason.

In June the sailors and coalheavers quarrelled and fought the matter out, with the result that the sailors were beaten.

On the 13th of June the coalheavers' insolence became so great that the soldiers were called in. In August the Spitalfields weavers rose, entered the house of one Nathaniel Farr, and destroyed the silk-work manufactory there, afterwards murdering a boy.

This is a sufficiently suggestive picture of the situation as to the content and the happiness of the working classes during the year 1768.

Early in 1769 the throwsters or silk manufacturers of Spitalfields rose and committed various outrages, extorting money from their masters; but by the vigilance of Sir John Fielding's officers they were dispersed "without much bloodshed."

On the 22nd of August of the same year the Spitalfields people rose again.

On the 19th of February 1770 the hat-dyers of Southwark seized a fellow-workman for working overtime without extra pay; mounted him, bearing a label descriptive of his offence, on an ass: visited all the hatworks in the borough, and those in the City, with a band of boys playing rough music; and compelled the men to strike at all the shops visited.

There was great jealousy as to letting trade secrets be carried out of the country.

Thus, in 1799, a man named Lammius, merchant and broker, was tried for

seducing artificers out of the country. He had been enticing artificers in the cotton-spinning trade to go to Hamburg and from there into France; he had also bought large quantities of implements used in the cotton manufactory for exportation. He was found guilty. The penalty was one year's imprisonment and a fine of £500. Ten years later, in 1809, one James Hewit was tried on a charge of seducing an artificer to leave the country and to go abroad and to work in a foreign country in a cotton factory.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

"What is it, then," some reader asks, "what is it that attaches your fancy so to fans and masks—to periwigs and patches?"—AUSTIN DOBSON.

IN this chapter we have to treat of the manners and customs of a time so near to us that we seem almost to belong to it, and yet so far removed that the very memory of many customs has departed from our people. The railway, the steamboat, the omnibus have changed our City more in sixty years than it was changed before in five hundred years. I shall here endeavour to present a faithful picture of the London citizen, his manners, his way of living, his religion, his education, his amusements, and everything that he did during that long period beginning with William the Third and ending with the death of William the Fourth,—for the eighteenth century overlapped its close and ran on unchanged, though with signs of change, until the reign of Queen Victoria.

The former connection between the City and the country, which furnished so many well-born and well-connected merchants to the City, which dignified trade, and kept London in touch with the country, died out completely in the eighteenth century. The loss to the City in dignity, position, and influence was greater and more important than any historians have recognised. Nor, as has been noticed elsewhere, did the country gentlefolk and nobility maintain any longer their town-houses in London. They now came up every year to the new London—West London—the London bounded on the south by Pall Mall, on the north by the Tyburn Road, on the west by the Park, on the east by Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Temple; and an impenetrable hedge of lawyers who divided the City from the West End belonged neither to the aristocracy nor the plutocracy. There was no friendship between these two parts of London. The country gentry grew richer and more powerful; they learned to despise more and more trade and the men who made their fortune by trade. There was occasionally some overstepping the town boundaries: sometimes a young lord, a "sprig of quality," married a City heiress; but this was rare. We may take it as a rule that between 1700 and the new era which began in 1837 the City life was one thing and the West End life was another.

In the same way, at the present day, the suburban life is one thing and the life of Society is quite another thing. The difference, however, is that the *grande dame de par le monde* of 1900 no longer despises the merchant who has made his great fortune: he lives beside her; he is invited to her receptions; he sends his sons with hers to Harrow and Eton, with hers into crack regiments; and, like her people, becomes a master of hounds, a J.P., a county magnate.

The tradition of sending the younger sons into trade survived the practice. It is alluded to by Pope (Epistle I.), though in his time the custom had practically ceased. Himself the son of a London tradesman, the poet might have been less scornful.

> "'Tis education forms the common mind:
> Just as the Twig is bent, the Tree's inclined;
> Boastful and rough, your first son is a Squire;
> The next a Tradesman, meek, and much a Lyer."

The younger sons of country gentry no longer sought apprenticeship and fortune in London; the mayors and sheriffs no longer bore ancient coats-of-arms, and were no longer descended from good old families; those who came to London were lads of low degree who brought their hands and nothing more. The House of Commons was principally made up of country gentry, placeholders, and well-born nominees of ministers; and since all political importance now lay in the House, that side of the importance of London was gone—a fact which the City did not yet understand. Again, while there were no family relations between the country gentry or the aristocracy and the City, they were also, as I have just pointed out, separated by their residences. The East and West of London, the City of London and the City of Westminster, were totally distinct, not only in government, but also by the position of their houses. The latter contained the town-houses of the aristocracy; the merchants all, without any exception to speak of, lived in the City, or, if they had country-houses, it was at Hackney, Hoxton, West Ham, Islington, Bromley, or Stepney. It was not till the middle of the century that a few merchants crossed the dividing area and settled in Bloomsbury. Only those who possessed large fortunes ventured to place themselves on the side sacred to aristocracy. It was considered an assertion of wealth, and a claim to social consideration on account of wealth.

This separation was, in many ways, a misfortune: it prevented the fusion of classes, which destroys caste and forbids the creation of a distinct aristocracy. Everything in the eighteenth century tended to create caste and to build up an aristocracy which should be a distinct and separate class; Society was composed exclusively of a distinct caste which admitted no outsiders, on any pretext whatever, either of wealth or of intellectual achievement. In order to belong to Society one had to be well born, *i.e.* born of a good and recognised family. This exclusiveness increased and became more marked, reaching its mischievous maximum in the days of the Regency. This caste claimed as its own, by right, every post in the country

worth having: its sons commanded the regiments and the armies, the men-o'-war and the fleets; they became ambassadors, ministers of state, members of Parliament, and placemen; they held the bishoprics, the deaneries, the rich livings, the pluralities. What they could not hold, or claim, or grasp were the great prizes of the bar and of medicine. It was considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman to sell anything, or to soil his fingers with any kind of trade, or to deal in any kind of commercial enterprise. The last occasion on which the aristocracy went into the City was in 1720, when the South Sea Bubble rose, swelled, and cracked. A gentleman might receive rents; he might also receive the emoluments of office and of his commission—that was all.

It was fortunate for the country that the aristocracy was at least the equal in ability of the plutocracy or the middle class; it was also fortunate that the aristocracy was, as a body, patriotic, courageous, resolute, and filled with a sense of honour. For these reasons its rule excited few jealousies and no resentments. It seemed natural, even to the citizens of London, that the aristocracy should rule.

Peerages, except in law, were conferred upon none but those of the caste; the distinctions in the gift of the Crown were given only to the caste. The people of the caste intermarried; they did what they could to keep out intruders. Had not the caste been broken down, partly by the necessities of the long war, during which outsiders had to be admitted into the services; partly by the increase of wealth among manufacturers and merchants; partly by the Reform Act; partly by the fall in the value of land; partly by the introduction of competitive examinations, we should have had, by this time, firmly fixed on our shoulders an actual ruling caste—a caste of the well-born—which would have left nothing open to our youth unless they could show sixteen quarterings. All the best things would have gone to the caste: outside it, there would have been circles of rich merchants and manufacturers; circles of scientific men; circles of professional men, artists, literary men—all without recognised positions or importance, political or social.

In the autobiography of Edward Gibbon, the historian, we find one of the latest examples of the country gentleman sending his son—the historian's grandfather—into London to be apprenticed to a trade. There may have been later examples, but I do not know of any; and, as I said above, I am strongly of opinion that in the eighteenth century the practice had entirely ceased. Let us consider this case.

Robert, son of Robert Gibbon, a country gentleman of Sussex, was sent up to London towards the end of the seventeenth century, to be apprenticed to a merchant citizen and clothworker. After serving his time, he took up his freedom as a member of the Clothworkers' Company. Apparently he made money by contracting for the clothing of King William's army. It does not appear that by this occupation he lost his position as a gentleman by birth and descent. He had two sons, one of whom became a draper in the City, and the other a scholar, traveller, writer, member

of the College of Heralds, and eventually Blue Mantle. The draper had two sons, of whom one became Dean of Carlisle, and the other—the historian does not tell us if the family shop was continued—developed into a Commissioner of Customs and, unfortunately for himself, a director of the South Sea Company. He was one of those whom the House of Commons deprived of their whole fortune; he lived, however, to make another fortune, which he bequeathed to his son Edward, the historian's father, who was a member of Parliament and a colonel of militia.

In this short family history we find that the contractor for clothing the army and the draper have in no way reduced the family below the consideration due to their position in the country. These views changed as the century went on, and it became a law with the country gentry, which has remained more or less to the present day, that a gentleman cannot go into trade. In London, however, even at the West End, this law is fast passing into oblivion. There has been, as we shall presently discover, an immigration into the City of the country gentry, which is more than a revival of the old custom of sending the younger sons into the City.

