

THE
LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF
JAMES UPJOHN

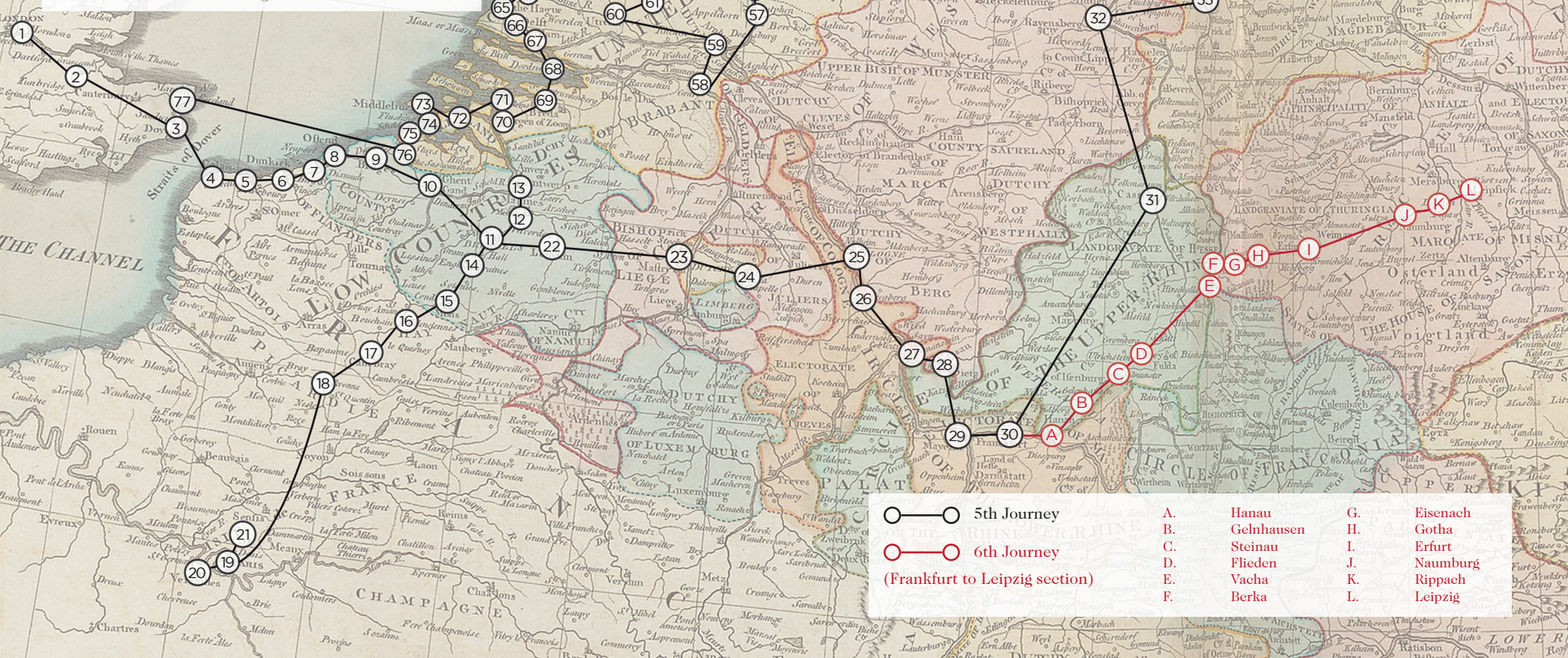
Upjohn's 5th and 6th journeys, overlaid on 'Germany divided into its Circles', map No.23 in A New and Elegant Imperial Sheet Atlas (London: Laurie & Whittle, 1798)

© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

1. London
2. Gravesend
3. Dover
4. Calais
5. Gravelines
6. Dunkirk
7. Furnes
8. Nieuport
9. Bruges
10. Ghent
11. Brussels
12. Mechelen
13. Antwerp
14. Braine-le-Comte
15. Mons
16. Valenciennes
17. Cambrai
18. Peronne
19. Paris
20. Versailles
21. Saint-Denis
22. Louvain
23. Maastricht
24. Aachen
25. Cologne
26. Bonn

27. Coblenz
28. Nassau
29. Mainz
30. Frankfurt
31. Kassel
32. Minden
33. Hanover
34. Zelle
35. Hamburg
36. Altona
37. Boizenburg
38. Buxtehude
39. Kloster-Zeven
40. Ottersberg
41. Bremen
42. Delmenhorst
43. Oldenburg
44. Leer
45. Emden
46. Nieuweschan
47. Winschoten
48. Scheemda
49. Groningen
50. Leeuwarden
51. Franeker
52. Harlingen

53. Bolsward
54. Oudeschoot
55. Zwolle
56. Deventer
57. Zutphen
58. Nijmegen
59. Arnhem
60. Utrecht
61. Amersfoort
62. Amsterdam
63. Haarlem
64. Leiden
65. The Hague
66. Delft
67. Rotterdam
68. Dordrecht
69. Moerdijk
70. Bergen-op-Zoom
71. Tholen
72. Goes
73. Veere
74. Middelburg
75. Flushing
76. Sluis
77. Ramsgate



THE
LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF
JAMES UPJOHN

edited by
John Leopold
and
Roger Smith

LONDON
2016

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Neil Andrew | Jeffrey Formby | Rory McEvoy | Dennis Radage |
| William and Catherine Andrewes | Bob Frishman | Chris McKay | Matthew Read |
| John Asprey | Charles Frodsham & Co | Warner Meinen | Keith Roberts |
| Jeremy Barrow | Phillip Gale | Paul Middents | Mark Rowe |
| John and Anne Berkley | Michael van Gampen | Charlotte, Nicholas and Patrick Minogue | James H Ruston |
| Jonathan Betts | Sir Nicholas Goodison | Dr Christopher Minogue | Brian de Save |
| BHI Wessex Branch | Capt. Anthony Gray | William Minogue | Robert Sales |
| Tobias Birch | R John Griffiths | Vernon Morris | Joseph Schoonhoven |
| Dr Toin and Monique de Brock | Michiel van Hees | Fortunat Mueller-Maerki | Julius Schoonhoven |
| Bill Bruce | Keith Higgins | Musée international d'horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds | Keith Scobie-Youngs |
| Mike Bundock | Jonathan Hills | Stefan Muser | Barnaby Smith |
| Gary Burns | Johan ten Hoeve | Dr Andrew Nahum | Richard Stenning |
| Terence Camerer Cuss | Matthew Hopkinson | National Watch and Clock Library & Research Center (USA) | Michael Stewart |
| Paul Canterbury | Allan C Hüpper-Purcell | James Naylor | James Stirk |
| Carter, Marsh & Co | Christopher Hurrion | David Newman | Dr John C Taylor |
| Dr Gloria Clifton | Lawrance Hurst | Howard C Newman | David Thompson |
| John W Cook | Michael Hurst | Dr James Nye | Dr John Thorpe |
| Oliver Cooke | Marjorie Hutchinson | David Penney | Alan Treherne |
| Andrew Crisford | Nigel Israel | John Pither | Wynford Williams Upjohn |
| Sir Harry Djanogly | Andrew James | Clive Ponsford | West Dean College Library |
| Dr Crott Auctioneers | Kenneth Johnston | Philip Priestley | Dr Ian White |
| Dr Richard Edgeumbe | Andrew King | | Sebastian Whitestone |
| Jeremy Evans | Justin Koullapis | | Philip Whyte |
| Paul Foley | Dr Kenneth Lloyd-Jones | | |

THE ANTIQUARIAN HOROLOGICAL SOCIETY

THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF CLOCKMAKERS

First published 2016

Copyright the Antiquarian Horological Society and
The Worshipful Company of Clockmakers

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available

The Antiquarian Horological Society
New House, High Street
Ticehurst, Sussex TN5 7AL, UK

Worshipful Company of Clockmakers
1 Throgmorton Avenue
London EC2N 2BY, UK

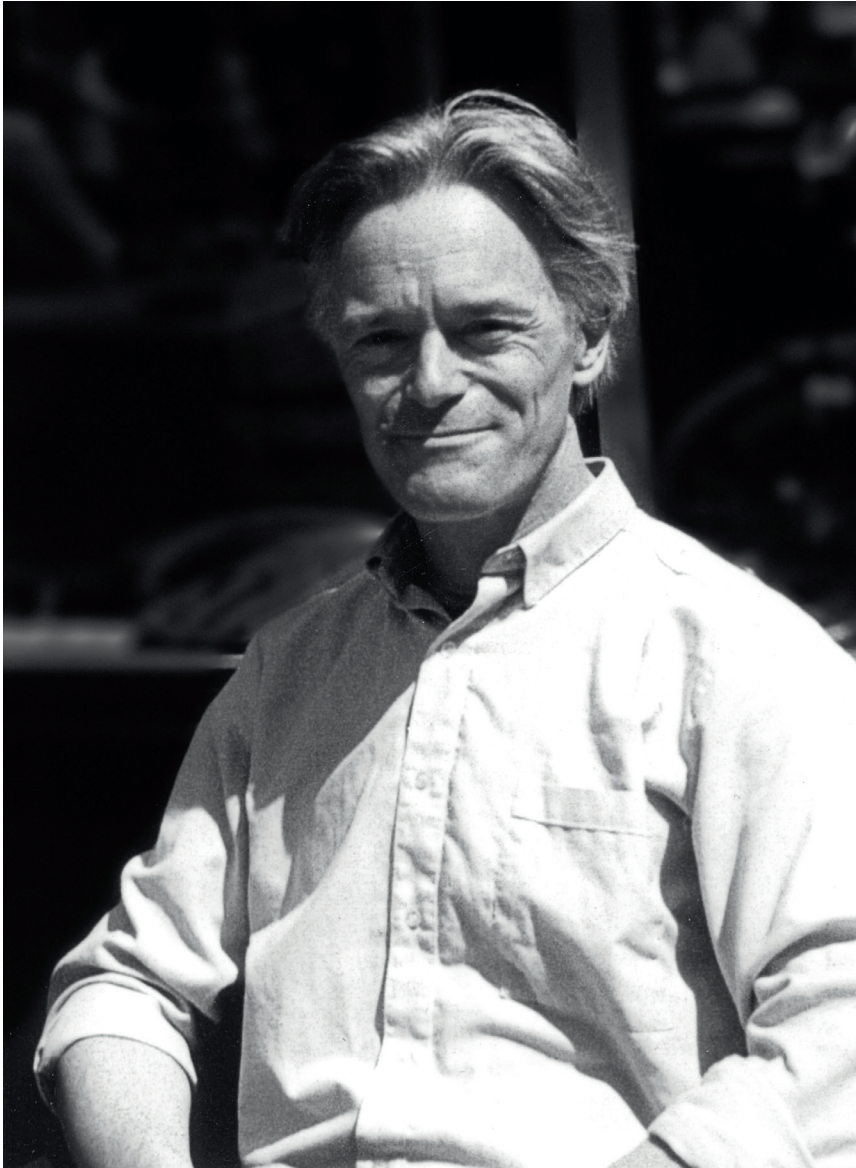
Index compiled by David Thompson
Production co-ordination by James Nye
Designed by Nathan Brown
Printed by Pureprint
ISBN: 978 0 901180 52 0

This book project was underwritten jointly by the Antiquarian Horological Society and the Clockmakers' Museum and Educational Trust

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|--------|
| Portrait of Jan Hendrick (John) Leopold | v |
| John Leopold—A Tribute | vi |
| Foreword | viii |
| Acknowledgements | ix |
| Introduction | x |
| Observations and Notes to the Introduction | xxv |
| Coinage—Abbreviations and Exchange Rates | xxxii |
| List of Figures | xxxiii |
| The Manuscript and Transcript | 1 |
| Index [Upjohn] | 161 |
| Notes to the Transcript | 169 |
| Index [Thompson] | 174 |

JOHN LEOPOLD—A TRIBUTE



Jan Hendrick (John) Leopold (1935–2010)

Jan Hendrick (John) Leopold was born in the Netherlands in 1935. He studied physics and history at the University of Groningen and worked in the Groningen Museum where he eventually became responsible for its important collections of gold and silver ware. In addition to his expertise in this field, John was passionate about horology and quickly gained an international reputation for his research and publications, particularly in the field of sixteenth and seventeenth century clock and watch making. In 1988, John took up the post of Assistant Keeper of Horology at the British Museum, where he continued his researches and worked on cataloguing the early clocks in the collections. Amongst his many publications, perhaps the most important was his translation of the *Almanus Manuscript*, a document written in medieval Latin by a monk living in Rome at the end of the fifteenth century, which was published in 1971.

For many years, John Leopold greatly wished to see the publication of the Clockmakers' Company's manuscript of James Upjohn's *Life and Travels*, so that all could have access to this fascinating insight into the life, work, times and travels of a leading eighteenth century watch and clock manufacturer. His background made him well placed to interpret this important document, and he transcribed it and drafted an introductory commentary, in the hope that one day the project to publish would come to fruition.

Sadly this was not achieved during his lifetime, but it is only fitting that John's Introduction should precede Upjohn's account presented here. For many years, the subject of horology was looked at through rose-tinted spectacles, and the history of clocks and watches was interpreted almost exclusively through the surviving objects. This gave a slanted view of the industry which was often seen by the lay-person as an essentially solitary craft, carried out by individuals who made complete items from start to finish—from raw materials via the bench to finished articles in the shop. John Leopold was one of those who championed the view that the horological craft, in all its different guises, should be seen as an industry like any other, and he regarded documents like the Upjohn manuscript as key resources for its true interpretation. It provides not only an insight into the life of a 'maker,' but also into the entrepreneurial aspect of the business, and indeed into how the trade operated in all its diversity in Europe at the time.

FOREWORD

John's knowledge of Dutch and English clock and watch making, together with his understanding of the trade in Europe from the earliest period, made him the ideal commentator on this rare and important document, and this book is a fitting memorial to him, a true Renaissance Man in the horological world.

David Thompson, 2015

*Chairman of the AHS and former Curator of Horology,
British Museum*

This edition of James Upjohn's *Life and Travels* relies heavily on the work of the late John Leopold, and this is reflected in both its structure and content. He not only transcribed the original manuscript in the collection of the Clockmakers' Company (Guildhall Library Ms. 20,384), but added greatly to our understanding of it through his Introduction, which contains information about the contemporary state of the horological industry in Britain and northern Europe which only a scholar with John's encyclopaedic knowledge could have provided. However, after completion some years ago, the Introduction was put aside and never brought fully up to date. This was particularly evident with the coverage of Upjohn's involvement with James Cox and the export trade in musical clocks to China. Although John had recognised the significance of this stage in Upjohn's career, he had felt able to include only very brief notes on the episode. This trade has since been the subject of much new research, which has not only confirmed the importance of Upjohn's contribution, but has led to two of the astonishing pieces described in the *Life* being identified among the collections of the Palace Museum, Beijing.

A further development not foreseen by John was the chance to reproduce the original manuscript in facsimile. Given its ready legibility, there was no longer a need to supply readers with a transcript adhering strictly to the idiosyncrasies of punctuation and spelling of the original.

My contribution to the work has therefore focused largely on the following aspects. Firstly, I have expanded that part of the Introduction which deals with Upjohn's involvement in the China trade, and with his attempt to sell some of the pieces originally made for Cox during his journey to Holland in 1772. I have also included a brief summary of Upjohn's career after he completed the *Life* in 1783, and added some notes to the Introduction and references in the bibliography, as well as the family tree intended by John. Where these additions have been significant, they have been initialled to show where responsibility lies.

Secondly, I have taken advantage of the facsimile pages to amend the transcript with the aim of making it less distracting for a modern reader. The basic text has not been altered or abbreviated, but obvious errors have been corrected, obsolete place-names identified, and spelling, punctuation and use of capital letters have all been modernised. To do this while retaining the period flavour of the original has been a matter of judgment and has no doubt produced some inconsistencies. However, it is worth remembering that in its current form, the *Life* is itself a copy, made in 1784

INTRODUCTION

by the mysterious A. Upjohn from an original text composed by Upjohn between 1780 and 1783. It is therefore likely that some of its peculiarities and errors are due to the copyist, and tell us little about Upjohn himself. In any case, readers interested in such points can make up their own minds by consulting the facsimile pages. Finally, I have also added notes to the transcript.

Roger Smith
2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many scholars have contributed to the production of this book, assisting first John Leopold, and then Roger Smith when he took over the task of completing and updating the work. Since John never had the opportunity to draft any acknowledgements, it would be invidious to name those who have helped more recently while failing to name others who can no longer be identified. The publishers therefore simply wish to extend their sincere thanks to everyone who played a part in what became a much extended but extremely worthwhile project, and one of which we hope John would have been justly proud.

In 1986 the Clockmakers' Company acquired a highly interesting manuscript entitled 'A short Account of the Life and Travels of James Upjohn of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, Clock & Watch-maker and Goldsmith by Company.' It was written by Upjohn himself because, as he states on the first page, 'I am the original Upjohn of London, and that my children's children may in future know the origin of their family.' He tells us on p. 149 that he finished writing his book on 31 October 1783 and, according to the title page, the surviving manuscript is a copy made in the following year by a certain A. Upjohn, whose relationship to the author has not been established. It may have descended through the family of Upjohn's daughter Rebecca (1762–1819), since a front fly-leaf of the manuscript bears the signature of William Cox junior—perhaps the man of that name who was the eldest son (b.1789) of Rebecca and William Cox, who were married in 1789 and emigrated to New South Wales at the end of 1799. Rebecca had been her father's companion and may have inherited the manuscript on his death in 1794. (However, if it descended in her family in Australia, it is curious that pencilled notes on an end flyleaf of the manuscript suggest that it was in America in the mid-nineteenth century.)

A brief discussion of this manuscript appeared in 1983, and a transcript was privately printed in a limited edition in 1990, as part of a wider genealogical study of the whole Upjohn family by a descendant, R.U. Light.¹ However, in view of its importance for the history of clock and watchmaking in the eighteenth century, the Clockmakers' Company and the Antiquarian Horological Society have jointly decided to publish Upjohn's *Life and Travels* in an edition that provides both a facsimile of the actual text and a modernized transcript, together with an introduction and notes to set it in its historical context.

Who was James Upjohn? His account gives us the salient facts about his life. Born 1722 in Shaftesbury, Dorset, he learned the trade with his father Edward, a self-taught clock and watchmaker who had by then settled in Exeter. After a disagreement with his father, James left for London in 1743, and there quickly built up a flourishing business, first at various addresses in St Martin's le Grand, and from 1750 in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell. This is not the present Red Lion Street in Holborn, but a street connecting Benjamin Street and Clerkenwell Green; much of its top end disappeared when Clerkenwell Road was constructed, and the lower end is now called Britton Street. By about 1750 Upjohn was producing over 2000 watches annually (p. 18). Most of these seem to have been sold to provincial clockmakers, and since watches signed 'James Upjohn, London' are rare, we may assume that most of his production was signed with the names of

the various retailers. Indeed the *Life* leaves no doubt that the great majority of his production was sold within the trade: he was in the business of supplying other watchmakers. He never joined the Clockmakers' Company, but in 1764 he became free of the Goldsmiths' Company.

Most of Upjohn's relatives were also involved in the watchmaking trade in some way; in 1746 he married a daughter of the watch-spring maker Thomas Garle,² and in 1768 his eldest daughter married the jeweller and enameller Gabriel Wirgman, whom James took into a brief partnership in that year.³ Of his sons, the two eldest, Francis and James junior, would join the family firm before going their own way, and the youngest surviving son, Peter, was in partnership with his father and Richard Bayly when Upjohn finally retired in 1790.

When reading the text of Upjohn's *Life*, its purpose should not be misunderstood. The present-day horological historian would very much like to have his description of how he ran his business and how he managed to produce and sell upwards of 2000 watches annually for many years, but that is not what Upjohn set out to describe. He wanted primarily to explain how he tried to extend his watch empire to the Continent, and how with that aim in mind, he made several extended trips, even travelling as far as the famous Leipzig Fair.

This does not mean, however, that the manuscript is just a simple description of the many places he visited, devoid of all horological interest. Particularly in the early part (pp. 11–13), there are several fascinating glimpses of the watchmaking trade in London. Upjohn mentions a number of specialists within the trade: Mr Fary, a travelling salesman in watch glasses (and no doubt other watch materials); Mr Barrow, who had a clockmaker's tool shop in St Martin's le Grand; Mr Ward in Berkley Street, a watch pillar and stud maker (the stud is apparently the ornamental hinge-block of the stopwork), who also ran a 'watch club', supplying a watch to one of the subscribers each month;⁴ Mr Garle and his father, watch-spring makers; and finally James's brother Edward in Exeter, who was a specialist watch engraver. Apart from Edward Upjohn, only the Garles can be identified with certainty. And if one reads carefully one can even pick up hints of how Upjohn ran his own business.

The first hint is a negative one: there is no indication that Upjohn had a particularly large establishment, employing many hands; in fact when still living in St Martin's le Grand he shared a house with a lapidary (p. 14). Indeed what few remarks there are seem to indicate a quite normal watchmaker's workshop. He trained a few apprentices (his sons and two nephews) like any other watchmaker, and William Brown, who for many

years was his foreman, left him to run a perfectly ordinary watchmaker's shop in Exeter (p. 8). The only other people we hear about are the two unnamed foremen who were taken on to deal with a large order for automata clocks from James Cox (p. 128).

Yet Upjohn claimed to have produced between 2000 and 3000 watches annually for many years (pp. 18, 43). We are told that he was himself a very quick workman, who on one occasion made a watch movement from scratch in less than two weeks; however he found that watch-finishing was the more profitable part of the job and so he subsequently limited himself to that. The fee he was paid for finishing that particular movement was 18 shillings out of a total of 46 shillings (p. 11), so even if this was the best paid part of the work we may assume that it took an experienced watchmaker several days per watch.⁵ A production of over 2000 watches per year must therefore have involved quite a lot of people, even if the rough movements were bought in. (They could by this time be obtained from Lancashire.)⁶

What emerges from these apparently contradictory conclusions is the familiar pattern: Upjohn employed a lot of outworkers. And indeed there are two further indications for this. The first one is that when he started out he could not afford to take more than a limited number of orders at one time (p. 15): plainly therefore he had to invest before he could supply. And the second one is in his reason for moving to Clerkenwell: the *Life* tells us that he did this because it was more convenient 'as it was in the Centre of the Workmen' (p. 16).

From the very first Upjohn worked for the trade, although he also tried to sell watches to the public himself: he had a retail-shop in his house in St Martin's le Grand between 1746 and 1750 (pp. 15–16), and then again from 1764, successively behind the Royal Exchange, in Bartholomew Lane, and in Lombard Street, but he sold little and in the end he gave up retailing altogether (pp. 18–19).

Upjohn prided himself on being a highly competent as well as a very quick workman, but most of the journal describes the later period in his life, when it appears that he was no longer doing much practical work himself and concentrated on dealing in watches. But once again he tells us very little about the actual organisation of this trade, either in England or on the Continent. Apparently he considered such things perfectly normal and not worth mentioning. Only when he visited Paris, and found conditions there rather different from what he was used to, did he elaborate a bit and supply a brief sketch of the situation (pp. 42–43). This apparent lack of information is, however, not entirely the fault of Upjohn. Partly it is due to our own very limited knowledge of the eighteenth-century trade in ready-made watches:

we simply cannot pick up any hints that he supplies. Most of the people he meets, who will often have been engaged in the same trade, are unknown to us. The Mr Rous (otherwise referred to as Mr Rousseau), who seems to have travelled with his son James from Amsterdam to Brussels in 1768, may have been the Amsterdam jeweller and watch merchant Jean Rous.⁷ The only watch merchants described as such are Mr Hocks of Cologne in 1768, and Mr Broach of Berlin in the next year;⁸ and we may assume that Mr Blucher of Hamburg was also in that line. Further research will be needed to establish the identity of any others.

In spite of his efforts, Upjohn's great plans to establish houses in London, Amsterdam and Hamburg, and thus organize his watch trade in much of Europe, came to grief. One reason was undoubtedly that he let his family feeling get the better of his judgement. Although aware of the adventurous streak in his family, already shown by the 'restless and unsettled disposition' which had led his father to take a young family to America for three years (pp. 2–3), Upjohn seems to have been blind to the fact that this could easily turn into irresponsibility. On occasion this cost him dearly. Moreover he put a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of his young sons. But more importantly, he may not have been sufficiently aware that he was not the first to try a scheme of this sort: by 1765, when he began to go to the Continent in order to sell his watches, he was entering a well-established and probably highly competitive market. However, most of the other watch dealers were merchants who bought their stock elsewhere (usually from Geneva); Upjohn, who produced his own watches, must have had an advantage there.

Unfortunately it is difficult to establish how extensive the trade in ready-made watches, engraved with whatever name the customer liked, really was, and who the middlemen were. The very secretiveness of this trade tends to conceal it. The venture of the Englishmen Charles Cabrier and Edmund Lambe in Amsterdam, who in 1704 were reported as dealing in watches spuriously signed with famous London names, was not an isolated instance.⁹ Certainly, by the middle of the eighteenth century, wholesale dealing in watches engraved with all sorts of names had become a well-established practice. The Swiss had a large portion of this trade: already in 1756 Ferdinand Berthoud in Paris was complaining bitterly about it.¹⁰ In the Netherlands, Upjohn would have had several firms to compete with: apart from Rous & Barre (mentioned earlier) there were the Fratelli Moiana in Amsterdam¹¹ and later the firm of Veuve Grand l'Ainé in Rotterdam.¹² Another source of watches is mentioned by Edward Mather, who told Upjohn in around 1765 that he bought his watches 'of the Jews'. Here our

background information is even more patchy, Jewish firms being notoriously difficult to trace, but we know that there was a firm of Jewish watch dealers in Amsterdam under the name Aron Isaacs or Aron Melondon from about the middle of the eighteenth century.¹³ Little is known about the German trade in ready-made watches. There is some indication that it was largely in the hands of travelling Genevan watch merchants, but the fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig also played an important role;¹⁴ it is not surprising, therefore, that Upjohn decided to visit both of them.

The main portion of the *Life* is taken up by the descriptions of Upjohn's seven journeys to the Continent, which he made between c.1765 and 1773. The earlier ones are rather briefly described, and give the impression that the accounts were noted down at a later stage and largely from memory. It is only during the extended trip of 1767–8 (which takes up almost half of the manuscript) that Upjohn seems to have kept a diary, and his information this time is both more extensive and probably more reliable. The last two trips, in 1769 and 1772, are again fairly briefly described, and occasionally there is a slip of memory. In all descriptions the place names are often somewhat garbled, and we shall therefore follow his path using the modern spellings,¹⁵ and providing notes where called for.

First Journey [1765 pp. 20–23]

Upjohn is not quite clear about the date of this trip. He thought it might have been in 1764, but if the sequence of events was as later described, then it must have taken place in 1765. He made the journey in an unsuccessful attempt to catch a swindler; it took him to Amsterdam, where he gave up the chase but collected orders, which first gave him the idea to extend his trade to the Continent.

On the way back he met his nephew Edward Mather, who was by then living in Leiden. Mather was a son of Upjohn's sister Mary; apparently he was the one who, as Upjohn tells us, was apprenticed to Edward Upjohn senior. In Leiden he is first recorded in 1760, when he married Cornelia Maria le Dieu, daughter of the clockmaker Franciscus le Dieu (from Ypres, recorded in Leiden 1727–49). Both in 1760 and 1761 when he became a burgher, he is denoted as 'clockmaker's workman'. Edward Mather lived in Leiden until October 1767, when the Catholic church gave him and his family a letter of recommendation for Zutphen, Mather being then 32 years of age. In Zutphen he is recorded from 1768 until 1778.¹⁶

The cooperation with Mather at first went well, and after a year Upjohn sent his son Francis to school in Warmond, just outside Leiden, with instructions to assist Mather with the bookkeeping. This arrangement continued for another year, after which Upjohn set out to bring his son home.

Second Journey [1767 p. 23]

Once again Upjohn travelled through Flanders to Leiden, where he collected his son; then they went to Amsterdam, Utrecht, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Dunkirk and Calais; in England they travelled from Dover via Canterbury, Faversham and Chatham back to London. Few particulars of this trip are given, except that they 'did a considerable deal of business on the road'.

Shortly after their return Mather ran into trouble and decided to move to Zutphen; since we know that he left Leiden at the end of 1767, Upjohn's second journey must have taken place in the same year. When he got no satisfactory reply from Mather, Upjohn sent his son Francis back to Leiden, in order to take stock of the situation. He found Mather about to leave and a man called Delane in charge of the shop: this must have been Ludwig de Laene, recorded as a clockmaker in Leiden in 1767.¹⁷ He appears to have been an honest man. On his return to London, in 1767, Francis ran foul of the customs service in Flanders, which increased the firm's losses.

Third Journey [1767 p. 26]

About this short journey very little is said. Upjohn crossed to the Continent in order to try and recover the watches confiscated by the Flemish customs; but when he got as far as Ghent he heard that they had already been auctioned. It is not clear whether he continued his trip to Leiden, before returning to England.

Fourth Journey [1767 pp. 27–8]

For the first time Upjohn is quite certain about the date: this time he set out for the Continent on 12 October 1767. The purpose was to send his son James to school in Zutphen, and at the same time see what Mather was up to. Once again they went from Dover to Calais; then via Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Bruges, Ghent, Aalst, Brussels, Mechelen ('Maclain') and Antwerp to Breda, doing some business on the way. From Breda the trip went via 's-Hertogenbosch, Grave, Nijmegen and Arnhem to Zutphen, from where they visited the Stadholder's palace Het Loo. Having left his son in Zutphen, James returned via Arnhem, Amersfoort, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague to Hellevoetsluis, from where he crossed to Harwich and thence back to London.

Fifth Journey [1768 pp. 29–106]

This is the most comprehensively described journey, which was really the honeymoon of Upjohn's eldest daughter Mary, who on 26 May 1768 married the Swedish-born enameller and jeweller Gabriel Wirgman; they were joined by James Upjohn and the two Wetheral sisters, and Upjohn's wife accompanied them as far as Gravesend.

They crossed from Dover to Calais, where they arrived on 28 May; then via Gravelines, Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Bruges and Ghent to Brussels, where they arrived on 3 June. Here they saw the palace of the Governor of the Southern (Austrian) Netherlands, the popular Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine (1712–1780), a man much interested in the mechanical arts: he had a collection of clocks and watches and there still exist two ornamental lathes that are associated with him.¹⁸

Leaving Brussels on 6 June they went via Mechelen to Antwerp, which Upjohn much admired: he relates the old (though unsubstantiated) story about the love of Quentin Massys (c.1465/6–1530) for a painter's daughter, but the father-in-law was certainly not Rubens (1577–1640) who lived a century later, and also the story of the Emperor Charles V and the borrowed money, which actually relates to the Augsburg banker Jakob Fuggger. After two days in Antwerp they returned to Brussels via the village of 'Marlay', six miles from Brussels, where they were joined by James from Zutphen.

On 9 June they set out for Paris, going via Braine-le-Comte, Mons, Valenciennes, Cambrai and Péronne, arriving in Paris on 11 June. Here they stayed for two weeks, making trips to Versailles and Saint-Denis.

Leaving their companions behind, father and son Upjohn set out from Paris on 21 June. They travelled via Cambrai, Valenciennes (where Upjohn saw an automaton clock which appears to be otherwise unrecorded), Mons, Brussels, Louvain and an unnamed village that may have been Wijk (scene of an important battle during the siege of Maastricht in 1748), to Maastricht. Here Upjohn was taken in by the watchmaker de Beefe over some paintings. The de Beefes were a widespread family of clockmakers who probably originated in Liège. The man Upjohn met in Maastricht was Franciscus de Beefe; his brother in Aachen (the next place on the trip) was Andreas de Beefe (in Aachen from 1761).¹⁹

After Maastricht and Aachen (where the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending the War of the Austrian Succession, was negotiated in 1748), the journey went to Cologne, with a trip across the river to Deutz, and then on to Bonn. Here Upjohn saw the palace of the Elector Maximilian Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne and Bishop of Munster (b.1708, elected

1761, d.1784) with the room for his ornamental lathe. Then on to Coblenz, Nassau, Mainz and Frankfurt, where they arrived on 4 July. Here Upjohn arranged to send his son Edward to school, but stayed only a single day. The journey continued to Kassel, the residence of Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Cassel (reigned 1760–85; married Princess Mary, daughter of King George II of Great Britain). Here they saw Schloss Weissenstein (Upjohn's 'Whitestone', which was replaced by the present Schloss Wilhelmshöhe in the early nineteenth century) and the landscaped park leading up to a colossal statue of Hercules.²⁰ Next came Minden, Hanover (where they saw Schloss Herrenhausen), Zelle and finally Hamburg, where they arrived on 14 July. From there they made trips to Altona and Boizenburg; they left Hamburg on 19 July.

From Hamburg, the Upjohns travelled on horseback, and the description of the route becomes very detailed. Via Buxtehude, [Kloster-] Zeven and Ottersberg, they came to Bremen; then through Delmenhorst, Oldenburg and an unnamed village before Leer to Emden, and on 25 July arrived at Nieuweschans, the first town in the Netherlands. Then came Winschoten and Scheemda, where they met the watchmaker Cranenborg, member of another large clockmaking family: this was Harm J. Cranenborg (recorded 1763–1787).²¹ Then on to Groningen, Leeuwarden, Franeker (which in those days still had a university), Harlingen (from where one could reach fifteen islands, rather than see them as Upjohn claimed), Bolsward, Sneek, Oudeschoot, Zwolle, Deventer and Zutphen—where, curiously, no mention is made of Mather! The journey continued to Nijmegen, and then to Utrecht and Arnhem ('Arnuin') (these last two probably in reverse order), Amersfoort and Amsterdam. Here they did a good deal of business, and appear to have made another trip to Utrecht. Next came Haarlem and Leiden (with a view of the Haarlemmermeer, which was then still a lake). Then came The Hague, with trips to Scheveningen and the palace of the Huis ten Bosch ('House in the Wood'). The journey continued to Delft, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Moerdijk, Bergen-op-Zoom, Tholen, Goes and Veere. Upjohn wrote that he had a good order from a Mr Tappy in Veere, but this is likely to have been Abraham Tappi of Goes.²² Next they went to Middelburg and arrived on 23 August in Flushing, where they crossed the River Scheldt to the island of Goesand. The next stops were Sluis and Bruges. In Bruges, James left his father to go to Amsterdam; the elder James continued to Dunkirk, from where he crossed to Ramsgate and arrived back in London at the end of August.

Sixth Journey [1769 pp. 107–126]

In April, 1769 Upjohn set out once again, this time with the specific purpose of visiting the Frankfurt and Leipzig Fairs. He crossed from Harwich to Hellevoetsluis, and then to Leiden and Warmond in order to visit his son Thomas, who was still at school there. Then to Haarlem and Amsterdam, where he saw his other son James. The journey from Amsterdam to Frankfurt is not described, and therefore probably went much the same as before; from the previous year's description we know that he visited Nijmegen and Maastricht, both apparently on the outward journey.

In Frankfurt he stayed eight or ten days to visit the fair, and was joined by his son Edward, whom he took along for the rest of the journey. They set out again on 1 May, and came first to Hanau (where the castle did not belong to George II's daughter, the Princess of Hesse-Cassel, as Upjohn believed, but to her son, the subsequent Landgrave William IX); then via Gelnhausen ('Glasshouse'), Steinau, Flieden, an unnamed village, Berka and Vacha (these two must have been in reverse order) to Eisenach. The next stop was Gotha, birthplace of George III's mother Augusta of Saxe-Gotha Altenberg, where they saw her brother, the old Duke Frederick III of Saxe-Gotha Altenberg (1699–1772). Then came Erfurt, 'Ever' (unidentified), Naumburg, Rippach and so to Leipzig, where they arrived on 8 May. During the next few days Upjohn studied the watch trade at the fair.

Leaving Leipzig on 17 May, they arrived back in Frankfurt on 24 May, and then to Mainz. The rest of the trip is very briefly described: Cologne, Nijmegen, Arnhem, Deventer, Amsterdam (where he left Edward with his other son James), and back to London.

In 1770 Francis was sent to Amsterdam to join James, and Edward came back. In the next year Peter was sent to school in 's-Hertogenbosch (presumably for about a year), and Edward was sent to Hamburg, where he subsequently ran into trouble.

Seventh Journey [1772 pp. 130–137]

[with additional material by RS]

This was the last and probably also the most exasperating foreign trip undertaken by Upjohn. He went to try and sell three large automata, which he had made for the jeweller and exporter, James Cox of Shoe Lane, but which had been left on his hands through Cox's financial embarrassments. According to the *Life*, he had done work for Cox since 1763 (which was when Cox was formally discharged from his 1758 bankruptcy), and thereafter did a 'great deal of his business'. At first, he sold him a large

number of articles which he had made on speculation, including a number of expensive watches and 'a great many whimsical things for his Exhibition and to send abroad', to the amount of £3600. He then secured orders for three pairs of large automata clocks to his own designs, but unfortunately seems to have secured no advance payment from Cox, whose business ran into difficulty before the articles were finished. The *Life* suggests that Cox 'broke' financially in 1770, and Upjohn therefore had to find ways of disposing of several of the large pieces, exporting the first of these to China on his own account in April 1770.

The fascinating story given on pp. 127–8 and 152–6 is broadly correct, but some of the details need to be clarified by reference to what we know of Cox's history from other sources. For example, if any of Upjohn's pieces entered Cox's Exhibition as he claimed, this could not have been the famous Spring Gardens Museum, since the planning for that did not start until mid-1770 (after Cox had turned down Upjohn's large pieces), and it did not open until early 1772. Furthermore, while Cox may well have been experiencing financial problems by early 1770 as Upjohn suggests, he did not actually 'break' in 1770: the crisis in his financial affairs did not become critical until 1772, when he was forced to reach a private composition with his creditors, and he was not formally declared bankrupt until 1778.²³

As already noted, the first pair of large pieces which Upjohn disposed of himself were exported in April 1770. This was a pair of large temple clocks with automated figures which were consigned on the East Indiaman *Morse* (Captain Horne) for Madras and Bengal. Since these clocks are not recorded in the East India Company's Private Trade Ledgers in the India Office Records, they were evidently loaded illicitly—a common practice. Upjohn then completed a pair of very large triumphal car automata drawn by elephants, and a pair of smaller temple clocks, which were consigned on an unnamed ship (or ships) in the following season. An anonymous description of these pieces, almost identical to that included in the *Life* (pp. 153–4), was published in the London *General Evening Post*, 14 February 1771: this said that they had been 'just shipped for the East Indies', but curiously, neither maker nor exporter was named. The ships involved were probably the East Indiamen *Pacifick* and/or *Cruttenden*, on which substantial consignments by Upjohn are noted in the Private Trade Ledgers for this season: these left the Thames for China in February and March 1771.²⁴

Unfortunately, as Upjohn tells us, the articles exported in 1771 failed to sell and had to be brought back to London. Although he does not say so, this was not a reflection on their quality but was due to a serious glut which had recently developed in the Chinese market, and from which it only gradually recovered. Upjohn tried again in 1775, exporting the same pieces to Canton (Guangzhou) where they eventually sold, but only at a heavy loss.

Given the impressive nature of Upjohn's pieces, it is not surprising that at least two of them reached the collection of the Qianlong emperor himself, and can still be seen in the Palace Museum, Beijing. One of these is a large temple corresponding to the pair exported in 1770 (Fig. 1). (Although their original destination was apparently India, it was quite normal for such articles to be trans-shipped there for China.) This clock has a replacement base and other alterations, but otherwise corresponds closely to the description in the *Life*.²⁵ The other surviving piece in Beijing is a triumphal car drawn by an elephant, like the pair sold in Canton in 1775 (Fig. 2). It is also unsigned but matches Upjohn's description closely, though, not surprisingly, the supporting table and glass case imitating the dome of St Paul's Cathedral are now missing.

It was just after this pair of triumphal cars and the smaller temples had returned from their unsuccessful first voyage to China in 1771–2 that Upjohn decided to take some of his articles to Holland, in the hope of selling them there. The pieces he took included 'one Triumphal Car, two small Temples, and a Post Chaise', as well as 'a great assortment of gold enamelled watches, & chains, and toys of different kinds'. The post chaise was probably similar to the horse-drawn automaton supporting a skeleton watch signed by Upjohn, which is now in a private collection in New York (Fig. 3). The enamelled watches may have been similar to one now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Figs 4a–c).²⁶

Upjohn gives little information about the actual trip to Europe and gets the year wrong: the events he describes occurred in 1772 not 1773. Following the return of his goods from China in July 1772, it was probably in August or September that he arrived in The Hague, where he was joined by his son Thomas. Upjohn fully expected to sell his marvels to the Stadholder of the United Provinces, Prince William V (1748–1806), for his cabinet of curiosities, but he came at an inopportune moment, for a son had just been born to the Prince (this was William Frederick, the subsequent King William I, born 24 August 1772), and he was busy with his many guests. So Upjohn decided to cut his losses by putting the objects on public show, and advertised the fact in 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*. He eventually arranged to show his automatons to the Stadholder at the Huis ten Bosch palace,

where he met the Prince, the Princess (Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, 1751–1820) and several gentlemen of the court: notably the very influential Ludwig Ernst, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1718–88), the Gentleman in Waiting, Anne Frans Pieck van Zoelen (1735–c.1775), and the Master of the Horse, Baron von Wülkenitz. The Princes of Hesse-Cassel and Glattstein, who are also mentioned, were probably guests of the Stadholder. However no sale was made, and Upjohn continued to exhibit the objects in The Hague until the end of October, when he removed them to Amsterdam, where they were shown from early November until the end of January 1773.

Upjohn himself appears to have left the Netherlands in November 1772, leaving his son Thomas and an unnamed German clockmaker in charge. We know that the automatons were once again on show in The Hague in May 1773, but that seems to have been the last of it.²⁷ Upjohn tells us that Thomas ran into financial trouble, so he had the machines crated up and put into store. In the meantime, an attempt had been made to sell a half-share in the second Triumphal Car, which had remained in London. In April 1773 it was briefly exhibited prior to sale by the auctioneers Messrs. Westwood and Smith. The auction notice (*Daily Advertiser* 27 April 1773) does not name the vendor: the main sale comprised the stock of the goldsmiths Butty and Dumee, but the automaton was evidently a separate lot. This attempt presumably failed, since Upjohn says (p. 156) that 'the whole' of the articles made for Cox were exported again to the East in 1775, where they were eventually sold, but at a loss.

That was the end of Upjohn's activities on the Continent. Few traces of him or his sons have been found in the Netherlands. His son James subsequently fell victim to swindlers and returned to London. He appears to have been replaced by Francis, who is mentioned in a financial transaction with the important Amsterdam clockmakers Gerrit Knip & Zoon in 1779,²⁸ and in an undated document involving the Cox family.²⁹ Francis returned to London in 1780, presumably because of the hostilities which broke out between Britain and the Netherlands at the end of that year, during the American War of Independence, though curiously Upjohn does not mention this disrupting influence to trade except in a roundabout way.

Upjohn's later career [RS]

When Upjohn completed his *Life* on 31 October 1783, he had apparently been retired for a year, having given up involvement in the family business in 1782, at the age of 60 (see pp. 142, 149, 158). In fact his firm continued to trade at 12 Red Lion Street for many more years, and it is clear from its subsequent history that Upjohn's own involvement had not in fact ceased.