A book was published in the year 1800 which professed to present the history and parentage of the City fathers of that date. There are signs of exaggeration, and perhaps of personal feeling, in the work, which, combined with the fact that there must be, somewhere, many descendants of the persons named, make it prudent not to reproduce the names. There are 164 names mentioned. Among them we find the following cases. I believe they fully bear out my theory that the country gentry no longer sent their sons into the City. Observe that the men spoken of below were the City fathers, mayors, sheriffs, and aldermen :—

(1) Began life with a small oil-shop in Aldgate. Married niece of "Checkapron Sal," a washerwoman.
(2) Apprenticed to a coffin-maker, became undertaker, hosier, and auctioneer, respectively.
(3) Came up to London as a penniless lad from Wales.
(4) The son of an Alderney smuggler. Began his business in a little room over a gateway.
(5) Began life as a journeyman tailor.
(6) The son of a day labourer.
(7) The son of a "very poor man."
(8) The son of the skipper of a coasting vessel.
(9) A paviour originally; married a cook.
(10) The son of a poor man.
(11) Ditto.
(12) Began as an oilman with a very small shop.
(13) Began as a journeyman silversmith.

(14) Began as a clerk.
(15) Began with small grocer's shop.
(16) Perfectly uneducated.
(17) Was at first stable-boy at an inn; looked after the packhorses.
(18) Began as a servant in a warehouse.
(19) Another servant in the same warehouse.
(20) Began as a porter.
(21) Began as a shoeblack.
(22) Once kept a public-house.
(23) Could neither read nor write until he learned as an adult.
(24) Son of a miller in New York.
(25) Originally a barber.
(26) Began as a footman.
(27) At first a waiter.
(28) By trade a journeyman bricklayer.
(29) Was once a pastrycook.
(30) Was at first a chemist in Paternoster Row.

Besides these, we find one the son of an earl, one the son of a baronet, one the son of an M.P., one the son of a clergyman, three described as the sons of gentlemen—seven in all who are represented as of gentle birth. Several are sons of attorneys, but the attorney of that time was very far below the City solicitor of the present day in importance; some belonged to trades which may have been wholesale, as sugar-baker, leather-cutter, grocer, tea-seller, corn-factor; two of them came from New York; two, after the War of Independence, laid down the alderman's gown and went out there.

It is therefore without possibility of dispute that the City was no longer recruited from the class called gentry; that the number of "gentlemen," using the old sense of the word, who held office in the City was extremely small; that, for causes which can be explained, it was not only possible, but common, for quite poor lads to succeed in business and to amass great fortunes.

The causes to which I refer are these. It seems in the nature of trade that it is not hereditary—at least, not for long. When a merchant retires with a fortune, his first thought is to take it out of the risks and perils of trade; for the sake of his heirs, he proceeds to invest his money in land, and to become a country gentleman. In this way the house of business disappears, or has to be carried on in the same name by strangers. Again, which also happens, the house may become bankrupt and so disappear. Or the business, for some reason, falls into other channels or into new hands. It is very rare to find in the City a house of business which is in its third or fourth generation. Again, in the eighteenth century there occurred a

greater increase of trade than was ever known before, which opened the way for the advancement of new men.

Where could London find these recruits? Formerly, they came up from the country, as we have seen; they were the younger sons of country gentlemen; they came up as 'prentices to their cousins. If they showed ability they stepped into the place of the retiring merchant, or they took the place of the broken merchant, or they inherited the business of the dying merchant, or they started in business on their own account.

When this stream ceased, which was in the early part of the eighteenth century, where were the young men who would step into the vacant places? There were no longer the young gentlemen from the country; there were the nephews or sons of the retiring merchants; or there were the poor youths—those who had everything to gain, who were already employed in some capacity in the City, and understood what was wanted. There were thousands of such young men; there were but a few—there are never more than a few—who understood the first essentials of success—how to see and how to seize the opportunity. That these men were uneducated and vulgar we should expect. The book before us gives abundant evidence. One or two of the anecdotes may be quoted without fear that they may be taken in any way as reflecting on the present status of the Corporation, which is, of course, beyond any such charge or suggestion of illiteracy.

For instance, the following lines are said to have been written by one of them on the victory of the Nile:—

"Great Nelson, in the grandest stile,
Bore down upon the shores of Nile;
And there obtained a famous victory,
Which puzzles much the French Directory.
The impudence of those there fellows,
As all the newspapers do tell us,
Had put the Grand Turk in a pet,
Which caused him to send Nelson an aigrette:
Likewise a grand pelisse—a noble boon—
Then let us hope a speedy peace and soon."

Of another it was reported that when he was Lord Mayor, and thought dancing had gone on long enough in the ballroom of the Mansion House, he would take the gardener's fumigating bellows and put out the lights; and if his daughters expostulated, he would reply, "Ar'n't it all for to make you good weight?"

Other anecdotes of the same kind may be found in this volume and those like it.

The question whether London was a more cheerful city—in other words, whether the people of London were more cheerful and happier—in the eighteenth century than now, has often been asked and never answered. For, in truth, cheerfulness or happiness depends entirely on the standard of life: we get what we desire, and we are happy; we cannot attain to what we think constitutes the most desirable form

of life, and we are therefore discontented. Let us ask what the City man desired in 1760.

He desired, first, such a sufficiency of the world's goods as would keep at a reasonable distance the ever-present terror of bankruptcy and the debtors' prison. The contemplation of those places; the misery of wife and children when the bread-winner could earn no more; the coldness of old friends—especially that of the industrious apprentice himself, raised to the civic chair—towards the less fortunate or the less industrious in the Fleet and the King's Bench, acted as a constant stimulus to work and moderation. The City man rose early and worked late; he lived frugally and spent little, till his money-bags began to fill out; he was decorous in his behaviour, moral in his sentiments, religious in observance; when he feasted it was at the expense of his Company. His wife was like-minded; their pleasures were simple—the toast and muffins of the tea-table, a roast and a pudding for dinner; when they grew rich, Vauxhall or Marylebone once or twice in the year. The theatre they cared nothing about; the opera was beyond them; of art or literature they knew nothing; sometimes, as at Christmas, they would play a game of cards—say Pope Joan or Speculation; they attended the week-day sermon and the two services on Sunday. The wife knew a great many people in the City and paid her rounds of visits; in dress she affected the substantial citizen and was dignified in silk or a gold chain. In the summer a drive to Tottenham or Walthamstow was a favourite pastime. As for her husband, he had his club to which he repaired either on stated evenings of the week or every evening. There were clubs of every kind; his, however, was the sober and steady kind, in which there was neither singing nor merriment. The members sat round the table and conversed in mannered and conventional speech, with great politeness and deference towards each other. They gave to each other what they most desired for themselves—the consideration due to credit and the reputation of soundness. This kind of London citizen was certainly as happy as a man can expect to be, because he got all he wished to get and died leaving a good round fortune. He died contentedly, knowing that he would "cut up" better than his friends expected; and that his memory would be, on that account, envied, admired, and respected.

CHAPTER II

THE DAILY LIFE

I NOW come to the daily life of the citizens. The middle classes, including the merchants, shopkeepers, solicitors, medical men, and all the professions, present great difficulties to one who endeavours to restore the past. They are not fashionable—it is easy to get at the life of fashion; they are not criminal—we seem to understand very well how the highwayman or the riverside thief lived. Play-writers found nothing interesting in the quiet, uneventful ways of the middle class. Satirists leave them alone, unless they gird and sneer at the citizen for his bad taste, his vulgar manners, and his ignorance.

The more substantial merchants took tea for breakfast—tea with bread-and-butter, at nine; they visited the coffee-house, where they generally took a morning glass, at ten; transacted business in their offices till noon; went on 'Change till two; repaired to the coffee-house again till four; took dinner at four; after dinner went to their clubs or to the coffee-house; at ten went home, took supper, and so to bed.

I have found, however, sufficient materials for the presentation of the life of a tradesman of the time we are considering, viz. the middle of the eighteenth century.

First, in general terms. I will go on to a more detailed account afterwards.

The example I have before me is that of a man who kept a shop in Cheapside. He lived behind and over his shop; he had one apprentice; his wife kept one maid. His daughters, after learning how to read, write, and cipher at a girls' school, remained at home and devoted themselves to the acquisition of the more solid accomplishments. That is to say, they made pickles, wine, cordials, puddings, and cakes; they understood household cookery; they made most of their own dress; they were great at needlework; they carefully preserved a manuscript household book handed down from a great-grandmother. This they consulted with reverence, and knew the contents by heart. It contained, first, the simpler remedies for the smaller complaints, and next a great quantity of receipts for making beer, wine, lavender-water, cordials, puddings, pies, and cakes.

The boys were taught neither Latin nor Greek. Writing and ciphering and

bookkeeping were their studies; when they were fourteen they became apprentices either to their father or to some other of the same class. All day long the head of the house attended to business, while the mother and daughters worked in the kitchen; in the evening the good man, as a loyal vestryman, served all the parish offices in turn; attended church, it is needless to say, on Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon, and often once in the week; there was daily service in his parish church, but this he left for his wife and daughters. He was punctual in meeting his liabilities: the greatest wickedness that any man could commit, in his eyes, was not to pay his debts; the greatest punishment that the law provided for a defaulter—imprisonment for life in a debtors' prison—he thought was not enough for such a wretch. Since, indeed, two or three defaulters might bring him to bankruptcy and to the same prison for life, it was natural that he should regard such an offender with the greatest loathing and hatred.

He rose betimes, and he entered his shop as soon as it was opened. His 'prentices slept under the counter, and took down the shutters, which were sliding shutters, one for the upper and one for the lower part, at half-past seven or eight. In the afternoon, when the ladies came along in their coaches to do their shopping, he was dressed after the fine fashion of the time in black velvet and white silk stockings, with silver buttons and buckles, with silver lace on his hat, his wig carefully dressed, and fine lace ruffles at his sleeve. In this array he stood at the door of his shop and invited people to step in, handing the ladies out of their coaches, and leaving his partner, or his apprentice, to conduct the sales.

As for his way of living, the "parlour" behind the shop was his dining-room and breakfast-room and sitting-room; it looked out upon the parish church and churchyard, where funerals were going on every day. He breakfasted on cold meat and small-beer. He dined at one: as a rule, he dined well; his 'prentice waited upon him; he drank strong ale out of a silver tankard. After dinner he regaled, but with moderation, on elder wine or the raisin wine made by his wife and daughters. Tea was not a daily article of food with the shopkeeper, but the citizen's wife sometimes gave a tea-party; the drinking of tea was followed by a dram or a cordial to guard against any possible bad effects—for the drink, though fashionable, was still regarded with some suspicion; the tea was then carefully put away and locked up for another month or two, until the next tea-party.

There was, as might be expected, a great deal too much drinking among men of business. Some of them began early in the morning, before eight, with a dram or pick-me-up. A favourite dram was composed of half a pint of sack with a dash of gentian in it. Imagine a City tradesman of the present day taking a tumblerful of sherry before breakfast as a "whet"! There were many other "whets": such as the "White and Wormwood"; the "Ratafia"; the "Nectar and Ambrosia," a dram prepared for "ladies' closets"; the "Rosolio"; and many others.

At inns and public dinners every man helped himself from the dish with his own knife and fork: sometimes two or three knives or forks would be engaged in the same dish together. Thus, in the *Grub Street Journal* we read that "last Wednesday a gentleman met with an odd accident in helping himself to some roast chicken. He found that he had conveyed two joints of another gentleman's forefinger to his plate together with the wing which he had just taken off." In Hogarth's "City Feast," one of the guests is thus helping himself out of the dish with his own knife and fork. The wine provided at the taverns was mostly port or Lisbon; it was a thick and heavy liquid, often made at home with sloes, blackberries, and boiled turnips, "fortified" with spirit. The Burgundy and Bordeaux were also fortified and made stupefying with spirit.

A writer of the year 1744 gives us an insight into certain City customs. It was during the Christmas holidays that he was bidden to an entertainment at the house of a rich citizen of Farringdon Without. He entered, was shown into the dining-room, which he found full of ladies. They all rose. He made a profound bow; he was repaid by a circle of courtesies. Having taken his seat, there followed a profound silence; then he heard one of them whisper, "I believe he thinks we smoke tobacco." "For my readers must know I had omitted the City custom and not kissed one of the ladies."

They talked mostly scandal in half-whispers. The ladies were then called away to a parlour for tea, while the men went off to another room for their bottle and their tobacco.

As for the middle-class education, that was principally carried on in "academies" kept by men broken-down, bankrupt, or turned out of some other employment. The master could teach nothing more than writing and arithmetic; he could also hear lessons learned by rote; he pretended to teach French, and had a Swiss retained on the establishment; needless to say that the boys learned no more French in the eighteenth century than they do in the present. The usher taught Latin to those boys who learned it; there was also a dancing-master on his staff.

The girls' schools were chiefly kept by ex-lady's-maids. They knew something about deportment, something about dress, and something about needlework. There was a dancing-master attached to the establishment in the winter, and a music-master all the year round; he was generally the deputy-organist of the parish church. As for any solid education for the girls, there was none; it would appear, however, that they behaved with as much decorum as their mothers, and with as much responsible dignity as their fathers. Perhaps they were little the worse for being ignorant of history, science, literature, art, geography, and political economy.

Saturday was the day for collecting debts—the day dreaded by the prodigal and the debtor. "A Saturday is the melancholiest part of the whole week, not so much by reason of the froppish and humorsome planet which governs it, but by reason of

CITY FEAST

From Hogarth's engraving, "The Industrious 'Prentice grown rich, and Sheriff of London." (*Industry and Idleness*).

too many insufferable duns, who tread the streets in terror; and that is the reason so many citizens can as well be hanged as keep out of nine-pin houses in Moorfields on this day, to be out of the sight of those ghastly apparitions that haunt their ghost at the heel of the week. Poverty and Necessity, the god of the Andreans, that could stop the mouth of Themistocles, cannot appease the wrath of a City creditor, whose empty money-bag, twisted about his hand, is as killing as a Gorgon's head; and therefore it is well the poor man is out of the way, and is only practising those sports which are like to be his only livelihood in a short time; and what a kindness it is for a man to be removed from the cares and labours of this world to the sweet pleasures of drinking, smoking, and other sportive recreations!"

In a century of wigs, shaven heads, and smooth faces, the barber played an important part. He had to be visited every day; his 'prentices all day long were engaged in making wigs, dressing and curling wigs, powdering wigs, besides shaving heads and chins and cheeks. He kept the Sunday wigs for his customers' use in a box, as a solicitor now keeps the papers of his clients; on Sunday morning he and his boys were up early dressing the wigs for church and carrying them round. On week-days early in the morning the "flying-barber" was seen with his jug of hot water, his soap, and his "tackle," hurrying from house to house. Later on in the day, his shop was full of City men, tradesmen especially, who wanted an hour's holiday from the shop for a morning gossip, and very often a morning draught. The guitar which, in the sixteenth century, was found in every barber's shop was gone: the Puritans killed the natural love of music. Yet one would like to see a barber's shop as it was in the year 1740, say. It was filled with strange and curious instruments, which are noted by the lively writer of *Wine and Walnuts*:—

"Long spiral machines, for frosting the hair, various other powdering puffs, toupees, braids, and wired cushions, braiding pins twelve, yea, fourteen inches long, crisping and other irons of every denomination, and leather rollers for the beaux' curls."

The following is a picture of a draper's shop in the year 1715:—

"This afternoon some ladies, having an opinion of my fancy in clothes, desired me to accompany them to Ludgate-hill, which I take to be as agreeable an amusement as a lady can pass away three or four hours in. The shops are perfect gilded theatres, the variety of wrought silks so many changes of fine scenes, and the mercers are the performers in the opera; and instead of *vivitur ingenio* you have in gold capitals, '*No trust by retail.*' They are the sweetest, fairest, nicest, dished-out creatures; and, by their elegant address and soft speeches, you would guess them to be Italians. As people glance within their doors, they salute them with—'Garden-silks, ladies; Italian silks; very fine mantua silks; any right Geneva velvet, English velvet, velvet embossed?' And to the meaner sort—'Fine thread satins, both striped and plain; fine mohair silks; satinnets; burdets; Persianets; Norwich

crapes; anterines; silks for hoods and scarves; hair camlets; druggets; sagathies; gentlemen's nightgowns ready-made; shalloons; durances; and right Scotch plaids.'

We went into a shop which had three partners: two of them were to flourish out their silks, and, after an obliging smile and a pretty mouth made Cicero-like, to expatiate on their goodness; and the other's sole business was to be gentleman usher of the shop, to stand completely dressed at the door, bow to all the coaches that pass by, and hand ladies out and in. We saw abundance of gay fancies, fit for sea-captains' wives, sheriffs' feasts, and Taunton-dean ladies. 'This, madam, is wonderful charming. This, madam, is so diverting a silk. This, madam, my stars! how cool it looks! But this, madam—ye Gods! would I had 10,000 yards of it!' Then gathers up a sleeve, and places it to our shoulders. 'It suits your ladyship's face wonderfully well.' When we had pleased ourselves, and bid him ten shillings a-yard for what he asked fifteen: 'Fan me, ye winds, your ladyship rallies me! Should I part with it at such a price, the weavers would rise upon the very shop. Was you at the Park last night, madam? Your ladyship shall abate me sixpence. Have you read the *Tatler* to-day?'