Since the business was reconstituted several times during its existence (pp. 141–2), it might be useful to summarise these changes. Upjohn's first partnership seems to have been with his son-in-law Gabriel Wirgman, beginning in December 1768 and ending in December 1771. The firm then became the partnership of James Upjohn and Son—the latter no doubt being his eldest son Francis, who had now reached the age of 21. From 1777, Upjohn was in equal partnership for three years with his two eldest sons Francis and James junior, with Francis concentrating on the Dutch trade. At the end of 1780, Francis took his share of the business and set up on his own in Bridgewater Square, while the Red Lion Street firm continued under Upjohn and James junior, with the youngest son Peter being taken on as the firm's 'rider' or travelling salesman (p. 127). The *London Gazette* announced the dissolution of this partnership at the end of 1781, leaving Upjohn to continue the business on his own. However, the *Life* merely states that a new agreement was drawn up in July 1782, under which Upjohn left his capital in the business, but handed over management to James junior in return for a yearly payment of £500.

In effect, Upjohn had now become a sleeping partner, but he tells us that he had retained a right of veto over major decisions, and the later history of the firm suggests that he could not help intervening. In July 1785, the *London Gazette* announced the dissolution of the partnership of James Upjohn senior and James Upjohn junior, noting that the Red Lion Street business would be continued by James senior on his own, while James junior had opened a shop in the same business at 91 New Bond Street.

In practice, Upjohn probably had no wish to go back to running the firm single-handed, and in due course his son Peter and Richard Bayly joined him as new partners. When Upjohn finally retired on 24 June 1790, the business continued under Bayly and Peter Upjohn; and when that partnership was also dissolved at the end of 1793, it was Bayly who remained in the old premises at 12 Red Lion Street, while Peter Upjohn moved along the street to no. 58.³⁰

Upjohn's wife Mary had died in Red Lion Street in July 1789, and following his second retirement he appears to have moved to Hornsey, where he died just before Christmas 1794 at the age of 72. His body was brought back to Clerkenwell to be buried at St John's on 19 December 1794, presumably in the family vault which he had built in the church's burial ground in 1759 (p. 17). He left no will, but administration of his goods, valued at under £600, was granted to his son Francis on 14 February 1795. Poignantly, just a week after his death, his daughter Mary Wirgman died at her home in the parish of St Giles in the Fields, and was buried with her parents in Clerkenwell.³¹

OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

The Upjohn family tree at the back of this book is intended to clarify the relationships between those members of the family mentioned in the *Life*, and is based largely on Upjohn's own statements, supplemented by R.U. Light, *Upjohn. A Study in Ancestry* (2 vols, privately printed 1990). Other genealogical information used in this Introduction can be found in T. Tribe and P. Whatmoor, *Dorset Clocks and Clockmakers* (Oswestry: Tanat, 1981); C.N. Ponsford, *Time in Exeter* (Exeter: Headwell Vale, 1978), and *Devon Clocks and Clockmakers* (Newton Abbot: Devon & Charles, 1986). Further sources are mentioned in the notes.

There is some ambiguity about a few persons. Upjohn mentions two watchmakers called Mather, one (the elder?) apprenticed to his father, the other to himself. Since he does not say that the Mather in Leiden was his old pupil, it is assumed that Edward had been his father's apprentice; the other may have been the John Mather recorded in London in 1769.³²

The first names of James Upjohn's father-in-law and brother-in-law are nowhere specifically stated, but Garle is a very unusual name and no others appear in London at this time. Thomas Garle senior was apprenticed to William Mason in 1706, became free of the Clockmakers' Company in 1720, and is recorded in Silver Street 1744–57. He and his wife Mary baptized a daughter Mary on 15 June 1721 and sons Thomas junior on 16 December 1722 and John in 1724.³³ Thomas Garle junior became free of the Clockmakers' Company in 1747 by patrimony and was Master in 1769.³⁴ He married Mary Hale on 15 March 1746.³⁵

Dutch abbreviations used in these Notes:

GA = Gemeentearchief (Municipal Record Office).

RA = Rijksarchief (Provincial Record Office).

DTB = Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafboeken

(Baptism, Marriage and Burial registers).

1. Nothing is known for certain about the history of the manuscript before it was purchased by Brian Loomes, as he recorded in 'The amazing life of James Upjohn', *Clocks*, vol. 6, no. 5 (November 1983) pp. 12–13. The transcript is in Richard Upjohn Light, *Upjohn. A Study in Ancestry* (privately printed 1990), vol. 2, pp. 1–80. [RS]
2. As Upjohn states, they were married at St Vedast, Foster Lane: 1 January 1745 (OS), 'James Upjohn of the Parish of S. Olave, Silver Street, London, Batchelor, Mary Garle of the same Parish, Spinster.' [Registers of St Vedast, Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. 30 (London 1903)].
3. There is a useful summary of Wirgman's career in L. Southwick, *London Silver-hilted Swords* (Royal Armouries, 2001), pp. 259–60, though his early partnerships with James Upjohn and John Lautier (*Life*, p. 29) are not mentioned. [RS]
4. For an earlier use of the word 'stud', see A. Smith, 'An early 18th century watchmaker's notebook, Richard Wright of Cronton and the Lancashire-London connection', *Antiquarian Horology*, vol. 15, no. 6 (December 1985), pp. 605–25: '1726 from Mr Ellicot [...] a set of pillers and stud' (p. 621).
The rules of a similar monthly watch club, run by the eighteenth-century clockmaker Samuel Deacon, were given in P.A. Hewitt, 'The Deacon Family of Leicestershire Clockmakers: Part II', *Antiquarian Horology*, vol. 16, no. 4 (December 1986), pp. 353–4. [RS]
5. It is difficult to find independent corroborating evidence for these figures, and the only contemporary statement that has turned up so far refers to conditions on the Continent. It occurs in S. Destouche, *Manuel court et nécessaire à ceux qui font usage de Montres* (Middelburg [1775]) p. 22, where it is said that producing a watch-movement takes about a month for a good craftsman: 'Un excellent ouvrier ... besoin d'un mois entier pour faire et finir ce qu'on appelle une montre parfaite.' (This is exclusive of gilding, engraving, spring, chain, cases, dial and glass). The first clear statement about the time it took to finish a common watch in England is considerably later. It forms part of the evidence given by

- Samuel Fuller in: House of Commons, Report from the Committee on the Petition of Watchmakers of Coventry &c. (11 July 1817) p. 33, 'How many watches can a finisher complete in a week? - Upon the average, I suppose, two or three. There are some excellent workmen that could do four, but it is very rare.' The two statements show that Upjohn's words were probably realistic.
6. There can be little doubt of this, although the first clear evidence is somewhat later. See the article by A. Smith (note 4), and his letter in *Antiquarian Horology*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1989), pp. 198–9; also W. Blakey, 'On Horology', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 62 (1792), pp. 328–30 and pp. 403–6; here p. 403. It will be noted that in Upjohn's case, the price for the rough movement was set at 18 shillings.
 7. Jean Rous and his son-in-law (Antoine) Jean Barre who was a watchmaker, traded under the name Rous & Barre from c.1740; both these men originally came from London [GA Amsterdam, Klapper [Index] DTB; Haarlem, Gildenarchief [Guilts Archives] 39, fo. 119–20 dated 1750].
 8. Possibly Jaques Broche of Berlin, whose name occurs on several watches [J. Abeler, *Meister der Uhrmacherkunst* (Wuppertal; Uhrenmuseum, 1977)].
 9. S.E. Atkins and W.H. Overall, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers of the City of London* (London; privately printed, 1881) p. 258; J.H. Leopold, 'Clockmaking in Britain and the Netherlands', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, vol. 43 (1989), pp. 155–65; here pp. 162–3.
 10. '...ces Marchands savent fort bien employer des mauvais Mouvements de Genève dans des boites de Paris, faire marquer les noms des bons Maitres dessus ces Montres, & les vendre comme si elles étoient bonnes.' [... these merchants understand very well how to use bad movements from Geneva in Parisian cases, to put the names of good masters on these watches, & to sell them as if they were good.] F. Berthoud, *L'Art de conduire et de régler les pendules et les montres* (Paris 1759) p. 53. See also R. Smith, 'The Swiss Connection. International Networks in some Eighteenth-Century Luxury Trades', *Journal of Design History*, 17/2 (OUP 2004), pp. 123–139.
 11. The Moiana Brothers were Italian. See: GA Haarlem, Gildenarchief 39, fo. 119–20 dated 1750; a receipt dated 1738 for payment for a gold watch dispatched to Groningen in: RA Groningen, FA [Family Archive] Van Bolhuis 66.
 12. The history of this firm is complicated. The original widow Grand l'Ainé was Catharina de Beefe, doubtless of the family that Upjohn ran foul of in Maastricht. From about 1775 the firm dealt increasingly in imported watches (see e.g. GA Rotterdam, Not.A [Notaries' Archives] 3005/274ff. (1777); Not.A 3540/334 (1781); Not.A 3348/406ff. (1792). By the end of the century most Dutch watchmakers had a current account with the firm.
 13. From about 1780 continued by the widow as Wed. [Widow] Aron Isaacs. An eighteenth-century account-book of the firm (in Yiddish) is in a private collection; microfilm in GA Amsterdam. See also *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 18 (1931) p. 95–6. [It is also possible that Mather was referring to Jewish travelling salesmen or pedlars, rather than settled firms. [RS]]
 14. J.H. Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 48 (Leipzig and Halle, 1746), under 'Uhrenhandel'; a brief reference to Frankfurt in: *Der selbstlehrende Uhrmacher* (Frankfurt: Kessler, 1786) p. 10. Upjohn remarks on the surprising number of watches traded in Leipzig.
 15. Where there are traditional British forms for place names, these have been used, rather than current local usage e.g. Antwerp, not Antwerpen or Anvers; Hanover, not Hannover. In the transcription, where Upjohn uses place names which are now obsolete, these have been retained but the more familiar modern form is indicated on first occurrence e.g. Dort [Dordrecht], Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen]. Simple misspellings have been corrected without comment. [RS]
 16. For Mather's early life and his Leiden period, see GA Leiden, Poorterboek [Register of Burgesses] and Klapper DTB; his removal to Zutphen and his dates there kindly supplied by GA Leiden. For Fr. le Dieu, see G.A. Leiden, Klapper DTB and Kohier [Register] 1749.

17. N. Ottema, *Geschiedenis van de Uurwerkmakerskunst in Friesland* (Leeuwarden: Museum Het Prinsessehof, 1948), p. 92. He was probably the same as Lodewijkus de Laine, recorded in Middelburg in 1759.
18. The descriptions of the clocks and watches in the sale after the death of Charles Alexander of Lorraine (170 lots!) is in: A. Wins, *L'Horloge à travers les âges* (Paris and Mons: Champion, 1924), pp. 299–315. (The model of a watchmaker's workshop, which Upjohn saw, is not mentioned). For the ornamental-turning lathes, see K. Maurice, *Der drechselnde Souverän / Sovereigns as Turners* (Zurich: Ineichen, 1985). See Figs 28 and 35.
19. E. Morpurgo, *Nederlandse klokken- en horlogemakers vanaf 1300* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1970); Abeler, *Uhrmacherkunst*.
20. The landscaping works and the statue of Hercules (11.3 metres high on its pedestal, and erected 1714–7 by the Landgrave Carl), had been seen by James Boswell just four years earlier. He recorded an amusing story that a visiting King of Sweden, invited by the Landgrave to admire the waterfall and asked whether anything was lacking, replied, 'Nothing, except a gibbet for the man who planned this for your Highness.' F.A. Pottle, *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland 1764* (London: Heinemann, 1953), p. 149. [RS]
21. Recorded in local church accounts, particularly Midwolda (RA Groningen, A. Kerkvoogdij [*Churchwardens' Archives*] Midwolda), Scheemda and Winschoten (GA Groningen, Rood 352 and 357).
22. A watch with his signature is recorded in Ottema, *Uurwerkmakerskunst*, p. 103.
23. For an introductory study of Cox, see R. Smith, 'James Cox (c.1723–1800): a revised biography', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 2000, pp. 353–61; also the same author's entry for Cox in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP 2004).
24. British Library (Asian & African Studies), India Office Records: H/19.
25. This Temple clock is also illustrated in I. White, *English Clocks for Eastern Markets* (AHS: Ticehurst, 2012), p. 258, fig. 8.47. The signature on the dial is unfortunately illegible, but White says that the movement is 'apparently signed "Robert Marriott", rather than Upjohn.' (p. 259) He also associates this clock with a smaller one in the Palace Museum, which has identical figures of Classical soldiers, and suggests that this second clock is also probably by Upjohn, 'although signed by Marriott' (p. 195). Unfortunately the evidence for the Marriott signatures on these clocks is not given. It is clear from the Palace Museum's handbook *Timepieces* (2007), pp. 128–9, piece 78, that the dial of the smaller clock is unsigned, but it is there attributed to 'Halert Maranet', presumably from a signature on the movement. (The exhibit label in the Palace Museum says 'Halert Marunet, London'.) This is perhaps more likely to be a misreading of Hubert Martinet, who made the large elephant automaton now at Waddesdon Manor, rather than Robert Marriott. As to whether this smaller clock was also made by or for Upjohn, it can only be noted that it does not correspond to those described in the *Life* and no connection between Martinet and Upjohn has yet been found. [RS]
26. The case of this watch is hallmarked for London 1778–9 and bears the mark IW for the watchcase maker John Wright, who lived near Upjohn in Red Lion Street. The enamel decoration like a classical cameo is in a style associated with James Morisset, with whom Upjohn's son-in-law Gabriel Wirgman was in partnership from 1776 to October 1778. [RS]
27. Additional information about exhibiting the automata derives from advertisements in The Hague newspaper '*s Gravenhaegse Courant* for 30 September 1772 (repeated 5 October), 12 October (repeated 19 October), 9 November (repeated 11 November), 18 January 1773 and 10 May 1773. (A run of the *Courant* is in GA The Hague).
28. GA The Hague, Not.A 4178/9. Gerrit Knip (c.1715–1806) took his son, also called Gerrit (1745–1800), into partnership c.1768. (For these dates see the hallmarks in their watches; also GA Amsterdam, Klapper DTB and FA Brands 107 dd, 20 Jan 1770).
29. GA The Hague, Not.A 3920/376; this mentions William and Edward Cox. [*They were not related to James Cox of Shoe Lane.* RS]

30. For announcements of the dissolution of these partnerships, see the *St. James's Chronicle* for 31 December 1771, and the *London Gazette* for 2 January 1781, 31 December 1781, 19 July 1785, 10 July 1790, and 31 December 1793. [RS]

31. The burials of Upjohn's wife on 18 July 1789, and himself and his daughter on 19 and 27 December 1794, are recorded in the register of St John's Clerkenwell (online copy in Guildhall Library, London). Upjohn's probate papers are held at the National Archives; TNA: Prob 6/171, fo. 206. His daughter's husband Gabriel Wirgman had died and been buried in Devizes, Wiltshire in 1791, which may explain why she was buried with her parents. [RS]

32. G.H. Baillie, *Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World*, 2nd edn, (London: N.A.G., 1947).

33. The daughter was baptized in Christ Church, Newgate Street; the two sons in St Michael le Quern. Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. 21 (1895) and vol. 29 (1902).

34. F.J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers*, 9th edn, (London: Methuen, 1982) p. 453.
 John Garle was an executor of Upjohn's son-in-law, Gabriel Wirgman, whose will describes him as 'a great friend in my life time'. The will also mentions Thomas Garle and John Garle's late father, 'whom I hope my family never will forget'. The latter's first name is not given but this was evidently Thomas Garle senior, maternal grandfather of Wirgman's wife. TNA: Prob. 11/1209, proved 23 September 1791. [RS]

35. St George's Chapel, Mayfair. Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. 15 (1889).

Coinage—Abbreviations and Exchange Rates [RS]

Values of foreign coins are based on Wyndham Beawes, *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva* (1773), pp. 755–6 'Coins', and pp. 356 ff. 'Par of Monies'. Sterling values are approximate.

Great Britain (sterling)

1 guinea (1gn.) = 21 shillings (21s.)

1 pound (£1) = 20 shillings (20s.)

1 shilling (1s.) = 12 pence (12d.)

NB Upjohn sometimes abbreviates the conventional signs further, e.g. writing 18/- for 18s. and 15/9 for 15s. 9d.

France

1 Louis d'or = 24 livres tournois (or francs)

A Louis d'or was conventionally valued at about £1 sterling and a livre at about 10d. sterling in the eighteenth century.

United Provinces

1 ducat = 5 guilders 5 stuivers, (about 9s 6d. sterling)

1 Rix dollar = 2 guilders 10 stuivers, (about 4s. 6d. sterling)

1 guilder (or florin) = 20 stuivers, (about 1s. 9d. sterling)

German States

Very varied. At Frankfurt 1 guilder was worth about 3s. sterling in 1773.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1 Temple clock
- Fig. 2 Elephant-carriage automaton
- Fig. 3 Carriage automaton
- Figs. 4a, b and c Gold watch and pair case
- Figs. 5a and b Antoine Morand clock and automaton
- Fig. 6 Hollar, *Antwerp cathedral*
- Fig. 7 Lepautre, *l'hôtel royal des Invalides*
- Fig. 8 Engraving, *Römischer Kaiser*
- Fig. 9 Berckheyde, *The Town Hall on Dam Square*
- Fig. 10 Van Giessen, *Het Binnen Hof*
- Fig. 11 Van der Heyden, *The Huis ten Bosch*



Fig. 1. Temple clock, unsigned but by James Upjohn, London, ht. 117 cm.
(© Palace Museum, Beijing).



Fig. 2. Elephant-carriage automaton, unsigned but by James Upjohn, length overall 136 cm.
(© Palace Museum, Beijing).



Fig. 3. Carriage automaton with watch signed James Upjohn, London, ht. 18 cm.
(*La Vieille Russie*; courtesy Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York; photo: Andrew Garn).



4a



4b



4c

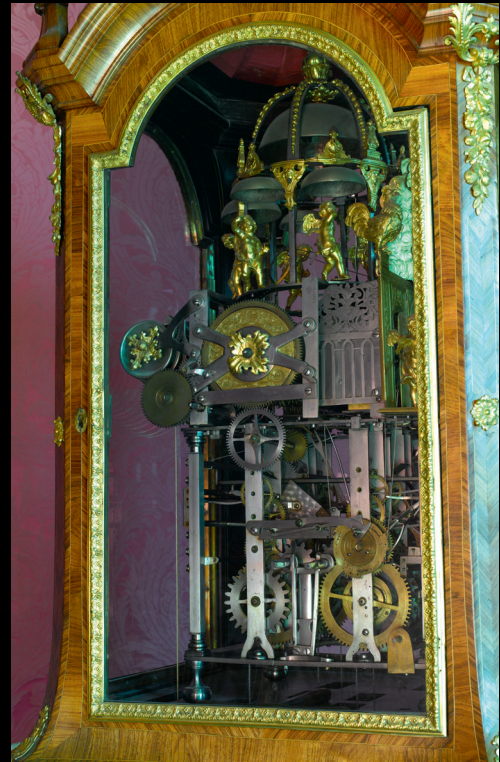
Figs. 4a, b, c. Gold watch and pair case. Movement with verge escapement signed Jas. Upjohn & Co. London. Inner case marked 'IW' for John Wright, London hallmarks for 1778-9; outer case enamelled with a scene *en grisaille* after David Allan, *The Origin of Painting* (1775). Complete watch with bow: ht. 64 mm, w. 45 mm, d. 20 mm.

(© Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Museum no: 1924&A-1898).

Figs. 5a, b. Antoine Morand, clock with automaton, ht. 275 cm, w. 82 cm, d. 82 cm. .
(© RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot).



5a



5b



Fig. 6. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Antwerp Cathedral*, engraving (1649).
(© Trustees of the British Museum).

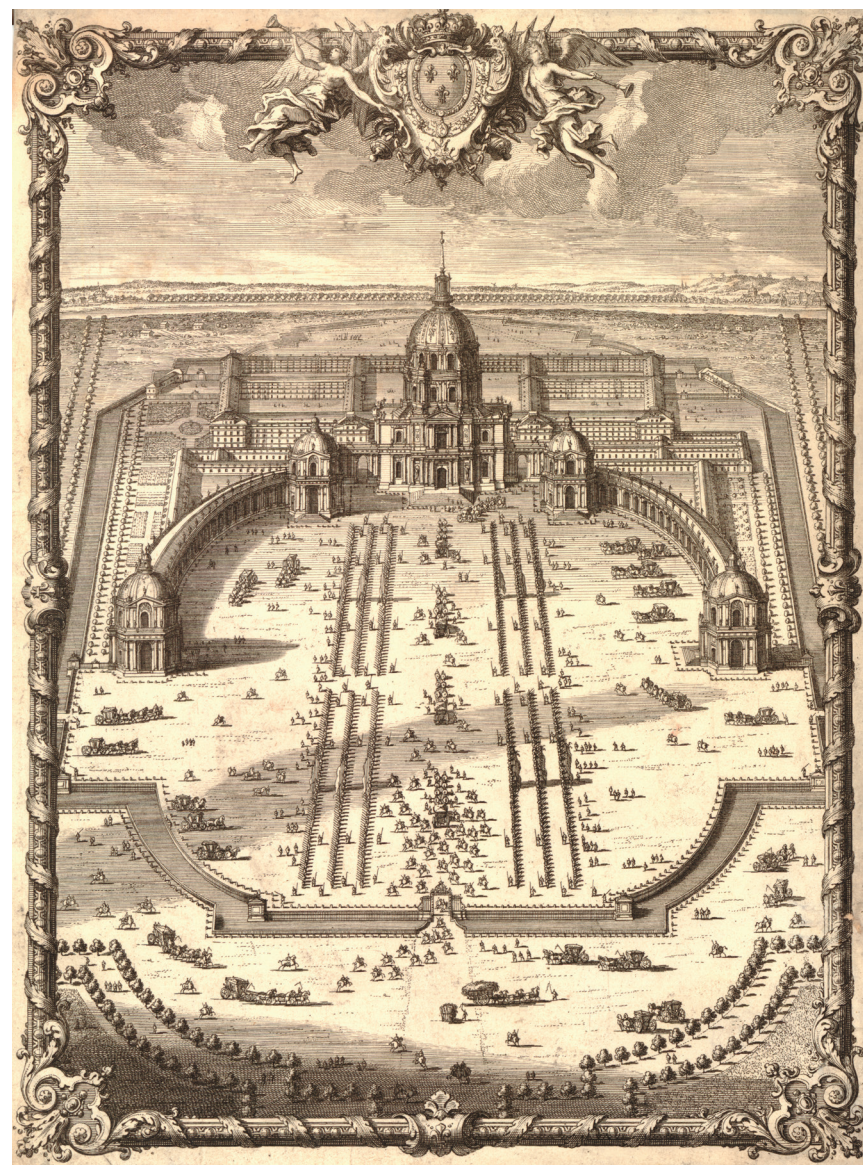


Fig. 7. Pierre Lepautre, *Vue de la facade de l'église de l'hôtel royal des Invalides* (Paris), engraving (c. 1680–83).
(© Trustees of the British Museum).

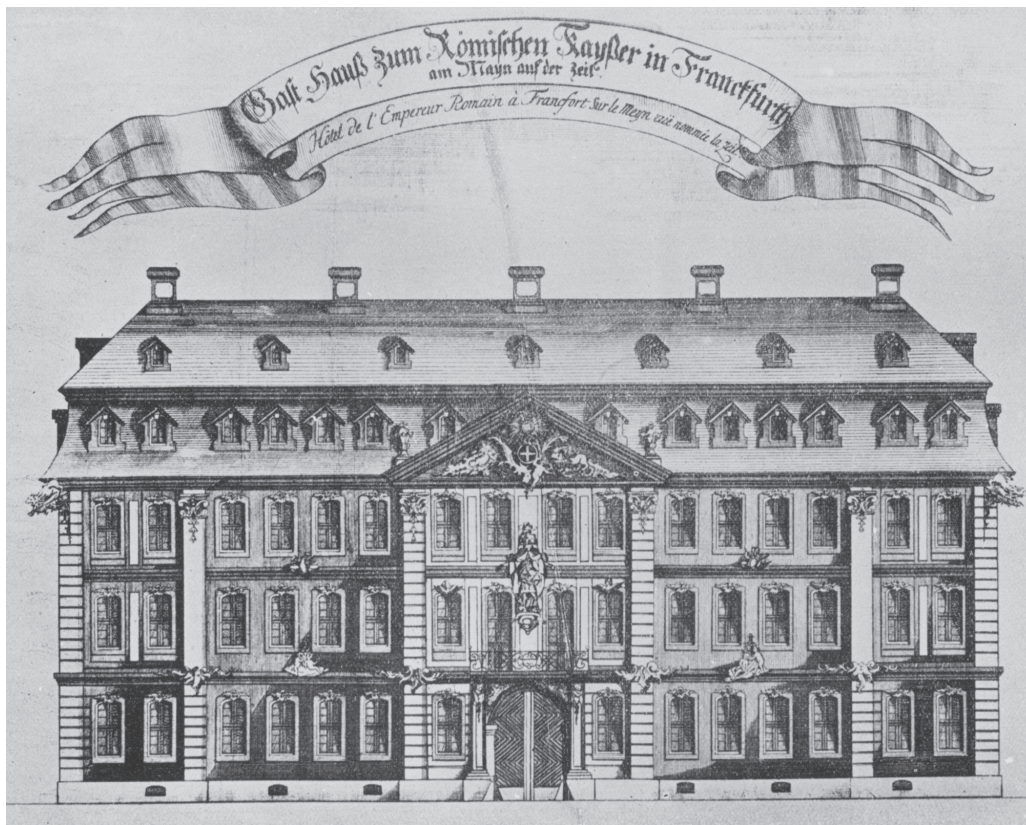


Fig. 8. *Römischer Kaiser* (Roman Emperor) hotel (Frankfurt am Main), engraving (c.1770).
(© Institut für Stadtgeschichte, image S7A1998/10373).



Fig. 9. Gerrit Adriaenszoon Berckheyde, *The Town Hall on Dam Square* (Amsterdam), oil on canvas (1672).
(© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).



Fig. 10. Gerrit van Giessen, *Het Binnen Hof* (The Hague), engraving (c.1730).
(© Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 11. Jan van der Heyden, *The Huis ten Bosch at The Hague*, oil on wood (c.1668–70).
(© Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Edith Neuman de Végvár, in honour of her husband, Charles Neuman de Végvár, 1964).

A short
ACCOUNT
of the
LIFE and TRAVELS
of

JAMES UPJOHN
of Red-Lion Street Clerkenwell,
Clock & Watch-maker and Goldsmith
by Company.

Copied into this book by A. UPJOHN,
1784.

PREFACE.

I beg leave to inform my readers, that the chief reason for my writing this short account of my life is because I am the original Upjohn of London, and that my children's children may in future know the origin of their family. I shall begin with an account of my birth, and voyage to America with my father, mother & family, and proceed with my return to England where I served my time; the time of leaving my father and mother and coming to London; my progress and success here; the reason of my first going to Holland, my success and losses there; likewise my travels through France, Flanders, and Germany as far as Hamburg, and home through Bremen, Emden and Holland, with several remarkable occurrences, during the whole of which, it is to be understood, I could speak none other language than my own. I shall not attempt to give you a full description of the different countries and towns I passed through, nor the customs and manners of the inhabitants, but shall touch on a few things that occurred to me as I passed through the countries. In short, I did not stay long enough in any place to do anything correct; therefore I beg my readers will excuse all errors as it is my first attempt

P R E F A C E .

I beg leave to inform my Readers, that the chief reason for my writing this short account of my Life, is because I am the original Upjohn of London, and that my Childrens Children, may in future know the origin of their Family. - I shall begin with an account of my Birth, and Voyage to America, with my Father, Mother & Family, and proceed with my return to England, where I served my time, the time of leaving my Father and Mother, and coming to London, my progress and success here, the reason of my first going to Holland, my success and losses there; likewise my travels thro France Flanders and Germany, as far as Hamborough, and home thro Bremen, Emden and Holland, with several remarkable occurrences, during the whole, of which it is to be understood, I could speak none other Language than my own. I shall not attempt to give you a full description of the different Countries and Towns I past through, nor the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants; but shall touch on a few things, that occurred to me as I past thro the Countries, in short I did not stay long enough in any place, to do any thing correct, therefore I beg my Reader will excuse all errors as it is my first attempt

tempt at any thing of this sort, you will please to observe I was taken from School at 11 Years old, where I learnt nothing more than Reading and Writing, upon the whole my Father had not patience to give any of us a proper Education, for which reason I hope you will be favorable in your Remarks.

at anything of this sort. You will please to observe I was taken from school at 11 years old, where I learnt nothing more than reading and writing; upon the whole my father had not patience to give any of us a proper education, for which reason I hope you will be favourable in your remarks.

A

Short account of the Life of
Mr. JAMES UPJOHN,
of Red-Lion Street, Clerkenwell, London.
Begun in January 1780, and ended in 1783.

I was born in June 1722 at Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire, and son of Edward Upjohn, stone mason of the same place, who had six children there whose names were Mary, William, Peter, Nathaniel, Edward, and James. My father, being mechanically inclined, made a wooden clock to go by water before I was born, and did many things in the clock and watch way at Shaston.¹ In short, he had a general notion of things and a natural propensity to accomplish them. He cast his own clock-work, forged his iron-work for making the clocks, cast his own bells, and engraved his own clock dial-plates. He likewise made his own varnish for varnishing them, and was so very capital in these matters that he did them for numbers of the trade in the country round where he resided. In the watch way, he made his own movements and motions, and finished the watches complete; he likewise made watch-cases and springs, and undertook all sorts

A

Short account of the Life of

Mr. JAMES UPJOHN,

of Red-Lion Street, Clerkenwell, London.

Begun in January 1780, and ended in 1783.

I was born in June 1722, at Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire, and Son of Edward Upjohn, Stone Mason, of the same place, who had six Children there, whose Names were Mary, William, Peter, Nathaniel, Edward, and James; my Father being mechanically inclined, made a wooden clock to go by Water, before I was born, and did many things in the clock and Watch way at Shaston; in short, he had a general notion of things, and a natural propensity to accomplish them, he cast his own clock-work, forged his Iron-work, for making the clocks, cast his own Bells, and engraved his own clock Dial-plates; he likewise made his own Varnish, for varnishing them, and was so very capital in these matters, that he did them for numbers of the Trade in the Country round, where he resided. In the Watch-way, he made his own Movements and Motions, and finished the Watches complete; he likewise made watch-cases and springs, and undertook all sorts of

of out-of-the-way jobs, and was never happy untill he had completely mastered them: he was very fond of Church Music, and took great pleasure in teaching the Singers, in the Churches, where ever he went; he taught Hundreds for his pleasure: he was clever at Chime-Clocks, the Barrels of which he pricked himself, he accomplished every thing he undertook; he likewise understood making & constructing Dials, fixing them &c.

William, my eldest Brother, taking well to the Business and being a remarkable steady Lad, soon got forward, and made very good Watches from the beginning to the ending, so that the Watches were all completed in my Father's House.

About the Year 1723, my Father sold his Estate in and about Shaston, and from a restless and unsettled Disposition (and hearing of large Tracts of Land to be easily acquired in America) he took my Mother, and her six Children with him to Philadelphia, where he set up the Business of Clock and Watch making, and as soon as he was settled, he went to see after a tract of Land, and was six weeks missing during which time, my Mother did not know what was become of him, thinking he was devoured by Wild-Beasts, or killed by some other means, however he came home safe to his Family but without any success; my Mother told me, that she kept

of out-of-the-way jobs, and was never happy until he had completely mastered them. He was very fond of church music, and took great pleasure in teaching the singers in the churches where ever he went; he taught hundreds for his pleasure. He was clever at chime-clocks, the barrels of which he pricked himself. He accomplished every thing he undertook. He likewise understood making & constructing dials, fixing them etc.

William, my eldest brother, taking well to the business and being a remarkable steady lad, soon got forward and made very good watches from the beginning to the ending, so that the watches were all completed in my father's house.

About the year 1723 my father sold his estate in and about Shaston, and from a restless and unsettled disposition, (and hearing of large tracts of land to be easily acquired in America), he took my mother and her six children with him to Philadelphia, where he set up the business of clock and watch making; and as soon as he was settled, he went to see after a tract of land and was six weeks missing, during which time my mother did not know what was become of him, thinking he was devoured by wild beasts or killed by some other means. However, he came home safe to his family but without any success. My mother told me that she kept

(3)

a store-house, and sold what things she had brought from England for the support of the family in my father's absence. After this he followed his business with the assistance of my brother William and did very well. I was told that Philadelphia was a very fine city at that time, everything very plenty, the people extremely civil and good-natured. My father gave £50 for a black girl to do the work of the house, and I was informed that she laid down by the fire every night like a dog, and used to jump into the sea twice a week to wash herself, for she could swim very well. I was but one year old when taken from England; consequently, could know nothing but from what my mother has since related to me. My father not having his health at Philadelphia, removed with all his family to Charles Town [Charleston] South Carolina, (after living about a year at Philadelphia), and there followed his business with great success, for he found it a good place of trade, and the people very civil and good natured. Yet notwithstanding his prospect of success, from being unhealthy and of a restless disposition, and the doctors telling him he had better return to his own native country, after living there about a year, he sold his black girl for the same price he gave for her, and in the year 1726 embarked with his whole family for England; and landed at Topsham in the county of Devon after a very long passage of 13 weeks, and at short allowance, for we had but half a biscuit per day and nothing but

(3)

a Store-house, and sold what things she had brought from England, for the support of the Family in my Father's absence; after this he followed his Business, with the assistance of my brother William, and did very well: I was told that Philadelphia, was a very fine City at that time, every thing very plenty, the people extremely civil and good-natured: my Father gave Fifty pounds for a Black Girl, to do the work of the House, and I was informed that she laid down by the Fire every night like a Dog, and used to jump into the Sea twice a week, to wash herself, for she could swim very well. - I was but one Year old, when taken from England, consequently, could know nothing but from what my Mother has since related to me. - My father not having his Health at Philadelphia, removed with all his Family, to Charles Town South Carolina, (after living about a year at Philadelphia) and there followed his Business with great success, for he found it a good place of Trade, and the people very civil and good natured; yet notwithstanding his prospect of Success, from being unhealthy and of a restless disposition, (and the Doctors telling him he had better return to his own native Country, after living there about a year, he sold his Black Girl, for the same price he gave for her, and in the year 1726, embarked with his whole Family, for England, and landed at Topsham in the County of Devon, after a very long passage of 13 Weeks, and at short allowance, for we had but half a Biscuit a day, and nothing but
stinking

stinking water; during the Voyage, the Ships Crew frequently caught rats and mice, and ate them, for want of better Food.

Topsham at that time was a very pretty Sea-port Town, and a place of good Trade. (I have been informed, that there were no less than 300 Sail of Vessels belonging to that Port.) From these considerations, my Father thought proper to settle there, and set as many of us, as were able, to work; for I remember I was obliged to work between School-hours, and after I came from School; my Father never suffered any of us to be idle. My eldest Brother was our leader, and a very good one he was, for he was not only a very good workman, but very steady, and made us follow his good example. - I was taken from School at eleven years old, and I can remember five of us all at work at one time at Topsham, in making Clocks and Watches complete, all within ourselves. My Sister married at Topsham, to one Darlow Mather, who was then Mate of a Ship, and afterwards Captain, in a former War, he was taken five times by the French and Spaniards, he at last died in a French Prison; my Sister was left with 8 Children, and she and all her Family came home to my Father, who supported and brought them up, he took the eldest Boy as an apprentice, and brought him up to his Trade. - I sent for another boy at 11 Years old, and brought him up ^{to} School, and bound him to me, soon after I began

stinking water during the voyage; the ship's crew frequently caught rats and mice and ate them for want of better food.

Topsham at that time was a very pretty seaport town, and a place of good trade. (I have been informed that there were no less than 300 sail of vessels belonging to that port.) From these considerations, my father thought proper to settle there and set as many of us as were able to work, for I remember I was obliged to work between school hours and after I came from school: my father never suffered any of us to be idle. My eldest brother was our leader and a very good one he was, for he was not only a very good workman but very steady, and made us follow his good example. I was taken from school at eleven years old, and I can remember five of us all at work at one time at Topsham, in making clocks and watches complete, all within ourselves. My sister married at Topsham to one Darlow Mather, who was then Mate of a ship and afterwards Captain. In a former war he was taken five times by the French and Spaniards: he at last died in a French prison. My sister was left with 8 children and she and all her family came home to my father, who supported and brought them up. He took the eldest boy as an apprentice and brought him up to his trade. I sent for another boy at 11 years old and brought him up: I put him to school, and bound him to me soon after I

begun in St Martin's le Grand. I likewise took a girl and put her out to mantua-making, but soon after her time was out she died, and her eldest sister died at service. My sister lived to be about 70, and I could not find any body to assist her but me and my sons at last, for all the others had withdrawn their subscriptions; and I think now they are all dead, except one in Holland & the one that served his time with me, and a girl that married a sailor and she I know nothing of.

My brother William and all the rest of us served our times with my father, some at Topsham and some at Exeter. I think my father lived at Topsham about 12 years and then removed to Exeter. My mother had one son born abroad, who died & was buried there; his name was John. There was one born at Topsham whose name was Richard and who was the seventh son; I remember many people coming to be stroked by him for the King's Evil and sundry other disorders. Richard was bound likewise to my father; he served his time out and they had connections till my father and mother both died, for he allowed them an annual sum to live on separate; and my sister lived with them several years to look after them, when they were old and not so well able to help themselves. A few years after my brother William's time was out, he married and set up at Exeter in Southgate

begun in St. Martin's le Grand: I likewise took a girl, and put her out to Mantua-making, but soon after her time was out she died, and her eldest Sister died at Service. My Sister lived, to be about 70, and I could not find any body to assist her but me and my Sons at last, for all the others had withdrawn their Subscriptions, and I think now they are all dead, except one in Holland, the one that served his time with me, and a girl that married a Sailor, and she I know nothing of.

My Brother William and all the rest of us, served our times with my Father, some at Topsham and some at Exeter. I think my Father lived at Topsham about 12 Years, and then removed to Exeter; my Mother had one Son born abroad, who died, I was buried there; his Name was John. There was one born at Topsham whose Name was Richard, and who was the Seventh Son; I remember many people coming to be stroked by him for the Kings Evil, and sundry other Disorders. Richard was bound likewise to my Father, he served his time out, and they had connections till my Father and Mother both died, for he allowed them an annual sum to live on separate, and my Sister lived with them several years, to look ^{after them,} when they were old and not so well able to help themselves. A few years after my Brother William's time was out, he married and set up at Exeter, in Southgate

South-gate Street, which was the same in which my Father lived, and ^{where} I served my time: this not being agreeable to my Father (as two of a Trade seldom agree) there were many mistakes happened, and parcels going to the wrong House, which made my Father uneasy, fearing my Brother would take his Business away; and so it proved, I wished my Brother had gone to some other Town; for frequently parcels which were desired to be sent to my Father, were carried to my Brother, and my Brother not knowing but that they were for him, would repair the Watches, and the people who sent them, come to my Father for them; these things occasioned such uneasiness between Father and Son, that they scarce ever spoke to each other, untill I went down amongst them, which I continued to do every year as long as my Father and mother lived; I was always to be the Judge in any dispute, for if any thing happened, my Mother used to say "let it be till James comes, and he will set it all to rights," but they never lived on good Terms after, there was always a shyness and coolness to each other. My Brother carried on a very considerable Trade, and had a large and expensive Family, I think he had fourteen Children, whom he brought all up very Genteel (and always lived in very good credit.)

My

Street, which was the same in which my father lived and where I served my time. This not being agreeable to my father (as two of a trade seldom agree), there were many mistakes happened and parcels going to the wrong house, which made my father uneasy, fearing my brother would take his business away, and so it proved. I wished my brother had gone to some other town, for frequently parcels which were desired to be sent to my father were carried to my brother, and my brother not knowing but that they were for him, would repair the watches, and the people who sent them come to my father for them. These things occasioned such uneasiness between father and son that they scarce ever spoke to each other until I went down amongst them, which I continued to do every year as long as my father and mother lived. I was always to be the judge in any dispute, for if anything happened, my mother used to say, "Let it be till James comes, and he will set it all to rights," but they never lived on good terms after, there was always a shyness and coolness to each other. My brother carried on a very considerable trade, and had a large and expensive family. I think he had fourteen children, whom he brought all up very genteel and always lived in very good credit.

(7)

My father lived at Exeter about 30 years in good credit, and had the pleasure of seeing 5 of his sons all brought up, settled and married, and did well. My father was a middle size well-looking man. My mother was rather little but very upright and sprightly, always very neat and clean. They kept a good house and my mother was an excellent manager of a family, and always active in business when my father was out. My father died at Exeter in a good old age in the year 1764, and my mother died in 1765: I think my father was upwards of eighty and my mother near ninety. My brother William died in the year 1769 [recte December 1768], and left his widow and six children all provided with a sufficient fortune to enable them to live genteel, & they now live in Exeter. His eldest son was married and settled at Launceston in Cornwall, but at his father's death he went and settled at Exeter in his father's house and took his business, where he now lives: he has a good trade and a large family. My brother Peter, the second son, went and settled at Bideford in Devonshire in the watch way, where he married a Miss Smith, a young lady of good family and fortune: he had one child by her, soon after which his wife died. The child's name

(7)

My Father lived at Exeter about 30 Years in good Credit, and had the pleasure of seeing 5 of his Sons, all brought up settled and Married, and did well. — My Father was a middled size well looking Man; my Mother was rather little, but very upright and sprightly, always very neat, and clean, they kept a good House, and my Mother was an excellent manager of a Family, and always active in Business, when my Father was out. My Father died at Exeter in a good Old Age in the year 1764, and my Mother died in 1765, I think my Father was upwards of Eighty, (and my Mother near Ninety. — My Brother William died in the year 1769, and left his Widow and six Children all provided with a sufficient Fortune to enable them to live genteel, they now live in Exeter. His eldest Son was married and settled at Launceston in Cornwall; but at his Father's Death, he went and settled at Exeter in his Father's House, and took his Business, where he now lives; he has a good Trade and a Large Family. — My Brother Peter, the second Son, went and settled at Bideford in Devonshire, in the Watch way, where he married a Miss Smith, a young Lady of good Family and Fortune, he had one Child by her; soon after which his wife died, the child's name was

was Elizabeth, who is married to a Mr. Moore of Bruton in Somersetshire, now settled at Shepton Mallett, he is a very considerable Draper and Shopkeeper there, he had a Fortune of 15 or 1600 Pounds with her, which was left her by her uncle Edward Smith of Bideford, after my ~~first~~ ^{first} wife died, he married his House-keeper, and has had 5 Children by her, his Son Peter is the eldest, and is settled in his Father's business at Bideford, and my Brother and his Family lives on his Fortune; one hundred a Year there will go as far as 200 near London. — Nathaniel my third Brother, settled in the Watch-way at Plymouth, he married a Widow Brown, who had two Children, whom he put to School, and afterwards brought them up to his own Business, John Brown is now a very considerable Goldsmith, Watch-maker and Jeweller at Plymouth. — William Brown, the youngest Brother, after serving his time out with my Brother, came to London and was in my House as Foreman many Years, and since my Brother Richards Death, I settled him in his Trade & Shop in St. Peter's Church Yard Exeter; my Brother Nathaniel, has a Son and Daughter, he has lived in Plymouth many Years, and has always lived in credit, and

was Elizabeth, who is married to a Mr Moore of Bruton in Somersetshire, now settled at Shepton Mallet; he is a very considerable draper and shopkeeper there, he had a fortune of £1,500 or £1,600 with her, which was left her by her uncle Edward Smith of Bideford. After my brother's first wife died, he married his housekeeper and has had 5 children by her; his son Peter is the eldest and is settled in his father's business at Bideford, and my brother and his family lives on his fortune; one hundred a year there will go as far as 200 near London. Nathaniel my third brother settled in the watch-way at Plymouth; he married a Widow Brown who had two children whom he put to school and afterwards brought them up to his own business. John Brown is now a very considerable goldsmith, watchmaker and jeweller at Plymouth. William Brown, the youngest brother, after serving his time out with my brother, came to London and was in my house as foreman many years; and since my brother Richard's death, I settled him in his trade & shop in St Peter's Churchyard, Exeter. My brother Nathaniel has a son and daughter; he has lived in Plymouth many years and has always lived in credit and

maintained a good character, and I think him a man of some substance. Edward my 4th brother served his time with my father, and was brought up to the business of watchmaking and engraving, so that while he lived he engraved all our watches at my father's house, where he died about the age of 21. I being the next that served my time with my father at Exeter, when I was at the age of 21, having some dispute with him and I thinking myself not well used, I came away in a pet* from Exeter with only 5 shillings in my pocket, and with that small sum travelled as far as Crewkerne in Somersetshire, which is about 35 miles, before I could get any employ. I went to one Mr John Thomas, clock and watch maker, and he, from the knowledge he had of our family, gave me work; but before I could do anything, I was obliged to make both balance-wheel and fusee engines. When I had so done, I set hard and fast to it and earned a guinea per week, and was received into their family as a child of their own. In the course of nine months, I got very forward, and had furnished myself with good clothes and money in my pocket. I then hired a horse and went back to Exeter to see my father,

* my reason for my leaving my Father, see No 151 in this Book

(9)
 maintained a good Character; and I think him a Man of some substance. — Edward my 4th Brother served his time with my Father, and was brought up to the business of Watch-making, and Engraving, so that while he lived he engraved all our Watches, at my Father's House, where he died, about the age of 21. — I being the next that served my time with my Father at Exeter, when I was at the age of 21 having some dispute with him, and I thinking myself not well used, I came away in a Pet* from Exeter, with only 5^{only} Shillings in my pocket, and with that small Sum travelled as far as Crewkerne in Somersetshire, which is about 35 Miles, before I could get any employ. I went to one Mr John Thomas, Clock and Watch maker; and he, from the knowledge he had of our Family, gave me work; but before I could do any thing, I was obliged to make both Balance-wheel, and Fusee-Engines, when I had so done, I set hard and fast to it, and earned a Guinea ~~ff~~ Week, and was received into their Family as a child of their own; In the course of nine Months, I got very forward, and had furnished myself with good clothes, and Money in my Pocket; I then hired a Horse and went back to Exeter to see my Father.
 * — my reason for my leaving my Father. ^{the} see No 151 in this book

the, Mother and Family and Friends, I was well received,
 (and they wanted me to stay; but I had fared so well,
 that I was fully determined on going to London; so
 after seeing my Family and Friends, my Mother gave
 me a Moidore, at my coming away; after taking proper
 leave I set out on Horseback, to my good Friend M^r
 Thomas of Crewkerne, who was glad to see me; after
 staying a few Days with him, I settled all my mat-
 ters there, and set out for London, I walked on Foot
 thro Yeovil, and Sherborne, to Shaftesbury, where I
 lodged with an Uncle of mine, and the next day took
 the first Carriage I could meet with, for London, and
 in November 1743, I arrived safe at St John's Gate
 Clerkenwell, it was then a Coffee House, where a great
 many genteel people resorted; I came there on a Sa-
 turday and I had just one Guinea left in my Pock-
 et; I had a direction to a M^r Fary an old Man who
 used to travel to Exeter, and sell Watch Glasses &c
 (and who was very intimate at my Father's House,
 he treated me very genteely and did me all the service
 he could; I had also a direction to a M^r Rose a
 Watch-maker in St Ann's Lane, St Martin's le Grand,
 but

mother and family and friends. I was well received and they
 wanted me to stay, but I had fared so well that I was fully
 determined on going to London; so after seeing my family and
 friends, my mother gave me a moidore² at my coming away.
 After taking proper leave, I set out on horseback to my good
 friend Mr Thomas of Crewkerne, who was glad to see me; after
 staying a few days with him, I settled all my matters there
 and set out for London. I walked on foot through Yeovil and
 Sherborne to Shaftesbury, where I lodged with an uncle of
 mine, and the next day took the first carriage I could meet
 with for London, and in November 1743 I arrived safe at St
 John's Gate, Clerkenwell; it was then a coffee-house where
 a great many genteel people resorted. I came there on a
 Saturday and I had just one guinea left in my pocket. I had
 a direction to a Mr Fary, an old man who used to travel to
 Exeter and sell watch glasses etc. and who was very intimate
 at my father's house: he treated me very genteely and did
 me all the service he could. I had also a direction to a Mr
 Rose, a watchmaker in St Ann's Lane, St Martin's le Grand,

but from a mean spirit and a jealous disposition, he would scarce look at me, notwithstanding my father had been a customer to him many years. From the cool reception I met with here, I applied again to my old friend Fary whom I had seen many times at my father's, where he always dined when he came that way, and after dinner smoke a merry pipe. This gentleman being well acquainted with the trade, recommended me to lodge with Mr Thomas Dale who lived at the first house in Berkley Court, Berkley Street on the left hand, near Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell. Mr Dale immediately gave me a watch to finish, which I did, and for which he gave me fourteen shillings, besides he lent me tools to do it with. I again applied to my old friend Fary, who took me to a Mr Barrow in St Martin's le Grand, who kept a tool shop where I soon laid out my guinea, & he gave me credit for all I wanted besides. When I had thus furnished myself with tools, I told Mr Dale I could make a watch from the beginning to the end, which he would not believe; but in order to convince him of its veracity, I desired him to permit me to undertake one for him, which he complied with. After I had finished it, he gave me what every separate article was worth, viz. for the movement, eighteen shillings; for a neat dove-tail slide and motion, ten shillings; and eighteen shillings for the finishing; in the whole forty-six shillings, which I

but from a mean Spirit, and a jealous Disposition, he would scarce look at me, notwithstanding my Father had been a customer to him many Years; from the cool reception I met with here, I applied again to my old friend Fary, whom I had seen many times at my Father, where he always Dined when he came that way, and after Dinner smoke a merry pipe; this Gentleman being well acquainted with the Trade, recommended me to lodge with M^r Thomas Dale, who lived at the first House in Berkley Court, Berkley Street on the Left Hand, near Red Lion Street Clerkenwell: M^r Dale, immediately gave me a Watch to finish, which I did, and for which he gave me fourteen Shillings, besides he lent me Tools to do it with. - I again applied to my old friend Fary, who took me to a M^r Barrow in St. Martins Le Grand, who kept a Tool Shop, where I soon laid out my Guinea, & he gave me Credit for all I wanted, besides; when I had thus furnished myself with Tools, I told M^r Dale, I could make a Watch from the beginning to the end; which he would not believe; but in order to convince ^{him} of its veracity, I desired him to permit me to undertake one for him, which he complied with: after I had finished it, he gave me what every separate Article was worth, Viz. for the Movement, Eighteen Shillings; for a neat Dove-tail Slide and Motion, Ten Shillings, and Eighteen Shillings for the Finishing; in the whole Forty-six Shillings, which I got

got (or earned) in less than a fortnight. At that time, he had a Repeater to ^{to repair} repair, but could not find out the fault in it; upon which he asked me if I knew any thing of Repeaters, to which I answered in the affirmative, and did it immediately for him; this being done, I was determined to stick entirely to Finishing, for that was what I could get most Money at; for I was very quick. - I soon got forward, working early and late, spent very little Money, dressed well and kept good Company; I used to dine at St. John's Gate for Six-pence, and at night have a pint of Beer, and a slice of Bread and Butter for a penny, (and if I had a penny-worth of Beer more, it was as much as I could manage. At that time People of Fortune frequented that House, by which means I was every evening in good company, and most of them drank Beer. After living with Mr Dale about six weeks, I removed to Mr Ward's in Berkley Street, where I boarded & lodged, for which I paid him £20 p Ann. He, being well known amongst our Trade, recommended me to different Tradesmen, from which recommendation I got full employment, of a good sort; & sometimes finished a few for him, as he had a Watch Club, and furnished each Member with a Watch every Month; he was by Trade a Watch-Pillar and Stud Maker, & knew how to get all the Articles together, and when all the different Branches lived which

got (or earned) in less than a fortnight. At that time he had a repeater to repair, but could not find out the fault in it; upon which he asked me if I knew anything of repeaters, to which I answered in the affirmative, and did it immediately for him. This being done, I was determined to stick entirely to finishing, for that was what I could get most money at, for I was very quick. I soon got forward, working early and late, spent very little money, dressed well and kept good company. I used to dine at St John's Gate for sixpence, and at night have a pint of beer and a slice of bread and butter for a penny, and if I had a pennyworth of beer more, it was as much as I could manage. At that time people of fortune frequented that house, by which means I was every evening in good company, and most of them drank beer. After living with Mr Dale about six weeks, I removed to Mr Ward's in Berkley Street where I boarded & lodged, for which I paid him £20 per annum. He being well known amongst our trade, recommended me to different tradesmen, from which recommendation I got full employment of a good sort; & sometimes finished a few for him, as he had a watch club and furnished each member with a watch every month. He was by trade a watch-pillar and stud maker, & knew how to get all the articles together and where all the different branches lived,

which was of service to me. I lived well at his house, for he kept a good table. In the course of the year, I had some orders from my father and brother, both of whom lived then at Exeter, and my brother Peter at Bideford; so I think in the first year I cleared £50. I then left Mr Ward and took some apartments in New Rents, St Martin's le Grand, in hopes of doing better by being nearer the City. At this time I was acquainted with a Mr Garle, watch-spring maker, a very agreeable young man whom I fortunately fell in company with the very first Sunday evening I spent at St John's Gate coffee-house. After spending the evening with him and several others of the watch business whom my friend Fary had introduced me to, Mr Garle went home, and told his sister (which is very remarkable) that he had spent the evening with a young man just come from Exeter, whose name was Upjohn, and they laughed heartily at the oddity of the name, little thinking at that time it was to be her name. I continued my acquaintance with Mr Garle, and employed him and his father to make my watch-springs, which was the cause of my frequently going to the house, and from the genteel behaviour of the family and in particular Miss Garle, I took a liking to her and was happy to make any errand to see her. I paid her frequent visits

which was of Service to me; I lived well at his House, for he kept a good Table. - In the course of the Year, I had some Orders from my Father and Brother, both of whom lived then at Exeter, and my Brother Peter at Bideford; so I think in the first Year I cleared 50 Pounds. I then left Mr. Ward, and took some apartments in New Rents, St. Martin's Le Grand, in hopes of doing better, by being nearer the City. At this time I was acquainted, with a Mr. Garle, Watch-spring maker, a very agreeable young Man, whom I fortunately fell in company with, the very first Sunday ^{Evening} I spent at St. John's Gate Coffee-House; after spending the Evening with him, (and several others of the Watch Business, whom my friend Fary had introduced me to, Mr. Garle went home and told his Sister (which is very remarkable) that he had spent the Evening with a young Man, just come from Exeter, whose Name was Upjohn, and they laugh'd heartily at the oddity of the Name, little thinking at that time it was to be her Name. I continued my Acquaintance with Mr. Garle, and employed him and his Father to make my Watch-Springs, which was the cause of my frequently going to the House, and from the genteel behavior of the Family and, in particular, Miss Garle, I took a liking to her, and was happy to make any Errand to see her, I paid her frequent visits

with, and soon made my Addresser to her on honorable Terms, and after constant attendance about 6 months, we were married at Foster Lane Church, and her Father gave her away, Jan^y. 1st. 1745⁶, and I was Happy to receive her from his Hands, at that time the Style was not altered; so on that Day she took to the Man with the comical Name of Upjohn. In that year I took a House in St^h Martin's Le Grand, jointly with M^r. Joseph Shirley, who was a Lapidary, he had the back part (and myself the Front, while the House was repairing, and getting ready, I bought a Horse and set out for Exeter, and took M^r. Upjohn in the Coach; for at that time I could travel as fast on Horse-back as the Coach; which was five days going to Exeter, which is 175 Miles, but the Roads were very bad then, in short the difference is such, that they go now with a Diligence in 36 Hours. - As I went along, I called on all the Watch-makers whom I thought proper to do Business with; and in my way down, I pick'd up a few Orders. We were very well receiv'd at Exeter, by my Father (and Mother and Family in general; we spent our time very agreeable, and they all seem'd to approve of my Bargain, which caused a general meeting, and made it very cheerful; we went to Topsham, Exmouth &c and M^r. Upjohn

and soon made my addresses to her on honourable terms, and after constant attendance about 6 months, we were married at Foster Lane church, and her father gave her away January 1st 1745/6, and I was happy to receive her from his hands: at that time the style was not altered, so on that day she took to the man with the comical name of Upjohn.³ In that year I took a house in St Martin's le Grand, jointly with Mr Joseph Shirley who was a lapidary, he had the back part and myself the front. While the house was repairing and getting ready, I bought a horse and set out for Exeter and took Mrs Upjohn in the coach, for at that time I could travel as fast on horse-back as the coach, which was five days going to Exeter, which is 175 miles, but the roads were very bad then: in short, the difference is such that they go now with a diligence in 36 hours. As I went along, I called on all the watchmakers whom I thought proper to do business with, and in my way down I picked up a few orders. We were very well received at Exeter by my father and mother and family in general. We spent our time very agreeable, and they all seemed to approve of my bargain, which caused a general meeting and made it very cheerful. We went to Topsham, Exmouth etc., and Mrs

Upjohn was very much delighted with the country, which was extremely pleasant. I went to Plymouth and got some good customers there, and did business in my way back to Exeter. And after staying several weeks at Exeter I set out for Bath, but unfortunately I had a fall from my horse and cut my head, which obliged me to return to Exeter again, where I stayed another week and then set out for Taunton, Bridgewater and Wells, and met Mrs Upjohn at Bath, where after doing all the business I could, I set out with Mrs Upjohn as before for London. I called on all the trade as I came along and got some few orders; upon the whole as many as I wanted for my first journey as my capital was but small, for I married for honey and not for money, and had a fortune in a wife and not a fortune with one, which to me was far preferable. All that I had got to do business with was nothing more than what I had by great industry saved in the course of two years.

My house being ready in St Martin's le Grand, I soon opened a shop and was in hopes of a retail trade, but was much mistaken. Soon after I settled, the Rebellion³ was over and there was a brisk trade amongst all the shopkeepers about Cheapside etc. I sold my watches as fast as I made them and gave little or no credit, so that with

Upjohn was very much delighted with the country, which was extremely pleasant. - I went to Plymouth, and got some good customers there, and did Business in my way back to Exeter, and after staying several weeks at Exeter, I set out for Bath; but unfortunately I had a fall from my Horse, and cut my Head, which obliged me to return to Exeter again, where I stayed another week, and then set out for Taunton, ~~and~~ Bridgewater and Wells, and met M^{rs} Upjohn at Bath, where after doing all the Business I could, I set out with M^{rs} Upjohn as before for London; I called on all the Trade as I came along, and got some few Orders; upon the whole as many as I wanted, for my first Journey, as my Capital was but small, for I married for Honey and not for Money, and had a Fortune in a Wife, and not a Fortune with one, which to me was far preferable; all that I had got to do Business with, was nothing more than what I had by great Industry saved in the course of two Years.

My House being ready in St. Martin's Le Grand, I soon opened a Shop, and was in hopes of a retail Trade, but was much mistaken; soon after I settled, the Rebellion was over, and there was a brisk Trade amongst all the Shopkeepers about Cheapside &c. I sold my Watches as fast as I made them, and gave little or no Credit, so that with
them

those Orders I had picked up in the Country, and my Town trade I was as busy as possible; I continued my West Country Journey every Year to Exeter, Plymouth &c. till my Father and Mother Died. After I had been in Trade two or three Years, I set out on a Journey thro Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, where I got many good Customers, I followed these two Journeys every Year with good Success; In the Year 1755, I first began to cast up Stock, when I found a balance of £1093⁷/₁₁ (and from this time, I continued looking into my Affairs every year, & In the Year 1760, I found I had increased my Capital to £3385¹/₁₀, and that I had cleared in this Year the Sum of £1251⁷/₁₁ besides all expenses. - After living in St. Martin's le Grand four Years (next door to a melting Tallow Chandlers Shop) the Lease of the House being out, I took a House in Red Lion Street Clerkenwell, in the Year 1750, for I had little or no Retail Trade in St. Martin's, besides it was more convenient to live in Clerkenwell, as it was in the Centre of the Workmen, it was likewise better for the Wholesale Trade. so that from the Year 1750, to 1783 = 33 Years I lived and carried on Trade in Red Lion Street Clerkenwell.

On the 2^d of October 1746 (in St. Martin's le Grand) was born my first Child, Mary, now M^{rs} Wirgman, - On the 10th of October 1748, was born my first Son James, who died

those orders I had picked up in the country and my town trade, I was as busy as possible. I continued my West Country journey every year to Exeter, Plymouth etc. till my father and mother died. After I had been in trade two or three years, I set out on a journey through Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, where I got many good customers. I followed these two journeys every year with good success. In the year 1755 I first began to cast up stock, when I found a balance of £1,093 7s. 7d., and from this time I continued looking into my affairs every year, & in the year 1760 I found I had increased my capital to £8,385 1s. 10d., and that I had cleared in this year the sum of £1,251 7s. 11d. besides all expenses. After living in St Martin's le Grand four years, (next door to a melting tallow Chandler's shop), the lease of the house being out, I took a house in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell in the year 1750, for I had little or no retail trade in St Martin's: besides it was more convenient to live in Clerkenwell as it was in the centre of the workmen, it was likewise better for the wholesale trade, so that from the year 1750 to 1783 = 33 years I lived and carried on trade in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell.

On the 2nd of October 1746 (in St Martin's le Grand) was born my first child, Mary, now Mrs Wirgman; on the 10th of October 1748 was born my first son James, who died

at Edmonton where he was buried: these two are all the children I had in St Martin's le Grand. On the 12th of June 1750 my son Francis was born in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, which is now my eldest son; and on the 6th of February 1751 [1752 in New Style] was born my son James, which is now my second son and partner; and on the 7th of September 1753 (New Style)⁵ my son Edward was born. On the 30th January 1756 my son Thomas was born; and July the 4th 1757 Peter was born. On the 6th July 1759 Fanny was born, but she died and was buried in a vault I built at that time in St John's burying ground, it lays behind the lower end of Red Lion Street: there is a large pair of gates in Benjamin Street to go into it. On the 9th of September 1762 Rebecca was born; and on the 31st of August 1764 Richard was born, who died and was buried in the same place with Fanny; since which Mrs Upjohn has had one more which did not live to be christened but was buried in the same place with the rest.

I now extended my trade through Surrey, Sussex and Kent with success, and my Western journey I extended as far as the Land's End in Cornwall, and after that another journey

at Edmonton, where he was buried: these two are all the children I had in St. Martins Le Grand. — On the 12th of June 1750, my Son Francis was Born, in Red Lion Street Clerkenwell, which is now my eldest Son, and on the 6th of February 1751, was born my son James, which is now my second Son and partner; and on the 7th of September 1753 (new Style) my Son Edward was born. — On the 30th January 1756, my Son Thomas was born, and July the 4th 1757 Peter was born. — On the 6th July 1759 — Fanny was born; but she Died, and was buried in a Vault I built at that time in St. Johns Burying Ground, it lays behind the lower end of Red Lion Street; there is a large pair of Gates in Benjamin Street to go into it. — On the 9th of September 1762 Rebecca was born, and on the 31st of August 1764, Richard was born, who died, and was buried in the same place with Fanny; since which Mrs Upjohn has had one more which did not live to be Christened, but was buried in the same place with the rest.

I now extended my Trade through Surrey, Sussex, (and Kent, with Success, and my Western Journey I extended as far as the Lands End in Cornwall, and after that another Journey as

as far as Newcastle upon Tyne in the North. - From the time I came to Red Lion Street Clerkenwell, or soon after, to the year 1760, I made from 2000 to ~~twenty five~~ ^{thirty} hundred Watches yearly, for the Country and Town Trade, only, (and in the Year 1764, I took a Shop behind the 'Change and bought my Freedom of the City of London, in the Goldsmith Company, and have been twice invited to take up my Livery in that Company; but always got excused, for I never was fond of any public Matters, nor great Entertainments; So that I have lived all these years and have been nothing more than a Grand Jury-man at Hicks Hall in St. Johns Street. I think I have been on three times, and it was with Mr. Friend, who was Foreman and lived in New Prison walk near Clerkenwell Church Yard; Red Lion Street, being in St. Johns parish, we paid our Poor Rates to St. James', so ~~could~~ never be made Church-warden or Overseer of St. James; but we had Church-wardens of St. Johns, there were always enough who were fond of it, & who continued in it for many Years, and I was happy to be out of ^{any} Offices of this nature. - My Freedom cost me 36 pounds; my Shop was the old Shop which Sir George Colebrooke left, and which is now Prescott's the Bankers; I lived in it till the Lease was out, and then moved to

Bartholo.

as far as Newcastle upon Tyne in the North. From the time I came to Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, or soon after, to the year 1760, I made from 2,000 to 2,500 watches yearly for the country and town trade only, and in the year 1764 I took a shop behind the 'Change' and bought my Freedom of the City of London in the Goldsmith Company; and have been twice invited to take up my livery in that company but always got excused, for I never was fond of any public matters nor great entertainments. So that I have lived all these years and have been nothing more than a Grand Jury-man at Hicks Hall in St John's Street:⁷ I think I have been on three times, and it was with Mr Friend, who was Foreman and lived in New Prison Walk near Clerkenwell churchyard. Red Lion Street being in St John's parish, we paid our Poor Rates to St James' so could never be made churchwarden or overseer of St James'; but we had churchwardens of St John's, there were always enough who were fond of it & who continued in it for many years, and I was happy to be out of any offices of this nature. My Freedom cost me £36. My shop was the old shop which Sir George Colebrooke left, and which is now Prescott's the bankers; I lived in it till the lease was out and then moved to

Bartholomew Lane; by having this shop, I got connected with several merchants. From thence I moved and took a house in Lombard Street, near the bottom in the narrow part, which was a bad situation and which I soon got tired of. I therefore let it and quitted my shop in the City. About this time or a little before, I received a letter from Messrs. Hillier's & Co. of Wolverhampton by the hands of Mr Michael Luke, whom they fully recommended to me to be a merchant of Hamburg and a gentleman of honour and property. This Mr Luke bought two gold watches of me for which he paid me, and soon after came and sorted out £164-worth more, and made a hard bargain about the discount for he was to pay ready money; but when I delivered them to him, he said he could not pay me then but would send a bill from Hamburg, he being then going home, and I was going into the West which would take me up about 6 weeks. He promised me I should not fail having it before I returned from my journey. I went away very contentedly as I had had so good an account of him from Messrs Hillier & Co., but to my great misfortune, at my arrival in London I found no bill from him nor so much as a letter of excuse. I waited several months and wrote to Hamburg but could get no answer. One day as I was coming from 'Change, I stopped and spoke to Mr South, a watchmaker near Hicks

Bartholomew Lane; by having this Shop, I got connected with several Merchants: from thence I moved and took a House in Lombard Street, near the bottom in the narrow part, which was a bad Situation, and which I soon got tired of, I therefore let it, and quitted my Shop in the City, about this time, or a little before, I received ^{a letter} from Messrs. Hilliers & Co. of Wolverhampton, by the hands of Mr. Michael Luke, whom they fully recommended to me, to be a Merchant of Hambro, and a Gentleman of Honor and Property: this Mr. Luke bought two Gold Watches of me, for which he paid me, and soon after, came and sorted out 164 pounds-worth more, and made a hard Bargain about the Discount, for he was to pay ready Money; but when I delivered them to him, he said he could not pay me then, but would send a Bill from Hambro, he being then going home; and I was going into the West, which would take me up about 6 Weeks; he promised me I should not fail having it before I returned from my Journey; I went away very contentedly, as I had had so good an Account of him from Messrs. Hilliers & Co.; but to my great misfortune at my arrival in London, I found no Bill from ^{him} nor so much as a Letter of excuse; I waited several Months, and wrote to Hambro, but could get no Answer. One Day as I was coming from 'Change I stopped and spoke to Mr. South, a Watch-maker near Hicks Hall

Hall, and in our Discourse about Trade, he said he had received a Letter from abroad, for three Dozen Watches, but he did not chuse to send them, and asked me to undertake the Order; I begd to see the Letter, when I found it was from Mich.^l Luke (and Dated at Amsterdam, whereupon, I desired M.^r South, to ^{write to} him and tell him, the Watches should be sent over by the first Ship, which he promised me to do, that same Day; I immediately went to M.^r Wishaw a Merchant, and begd a Letter of Credit on some good House in Amsterdam, which I got ~~immediately~~ on Mess^{rs} Revor and Stunckin, I think this was in the Year 1764, So I set off immediately for Amsterdam, thinking to catch him there, as I went by the first Packet; I was received with great politeness, by Mess^{rs} Revor and Stunckin; but they acquainted me that he had left the place sometime, and they could not tell where he was gone. This pursuit after Michael Luke, was the first cause of my going abroad, as I afterwards did; when I was convinced I could not find him, I thought I would not come away, without first seeing what could be done there, so I got a Servant who could speak English, to go with me amongst the Trade with whose assistance I got some Orders, and very good connections at Amsterdam. - In coming home through
Leyden

Hall, and in our discourse about trade he said he had received a letter from abroad for three dozen watches, but he did not choose to send them and asked me to undertake the order. I begged to see the letter, when I found it was from Michael Luke and dated at Amsterdam; whereupon I desired Mr South to write to him and tell him the watches should be sent over by the first ship, which he promised me to do that same day. I immediately went to Mr Wishaw,^s a merchant, and begged a letter of credit on some good house in Amsterdam, which I got on Messrs Revor and Stunckin. I think this was in the year 1764. So I set off immediately for Amsterdam, thinking to catch him there as I went by the first packet. I was received with great politeness by Messrs Revor and Stunckin, but they acquainted me that he had left the place some time and they could not tell where he was gone. This pursuit after Michael Luke was the first cause of my going abroad, as I afterwards did. When I was convinced I could not find him, I thought I would not come away without first seeing what could be done there, so I got a servant who could speak English to go with me amongst the trade, with whose assistance I got some orders and very good connections at Amsterdam. In coming home through

Leiden, I looked amongst the watchmakers and found a nephew of mine who had been some years from England, and who was married to a watchmaker's daughter of that place and seemed to be very prettily settled in a neat house and kept a watchmaker's shop. His name was Edward Mather, my sister's son; he had a very pretty, decent woman to his wife and they appeared to live in a very comfortable manner. In the course of our conversation together, he told me he could do a great deal of business in the watch way, both wholesale and retail, provided he could get his watches at the first hand; for he said he was obliged to give ten or fifteen shillings more than they were worth, as he bought them of the Jews. On finding this opportunity, and at the same time thinking him a person whom I might confide in, I settled a trade there to be carried on by him in the wholesale way. In consequence of which, as soon as I arrived home and had got my orders and watches together, I sent £600-worth down to the Custom House to be shipped for Edward Mather of Leiden; where unfortunately my box was opened, and the Searchers found some few enamelled watch dial-plates in the box with the watches, which according to some former law was not to be sent abroad; so they seized the whole cargo and I was entirely ignorant of any such law being in force.⁹ This happening at my first setting

Leiden, I looked amongst the Watch-makers, and found a Nephew of mine, who had been some years from England, and who was married to a Watch-makers Daughter of that place, and seemed to be very prettily settled, in a neat House, and kept a Watch-makers Shop, his name was Edward Mather, my Sisters Son; he had a very pretty decent woman to his Wife, and they appeared to live in a very comfortable manner: In the course of our conversation together, he told me, he could do a great deal of Business in the Watch-way, both Wholesale and Retail, provided he could get his Watches at the first hand; for he said he was obliged to give ten or fifteen Shillings more than they were worth, as he bought them of the Jews. On finding this opportunity, and at the same time thinking him a person whom I might confide in, I settled a Trade there to be carried on by him, in the wholesale way; in consequence of which, as soon as I arrived home and had got my Orders and Watches together, I sent 600 pounds worth down to the Custom-House, to be Shipped for Edward Mather of Leyden, where unfortunately my Box was opened, and the Searchers found some few Enamelled Watch Dial-plates, in the Box with the Watches, which according to some former Law, was not to be sent abroad; so they seized the whole Cargo, and I was entirely ignorant of any such Law being in Force. This happening, at my first setting out

out, gave me a great Shock, fearing the whole was lost; Upon enquiring, I found I had no other method to pursue, than to throw in a petition, and plead my Ignorance, that it was my first Export, and I knew no better; This was attended with a deal of Trouble and Expense, I being obliged to attend the Commissioners every Day for a Month or more, before I could be heard, (and after throwing in several repeated petitions, and making a Friend of Mr. Nash, who was Lord Mayor ^{in 1772}, and attending the Custom-House every Day above a Month, Mr. Nash, at last, made it up for me by giving the Officers five Guineas, I was very happy to come off so well. This Business being settled, I cleared them at the Custom House, and shipped them for the place intended, and I think in the first Year, from Mather's connexions, I had returned some Thousands of pounds. From my having this Success, I thought this Trade better than the Country Trade, that I had always been in before, so I sent my Son Francis to Wormond, to School, about 3 Miles from Leyden, he was a Parlour-Boarder, and I think he cost me a Hundred a Year, and I thought it well bestowed, for he learnt French, Dutch, Music, Dancing and Merchants Accounts, all in that Year, and won both the prizes at School, one for Language, and the other for writing

out gave me a great shock, fearing the whole was lost. Upon enquiry, I found I had no other method to pursue than to throw in a petition and plead my ignorance, that it was my first export and I knew no better. This was attended with a deal of trouble and expense, I being obliged to attend the Commissioners every day for a month or more before I could be heard; and after throwing in several repeated petitions, and making a friend of Mr Nash who was Lord Mayor in 1772,¹⁰ and attending the Custom House every day above a month, Mr Nash at last made it up for me by giving the officers five guineas. I was very happy to come off so well. This business being settled, I cleared them at the Custom House and shipped them for the place intended; and I think in the first year, from Mather's connexions, I had returned some thousands of pounds. From my having this success, I thought this trade better than the country trade that I had always been in before, so I sent my son Francis to Warmond to school, about 3 miles from Leiden. He was a parlour-boarder, and I think he cost me a hundred a year and I thought it well bestowed, for he learnt French, Dutch, music, dancing and merchants' accounts, all in that year, and won both the prizes at school, one for language and the other for writing.

Mather went on extremely well with the assistance of my son to keep his books, and he extended the trade very much. After my son had been there a year, I set out for Holland with Mr Thomas Sowdon of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, to fetch my son home. On my arrival there, I found him greatly improved. We came home through Flanders, from Leiden to Amsterdam, and so on through Utrecht, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Dunkirk and Calais, to Dover. We did a considerable deal of business on the road, and I thought myself happy, as my son could read and write French and Dutch extremely well. From Dover we came home through Canterbury, Faversham [order corrected] and Chatham to London, and called on all my friends and customers in every town on the road. I then formed my grand plan for doing business abroad by fixing a house at Amsterdam etc.

About this time, I being upon 'Change one day, I saw Mr Wishaw who asked me if I could draw on Holland. I told him I could, on which he desired me to give him a bill for £150 at a month, which I did, and he gave me his draft on his banker, payable on the Tuesday following, (for it was on a Friday I gave him my bill). On Tuesday I sent my draft for cash and they told my clerk they could not pay it till they

ting. - Mather went on extremely well, with the assistance of my Son to keep his Books, and he extended the Trade very much. - After my Son had been there a Year, I set out for Holland, with Mr Thomas Sowdon of Red Lion Street Clerkenwell to fetch my Son Home, on my arrival there, I found him greatly improved; we came home ^{through} Flanders, from Leyden to Amsterdam, and so on thro Utrecht, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Dunquerque, and Calais, to Dover, we did a considerable deal of Business, on the Road, and I thought myself happy, as my Son could read and write French and Dutch, extremely well; from Dover we came home thro Faversham, Canterbury and Chatham to London, and call'd on all my Friends and customers in every Town on the Road: I then form'd my grand plan for doing Business abroad, by fixing a House at Amsterdam &c. -

About this time, I being upon 'Change one day, I saw Mr Wishaw who asked me if I could draw on Holland, I told him I could, on which he desired me to give him a Bill for 150 pounds at a Month, which I did, and he gave me his Draught on his Banker, payable on the Tuesday following, (for it was on a Friday I gave him my Bill) on Tuesday I sent my Draught for cash and they told my clerk, they could not pay it, till they had

had seen me: I went immediately to see what was the matter, when the Bankers told me that Wishaw was gone off. I then went to his House in Savage-Gardens, where I saw his Brother, who told me he was gone that morning, and he could give me no reason for it. I came home and wrote immediately to Mather at Leyden, not to accept the Bill; but I was too-late, for the Business was done before my Letter came to hand: at this time, my Son Francis was come from Warmond School, and I had a very good Opinion of Mather, who pronounced himself very capable of keeping the Books, from the Instructions he had received from my Son; so I called a Council, and he was thought by my Son, Mr Sowdon and myself, to be a simple honest Fellow, and one who would look well after the Main Chance; but contrary to all our Opinions, as soon as we had left him, he soon began to show himself, and when too late, we found that he had bought a Diamond Necklace and a pair of Ear-rings for his Wife, and laid out a great deal of Money, in Clothes for himself, and Family in general, and had taken to Gaming. I found that he spent the Money so fast, and wanted it so much himself that he sent me little or no remittances. My writing did
not

had seen me. I went immediately to see what was the matter, when the bankers told me that Wishaw was gone off. I then went to his house in Savage Gardens where I saw his brother, who told me he was gone that morning and he could give me no reason for it. I came home and wrote immediately to Mather at Leiden not to accept the bill, but I was too late, for the business was done before my letter came to hand. At this time my son Francis was come from Warmond school and I had a very good opinion of Mather, who pronounced himself very capable of keeping the books from the instructions he had received from my son; so I called a council, and he was thought by my son, Mr Sowdon and myself to be a simple, honest fellow, and one who would look well after the main chance; but contrary to all our opinions, as soon as we had left him he soon began to show himself, and when too late, we found that he had bought a diamond necklace and a pair of earrings for his wife and laid out a great deal of money in clothes for himself and family in general, and had taken to gaming. I found that he spent the money so fast and wanted it so much himself, that he sent me little or no remittances. My writing did

not seem to have the usual effect and I could not get a satisfactory answer from him; so I sent my son Francis over to see what was the matter, who on his arrival found every thing in a bad state, for he had taken a house at Zutphen in Gelderland, and going off, had my son not arrived as he did, at that time, he had a man in his shop.¹¹ My son took to his books and what stock he had left, which he delivered up without any trouble, and on casting up his books, found he had (including the stock) £800 etc. His man (Mr Delane) took to the shop, and turned out a very steady, honest fellow. After my getting all I could, my loss was between £500 and £600. When Frank had done all he could, he came home through Flanders with the stock of watches remaining; which he should not have done as the watches could not be sold in any other country, but he was but young and he did his best, (I think he was about 16 years old); and for fear of having them seized, he put them in the lining of his coat which made it hang down. At a certain place where they stopped one day, the officers asked him if he had anything which should pay duty to the Queen. He answered no, but in getting into the carriage, they

not seem to have the usual Effect, and I could not get a satisfactory Answer from him; so I sent my Son Francis over to see what was the Matter, who on his arrival, found every thing in a bad State, for he had taken a House at Zutphen, in Gelderland, and going off, had my son not arrived as he did, at that time, he had a Man in his Shop. My Son took to his Books, and what Stock he had left, which he delivered up without any Trouble, and on casting up his Books, found he had (including the Stock) 800 £; his Man (Mr. Delane) took to the Shop, and turned out a very steady honest Fellow. After my getting all I could, my loss was between 5 and 600: when Frank had done all he could, he came home thro Flanders, with the Stock of Watches remaining; which he should not have done, as the Watches could not be sold in any other Country; but he was but young, and he did his best, (I think he was about 16 Years old) and for fear of having them seized, he put them in the lining of his coat, which made it hang down; at a certain place where they stopped one day, the Officers asked him if he had any thing which should pay Duty to the Queen, he answered No; but in getting into the Carriage they perceived

perceived his coat hang rather weighty, and asked him what he had got there, upon which the Watches were discovered upon him, which should pay Duty, if sold in that Country, so he had all his Watches taken away, and was besides obliged to pay forty Guineas, to keep him out of Prison; After this Misfortune, he came home as fast as possible, and arrived at my House in Green-Street, Kentish Town, on a Sunday in the Year 1767. I asked him how he had found Mather's Affairs, and he related every thing as well as he could, but did not say a word of the Stock of Watches which were left behind; I then asked him what was become of them, on which he burst into Tears, and said they were all seized in coming through Flanders. I went to Mr Fordyce as soon as possible, who was my Banker, at that time, (and told him the Story, as my Son had related it to me, and he gave me a Letter to M. Gordon, our Envoy at Brussels; but as soon as I got to Ghent, I found that the Watches had been all sold there by Auction, a few Days before my arrival, so that I was obliged to come back, and put up with the loss, after I had done what Business I could there, Mather being gone, and the House and Shop left to Delane.

perceived his coat hang rather weighty, and asked him what he had got there; upon which the watches were discovered upon him, which should pay duty if sold in that country, so he had all his watches taken away and was besides obliged to pay forty guineas to keep him out of prison. After this misfortune, he came home as fast as possible and arrived at my house in Green Street, Kentish Town, on a Sunday in the year 1767. I asked him how he had found Mather's affairs, and he related every thing as well as he could but did not say a word of the stock of watches which were left behind. I then asked him what was become of them, on which he burst into tears and said they were all seized in coming through Flanders. I went to Mr Fordyce as soon as possible, who was my banker at that time,¹² and told him the story as my son had related it to me, and he gave me a letter to Mr Gordon, our envoy at Brussels. But as soon as I got to Ghent, I found that the watches had been all sold there by auction, a few days before my arrival, so that I was obliged to come back and put up with the loss, after I had done what business I could there, Mather being gone and the house and shop left to Delane.

On the 12th October 1767, I set out with my son James for Zutphen, in order to put him to school to learn High and Low Dutch,¹³ and likewise to see what Mather was about and to get what I could of him. James had already got the French language by being at Dieppe in Normandy two years, but my reason for his learning the Dutch was to settle him at Amsterdam. We went to Dover and found a Mr Vandermulin, who was going with his son to put him to learn the Dutch language likewise; we accompanied each other from Dover to Calais, Dunkirk, and (by water to) Bruges. In our passage, the captain of the boat asked Mr Vandermulin if he had anything which was new or seizable; he said he had nothing but a new suit of clothes in his trunk. The captain told him it would be taken away at the next place, if he did not put them on his back, which he did immediately and put the old clothes in his trunk. We went from Dunkirk through Furnes [or Veurne] and Nieuport & to Bruges in one day, which is about 40 miles, the next day from Bruges to Ghent 24 miles, to Aalst & Brussels 24 miles, to Mechelen and Antwerp 24 miles, & from Antwerp to Breda* 30 miles, and did as much business all the way as the time would permit; but our stay was so short that

* Breda is the capital of Dutch Brabant, is a large populous city, well-built and fortified, and one of the strongest of the Dutch frontiers. A barony contains seventeen villages, governed by the stadholder. The Great Church¹⁴ is a fine building, with a fine spire 362 feet high, and is noted for several fine monuments. It is in a marshy country and often overflowed. Several good inns in it.

On the 12th October 1767, I set out with my Son James, for Zutphen, in order to put him to school, to learn high and low Dutch, and likewise to see what Mather was about, and to get what I could of him; James had already got the French Language, by being at Dieppe in Normandy two Years, but my reason for his learning the Dutch, was to settle him at Amsterdam: we went to Dover, and found a M^r Vandermulin, who was going with his Son, to put him to learn the Dutch Language likewise, we accompanied each other from Dover to Calais, Dunkirk, and (by water to) Bruges; in our Passage the Captain of the Boat asked M^r Vandermulin if he had any thing which was new or seizable, he said he had nothing, but a new suit of clothes in his Trunk; the Captain told him it would be taken away at the next place, if he did not put them on his Back, which he did immediately, and put the old clothes in his Trunk, we went from Dunkirk, thro Furnes, and Nieuport, to Bruges in one Day, which is about 40 Miles, the next Day from Bruges to Ghent 24 Miles, to Aalst & Brussels, 24 Miles, to Maclain and Antwerp 24 Miles, & from Antwerp to Breda* 30 Miles, and did as much business all the way as the time would permit; but our stay was so short that

* Breda is the Capital of Dutch Brabant, is a large populous City, well built and fortified, and one of the strongest of the Dutch frontiers. — A Barony contains seventeen Villages, governed by the Stadholder. The Great Church is a fine Building, with a fine spire 362 Feet high, and is noted for several fine Monuments; it is in a Marshy Country and often overflowed. — Several good Inns in it. —

we could take but little account of the different Towns, from Breda to Hartogenbosch, 24 Miles, Grave 18, Nimegin 9, Arnum 9, and to Zutphen 18 Miles; from Zutphen we went to Loe a Palace belonging to the Prince of Orange, which is a very good Brick House; I could not see the inside of it, as there was some public rejoicing that Evening;—We went back to Zutphen, ^{in all} (28 Miles) where I left my Son James, (and came to Arnum, 18 Miles, Amersford, 27 Miles, and to Amsterdam 27 Miles, in all 189 Miles, to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to Harlem 9, Leyden 12, Hague 9 Miles, and so to Helvoetsloey, to the Packet, & from thence to Harwich and London.—As I had now done all I could in Mather's Affairs, and had left James to learn High and Low Dutch, I stay'd at home, and with the assistance of my son Francis, who was Master of the French and Dutch Languages, did as well as we could, till my son James was qualified in these Languages.

May the 26th 1768, my eldest Daughter was married, to M^r. Gabriel Wirgman Jeweller and Enameller, at St. Pancras Church; as soon as the knot was tied, we had our Carriages at the Door, and M^{rs}. Upjohn and myself set out with the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied by M^r. and M^{rs}. Garle, M^r. and M^{rs}. Wetheral, the two Miss Wetherals, M^r. Daniel Aveline and his Daughter, and M^r. and M^{rs}. Lotur (who

we could take but little account of the different towns: from Breda to 's Hertogenbosch 24 miles, Grave 18, Nijmegen 9, Arnhem 9, and to Zutphen 18 miles. From Zutphen we went to Het Loo, a palace belonging to the Prince of Orange, which is a very good brick house; I could not see the inside of it as there was some public rejoicing that evening. We went back to Zutphen (in all 28 miles), where I left my son James, and came to Arnhem 18 miles, Amersfoort 27 miles, and to Amsterdam 27 miles, in all 489 miles to Amsterdam: from Amsterdam to Haarlem 9, Leiden 12, The Hague 9 miles, and so to Helvoetsluis to the packet, & from thence to Harwich and London. As I had now done all I could in Mather's affairs and had left James to learn High and Low Dutch, I stayed at home and with the assistance of my son Francis, who was master of the French and Dutch languages, did as well as we could till my son James was qualified in these languages.