These fellows are positively the greatest fops in the kingdom: they have their toilets and their fine nightgowns; their chocolate in the morning, and their green tea two hours after; turkey-polts for their dinner; and their perfumes, washes, and clean linen equip them for the Parade."

The following is a list of things sold by the draper or man's mercer in the year 1774:—

"Dutch ratteens, duffles, frizes, beaver coatings, kerseymeres, forrest cloths, German serges, Wilton stuffs, sagathies, nankeens, Silasia cambricks, Manchester velvets, silks, grograms, double allapeens, silk camblets, barragons, Brussels camblets, princes stuffs, worsted damasks, silk knitpieces, corded silks, and gattias, shagg velvets, serge desoys, shalloons, and allapeens."

I next present the daily life of two tradesmen of the century, taken from their own diaries and journals.

The first is one Thomas Turner, not of London, but of East Hothley, Kent, general dealer and storekeeper. He lived from 1728 to 1789. He was prosperous in his business; he read a good deal; he was much respected for his knowledge; he enjoyed the company of his friends, and he had his weaknesses.

Like most men with weaknesses, he was fond of making resolutions for an improved kind of life: he resolved to get up early and breakfast before eight; he resolved to dine between twelve and one; to eat little meat but a great deal of garden stuff; to sup frugally on broth and milk pottage; never to drink more than four glasses of beer and eight glasses of wine or punch; and always to go to bed at or before ten.

At the Vestry audit he got drunk; he went to his friend Jones's, where they

drank a bowl of punch and "two muggs of bumboo," going home in liquor; he went to see a foot-race and got "very drunk,"—and so on. Each case of intemperance is followed by prayers and resolutions. On a certain night in January he and his wife, with two friends, sit down to cards and play all night without any "imprecations."

"*January* 26.—We went down to Whyly, and staid and supped there; we came home between twelve and one o'clock,—I may say, quite sober, considering the house we was at, though undoubtedly the worse for drinking, having, I believe, contracted a slight impediment in my speech, occasioned by the fumes of the liquor operating too furiously on my brain.

February 2.—We supped at Mr. Fuller's, and spent the evening with a great deal of mirth till between one and two. Thos. Fuller brought my wife home upon his back. I cannot say I came home sober, though I was far from being bad company. I think we spent the evening with a great deal of pleasure.

Wednesday.—About four P.M. I walked down to Whyly. We played at bragg the first part of the even. After ten we went to supper, on four boiled chickens, four boiled ducks, minced veal, sausages, cold roast goose, chicken pasty, and ham. Our company, Mr. and Mrs. Porter, Mr. and Mrs. Coates, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Piper and wife, Joseph Fuller and wife, Tho. Fuller and wife, Dame Durrant, myself and wife, and Mr. French's family. After supper our behaviour was far from that of serious, harmless mirth: it was downright obstreperous, mixed with a great deal of folly and stupidity. Our diversion was dancing or jumping about, without a violin or any musick, singing of foolish healths, and drinking all the time as fast as it could be well poured down; and the parson of the parish was one among the mixed multitude. If conscience dictates right from wrong, as doubtless it sometimes does, mine is one that I may say is soon offended; for I must say, I am always very uneasy at such behaviour, thinking it not like the behaviour of the primitive Christians, which I imagine was most in conformity to our Saviour's gospel. Nor would I be thought to be either a synick or a stoick, but let social improving discourse pass round the company. About three o'clock, finding myself to have as much liquor as would do me good, I slipt away unobserved, leaving my wife to make my excuse. Though I was very far from sober, I came home, thank God, very safe and well, without even tumbling; and Mr. French's servant brought my wife home, at ten minutes past five" (probably upon his back).

"*Thursday.*—This morning about six o'clock, just as my wife was got to bed, we was awaked by Mrs. Porter, who pretended she wanted some cream of tartar; but as soon as my wife got out of bed, Mrs. Porter vowed she should come down. She found Mr. Porter, Mr. Fuller and his wife, with a lighted candle, and part of a bottle of wine and a glass. The next thing was to have me downstairs, which being apprized of, I fastened my door. Upstairs they came, and threatened to break it open; so I ordered the boys to open it, when they poured into my room; and as

modesty forbid me to get out of bed, so I refrained; but their immodesty permitted them to draw me out of bed, as the common phrase is, topsy-turvey; but, however, at the intercession of Mr. Porter, they permitted me to put on my small clothes, and instead of my upper clothes, they gave me time to put on my wife's petticoats; and in this manner they made me dance, without shoes and stockings, until they had emptied the bottle of wine, and also a bottle of my beer. About three o'clock in the afternoon, they found their way to their respective homes, beginning to be a little serious, and, in my opinion, ashamed of their stupid enterprise and drunken perambulation."

On March 7 they had another bout:—

"We continued drinking like horses, as the vulgar phrase is, and singing till many of us were very drunk, and then we went to dancing and pulling of wigs, caps, and hats; and thus we continued in this frantic manner, behaving more like mad people than they that profess the name of Christians. Whether this is inconsistent to the wise saying of Solomon let any one judge, 'Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and he that is deceived thereby is not wise.'"

When trade is slack he lays it on the luxury of the time, which will not allow people to buy things necessary. Especially he denounces the exorbitant practice of tea-drinking. On Christmas Day he and his wife stay to the Communion. His wife gave sixpence; "they not asking me, I gave nothing. Oh! may we increase in faith and good works!"—an aspiration which is very delightful after he has given nothing.

Here is another account of a tradesman's daily life. It is taken from the *Place Collection*, and contains the moral observations of one tradesman on the autobiography of another:—

"Mr. Brasbridge kept a shop in Fleet Street within three or four doors of New Bridge Street; it was a neat shop, and when I first knew it, well stocked with silver and plated goods; he says he had a good business, and might from his own account have made a fortune, and this he might have done as some of his pot companions did, had he stuck a little closer to his shop for the first few years he was in business. His evening jollifications could not have ruined him as they did, but he became a jolly fellow before he had sufficiently established his business, and before it could bear to be neglected as all such men neglect their businesses."

If Mr. Brasbridge had been a more accurate observer and a better narrator, he would have drawn the correct picture of the better sort of tradesmen of the last age. He tells us he was a member of several clubs. He often spent his evenings at the Globe Tavern in Fleet Street. This was one of those places a little above a public-house in accommodation and character. There was a common parlour into which scarcely any one entered promiscuously; almost every one was more or less a regular frequenter of the room after being introduced by some of the old sets.

"I likewise," he says, "belonged to a sixpenny Card club at the Queen's Arms

in St. Paul's Churchyard. It consisted of about 20 members, of whom I am the only survivor.

Another place which I used to frequent was the Cider Cellar in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden." It was famous for the political debates and arguments. This was at the time Wilkes's short-lived popularity was beginning to dawn.

"The *Free and Easy* under the Rose was another society to which I belonged. It was founded in 1760 at the Queen's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, and was afterwards removed to the Horn Tavern in Carter Lane, Doctors' Commons. It consisted of some thousand members, and I never heard of any one of them that incurred any serious blame. Our great fault was sitting too late."

He tells us, however, that he "cannot say so much for the company that frequented the Spread Eagle in the Strand, a house famous for the resort of young men after the theatre. Shorter, the landlord, facetiously observed that his was a very uncommon set of customers, for what with hanging, drowning, and natural deaths, he had a change every six months." He shows, what indeed might be presumed, that neither of these "Free and Easys" was frequented by working-men, but by tradesmen, and by the sons of tradesmen who were called respectable; some among them men of property, and a few who were wealthy.

Lamentations over the increasing luxury of the time are common in every age. In the eighteenth century it seemed dreadful to the satirist that the "cit" and the 'prentice should venture among the haunts of fashionable folk:—

> "Time was, when sattin waistcoats and scratch wigs,
> Enough distinguished all the city prigs,
> Whilst every sunshine Sunday saw them run
> To club their sixpences, at Islington;
> When graver citizens, in suits of brown,
> Lined all the dusty avenues to town,
> Or led the children and the loving spouse,
> To spend two shillings at White-Conduit-house:
> But now, the 'prentices, in suits of green,
> At Richmond or at Windsor may be seen;
> Where in mad parties they run down to dine,
> To play at gentlefolks, and drink bad wine."
>
> *Town Eclogues.*

Again, time was when tradesmen brought up their families in frugal ways. Now, their wives and daughters scorn to make or mend: a dressmaker and a milliner must be sought for everything, while they spend half the day shopping:—

> "Whilst Miss despises all domestic rules,
> But lisps the French of Hackney boarding-schools;
> And ev'ry lane around Whitechapel bars
> Resounds with screaming notes, and harsh guitars."