May the 26th 1768, my eldest daughter was married to Mr Gabriel Wirgman, jeweller and enameller, at St Pancras church. As soon as the knot was tied, we had our carriages at the door, and Mrs Upjohn and myself set out with the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by Mr and Mrs Garle, Mr and Mrs Wetheral, the two Miss Wetherals, Mr Daniel Aveline¹⁵ and his daughter, and Mr and Mrs Lotur

(who at that time was Mr Wirgman's partner),¹⁶ and went to Shooters Hill to dinner, where by chance we met with Mr Hamilton (Mr Wetheral's son-in-law) and Mr Carr, both friends and acquaintances. When dinner was over and proper healths drank, I discharged the bill and all our friends who were to go to London took their leave, and we with Mr and Mrs Wirgman, the two Miss Wetherals etc. set out to Gravesend, where we supped and had a dance, and in the morning Mrs Upjohn set off for London with her friends, and the two Miss Wetherals and myself accompanied Mr and Mrs Wirgman to Dover, to go with them to France. We got safe to Calais on the 28th May 1768 at 8 o'clock in the morning, and I wrote a letter to my son James, desiring him to meet us at Brussels on the 29th. We went to the church and heard the music, which consisted of two oboes, two French horns, two drums and two bassoons, playing all the time of service, which continued about half an hour. On the same day at noon, we went to Gravelines, 12 miles, to dinner, and got safe to Dunkirk before night; but the roads were very sandy and bad. We found the expense of the post-chaises much the same as in England, about a shilling per mile. There is a passage by water from Dunkirk to Bruges in one day, all the summer, which is forty miles. Dunkirk is a very good

(who at that time was Mr Wirgman's partner) and went to Shooters-Hill to Dinner, where, by chance, we met with Mr. Hamilton, (Mr Wetheral's son-in-law) and Mr Carr, both friends and acquaintances; When Dinner was over, and proper Healths drank, I discharged the Bill, and all our Friends who were to go to London, took their leave, and we with Mr. and Mrs. Wirgman, the two Miss Wetherals &c, set out to Gravesend, where we supped, and had a Dance, and in the Morning Mr. Upjohn set off for London, ^{with her friends,} and the two Miss Wetherals, and myself accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Wirgman to Dover, to go with them to France. — We got safe to Calais on the 28th May 1768, at 8 O'clock in the Morning, and I wrote a Letter to my son James, desiring him to meet us at Brussels, on the 29th; we went to the Church, and heard the Music, which consisted of two Hoboyes, two French-Horns, two Drums, and two Bassoons, playing all the time of Service, which continued about half an Hour; on the same day, at noon, we went to Graveline, 12 Miles, to Dinner, and got safe to Dunkirk before Night; but the roads were very sandy and bad; we found the expense of the post Chaises much the same as in England, about a Shilling p^r Mile; there is a passage by water from Dunkirk to Bruges in one day, all the Summer, which is forty Miles: Dunkirk is a very good Town

Town, well paved, and contains a very large and open Market-place, it has been famous for its Harbour, and Fortifications, which was then demolished; it is a large Town, the Houses in general very good, and it seems to be a place of good Trade; I saw several good Shops there, but little to be done in our way. On the 13th May, at 3 in the Afternoon, we set out from Dunkirk in a Boat, and got to Furne, at 8 in the Evening; this is a small Town, and nothing worth remarking in it; we supped at the Town-House, on some very nice broild pigeons, we likewise slept there, and the Married and Single lay all in one Room, which was very large and convenient, with good Furniture in it; On the 31st we arrived at Newport, a poor Town, we walked about to see it, and sat down upon some Timber, sometime, and then took a walk to the farther end of the Town; as we were walking along, I asked M^{rs} Wirgman for the time of the Day, she looked for her Watch, and could not find it; upon recollecting our sitting down upon the Timber, I immediately went away, as fast as possible to the place, and to my great Joy, found the Watch lying by the piece of Timber she sat on; it was a very handsome Gold Enamelled Watch and Chain, which I got her to wear thro the Country, I never expected to see it again, when I returned for it, as there are a great Numbers of people always passing by it.

We

town, well paved, and contains a very large and open market place; it has been famous for its harbour and fortifications, which was then demolished; it is a large town, the houses in general very good, and it seems to be a place of good trade. I saw several good shops there but little to be done in our way. On the 13th May, at 3 in the afternoon, we set out from Dunkirk in a boat and got to Furnes at 8 in the evening. This is a small town and nothing worth remarking in it. We supped at the Town House on some very nice broiled pigeons; we likewise slept there, and the married and single lay all in one room, which was very large and convenient, with good furniture in it. On the 31st we arrived at Nieuport, a poor town; we walked about to see it and sat down upon some timber some time, and then took a walk to the farther end of the town. As we were walking along, I asked Mrs Wirgman for the time of the day, she looked for her watch and could not find it; upon recollecting our sitting down upon the timber, I immediately went away as fast as possible to the place, and to my great joy found the watch lying by the piece of timber she sat on. It was a very handsome, gold enamelled watch and chain, which I got her to wear through the country; I never expected to see it again when I returned for it, as there are a great number of people always passing by it.

We left Nieuport the next day after breakfast, and went on board the boat for Bruges; we dined on board about one o'clock, and got to the *Chasse Royale* at Bruges to supper, which we found a very good house; we lay on the ground-floor and had good beds, and in the morning as I lay in bed, I heard a canary bird sing Lady Coventry's Minuet as true as possible. Bruges is 21 miles from Nieuport, is a large ancient town, it has a good market place and some very good churches in it. June 1st we set out from Bruges and went on board a fine bark or yacht, (which had an awning over the end of the deck), with two elegant rooms in it for the passengers, one at the head and the other at the stern, and in the middle was a very good kitchen and every other necessary for the convenience of the passengers. We dined on board on 8 or 10 dishes for 16 pence each, in a very genteel style, and for 16 pence more had a very good bottle of Burgundy wine. The boat or yacht was drawn by horses, and the company diverted themselves in different ways, very agreeable. We got safe to Ghent (24 miles) about 5 o'clock in the evening, and was at the *Hotel de Commerce*. Ghent is a very large, fine town, with open squares and streets and a number of very fine churches. The monks and people of the church live in a most elegant style; we went to see the apartments of some of them, the paintings

We left Newport the next day, after Breakfast, and went on board the Boat for Bruges, we dined on board about one O'clock, and got to the *Chasse Royale* at Bruges to Supper, which we found a very good House, we lay on the Ground-Floor, and had good Beds, and in the morning, as I lay in Bed, I heard a canary Bird sing Lady Coventry's Minuet, as true as possible. Bruges, is 21 Miles from Newport, is a large ancient Town, it has a good Market-place, and some very good Churches in it. - June 1st we set out from Bruges and went on board a fine Bark or Yacht (which had an Awning over the end of the Deck) with two elegant Rooms in it, for the passengers, one at the Head and the other at the Stern, and in the middle was a very good Kitchen, and every other necessary for the convenience of the Passengers; we dined on board, on 8 or 10 dishes for 16 pence each, in a very genteel Style, and for 16 pence more had a very good Bottle of Burgundy-wine; The Boat or Yacht, was drawn by Horses, and the Company diverted themselves in different ways, very agreeable; we got safe to Ghent (24 Miles) about 5 O'clock in the Evening, and was at the *Hotel de Commerce*; Ghent is a very large fine Town, with open Squares and Streets, and a number of very fine Churches; The Monks and people of the Church, live in a most elegant Style; we went to see the Apartments of some of them, the paintings and

and Rooms of which, exceed all imagination; I was very much delighted, to see the many different and elegant paintings, in the various Rooms. The Town of Ghent is well fortified, it has two Canals run thro the Streets, the Abby of St. Pierre is the finest in all Ghent, the beauty of this Building with its fine painting and Tapestry, is beyond description, it is paved with black and white Marble, in short it is more like a palace, than a convent, the Library is a noble place, and well worth notice, it would make a Volume to describe the particulars of this place. The Churches in general are very Magnificent, and well worth the attention of every Traveller. June 3. we went to Brussels, which is about 30 Miles from Ghent, and was at the Duc de Brabant, near the Coal-Market a very good Inn. This is a very fine Town, the Theatre is large and elegant, and the Actors perform well; the last time I was at Brussels, the houses were repaired, white-washed, and painted and many of them gilt with Gold, in a very elegant manner, which was in preparation, of a grand Feast, which is kept but once in a Hundred Years, it is a hilly Town, but well paved, and well supplied with Hackney Coaches, so that you may have a Coach for sixpence of Hour, all day long, is well supplied with Fountains, and a number of

good

and rooms of which exceed all imagination; I was very much delighted to see the many different and elegant paintings in the various rooms. The town of Ghent is well fortified; it has two canals run through the streets. The Abbey of St Pierre is the finest in all Ghent; the beauty of this building with its fine painting and tapestry is beyond description, it is paved with black and white marble, in short it is more like a palace than a convent; the library is a noble place and well worth notice; it would make a volume to describe the particulars of this place. The churches in general are very magnificent and well worth the attention of every traveller. June 3rd we went to Brussels which is about 30 miles from Ghent, and was at the Duc de Brabant near the Coal Market, a very good inn. This is a very fine town, the theatre is large and elegant and the actors perform well. The last time I was at Brussels, the houses were repaired, white-washed and painted and many of them gilt with gold in a very elegant manner, which was in preparation of a grand feast which is kept but once in a hundred years. It is a hilly town but well paved, and well supplied with hackney coaches so that you may have a coach for sixpence per hour, all day long. [It] is well supplied with fountains and a number of good

streets, churches, public buildings and houses; it is a town of good trade, is situated on the River Senne; it is the capital of Brabant and all the Austrian Netherlands, the Prince of Lorraine¹⁷ keeps his Court here. The Palace is a good building and contains a very grand staircase, marble steps and gilt balustrades; there are several good apartments in it; those of the Princess are hung with Brussels tapestry which is very fine, and the floors are all laid with mahogany and box; the Princess's cabinet¹⁸ is also extremely neat, being covered with the finest Japan. The Prince is a great mechanic, and has a cabinet of curiosities in which are two boxes, where we saw a great number of different artists sitting at their different employments, one of which was a watchmaker sitting at work with his bag-wig and all his tools about him, as natural as if alive, but all in miniature and cut out in wood, each artist in his own apartment with all the tools suitable to his trade or profession, all done in a very pretty manner and extremely natural.

Having seen all we thought worth seeing in this place, we hired a very handsome coach in company with the Honourable Mr Stratford, son to Lord Baltinglass, who came with us in the post-waggon from Ghent; and we

(33)
Streets, Churches, public Buildings and Houses; it is a Town of good Trade, is situated on the River Senne, it is the capital of Brabant, and all the Austrian Netherlands, the prince of Lorraine, keeps his court here: the Palace is a good Building, and contains a very grand Stair Case, Marble steps and Gilt Balustrades, there are several good apartments in it, those of the Prince, are hung with Brussels Tapestry; which is very fine, and the floors are all laid with Mahogany, and Box, the Prince's cabinet, is also extremely neat, being covered with the finest Japan. The Prince is a great Mechanic, and has a cabinet of curiosities, in which are two Boxes where we saw a great Number of different Artists, sitting at their different Employments, one of which was a Watch-maker, sitting at work, with his Bag-wig, and all his Tools about him, as natural as if alive, but all in Miniature, and cut out in Wood, each Artist in his own Apartment, with all the Tools suitable to his Trade or profession, all done in a very pretty manner, and extremely natural.

Having seen all we thought worth seeing in this place, we hired a very handsome coach in company with the Honorable Mr. Stratford, son to Lord Baltinglass, who came with us in the post Waggon from Ghent, and we all

all set out for Antwerp together, in our way we call'd at
 Mecklin, a very good Town, where there is a great Lace
 Manufactory, the Market place is very open and airy, the
 White Swan, is a good Inn; the Great Church is a Grand,
 Gothic Building, in which is an elegant picture of the Lords
 Supper, by Rubens, and in St. Johns Church, are two fine
 pictures worth notice, it is 12 Miles from Brussels, a good
 Road, and a very pleasant and fine country round; June
 the 6th we set out from Mecklin to Antwerp, (12 Miles)
 where we went to the Labourer, a very good Inn; we took
 a Servant, to shew us all that was worth seeing, and we
 found it a very large fine City, with a High broad Wall
 all around it, planted on each side with Rows of Trees;
 between which there is room for two to walk abreast, and
 you have a most delightful view of the Country, as you
 walk round it; the Streets are broad and well paved, with
 a number of exceeding good Houses in it, I never saw
 a City contain such a number of fine Churches as this,
 the great Church, is a very fine pile of Building, about
 Five-hundred Feet long, and near Two hundred & thirty
 broad, I think it the finest Church and Steeple I ever
 saw in that Country, it struck me so much that I
 bought

all set out for Antwerp together. In our way we called at
 Mechelen, a very good town where there is a great lace
 manufactory; the market place is very open and airy; the
 White Swan is a good inn. The Great Church is a grand Gothic
 building in which is an elegant picture of the Lord's Supper by
 Rubens, and in St John's church are two fine pictures worth
 notice; it is 12 miles from Brussels, a good road and a very
 pleasant and fine country round. June the 6th we set out
 from Mechelen to Antwerp (12 miles) where we went to the
 Labourer, a very good inn. We took a servant to show us all that
 was worth seeing, and we found it a very large, fine city, with a
 high, broad wall all around it, planted on each side with rows
 of trees between which there is room for two to walk abreast,
 and you have a most delightful view of the country as you walk
 round it. The streets are broad and well paved, with a number
 of exceeding good houses in it. I never saw a city contain such
 a number of fine churches as this. The Great Church is a very
 fine pile of building, about five hundred feet long and near
 two hundred & thirty broad, I think it the finest church and
 steeple I ever saw in that country; it struck me so much that I

bought a print of it and had it framed.¹⁹ (fig. 6) I was informed there were 36 chapels inside of this great church, and service done in all of them every day. The altars are finely painted, some of them by Rubens, particularly the picture of our Saviour taking down from the cross, which exceeds everything of the kind I ever saw. There were likewise many pictures done by Quentin Massys, particularly that on which he had painted a fly in order to deceive Rubens, the story of which is nearly as follows. Massys had fallen in love with Rubens' daughter, who was compelled by her father to marry none but a painter. Massys being a whitesmith, quitted his hammer after he had executed that excellent piece of work round the pump near the Great Church, and went to Rome where he took to the pencil, studied painting and made himself master of it. When he returned, he went to see Rubens who showed him a fine picture which he had completed; but he being called out and staying some time, Massys in the meanwhile painted a large fly on the picture, and when Rubens returned, he took his handkerchief to beat it away, which he could not do; so he said it must be painted and that the person who did it should have his daughter, by which means they were married. There are such a number of fine churches, with so many fine paintings in them, that I cannot attempt to give a description of them. I can only

bought a print of it, and had it framed, I was informed there were 36 Chapels inside of this great Church, and service done in all of them every day; the Altars are finely painted, some of them by Rubens, particularly the picture of our Saviour taking down from the cross, which exceeds every thing of the kind I ever saw; there were likewise many pictures done by Quintilian Massy, particularly that on which he had painted a Fly in order to deceive Rubens, the story of which is nearly as follows. Massey had fallen in love with Rubens' Daughter, who was compelled by her father to marry none but a painter, Massey being a White-Smith quitted his Hammer, after he had executed that excellent piece of work, round the pump near the Great Church, and went to Rome, where he took to the Pencil studied painting, and made himself master of it, when he returned he went to see Rubens who showed him a fine picture which he had completed, but he being called out, and staying some time Massey in the mean while painted a large Fly on the picture, and when Rubens returned, he took his Handkerchief to beat it away, which he could not do, so he said it must be painted, and that the person who did it, should have his Daughter, by which means they were married. There are such a number of fine Churches, with so many fine paintings in them, that I cannot attempt to give a description of them, I can only say

say I think it worth any persons while, to go on purpose to see this City and its Antiquities; in many of the Churches you may see Waggon-loads of Plate: I am informed, that there are upwards of twenty Squares in this City, and two hundred Streets, which are all broad and regular, there is a very fine River, and a beautiful Exchange, which is said to be that of which Sir Thomas Gresham, took the Model when he constructed the Royal Exchange London; but I am sorry to say that there is so little Business done there now, that the Grass grows in it; the walks on each side of this Building, are all supported by forty-two pillars made of Blue Marble, but not two of them alike, it is about 180 Feet long, and 140 broad, underneath are Vaults, and Magazines, for all kinds of Goods, (and above is an Academy for Painting, Sculpture, & Mathematics, there are 4 Gates to it; this was once the most flourishing City in the World, and where all Exchanges were settled, as it has been of late Years at Amsterdam, the High Street is so broad, that six coaches may go abreast, the City is well fortified (and there are 13 Gates to it, which are all very fine; - I could

wish

⊙ About the year 1550 when Antwerp was in full Trade, the Merchants were so Rich, that one of them lent Charles the 5th a million of Gold to carry on his War in Hungary; the Emperor on his return dined with him (and gave him an elegant Dinner) and after Dinner, burnt the contract for the million of Money. - At this time there were known to be 2500 Ships in the River.

say I think it worth any person's while to go on purpose to see this city and its antiquities; in many of the churches you may see waggon-loads of plate. I am informed that there are upwards of twenty squares in this city, and two hundred streets which are all broad and regular; there is a very fine river and a beautiful Exchange which is said to be that of which Sir Thomas Gresham took the model when he constructed the Royal Exchange [in] London, but I am sorry to say that there is so little business done there now that the grass grows in it; the walks on each side of this building are all supported by forty-two pillars made of blue marble but not two of them alike; it is about 180 feet long and 140 broad, underneath are vaults, and magazines for all kinds of goods, and above is an academy for painting, sculpture & mathematics; there are 4 gates to it. This was once the most flourishing *city in the world, and where all exchanges were settled, as it has been of late years at Amsterdam; the High Street is so broad that six coaches may go abreast; the city is well fortified and there are 13 gates to it which are all very fine. I could

* About the year 1550 when Antwerp was in full trade, the merchants were so rich that one of them lent Charles V a million of gold to carry on his wars in Hungary. The emperor on his return dined with him (and gave him an elegant dinner), and after dinner burnt the contract for the million of money. At this time there were known to be 2,500 ships in the river.

wish to give a better description of it, but it is impossible as I was seldom more than a day (or two) in a place; we were not two days there. After seeing this famous place, we returned the same way back; we did not stop at Mechelen but came on to a place called Marlay, which is a very pleasant place by the river-side where we dined. In coming along, I was telling all my friends that I had wrote to my son James to meet me at Brussels, that he was to come from the city of Zutphen in Gelderland, that I was sorry not to find him at my friend's house at Brussels, and that I expected to meet him at Antwerp or on the road, which I did not, for he passed through Antwerp when we were there, and missed us going on to my friend's house at Brussels. When he arrived there and found we were gone to Antwerp, he and Mr Rous came out as far as Marlay and dined. I gave a pretty good description of him to all the company, we walked about the gardens before and after dinner, and were there several hours and saw nothing of him. We had about 6 miles to go to Brussels, so after dinner and drinking as much as we liked, we discharged the bill and got all into the coach. It is a custom there for people to come out and see the coach-company go off, so Lord Stratford looked out and

wish to give a better Description of it; but it is impossible as I was seldom more than a Day (or two) in a place; we were not two Days there. — After seeing this famous place we returned the same way back, we did not stop at Mechlin but came on to a place called Marlay, which is a very pleasant place by the River-side, where we dined, in coming along I was telling all my friends that I had wrote to my son James to meet me at Brussels, that he was to come from the City of Zutphen in Gelderland, that I was sorry not to find him at my Friends House at Brussels, and that I expected to meet him at Antwerp, or on the Road, which I did not, for he pass'd through Antwerp when we were there, and miss'd us going on to my Friends House at Brussels, when he arrived there, and found we were gone to Antwerp, he and Mr. Rous came out as far as Marlay, and dined, I gave a pretty good description of him, to all the Company, we walked about the Gardens before, and after Dinner, and were there several hours, and saw nothing of him; we had about 6 Miles to go to Brussels, so after Dinner and drinking as much as we liked, we discharged the Bill, and got all into the Coach; it is a custom there for people to come out and see the coach-company go off, so Lord Stratford look'd out, and
(said

said "there is Jemmy," so I looked out and saw it was him; it is very remarkable, that he and Mr Rousseau and all of us should be walking about and in the House so long, and not see each other; James and Mr Rousseau went by water, and we in our coach, and met at Night at Brussels, where we spent the Evening very agreeably, for Lord Stratford was remarkable good company; that same evening we took our leave of our Noble Friend, who was going early in the morning to Spa, in Germany to see his Lady, who was there: the next morning I arose at six O'clock, and went and bought some Cloth to make my son James some clothes which I got finished by night. The next day, June 9th we all set out for Paris, in the Diligence; we Breakfasted at Braine, (18 Miles from Brussels) and went to Mons to Dinner, which is a very good old Town, 12 miles from Braine; from Mons we went to Valenciennes, (21 Miles) to Supper, this is a very good ancient Town, and has a very good Market-place, the Diligence we came in from Brussels was a long carriage covered that held 8 people, but as heavy as a Waggon; at Valenciennes we exchanged our carriage for one with a round body, that held 8 people likewise; but was much easier than the other; the next morning we went to Cambrai and dined at about 11 O'clock in the morning, we went to a Church

said "There is Jemmy", so I looked out and saw it was him. It is very remarkable that he and Mr Rousseau and all of us should be walking about and in the house so long and not see each other. James and Mr Rousseau went by water, and we in our coach, and met at night at Brussels where we spent the evening very agreeably, for Lord Stratford was remarkable good company. That same evening we took our leave of our noble friend, who was going early in the morning to Spa in Germany to see his lady who was there. The next morning I arose at six o'clock and went and bought some cloth to make my son James some clothes, which I got finished by night. The next day, June 9th, we all set out for Paris in the diligence; we breakfasted at Braine (18 miles from Brussels) and went to Mons to dinner, which is a very good old town 12 miles from Braine; from Mons we went to Valenciennes (21 miles) to supper; this is a very good, ancient town and has a very good market place. The diligence we came in from Brussels was a long carriage covered that held 8 people, but as heavy as a waggon. At Valenciennes we exchanged our carriage for one with a round body that held 8 people likewise, but was much easier than the other. The next morning we went to Cambrai and dined at about 11 o'clock in the morning; we went to a

church, (the choir of which is made entirely of marble), and saw 8 fine pieces of basso relievos as large as life and done by Gerrart, or Gerrard, of Antwerp. From *Cambrai we went to Péronne (30 miles) and slept at a very dirty inn; our carriage was exchanged for one of the same kind that held 10 people. June 10th at 12 o'clock at night we set out for Paris, which is 90 miles, and got there the next day. We breakfasted and dined by the way, paid no turnpike but went all free; the carriage was as heavy as one of our large waggons, drawn by 8 strong black horses. I could not see any towns in our road worth notice. We got all safe to Paris and at the inn we left a valuable box, which we found on our going back, safe and well. We went and took a first floor with 4 or 5 rooms on it, very commodious and convenient, at the hotel known by the name of *Les Deux Écus*, in La Rue des Deux Écus, Quartier de St Honoré, where we attempted to breakfast upon tea (June 12th), but they had no tea-kettle; they brought us up some odds and ends of cups

* Cambrai is a strong, fortified town in Flanders and famous for its cambrics. The streets are wide and handsome. There is a good Town House, with several good churches beside the cathedral; it is divided into nine parishes; here are 3 abbeys & several convents. Some good inns in it.

church (the choir of which is made entirely of Marble) and saw 8 fine pieces of Basso Relievos as large as Life, and done by Gerrart, or Gerrard, of Antwerp; from *Cambrai we went to Péronne (30 Miles) and slept at a very dirty Inn, our carriage was exchanged for one of the same kind that held 10 People. - June 10th at 12 O'clock at night we set out for Paris, which is 90 Miles, and got there the next day, we Breakfasted and Dined by the way, paid no Turnpikes; but went all free, the Carriage was as heavy as one of our large Waggons drawn by 8 strong black Horses; I could not see any Towns in our Road, worth notice, we got all safe to Paris, and at the Inn we left a valuable Box, which we found, on our going back, safe and well: we went and took a first Floor with 4 or 5 Rooms on it, very commodious and convenient; at the Hotel, known by the name of "Des Deux Écus, Dans Les rues Deux Écus Quartier De St Honoré," where we attempted to Breakfast upon Tea (June 12th) but they had no Tea-Kettle, they brought us up some odds and ends of cups (and

* Cambrai is a strong fortified Town in Flanders and famous for its cambrics, the Streets are wide and handsome; there is a good Town-house with several good Churches besides the Cathedral; it is divided into nine parishes; here are 3 Abbeys & several Convents. - Some good Inns in it.

and saucers, and an Iron Tube for a Tea-Kettle, or rather a thing like a long glue-pot, with a wire handle, which it was impossible to make use of, so we were obliged to send to a coffee-house for Hot Rolls and Coffee, which we had very good, we then Dressed and Dined at the Hotel, and after Dinner we went with M^r. Gendron (M^r. Wirgman's Friend) to the ^xPalace Royal, which they were then repairing, the Garden and Walks were very pretty, each side the walks were high Trees that formed an Arch at the top, in these walks are a great Number of Chairs for the Company to sit on, but not without paying for it. When we had seen this place, we went to the Tuileries, a very large square Garden, part of it laid out after the same manner as Kensington Gardens, and all the other parts with walks and high trees which makes it quite Shady and agreeable, the bottom of it is open to a large Square where there is a Statue of the King of France on Horse-back, in Bronze, which is extremely well executed; on the right hand side of the Square were new Buildings, which were intended for a Mint; but then they could not say what it was to be.

+ The outward part of this Building is nothing remarkable; but in every Room there are Bronzes in the highest Taste, copied from the most beautiful Antiques, a number of Tables inlaid with Marble, &c, a number of fine cabinets, and China Jars, and the finest collection of Paintings that can possibly be seen or found any where.

and saucers, and an iron tube for a tea-kettle, or rather a thing like a long glue-pot with a wire handle which it was impossible to make use of; so we were obliged to send to a coffee-house for hot rolls and coffee, which we had very good. We then dressed and dined at the hotel, and after dinner we went with Mr Gendron (Mr Wirgman's friend) to the *Palace Royal which they were then repairing. The garden and walks were very pretty, each side the walks were high trees that formed an arch at the top; in these walks are a great number of chairs for the company to sit on, but not without paying for it. When we had seen this place, we went to the Tuileries, a very large square garden, part of it laid out after the same manner as Kensington Gardens and all the other parts with walks and high trees, which makes it quite shady and agreeable. The bottom of it is open to a large square where there is a statue of the King of France on horse-back, in bronze, which is extremely well executed. On the right hand side of the square were new buildings which were intended for a mint, but then they could not say what it was to be;

* The outward part of this building is nothing remarkable, but in every room there are bronzes in the highest taste, copied from the most beautiful antiques, a number of tables inlaid with marble etc., a number of fine cabinets and China jars, and the finest collection of paintings that can possibly be seen or found anywhere.

the stone work was much like the new part of our Bank and looked very fresh and clean. At the left hand of these gardens is a view of the Hospital for the Invalids, [*Les Invalides*, fig. 7] which is a fine building; the other part of the square is open to the country, where you have the pleasure of seeing several villages etc. The walks in the Tuileries are reckoned the finest in the world; we saw a great number of well dressed ladies and gentlemen there, the former of which were painted quite up to their eyes. After we had seen these gardens, square etc., we hired a coach for the afternoon and went from the Tuileries through the city, and came to a place much like the Crescent at Bath, the houses of which are built uniform and very neat with freestone. We proceeded on to a place called the boulevards where there are long walks with trees on each side; on the left hand side of this place are a number of coffee-houses with bands of music, both vocal and instrumental. We went into several of them, and the musicians go round to the company and get what they can of them; there are other places with tumbling and dancing, something like Sadlers Wells, and others with puppet shows and all kinds of wild beasts; in some of those places we heard some of the Italian ladies sing very well; I think it is much like

the Stone work was much like the new part of our Bank, (and looked very fresh and clean; at the left hand of these Gardens is a view of the Hospital, for the Invalids, which is a fine Building; the other part of the Square is open to the country, where you have the pleasure of seeing several Villages &c. The Walks in the Tuileries, are reckoned the finest in the World, we saw a great number of well dressed Ladies and Gentlemen there, the former of which were painted quite up to their Eyes. — After we had seen these Gardens, Square &c, we hired a coach for the Afternoon, and went from the Tuileries through the City, and came to a place much like the Crescent at Bath, the Houses of which are built uniform and very neat, with Freestone; we proceeded on to a place called the Boulevards, where there are long walks with trees on each side; on the left hand side of this place are a number of Coffee Houses with Bands of Music, both Vocal and Instrumental, we went into several of them, and the Musicians go round to the Company, and get what they can of them; there are other places with Tumbling and Dancing, something like Sadlers Wells, and others with Puppet Shows, and all kinds of Wild Beasts; in some of those places we heard some of the Italian Ladies sing very well, I think it is much like

Bartholomew

Bartholomew Fair; I find there are the Diversions for people of the middle class, and those who can afford it; the Nobility and Gentry, go to Operas and Plays, &c. which are open every day (and Sundays after Service), I see but little difference between the French and English Ladies, only the French Ladies paint themselves more than the English; some of them are so much painted, that they look worse than without it; but it is their opinion, that the more they are painted, the better they look, some of them are like the Dolls with round red spots up to their Eyes, and these I find are the Quality, for the fashion, or general maxim is, the more they are painted, the higher they are in Rank and Fortune. — June 13th it rained all Day, so that we did not go out until the evening, and then we went to an Opera, which we liked very well, as it was performed with Spirit; after the Music was over, we had Dancers of almost all Nations, which was the best I ever saw; the performers were likewise very well dressed. — June 14th it rained, but Mr Wirgman and myself went about amongst the Watch-makers and Goldsmiths, and found that we could do no Business with them; we understood that they did not make any great quantity of Watches, we were informed that one Watch-maker had made 400 in one Year, which

Bartholomew Fair. I find these are the diversions for people of the middle class and those who can afford it: the nobility and gentry go to operas and plays etc. which are open every day and Sundays after Service. I see but little difference between the French and English ladies, only the French ladies paint themselves more than the English. Some of them are so much painted that they look worse than without it, but it is their opinion that the more they are painted the better they look; some of them are like the dolls with round red spots up to their eyes, and these, I find, are the quality, for the fashion or general maxim is the more they are painted the higher they are in rank and fortune. June 13th it rained all day, so that we did not go out until the evening, and then we went to an opera, which we liked very well as it was performed with spirit. After the music was over, we had dancers of almost all nations, which was the best I ever saw; the performers were likewise very well dressed. June 14th it rained, but Mr Wirgman and myself went about amongst the watchmakers and goldsmiths and found that we could do no business with them: we understood that they did not make any great quantity of watches; we were informed that one watchmaker had made 400 in one year, which

is a small quantity in comparison to the number made in England, for I have made 3,000 in one year, besides a number of clocks etc. They get the watches made at Geneva, all ready for finishing except the cases, which are made & the watches finished at Paris. They pay very dear for it; I am told they give £3 for finishing a common-principled watch and £7 for a repeater, which must make the watches very high-priced. We did not find Paris a place likely to extend our trade in, so that we gave it up. In the evening we went to the play-house, but it being full, we had our money back again. We had previously sent our scarlet-coated footman to take the places and pay for them, but he took us in for 5 shillings, for we could not get so much back as we sent by him, for which we turned him off and took another lad to wait on us and go of errands. As we were disappointed in seeing the play, we went to the boulevards and saw a pantomime entertainment, tumbling, dancing etc. much like Sadlers Wells, but the house not so neat. After this we went to several coffee-houses & places to hear singing etc.; at the first we had some coffee, at another lemonade etc., so ended our evening. The 15th we breakfasted at the English coffee-house, and afterwards went to several goldsmiths' shops, which are of a much worse appearance

is a small quantity in comparison to the Number made in England, for I have made 3000 in one Year, besides a number of Clocks, &c. they get the Watches made at Geneva, all ready for finishing, except the Cases, which are made & the Watches finished at Paris, they pay very dear for it; I am told they give £3, for finishing a common-principled Watch, and £7, for a Repeater, which must make the Watches very High-priced. — We did not find Paris, a place likely to extend our Trade in, so that we gave it up. In the Evening we went to the Play-house, but it being full we had our Money back again, we had previously sent our Scarlet-coated Footman to take the Places, and pay for them, but he took us in for 5 Shillings, for we could not get so much back as we sent by him, for which we turned him off, and took another Lad to wait on us, and go of Errands; as we were disappointed in seeing the Play, we went to the Boulevards and saw a Pantomime Entertainment, Tumbling, Dancing, &c, much like Sadlers Wells, but the House not so neat, after this we went to several Coffee-Houses, & places to hear Singing, &c at the first we had some Coffee, at another Lemonade, &c so ended our Evening. The 15th we Breakfasted at the English Coffee-House and afterwards went to several Goldsmiths Shops, which are of a much worse appearance

and than those in London, but they generally have some valuables in Drawers; in the afternoon, we went to a Snuff-box manufacturers, and bought two very neat painted Boxes, one for 18/. the other for a guinea, and afterwards went to the Royal Place of Merchandize, which is much like the Shops over our Exchange, where they sell all sorts of Toys, (and Jewellery, &c. The 16th went with M^r & M^{rs} Wirgman and bought some Lace at 16/. p^r Yard. the whole cost 9.7.9. In the Afternoon, we went with M^r Ganderon to see the Royal Hospital, for Invalids, which is a very noble Building was founded by Lewis the 14th for 200 Officers & 3000 Soldiers, it is built with 5 quadrangles of Free Stone, 3 Stories high, surrounded with piazzas and open Galleries over them, which has a fine appearance, the Chapel is the most remarkable, it has 5 Domes, one large & very magnificent, the other four smaller is done in a very pretty taste, with Flat and round fluted Pillars, there are some well executed Paintings in it, in Basso Relievo, most of them Scripture pieces; the Floor is laid with Marble, and in the centre & under each Dome, are Stars inlaid with different sorts of Marble. There are 7 Steps round the larger Dome, to go up to the small ones; 7 Chapels or Altars, and a very fine piece of Embroidery, in the middle of which, is an exceeding neat piece

than those in London, but they generally have some valuables in drawers. In the afternoon we went to a snuff-box manufacturers and bought two very neat painted boxes, one for 18s. the other for a guinea, and afterwards went to the Royal Place of Merchandize [now the Place des Vosges], which is much like the shops over our Exchange, where they sell all sorts of toys and jewellery etc. The 16th went with Mr and Mrs Wirgman and bought some lace at 16s. per yard, the whole cost £9 7s. 9d. In the afternoon we went with Mr Gendron to see the Royal Hospital for Invalids, which is a very noble building, was founded by Lewis XIV for 200 officers & 3,000 soldiers. It is built with 5 quadrangles of freestone, 3 storeys high, surrounded with piazzas and open galleries over them, which has a fine appearance. The chapel is the most remarkable, it has 5 domes, one large & very magnificent, the other four smaller, [and] is done in a very pretty taste, with flat and round fluted pillars; there are some well-executed paintings in it in basso relievo, most of them scripture pieces; the floor is laid with marble and in the centre & under each dome are stars inlaid with different sorts of marble. There are 7 steps round the large dome to go up to the small ones; 7 chapels or altars, and a very fine piece of embroidery, in the middle of which is an exceeding neat

piece of needle-work with the king washing the feet of the poor, which is the neatest thing of the kind I ever saw. There are likewise many large marble figures as large as life, which are extremely well done. After seeing this we went to Luxemburg Gardens where are some very rural & pleasant walks and a palace built with freestone; from thence we went to the boulevards and had coffee. The 17th in the morning went and bought an umbrella for 15s. 9d., and after breakfast went 6 in a coach to see Versailles, which is a fine old building & must have been very pretty when new; was founded by Lewis XIV. We came to it by a grand road with 4 rows of trees, the middle walk is 50 yards wide; at the end of this avenue on the right and left are the stables in form of a crescent. We went through several courts, the third of which was paved with black and white marble. The marble stair-case is 10 yards wide. We went through several apartments and came to a long gallery, (which was the length of 137 of my moderate paces) [the *Galerie des Glaces* is 73 metres long], with 17 windows looking towards the Garden; one side of this gallery was marble and the other side all looking-glass, so that all those who walked could see themselves at full length. There were a great many of the nobility walking in this room.

piece of Needle-work, with the King, washing the Feet of the poor, which is the neatest thing of the kind I ever saw. There are likewise many large Marble Figures as large as Life, which are extremely well done. - After seeing this we went to Luxemburg - Gardens, where are some very rural & pleasant walks, and a Palace built with Tree-Stone; from thence we went to the Boulevards, and had coffee. - The 17th in the morning went and bought an Umbrella for 15/9. and after Breakfast, went 6 in a coach to see Versailles, which is a fine old building, & must have been very pretty when new, was founded by Lewis the 14th. We came to it by a grand Road, with 4 rows of Trees, the middle walk is 50 yards wide, at the end of this Avenue on the Right and Left are the Stables, in form of a Crescent, we went thro several Courts, the third of which was paved with black and white Marble, the marble Stair-case is 10 Yards wide, we went through several apartments and came to a long Gallery (which was the length of 137 of my moderate paces) with 17 Windows, looking towards the Garden; one side of this Gallery was Marble, and the other side all Looking Glass, so that all those who walked could see themselves at full length, there were a great many of the Nobility walking in this Room.

From

From there we went to some other Rooms, which were all very fine; at 12 at Noon we heard a clock was to strike; but before it struck, a cock crowed, and another Bird like an Eagle fluttered its wings, then opened two folding Doors, of themselves (and out came the King, and over him, out of the clouds, came an Angel, then the clock played a Tune, after which it struck the hour, by two Figures, with Clubs in their hands and then the King and Angel moved back and disappeared, & the Doors shut of themselves; after we had seen this, we went back to the long Gallery and saw the King and Family go to Chapel; the King was a very smart well-looking Man, with an eye like a Hawk, of a middling height, walks very upright, and was dress'd in a suit of spotted, Silk clothes. after him followed two of his Daughters, who were very much painted; the eldest was pretty jolly, but neither of them remarkable for beauty; after them followed two Bishops and several of the Nobility, &c: while he was at Mass we went into his apartments, which were very grand; his Bed-room furniture was Pea-green, with Gold Embroidery, his sitting-room was hung with Gold Embroidery: in this Room were two Gold Branches to hold candles; after seeing these Rooms, we went back to the Chapel

From there we went to some other rooms, which was all very fine. At 12 at noon we heard a clock was to strike, but before it struck, a cock crowed and another bird like an eagle fluttered its wings; then opened two folding doors of themselves and out came the king, and over him, out of the clouds, came an angel; then the clock played a tune, after which it struck the hour by two figures with clubs in their hands; and then the king and angel moved back and disappeared & the doors shut of themselves.²⁰ (figs. 5a,b) After we had seen this, we went back to the long gallery and saw the King [Louis XV] and family go to chapel. The King was a very smart, well-looking man with an eye like a hawk, of a middling height, walked very upright and was dressed in a suit of spotted silk clothes. After him followed two of his daughters, who were very much painted; the eldest was pretty jolly but neither of them remarkable for beauty. After them followed two bishops and several of the nobility etc. While he was at Mass, we went into his apartments which were very grand; his bedroom furniture was pea-green, with gold embroidery, his sitting-room was hung with gold embroidery - in this room were two gold branches to hold candles. After seeing these rooms, we went back to

the chapel and saw him in his seat, which was a kind of gallery with some velvet hung over the front of it for him & his family to rest their arms on. There are two seats or pews, which are 8 square [octagonal] and glazed, the one for the King & the other for the Queen. The King had a very fine band of music playing during the service. After this, we went into the gardens, which are so adorned with fine statues and all kinds of birds & beasts, fountains, cascades etc. that it is impossible to remember half I saw. The garden is 21 miles round, with a canal in it 1600 yards long in which are several pleasure boats; the orangery covers an acre of ground, and the steps, basins and edges of the canal are all marble. In this garden are Aesop's Fables represented in figures and all as natural as life, which are contrived so as to spout out water at various places. In another part is Apollo and his Muses, and on each side are two horses like life itself; I never saw anything equal to it, one of these horses was represented as if drinking, every vein was finely expressed, it was so well executed that it is impossible to describe it. Apollo with two large figures and each pair of horses are all made of marble. I think any curious man would not think much of a journey on purpose to see this palace and gardens. Versailles is about 12 miles from Paris and it is very well worth going to see. All the public buildings and noblemen's houses in and

Chapel, and saw him in his seat, which was a kind of gallery, with some Velvet hung over the front of it, for him & his family to rest their Arms on; there are two seats, or pews, which are 8 square, and Glazed, the one for the King & the other for the Queen, the King had a very fine Band of Music playing during the Service after this we went into the Gardens, which are so adorned with fine Statues, and all kind of Birds, & Beasts, Fountains, Cascades &c. that it is impossible to remember half I saw. The Garden is 21 Miles round, with a Canal in it 1600 Yards long, in which are several Pleasure-Boats; the Orangery covers an Acre of ground, and the Steps Basins and Edges of the Canal, are all Marble; in this Garden are Aesop's Fables, represented in Figures, and all as natural as Life, which are contrived so as to spout out water, at various places, in another part is Appollo, and his Muses, and on each side, are two Horses like Life itself, I never saw any thing equal to it, one of these Horses, was represented as if Drinking, every vein was finely expressed, it was so well executed, that it is impossible to describe it; Appollo with two large Figures and each pair of Horses are all made of Marble. I think any curious Man, would not think much of a Journey on purpose to see this Palace and Gardens. - Versailles is about 12 Miles from Paris, and it is very well worth going to see; all the public Building, and Noblemens Houses in and about

about Paris, are very fine. - After seeing the palace and Gardens we went to see the Kings Stables, I was told he had 400 Horses for his carriages, and as many more for the Saddle; and I have been since informed he has more: the Road from Paris to Versailles is pleasant and good, part by the River-side, but there are very few Vessels in the River, and those that were there were no bigger than our Barges or Lighters, I think neither the River or Bridge, cuts any Figure, it is not equal to the worst of our Bridges; and as to Paris itself, I don't like it, for it is a very dirty stinking place, you are in danger of being run over every moment for want of a proper Foot-path, I could not see any part of it, that was pleasant, except the view from the new Bridge which commands a Prospect of the City and River: I could not see any Street in the City equal to Cheapside, all the Streets and Houses have a nasty mean & beggarly look; tho they are, in general, large and numbers of Families live in one House, and all go up one common Stairs: the Hackney coaches and Horses, are much worse than ours, and the Sedan Chairs are like an old Watch-box, put upon two wheels, and drawn by a Man, they have a very shabby appearance, and I think are not proper for Ladies and Gentlemen to ride in; Instead of Lamps, as we have, they have some Glass Lanterns, tyed to a String which is hung

about Paris are very fine. After seeing the palace and gardens, we went to see the King's stables. I was told he had 400 horses for his carriages and as many more for the saddle, and I have been since informed he has more. The road from Paris to Versailles is pleasant and good, part by the river-side, but there are very few vessels in the river, and those that were there were no bigger than our barges or lighters. I think neither the river or bridge cuts any figure, it is not equal to the worst of our bridges; and as to Paris itself, I don't like it, for it is a very dirty, stinking place. You are in danger of being run over every moment for want of a proper foot-path. I could not see any part of it that was pleasant except the view from the new bridge which commands a prospect of the city and river. I could not see any street in the city equal to Cheapside; all the streets and houses have a nasty mean & beggarly look, though they are in general large, and numbers of families live in one house and all go up one common stairs. The hackney coaches and horses are much worse than ours, and the sedan chairs are like an old watch-box put upon two wheels and drawn by a man, they have a very shabby appearance and I think are not proper for ladies and gentlemen to ride in. Instead of lamps as we have, they have some glass lanterns tied to a string which is hung

all across the street. I don't know that I have seen any one place in France that is any ways tolerably neat except the King's apartments at Versailles, which are kept very neat and in good order.