It was thought presumptuous and ridiculous when the London tradesman set up his small country-house on one of the suburban roads. It was good material, however, for the essayist. Thus, the "Box" of a certain Common Councilman is

described by the *Connoisseur*. It stood some miles from the City, by the roadside, but separated from it by a ditch, crossed by a bridge of two planks, giving a baronial touch to the affair. This would suit the Brixton Road, the ditch being the River Effra. "On the other side of the road was a high hedge, which shut out every view except from the garret windows, whence, however, could be enjoyed a beautiful vista of two men hanging in chains on Kennington Common, with a distant view of St. Paul's cupola enveloped in a cloud of smoke. The entrance 'hall' was decorated with a large map of London, a plan and elevation of the Mansion House, and smaller views of other public buildings, on one side; and on the other a coloured print of Overton's 'Death of the Stag.' Over the parlour door were affixed a couple of stags'-horns, and over these an amber-headed cane. In the parlour itself, above the chimney-piece, hung a portrait of the host drawn bolt upright, in a full-bottom'd periwig, a laced cravat with the fringed ends appearing through a buttonhole, a black linsey gown, a snuff-color'd velvet coat with gold buttons, a red velvet waistcoat trimm'd with gold, one hand stuck in the bosom of his shirt, and the other holding out a letter, with the superscription, 'To Mr. ——.' Another portrait in the same room was that of my friend's wife's great-great-uncle, who had been sheriff and knighted in the reign of King James I. Madam herself filled up a panel on the opposite side, in the habit of a shepherdess smelling a nosegay, and stroking a ram with gilt horns. The garden was some twenty feet in length, and contained a dozen pots on either side of the path, filled with lilies and coxcombs, trained up against old laths painted green, and surmounted with the bowls of tobacco-pipes—probably to catch the earwigs. The object of this 'Box' was the better avoidance of the Sabbath, to attain which desirable consummation one half of Saturday was lost in papering up cold chickens, bottling brandy punch, sorting clean shifts and nightcaps for the children, pinning baskets, and cording trunks; and one half of Monday was wasted in undoing the same packages and putting away the things on their return to town."

The City people even have their own pleasure-gardens. Monstrous!

"Hence spring assemblies with such uncouth names,
At Deptford, Wapping, Rotherhithe, and Shad-Thames,
Where every month the powder'd, white-glov'd sparks,
Spruce haberdashers, pert attorneys' clerks,
With deep-enamour'd 'prentices, prefer
Their suit to many a sighing milliner:
In scraps of plays their passions they impart,
With all the awkward bows they learn from Hart.
'Tis here they learn their genius to improve,
And throw by Wingate for the Art of Love;
They frame th'acrostic deep, and rebus terse,
And fill the day-book with enamour'd verse;
Ev'n learned Fenning on his vacant leaves,
The ill-according epigram receives,
And Cocker's margin hobling sonnets grace,
To Delia, measuring out a yard of lace."

The indignation of Smollett must be taken with large deductions. If, however, the tradesman had become so prosperous as to jump from 4½d. to 3s., why should he not? Cannot a man be allowed the enjoyment of his own prosperity?

"The substantial tradesman who went to pass his evenings at the ale-house for 4½d., now spends 3s. at the tavern, while his wife keeps card-tables at home; she must also have fine clothes, her chaise, or pad, with country lodgings, and go three times a week to public diversions. Every clerk, apprentice, and even waiter of a tavern or coffee-house, maintains a gelding by himself, or in partnership, and assumes the air and apparel of a *petit maître*. The gayest places of public entertainment are filled with fashionable figures, which, upon enquiry, will be found to be journeymen tailors, serving men, and abigails, disguised like their betters."

The West End on one side and Grub Street on the other, neither of which had the least intercourse with the City, were completely ignorant of the leaps and bounds with which the trade and the wealth of the London merchants, and therefore of the London tradesman, advanced in the eighteenth century. That the City shopkeeper should send his daughters to a good school—or what was considered a good school,—that his wife should buy what she wanted instead of making it,—seemed a clear proof of impending bankruptcy, not to speak of the impudence of stepping outside the rank and station to which these people were called. That the shopkeeper was entitled to all the pleasures which his increased wealth allowed was never considered by the satirist,—partly because, having no wealth of his own, and associating with none but such as himself, needy and dependent, he knew nothing about the increase of wealth. Nor was it till the merchants and rich tradesmen began to buy country estates, that the old respect for the City began to return, and the county families, which had to admit these new families into their society, began to ask whether a return to the old custom of sending boys into the City was not worth considering. In many places they have already considered this question; in others they are still considering it. But it would be interesting to learn, if we could discover the facts, how many country estates are now in the hands of families which made their money in the City during the years 1750 to 1850 or thereabouts.

CHAPTER III

THE CRAFTSMAN

THE daily life of the craftsman and the appearance of his workshop are difficult to recover. His hours of labour were longer; he began about six, he worked till seven or eight; he consumed vast quantities of beer, mostly the black beer now called porter and stout; he would not touch tea or coffee; he took bread and cheese for breakfast and for supper; he regarded beefsteak as the only form of meat worthy the attention of a free Englishman. In his shops, where all worked together, there were no steam appliances, and such machines as the workman used were simple—such as the lathe, worked by a treadle. Every shop was governed by rules of the trade, enforced by the men themselves, to whom, indeed, they were more sacred than the Ten Commandments. Every trade had its own customs, which were unwritten rules. The workshops were small, and they presented the appearance of living-rooms as well as workshops. The walls were mostly plastered; the shelves were covered with old hour-glasses, candlesticks with thick tallow candles such as are used on board ship, snuffers, old lanterns of horn, tools and implements of all kinds; the windows were generally casements, with diamond panes set in leaden frames and studded with thick "bull's-eyes" of green glass, used to prevent breaking—one never sees these bull's-eyes now; the place was not too well lit even by day: after dark the men worked by the light of tallow candles, which they provided at their own expense. Some of the men sang songs and catches at their work. Especially was this the case with the weavers, who were said to have brought over the custom from Flanders. Falstaff says, "I would I were a weaver. I would say my psalms and all manner of songs." Hogarth, who frequented one weaver's shop at least, has represented his two apprentices at work at the beam. The walls are pasted with songs, political and comic, and dismal ballads of executions and confessions. In each corner of the workshop was a fireplace, and in winter evenings the men toasted their potatoes in the hot ashes.

The ceiling was covered with names of bygone workmen inscribed in candle smoke. The doors and the woodwork were covered all over with names; and on the wall was to be seen many a "hand next the heart." The custom has long since

INTERIOR OF A WEAVER'S WORKSHOP

From Hogarth's engraving, "The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms" (*Industry and Idleness*).

died out, and few there are who know now what it means. It was this. When a man left the workshop, either for good or for a time, his fellow-workmen chalked his hand all over; he then stamped an impression of the chalked hand on the wall, which was left till it became worn out by time. When he returned, if he did return, it was the signal for the order of a gallon pewter pot filled with foaming porter. In such a shop Hogarth, with his dog Tramp between his feet, delighted to sit and watch the men and talk with them. He called them his "shopmates." They spoke of him as the greatest "limner"—that good old word still survived—in the whole world.

One of the things most desired by the working-man was to have a stately funeral. With this object he belonged to a burial-club. Every member, I believe, paid a shilling on the demise of another member. The shillings paid for the coffin; the society provided the black cloaks for the men and the hoods and scarves for the women. We must remember that the burial took place in the City churchyard, which was not far from every house in the parish; and that the funeral was a walking one. In some trades, when one died, the whole fraternity attended; the funeral took place in the night; and a subscription was paid for the cake and wine which marked the mourners' sense of their bereavement.

Franklin's *Biography* gives us some insight into the manners of the better class of working-men. He worked for a printer named Watts in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and had lodgings at the house of a Catholic lady in Duke Street (now Sardinia Street), opposite the Roman Catholic chapel. At the top of the house was a lady who had been sent to the Continent to take the veil, but, finding the climate disagree with her, she came home and lived in a nun-like solitude, performing her religious duties with the greatest regularity, living on £12 a year and giving the rest in charity. Franklin, for his part, also lived with the greatest frugality: his supper consisted of half an anchovy, a piece of bread, and half a pint of ale shared with his landlady. The other men at the press drank a pint of beer before breakfast, a pint with bread and cheese for breakfast, a pint between breakfast and dinner, one at dinner, one at six in the evening, one after work,—altogether six pints a day, which seems a good allowance. Franklin himself mostly drank water, and had gruel with butter, toast, and nutmeg for breakfast. But it does not appear that his method became popular.

The craftsmen of London still, in the eighteenth century, stood by each other. Many of the trades lived together, as the watchmakers of Clerkenwell and the weavers of Spitalfields. They all had their own distinguishing dress, and could be recognised by everybody; they had their laws and observances. The lamplighters, who were not a large body, went so far as to attend the funeral of any brother who died; they buried him at night; and they all wore white jackets and cocked hats, and carried flaming torches. And the following little anecdote shows a brotherly feeling actuating an episode of loyalty.