The 18th, in the morning we went to Messrs. J. John Panchaud's, bankers in Rue St Sauveur,²¹ and in the afternoon went to see Luxemburg Palace; the picture galleries here are filled with a number of very fine pictures which are beyond my description, therefore must refer you to a book published in French containing a full account of them, one of which we bought when there. From this, we went to see the Place of Lewis XIV [now Place Vendôme], which is very neat and much like St James' Square. The houses are built with freestone. It's of an octagon shape and in the centre is the figure of Lewis XIV on horseback, which is finely executed; this is the best and most uniform building I saw in the city. There are but 4 or 5 squares in Paris. The 19th, we all breakfasted with Mr Gendron on fruit, wine and cakes, and afterwards went 6 in a coach to St Denis, a small country town 6 miles from Paris, in the high road to Cambrai. At this place is a large church and abbey where all the kings are buried. The tombs are not very remarkable except that of

all across the Street; I don't know that I have seen any one place in France that is any ways tolerably neat, except the King's Apartments at Versailles, which are kept very neat and in good order.

The 18th in the morning we went to Messrs. J. John Panchauds, Bankers in Rue St. Saviors, and in the afternoon went to see Luxemburg palace, the Picture Galleries here are filled with a number of very fine Pictures, which are beyond my description, therefore must refer you to a Book published in French, containing a full account of them, one of which we bought when there. - From this, we went to see the Place of Lewis the 14th, which is very neat and much like St. James' Square, the Houses are built with Freestone, it's of an octagon Shape, and in the center, is the figure of Lewis the 14th on Horseback, which is finely executed; this is the best and most uniform building, I saw in the City; there are but 4 or 5 Squares in Paris. - The 19th, we all breakfasted with M^r. Gendron on Fruit Wine and Cakes, and afterwards went 6 in a coach to St. Dennis, a small Country-town 6 miles from Paris, in the High road to Cambrey; at this place is a large Church and Abbey where all the Kings are buried, the Tombs are not very remarkable, except that of Lewis

Lewis 12th which is very elegant; that of Lewis the 14th was then in mourning, with a Lamp burning continually, till the next King is dead; after the death of every King, his Dinner is got ready every day with all the Guards in waiting, for 40 days, and they go every day and acquaint him that Dinner is ready, and as he can't come they sit down and eat it; In this Church is the finest Iron work I ever saw it is most beautifully finished in all kinds of Scrolls & Leaves; adjoining this Church, is a very fine new building which is a Convent for Monks, which is well worth notice but we had not time to see it; the roof of this Church was formerly covered with Silver, but at a time when they wanted Money, they stripped it, of the Silver & made Cash of it: we Dined at St. Dennis, and had a very good dinner with Wine &c. &c. at 2/6 each person; from this we went to a House of M^r Gendrons, which was across the River Seine, we dined at a Tavern and had a Dance, in company with one of the best Opera dancers; and after the Dance was over we went back to Paris (12 in company) inside and outside the Coach: In the Night M^{rs} Wirgman was taken extremely ill, and very much out of Order, in the morning between 5 and 6 O'clock, was obliged to send for a Doctor, who ordered

Oil

Lewis XII which is very elegant; that of Lewis XIV was then in mourning, with a lamp burning continually till the next king is dead. After the death of every king, his dinner is got ready every day with all the guards in waiting for 40 days, and they go every day and acquaint him that dinner is ready, and as he can't come they sit down and eat it. In this church is the finest iron work I ever saw, it is most beautifully finished in all kinds of scrolls & leaves. Adjoining this church is a very fine new building which is a convent for monks, which is well worth notice but we had not time to see it; the roof of this church was formerly covered with silver, but at a time when they wanted money, they stripped it of the silver & made cash of it. We dined at St Denis and had a very good dinner with wine etc. etc. at 2s. 6d. each person. From this, we went to a house of Mr Gendron's which was across the River Seine; we dined at a tavern and had a dance in company with one of the best opera dancers; and after the dance was over, we went back to Paris (12 in company) inside and outside the coach. In the night, Mrs Wirgman was taken extremely ill and very much out of order. In the morning between 5 and 6 o'clock was obliged to send for a doctor, who ordered

oil and almonds etc., with beef and veal broth. She was so ill that when I came to her and touched her hand, I exclaimed "She is dead", but she immediately replied that she was not; afterwards she soon got better. This was owing I believe to her eating too much fruit and had likewise fatigued herself with dancing. The 20th, we went & bought two volumes of the Description of Paris, Versailles, Fontainebleau and Marly, and then to the music shops & bought 15 new French dances, and after dinner went with Mr Wirgman and Miss Wetherell to buy 10 yards of lace. The 21st, Mrs Wirgman was much better. We went and took places for James and myself in the diligence to go back to Brussels, and paid £2 12s. 6d. in part, and took a receipt; the whole fare is 3 guineas each, for which you are found and supplied with provisions [and] wine all the way, which is 190 miles. This morning we saw the Corn Market, a very fine building made quite round; from thence we went to the Italian Opera House, a fine building but not quite finished; from thence to the Louvre, a very fine, square palace but not finished; from thence we took the ladies to a coffee-house and drank a glass or two of wine, and then went home to tea; and at half past 11 o'clock set out with Messrs Wirgman & Gendron to the diligence for

Oil and Almonds &c. with Beef & Veal Broth; she was so ill that when I came to her and touched her hand, I exclaimed "She is dead," but she immediately replied that she was not, afterwards she soon got better, this was owing I believe to her eating too much Fruit, and had likewise fatigued herself with Dancing. The 20th we went & bought two Volumes of the Description of Paris, Versailles, Fontainebleau and Marly, and then to the Music Shops, & bought 15 new French Dances, and after Dinner, went with M^r Wirgman and Miss Wetherell to buy 10 Yards of Lace. — The 21st M^{rs} Wirgman was much better; we went and took places for James and myself in the Diligence to go back to Brussels, and paid 2. 12. 6 in part, and took a Receipt, the whole Fare is 3 Guineas each, for which you are found and supplied with provisions Wine all the way, which is 190 Miles. This morning we saw the Corn Market, a very fine Building made quite round, from thence we went to the Italian Opera-house, a fine Building, but not quite finished, from thence to the Louvre a very fine Square Palace but not finished, from thence we took the Ladies to a Coffee House, and drank a Glass or two of Wine, and then went home to Tea, and at half past 11 O'clock, set out with M^{rs} Wirgman & Gendron to the Diligence. For
Brussels

Brussels, and after taking proper leave of the Ladies we set out, and arrived at Péronne the 22^d. at Night, and at 4 O'clock in the morning (23^d) set out for Cambray, where we dined in Company with two Irish Officers, and arrived at ^{*}Valenciennes at 4, a very good and well fortified Town, we were conducted by a Soldier to the Governor of the Town, who gave us a Card to proceed. June the 24th we got to Mons, and the same Night arrived safe at Brussels: at Valenciennes there is a very
(good)

* In this Town over a Watch-makers Door, is a Clock with a Soldier walking too and fro, before it, in a very manly manner, as if alive, moving his Legs, very natural, and is as a Guard to the Clock, for he continually walks before it; and before the Clock strikes, there is a Man who sits under the Clock, with a Drum before him, which at the opening of a Door, he beats; when this is done two Doors open of themselves, and out comes two Trumpeters blowing the Trumpets, one on each side, & on the top stands a Cock, who flutters his wings and crows; then the Clock plays a Tune on 14 Bells, after which, the hour is struck by the figure of Death, with his Scythe in his Hand, and over him is written, I make all the World fear me, and the Soldier who walks in the Gallery answers, I don't fear your Shadow, at the left lower corner it shows the Seconds, on the right is a Turks head, that rolls his Eyes, and in the middle of the Dial, is the Day of the Week, & Month, shown by a Hand, likewise the age of the Moon by a Globe, that turns round, and shews it by an Index, and by another Index is shown the Sun on the Zodiac.

Brussels. And after taking proper leave of the ladies, we set out and arrived at Péronne the 22nd at night; and at 4 o'clock in the morning (23rd) set out for Cambrai, where we dined in Company with two Irish officers; and arrived at *Valenciennes at 4, a very good and well fortified town; we were conducted by a soldier to the Governor of the town who gave us a card to proceed. June the 24th we got to Mons, and the same night arrived safe at Brussels. At Valenciennes there is a very

* In this town, over a watchmaker's door, is a clock with a soldier walking to and fro before it in a very manly manner as if alive, moving his legs very natural, and is as a guard to the clock, for he continually walks before it; and before the clock strikes, there is a man who sits under the clock, with a drum before him, which at the opening of a door, he beats. When this is done, two doors open of themselves and out comes two trumpeters blowing the trumpets, one on each side, & on the top stands a cock who flutters his wings and crows; then the clock plays a tune on 14 bells, after which the hour is struck by the figure of Death with his scythe in his hand, and over him is written I make all the world fear me, and the soldier who walks in the gallery answers, I don't fear your shadow. At the left lower corner, it shows the seconds, on the right is a Turk's head that rolls his eyes, and in the middle of the dial is the day of the week & month, shown by a hand, likewise the age of the Moon by a globe that turns round and shows it by an index, and by another index is shown the Sun on the Zodiac.

good statue of Lewis XV in marble, a very good town hall and market place. Mons is likewise a very good town, and has a good market place and town hall. June the 25th we left Brussels at one o'clock in the morning; at 6 got safe to Louvain [or Leuven], a large town but the streets very narrow. We came through several small towns not worth notice. About 2 miles before we reached Maastricht is a little village where was a battle between the French and the Queen of Hungary with the assistance of the English & Hanoverians. This battle was so well fought on both sides that it was not easy to determine which would conquer, but at last the French got the victory and in that same day were killed 15,000 English and Hanoverians. The man who drove our carriage said that he came that way the very day the battle was over, and that from the number which were buried there, the place stunk for several years afterwards. About 8 o'clock at night we arrived at Maastricht, a well fortified town belonging to the Dutch, & is situated on the River Maas [or Meuse]. We took a walk all round it on the ramparts, and I think I never saw a pleasanter place; its situation is much like the terrace at Windsor, commanding very pleasant views all around. There is a bridge 100 feet long which comes all to pieces in case of an enemy, and which they can put together again with ease: it is made of wood with only one arch

good Statue of Lewis the fifteenth in Marble, a very good Town Hall, and Market-place; Mons is likewise a very good Town, and has a good Market place and Town Hall.

June the 25th we left Brussels, at one O'clock in the morning, at 6 got safe to Louvain a large Town, but the streets very narrow; we came through several small Towns not worth notice; about 2 Miles before we reached Maastricht, is a little Village, where was a Battle between the French and the Queen of Hungary, with the assistance of the English & Hanoverians, this Battle was so well fought on both sides, that it was not easy to determine which would conquer, but at last the French got the victory, and in that same Day were killed 15,000 English (and Hanoverians; the Man who drove our Carriage, said that he came that way the very day the Battle was over, and that from the Number which were buried there, the place stunk for several Years afterwards: about 8 O'clock at night we arrived at Maastricht, a well fortified Town, belonging to the Dutch, is situated on the River Maas, we took a walk all round it, on the Ramparts, and I think I never saw a pleasanter place; its situation is much like the Terrace at Windsor, commanding very pleasant views all around, there is a Bridge 100 Feet long, which comes all to pieces, in case of an Enemy, and which they can put together again with ease, it is made of wood, with only one Arch which

which is 70 feet long, and through which, all the Boats &c pass from Liège to Holland. - That part of the Town which is nearest Liège, is under the Government of the Prince of Liège; and all on that side of the Bridge nearest Holland is under the Dutch Government; about half of them are Roman Catholics, and notwithstanding they differ in point of Religion, they are on good Terms, and live very happy together, it is a clean Town, with some good Streets and Churches in it, but a place of no great Trade; when we had seen all the Town, I went amongst the Trade to see what could be done, and found one M^r. Debeefe, who had a very good House, and Shop, and seemed to do a deal of Business, he had some very good pictures which he saw me looking at, and told me if I would take them to England they would fetch double the Money, he should ask me for them, he said he had been offered a good deal for them, by a Gentleman from England, and if I would buy them, he would take half out in Watches, and be a good customer to me in future; after a long conversation, I agreed to give him 350 Ducats, for all his pictures; he told me they were done by the best Masters, and all original except 2 or 3, I looked upon him, to be an honest Man, & that he would not deceive me, and I thought that 67 good pictures could not be

dear

which is 70 feet long, and through which all the boats etc. passes from Liège to Holland. That part of the town which is nearest Liège is under the Government of the Prince of Liège, and all on that side of the bridge nearest Holland is under the Dutch government. About half of them are Roman Catholics, and notwithstanding they differ in point of religion, they are on good terms and live very happy together. It is a clean town with some good streets and churches in it, but a place of no great trade. When we had seen all the town, I went amongst the trade to see what could be done and found one Mr Debeefe, who had a very good house and shop and seemed to do a deal of business. He had some very good pictures which he saw me looking at, and told me if I would take them to England, they would fetch double the money he should ask me for them. He said he had been offered a good deal for them by a gentleman from England, and if I would buy them, he would take half out in watches and be a good customer to me in future. After a long conversation, I agreed to give him 350 ducats for all his pictures. He told me they were done by the best masters and all original except 2 or 3. I looked upon him to be an honest man & that he would not deceive me, and I thought that 67 good pictures could not be

dear at that price; so he was to send them to Amsterdam, all numbered and with a list of all the masters' names, which he pretended to do: but my friend where my son was, had shown them to a picture broker who gave me a very bad account of them, for instead of there being all originals, there were but a very few of them and those of little value; the most part of them were copies. God knows how it was! I found myself in a bad situation for I had already delivered him £80-worth of watches. I was persuaded to return the pictures and go to law with him. I did return them but he would not receive them, so they were given up to the Statehouse till the matter was settled. I had, besides the watches, given him my note for the remainder of the money, which became due & I would not pay it, as I was advised by my attorney in Holland, and thought it was impossible for me to lose such a cause. The next year I went to Maastricht and told Mr Debeefe I was come to settle this matter, to which he seemed very agreeable and was to come to the inn after dinner. I had some friends there to whom I was recommended, but before I could get my dinner, he came with two officers and arrested me. I shall never forget the landlord, who was in a greater fright than myself; he came in and asked me if I had anything against me or if I had done anything. I said no; he said, "Good God! there are two men come to take you

dear, at that price; so he was to send them to Amsterdam, all numbered, and with a list of all the Masters Names, which he pretended to do: but my friend where my son was, had shown them to a picture Broker, who gave me a very bad account of them, for instead of there being all Originals, there were but a very few of them, and those of little value; the most part of them were Copies: God knows how it was! I found myself in a bad Situation, for I had already delivered him 80 pounds worth of Watches, I was persuaded to return the pictures, and go to Law with him; I did return them, but he would not receive them, so they were given up to the State-house till the matter was settled, I had besides the Watches given him my note for the remainder of the Money, which became due, & I would not pay it, as I was advised by my Attorney in Holland, and thought it was impossible for me to lose such a cause: the next year I went to Maastricht, and told Mr Debeefe I was come to settle this matter, to which he seemed very agreeable, and was to come to the Inn after Dinner, I had some Friends there to whom I was recommended, but before I could get my Dinner, he came with two Officers and arrested me, I shall never forget the Landlord, who was in a greater Fright than myself; he came in and asked me if I had any thing against me, or if I had done any thing, I said, No; he said Good God! there are two Men come to take you

you into custody; upon enquiry I found Debeeefe had done this, to secure the payment of his Note; I sent for a Merchant of that place, whom I had a Letter to, and he came, and I was obliged to give up a Watch, value 100, which I had in my pocket; I continued this Law suit seven Years after which I found myself 300, out of pocket, besides what the pictures fetched; so I never would advise any person to go to Law in a strange Country, for they persuaded me I could not lose it, but I found to the contrary, as you may plainly see.

From Maastricht we went to Aix-la-Chapelle (June 28th) this being a watering-place, we went to see the Hot wells &c. which in the proper Seasons are frequented by a number of Ladies and Gentlemen, but out of the Seasons, it is a poor place for Trade; here we found a Mr. Debeeefe, brother to him at Maastricht, whom I thought not worth dealing with so I refused his Orders. I bought here two pair of 3^d Doubled Ruffles for Mr. Upjohn, for 1² 12-0 and six pair for my own wear for 1² 11-6, such as Miss Wetherell gave 15 Shill. ~~for~~ at Paris, they were manufactured at Lüttich. The Great Church here is very fine, within is a large Dome and several small ones round it, very neat, ^{in this} with Flowers; in the Market-place, stands the State-house which is a fine

into custody." Upon enquiry I found Debeeefe had done this to secure the payment of his note. I sent for a merchant of that place whom I had a letter to, and he came and I was obliged to give up a watch, value £100, which I had in my pocket. I continued this law suit seven years, after which I found myself £300 out of pocket, besides what the pictures fetched; so I never would advise any person to go to law in a strange country, for they persuaded me I could not lose it but I found to the contrary, as you may plainly see.

From Maastricht we went to Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen] (June 28th). This being a watering-place, we went to see the hot wells etc. which in the proper seasons are frequented by a number of ladies and gentlemen, but out of the seasons it is a poor place for trade. Here we found a Mr Debeeefe, brother to him at Maastricht, whom I thought not worth dealing with so I refused his orders. I bought here two pair of 3 doubled ruffles for Mrs Upjohn for £1 12s. 0d. and six pair for my own wear for £1 11s. 6d., such as Miss Wetherell gave 15 shillings for at Paris; they were manufactured at Lüttich [Liège]. The Great Church here is very fine, within is a large dome and several small ones round it, very neat in stucco with flowers. In the market place stands the State House, which is a

fine building. Upon the first landing-place you enter into a large hall, where is the representation of the Last Day of Judgment done by Rubens, and over the door is a very fine picture of Charlemagne, the first emperor of Germany, giving the charter to the people of the town, with a representation of all the magistrates; and over the door going to the large hall is Leopold (one of the emperors of Germany) and his wife. In the Great Hall where the Peace was settled are a number of fine paintings of ambassadors from different nations that came to settle the Peace. The first was Count Connix from the emperor, an exceeding fine piece like life itself, his laced ruffles and clothes were done beyond expression; I stood upon a Chair to inspect it and it still looked like the real thing it was to represent, both lace and embroidery. The next on his right hand was Lord Sandwich, ambassador from England, who was but indifferently done. The next was the Sardinian ambassador, a very swarthy man in armour, very well done. The next was from Holland, a very good picture. There was the picture of Sir Thomas Robinson from England, a very good one; and one from Spain which was likewise very good. I think there were 8 or 9 of them in the whole, which were a great addition to the room. From the Great Hall we went to the Council Chamber, where the Magistrates meet every Friday to do business;

fine Building, upon the first Landing-place, you enter into a large Hall, where is the representation of the last Day of Judgment, done by Rubens, and over the Door, is a very fine picture of Charlemagne, the first Emperor of Germany, giving the Charter to the people of the Town, with a representation, of all the Magistrates, and over the Door going to the large Hall, is Leopold (one of the Emperors of Germany) and his Wife; in the great Hall where the Peace was settled, are a number of fine paintings of Ambassadors, from different Nations, that came to settle the Peace, - the first was Count Connix, from the Emperor, an exceeding fine piece, like Life itself, his laced Ruffles and clothes were done beyond Expression; I stood upon a Chair to inspect it, and it still looked like the real thing, it was to represent, both Lace and Embroidery; the next on his Right hand, was Lord Sandwich, Ambassador from England, who was but indifferently done; the next was the Sardinian Ambassador, a very swarthy Man, in Armour, very well done, the next was from Holland, a very good picture; there was the picture of Sir Thomas Robinson, from England, a very good one, and one from Spain, which was likewise very good; I think there were 8 or 9 of them in the whole, which were a great addition to the Room; from the Great Hall we went to the Council Chamber, where the Magistrates meet every Friday to do Business.

since, in this Room is an Altar ^{(and the room is} wainscoted, and neatly carved
 (and done with Stucco; from this we went to a square Room,
 where the Ambassadors settled the Peace, this Room is very
 like the other, in it is a large round Table, at which they sit
 without distinction; In going from the State-house, we went
 into the Regulates Church, which has 3 Isles, and several
 good paintings in it; from this Church we went to a square
 place where were several rows of Trees, and at one end a walk
 arched over, for the company to walk dry in case of Rain,
 there is one of the same kind in the Street, and opposite is
 a pump for Hot Water, and in a large Yard of the House are
 5 Hot Baths, by which means they drink and bathe, the
 same as at Bath. The Market place is very spacious
 the Houses round it are well built, in the middle, is a fine
 Fountain, which throws out water at several places into
 a Basin about 10 feet wide, and on this Fountain is the
 Statue of Charlemain, made of Brass holding a Sceptre in
 his right Hand, and a Globe in his left; the Great Church
 is a Gothic Building, with a high Steeple, at the upper
 part of this Church, is a Throne of white marble, where
 the Emperors used to sit, there is a great number of Churches
 in this City; the Town was formerly governed by a Mayor
 Aldermen

in this room is an altar and the room is wainscoted and neatly
 carved and done with stucco. From this we went to a square
 room where the ambassadors settled the Peace; this room is
 very like the other, in it is a large round table at which they sit
 without distinction. In going from the State House, we went
 into the Regulates Church, which has 3 aisles and several
 good paintings in it. From this church we went to a square
 place where were several rows of trees, and at one end a walk
 arched over for the company to walk dry in case of rain; there
 is one of the same kind in the street, and opposite is a pump
 for hot water and in a large yard of the house are 5 hot baths,
 by which means they drink and bathe the same as at Bath.
 The market place is very spacious, the houses round it are
 well-built; in the middle is a fine fountain which throws out
 water at several places into a basin about 10 feet wide, and
 on this fountain is the statue of Charlemagne made of brass,
 holding a sceptre in his right hand and a globe in his left. The
 Great Church is a Gothic building with a high steeple; at the
 upper part of this church is a throne of white marble where
 the emperors used to sit. There is a great number of churches
 in this city; the town was formerly governed by a Mayor,

Aldermen and Common Council-men, but now by two Burghers and two Constables etc., and is a Free and Imperial Town. The waters here are good for nervous complaints, convulsions, numbness, tumblings, gout etc., and the Seasons are June, July & August. This town was the place where the first emperor was crowned.

June the 29th we set out for Cologne, where we got safe at night, and was at the *Hotel de Holland* near the River Rhine. The next morning we went after business, and found a Mr Hocks, a merchant and watchmaker, who did business with me. After dinner we went down to the water-side and saw a swinging bridge, which is made of two barges planked together and fastened to several chained boats which are moored up the river with a large iron chain. The bridge was on the Cologne side when I saw it first, and as my son and myself were making our remarks upon it and speaking in English, an elderly woman who stood by said, "Gentlemen I find you are English", and seemed to be very glad to see us. We were as happy on our side, that we might get all the information we would wish concerning the bridge etc. As we stood, we saw a number of porters carrying goods on it with several carts etc., and when the bridge was full, they loosened the chain and with the help of the rudder and the current, it went immediately to the other side of the river, to a little town inhabited by

Aldermen and Common Council-men, but now by two Burghers and two Constables, &c, and is a free and imperial Town; the Waters here are good for Nervous Complaints, Convulsions, Numbness, Tumblings, Gout, &c and the Seasons are June July & August, this Town was the place where the first Emperor was crowned.

June the 29th we set out for Cologne, where we got safe at Night, and was at the *Hotel de Holland*, near the River Rhine; the next morning, we went after Business, and found a Mr Hocks a Merchant and Watch-maker, who did Business with me, after dinner we went down to the Water-Side, and saw a swinging Bridge, which is made of two Barges planked together, and fastened to several chained Boats, which are moored up the River, with a large Iron Chain, the Bridge was of the Cologne side, when I saw it first, and as my son and myself were making our remarks upon it, and speaking in English, an elderly woman who stood by, said, "Gentlemen I find you are English," and seemed to be very glad to see us, we were as happy on our side, that we might get all the information we would wish concerning the Bridge, &c, as we stood we saw a number of porters carrying goods on it with several Carts, &c, and when the Bridge was full, they loosened the Chain, and with the help of the Rudder, and the current, it went immediately to the other side of the River to a little Town inhabited by
Jews

Jews; Mrs Radermaker (which was the name of the English woman) asked us to drink a dish of Tea, which we did; when she told us that her first Husband was a Brigadier, in our Life-guards in England and that about 30 Years before we saw her, she came over with him, at which time he kept his Coach and four Horses, but he unfortunately died soon after; she then married her Husband's Footman, a German, and lived on what they had got, and sometime after they were married, they were robbed of 1500 £, all in one Night, after this misfortune her Husband gave himself to Drinking, which reduced them to poverty and want, her Husband afterwards died, at which time she was so low, that she was reduced to the necessity of taking in washing for a livelihood, and as she had been so indiscreet as to marry her Footman, she could not think of seeing her Friends in England; she found that washing would not do to support her, so she commenced Midwifery which she professed at the time we saw her; she was about 60 years of age, and looked well and hearty; we went with her on this Flying-Bridge and crossed the water to a little Town called Duker to a Music Garden, where we had a Bottle of Wine, & smoked a pipe in a very pleasant Room by the River side; she told us a story of a Priest that used to come very often begging to their House

Jews. Mrs Radermaker (which was the name of the English woman) asked us to drink a dish of tea, which we did; when she told us that her first husband was a brigadier in our Life Guards in England, and that about 30 years before we saw her, she came over with him, at which time he kept his coach and four horses, but he unfortunately died soon after. She then married her husband's footman, a German, and lived on what they had got; and sometime after they were married, they were robbed of £1,500 all in one night. After this misfortune her husband gave himself to drinking, which reduced them to poverty and want. Her husband afterwards died, at which time she was so low that she was reduced to the necessity of taking in washing for a livelihood, and as she had been so indiscreet as to marry her footman, she could not think of seeing her friends in England. She found that washing would not do to support her, so she commenced midwifery, which she professed at the time we saw her. She was about 60 years of age, and looked well and hearty. We went with her on this flying-bridge and crossed the water to a little town called Deutz, to a music garden where we had a bottle of wine & smoked a pipe in a very pleasant room by the riverside. She told us a story of a priest that used to come very often begging to their

house. She said that one time in particular, he followed her upstairs with a book in his hand, not to pray but to see what he could do with her. She was a Roman Catholic at this time; he kissed her and put his hand down her breast, talked about love and desired her to leave her husband. She acquainted her husband with it and desired him to be upon the watch the next time he came. He returned and was making a second attempt at her, but her husband took a large knife and cut his cap all to pieces. He cried out for mercy and begged to stay all night, that he might say he was attacked by some rogues who robbed him and cut his cap to pieces. In her second husband's time, when she used to go to Confession, the priest frequently kissed her and took such liberties that she never went more. The second husband had been dead some years and she had brought up several children, who were married and settled in the town. I saw her the second time I went over and found her hearty and well, and she was very glad to see me. Cologne is a large town, badly paved with narrow streets, but there are some very good churches in it; in the Great Church they have a large vase set with jewels, which they say is very valuable.

House, she said that one time in particular, he followed her up stairs with a Book in his Hand, not to pray, but to see what he could do with her; she was a Roman Catholic at this time; he kissed her and put his hand down her Breast, talked about Love, and desired her to leave her Husband; she acquainted her Husband with it, and desired him to be upon the watch, the next time he came, he returned, and was making a second attempt at her, but her Husband took a large knife, and cut his cap all to pieces; he cried out for mercy, and begged to stay all night, that he might say he was attacked by some Rogues who robbed him, and cut his cap to pieces; in her second Husband's time when she used to go to Confession, the priest frequently kissed her, and took such liberties that she never went more; the second Husband had been dead some years, and she had brought up several Children who were married and settled in the Town: I saw her the second time, I went over, and found her hearty and well, and she was very glad to see me. — Cologne is a large Town, badly paved with narrow Streets, but there are some very good Churches in it; in the great Church they have a large Vase set with Jewels, which they say is very valuable.

able, I was informed that there are 400 Churches, Chapels and Religious Houses in this Town, from all the public Building, you see a great number of Spires and Steeples; in the middle of the Town are two large Market places; the only Manu- factory that I could learn, was Religion and Children, for the Town is full of Churches Children and Beggars; at the Inn a Gentleman told us a Story, which he said was a fact, that one Day as he was walking along the Street, he saw some poor Women, two of whom were talking together, and the one said to the other, "my Daughter is married" the other asked to whom, she answered to such a Man, the other said what have they to live on, she answered I have given her 7 Houses; this made him wonder that such a poor woman should give her daughter so much, he followed them and soon found out what the 7 Houses were, for she told her companion, that she had 14 to beg at, and she had given half of them to her Daugh- ter. - I think this must have been a very fine Town former- ly, but now it looks full of poverty and on the decay; they will not suffer a Jew to come into the Town without pay- ing so much an hour, and he must have a guard to attend him wherever he goes; they say that the Jews had formerly put some poison into the Water, which caused many people to die, and now they have not a Jew living in the place;
but

I was informed that there are 400 churches, chapels and religious houses in this town; from all the public buildings you see a great number of spires and steeples. In the middle of the town are two large market places. The only manufactory that I could learn was religion and children, for the town is full of churches, children and beggars; at the inn, a gentleman told us a story which he said was a fact, that one day as he was walking along the street, he saw some poor women, two of whom were talking together, and the one said to the other, "My daughter is married"; the other asked to whom, she answered to such a man, the other said what have they to live on, she answered I have given her 7 houses. This made him wonder that such a poor woman should give her daughter so much. He followed them and soon found out what the 7 houses were, for she told her companion that she had 14 to beg at, and she had given half of them to her daughter. I think this must have been a very fine town formerly, but now it looks full of poverty and on the decay. They will not suffer a Jew to come into the town without paying so much an hour, and he must have a guard to attend him wherever he goes; they say that the Jews had formerly put some poison into the water, which caused many people to die, and now they have not a Jew living in the place;

but the little place the other side the Rhine is full of them, and when they want to sell or pawn anything, they go over on the flying-bridge which is constantly going and coming. I think they have 22 nunneries and 12 monasteries, besides churches, chapels etc.

July 1st at 6 o'clock in the morning we set out for Bonn, but before this, the post-boy went to Mass and we were obliged to wait till he came back. In the road are two palaces belonging to the Prince and Bishop of Münster. In this country they made a great deal of red wine; we passed by many vineyards in our way that are on each side the Rhine. We got safe at Bonn (15 miles from Cologne) to dinner, and went to see the grand palace, which is the best I ever saw with respect to the rooms & furniture; it far exceeds Versailles for neatness of the rooms, but not in the gardens. The 1st, 2nd & 3rd antechambers are hung with tapestry made at Brussels, and in the last of these is a fine set of drawers made of mother of pearl with metal gilt furniture. The 4th chamber or cabinet is where the Prince keeps his turning engine, and where there are a great many portraits made of small pieces of stones and are inlaid one with the other; they came from Italy and are as natural as life.²² The 5th place was a long gallery filled with

but the little place the other side the Rhine is full of them, and when they want to sell or pawn any thing, they go over on the flying Bridge: which is constantly going and coming. - I think they have 22 Nunneries, and 12 Monasteries besides Churches, Chapels &c.

July 1st at 6 O'clock in the morning we set out for Bonn, but before this, the post-boy went to Mass, and we were obliged to wait till he came back; in the road, are two palaces belonging to the prince and Bishop of Münster, in this country, they make a great deal of Red Wine, we passed by many Vineyards in our way, that are on each side the Rhine. - We got safe at Bonn (15 Miles from Cologne) to Dinner, and went to see the grand Palace, which is the best I ever saw with respect to the Rooms, & Furniture, it far exceeds Versailles, for neatness of the Rooms, but not in the gardens, the 1st & 3rd Anti-chambers, are hung with tapestry made at Brussels, and in the last of them, is a fine set of Drawers made of Mother of pearl, with metal gilt Furniture, the 4th Chamber, or cabinet, is where the prince keeps his Turning Engine, and where there are a great many portraits made of small pieces of Stones, and are inlaid one with the other, they came from Italy, and are as natural as Life; the 5th place was a long gallery, filled with pictures

pictures of all the princes &c; the 6th at the end was a
 very fine Academy Room and at the end of which was look-
 ing-glass (Doors; the 7th is a Ball-room with a proper
 place where people are admitted to the company dance,
 this Room is finely ornamented with Stucco work; the 8th
 is hung with very fine Tapestry with the History of
 Telemachus; the 9th is a very fine Stucco Room, and
 the 10th is a very fine Room with all the Masters of the
 *Teutonic order, which are as large as life, all in Armour;
 the 11th is a very grand Audience Chamber, with a canopy
 very neatly carved and gilt, and hung with Tapestry,
 which is the manufactory of Bonn; the 12th is a cabinet
 of Roses, carved and gilt, the floor is inlaid in the form
 of Wild Beasts; the 13th is a fine room with a grand State
 Bed, in it the curtains and covering are of Gold embroi-
 dery and the Room extremely well carved and gilt; the
 14th is a Bathing Room, the Bathing Trough is made of
 one large Stone, and the Floor is inlaid with Marble; the
 15th was a Room with a number of small places they
 call closets, all very handsome and not two alike; the
 16th is a very neat Chapel where there is the Skeleton of
 some great person very neatly dressed in a Tomb with glass
 before it, but the person who shewed it could not tell who
 it was.

* The Teutonic order, is an order of religious Knights.
 See Bailey's Dictionary.

pictures of all the princes etc.; the 6th at the end was a very
 fine academy room, and at the end of which was looking-glass
 doors; the 7th is a ball-room with a proper place where people
 are admitted to see the company dance - this room is finely
 ornamented with stucco work; the 8th is hung with very fine
 tapestry with the history of Telemachus; the 9th is a very fine
 stuccoed room; and the 10th is a very fine room with all the
 Masters of the *Teutonic Order, which are as large as life, all
 in armour; the 11th is a very grand audience chamber, with
 a canopy very neatly carved and gilt and hung with tapestry,
 which is the manufactory of Bonn; the 12th is a cabinet of
 roses, carved and gilt, the floor is inlaid in the form of wild
 beasts; the 13th is a fine room with a grand State Bed, in it the
 curtains and covering are of gold embroidery, and the room
 extremely well carved and gilt; the 14th is a bathing room,
 the bathing trough is made of one large stone and the floor
 is inlaid with marble; the 15th was a room with a number of
 small places they call closets, all very handsome and not two
 alike; the 16th is a very neat chapel where there is the skeleton
 of some great person, very neatly dressed in a tomb with glass
 before it, but the person who showed it could not tell who

* The Teutonic Order is an order of religious knights, see Bailey's Dictionary.²³

it was; the 17th and last is a grand chapel with a fine organ in it, the altars are ornamented with fine marble pillars and done in a very pretty taste. The town of Bonn is pretty, has a good State House in it, and is well fortified; it is not large but compact. We rested here all night, at a very good inn.

July 2nd, we set out for Coblenz, which is a neat town under the Elector of Trier; from hence we went to Nassau, a very poor place where resides the prince of that name, we did not stop here. The road from Bonn to Coblenz is very pleasant, mostly by the riverside, where you have a view of a number of little villages on the other side of the Rhine, with religious houses ornamented with spires, and the hills adorned with vineyards; I think this was the pleasantest ride I ever had in my life. The roads from Nassau to Mainz [or Mayence] are very hilly, and they have the worst post-chaise I ever saw, the horses very small, which run up and down the hills like cats. They have no breeching to the horses, so that in going down the hills 'tis very dangerous, for the carriages run against the horses' heels; if they were not used to it, they would kick the carriages all to pieces, and in that part of the country there are such precipices that are frightful to

it was; the 17th and last, is a grand Chapel with a fine Organ in it, the altars are ornamented with fine Marble pillars, and done in a very pretty taste. — The town of Bonn is pretty, has a good Statehouse in it, and is well fortified it is not large, but compact, we rested here all night, at a very good Inn.

July 2. we set out for Coblenz, which is a neat town under the Elector of Trier, from hence we went to Nassau, a very poor place where resides the prince of that name, we did not stop here. — The road from Bonn to Coblenz, is very pleasant, mostly by the River-side where you have a view of a number of little Villages, on the other side of the Rhine, with Religious Houses ornamented with Spires and the Hills adorned with Vineyards; I think this was the pleasantest ride I ever had in my life; the roads from Nassau to Mayantz are very hilly, and they have the worst post chaise I ever saw, the Horses very small, which run up and down the Hills like cats, they have no Breeching to the Horses, so that in going down the Hills, 'tis very dangerous, for the Carriages run against the Horses heels, if they were not used to it, they would kick the Carriages all to pieces, and in that part of the Country there are such precipices, that are frightful to behold

behold, the Man who drove us, remarked one bad place,
 which we saw, (which was really frightful to look at) that
 a Gentlemen's coachman, in a dark night, made a mistake
 at this place, and went straight on, instead of turning to
 the right hand, and when he got a top of the hill, he fell
 over, and they were all dashed to pieces, this place appeared
 to me to be several times as high as St. Paul's Steeple;
 many parts of this Country resembles the environs of
 Matlock in Derbyshire; there are great quantities of
 Wine made in this Country. - Mayantz, is not a very
 large Town, the Streets are narrow and badly paved, the
 Town is about 3 miles round, full of Churches and Re-
 ligious Houses, the great Church is a good gothic Building.
 (and they have a good Town House: we went to the Prin-
 ces Stables and saw 3 Horses that were caught wild near
 Wirtemberg, they were the finest Horses I ever saw, two of
 them white, the other cream-coloured, there is one Stable
 for Coach and another for Saddle-Horses; at the farther
 end of the Town is a Palace called the Favorite, with a
 piece of Water in the middle of the Garden, in the centre
 of which, is a Duck-house, built 8 square, in this very
 pretty Garden, are two rows of Fountains, and Cascades
 which

behold. The man who drove us remarked one bad place
 which we saw, (which was really frightful to look at), that a
 gentleman's coachman, in a dark night, made a mistake at this
 place and went straight on instead of turning to the right hand,
 and when he got a top of the hill, he fell over and they were
 all dashed to pieces. This place appeared to me to be several
 times as high as St Paul's steeple. Many parts of this country
 resemble the environs of Matlock in Derbyshire. There are
 great quantities of wine made in this country. Mainz is not a
 very large town, the streets are narrow and badly paved. The
 town is about 3 miles round, full of churches and religious
 houses, the Great Church is a good Gothic building and they
 have a good Town House. We went to the Prince's stables
 and saw 3 horses that were caught wild near Wirtemberg
 [probably Württemberg], they were the finest horses I ever
 saw, two of them white, the other cream-coloured; there is
 one stable for coach and another for saddle-horses. At the
 farther end of the town is a palace called the Favorite, with
 a piece of water in the middle of the garden, in the centre
 of which is a duck-house built 8 square [octagonal]. In this
 very pretty garden are two rows of fountains and cascades

which have a pretty effect; there are very neat gravel walks, and statues all over the garden, which is very pleasantly situated on a very pleasant river called the Rhine. The house is but small but the apartments are very neat; at the back part of the garden are several fine square buildings. What is very remarkable, you never see any beggars about this end of the town or the palace, but every thing is exceeding clean and neat; there are many grand houses and tolerable broad streets near the palace.

July 4th we set out from Mainz and arrived at Frankfurt on the Main, which is a very good old town and is that where the emperors are crowned: the streets of a good width, with several open squares, good houses & neat pleasure gardens about the town, and the people in general very polite. There was a very good boarding school where were nine boarders, one of which was son to Lord Fitzwilliam, and two young gentlemen from Leeds in Yorkshire. The price for boarding, languages, writing and merchants' accounts was £35 per annum, if a room to himself 5 more. I settled a trade with some merchants here, and agreed with one Mr Windel [or Wendel] to take my son Edward to board with him & for him to go to school to learn the German language etc. I found Mr and Mrs Windel very good sort of people; they had two children and upon the whole I thought it a very agreeable family; Mr Windel promised to take particular care of my son, which made me

which have a pretty effect, there are very neat Gravel walks, and Statues, all over the Garden, which is very pleasantly situated, on a very pleasant River called the Rhine; the House is but small, but the apartments are very neat; at the back part of the Garden are several fine square Buildings; what is very remarkable, you never see any Beggars about this end of the Town, or the Palace, but every thing is exceeding clean and neat; there are many grand Houses and tolerable broad Streets near the Palace.

July 4th we set out from Mayantz, and arrived at Frankfurt on the Main, which is a very good Old Town, and is that where the Emperors are crowned, the Streets of a good width, with several open Squares, Good Houses, & neat pleasure Gardens about the Town, and the people in general very polite; there was a very good Boarding School, where were nine Boarders, one of which was Son to Lord Fitzwilliams, and two young Gentlemen from Leeds in Yorkshire: the price for Boarding Languages, Writing and Merchants Accounts, was 35 £ p Ann. if a room to himself 5 more: - I settled a Trade with some Merchants here, and agreed with one Mr. Windel, to take my Son Edward to board with him, & for him to go to School to learn the German Language, &c I found Mr. & Mrs. Windel very good sort of people, they had two Children, and upon the whole I thought it a very agreeable Family; Mr. Windel promised to take particular care of my Son, which made me

send

send him there with pleasure. - This Town is well fortified, the Streets are broad, the Houses built with red stone or wood, some plastered, some painted &c, there is a palace or castle for the Emperor, and some convents, the Town is governed by a Mayor or Aldermen & Common Council. - there are a great number of Jews in the Town, but they are confined to a particular District, and obliged to wear a particular Dress, it is a good Town for Trade, & is remarkable for two of the greatest Fairs in the world, at which times people come from all quarters, & Nations: we were at the sign of the Red Man, a good Inn, and was in company with Count Leslip's two Brothers, both very agreeable gentlemen, one of them told me, he was going to be married, and showed us a very handsome Diamond Ring, which he said cost Eighty pounds. - there are some of the finest Inns in this Town I ever saw, they are more like palaces than Inns, I had a copper-plate print of one of them, the sign of the Roman Emperor; which had the appearance of a palace; every thing was well conducted, neat and good Order, and the Landlord was a gentleman of Fortune. - The great Church, where the Emperor is crowned, is a stately Building, and belongs to the Roman Catholics; there is a good Lutheran Church, Town house and other good Houses. - At 5 in the morning we set out from Frankfurt to go to Hefcastle, in a post Waggon, which is a long covered Carriage, with a kind of Elbow Chair for each

send him there with pleasure. This town is well fortified, the streets are broad, the houses built with red stone or wood, some plastered, some painted etc. There is a palace or castle for the emperor and some convents. The town is governed by a Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council. There are a great number of Jews in the town, but they are confined to a particular district and obliged to wear a particular dress. It is a good town for trade & is remarkable for two of the greatest fairs in the world, at which times people come from all quarters & nations. We were at the sign of the Red Man, a good inn, and was in company with Count Leslip's two brothers, both very agreeable gentlemen; one of them told me he was going to be married, and showed us a very handsome diamond ring which he said cost £80. There are some of the finest inns in this town I ever saw; they are more like palaces than inns. I had a copperplate print of one of them, the sign of the Roman Emperor, which had the appearance of a palace (fig. 8); every thing was well conducted, neat and good order, and the landlord was a gentleman of fortune. The Great Church where the emperor is crowned is a stately building and belongs to the Roman Catholics; there is a good Lutheran church, Town House and other good houses. At 5 in the morning we set out from Frankfurt to go to Hesse-Cassel [Kassel] in a post-waggon, which is a long covered carriage with a kind of elbow chair for

each person to sit in, & which I found to be very clever; the distance is 108 miles. In our journey, we saw a number of Jew drovers who deal in cattle, and some of them farmers. The people in this country mostly go without shoes or stockings, particularly the women and children. The road from Frankfurt to Hesse-Cassel is very hilly, and there are a great number of oak trees about the country; it very much resembles England. We did not see anything on the road worth noticing.

July 8th about 9 in the morning, after travelling all night, we came to Hesse-Cassel, and as we entered the town, we saw a number of men at work taking down the town-walls and going to enlarge the town, which was well fortified. I did not see anything very striking or worth notice, but adjoining to the town is an old palace much out of repair, near which is a large park with several apartments where the Prince sometimes resides; and in the park are several places for birds and beasts; in one, a number of monkeys & baboons; in another parrots & paroquets; in another eagles; in another pheasants, geese, ducks etc., etc. - I saw 500 young pheasants. We found many pleasant walks in the park. Mr Labherd to whom I was recommended showed us every thing worth seeing;

each person to sit in, & which I found to be very clever; the distance is 108 Miles: in our journey, we saw a number of Jew Drovers, who deal in cattle, and some of them Farmers: the people in this country mostly go without Shoes or Stockings, particularly the women and children, the road from Frankfurt to Hefcastle, is very Hilly, and there are a great number of Oak Trees, about the country, it very much resembles England; we did ^{not} see any thing on the road worth noticing.

July 8th about 9 in the morning, after travelling all night, we came to Hefcastle, and as we entered the Town, we saw a number of Men at work, taking down the Town-walls and going to enlarge the Town, which was well fortified: I did not see any thing very striking or worth notice, but adjoining to the Town, is an old Palace much out of repair, near which is a large park, with several apartments, where the Prince sometimes resides; and in the park or several places for Birds, and Beasts; in one, a number Monkeys & Baboons, in another Parrots & Paroquets, in another Eagles, in another Pheasants, Geese Ducks &c &c, I saw 500 young Pheasants; we found many pleasant walks in the park; M^r. Labherd to whom I was recommended, showed us every thing worth seeing

he had been in England, and could speak English very well, which made it quite agreeable; we went into one of the pleasure Houses in the park, where they sell Wine, and smoked a pipe, there is another park for Deer, adjoining to this, where the Soldiers are exercised, at eleven O'clock, and there are a number of Men 7 feet high, who are always in and about the palace attending the Prince: This Town was besieged in the 1761, by the French, who thought proper to retreat after 3 Months, Elliott's Light Horse did great things for them, at this time, the people are very fond of the English, and the country would be more like England if there was not so many open fields in it:— We took a walk to a place called Whitestone, about 6 miles from the Town, where the Prince has a palace, and on the top of a very high Hill, stands a four-square Stone Building, in which is a fine spring of Water which is conveyed to a number of Cascades, and Fountains, the height from the Bottom to the Top is 610 steps, and at the top is an Alcove standing upon pillars, and upon that is a spire, on the top of which is the figure of a Man in copper, 30 feet high; I was very much tired in going up, but when I was there I saw a very fine view of the country round, with the Town of Hefcastle, and a great number of Villages; there were

he had been in England and could speak English very well, which made it quite agreeable. We went into one of the pleasure houses in the park where they sell wine, and smoked a pipe. There is another park for deer adjoining to this, where the soldiers are exercised at eleven o'clock; and there are a number of men 7 feet high who are always in and about the palace, attending the Prince. This town was besieged in 1761 by the French, who thought proper to retreat after 3 months; Elliott's Light Horse did great things for them at this time. The people are very fond of the English, and the country would be more like England if there was not so many open fields in it. We took a walk to a place called Whitestone [Weissenstein] about 6 miles from the town, where the Prince has a palace, and on the top of a very high hill stands a four-square stone building in which is a fine spring of water which is conveyed to a number of cascades and fountains. The height from the bottom to the top is 610 steps, and at the top is an alcove standing upon pillars, and upon that is a spire, on the top of which is the figure of a man [Hercules] in copper, 30 feet high. I was very much tired in going up, but when I was there I saw a very fine view of the country round, with the town of Hesse-Cassel and a great number of villages. There were

a great many men at work making alterations etc.; this place was in the hands of the French in the war of 1761 and they greatly damaged it, so that it will be some time before he gets it in good order again. The Prince is making a road straight to the town from this place, and I suppose he had not less than a thousand men at work, in and about the town. They were doing such things as would surprise you, for he is taking down great hills and filling up great valleys, which one would think would never be accomplished, but many hands make light work. The women in general in this country do men's work in the fields, and what is very odd, the men wears shoes and stockings and the women none. The Prince has all the children registered, and as soon as they are able to bear arms, he takes as many as he wants for soldiers, which we should think very cruel in England.²⁴

Sunday July 10th, we took places in the post-waggon to go to Hanover. The carriage was to take us up at the inn door at one o'clock, and I thought would be like that which we came in from Frankfurt, but to my surprise, I found it without a covering, no proper seats to sit in but hard benches, besides it rained very hard; lucky for me I had got an umbrella with me which I bought at Paris, and which covered me & my son from the wet. Our first

a great many Men at work making alterations &c; this place was in the hands of the French in the ^{war} of 1761, and they greatly damaged it, so that it will be sometime before he gets it in good order again; the Prince is making a road straight to the Town, from this place, and I suppose he had not less than a thousand Men at work, in and about the Town; they were doing such things as would surprise you, for he is taking down great hills, and filling up great valleys, which one would think would never be accomplished, but many hands make light work: the women in general in this Country do men's work in the Fields, and what is very odd the men wears shoes and stockings, and the women none; the Prince has all the Children registered, and as soon as they are able to bear Arms, he takes as many as he wants for Soldiers, which we should think very cruel in England.

Sunday July 10th we took places in the post-waggon to go to Hanover, the carriage was to take us up at the Inn door, at one O'clock, and I thought would be like that which we came in from Frankfurt, but to my surprise I found it without a covering, no proper seats to sit in, but hard Benches, besides, it rained very hard, lucky for me I had got an Umbrella with me, which I bought at Paris and which covered me & my Son from the wet; our first
stage

stage was 12 miles to Mindin, and the worst and most rocky road I ever went, we could not go more than 3 miles an hour, and was almost jumbled to pieces, the other people were as wet as drowned Rats: we were full three hours going 12 miles, which made me sick of my new carriage, so that at Mindin, I sent my Son to get extra post, as they call it, and expected to see a proper post chaise, with two Horses, but behold, it was a two wheeled carriage, with a head to it and open before, where we were to get in, it had a great wooden Bar to keep us in, & was drawn by 4 Horses, which I asked the reason of, and my Son told me the post master would not take two of us in such bad roads, with less than four Horses; the man who brought the carriage spoke much in its praise, and said it had a Deck to it (which ^{is} a covering) to keep us from the wet; it was hung upon Braces, and we travelled very easy and dry, for which we paid after the rate of a Shilling $\frac{1}{2}$ mile; in the middle of the night we came to a place where we changed, and had a kind of Chariot with 4 wheels, which did very well: the roads were very bad all the way to Hanover, and the Country very hilly and much like England, but not so well cultivated, if it was, it would be equally as fine, for the tops of the Hills are green, and the Country looks very pleasant: - Notwith-

standing

stage was 12 miles to Minden, and the worst and most rocky road I ever went; we could not go more than 3 miles an hour, and was almost jumbled to pieces; the other people were as wet as drowned rats. We were full three hours going 12 miles, which made me sick of my new carriage, so that at Minden I sent my son to get extra post, as they call it, and expected to see a proper post-chaise with two horses, but behold, it was a two-wheeled carriage with a head to it and open before, where we were to get in. It had a great wooden bar to keep us in & was drawn by 4 horses, which I asked the reason of, and my son told me the postmaster would not take two of us in such bad roads with less than four horses. The man who brought the carriage spoke much in its praise, and said it had a deck to it (which is a covering [Decke in German]) to keep us from the wet. It was hung upon braces and we travelled very easy and dry, for which we paid after the rate of a shilling per mile. In the middle of the night, we came to a place where we changed and had a kind of chariot with 4 wheels, which did very well. The roads were very bad all the way to Hanover, and the country very hilly and much like England, but not so well cultivated; if it was, it would be equally as fine, for the tops of the hills are green and the country looks very pleasant. Notwithstanding

we went post, we had open waggons and hard benches for our shilling a mile; they had just begun to make the turnpike roads, so that we paid for what we had not, for the road was good only about a mile or two.

July 11th at 12 o'clock at night we arrived safe at Hanover, 96 miles from Hesse-Cassel. We did not see anything worth notice on the road. We put up at the *Blue Shank*, a very good inn. This city is open & airy, well fortified, the streets of a good breadth and very clean. Before the door of our inn was a grotto, on the top of which was a white horse holding up the arms of the founder of it, and a number of figures round the grotto and on the rails, painted white, which looks very neat and is a pretty ornament. There is a fine open market place and several good churches. The palace in this city is very neat, forming a square courtyard and is built of freestone; I could not see the inside of it, as they told me they did not show the rooms. The country round it very pleasant, and there is a fine river runs through the city. We went to the King's stables and saw his horses, which were well worth seeing; they are all of the cream colour kind, we were told that there were not so many as there used to be in King George II's time. In the afternoon we went to the country palace called Herrenhausen, which is about a mile, a very pleasant walk from Hanover.

standing we went post, we had open waggons and hard Benches for our Shilling a mile; they had just begun to make the Turnpike Roads, so that we paid for what we had not, for the road was good only about a mile or two.

July 11th at 12 O'clock at night we arrived safe at Hanover, 96 miles from Hesse-Cassel, we did ^{not} see any thing worth notice on the road, we put up at the *Blue Shank*, a very good Inn. This city is open & airy, well fortified, the streets of a good Breadth, and very clean; before the door of our Inn, was a Grotto, on the top of which was a white Horse holding up the Arms of the founder of it, and a number of Figures round the Grotto, and on the Rails, painted white which looks very neat and is a pretty Ornament; there is a fine open Market place, and several good Churches, the palace in this city is very neat, forming a Square Court yard, and is built of Freestone, I could not see the inside of it, as they told me they did not shew the Rooms; the country round it, very pleasant, and there is a fine River runs thro the city; we went to the Kings Stables and saw his Horses, which were well worth seeing, they are all of the cream color kind, we were told that there were not so many as there used to be in King George the 2^d time: in the afternoon, we went to the country palace called Herrenhausen, which is about a mile, a very pleasant walk from Hanover this.

This House is pleasantly situated in the garden, and is but
 small for a palace, old fashioned, & made of wood painted blue,
 it was so badly looked after, that the grass grew all over the
 court yard, before the House, notwithstanding I was told, there
 was money enough allowed to keep it in good order. The Sta-
 tues and Figures in the garden wanted cleaning & painting.
 in this garden is a small cascade & several fountains
 one of which plays very high, I was told 80 feet. The garden
 is about half a mile long, & very prettily laid out, with
 shady walks &c, upon the whole it is a pretty spot; the
 city is about a mile in length, and 3 miles round, the coun-
 try of Hanover, is about 200 miles in length, they say there
 are Gold and Silver Mines there; the country between
 Hanover & Hamborough is very sandy and bad, and a great
 deal of it barren ground, and black heaths; we saw but
 very few Villages, and those but thinly inhabited; we were
 very bad off for carriages in this country, and was obliged
 to put up with open waggons, and hard seats; and not-
 withstanding we had extra post, and paid so dear, I was
 so jumbled that I was obliged to lay down on some straw
 in the bottom of the Waggon, for I could bear it no longer.
 This country extends quite to the water opposite Hambo-
 rough

This house is pleasantly situated in the garden and is but
 small for a palace, old fashioned & made of wood painted
 blue. It was so badly looked after that the grass grew all over
 the courtyard before the house, notwithstanding, I was told,
 there was money enough allowed to keep it in good order. The
 statues and figures in the garden wanted cleaning & painting.
 In this garden is a small cascade & several fountains, one of
 which plays very high, I was told 80 feet. The garden is about
 half a mile long & very prettily laid out, with shady walks
 etc.; upon the whole it is a pretty spot. The city is about a
 mile in length and 3 miles round. The country of Hanover is
 about 200 miles in length; they say there are gold and silver
 mines there. The country between Hanover & Hamburg is
 very sandy and bad, and a great deal of it barren ground and
 black heaths; we saw but very few villages and those but thinly
 inhabited. We were very bad off for carriages in this country
 and was obliged to put up with open waggons and hard seats;
 and notwithstanding we had extra post and paid so dear, I
 was so jumbled that I was obliged to lay down on some straw
 in the bottom of the waggon, for I could bear it no longer.
 This country extends quite to the water opposite Hamburg,

where we took a boat. In our road to this place we passed through Zell, which is an old city 30 miles from Hanover, and from Zell to Hamburg 78. We landed at Hamburg June the 14th about noon, and as soon as we landed we met a Mr Brown, an English gentleman, on the quay; he kept an English house²⁵ and we went and dined there, and sent for Mr Sass, a gentleman of Mr Wirgman's acquaintance, who spent the afternoon with us; he had been in England and could speak English very well. June 15th after breakfast we went upon the 'Change, and I was surprised to see such a number of people there, more than I ever saw upon our 'Change in London. They have a very good coffee-house there, where they take in all the London papers etc., and there are two billiard tables which I thought would have been better elsewhere. In the afternoon we went to what they call the Boam House, which has a very flat roof on which we could see all the city and the river, in which were a number of vessels etc. It was a pleasing sight, for the town and harbour is very conveniently situated, and is the key of all Germany for trade. The country round the city is very pleasant and affords many fine views. The streets in the city are broad but in general badly paved, and the houses in general are very good and well-built. In the evening we took a walk

rough, where we took a Boat; in our road to this place we pass'd through Zell, which is an old City, 30 miles from Hanover, and from Zell to Hamborough 78: we landed at Hamborough, June the 14th about noon, and, soon as we landed, we met a M^r Brown, an English Gentleman, on the Quay, he kept an English House, and we went and din'd there, and sent for M^r Sass, a Gentleman of M^r Weigman's Acquaintance, who spent the afternoon with us, he had been in England, and could speak English very well. - June 15th after Breakfast we went upon the Change, and I was surpriz'd to see such a number of people there, more than I ever saw upon our 'Change in London, they have a very good Coffee-house there, where they take in all the London papers &c, and there are two Billiard Tables, which I thought would have been better elsewhere: in the afternoon, we went to what they call the Boam House, which has a very flat Roof, on which we could see all the City and the River in which were a number of Vessels &c, it was a pleasing sight, for the Town and Harbor is very conveniently situated, and is the key of all Germany for Trade, the Country round the City, is very pleasant, and affords many fine views; the Streets in the City are broad but in general badly paved, and the Houses in general are very good, and well built; in the evening we took a walk

(76)

walk on the Ramparts, which was very pleasant, for as you walk along you have always some new prospect, presenting itself to your view. — On Saturday I bought M^{rs} Upjohn some worked ruffles of M^r Brackenwagen, and went on the top of his House, from which we had many extensive views, in the afternoon we went to a Livery Stable, and saw some very fine Horses, and Sunday after Breakfast, I waited on M^r Vaughan the English Minister, who received me very politely, he was a tall elderly Gentleman; I went to Chapel with him, & there saw a number of English Merchants (and he was so obliging as to introduce me to some of them, I dined with him at his House, where we had an elegant Dinner, for I find the Gentlemen, there are exceeding good to him, in sending him the best productions of their gardens, which makes the parson shine away, and cut a good Figure; as soon as the Afternoon Service was over, he sent for a coach, and took me to Altona, a Town about as near as Islington is to London, where we drank Tea with his Daughter, who was on a visit to a M^r Thornton an English Merchant, who had a very good House and garden situated by the side of the River Elbe, which is 3 mile over at this place; This Town is under the protection

(76)

on the ramparts, which was very pleasant for as you walk along you have always some new prospect presenting itself to your view. On Saturday I bought Mrs Upjohn some worked ruffles of Mr Brackenwagen, and went on the top of his house from which we had many extensive views. In the afternoon we went to a livery stable and saw some very fine horses; and Sunday after breakfast, I waited on Mr Vaughan, the English minister, who received me very politely; he was a tall, elderly gentleman. I went to chapel with him & there saw a number of English merchants, and he was so obliging as to introduce me to some of them. I dined with him at his house where we had an elegant dinner, for I find the gentlemen there are exceeding good to him in sending him the best productions of their gardens, which makes the parson shine away and cut a good figure. As soon as the afternoon service was over, he sent for a coach and took me to Altona, a town about as near as Islington is to London, where we drank tea with his daughter who was on a visit to a Mr Thornton, an English merchant who had a very good house and garden situated by the side of the River Elbe, which is 3 mile over at this place. This town is under the protection

of the King of Denmark, as is Hamburg, which is a republic and governed by their own laws. After spending a few very agreeable hours in Mr Thornton's country house in good and genteel company, Mr Vaughan took us back in the coach to Hamburg, in order to meet Mr Sass and Mr Willallme, Mr Sass's friend, who has likewise a very fine house, well furnished with English furniture. Mr Willallme has a very good English 12 tuned clock and case. From thence, we went and supped at Mr Sass's brother-in-law's where we staid all night, and the next morning walked to our inn and set off for what they call the strawberry country; and dined at a place called Boizenburg (a pleasant place about 25 miles up the river), in company with Mr Sass and two of his friends, and returned at night. As I had been so much fatigued in coming all the way from Hesse-Cassel to Hamburg, I was determined to buy two horses. I asked the innkeeper about it, who told me there had been an English horse-dealer over with a string of horses, & had been up as far as Hungary and sold them all; and had bought a nutmeg-grey horse to bring him back to Hamburg,

tion of the King of Denmark, as is Hamborough, which is a Republick, and governed by their own Laws; after spending a few very agreeable hours in M^r Thorntons Country-House in good and genteel company, M^r Vaughan, took us back in the Coach to Hamborough, in order to meet M^r Saff, and M^r Willallme, M^r Saff's friend, who has likewise a very fine House well furnished with English Furniture; M^r Willallme has a very good English 12 tuned Clock, and Case; from thence we went and supped at M^r Saff's Brother-in-law's, where we staid all night, and the next morning walked to our Inn, and set off for what they call the Strawberry Country, and dined at a place called Boizingbury, (a pleasant place about 25 miles up the River) in company with M^r Saff, and two of his Friends, and returned at night: - As I had been so much fatigued, in coming all the way from Hefcastle to Hamborough, I was determined to buy two Horses; I asked the Innkeeper about it, who told me there had been an English Horse-dealer over, with a string of Horses, & had been up as far as Hungary, and sold them all, and had bought a Nutmeg Grey Horse, to bring him back to Hamborough, which

which was about 15 hands high, and had a black mane and tail, and which he would sell together with a good saddle & Bridle; I went and saw the horse, and bought it for 9 guineas, and afterwards went with him, and bought another bay horse, about 15 hands high, black mane, and tail for 5 £, after which, I had a deal of trouble to get an English saddle, for my son's horse; but Mr Vaughan sent me to a friend of his, who had an English saddle that had lain in his garret 20 years, for which I gave him 2/6, now being furnished with horses & saddles, and had a pair of saddle bags with us to carry our linen, we set out on Tuesday the 19th July, with our friend Sass and Mr. Brown the Inn-keeper. we went down the river, and crossed the water, where the Ferry was 3 miles over, to go to Bremen, there were two Boats, one for us and the other for the Horses; the first town we came to was Buxtehude, 7 miles from the River, a small neat town, we lay in a cabin in a Room on the ground floor, upon a very good Down Bed, and they put another Down Bed over us to keep us warm, which was all the covering besides a sheet, & which we found rather too much at that time of the year; - The next morning, we got to Klosterhaven (24 miles) to Breakfast, and to Ottersberg (18 miles farther) to Dinner, and arrived safe at Bremen the same night; where we fell in company with a German Merchant, who travelled on horse back with a servant in the woollen way, with samples of English goods; this Merchant

which was about 15 hands high and had a black mane and tail, and which he would sell together with a good saddle & bridle. I went and saw the horse and bought it for 9 guineas, and afterwards went with him and bought another bay horse, about 15 hands high, black mane and tail, for £5. After which, I had a deal of trouble to get an English saddle for my son's horse; but Mr Vaughan sent me to a friend of his, who had an English saddle that had lain in his garret 20 years, for which I gave him 2s. 6d. Now being furnished with horses & saddles, and had a pair of saddle-bags with us to carry our linen, we set out on Tuesday the 19th July with our friend Sass and Mr Brown the innkeeper. We went down the river and crossed the water where the ferry was 3 miles over, to go to Bremen. There were two boats, one for us and the other for the horses. The first town we came to was Buxtehude, 7 miles from the river, a small neat town. We lay in a cabin in a room on the ground floor, upon a very good down bed, and they put another down bed over us to keep us warm, which was all the covering besides a sheet, & which we found rather too much at that time of the year. The next morning we got to [Kloster]Zeven (24 miles) to breakfast, and to Ottersberg (18 miles farther) to dinner, and arrived safe at Bremen the same night; where we fell in company with a German merchant who travelled on horseback with a servant in the woollen way, with samples of English goods. This merchant

was intimately acquainted with a friend of mine, a Swiss merchant at Exeter,²⁶ by which means we soon became acquainted. Bremen is a good old town, the houses in general large and painted white, and some of them ornamented with other colours. It is a town of good trade but is very inconvenient for shipping, as they cannot go within 30 miles of the town, so that all the goods are brought up in small craft of which we saw a number in the river while there. The old and new town together make a large place; the 'Change is about the size of Exeter 'Change in the Strand, and we saw but few people in it in proportion to what we saw at Hamburgh; the streets are of a good breadth but badly paved. There were no constant traders from England but several from Bremen to England, and the captains use the *Carolina* coffee-house in Birch [recte *Birchin*] Lane. They have a manufactory of duffel, such as the sailors wear. After we had seen this town and done all we could in point of business, we got a friend to note down all the proper places to stop at between Bremen and Emden.

July 22nd we set out from Bremen and arrived at a place called Delmenhorst at 6 the same evening, and lay at a very good house 7 miles from Bremen. The 23rd we breakfasted at Oldenburg. We called at a lone house on the road to dine, but this inn was like a large barn;

was intimately acquainted with a friend of mine, a Swiss Merchant at Exeter, by which means we soon became acquainted; Bremen is a good old Town, the Houses in general large and painted white, and some of them ornamented with other colors, it is a Town of good Trade, but is very inconvenient for Shipping, as they cannot go within 30 Miles of the Town, so that all the Goods are brought up in Small-craft, of which we saw a number in the River, while there; the old and new town together make a large place; the 'Change is about the size of Exeter 'Change in the Strand, and we saw but few people in it, in proportion to what we saw at Hambrough; the Streets are of a good breadth, but badly paved; there were no constant Traders from England, but several from Bremen to England, and the Captains use the *Carolina* Coffee House, in Birch Lane; they have a Manufactory of Duffel, such as the Sailors wear; after we had seen this Town, and done all we could in point of Business, we got a friend to note down all the proper places to stop at between Bremen and Emden.

July 22. we set out from Bremen, and arrived at a place called Delmenhorst at 6 the same evening, and lay at a very good house 7 miles from Bremen; - the 23. we Breakfasted at Oldenburg; we called at a Lone House on the road to Dine; but this Inn was like a large Barn
at

at the farthest end, was a place for Horses, cows, pigs, Ducks, Geese &c, and towards the road were 2 or 3 shabby boarded rooms for the Family, in one of them was a fire place like a Smith's forge, but without a chimney, so that all the smoke went out at the Doors and Windows, as it could find vent; the Landlady, was without Shoes or Stockings, as well as the rest of the Family, and her skin looked like a gammon of Bacon, we asked what she had to eat, she said that she had Swart Bread and Butter, which is black Bread, as black as your hat and some bad Rhenish wine to drink; as we could not eat this, we had recourse to what our pockets would produce, which was a German Polony, that M^r Labhard gave me at Hef-castle, and some small Bread, which we found went down pretty sweet; we intended supping at a place called Lare, but we found the roads so bad, and besides it was late, in going thro a Village about 5 miles from the above Inn, I saw a good looking Man standing at the Door of a ^{Looking} good Inn and desired my Son to ask him if we could be entertained there, and he said with any thing as we beleieft, viz. with any thing we pleased to have; so, for fear of our being caught in the dark, on some of their Blackheaths & commons, I thought it best to put up here; we got off from
our

at the farthest end was a place for horses, cows, pigs, ducks, geese etc., and towards the road were 2 or 3 shabby boarded rooms for the family. In one of them was a fire-place like a smith's forge, but without a chimney so that all the smoke went out at the doors and windows as it could find vent. The landlady was without shoes or stockings, as well as the rest of the family, and her skin looked like a gammon of bacon. We asked what she had to eat, she said that she had swart bread and butter, which is black bread as black as your hat, and some bad Rhenish wine to drink. As we could not eat this, we had recourse to what our pockets would produce, which was a German Polony²⁷ that Mr Labhard gave me at Hesse-Cassel, and some small bread, which we found went down pretty sweet. We intended supping at a place called Leer, but we found the roads so bad and besides it was late. In going through a village about 5 miles from the above inn, I saw a good-looking man standing at the door of a good-looking inn and desired my son to ask him if we could be entertained there, and he said with anything as we beleieft, viz. with anything we pleased to have; so for fear of our being caught in the dark on some of their black heaths & commons, I thought it best to put up here. We got off from

our horses and the landlord took them into a large, wild place called a stable, but there was neither hay, straw nor corn; neither was there any hostler. We sent the landlord to borrow some hay and straw, and instead of corn, we gave the horses black bread for their suppers. There was not a halter to tie the horses up with, and I found it was not the custom in that country for the landlords to find halters, for the German woollen draper and his servant had both bridles and halters about the horses' necks. The landlord was so fuddled he could do nothing, so that we were obliged to be our own hostlers. When we had taken care of the horses, we desired him to show us into the house, which he did and took us into a dirt-floor room, and it being Saturday night, we found 5 or 6 great strapping fellows with their wives drinking and smoking over gin, who were to be our companions during the night. We asked the landlady what she could produce for us to eat, and she replied in the usual manner, "Anything that we beleift," so we asked her what? She said "Swart bread and butter", which I could not eat. I desired my son to tell her to boil some eggs in the shells, which was done, but they were boiled so hard I could scarce get them down. I saw it was in vain to ask for anything else, so we very contentedly ate our eggs, and called for some

our Horses, and the Landlord took them in to a large wild place, call'd a Stable, but there was neither Hay, Straw nor Corn, neither was there any Hostler, we sent the Landlord to borrow some Hay and Straw, and instead of Corn, we gave the Horses Black Bread, for their Suppers, there was not a Halter to tie the Horses up with, and I found it was not the custom in that country, for the Landlord, to find Halters, for the German Woollen Draper, and his servant had both Bridles, and Halters about the Horses necks, the Landlord was so fuddled, he could do nothing, so that we were obliged to be our own Hostlers; when we had taken care of the Horses, we desired him to shew us into the House, which he did, and took us into a dirt-floor Room, and it being Saturday night, we found 5 or 6 great strapping Fellows, with their Wives drinking and smoking over Gin, who were to be our Companions, during the night; we asked the Landlady what she could procure for us to eat, and she replied in the usual manner, "Any thing that we beleift," so we asked her, what? she said "Swart Bread & Butter", which I could not eat; I desired my Son to tell her to boil some Eggs in the Shells, which was done, but they were boild so hard, I could scarce get them down; I saw it was in vain to ask for any thing else, so we very contentedly eat our Eggs, and called for some
of

of their poor Rhenish Wine, and smoke our pipe amidst these Country Fellows, with their Wives, who had very short Petticoats, and neither Stockings, or Shoes, which displayed their Legs that were all over Clay and Dirt; you must needs think them sweet companions, and very tempting Figures, but I find all the ^{common} women in that Country go in the same manner; I observed them full of glee, and talking away, and, as my Son understood the Language, I desired him to take notice what they were talking so earnest about; - at that time, I had on a Pompadour coloured Coat, with a Green Waistcoat, embroidered with a running sprig of Gold, Bag Wig, and Sword, upon my asking my Son what they were talking of, he said it was all about me, "Who is he" says they one to the other, another said he knew me extremely well, adding "he is a Brother of the King of Prussia's", they all seemed to be much pleased with our Company, and were very merry over their Gin and pipes; but we wanted them gone, for it was late and we were tired, & fatigued with riding so far; when they were all gone, which was not till Eleven O'clock, we asked the Landlady to show us our Bed, and she being in the same Dirt floor Room, where those dirty people had been, pointing to the

of their poor Rhenish wine and smoked our pipe amidst these country fellows, with their wives who had very short petticoats and neither stockings or shoes, which displayed their legs that were all over clay and dirt. You must needs think them sweet companions and very tempting figures, but I find all the common women in that country go in the same manner. I observed them full of glee and talking away, and as my son understood the language, I desired him to take notice what they were talking so earnest about. At that time, I had on a Pompadour-coloured coat with a green waistcoat embroidered with a running sprig of gold, bag-wig and sword; upon my asking my son what they were talking of, he said it was all about me. "Who is he?" says they one to the other; another said he knew me extremely well, adding, "He is a brother of the King of Prussia's." They all seemed to be much pleased with our company, and were very merry over their gin and pipes; but we wanted them gone, for it was late and we were tired & fatigued with riding so far. When they were all gone, which was not till eleven o'clock, we asked the landlady to show us our bed, and she being in the same dirt-floor room where those dirty people had been, pointing to

the side of the room, told us that was our sleeping place, which was a cabin in the side of the room where the maid slept, and close to that was one for themselves; and notwithstanding I was taken for the King of Prussia's brother, we were obliged to sleep in the maid's bed in this nasty room, and the maid sat up by the fire. We desired her to call us at day-light, but I suppose she wanted to come to bed, and came and awaked us at one o'clock out of a sound sleep, so that we were obliged to lay till day-light in this nasty place. As soon as we could see, which was at 3 o'clock, we got up, took our horses and set off, and was glad to get out to the fresh air. We got to breakfast, Sunday morning, at Emden, 20 miles from the place where we slept. We found Emden a pretty seaport town, well fortified & planned, the streets in right angles but badly paved. We rested here all the day Sunday, and as we were walking about to see the town, we met an officer & a lady walking together, and in passing by them, he took off my son's hat and hit him a slap on the face with it, and my son was so modest not to ask him the reason of it, for which I was very angry with him. When we came back to our inn and told the story, they said he was the Governor of the town, and that he did so because we did not pull off our hats to him. I had a great mind to write a letter to the King, his master, and acquaint him how ill he treated the King of England's

the side of the Room, told us that was our sleeping place, which was a cabin in the side of the room where the maid slept, and close to that, was one for themselves, and notwithstanding I was taken for the King of Prussia's Brother, we were obliged to sleep in the Maids bed in this nasty Room, and the maid sat up by the fire, we desired her to call us at Day-light, but I suppose she wanted to come to Bed, and came and awaked us at one O'clock, out of a sound sleep, so that we were obliged to lay till Day light, in this nasty place; as soon as we could see, which was at 3 O'clock, we got up, took our Horses, and set off, and was glad to get out to the fresh air, we got to Breakfast, Sunday morning, at Emden, 20 miles from the place where we slept, we found Emden a pretty Sea-port Town, well fortified, & planned, the Streets in right angles, but badly paved, we rested here all the Day Sunday, and as we were walking about to see the Town, we met an Officer & a Lady walking together, and in passing by them, he took off my Son's Hat, and hit him a slap on the Face with it, and my Son was so modest, not to ask him the reason of it, for which I was very angry with him; when we came back to our Inn, and told the Story, they said he was the Governor of the Town, and that he did so because we did not pull off our hats to him, I had a great mind to write a Letter to the King, his Master, and acquaint him how ill he treated the King of England,

lands Subjects, upon enquiry I was told he was an ill-natured fellow, and if I had wrote he would have been broke for it, and turned out of his place: we did ^{not} know him to be the Governor - nor, he should have had it wrote on his fore-head, and that we were to pull off our Hats to him; the foolish fellow could not think we, as Strangers, were acquainted with their foolish Customs; the Women in this Town, wears Caps like small Bonnets, they look very neat, and are remarkably clean.

July 25th at 10 O'clock, we left Emden, and at 5 in the afternoon came to a Ferry 5 miles on the road, where we took a sailing Boat, and went 4 Miles, across the Water, and about 10 in the Evening got to Nieuwe Schance, the first Town in Holland, a small neat Sea-port, we got to a good House, where was very good Stabling for our Horses, and every thing in such order, that it was like coming into a new World, as we had ^{not} seen such a thing a long time before, unless it was in some capital Town; Now I was obliged to pay duty for my Horses, as it was the first Town in Groningen, I paid six Guilders (which is more than 12/6) for each Horse, besides 6 Stivers to the Officers, for which they give us a pass, and if you return that way with the same Horses, they will give you your Money again; All Horses brought into that Country, pay the same Duty, and to prevent mistakes they take money of every one that passes; but you may take

subjects. Upon enquiry, I was told he was an ill-natured fellow, and if I had wrote he would have been broke for it and turned out of his place. We did not know him to be the Governor - he should have had it wrote on his forehead - and that we were to pull off our hats to him; the foolish fellow could not think we, as strangers, were acquainted with their foolish customs. The women in this town wear caps like small bonnets, they look very neat and are remarkably clean.

July 25th at 10 o'clock we left Emden, and at 5 in the afternoon came to a ferry 5 miles on the road, where we took a sailing boat and went 4 miles across the water; and about 10 in the evening got to Nieuweschans, the first town in Holland, a small neat seaport. We got to a good house where was a very good stabling for our horses, and everything in such order that it was like coming into a new world, as we had not seen such a thing a long time before, unless it was in some capital town. Here I was obliged to pay duty for my horses, as it was the first town in Groningen. I paid six guilders (which is more than 12s.) for each horse, besides 6 stivers to the officers, for which they gave us a pass, and if you return that way with the same horses, they will give you your money again. All horses brought into that country pay the same duty, and to prevent mistakes they take money of every one that passes; but you may

take horses in any part of the Dutch territories, to go out and in again and not pay duty, provided you bring back the same horses, and I am informed the same duty is paid in coming through any part of Holland. Nine miles from this town, we came to a very pretty village called Winschoten, and got to a very good house near the bridge, very pleasantly situated; I can assure you it gave me great pleasure to see the neatness of this, for really it is admirable and beyond description. After leaving this place, we came to another very pretty village called Scheemda, where we found a very good man of our business who was glad to see us and whose name was H. Cranenburg; we stayed & smoked a pipe with him.

July the 25th we arrived safe at Groningen about 10 o'clock, and the next morning went amongst the trade & found some very good men who were all glad to see us. Groningen is a very fine town, has exceeding good market places with broad streets well paved; the sides on which the people walk are paved with clinkers.²⁸ There are very good churches, public buildings and houses, all very clean. I think it as neat and compact a city as any in all the provinces of Holland, and has a very good harbour and is a place of good trade. The country all through this province is very fine; the sheep, horses, cows, & beasts of every kind are very fine here,

take Horses in any part of the Dutch Territories, to go out and in again, and not pay Duty, provided you bring back the same Horses, and I am informed the same Duty is paid in coming thro any part of Holland. - Nine miles from this Town we came to a very pretty Village, called Wanschoot, and got to a very good House near the Bridge, very pleasantly situated; I am assure you it gave me great pleasure to see the neatness of this, for really it is admirable and beyond description, after leaving this place, we came to another very pretty Village, called Scheemda, where we found a very good Man of our Business, who was glad to see us, and whose ^{name} was ~~H.~~ Cranenburg, we stayed & smoked a pipe with him.

July the 25th we arrived safe at Gronogan, about 10 O'clock, and the next morning went amongst the Trade, & found some very good Men, who were all glad to see us. - Gronogan is a very fine Town, has exceeding good Market places with Broad Streets well paved, the sides on which the people walk are paved with clinkers; there are very good Churches, public Buildings and Houses, all very clean; I think it as neat and compact a City as any in all the provinces of Holland, and has a very good Harbour, and ^{is} a place of good Trade; - The Country all through this province is very fine the Sheep, Horses, Cows, & Beasts of every kind are very fine here. and

and the country abounds with Gentlemen's Houses & Gardens; even the little cottages that you pass by are so neat, that I think no man can view them without being greatly pleased; in short this country is all a garden, and I was in love with its neatness every where; this is the country where the large, black trotting Horses are bred; I think this Town and province, much exceeds any of the provinces of the United States of Holland, but not for Trade, July 27th we arrived at Leeuwarden, the Capital of West Friesland, the road from Groningen to this Town is very good & pleasant; this City is large and well fortified, good Streets and Houses; and all the Canals, from the City to other Towns and the Sea, are Navigable, which renders it a good place of Trade; the House where we dined was extremely neat. - From Leeuwarden we went to another very neat Town called Franeker, in which is an University, as neat a place as hands can make; and Harlingen is another neat Sea-port Town, from this place you can see 15 Islands, all inhabited, in the largest are 7 or 8 Villages, in the next 2, in the third 2, and in the other four largest one Village each, and the small ones have one House on each of them; - at this place lay several Men of War and the Prince of Orange's Yacht, in the centre of the Town. From this Town we went to Bolsward, a very good Market.

Town

and the country abounds with gentlemen's houses & gardens; even the little cottages that you pass by are so neat that I think no man can view them without being greatly pleased. In short, this country is all a garden and I was in love with its neatness everywhere. This is the country where the large, black trotting horses are bred. I think this town and province much exceeds any of the provinces of the United States of Holland, but not for trade.

July 27th we arrived at Leeuwarden, the capital of West Friesland. The road from Groningen to this town is very good & pleasant. This city is large and well fortified, good streets and houses, and all the canals from the city to other towns and the sea are navigable, which renders it a good place of trade. The house where we dined was extremely neat. From Leeuwarden we went to another very neat town called Franeker in which is an university, as neat a place as hands can make; and Harlingen is another neat seaport town. From this place you can see 15 islands, all inhabited; in the largest are 7 or 8 villages; in the next 2; in the third 2; and in the other four largest, one village each; and the small ones have one house in each of them. At this place lay several men-of-war and the Prince of Orange's yacht in the centre of the town. From this town we went to Bolsward, a very good market

town with a very good Town House. From thence we went to Sneek, and from thence to Oudeschoot where we stopped at a lone house by the river-side which was very neat. From thence we went to Zwolle, a very good town in Overijssel, which has a small river runs through it which renders it a place of trade. This town is well fortified and planted with rows of trees; there is a good market place, with good churches and streets with several good public and private buildings. From thence we went to Deventer, a very large town strongly fortified and the ditches full of water; there are 3 or 4 well built churches in this town, with good streets and houses, and is a place of good trade. From thence we went to Zutphen, a good town in Gelderland with a good market place and State House, and a very handsome church; it stands by a side of the river, over which is a bridge that divides it in two parts which are distinguished by the Old and New Town; there is a high brick tower which is reckoned one of their principal ornaments. From Zutphen we went to Nijmegen, which is a large and populous city and is the capital of Gelderland; it stands on a branch of the Rhine called the Waal and is very hilly; the castle stands very high, from which you can see all over Germany. This being a Barrier town²⁹ is very

Town, with a very good Town-House; from thence we went to Snake, and from thence to Oudskond, where we stopped at a lone house by the river-side which was very neat; from thence we went to Zwoll, a very good Town in Overijssell, which has a small river runs thro it, which renders it a place of Trade, This Town is well fortified, and planted with rows of Trees, there is a good Market-place with good Churches, and Streets, with several good public and private Buildings; from thence we went to Deventer a very large Town, strongly fortified, and the Ditches full of Water, there are 3 or 4 well built Churches in this Town, with good Streets and Houses, (and is a place of good Trade); from thence we went to Zutphen, a good Town in Gelderland, with a good Market-place and Statehouse, and a very handsome Church, it stands by the side of a River, over which is a Bridge that divides it in two parts, which are distinguished by the Old and new Town; there is a high brick Tower which is reckoned one of their principal Ornaments: from Zutphen we went to Nimeguen, which is a large and populous City, and is the Capital of Gelderland, it stands on a Branch of the Rhine called the Waal, and is very Hilly; the Castle stands very high, from which you can see all over Germany. This being a Barrier Town is very
strong

strong, the Streets are of a good Breadth, and Houses well built, there are a number of Churches, of which St. Stephens is thought the finest; there is a very good Town House in which are Statues of several Emperors, and there are two very good Hospitals for the poor; at this place, I bought a four wheeled carriage made of Wicker, like a cradle, it had a head to it like our one-horse chaise, and was long enough to sleep in; it was well secured from Rain and Bad weather, and had a cellar, or place, to put every thing you may want to carry, it cost me but £4 14s. 6d. so I left it at the Inn, till I should come the next year, and then my Son James & myself made use of it, to go to Frankfurt. - From thence we went to Utrecht, the Capital of the Province, situated on the Channel of the old Rhine, the Market-place is very fine & the Streets (and Houses are well built and paved, there are several canals running through the Town, and I suppose about 30 Bridges over them; it is a well fortified Town, with fine rows of Trees planted round it, and the Country round is very rich and fine; we went upon the Steeple of the great Church, which is 460 steps high, and it is surprising to see the vast extent of the Country from this Tower, I believe we did not see less than 40 or 50 Towns; they have a University

and

strong, the streets are of a good breadth and houses well-built; there are a number of churches of which St Stephen's is thought the finest. There is a very good Town House in which are statues of several emperors, and there are two very good hospitals for the poor. At this place I bought a four-wheeled carriage made of wicker like a cradle; it had a head to it like our one-horse chaise and was long enough to sleep in. It was well secured from rain and bad weather, and had a cellar or place to put everything you may want to carry. It cost me but £4 14s. 6d. so I left it at the inn till I should come the next year, and then my son James & myself made use of it to go to Frankfurt. From thence we went to Utrecht, the capital of the province, situated on the channel of the old Rhine; the market place is very fine & the streets and houses are well-built and paved; there are several canals running through the town, and I suppose about 30 bridges over them. It is a well fortified town with fine rows of trees planted round it, and the country round is very rich and fine. We went upon the steeple of the Great Church which is 460 steps high, and it is surprising to see the vast extent of the country from this tower; I believe we did not see less than 40 or 50 towns. They have a university

and a good public library well stocked with books. The gentlemen are very neat about their gardens; we went and saw one of them, which was extremely neat and prettily laid out but rather too formal. From this town, there is the finest canal in all the country, and all the way as you go to Amsterdam there are a great many gentlemen's houses, which are so well taken care of that I think nothing of the kind can exceed it. From Utrecht we went to Arnhem, a large city well fortified in the province of Gelderland; it has 4 gates and several good churches, of which the Great Church is the finest and is remarkable for a fine set of bells. The houses are well-built and streets well paved. It is a great thoroughfare to Germany & is a place of good trade. Amersfoort is likewise a good town in the province of Utrecht, from which it is 14 miles and 25 from Amsterdam. It stands in a fruitful and pleasant country and contains two churches and several public buildings; the houses are good and everything appears very neat and clean. From thence we went to Amsterdam, which is the capital of Holland and as great a place for trade as any in the world of its size. I shall not attempt to give a full description of Amsterdam as it is impossible; therefore shall only take notice of a few things of my own observation, and refer my readers to some other publication. The most remarkable