In the year 1730 the woolcombers of London resolved on paying their respects

to the Queen on her birthday. They therefore assembled "in their shirts"—why in their shirts?—and in their coloured woollen caps, and marched a hundred strong to St. James's Palace; they carried with them, beautifully made in white wool, an effigy of Bishop Blaze on horseback; they bawled under the windows of the Palace till the King and Queen appeared; they then threw up their caps, louted low, and retired.

There is to be found in a book of the eighteenth century, called *A General Description of all Trades digested in Alphabetical Order*, a list of crafts and trades. The date of the book is 1747.

From this instructive document we gather that there were 135 crafts then practised in London, and thought worthy of practice; there were also 175 trades or different kinds of shops at which things were sold. Of course the trade and the craft perpetually overlapped. The boatbuilder sold the boats at which he worked with his own hand. The horse-milliner kept a shop for selling his wares, which was at the same time a workshop for making them. The saddler worked with his journeymen, making the goods which he sold. The draper, the grocer, the mercer, the glover, the hosier, had shops which were for the sale of goods alone. Speaking generally, the vendor was a capitalist, small or great, who did not stand on the same level as the craftsman. He was a master, an employer of labour; he stood between the public and the craftsman; and although we get at the wages of the time, these figures help us very little to understanding the relations between the masters and the men.

The list is manifestly incomplete: one could name offhand a dozen trades omitted in this General List. I have, however, supplemented this list with that of the *Directory* of 1791. In the course of 44 years only, one thinks, there could not have been the addition of many new trades. The *Directory*, however, adds 182 trades to the list of 1747. So that in 1791 there were 492 different industries practised and different kinds of shops carried on in London. This list of trades and crafts must again be supplemented by other ways of earning a livelihood, such as that of a coachman or a footman; all the women's trades; the callings of lamplighter, scavenger, messenger, bailiff, constable, watchman, porter, stevedore, waterman, chairman, groom, stableman, barge- and lighter-man. It is, however, as it stands, an interesting and instructive list.

The hours of work were generally from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M., that is, fourteen hours a day—less, I suppose, breakfast and dinner hours. Sometimes they were 5 A.M. to 9 P.M. Now and then one finds 7 A.M. to 8 P.M., but very seldom. We may take it that the day's work for most trades began at 6 and ended at 8. There was no Saturday half-holiday and there was no Bank Holiday. As for the wages, they seem to have averaged about 15s. a week. Some workmen, as cordwainers, enamellers, fan-makers, commanded as much as 4s. a day or 24s. a week. The purchasing power of the shilling was for the working-man twice as great as at present, because his standard of life and comfort was very much lower: the people were far worse

housed, far worse fed, and far worse clothed than they are now. Yet they were not discontented on these grounds, simply because their standards were lower. There were apprentices to trades as well as crafts. The draper took an apprentice for £30; he paid his assistants from £25 to £30 a year with their board; and it was calculated that a young man might begin the business of a draper with a capital of £1000. The soap-maker asked a fee of £200 to £300 for an apprentice; he paid his assistants £50 to £100 a year with their board; and he wanted £2000 capital before he could start in business. An usher in a school received £10 to £20 with his board. If he went to a school as an apprentice we find that his parents paid from £10 to £20 for his fee.

One cannot understand why some trades boarded their men and others did not. It was formerly a much more common practice than it has since become. Chemists and grocers still continue to board their assistants; so do drapers: formerly, to take only a few, barbers, collar-makers, leather-cutters, jewellers, net-makers, soap-makers, butchers, distillers, fishmongers, hosiers, milliners, mercers, oilmen, packers, pawnbrokers, refiners, skinners, stuffmen, tobacconists, upholders, whalebonemen, and some others, all boarded their apprentices and assistants.

Apprentices, if refractory, were taken to Bridewell and there flogged and imprisoned. The cells are there still, but the apprentices are no longer flogged.

CHAPTER IV

DRESS

DRESS in the eighteenth century, so far as men were concerned, showed a steady tendency towards a more natural and simpler method of clothing and adornment. The seventeenth century bequeathed to its successor a full flowing wig, a square-cut coat, a hat in which the crown had gone down and the brim had gone up—the old three-cornered hat,—a long waistcoat, knee-breeches, shoes with gold or silver buckles, a lace neckcloth, white ruffles, and silk stockings. The manners, as is always the case, corresponded with the fashion. With so vast a top-loading as was provided by the wig, it was impossible for the movements of the body to be otherwise than slow and artificial, if not dignified. In all the pursuits that required active movement, either the wig was blown off, or it was first carefully removed and a "night-cap" substituted. In representations of cavalry we see the horses ambling and caracoling, but not galloping; when cavalry charged in actual battle the wigs all fell off. In duelling the wigs were removed; masters of fence fought with bare skull. In Hogarth's picture of "Southwark Fair," a master of fence rides into the fair with a bare skull, showing the wounds he has received, patched up with sticking-plaster. The games of tennis and ball went out, with athletics and rough sports, among the better class, *i.e.* all those who wore wigs. One moved slowly, out of respect for the wig. Not only was it liable to be deranged or to be knocked off, but it demanded, so majestic was it, a corresponding dignity of carriage. One must live up to such a wig.

These huge periwigs went out of fashion early in the century. They were succeeded by a great variety of artificial head-coverings, until the wig finally disappeared. Why did they not wear their own hair? For more than one reason. The wig was a great leveller. With the aid of this contrivance, the handiwork of Time, the painter, could be annulled or destroyed. Where the chin and lip and cheek were smooth-shaven, there was no accusing the owner of grey; when the skull was shaven, there were no white locks: save for the wrinkles and the crows'-feet, the bowed shoulders and the bending limbs, the old man was on a level with the young. Nor were grey locks the only consideration. Baldness falls upon some men in quite

early manhood; upon others, later on; in either case it is a defect grievous and lamentable. With the wig it mattered nothing whether one was bald or not. Again, the wig was a great protection for the head; it saved the wearer from the effects of cold draughts; it was part of the comfort of the age, like the sash window and the wainscoted wall. And the wig, too, like the coat and the waistcoat, was a means of showing the wealth of its owner, because a wig of the best kind, new, properly curled and combed, cost a large sum of money. Practically it was indestructible, and, with certain alterations, descended. First, it was left by will to son or heir; next, it was given to the coachman; then, with alterations, to the gardener; then it went to the second-hand people in Monmouth Street, whence it continued a downward course until it finally entered upon its last career of usefulness in the shoeblack's box. There was, lastly, an excellent reason why, in the last century, it was found more convenient to wear a wig than the natural hair. Those of the lower classes who were not in domestic service wore their own hair. Their heads were filled with vermin. Even the maidservants of "gentle" houses suffered from the same reproach. These vermin were very easily "caught." They might be caught in a hackney- or a stage-coach; on a pillow in an inn; by the use of a hair-brush; by putting on a stranger's hat; by accidental contact in a crowd. They were very disagreeable things to have upon one, and they were very difficult to get rid of. Now, the man who shaved his head and wore a wig was free of this danger, though there were certain insects which did get into the wig. There is authority for saying that with children of all ranks — the children of the wealthy retailers of London are especially mentioned—the head was generally troubled in this respect.

It is, however, especially in the study of wigs that Hogarth seems to rejoice. In the picture of "Noon," the dwarf has one kind, the beau another, the clergyman a third, the old tradesman, whose back we see, has a fourth. In the "Enraged Musician" there is but one wig—that of the musician himself; the men who bawl their goods wear their own hair long and in tails. In "Taste in High Life" there is the wig in the highest and latest fashion, rolled at the sides, brought down over the forehead, and provided with a long pigtail. The portrait of Bishop Hoadly presents us with the episcopal wig—full, majestic, flowing. Captain Coram, on the other hand, wears his own venerable locks.

In "Marriage à la Mode" we find more wigs. Observe that of the bridegroom in the first of the series, the curl-papers of the visitor in the second. In the "Industry and Idleness," observe that the Industrious Apprentice is advanced from his own hair (in the second picture) to a wig in the fourth; that the porter wears a badge and a wig; that the musicians at the wedding wear wigs, but the butcher wears his own hair; that the Idle Apprentice wears his own hair.

The "House of Commons" gives us not only a collection of portraits, but an exact representation of the wigs worn by gentlemen—not fops and beaux—in the

year 1734; and the "Five Orders of Periwigs" offers a conspectus of all the wigs worn at the Coronation of 1761.

In the examination of Bambridge (1729) the Committee of Inquiry wear full wigs, as befits their position; the man himself, whom they are examining, wears his own hair. Position, however, is by no means indicated by wearing a wig: the practice spread wider and went lower; long before wigs went out altogether among the better sort, they lingered among certain callings and trades. In the "Laughing Audience" we observe half a dozen different kinds of head-dress, including the "toupee" and the "club" and the natural hair.