(89)
and a good public Library, well stocked with Books, the gentlemen are very neat about their gardens, we went and saw one of them, which was extremely neat, and prettily laid out, but rather too formal; from this Town there is the finest canal in all the country, and all the way as you go to Amsterdam there are a great many gentlemen's Houses, which are so well taken care of, that I think nothing of the kind can exceed it. — From Utrecht, we went to Arnhem, a large City well fortified, in the province of Gelderland, it has 4 gates, and several good Churches, of which the great Church is the finest (and is remarkable for a fine set of Bells, the Houses are well built, and Streets well paved, it is a great thoroughfare to Germany & is a place of good Trade. — Amersfoort is likewise a good Town in the province of Utrecht, from which it is 14 Miles, and 25 from Amsterdam, it stands in a fruitful and pleasant country, and contains two Churches, and several public Buildings, the Houses are good and every thing appears very neat and clean; — From thence we went to Amsterdam, which is the Capital of Holland, and as great a place for Trade as any in the world of its size: I shall not attempt to give a full description of Amsterdam, as it is impossible, therefore shall only take notice of a few things of my own observation, and refer my readers to some other publication. — The most remarkable

markable thing I saw, was the State-house, of which I have a description in English, and is the most elegant Building I have seen, but I think the Front is spoiled, by the seven Arches, which gives it an odd appearance; it is built upon 13659, piles of Wood, which are drove into the ground, and serves for the foundation, it is 3 stories high, the 1st is 12 feet high, the 2^d is 36, and the 3^d the same, and all the Chambers are of the same height; the breadth of it is 282 feet, the Depth is 235, and the height is 116 Feet, to the top of the Roof, and to the top of the Cupola is 41 feet from the Roof; it is astonishing to see the many different Apartments that are in this large place, it is extremely well worth any Strangers Notice, there are a Number of Ornaments and different Paintings which are in general exceeding well done; the City is built on the River Amstel, and an Arm of the Sea, which occasions it to form a crescent, it is very well fortified with strong Walls, and two rows of Trees on them, the Gates are 8 in number, and are amazingly strong; there are Canals, in most of the Streets, with two rows of Trees planted on each side of them; the Houses in general are built with Brick, and some with Freestone, with very long Entries paved with Marble, and the sides of some, are lined with the same

thing I saw was the State House, of which I have a description in English and is the most elegant building I have seen, but I think the front is spoiled by the seven arches which gives it an odd appearance. (fig. 9) It is built upon 13,659 piles of wood, which are drove into the ground and serves for the foundation. It is 3 stories high: the 1st is 12 feet high, the 2nd is 36, and the 3rd the same, and all the chambers are of the same height. The breadth of it is 282 feet, the depth is 235, and the height is 116 feet to the top of the roof, and to the top of the cupola is 41 feet from the roof. It is astonishing to see the many different apartments that are in this large place, it is extremely well worth any stranger's notice, there are a number of ornaments and different paintings which are in general exceeding well done. The city is built on the River Amstel and an arm of the sea, which occasions it to form a crescent. It is very well fortified, with strong walls and two rows of trees on them; the gates are 8 in number and are amazingly strong. Here are canals in most of the streets, with two rows of trees planted on each side of them. The houses in general are built with brick, and some with freestone, with very long entries paved with marble and the sides of some are lined with the

same, and the houses in general are exceeding neat and clean; the merchants' stables are better than many houses in other countries. The streets in the town are in general long and elegant, and there are a number of good churches. They have likewise a good harbour, but it is attended with some trouble in getting the men-of-war into the harbour; they are obliged to lay great wooden things under them which I think they call camels, and when the tide is near flood, these camels raise the ship so high that they can get over the shoal part of the harbour and come in.³⁰ There is a deal of shipping belonging to this city, and the conveyance by water to all the different cities & towns is very pleasing, for I once went from hence to Utrecht with my son and another gentleman by water. We took a tongue and some bread & butter for our suppers, and set out in the boat at 8 o'clock at night; and after we had supped on board, we drank two bottles of wine and smoked our pipe very agreeably, and then laid ourselves down on some soft velvet cushions and slept; and we arrived safe at Utrecht by 5 o'clock the next morning and was then fit for doing business. The expense of going in this manner is no more than 3d. per mile, and if you go as a common man, you pay

same, and the Houses in general are exceeding neat and clean, the Merchants Stables are better than many Houses in other Countries; the Streets in this Town are in general long, and elegant, and there are a number of good Churches; they have likewise a good Harbour, but it is attended with some trouble in getting the Men of war into the Harbour, they are obliged to lay great wooden things under them, which I think they call Camels, and when the Tide is near Flood, these Camels raise the Ship, so high, that they can get over the shoal part of the Harbour, and come in; there is a deal of Shipping belonging to this City, and the conveyance by water to all the different Cities & Towns is very pleasing for I once went from hence to Utrecht with my Son, and another Gentleman, by water, we took a Tongue and some Bread & Butter for our Suppers, and set out in the Boat at 8 O'clock at night; and after we had supped on board, we drank two Bottles of Wine and smoked our pipe, very agreeably, and then laid ourselves down on some soft velvet cushions, and slept, and we arrived safe at Utrecht by 5 O'clock the next morning, and was then fit for doing Business; The expence of going in this manner is no more than 3 Pence, and if you go as a Common Man, you pay about

about half that sum, almost to any part of Holland; after settling my son here, I sold one of my horses to Mr. Stunckin, the gentleman my son was to live with; and when I had finished all my business, which was very considerable there, I set out with my son James, to Harlem, where we saw the finest Organ in the world, to hear it, you would think there were 500 people singing, the Church is reckoned one of the finest in the country; the City of Harlem, is very clean & neat, good Streets, well paved, and good Houses, chiefly built with Brick, with water running thro all the Streets; this is the place where the Linen, called Holland, is bleached &c, the most part is made in Germany; the Stadt-house is a very good one, standing in the Market place, and there are many valuable pictures in it. Harlem is 7 Miles from Amsterdam, from which you may go very commodiously by water, it is a place of good Trade, and they not only bleach Linen there, but make Ribbons, Tapes, fine Threads, &c, this is the place where printing was first invented by Laurence Coster, who they say, cut out some Letters, or Types, in wood, and printed a few Lines for the use of some children, and afterwards invented making some Ink, which answered his purpose, after this he made some Letters out of pewter, and it is said that one of his servants stole his Masters Letters, and printing Materials, while the family was at Church, and took them to Mainz, where he set up a printing Shop. There are boats, going and

about half that sum almost to any part of Holland. After settling my son here, I sold one of my horses to Mr Stunckin, the gentleman my son was to live with; and when I had finished all my business, which was very considerable there, I set out with my son James to Haarlem, where we saw the finest organ in the world; to hear it, you would think there were 500 people singing. The church is reckoned one of the finest in the country. The city of Haarlem is very clean & neat, good streets well paved, and good houses chiefly built with brick, with water running through all the streets. This is the place where the linen called Holland is bleached etc., the most part is made in Germany. The Stadt-house is a very good one, standing in the market place, and there are many valuable pictures in it. Haarlem is 7 miles from Amsterdam, from which you may go very commodiously by water; it is a place of good trade, and they not only bleach linen there but make ribbons, tapes, fine threads etc. This is the place where printing was first invented by Laurence Coster, who they say cut out some letters or types in wood and printed a few lines for the use of some children, and afterwards invented making some ink which answered his purpose. After this, he made some letters out of pewter, and it is said that one of his servants stole his master's letters and printing materials while the family was at church, and took them to Mainz where he set up a printing shop. There are boats going and coming every hour; from Harlem we went to

Leiden, which is well known for its university, and at which place are a number of curious things to be seen. I remember seeing a number of stuffed animals, insects etc. in spirits, and skeletons of men and beasts, and a great many curious plants. They have a very good library, and I am informed they have had near 2,000 students at a time; they don't wear gowns but dress all with swords, and they board at the different houses about the town. Among the curiosities, they show you an ape and a cat that came into the world with wings, and a monster out of a hen's egg. This city is large and handsome with a number of fine streets, one of which is near a mile long and I think as fine a street as I ever saw, with several public buildings in it; I think they call it Papengracht. I have many a time come out of the door at Mrs Maccarties at the *Golden Ball* to admire this street, which is much like the High Street at Oxford. This town stands upon a river which runs through it, and there are a number of canals running through the streets which divide the city into 50 islands. There are 180 streets, 145 bridges and 8 gates, and the city ditches are broad and deep. The rampart on one side of the town is made of earth, and the other side is faced with brick and has some bastions; the ditches are adorned with rows of trees, as are the canals in the

and coming every hour; from Harlem we went to Leyden, which is well known for its University, and at which place are a number of curious things to be seen; I remember seeing a number of stuffed Animals, Insects &c. in Spirits, and Skeletons of Men and Beasts, and a great many curious plants; they have a very good Library, and I am informed they have had near 2000 Students at a time, they don't wear Gowns, but dress all with Swords, and they board at the different Houses about the Town; among the curiosities, they show you an Ape and a Cat that came into the world with wings, and a Monster out of a Hen's egg; This City is large and handsome, with a number of fine Streets, one of which is ^{near} a Mile long, and I think as fine a Street as I ever saw, with several public Buildings in it, I think they call it Papengracht. I have many a time come out of the Door at Mrs Maccarties at the Golden Ball, to admire this Street, which is much like the High Street at Oxford; This Town stands upon a River which runs through it, and there are a number of Canals running thro the Streets, which divides the City into 50 Islands; there are 180 Streets, 145 Bridges, and 8 Gates, and the City ditches are broad and deep; the Rampart on one side of the Town is made of Earth, and the other side is faced with Brick, and has some Bastions, the Ditches are adorned with rows of Trees, as are the Canals in the Streets

Streets, which are very broad, and exceeding clean, and I am informed there are 40 Towers on the walls; there is a round stone Tower, called the Burgh, in the middle of the Town, which is 610 feet in Circumference, and 50 steps to go up to it; they say it was built 500 years ago, from the top of it you have a fine view of the City, and country round, and Haarlemmermeer, which is a fine Water, and where many Vessels sail; there are a great many Churches in this City, and the great Church is reckoned the finest, and I believe is not inferior to any in Holland, it had formerly a very fine high Steeple, and used to serve as a Sea-mark to Ships; the Stadt-house is a very fine Building, with a stone Front; there is a fine painting of the ^{Last} Day of Judgement in the Burgomasters room, which is very well executed; This City, was formerly famous for Woollen Cloth, but I was told by a Gentleman of that Business, that it was almost gone from the Town, and that there were but few of the Manufacturers left; upon the whole, it is as fine a City, as most I have seen, but a place of no great Trade. - From Leyden I went to the Hague, which is an exceeding fine Town, and as large as many of their Cities, pleasantly situated in a fine Country amidst a number of fine Fields, and Villages, it stands high and on a good

streets, which are very broad and exceeding clean, and I am informed there are 40 towers on the walls. There is a round stone tower called the Burgh [Burcht] in the middle of the town, which is 610 feet in circumference and 50 steps to go up to it; they say it was built 500 years ago; from the top of it you have a fine view of the city and country round and Haarlemmermeer, which is a fine water and where many vessels sail. There are a great many churches in this city, and the Great Church is reckoned the finest and I believe is not inferior to any in Holland; it had formerly a very fine, high steeple and used to serve as a sea-mark to ships. The Stadt-house is a very fine building with a stone front; there is a fine painting of the Last Day of Judgement in the Burgomaster's room, which is very well executed. This city was formerly famous for woollen cloth, but I was told by a gentleman of that business that it was almost gone from the town, and that there were but few of the manufacturers left. Upon the whole, it is as fine a city as most I have seen, but a place of no great trade. From Leiden I went to The Hague, which is an exceeding fine town and as large as many of their cities, pleasantly situated in a fine country amidst a number of fine fields and villages; it stands high and on a good

soil. On the outside of this town, you can see the city of Delft to the south, and to the north is a fine wood, and on the west a walk to Scheveningen, (& the sea), which is a very agreeable walk and a pretty village, the church and spire is in view all the way. I remember being there with my friend Mayaffree, where we smoked our pipes at a pleasant house commanding a view of the sea. The walks all around and about this town are very open and airy, the streets and buildings are very open and elegant. The Prince of Orange's palace is in the centre of it, which is moated all round in case of a riot. This is the residence for the Stadholder and States General, and where the Court is held for all public business. There is nothing very striking about the house, but in the middle of the court is a great hall something like Westminster Hall, (fig. 10) and the inside walls and ceilings are adorned with colours, drums and other trophies of war which they have at different times taken from their enemies, and the names of the battles and times of being taken specified under them separately. In this hall they have many different pleadings. The chamber where the States General assemble is hung with tapestry, and the other is adorned with the pictures of six Princes of Orange at full length, very well executed, and over the chimney is the picture of Prudence and at the other end that of Fortitude. The Chamber of Truce is a very fine room and contains some good

Good Soil; on the outside of this Town you can see the City of Delft to the South, and to the North is a fine Wood, and on the West a Walk to Scheveling, (& the Sea) which is a very agreeable walk, and a pretty Village, the Church and Spire is in view all the way; I remember being there with my friend Mayaffree, where we smoked our pipes at a pleasant House commanding a view of the Sea, the walks all around and about this Town are very open and airy, the Streets and Buildings are very open and elegant; the Prince of Oranges Palace is in the center of it, which is moated all round, in case of a riot; This is the residence for the Stadholder and States General, and where the Court is held, for all public Business, there is nothing very striking about the House; but in the middle of the Court is a great Hall, something like Westminster Hall, and the inside Walls, and ceilings, are adorned with Colours, Drums, (and other Trophies of War, which they have at different times taken from their Enemies, and the Names of the Battles, and times of being taken specified under them, separately; in this Hall they have many different pleadings, the Chamber where the States General assemble, is hung with Tapestry, and the other is adorned with the pictures of Six Princes of Orange at full length, very well executed; and over the Chimney, is the picture of Prudence, and at the other end that of Fortitude;— The Chamber of Truce, is a very fine Room, and contains some
(good

Good pictures, over one of the chimneys is a fine picture of William 3. which is reckoned the best that ever was done, and over the other is one of William 4.th well done, this is where the Ambassadors have their public audience, and in the middle is a very large Table, set round with chairs; near this chamber is a small Room, where the Ministers retire for private conferences, in it are 12 small pictures, much esteemed, and were done by the famous Holbein; - Besides these chambers, there are several that belong to the States of the provinces of Holland, which are worth notice; the Prince's cabinet of curiosities is well worth seeing; next to this, is a Square court called the Rytenhot, or outer court, a large place where the Horse Guards draw up, they are clothed in blue, faced with red, are well mounted, and cut a good figure; the Master of the Horse has a fine House here, and near it, are the Prince's Stables, & a number of fine Houses in this Square; there are a great many fine open Squares, the largest is called the Voorhout, in this place, is what they call the Mall, where, one Day, I had the Honor of walking a little while with Sir Joseph Yorke part of this place is railed in; there are some rows of fine Trees all around this extensive place, and the most elegant Houses I have seen, and is where all the first Quality live; from the Voorhout

pictures, over one of the chimneys is a fine picture of William III which is reckoned the best that ever was done, and over the other is one of William IV well done; this is where the ambassadors have their public audience, and in the middle is a very large table set round with chairs. Near this chamber is a small room where the ministers retire for private conferences; in it are 12 small pictures much esteemed, and were done by the famous Holbein. Besides these chambers, there are several that belong to the States of the Provinces of Holland which are worth notice. The Prince's Cabinet of Curiosities is well worth seeing; next to this is a square court called the Buitenhof or outer court, a large place where the Horse Guards draw up, they are clothed in blue faced with red, are well mounted and cut a good figure. The Master of the Horse has a fine house here, and near it are the Prince's stables & a number of fine houses in this square. There are a great many fine, open squares. The largest is called the Voorhout; in this place is what they call the Mall where one day I had the honour of walking a little while with Sir Joseph Yorke [the British Ambassador]; part of this place is railed in; there are some rows of fine trees all around this extensive place and the most elegant houses I have seen, and is where all the first quality live. From the

Voorhout to the Wood we pass through the new Voorhout, which is railed around like the other, with several good houses surrounded by rows of trees; the best house here belongs to a Jew. The little Voorhout opens to the new Prinsengracht, which is a row of very fine buildings fronting the Wood, and are houses for people of the first rank. The Plain is a fine place where the Foot Guards are drawn up to be examined if they are clean; it is laid out in fine walks and a number of good houses all round it; they play the music here every day. I have diverted myself here many times when I was over at The Hague to show the Prince and Court my Temples etc.; I think there cannot be a more agreeable place to live in. As the Court is kept here, you will find ambassadors from most Courts in Europe. The Prinsengracht is one of the finest streets that can be seen, about half a mile long and broad in proportion, quite straight, with a beautiful canal in the middle, on each side of which is a row of trees. There are a number of fine hospitals and public buildings well worth seeing. Here is a palace called the House in the Wood [*Huis ten Bosch*], (fig. 11) which is a very good house within the park or place called the Wood. On the right is a long shady walk or mall up to the house; the staircase is very grand, on each side are statues of Ceres and Pomona larger than life & very well done. In the entrance on the right are two white

Voorhout to the Wood we pass through the new Voorhout, which is railed around like the other, with several good Houses surrounded by rows of Trees; the best House here, belongs to a Jew; the little Voorhout opens to the new princes Graft, which is a row of very fine Buildings fronting the wood, and are houses for people of the first rank; the plain is a fine place, where the Foot-Guards are drawn up, to be examined if they ^{are} clean, it is laid out in fine walks, and a number of good Houses all round it; they play the Music here every day. I have diverted myself here, many times, when I was over at the Hague to shew the prince and Court my Temples &c, I think there cannot be a more agreeable place to live in: As the Court is kept here you will find Ambassadors from most Courts in Europe; the princes Graft, is one of the finest Streets that can be seen, about half a mile long, and broad in proportion, quite straight, with a beautiful Canal in the middle, on each side of which is a row of Trees, there are a number of fine Hospitals, and public Buildings, well worth seeing: Here is a palace called the House in the wood, which is a very good House within the Park or place called the Wood; on the right is a long shady Walk, or Mall, up to the House; the Stair-case is very grand, on each side are Statues of Ceres, and Pomona, larger than Life, & very well done, in the Entrance, on the right, are two white Marble

Marble Statues of William the 1st and Prince Maurice, and on the left Prince Frederick Henry, and William the 2^d. and here you enter the principle Apartments, which is of an Octagon form and very magnificent; the Floor is of Wall-nut tree, and covered with rich Carpets, in the Cupola is a gallery for Music, and in the middle of the Ceiling is the picture of the Princess of Amelìa, in mourning; the windows are generally kept shut to preserve the paintings, which are all exquisitely well done by Rubens, and the best Flemish Masters, the finest of which is Vulcan in his Shop; the Triumphs of Frederick Henry, takes up one side of the Saloon; in one of the Drawing-Rooms is a Flower-piece, valued at 15000 Gilders; the Dining-room is spacious, and from the back of it, lays the road to Leyden, from the Back Gate is a walk, where you command a view of Voorburg Church, which is two miles distant; I think the Hague is as well worth seeing as any place I know, the Country being so pleasant, with a number of pretty Villages, this Country is not any ways remarkable for Churches; but there is one large Church, which cut a pretty good Figure, and is well filled, both Sunday, and other Days, and in it is a very good Organ, for they are very fond of Singing, there is an

marble statues of William I and Prince Maurice, and on the left Prince Frederick Henry and William II, and here you enter the principal Apartments, which is of an octagon form and very magnificent. The floor is of walnut-tree and covered with rich carpets, in the cupola is a gallery for music, and in the middle of the ceiling is the picture of the Princess Amelia in mourning; the windows are generally kept shut to preserve the paintings, which are all exquisitely well done by Rubens and the best Flemish masters, the finest of which is Vulcan in his Shop. The Triumphs of Frederick Henry takes up one side of the saloon; in one of the drawing-rooms is a flower-piece valued at 15,000 guilders; the dining-room is spacious and from the back of it lays the road to Leiden. From the back gate is a walk where you command a view of Voorburg church, which is two miles distant. I think The Hague is as well worth seeing as any place I know, the country being so pleasant, with a number of pretty villages. This country is not any ways remarkable for churches, but there is one large church which cut a pretty good figure and is well filled both Sundays and other days, and in it is a very good organ, for they are very fond of singing. There is an

English and a German church, the German begins at eight and the English at ten o'clock. From The Hague we went to Delft, a remarkable town for the Delft ware, and one of the oldest cities in Holland. It was burnt down in the year 1536, at which time there was a bird called a stork that built in a chimney, and finding she could not save her young, threw herself into the flames and perished with them. It was rebuilt and afterwards became a place of good trade. There are two good churches, besides one for the Lutherans & several Roman chapels; in the old church is a fine tomb of the first Prince of Orange, who was assassinated in this city in the year 1584. They have a good Stadt-house which, together with the churches, (as the spires are lofty), have a good appearance. From hence we went to Rotterdam, which I think the finest city in Holland. It is not so large as Amsterdam but I think much better situated for trade, health & pleasure, on a fine river called the Maas, which is so convenient that all the large ships can come quite up to the merchants' doors & unload, and very convenient for the English trade, much more so than Amsterdam. They can send all their goods by water to any part of Holland. It is a beautiful sight on the water to see the lofty trees and ships intermixed with the houses & public

English and a German Church; the German begins at eight, and the English at ten o'clock; from the Hague we went to Delft, a remarkable Town for the Delft Ware, and one of the oldest Cities in Holland; it was burnt down in the year 1536, at which time there was a Bird, called a Stork, that built in a Chimney (and finding she could not save her young, threw herself into the Flames, and perished with them; it was rebuilt and afterwards became a place of good Trade; there are two good Churches, besides one for the Lutherians, & several Roman Chapels; in the old Church is a fine Tomb, of the first Prince of Orange who was assassinated in this City in the year 1584, they have a good Stadt-house, which together with the Churches, (as the spires are lofty) have a good appearance. From hence we went to Rotterdam, which I think the finest City in Holland, it is not so large as Amsterdam, but I think much better situated for Trade Health & Pleasure, on a fine River called the Maese, which is so convenient, that all the large Ships can come quite up to the Merchants' doors & unload, and very convenient for the English Trade, much more so than Amsterdam; they can send all their Goods, by water to any part of Holland; it is a beautiful sight ^{on the water} to see the lofty Trees, and Ships intermixed with the Houses & public Buildings.

Buildings; the Bomb Quay is the neatest and most convenient I ever saw, for very large Ships come up to the Merchants' doors, and they have very elegant Houses and Warehouses close to them; the Quay is very long and broad, planted with beautiful Trees; it is a large well-built City, with good Streets well paved, and has ten gates, six on the land-side & four on the side of the Maese; in 1270, it was surrounded with Ramparts, &c. and honored with several privileges; there is a College of Admiralty, called the College of the Maese, the chief of all Holland, and united provinces; the Lieutenant General, Admiral of Holland is obliged to go on board a Rotterdam Ship in the Maese, when he goes to sea, to command the Squadron of the Maese. There are four churches for the Established Religion; two English churches (one of the Church of England, and the other for the Presbyterians) one Scotch one Lutheran, two Armenian, two Anabaptists and four Roman Catholic churches, besides a Jews' Synagogue; the great Church of St. Lawrence is a good old Building, with many good Monuments of the old Admirals, from the top of which you may see the Hague, Delft, Leyden, Dort, and a number of Towns and Villages all around the country; here are several fine Market places, three for Fish, the great Market, the

Hog

buildings. The Bomb Quay is the neatest and most convenient I ever saw, for very large ships come up to the merchants' doors, and they have very elegant houses and warehouses close to them; the quay is very long and broad, planted with beautiful trees. It is a large well-built city with good streets well paved, and has ten gates, six on the land-side & four on the side of the Maas. In 1270 it was surrounded with ramparts etc. and honoured with several privileges. There is a College of Admiralty called the College of the Maas, the chief of all Holland and United Provinces; the Lieutenant General Admiral of Holland is obliged to go on board a Rotterdam ship in the Maas when he goes to sea to command the Squadron of the Maas. There are four churches for the established religion & two English churches (one of the Church of England and the other for the Presbyterians), one Scotch, one Lutheran, two Armenian, two Anabaptists and four Roman Catholic churches, besides a Jews' synagogue. The Great Church of St Lawrence is a good old building, with many good monuments of the old admirals, from the top of which you may see The Hague, Delft, Leiden, Dort [Dordrecht] and a number of towns and villages all around the country. Here are several fine market places, three for fish, the Great Market, the

Hog Market and New Market. The Stadt-house is a fine old building, the chambers large and finely adorned, and they have some very good magazines for fitting out the ships. The Exchange is a noble building, and I think is about the size and neatness of the Exchange at Bristol and is built of freestone. Upon the bridge near the Exchange is a fine brass figure of Erasmus, who was born in this city in 1467 and died at Basel in Switzerland; he is represented dressed in a fur gown and a round cap, with a book in his hand, and stands on a marble pedestal surrounded with rails. There were several good houses of entertainment when I was there, but the best I think was in Wine Street. I remember seeing several vessels that came down the Rhine from Germany to bring goods and load back; the captain and all his family lives on board, and you will see as complete a kitchen and other rooms as if it was a house on shore, with all the proper furniture. From hence we crossed the Maas to the Toll House, and here I sold my other horse that I brought from Hamburg, to a man who lets out chaises on that side the water, for nine ducats which is about £4 5s. 0d.: he was a very good horse and worth double the money I sold him for, but if I had brought him home, his duty and keep

Hog Market and New-market; the Stadt-house is a fine old building, the chambers large and finely adorned, and they have some very good Magazines for fitting out the Ships; the Exchange is a noble Building, and I think is about the size and neatness of the Exchange at Bristol, and is built of freestone; upon the Bridge near the Exchange is a fine Brass figure of Erasmus, who was born in this City, in 1467. and died at Basel in Switzerland, he is represented dressed in a fur Gown, and a round Cap, with a Book in his hand, and stands on a marble pedestal, surrounded with Rails; - there were several good Houses of Entertainment, when I was there, but the best I think was in Wine-Street: I remember seeing several Vessels that came down the Rhine, from Germany to bring Goods and load back, the Captain, and all his Family lives on board, and you will see as complete a Kitchen, and other Rooms as if it was a house on Shore, with all the proper Furniture: - From hence we crossed the Maas to the Toll-House, and here I sold my other Horse, that I brought from Hambro, to a Man who lets out Chaises on that side the Water, for nine Ducats, which is about £4.5.0 he was a very good Horse, and worth double the money I sold him for; but if I had brought him home, his Duty and keep would

would have amounted to more than he was worth, which was my reason for selling him; I got a guinea by the other besides his work, so that I did not lose above 3. 13. 6 by the two Horses, which I think is pretty well. I hired a chaise to take us to Dort, which is a well built Town, pleasantly situated on an Island, in a good wholesome air, and is reckoned a very healthy place; it is large, and I am informed there are 4000 Houses in it, the country round it is fine commanding many pleasant views; it is a very old City, & high in rank, & has many privileges, & a right to coin Money: it is fortified with Brick walls, on the land side, and has 12 Gates, 5 on the Land side & 7 on the Water side; it is called by some the Virgin City, because it was never taken; the greatest strength is the Water, for, besides the two Rivers, Maese and Merwe, near the City is a large lake: the Streets are broad and well paved, the Houses are lofty built with Brick and very neat; it being an Island makes it the more convenient for Trade, and there are a vast number of Vessels trading, and great numbers to be seen upon the sea sailing different ways, from to this Town. I never saw such a number on the sea, in any port in my life, they carry on a great Trade in Rhenish Wine, which they sell all over the country, the public Buildings are Handsome; they have a good Stadt-house

and

would have amounted to more than he was worth, which was my reason for selling him. I got a guinea by the other, besides his work, so that I did not lose above £3 13s. 6d. by the two horses, which I think is pretty well. I hired a chaise to take us to Dort, which is a well-built town pleasantly situated on an island, in a good wholesome air, and is reckoned a very healthy place. It is large, and I am informed there are 4,000 houses in it. The country round it is fine, commanding many pleasant views. It is a very old city & high in rank, & has many privileges & a right to coin money. It is fortified with brick walls on the land side and has 12 gates, 5 on the land side & 7 on the water side. It is called by some the Virgin City because it was never taken; the greatest strength is the water, for beside the two Rivers Maas and Merwe [now Merwede], near the city is a large lake. The streets are broad and well paved; the houses are lofty, built with brick and very neat. It being an island makes it the more convenient for trade, and there are a vast number of vessels trading to this town, and great numbers to be seen upon the sea sailing different ways to this town, I never saw such a number on the sea in any port in my life. They carry on a great trade in Rhenish wine which they sell all over the country. The public buildings are handsome; they have a good Stadt-house

and Exchange, several good hospitals, a public library and good, old churches - the Great Church is the best. The English merchants have a church and are allowed some particular privileges, they deal in corn, wood and coals etc. that are brought down the Rhine and the Maas, and they have great plenty of salmon; upon the whole I think it a very pretty situation. They have likewise some very good inns in this town; we were well entertained & in genteel company. From hence we went to a place called Moerdijk, where we crossed another river over a draw-bridge in our way to Bergen-op-zoom, a very well built town with a good market place. The church, before the last siege, was reckoned a handsome one, as was the Marquis's palace. There are good streets and squares in it, and was never taken till the French took it in 1747, and then it was supposed to be taken by treachery. It is supposed to be the strongest place in the world; between the town and the sea are eleven forts; there is likewise a fortified village called Tholen,³¹ which has very large outworks such as half-moons, horn-works etc., etc. They are the finest fortifications I ever saw, and for those who are fond of seeing fortifications, I think these the best worth notice of any in all my travels, notwithstanding I have seen a number which have been very good. From hence we

and Exchange, several good Hospitals, a public Library, and good old Churches; the Great Church is the best; the English Merchants have a Church, and are allowed some particular Privileges, they deal in Corn Wood and Coals, &c. that are brought down the Rhine, and the Maas, and they have great plenty of Salmon, upon the whole I think it a very pretty situation; they have likewise some very good Inns in this Town, we were well entertained & in genteel company. From hence we went to a place called Moerdijk, where we cross'd another River over a Draw-Bridge, in our way to Bergen-opzoom, a very well built Town with a good Market place; the Church before the last siege was reckoned a handsome one, as was the Marquis's Palace, there are good Streets and Squares in it, and was never taken till the French took it in 1747, and then it was supposed to be taken by treachery, it is supposed to be the strongest place in the World, between the Town and the Sea, are eleven Forts, there is likewise a fortified Village called Terbete, which has very large Out-works such as Half-Moons, Horn-works &c. &c, they are the finest Fortifications I ever saw, and for those who are fond of seeing Fortifications, I think these the best worth notice of any in all my Travels, notwithstanding I have seen a number which have been very good. - From hence we
went

went to the City of Tergoose, which stands on an Island, and I was told there were 36 parishes that came to that Market, it is a very pretty and ^{well} fortified Sea-port, and has six gates, the Buildings are handsome, there is a very good Church, a Latin-School, an Orphan-House and two Hospitals for old Men & Women, there are 3 Market places, of which the Corn Market is the best, the Country is very Fertile, & produces a good deal of Corn. - From hence we went in a Sailing-Boat to Terweer, which is a fortified Town, but not very large; there are a number of Scotch people in this Town, who have many privileges; I think it is about 4 miles from Middleburgh, and is a pretty Sea-port; they say it has been a place of good Trade, but the best remark I made, was a good Order from a Mr Tappy. - From hence we went to Middleburgh, the Capital of Zeeland, and stands in the middle of a small Island, which I think is about ten miles over; it is a very fine City, with a great number of public Buildings, the Town house is a very fine Building, and stands in a good Market-place, and has a Steeple upon it, with a set of Bells; they have a handsome Bank, which is opened from 9 to 11 every morning, and from 3 to 5 every afternoon, there is a Latin-School which is a very good Building; there is an East-India House, six Dutch Churches, one French

went to the city of Goes, which stands on an island, and I was told there were 36 parishes that came to that market. It is a very pretty and well fortified seaport and has six gates. The buildings are handsome, there is a very good church, a Latin school, an orphan house and two hospitals for old men & women. There are 3 market places, of which the corn market is the best; the country is very fertile & produces a good deal of corn. From hence we went in a sailing-boat to Veere, which is a fortified town but not very large; there are a number of Scotch people in this town who have many privileges. I think it is about 4 miles from Middelburg and is a pretty seaport. They say it has been a place of good trade, but the best remark I made was a good order from a Mr Tappy. From hence we went to Middelburg, the capital of Zeeland, and stands in the middle of a small island which I think is about ten miles over. It is a very fine city with a great number of public buildings. The Town House is a very fine building and stands in a good market place, and has a steeple upon it with a set of bells; they have a handsome bank which is opened from 9 to 11 every morning and from 3 to 5 every afternoon; there is a Latin school, which is a very good building; there is an East India House, six Dutch churches, one

French, one English, one Lutheran, one Roman chapel, and several alms-houses. There are 8 gates and a strong fortified harbour in which I saw several men-of-war. It is a place of good trade and a noble well-built town.

When we had done our business here and seen all which was worth seeing, we set out in a post-chaise, August the 23rd, 1768, for Flushing, which is about 4 miles and the road all the way is paved with clinkers. Flushing is a seaport noted for smuggling; we took a boat here and went across an arm of the sea which is 4 miles over, to an island called Goesand which is about 9 or 10 miles over. Our passage to this island was very unpleasant, for it blowed very hard and the sea ran very high, and we shipped a good deal of water. I was for going back again but they said they could not, so thank God we got safe on the island, and took a chaise and went across to a place called Sluis in Flanders, for which we paid 3 guilders & 10 stivers, and a ducat to go to Bruges, where we arrived safe about 8 o'clock at night. As we passed through Bruges before and saw nothing worth notice, I have only to say that it was once the greatest place of trade on the Continent, and where all exchanges were settled, as they are and have been for many years at Amsterdam. It now looks like a large, poor town, and there must be a number of ships go there, as it is the principal port for Flanders and there are many people of property residing there. At Bruges

French, one English, one Lutheran, one Roman Chapel, and several Alms-houses, there are 8 gates, and a strong fortified Harbour in which I saw several Men of War; it is a place of good Trade and a noble well-built Town.

When we had done our Business here and seen all which was worth seeing, we set out in a post Chaise, August the 23. 1768, for Flushing, which is about 4 miles and the road all the way is paved with Clinkers, Flushing is a Sea-port noted for Smuggling; we took a Boat here and went across an Arm of the Sea, which is 4 miles over, to an Island called Goesant, which is about 9 or 10 miles over, our passage to this Island was very unpleasant for it blowed very hard, and the Sea ran ^{high} very, and we Shifted a good deal of Water; I was for going back again, but they said they could not, so thank God we got safe on the Island, and took a Chaise and went across, to a place called Sluis, in Flanders, for which we paid 3 Guilders & 10 Stivers, and a Ducat to go to Bruges, where we arrived safe about 8 O'clock, at night; as we pass'd through Bruges before, and saw nothing worth notice, I have only to say, that it was once the greatest place of Trade on the Continent, and where all Exchanges were settled, as they are and have been for many years at Amsterdam; It now looks like a large poor Town, and there must be a number of Ships go there as it is the principal Port for Flanders, and there are many people of property residing there; At Bruges
my

my son left me, and went to Amsterdam, and proceeded for Dunkirk, where I took water, and landed at Ramsgate in Kent, the latter end of the month of August: - When I was at Dunkirk I settled with M^r Vanderville a Merchant, to board my son Edward, and to get him completed in the French Language: and after he had been there some time, M^r Vanderville sent me word that he had a Friend who was going to Frankfurt on the Main, and I took this opportunity to send him with this gentleman; I had before settled with a friend at Frankfurt to take him under his care, which he promised me to do, to learn the German Language, so he went to M^r Windle of Frankfurt and boarded, and went to school there; at this time my son Thomas was at Warmond near Leyden learning French and Dutch.

my son left me and went to Amsterdam, and I proceeded for Dunkirk, where I took water and landed at Ramsgate in Kent the latter end of the month of August. When I was at Dunkirk, I settled with Mr Vanderville, a merchant, to board my son Edward and to get him completed in the French language; and after he had been there some time, Mr Vanderville sent me word that he had a friend who was going to Frankfurt on the Main, and I took this opportunity to send him with this gentleman. I had before settled with a friend at Frankfurt to take him under his care, which he promised me to do, to learn the German language; so he went to Mr Windel of Frankfurt and boarded, and went to school there [see p. 67]. At this time, my son Thomas was at Warmond near Leiden, learning French and Dutch.

I arrived at Ramsgate as before mentioned, the latter end of August, from whence I arrived at London. And after staying at home from August 1768 to April 1769, and had sent my son Edward to Dunkirk to complete his French and from thence to Frankfurt to learn German, I set out in April 1769 by myself for Holland in order to go to Frankfurt and Leipzig Fairs; and went in the packet from Harwich and landed safe at Hellevoetsluis; and proceeded on as fast as possible for Leiden, where I stopped at the *Golden Ball* which was an English house. I ordered a carriage to be ready at the door to take me to the school to see my son Thomas at Warmond, which is 3 miles the other side of Leiden, nearer Amsterdam. After I had dined, Mr Parkinson the landlord brought in some chips and put into the fire to warm me before I should set off; and the chips snapped and cracked and flew about the room, and as I was buttoning my coat, a spark of fire flew in between my coat and waistcoat unperceived. I went into the carriage and the driver went on a pretty good pace, and as soon as I was got through the town, I felt something warm to my thigh. I thought the driver had been smoking and a spark of his fire had come on me,

I arrived at Ramsgate, as before mentioned, the latter end of August, from whence I arrived at London, and after staying at home from August 1768 to April 1769, and had sent my Son Edward to Dunkirk to complete his French, and from thence to Frankfurt to learn German, I set out in April 1769 by myself for Holland, in order to go to Frankfurt and Leipzig Fairs, and went in the packet from Harwich, and landed safe at Hellevoetsluis, and proceeded on as fast as possible for Leyden, where I stopped at the Golden Ball, which was an English House; I ordered a carriage to be ready at the Door to take me to the School, to see my son Thomas, at Warmond, which is 3 miles the other side of Leyden nearer Amsterdam; After I had dined Mr. Parkinson, the Landlord brought in some chips and put into the fire to warm me, before I should set off, and the chips snapped and cracked, and flew about the room, and as I was buttoning my coat, a spark of Fire flew in between my coat and Waistcoat, unperceived, I went into the Carriage, and the Driver went on a pretty good pace, and as soon as I was got through the Town I felt something warm to my thigh, I thought the Driver had been smoking and a spark of his fire had come on me, but

but he said No, so I immediately opened my coat, and found a great hole burnt in it, and another in my Waistcoat, and it had spoiled a fine Snuff Box, which was in my pocket, and which cost me a Guinea at Dunkirk, for it was burnt to pieces; after I had put it out, I went to the School, and found my Son Thomas very well; but I cut a most horrid Figure, for I was obliged to turn the flap of my coat over the hole to hide it, as much as possible. I took some little refreshment here, and went on to Harlem with the next boat, and got to Amsterdam that same night, for I was to set out for Frankfurt at 5 O'clock the next morning; as soon as I arrived at Amsterdam, I sent my Son James (whom I had settled there with a Merchant, to be his clerk and at the same time to conduct my Business) for a Tailor, to make me a new coat and new fronts to my Waistcoat, which he set about immediately, and completed it by 4 O'clock the next morning, and I set out in the Carriage at 5 O'clock for Frankfurt, and was so fortunate as to find a M^r Henster from Birmingham, who was a German, and could speak English very well, he was travelling for Orders, which suited me extremely well, as I could not speak the Language; we arrived at the Roman Emperor at Frankfurt, which is said to be the finest Inn

in.

but he said no, so I immediately opened my coat and found a great hole burnt in it and another in my waistcoat; and it had spoiled a fine snuffbox which was in my pocket, and which cost me a guinea at Dunkirk, for it was burnt to pieces. After I had put it out, I went to the school and found my son Thomas very well; but I cut a most horrid figure, for I was obliged to turn the flap of my coat over the hole to hide it as much as possible. I took some little refreshment here, and went on to Harlem with the next boat and got to Amsterdam that same night, for I was to set out for Frankfurt at 5 o'clock the next morning. As soon as I arrived at Amsterdam, I sent my son James, (whom I had settled there with a merchant to be his clerk, and at the same time to conduct my business), for a tailor to make me a new coat and new fronts to my waistcoat; which he set about immediately and completed it by 4 o'clock the next morning. And I set out in the carriage at 5 o'clock for Frankfurt, and was so fortunate as to find a Mr Henster from Birmingham, who was a German and could speak English very well; he was travelling for orders, which suited me extremely well as I could not speak the language. We arrived at the Roman Emperor at Frankfurt, which is said to be the finest inn

in Europe and is quite a palace [see p. 68 and fig. 8], and is kept by a Mr Bush, who is much of a gentleman and was very fond of the English or anything that came from England; he had an English horse that cost him £50, and a set of English prints of hare hunting which he was very fond of. At this inn I was so lucky as to find a Mr Broadbent, a merchant from Sheffield, and his clerk who was a Polander, who were going to Danzig [Gdansk], and we likewise found a Mr Douglass from Manchester and a Mr Clotz, a merchant from London,³² all come on business, so that we made a very agreeable set, and during the time of Frankfurt Fair we met every evening and smoked our pipes, we had besides several gentlemen that came every day to dine with us, for Mr Bush kept a very good house, and both him and his wife were very genteel. We had every day 8 or 10 dishes of everything that was in season, such as hares, partridges, pheasants etc., with a genteel dessert of fruit after dinner, and all for 16d.; and we had excellent wine for 16d. a bottle; and we lived in the genteelest style I ever did at any inn in my life. There were two waiters to attend us every day, and everything was cut up at a sideboard by one of them, and all was conducted in a good taste. Our company altogether from England was Mr Henster, Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass,

in Europe, and is quite a palace, and is kept by a Mr Bush, who is much of a gentleman, and was very fond of the English, or any thing that came from England, he had an English Horse that cost him 50, and a set of English prints of Hare Hunting, which he was very fond of; at this Inn I was so lucky as to find a Mr Broadbent a Merchant from Sheffield, and his clerk, who was a polander, who were going to Dantzick, and we likewise found, a Mr Douglass from Manchester, and a Mr Clotz a Merchant from London, all come on Business, so that we made a very agreeable set, and during the time of Frankfurt Fair we met every evening and smoked our pipes, we had besides several gentlemen that came every day to dine with us, for Mr Bush kept a very good House, and both him and his Wife were very genteel, we had every day 8 or 10 Dishes, of every thing that was in Season, such as Hares, partridges, pheasants, &c, with a genteel Desert of Fruit after Dinner, and all for 16; and we had excellent Wine for 16 a Bottle; and we lived in the genteelest style I ever did at any Inn in my life, there were two Waiters to attend us, every day, and every thing was cut up at a Side-Board, by one of these, and all was conducted in a good Taste; our company altogether from England, was Mr Henster, Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass
Mr.