The advertisement of one William Philips, who professed to "manufacture all his own hairs," shows the variety of wigs. William Philips offered the public Brown Bobwigs, cut or dressed, 14s.; Scratches for the same price; Grizzle Bagwigs for 21s.; Grizzle Bobs, cut or dressed, also for 21s.; Dark Majors at 18s.; and Brown Bagwigs only 15s. But the Grizzle Major cost 25s., and Grizzle Tyes 21s.

About the year 1760 there began to be a revolt against the wig. The vast wig of 1700 had long since given place to a smaller erection, the ends of which were plaited and put into a silk bag. The "toupee" had come in—an array of curls over the forehead, with more curls, or a "club," on either side of the face. Now the wig itself began to go out. Yet it remained in use for a long time with divines and physicians, and with lawyers, who still preserve it.

It was also preserved, probably for the reasons above suggested, by the citizens of London, by men-servants, clerks, accountants, coachmen, gardeners, and so forth. Old wigs were used by the shoeblacks; nothing better was ever invented for this use. In Rosemary Lane there was a sixpenny lottery for wigs. If a man wanted one, he would pay sixpence, and dive into a cask where there were many old ones. Perhaps he would fetch up a good one, perhaps he would not. In the fashionable quarter men had begun to wear their own hair, long, powdered, tied behind with a black silk ribbon. It was not till near the end of the century that they began to leave off the powder, which still continued for a long time with less fashionable people.

The changes of fashion in men's dress need not be followed in detail. There were eccentricities and follies then as there are to-day. The waistcoat and the coat were altered from year to year. These grew more costly, more elaborate. Never at any time, except perhaps that of Richard II., was the dress of men more splendid than in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In the City the merchants affected during the day a plain but substantial dress of brown cloth; they wore silver buckles to their shoes, and very fine ruffles. They carried a stick instead of a sword, and they were not ashamed to use it on occasion. The same merchants would dress themselves for an assembly in most gorgeous silk coats and waistcoats. The drapers and mercers seem to have affected a more pretentious style of dress than the

COVENT GARDEN AT MID-DAY

From Hogarth's engraving, "Noon" (*Times of the Day*).

merchants. One reads of a draper sallying forth to present some new goods to a lady. He wears a black velvet coat, a silk waistcoat, velvet breeches, white silk stockings, well-blacked shoes with silver buckles, fine lace at his throat and his cuffs, and a hat trimmed with silver lace. His 'prentice walks behind him carrying the parcel of silk. The affectations and airs of the mercers and drapers are noticed in contemporary essays and satires. In the West End swords were worn.

The dress of the common sort was little disturbed by fashion. They wore a checked shirt, no waistcoat, a frock of blue cloth, still preserved in the butchers'

DRESS IN 1745
From a contemporary print.

blue, and black horn buttons. Mechanics and servants of all kinds wore an apron, sometimes white and sometimes brown. The reason of the apron was twofold—to protect the body and to protect the clothes. A blacksmith protected the body from the flying sparks by his leather apron; a grocer protected his clothes from the stains of the various commodities in which he dealt by his white apron. They wore shoes, and in most cases woollen stockings. The poorer sort had no stockings, but in cold weather wrapped their legs with wisps of straw.

As regards the dress of the ladies, of course it changed perpetually; only in a book of costume and fashion would it be possible to follow it. The fashion of the hair, the head-dress, all changed from year to year, according to the caprice of La Mode, and the necessity of showing oneself not out of the fashion. One

hears constantly of the "swing-swang" of the hoop, of petticoats loaded with fringe to the top, of the scarlet tabby negligée trimmed with gold, and so on.

Girls wore commonly a blue mob-cap, a white frock, and a silk sash of some pleasing colour. The frock was often trimmed with yellow, and a black lace mantle was thrown over the shoulders. Their hair was powdered, so that they were always grey; a black ribbon was tied in it. Sometimes they wore a straw hat flapping on either side. The strawberry-girls and others wore the hat over a white cap; for the better sort, a red or pink ribbon tied the hat under the chin.

This is not the place to follow the fashions of the century. The women wore hoops throughout the whole century except a few years before the end. They wore hoods, small caps, enormous hats, tiny "milkmaid" straw hats; hair in curls and flat to the head; "pompons," or huge structures two or three feet high, with all kinds of decorations—ribbons, birds'-nests, ships, carriages and waggons in gold and silver lace—in the erection; and finally, in 1794, the so-called "simplicity" or "classical simplicity," of which we have seen so many caricatures, with long ringlets, the waist under the armpits, a diaphanous gown which clung to the figure and revealed it even if it was not already visible through the dress.

In the year 1756 a favourite ornament was a wheeled vehicle in gold thread—

> "Here in a fair one's head-dress sparkling sticks,
> Swinging in silver springs, a coach and six;
> There on a spring or sloped pompon you see
> A chariot, sulky, chaise, or *vis-à-vis*."

The *Connoisseur* takes up the subject:—

"The curiosity I had of knowing the purport of this invention, and the general name of these machines, led me to make inquiry about them of a fashionable milliner, at the court end of the town. She obliged me with the sight of one of these equipages, designed for the head of a lady of quality, which I surveyed with much admiration; and placing it on the palm of my hand, could not help fancying myself, like Gulliver, taking up the Empress of Lilliput in her stage-coach. The vehicle itself was constructed of gold threads, and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postilion, and gentleman within, of the same brittle manufacture. Upon further inquiry, the milliner told me, with a smile, that it was difficult to give a reason for inventions so full of whim, but the name of this ornament (if it may be called such) was a Capriole or Cabriole; which we may trace from the same original with our English word Caprice, both being derived from the French word *cabrer*, which signifies *to prance like a horse*."

About the same time we find the following account of a "Pretty Fellow's Dressing-Room" (*Connoisseur*, ii. p. 231):—

"I was accordingly shown into a neat little chamber, hung round with Indian paper, and adorned with several little images of Pagods and Bramins, and vessels of Chelsea China, in which were set various-coloured sprigs of artificial flowers. But the toilet most excited my admiration, where I found everything was intended to be agreeable to the Chinese taste. A looking-glass, enclosed in a whimsical frame of Chinese paling, stood upon a Japan table, over which was spread a coverlid of the finest chintz. I could not but observe a number of boxes of different sizes, which were all of them Japan, and lay regularly disposed on the table. I had the curiosity to examine the contents of several; in one I found lip-salve, in

another a roll of pig-tail, and in another the ladies' black sticking-plaister; but the last which I opened very much surprised me, as I saw nothing in it but a number of little pills. I likewise remarked, on one part of the table, a tooth-brush and sponge, with a pot of Delescot's opiate; and on the other side, water for the eyes. In the middle stood a bottle of Eau de Luce, and a roll of perfumed pomatum. Almond pastes, powder-puffs, hair-combs, brushes, nippers, and the like, made up the rest of this fantastick equipage. But among many other whimsies I could not conceive for what use a very small ivory comb could be designed, till the valet informed me that it was a comb for the eyebrows."

The following is the complete outfit of a beau. It will be remarked that it cost a great sum to turn out a young man completely dressed in this century:—

HEAD-DRESSES
From a contemporary print.

"My wardrobe consisted of five fashionable coats full mounted, two of which were plain, one of cut velvet, one trimmed with gold, and another with silver lace; two frocks, one of white drab with large plate buttons, the other of blue with gold binding; one waistcoat of gold brocade, one of blue satin, embroidered with silver, one of green silk trimmed with broad figured gold lace, one of black silk with fringes, one of white satin, one of black cloth, and one of scarlet; six pair of cloth breeches, one pair of crimson, and another of black velvet; twelve pair of white silk stockings, as many of black silk, and the same number of fine cotton; one hat

laced with gold *point d'Espagne*, another with silver lace scolloped, a third with gold binding, and a fourth plain; three dozen of fine ruffled shirts, as many neckcloths; one dozen of cambric handkerchiefs, and the like number of silk. A gold watch with a chased case, two valuable diamond rings, two mourning swords, one with a silver handle, and a fourth cut steel inlaid with gold, a diamond stock-buckle, and a set of stone buckles for the knees and shoes; a pair of silver-mounted pistols with rich housings; a gold-headed cane, and a snuff-box of tortoise-shell mounted with gold, having the picture of a lady on the top."

ON THE SAME IN VERSE

"Painter! once more show thy art,
Draw the idol of my heart:
Draw him as he sports away,
Softly smiling, sweetly gay.
Carefully each mode express;
For man's judgment is his dress.
Cock his beaver neat and well,—
Beaver size of cockle-shell;
Cast around a silver cord,
Glitt'ring like the polish'd sword;
Let his wig be thin of hairs,—
Wig that covers half his ears.
Be his frock quite *à la mode*,
Short, lest his steps it incommode;
Short as his waistcoat was of yore,
When dull men long garments wore.
Let the ruffle grace his hand,—
Ruffle, pride of Gallic land.
Be his waistcoat blue or yellow,
That befits a pretty fellow:
Let it be well trimm'd with lace,
Adding lustre, adding grace.
Make his breeches of Nankin,
Most like Nature, most like skin;
Let a ribband deck the knees,—
Dangling ribbands always please;
With stockings, of the finest silk,
Soft and shining, white as milk.
Let him wear the nice-made shoes,
Buckling just above the toes,—
Buckles of a fashion new,
Bigger almost than the shoe.
Thus equipt, he'll far excel
Every Beau, and charm each Belle."

The "Beau Parson" dresses in canonicals as seldom as possible, but cannot wear bright colours, or a sword, or a bagwig. He wears a Parson's Blue lined with white, a black satin waistcoat, velvet breeches, and silk stockings, pumps made of dog-skin. He has a wig with a bag front, properly cropped behind, so as not to eclipse the lustre of his diamond stock-buckle. He has had a joint of one toe removed so as to improve the shape of his foot and shoe. An extremely delicate creature!

The costumes of the earlier half of the century can be illustrated most readily

from the pages of Hogarth, the greater part of whose work was done before 1750. He died in 1764. Here are a few notes on his costumes.

The apprentice, we observe, wore a long coat, no waistcoat, and woollen stockings; a leather stock kept his neck warm. The Idle Apprentice illustrates his idleness by having his stockings down at heel. Of his three villainous companions at play in the churchyard, one, who is too villainous for anything, has his hair growing through his hat, his toes through his shoes, his elbow through his shirt; he is scratching his skin under his shirt. Another with a black patch over his eye is clearly cheating; a third, looking on, is scratching his head vigorously.

The travelling gentlemen wore some kind of kerchief tied round their heads under the hat; or they wore caps with long flaps at the side; or they tied their hats over their heads; or they wore a hat of another shape for travelling purposes: all these may be seen in Hogarth's "Country Inn Yard."

DRESS IN 1775
From a contemporary print.

The "country girl," when she came to town in order to grace the First Picture of the "Harlot's Progress," wore a white cap tied under her chin, and a hat over the cap. Sarah Malcolm, the murderess, is similarly adorned; so is the "Shrimp Girl." The country girl wears a stuff frock and a white apron, a tucker over her shoulders, and a rose in her bosom; a bag hangs from her arm, and a needle-case and scissors from her belt.

The fashion of dress imparted an air of dignity to the City merchant which the modern fashions cannot do; see, for example, the merchant in "Industry and Idleness," where he takes the Industrious Apprentice into favour. It gave a splendour to the wealthy nobleman which he cannot now assume; it disguised a bad figure and set off a fine figure; in its more costly developments it presented a richer and more noble appearance than any dress ever invented. It would have been incomplete, however, without the wig.

The picturesqueness of the time is greatly due to the dress. We all know how effective on the stage, or at a fancy ball, is the dress of the year 1750. Never had gallant youth a better chance of displaying his manly charms. The flowered waistcoat tight to the figure, the white satin coat, the gold-laced hat, the ruffles and dainty necktie, the sword and the sword-sash, the powdered wig, the shaven face, the silk stockings and gold-buckled shoes—with what an air the young coxcomb advances, and with what a grace he handles his clouded cane and proffers his snuff-box!

Nothing like it remains in this century of ours. And the ladies matched the men in splendour of dress until the "swing swang" of the extravagant hoop spoiled all. Here comes one, on her way to church, where she will distract the men from their prayers with her beauty, and the women with her dress. She has a flowered silk body and cream-coloured skirts trimmed with lace; she has light-blue shoulder-knots; she wears an amber necklace, brown Swedish gloves, and a silver bracelet; she has a flowered-silk belt of green and grey and yellow, with a bow at the side, and a brown straw hat with flowers of green and yellow. "Sir," says one who watches her with admiration, "she is all apple blossom."

The white satin coat is not often seen east of Temple Bar. See the sober citizen approaching: he is dressed in brown stockings; he has laced ruffles and a shirt of snowy whiteness; his shoes have silver buckles; his wig is dark grizzle, full-bottomed; he carries his hat under his left arm, and a gold-headed stick in his right hand. He is accosted by a wreck—there are always some of these about London streets—who has struck upon the rock of bankruptcy and gone down. He, too, is dressed in brown, but where are the ruffles? Where is the shirt? The waistcoat buttoned high shows no shirt; his stockings are of black worsted, darned, and in holes; his shoes are slipshod, without buckles. Alas! poor gentleman! And his wig is an old grizzle, uncombed, undressed, which has perhaps been used for rubbing shoes by a shoeblack. On the other side of the street walks one, followed by an apprentice carrying a bundle. It is a mercer of Cheapside, taking some stuff to a lady. He wears black cloth, not brown; he has a white tye-wig, white silk stockings, muslin ruffles, and japanned pumps. Here comes a mechanic; he wears a warm waistcoat, with long sleeves, grey worsted stockings, stout shoes, a three-cornered hat, and an apron. All working-men wear an apron; it is a mark of their condition. They are no more ashamed of their apron than your scarlet-coated captain is ashamed of his uniform.

Let us next note the whiteness of the shirts and ruffles. A merchant will change his shirt three times a day; it is a custom of the City thus to present snow-white linen. The clerks, we see, wear wigs like their masters, but they are smaller. They do not wear the full-bottomed wig, to assume which would be presumptuous in one in service. Most of the mechanics wear their hair tied behind; the rustics, sailors, stevedores, watermen, and riversidemen generally, wear it long, loose, and unkempt. Here is a company of sailors rolling along, armed with clubs. They are bound to Ratcliffe, where, this evening, when the men are all drinking in the taverns, there will be a press. Their hats are three-cornered; they wear blue jackets, blue shirts, and blue petticoats. Their hair hangs about their ears. Beside them marches the lieutenant in the new uniform of blue faced with white.

About the year 1775 there were strict rules about evening dress. No one went into company except in full dress; a frock was not worn in the evening; at the

theatre one had to appear in a dress-coat, wig, and sword; no gentleman would venture into a side box in boots; if ladies were insulted in the lobbies, swords were drawn. The dress-clothes of a man of fashion were extremely costly. Colonel Hanger says that he spent £900 on his dress-clothes for one winter only; and that he employed other tailors for his morning and hunting frocks and his servants' liveries.

"I was always handsomely dressed at every birthday; but for one in particular I put myself to a very great expense, having two suits for that day. My morning vestments cost me near eighty pounds, and those for the ball above one hundred and eighty. It was a satin coat *brodé en plain et sur les coutures:* and the first satin coat that had ever made its appearance in this country. Shortly after, satin dress-clothes became common amongst well-dressed men. Great officers of state are in honour compelled to appear in a handsome suit of clothes at the birthday of their king; it is but a small part of that gratitude and duty they owe to their sovereign, for the dignified situation he has given them, to attend on his person."

Let us return to the costume of the Londoner about the middle of this century. To begin with the craftsman. His dress, in most cases, was a kind of uniform by which his trade was known. The carpenter wore a white apron looped up at the side—there was a fashion in wearing aprons—and a brown paper cap neatly folded in shape; the shoemaker wore a short leathern apron; the blacksmith a long leathern apron; the fellowship porter a black hat with a long brim behind; the barber a white apron with pockets in front to hold the tackle. Besides, he carried a basin in his hand, and generally ran through the streets in his character of "the flying-barber." The butcher wore a blue coat and apron; the baker was all in white, including his cap; the waterman wore a sailor's kilt or petticoat, and a woollen jersey; the tapster was in short sleeves rolled up, with a white apron, the corner tucked into the waistband; the brewer's drayman wore a leather apron and a red cap; the printer, a stuff apron from head to foot; the shopmen, except those of the draper, all wore aprons. The apron, indeed, was the symbol of the servant and the craftsman; it belonged in varied form to every trade.

To take a step upwards. The attorney, the notary, and the proctor dressed in black; so did the physician, but with a huge three-tailed periwig, and a gold-headed cane with the pomander at top; the barrister dressed in black, with a gown which he appears to have worn habitually as he did his wig—there was then, as there is now, a special wig for every step on the legal ladder, from Utter Bar to Bench; everybody knew the difference between the lawyer's wig and that of the physician. The clergyman dressed in black, with a wig and cassock, a flowing gown, and long Geneva bands. The respectable tradesman's dress in 1750 is described as consisting of a Spanish snuff-coloured coat. I think that Dr. Johnson, who would not rank himself above a respectable tradesman, always wore a brown coat, waistcoat and breeches of the same, a dark grizzle, full-bottomed wig, metal buttons and buckles, lace necktie, and lace ruffles. Apprentices acquired their