(110)

Mr Broadbent, and Mr Irwin, besides me, and my son Edward, in all seven, besides several very agreeable Gentlemen, and Mr and Mrs Bush, I think I never spent 8 or 10 days more agreeable in my life, from home, and in addition to this, we had Music every day playing at the door of the Room, while we were at Dinner. I went & supped one Night with a Merchant who had a great many of his Friends at Supper with ^{him} the same evening, and I never saw so many Dishes with so many different Changes, ^{in a private house} we were 3 hours at Supper, and the greatest part of the time was spent in Eating and Drinking, their custom is to set you a large and a small glass, and a Napkin, and as soon as your glass is empty, they fill it again, I think I never was so tired of good things, and what astonished me was to see the company eat so much, and of so many different things. — After we had tarried here 8 or 10 days, and had seen the Fair, which is one of the greatest in the world, Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass and myself, agreed together to take a coach, to carry us to Leipzig, accordingly we hired a very neat one, with 3 Horses only, and the coach-master was to go himself, and to sit on one ^{of the hind} Horses & drive the other before him, our company was Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass myself, and son, who could speak French and German, and was my Interpreter, Mr Douglass

(110)

Mr Broadbent and Mr Irwin, besides me and my son Edward, in all seven, besides several very agreeable gentlemen and Mr and Mrs Bush. I think I never spent 8 or 10 days more agreeable in my life from home, and in addition to this, we had music every day playing at the door of the room while we were at dinner. I went & supped one night with a merchant who had a great many of his friends at supper with him the same evening, and I never saw so many dishes, with so many different changes, in a private house. We were 3 hours at supper, and the greatest part of the time was spent in eating and drinking; their custom is to set you a large and a small glass and a napkin, and as soon as your glass is empty, they fill it again. I think I never was so tired of good things, and what astonished me was to see the company eat so much, and of so many different things. After we had tarried here 8 or 10 days and had seen the fair, which is one of the greatest in the world, Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass and myself agreed together to take a coach to carry us to Leipzig. Accordingly, we hired a very neat one with 3 horses only, and the coach-master was to go himself and to sit on one of the hind horses & drive the other before him. Our company was Mr Clotz, Mr Douglass, myself and son, who could speak French and German, and was my interpreter. Mr Douglass

told me he was fearful we should fare but badly on the road, and desired me to go with him to see a tin thing which he had bespoke to hold two fowls, which I found to be very convenient, with a place in it for pepper and salt. He asked me to go halves with him in the business, but as I found the old coachman had often gone this road, I thought he would take us to the best inns on the road and had no fear about living. I told him I would not; he said I should not have a bit, let what would happen, and as to Mr Clotz, he was a native of Frankfurt and said he could do very well. On the 1st May 1769, we set out from Frankfurt to go to Leipzig Fair, attended by Mr Bush at the inn and several of the gentlemen who used to dine with us, all on horseback. They cut a good figure, every one with his pistols in holsters and hanger at his side, and all with German pipes in their pockets, which they filled as soon as they were clear of the town and smoked as they went on to Hanau, 12 miles from Frankfurt, a good old town. And as we passed on the road, we saw a palace belonging to the Princess of Hesse-Cassel; it was a pretty place, pleasantly situated. We all dined at Hanau and was all very agreeable together; when dinner was over and we had drank and smoked enough, we set out on our journey and all our friends parted with us and went back

Told me he was fearful we should fare but badly on the road, and desired me to go with him to see a Tin thing which he had bespoke, to hold two Fowls, which I found to be very convenient, with a place in it for pepper, and Salt, he asked me to go halves with him in this business, but as I found the old coachman had often gone this road, I thought he would take us to the best Inns on the road, and had no fear about living, I told him I would not, he said I should not have a bit let what would happen, and as to Mr Clotz, he was a native of Frankfurt, and said he could do very well; on the 1st May 1769, we set out from Frankfurt to go to Leipzig Fair, attended by Mr Bush at the Inn, and several of the gentlemen who used to dine with ^{us} all on Horseback, they cut a good Figure every one with ^{in Holsters} his pistols; and Hanger at his side, and ^{all with} German pipes in their pockets, which they filled as soon as they were clear of the Town, and smoked as they went on to Hanau, 12 miles from Frankfurt, a good old Town, and as we passed on the Road we saw a palace belonging to the Princess of Hesse-Cassel, it was a pretty place, pleasantly situated; we all dined at Hanau, and was all very agreeable together; when dinner was over (and we had drank and smoked enough, we set out on our Journey, and all our friends parted with us, and went back to

to Frankfurt, at night we arrived at a place called Gelnhausen a most intolerable place, as ever I saw, there were but 2 beds for 4 of us, and one of them had no curtains, and those very bad; so Mr. Douglass brought me 4 pieces of straw, and desired me to draw lots who should have the beds, but I would not, as I was much older than him, I thought he should have paid me the compliment to choose, but he would not, and he swore that if I would not draw, he would take the beds for him and Mr. Clotz, which he did, and myself and Ned was obliged to sleep on some straw, which I liked better than their dirty Beds; we were all in one nasty room, and Ned and I slept together and had a good night, for our straw was sweeter than their stinking Beds; we breakfasted here the next morning (May 2) and proceeded on to a place called Steinau to dinner (18 miles) about noon, we went into a House where the coachman stopped to feed his horses, and found the people extremely civil, and willing to do what they could, we were in a very bad room; on asking the Landlady what she could get us to eat, she said she had nothing in the House, but she went as fast as possible, and got us some Mutton-chops, which she cooked so badly, that we could not eat them, and she brought us some Wine which was but poor stuff; when we found

to Frankfurt. At night we arrived at a place called Gelnhausen, a most intolerable place as ever I saw. There were but 2 beds for 4 of us, and one of them had no curtains and those very bad; so Mr Douglass brought me 4 pieces of straw and desired me to draw lots who should have the beds, but I would not; as I was much older than him, I thought he should have paid me the compliment to choose, but he would not, and he swore that if I would not draw, he would take the beds for him and Mr Clotz; which he did, and myself and Ned was obliged to sleep on some straw, which I liked better than their dirty beds. We were all in one nasty room, and Ned and I slept together and had a good night, for our straw was sweeter than their stinking beds. We breakfasted here the next morning (May 2nd), and proceeded on to a place called Steinau to dinner (18 miles) about noon. We went into a house where the coachman stopped to feed his horses, and found the people extremely civil and willing to do what they could. We were in a very bad room. On asking the landlady what she could get us to eat, she said she had nothing in the house, but she went as fast as possible and got us some mutton chops which she cooked so badly that we could not eat them, and she brought us some wine which was but poor stuff. When we

found this, we all fell upon Mr Clotz, who said he could make his country people do anything to our liking, but he found himself mistaken. It was lucky for us we had a fowl and some ham which was a present from Mr Bush at Frankfurt, and which we ate and found it go down very sweet. The poor people expressed some concern that they could do no better for us; it is impossible to spend much money in that country, for there is nothing to be got; all the genteel people travel in their own carriages and take their provisions with them, which is the reason there are such bad accommodations at the inns; and the common sort of people take their prog³³ in their pockets or a bag, so that there is no money spent to support the innkeepers. The Rhenish wine is the best thing you can get, and is very cheap. After dinner we went to a place called Flieden, where we had a fine broiled carp for supper, and some butter that was turned to oil, which is the custom in that country; as we did not like it, Mr Douglass & my son melted some, which did very well. After supper, we called for some punch, which they said they did not understand how to make; so they brought up a bowl with two handles, like the public house pewter

found this, we all fell upon M^r Clotz, who said he could make his country people do any thing to our liking; but he found himself mistaken; it was lucky for us we had a fowl and some Ham, which was a present from M^r Bush at Frankfurt, and which we eat, and found it go down very sweet; the poor people expressed some concern, that they could do no better for us; it is impossible to spend much money in that country, for there is nothing to be got; all the genteel people travel in their own carriages, and take their provisions with them, which is the reason there are such bad accommodations at the Inns; and the common sort of people take their prog in their pockets, or a Bag, so that there is no money spent to support the Innkeepers, the Rhenish Wine is the best thing you can get, and is very cheap. - After Dinner we went to a place call'd Fliden, where we had a fine broild carp for Supper, and some Butter that was turned to oil, which is the custom in that country, as we did not like it, M^r Douglass & my Son melted some, which did very well, after Supper we called for some punch, which they said they did not understand how to make; so they brought up a Bowl with two Handles, like the public House pewter-
pots

(11A)

pots that they bring for a Club-Room, and a large pewter Soup-spoon for a Ladle, the Landlord was quite active, and willing to oblige, and did his best; we were very merry at the oddity of these matters, and made ourselves some punch in this pewter-pot, as it appeared to be very clean, and spent the evening very agreeably; we slept and breakfasted here, and in the morning of the 3^d May, we set out and about Noon we came to a place where the coachman stopd, and where we thought we were to dine, and was 18 miles from the place we breakfasted at; we went into the House and saw an old Man and Woman sitting close to a German-stove, which made the room so hot, we were obliged to come to the Door again; we asked the Woman what she had for us to Eat, she said "Nix", which signifies nothing, then we asked what she had to Drink, (and her answer was still "nix", so that there was nothing to eat, nor drink, I being thus disappointed, as I had depended upon our old Coachman, and M^r Clotz, who said he could get any thing from his countrymen, I was at last obliged to apply to M^r Douglass, to be partners with him, in his Tin thing and fowls, which he at first refused, but after teasing a long time, he complied, and we had a deal of fun about it

(114)

pots that they bring for a club room, and a large pewter soup spoon for a ladle. The landlord was quite active and willing to oblige, and did his best. We were very merry at the oddity of these matters, and made ourselves some punch in this pewter pot as it appeared to be very clean, and spent the evening very agreeably. We slept and breakfasted here, and in the morning of the 3rd of May we set out, and about noon we came to a place where the coachman stopped and where we thought we were to dine, and was 18 miles from the place we breakfasted at. We went into the house and saw an old man and woman sitting close to a German stove, which made the room so hot we were obliged to come to the door again. We asked the woman what she had for us to eat; she said "Nix", which signifies nothing; then we asked what she had to drink, and her answer was still "Nix", so that there was nothing to eat nor drink. I being thus disappointed, as I had depended upon our old coachman and Mr Clotz, who said he could get anything from his countrymen, I was at last obliged to apply to Mr Douglass to be partners with him in his tin thing and fowls, which he at first refused; but after teasing a long time, he complied and we had a deal of fun about

it; at last we brought him to, and paid him his demand. It was a fine summer's day, and I made a motion to have the cloth laid out of doors upon a hedge, which was done; and we took the knives out of our pockets and cut up the fowls, and we had some small bread with us which, with our pepper and salt, we made a very good dinner; but were still at a loss for drink, and we made our complaints to the coachman, who went to his coach & fetched a bottle of very good wine, which completed our happiness and made us quite merry. The place where we dined was opposite a large farm-yard where were 5 or 6 great country wenches laying on some straw, sunning themselves like so many pigs, some young, some old etc. My dinner & wine made me full of spirits, & seeing a young wench arise from the straw almost naked, having on nothing but a leather bodice, a petticoat & shift which was neither white or black, & no stockings or shoes, she stood looking at me, and I jumped over the gate and ran after her and made a noise like Punch in the puppet show, which made her run away from me. When Mr Douglass saw this, it gave him spirits and he came & had a race after her, and I fear did not behave so decent as I would wish. While he was stooping down, a great black wench, who was as strong as a drayman, went and took him up by the breech and flung him a

it; at last we brought him to, and paid him his Demand; it was a fine Summer Day, and I made a motion to have the cloth laid out of Doors upon a Hedge, which was done, and we took the Knives out of our pockets, and cut up the Fowls, and we had some small Bread with us, which with our pepper and Salt, we made a very good Dinner, but were still at a loss for Drink, and we made our complaints to the Coachman, who went to his Coach, & fetched a Bottle of very good Wine, which completed our happiness, and made us quite merry; the place where we dined was opposite a large farm Yard, where were 5 or 6 great Country wenches, laying on some Straw, sunning themselves, like so many pigs, some young some old &c, my Dinner and Wine made me full of Spirits, & seeing a young wench arise from the Straw almost naked, having on nothing but a leather Bodice a petty-coat & Shift, which was neither White or Black, & no Stockings or Shoes, she stood looking at me, and I jumped over the Gate and ran after her, and made a noise like punch in the puppet Show, which made her run away from me; when Mr Douglass saw this, it gave him Spirits, and he came, & had a race after her, and I fear did not behave so decent as I would wish; while he was stooping down, a great black wench, who was as strong as a Drayman, went and took him up by the Breech, and flung him a great

great distance from her, when he was stooping, and playing with the young girl, and then she offered to wrestle with him, and she made no more of him than she would of a cat, then she took hold of him again, and he laid hold of her smock sleeves, and Mr Douglass threw her down, and her Dugs hung down like a cows; I think nobody but himself would have touched her with a pair of Tongs; they went at it again, she gave him several falls, that made his Head Ach. When this was ended & we set out for Berka, (18 miles) to Supper, we breakfasted here and went to Tach (12 miles) to Dinner, and from thence to Eisenach (15 miles) to Supper, this is a Town in Saxony, as soon as we arrived here, which was early, we went to a Castle which stands on a very high hill, and was formerly a palace, but now a prison, and is the same where Doctor Luther was confined for writing against the Romish Religion, we saw a portrait of the Doctor, & I had a description of the Building which I found to be 700 years old: at this Town I bought a German pipe, we supped and Breakfasted pretty well, here I went to Saxagotha to Dinner; the Saxons are the most like the English, of any people I have seen, as are the Houses and Country, which is so much like the West part of England, that I almost thought myself there, and all along the road to Saxagotha

great distance from her when he was stooping and playing with the young girl; and then she offered to wrestle with him, and she made no more of him than she would of a cat. Then she took hold of him again and he laid hold of her smock sleeves, and Mr Douglass threw her down and her dugs hung down like a cow's; I think nobody but himself would have touched her with a pair of tongs. They went at it again, she gave him several falls that made his head ache. When this was ended etc., we set out for Berka (18 miles) to supper; we breakfasted here and went to Vacha (12 miles) to dinner; and from thence to Eisenach (15 miles) to supper. This is a town in Saxony. As soon as we arrived here, which was early, we went to a castle which stands on a very high hill, and was formerly a palace but now a prison, and is the same where Doctor Luther was confined for writing against the Romish religion. We saw a portrait of the Doctor & I had a description of the building, which I found to be 700 years old. At this town I bought a German pipe. We supped and breakfasted pretty well here & went to Saxe-Gotha [Gotha] to dinner. The Saxons are the most like the English of any people I have seen, as are the houses and country, which is so much like the west part of England that I almost thought myself there; and all along the road to Saxe-Gotha,

every thing appeared in the same style. Saxe-Gotha is 18 miles from the place where we breakfasted, and we were there the 5th of May. This is the town from which our present King George III's mother came from; we saw her brother come to the palace in his carriage, but he was very infirm for he was obliged to be carried from the carriage to the palace, which is very pleasantly situated but very old, and did not seem to contain anything worth notice. There is an extensive prospect of, I suppose, 50 miles round, it is a very fine country. We went to a very good inn and ordered a dinner, and while we were there, a gentleman came in from the palace who had been in England and could speak English very well. He introduced himself by saying he was happy to see anyone from England and said he had been there 15 years; and offered to show us the palace, which we judged not worth seeing from its outward appearance. He was full of chat and sat down close to me. I had my spectacles on, looking over my German map, and he begged to look at them, and said they fitted his sight extremely well and was the only thing he wanted. I told him I had another pair which I would spare him, & expected he would have paid me for them; but instead of that, he very politely thanked me and said I had made him quite happy, and all my friends laughed to see how the German had taken the Englishman in. This city seems to be

agottha, every thing appeared in the same stile; Saxe-Gotha is 18 miles from the place where we Breakfasted, and we were there the 5th of May, This is the Town from which our present King George III's Mother came from, we saw her Brother come to the Palace in his Carriage, but he was very infirm for he was obliged to be carried from the Carriage to the Palace, which is very pleasantly situated, but very old, and did not seem to contain any thing worth notice; there is an extensive prospect of I suppose 50 miles round, it is a very fine Country; we went to a very good Inn and ordered a Dinner, and while we were there, a Gentleman came in from the Palace, who had been in England, and could speak English very well; he introduced himself by saying he was happy to see any one from England, and said he had been there 15 years, and offered to shew us the Palace, which we judged not worth seeing from its outward appearance; he was full of Chat, and sat down close to me, I had my spectacles on, looking over my German Map, and he beg'd to look at them and said they fitted his sight extremely well, and was the only thing he wanted; I told him I had another pair, which I would spare him, I expected, he would have paid me for them, but instead of that, he very politely thanked me, and said I had made him quite happy; and all my friends laughed, to see how the German had taken the English-man in; this City seems to be

old and to contain nothing remarkable, so can say but little about it; from Saxe-Gotha we went to Erfurt (18 miles) to supper, a large place with 16 churches in it; we saw a large Bell which is said to be the largest in the world, the height of it is 5 Ells, the Diameter the same, and its weight is 30000 lb. (and in the same Steeple is a ring of small Bells; this is an old place and contains nothing more worth notice; but here I shall remark that we did not see a bit of good Furniture on all the Road from Frankfurt; - From hence we went to Ever (21 miles) to Dinner, where was nothing worth notice, and proceeded on to Nymberg to Supper, and that night, we saw 20 Men & Women all laying together on one bed of Straw, and each paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ for their Night's lodging; all the Houses in this Country are Dirty (and smell very nasty, and I don't think they ever wash the Rooms from the time they are built, to the time they are worn out, and pulled down again; it is a large Town and the people are Lutherians, stout & well made but not handsome, they are civil and good-natured; in this place are 5 churches, we Breakfasted here the 7th and went to Rebach (10 miles) to Dinner, (a place not worth notice) and at night arrived safe and well at Leipzig, which is 18 miles farther, so I think the distance between Frankfurt and Leipzig is 252 miles, and
we

old and to contain nothing remarkable, so can say but little about it. From Saxe-Gotha we went to Erfurt (18 miles) to supper, a large place with 16 churches in it. We saw a large bell which is said to be the largest in the world; the height of it is 5 ells, the diameter the same, and its weight is 30,800 lbs.,³⁴ and in the same steeple is a ring of small bells. This is an old place and contains nothing more worth notice, but here I shall remark that we did not see a bit of good furniture on all the road from Frankfurt. From hence we went to Ever (21 miles) to dinner, where was nothing worth notice, and proceeded on to Naumburg to supper; and that night we saw 20 men & women all laying together on one bed of straw, and each paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for this night's lodging. All the houses in this country are dirty and smell very nasty, and I don't think they ever wash the rooms from the time they are built to the time they are worn out and pulled down again. It is a large town and the people are Lutherans, stout & well made but not handsome; they are civil and good-natured. In this place are 5 churches. We breakfasted here the 7th, and went to Rippach (18 miles) to dinner, (a place not worth notice), and at night arrived safe and well at Leipzig, which is 18 miles farther; so I think the distance between Frankfurt and Leipzig is 252 miles and

we were 7 days in travelling it. The country between Frankfurt and Leipzig consists chiefly of large open fields and woods. The women in general wear no shoes or stockings, and they do men's work and, in short, horses' work, for I have seen them carry dung upon their backs into the fields. In one town in Saxony we asked what we could get to eat, and the landlord brought us a quarter of a calf, which weighed no more than nine pounds and looked like a dead cat. We being satisfied with its looks, desired the landlord to get something else, which I have forgot; however we made a pretty good dinner at last. Leipzig is a good town, well planned with good streets and houses built with freestone from 5 to 9 storeys high, and there are two noble market places. We were there at the fair, and saw people from all nations - English, French, Dutch, Germans, Turks, Armenians & Jews etc. from all quarters, with their respective country dresses & habits. We went to a public garden on a Sunday and smoked our pipes with a friend of mine from Berlin, and I think it was an exceeding pretty sight. Merchants from all parts of the world meet here to buy & sell. It was at this fair I saw the nature of trade in our way and got acquainted with several watch merchants, and was astonished to see the quantity of watches, toys, jewellery etc. these people brought; they had gold watches

we were 7 days in travelling it; the Country between Frankfurt and Leipzig consists chiefly of large open Fields, and Woods; the Women in general wear no Shoes or Stockings, and they do men's work and, in short, Horses work, for I have seen them carry Dung upon their Backs, into the Fields; - in one Town in Saxony, we asked what we could get to eat, and the Landlord brought us a quarter of a calf, which weighed no more than nine pounds and looked like a dead cat, we being satisfied with its looks, desired the Landlord to get something else which I have forgot, however we made a pretty dinner at last. - Leipzig is a good Town, well planned with good Streets and Houses, built with Freestone, from 5 to 9 Stories high, and there are two noble Market-places; we were there at the Fair, and saw people from all Nations, English, French, Dutch, German, Turks, Armenians, & Jews &c from all quarters, with their respective country Dresses & Habits, we went to a public garden on a Sunday, and smoked our pipes, with a friend of mine from Berlin, and I think it was an exceeding pretty sight, Merchants from all parts of the world meet here to buy & sell; it was at this Fair, I saw the nature of Trade in our way, and got acquainted with several Watch Merchants, and was astonished to see the quantity of Watches, Toys, Jewellery, &c these people brought, they had Gold Watches
and

chains set all over with Diamonds, I am sure these Stocks must be very valuable; I settled a Trade there with one Mr. Broach of Berlin, who keeps all the great Fairs in that part of the World, and who afterwards sent me orders in one Letter for 300 Watches, of Gold Silver and Metal; at this fair I saw a number of fine Ladies who were very fair, genteel and pretty; amongst other things I saw some cream-coloured Horses, very beautiful; I might have bought a pair for 30 guineas which were like the cream coloured Horses the King rides and drives in his coach, but I found I should have so many Duties to pay in coming through Holland, Flanders, & England that it would not answer; they perform some plays there during the Fairs, and notwithstanding I could not speak the Language, I was desirous to go, and I made shift to make out good part of the play, by asking my Son some questions, so I will give it to you in the best manner I can from recollection; and which I think was nearly as follows; it represented a German Brazier, who was a great politician, and who went every day to a public House, where a number of the same sort of people meet to talk their matters over, to the great neglect of his Family and Business, and he being the

and chains set all over with diamonds. I am sure these stocks must be very valuable. I settled a trade there with one Mr Broach of Berlin who keeps all the great fairs in that part of the world, and who afterwards sent me orders in one letter for 300 watches of gold, silver and metal. At this fair I saw a number of fine ladies who were very fair, genteel and pretty. Amongst other things, I saw some cream coloured horses, very beautiful; I might have bought a pair for 30 guineas which were like the cream coloured horses the King rides and drives in his coach, but I found I should have so many duties to pay in coming through Holland, Flanders & England that it would not answer. They perform some plays there during the fair, and notwithstanding I could not speak the language, I was desirous to go, and I made shift to make out good part of the play by asking my son some questions, so I will give it to you in the best manner I can from recollection, and which I think was nearly as follows. It represented a German brazier who was a great politician, and who went every day to a public house, where a number of the same sort of people meet to talk their matters over, to the great neglect of his family and business. And he being the

cleverest among them, he began to be proud of himself and followed it so closely that his poor wife and family was so neglected, that at last she was continually going after him to fetch him home, and used to give it him very handsomely, telling him he ought to be ashamed of himself to lead such a life, and that she could nor would not put up with it any longer; by which means they became to be very unhappy. And his companions finding him a sensible fellow, unanimously chose him a burgomaster, after which he still continued to neglect his business, and his wife never forgot to come after him, but he used to silence her by telling her that he was made a burgomaster and that she was a lady; but she would not believe it, and told him to come home and mind his business, and not stay idling his time away about such stuff. At last he convinced her it was true, and she began to listen to what they told her, which was that she was a great lady etc., and that she was to receive the visits from all the ladies in the city. So they dressed her out in a satin gown in order to receive her company, with a great rough dog for her lap, and put a livery on one of the tinkering fellows, and the tea-table was spread and some coffee brought in a black

cleverest among them, he began to be proud of himself, and followed it so closely, that his poor Wife and Family was so neglected, that at last, ^{she} was continually going after him to fetch him home, and used to give it him very handsomely, telling him he ought to be ashamed of himself, to lead such a life, and that he could nor would not put up with it any longer, by which means they became to be very unhappy; and his companions finding him a sensible Fellow, unanimously chose him a Burgo-master, after which, he still continued to neglect his Business, and his Wife never forgot to come after him, but he used to silence her by telling her that he was made a Burgomaster, and that she was a Lady, but she would not believe it, and told him to come home and mind his Business and not stay idling his time away about such stuff, at last he convinced her it was true, and she began to listen to what they told her, which was that she was a great Lady &c, and that she was to receive the visits from all the Ladies in the City; so they dress her out, in a Sattin Gown in order to receive her company with a great rough Dog for her Lap, and put on a Livery on one of the Tinkering fellows, and the Tea-table was spread and some coffee brought in a black
tin

tin pot, with Sugar that was very coarse, and every thing to make it look as bad as possible, and at the appointed time, in came the Ladies, and went up to the new Burgomaster's Lady (who was seated all in form with the great Lap-dog, and one of his journeymen black tinkers for a Footman) and ^{they} knelt down and kissed the Hem of her Apron, for they were not allowed to kiss her Hand; when this Ceremony was over, the awkward Footman, handed about the Coffee out of the black pot, and did it in such a manner that I could not help laughing; when this scene was ended, and the Ladies gone, the Burgomaster was seated as a Justice of peace, to examine & try several things, that were to come before him, which so plagued (and pestered him, that it almost made him mad, for there came in several Lawyers with long pieces of parchment in their Hands, and they spoke so fast, and laid down so much Law, and said so many things which he did not understand, that he wished himself with his old friends in the public House again, and that they had never made him a Burgomaster; he was obliged to send them all away and not finish the Business, and he told his Footman, if they came again the next day, to tell them he was not at home; but when they came the next day, they gave so many knocks at the

(Door

tin pot, with sugar that was very coarse, and every thing to make it look as bad as possible. And at the appointed time, in came the ladies and went up to the new burgomaster's lady (who was seated all in form with the great lap-dog and one of his journeymen black tinkers for a footman), and they knelt down and kissed the hem of her apron, for they were not allowed to kiss her hand. When this ceremony was over, the awkward footman handed about the coffee out of the black pot, and did it in such a manner that I could not help laughing. When this scene was ended and the ladies gone, the burgomaster was seated as a justice of peace to examine & try several things that were to come before him, which so plagued and pestered him that it almost made him mad, for there came in several lawyers with long pieces of parchment in their hands, and they spoke so fast, and laid down so much law, and said so many things which he did not understand, that he wished himself with his old friends in the public house again, and that they had never made him a burgomaster. He was obliged to send them all away and not finish the business, and he told the footman, if they came again the next day, to tell them he was not at home; but when they came the next day, they gave so many knocks at the

door and made such a noise that the footman let them in; and the burgomaster was so much afraid that he crept under the table, & when they came in, he pulled up the covering and discovered his master, who came out and they began again to lay down the law to him in the same manner as before, that he could not contain himself, but begged to quit his office of being burgomaster, and went to work again and found himself more happy in his own profession than before. I thought it ended pretty well, as it taught people to be contented with their own situation. I think there are six Lutheran churches, which is the established religion, one for the Calvinists and a Roman chapel. I am informed there are 40,000 souls within the gates besides a great many in the suburbs, and there is a capital university. There is great quantity of wool brought here, which is manufactured into cloth that is painted and looks like tapestry. They have several good inns, but I found them much dearer than at Frankfurt and not half so commodious; instead of 16d. for a dinner it cost us 5s. After remaining here 8 days, I set out in the same coach with my son Edward back again to Frankfurt, and took in for company's sake a merchant from Poland & a young student, which made our time pass away more agreeable. The gentleman told us a story of the Prince of Dessau³⁵

Door, and made such a noise, that the Footman let them in, and the Burgomaster was so much afraid that he crept under the Table, & when they came in, he pulled up the covering, and discovered his Master, who came out, and they began again to lay down the Law to him in the same manner as before, that he could not contain himself, but begged to quit his Office of being Burgomaster, and went to work again, and found himself more happy in his own profession than before; - I thought it ended pretty well, as it taught people to be contented with their own Situation. - I think there are six Lutheran Churches, which is the established Religion, one for the Calvinists, and a Roman Chapel, I am informed there are 40000 Souls within the Gates, besides a great many in the Suburbs, and there is a capital University; there is great quantity of Wool brought here, which is manufactured into cloth, that is painted and looks like Tapestry; they have several good Inns, but I found them much dearer than at Frankfurt, and not half so commodious, instead of 16 for a Dinner it cost us 5/0; after remaining here 8 days, I set out in the same Coach, with my Son Edward back again to Frankfurt, and took in, for Company's sake, a Merchant from Poland, & a young Student, which made our time pass away more agreeable: the Gentleman told us a Story of the Prince of Dessau
who

who died about 20 years before, and who was in the King of Prussia's Service; and who had a Son that he brought up as nature would direct, without any kind of Education, and let him run wild without any cloaths but a long kind of Shirt; one day this Lad was sent to Market for some Apples, and the woman wanted to know when she was to put them, and he took up the end of Shirt, as innocent as possible, and told her to put them there, for he had no Basket or any thing else; - as I have already given a description of the Road between Leipzig and Frankfurt I shall say no more on that head, only acquaint you that we arrived at Frankfurt on the 24th May after travelling 7 days, and found the distance thither and back to be 504 miles. I paid the old coachman 16 Guineas for the hire of his coach, and his attendance at Leipzig 8 days when we parted with Mr Douglass and Clotz. - My Business being done at Frankfurt, we took leave of our Friends and the next day agreed with two Watermen to take us in a boat with a covering over it to Mainz, for 9/6, for which I had two Reasons, 1st that I thought the Rhine must be very pleasant, and 2^d it was much cheaper than going by land; the Weather proved very stormy and bad; at one place it was so bad with
Thunder

who died about 20 years before, and who was in the King of Prussia's service; and who had a son that he brought up as nature would direct, without any kind of education, and let him run wild without any clothes but a long kind of shirt. One day, this lad was sent to market for some apples, and the woman wanted to know where she was to put them, and he took up the end of shirt as innocent as possible, and told her to put them there, for he had no basket or anything else. As I have already given a description of the road between Leipzig and Frankfurt, I shall say no more on that head, only acquaint you that we arrived at Frankfurt on the 24th May after travelling 7 days, and found the distance thither and back to be 504 miles. I paid the old coachman 16 guineas for the hire of his coach and his attendance at Leipzig 8 days, where we parted with Mr Douglass and Clotz. My business being done at Frankfurt, we took leave of our friends and the next day agreed with two watermen to take us in a boat with a covering over it to Mainz for 9s. 6d., for which I had two reasons, 1st that I thought the Rhine must be very pleasant, and 2nd it was much cheaper than going by land. The weather proved very stormy and bad. At one place it was so bad with

thunder and lightning that the men, (who were but fresh-water sailors), would not go on, but run us up under some trees and fell to prayers, where we remained till it was fair; and soon after, we observed they were much frightened again, and as we came on we saw a whirlpool from which they kept at as great a distance as possible. When we arrived at Mainz, we found a Mr Sax, an English gentleman with his lady, child & maid, in a very good barge with a deck to it and all proper conveniences below; who perceiving us to be English, asked us to come on board and dine with him, which I readily accepted of. I think he was a miniature painter. He told me he had just sold his coach that he had been travelling about in all through Germany. He was very polite and well behaved, and his wife was a pretty sort of woman. We were very happy and were two days and a half going from Mainz to Cologne, where we parted. From Cologne, we proceeded to Nijmegen, Zutphen, Arnhem, Deventer and Amsterdam, all which I have already described; and shall only say that this voyage down the Rhine was the most pleasant I ever had by water, there being so many towns, villages, vineyards, plantations etc. in view, that I think it is well worth the notice of any traveller.

Thunder and Lightning, that the Men (who were but fresh-water Sailors) would not go on, but run us up under some trees, and fell to prayers, where we remained till it was fair, and soon after we observed they were much frightened again, and as we came on we saw a Whirlpool, from which they kept ^{at} as great a distance as possible; when we arrived at Mainz, we found A. M. Sax, an English gentleman, with his Lady, Child & Maid in a very good Barge, with a deck to it, and all proper conveniences below, who perceiving us to be English, asked us to come on board and dine with him, which I readily accepted of, I think he was a Miniature Painter, he told me he had just sold his coach, that he had been travelling about in, all through Germany; he was very polite and well behaved, and his Wife was a pretty sort of a Woman; we were very happy (and were two days and a half going from Mainz to Cologne, where we parted; from Cologne we proceeded to Nijmegen, Zutphen, Arnhem, Deventer, and Amsterdam, all which I have already described; and shall only say that this Voyage down the Rhine was the most pleasant I ever had by water, there being so many Towns Villages Vineyards, Plantations &c. in view, that I think it is well worth the notice of any Traveller

veller, - from Amsterdam I set out for London, and left my Son Edward with my Son James at Amsterdam, and in Septem^r. 1770, I sent my Son Francis over to Amsterdam, and Edward came back in his stead, in December, and in the July following I sent Peter over with M^r Vandorn, of 's Hertogenbosch, in Flanders, to learn German, Low Dutch &c, and when he came back I put him apprentice to M^r John Moore, Working Goldsmith in Fleetstreet, and gave £60 with him, and after he had served six years of his time M^r Moore, commenced Refiner, and Peter was turned over to me, and tried at his own Business, which did not answer, as trade in that way was exceeding bad; at that time, my brother Richard, at Exeter, died, and left a Widow and eight children, so I took him and M^r Wm. Brown, who had been many Years as Foreman in my House, together to look after the Business, and for M^r Brown to learn Peter our Business, for which I was to give him 30 pounds a year, for two Years, and his Board; and I thought of a partnership, and that they may extend the Business, both in the whole sale and retail way, but they could not agree, so I was obliged to send Peter to London, and then he put himself to a finisher to learn the Business, and afterwards worked for our House; but as I had parted from our Rider, and my son Francis went into

From Amsterdam I set out for London, and left my son Edward with my son James at Amsterdam; and in September 1770, I sent my son Francis over to Amsterdam and Edward came back in his stead in December. And in the July following, I sent Peter over with Mr Vandorn of 's Hertogenbosch in Flanders to learn German, Low Dutch etc.; and when he came back, I put him apprentice to Mr John Moore, working goldsmith in Fleet Street, and gave £60 with him;³⁶ and after he had served six years of his time, Mr Moore commenced refiner and Peter was turned over to me and tried at his own business, which did not answer, as trade in that way was exceeding bad. At that time [1778], my brother Richard at Exeter died and left a widow and eight children, so I took him and Mr Wm. Brown,³⁷ who had been many years as foreman in my house, together to look after the business and for Mr Brown to learn Peter our business, for which I was to give him £30 a year for two years and his board. And I thought of a partnership and that they may extend the business, both in the wholesale and retail way, but they could not agree; so I was obliged to send Peter to London and then he put himself to a finisher to learn the business, and afterwards worked for our house; but as I had parted from our rider, and my son Francis went into our House; but as I had parted from our Rider, and my son Francis went into

business for himself, I took Peter to ride for me and he is in that line now, and it seems to suit him very well.

I have now given you an account of myself to the time that I left off the management of the business to my son and partner; and shall now proceed to give you an account of my business and connections with Mr James Cox of Shoe Lane, with whom I had done business for several years. He bespoke of me some very curious Temples and large pieces of work, which I shall give a description of hereafter, but unlucky for me he broke and left them on my hands. I should not have undertaken such large affairs if he had not tempted me by giving me a great deal of his business, and he paid me for every thing I did for him. I commenced doing business for him in the year 1763, and made him a number of skeleton watches in gold rims at 36 guineas a pair, and I had £300 for a pair of gold enamelled repeaters that was set with diamonds, and a number of other gold, silver & metal watches, besides a great many whimsical things for his exhibition and to send abroad, the whole to the amount of £3,600, which he had paid for before he bespoke these large affairs; for at that time, when I had sold all that I had made on speculation, I was fully determined not to do any more but what was bespoke. So he gave me

into Business for Himself, I took Peter to ride for me, and he is in that line now, and it seems to suit him very well.

I have now given you an Account of myself to the time that I left off the management of the Business to my Son and partner, and shall now proceed to give you an Account of my Business and Connections with Mr James Cox, of Shoe Lane, with whom I had done Business for several years; he bespoke of me some very curious Temples and large pieces of work which I shall give a description of hereafter, but unlucky for me he broke and left them on my hands; ~~and I should not have undertaken such large affairs, if he had not tempted me by giving me a great deal of his Business, and he paid me for every thing I did for him; I commenced doing business for him in the year 1763, and made him a number of Skeleton Watches in gold rims, at 36 guineas a pair, and I had 300 for a pair of gold enamelled Repeater that was set with Diamonds, and a number of other Gold Silver & Metal Watches, besides a great many whimsical things for his Exhibition and to send abroad, the whole to the amount of 3600, which he had paid for before he bespoke these large Affairs; for at that time when I had sold all that I had made on Speculation, I was fully determined not to do any more but what was bespoke, so he gave me~~ orders

(120)

Orders for 3 pair of very large and expensive things, from some Drawings which I shewed him; when he broke they were more than half done and I had expended some Thousands in getting them so forward, and was at a loss to know what to do, however I concluded to finish the ^{large} Temples first, as they were near done, and I had engaged my two Foremen for 3 years; in the year 1770. the first pair was finished, and sent out as you will see by the description of them hereafter. — I had been two Journeys into Germany, and had settled a good Trade there, and found that Hamborough was the Key of all Germany; — in September 1771, I sent my Son Edward to Hamborough to a M^r Blucher a Merchant, and was to give ~~£~~ 200 with him for 4 years, and after the expiration of the 4 years, he agreed to take him into Partnership; my reason for sending him there was that he may be settled in a House, and take care of my Business in that quarter, with the assistance of M^r Blucher; I then sent him over between £500, worth of Watches, &c for that Trade, in expectation of their doing as I had desired them, for at that time I had great Orders from that part of the Country, and I thought, if one of my Sons was placed there, that great things would be done; but you will find how much

(128)

orders for 3 pair of very large and expensive things, from some drawings which I showed him. When he broke, they were more than half done and I had expended some thousands in getting them so forward, and was at a loss to know what to do. However, I concluded to finish the large Temples first, as they were near done and I had engaged my two foremen for 3 years. In the year 1770, the first pair was finished, and sent out as you will see by the description of them hereafter. I had been two journeys into Germany and had settled a good trade there, and found that Hamburg was the key of all Germany. In September 1771 I sent my son Edward to Hamburg, to a Mr Blucher a merchant, and was to give £200 with him for 4 years, and after the expiration of the 4 years he agreed to take him into partnership. My reason for sending him there was that he may be settled in a house, and take care of my business in that quarter, with the assistance of Mr Blucher. I then sent him over between £400 and £500-worth of watches etc. for that trade, in expectation of their doing as I had desired them, for at that time I had great orders from that part of the country, and I thought if one of my sons was placed there, that great things would be done. But you will find how

much I was mistaken, for to add to the misfortunes I had just before sustained by Cox's becoming a bankrupt, my son Edward, instead of minding the business I sent him about, took to dressing, gaming etc., and in the first year he made away with and destroyed all the money my goods fetched, and went off and I could not tell where he was gone. But afterwards, I found that he went to Amsterdam, for my son James met him there in the street, and compelled him to deliver up what few matters he had not then disposed of, which fetched very little indeed. He kept him close, and wrote to his brother Francis of my house in London, to know what was to be done with him, for I was then at The Hague endeavouring to sell part of my things (which was left on my hands by Cox) to the Prince of Orange. And while I was there, his two brothers, unknown to me, sent him home to my house in Red Lion Street, and got him as a clerk to a merchant going to Charles Town in South Carolina, where he was taken sick and died, so I never saw him after he went away from my house in London. The three pieces I took to The Hague to show the Prince were part of those that came back from Canton in China, and consisted of one Triumphal Car, two small Temples and a Post-Chaise,

much I was mistaken, for to add to the misfortunes I had just before sustained, by Cox's becoming a Bankrupt, my son Edward, instead of minding the Business I sent him about, took to Dressing, Gaming &c, and in the first year he made away with (and destroyed all the Money my Goods fetched, and went off, and I could not tell where he was gone, but afterwards I found that he went to Amsterdam, for my Son James met him there in the Street, and compelled him to deliver up what few matters he had not then disposed of, which fetched very little indeed; he kept him close, and wrote to his Brother Francis at my House in London, to know what was to be done with him, for I was then at the Hague endeavouring to sell part of my things (which was left on my Hands by Cox) to the Prince of Orange; and while I was there his two Brothers unknown to me, sent him home to my House in Red Lion Street, and got him as a Clerk to a Merchant going to Charles Town, in South Carolina, where he was taken sick and died; so I never saw him after he went away from my House in London. — The three pieces I took to the Hague to show the Prince, were part of those that came back from Canton in China, and consisted of one Triumphal Car, two small Temples, and a Post Chaise with

with a great Assortment of Gold enamelled Watches, & Chains, (and Toys of different kinds; I think it was in the year 1773, that I sent my large Affairs over to the Hague, which cost me eight pounds for the freight; I went in the packet, and took a Mr. Martineau with me, who could speak the Dutch Language, and I had my son Thomas there at school, and with these Assistants, I took a large Room near the Palace at the Hague, which cost me 5 ducats a week, and I paid my Man a Guinea a week, all the time he stayed: as soon as I had put my things in order, I waited on Sir Joseph Yorke, our Ambassador, to acquaint him with what I had brought, and he received me very politely, and told me that he would come and see them the next day, when on coming into the Room, he said Good God! Mr Upjohn where do you think to get your money for these things, in answer, I told him, I came over to consult him about that, and hoped he would recommend them to the Prince of Orange, that he may buy them for his Cabinet of Curiosities, for I had seen the Apartments, and thought that one Room wanted something to fill it, he said it was a difficult matter to get money out of a Dutchmans pocket, but that he would do his best for me, and that the Prince was to sup
with

with a great assortment of gold enamelled watches & chains and toys of different kinds. I think it was in the year 1773 that I sent my large affairs over to The Hague, which cost me £8 for the freight. I went in the packet and took a Mr Martineau³⁸ with me, who could speak the Dutch language, and I had my son Thomas there at school, and with these assistants, I took a large room near the palace at The Hague, which cost me 5 ducats a week, and I paid my man a guinea a week all the time he stayed. As soon as I had put my things in order, I waited on Sir Joseph Yorke our ambassador, to acquaint him with what I had brought, and he received me very politely and told me that he would come and see them the next day; when on coming into the room, he said "Good God! Mr Upjohn, where do you think to get your money for these things?" In answer, I told him I came over to consult him about that, and hoped he would recommend them to the Prince of Orange, that he may buy them for his Cabinet of Curiosities, for I had seen the apartments and thought that one room wanted something to fill it. He said it was a difficult matter to get money out of a Dutchman's pocket, but that he would do his best for me; and that the Prince was to sup

with him the next night and he would speak to him about it. After he had seen & admired them as he thought proper, he said he would leave a guinea, which I desired him not to do, and told him I thought his Excellency did me great honour in coming to see them. Notwithstanding which, he insisted on leaving the guinea & put it down on the table and went away; and afterwards, was so obliging as to tell the Prince that there was a countryman of his come over with some very curious things, and that he had been to see, and had given him great satisfaction; and he desired the Prince to go, which he promised he would the next day. But the Prince at that time had a young prince born and was to be christened the next week, which brought such a number of nobility etc. from all quarters, and he had so many engagements on his hands, that he forgot to come. So I waited day after day, expecting him to come, until the eighth day when I had no more patience, for it was very expensive, for I paid 5 ducats a week for my room, a guinea to my man, and there was my son Tom's board as well as mine. So I wrote a few lines to Sir Joseph & acquainted him that I had waited 8 days without seeing the Prince, and that I was at great expenses, and begged to know what he would advise me to do. And he told my son to tell me not to wait any longer for him, but show them to the public; and he sent word that, as he knew the nature of the Dutch, I should get more money to show them at a

with him the next night, and he would speak to him about it; after he had seen & admired ^{them} as he thought proper, he said he would leave a guinea, which I desired him not to do, and told him I thought his Excellency did me great honor in coming to see them, notwithstanding which, he insisted, on leaving the guinea, & put it down on the Table, and went away, and afterwards was so obliging as to tell the prince, that there was a countryman of his come over, with some very curious things, and that he had been to see, and had given him great satisfaction, and he desired the prince to go, which he promised he would the next day, but the prince at that time had a young prince born, and was to be christened the next week, which brought such a number of Nobility, &c. from all quarters, and he had so many Engagements on his Hands, that he forgot to come; so I waited day after day, expecting him to come, until the 8th day, when I had no more patience, for it was very expensive, for I paid 5 ducats a week for my room, a guinea to my Man, and there was my son Tom's Board as well as mine; so I wrote a few lines to Sir Joseph, & acquainted him that I had waited 8 days, without seeing the prince, and that I was at great expenses, and beg'd to know what he would advise me to do; (and he told my Son to tell me, not to wait any longer for him, but show them to the public, and he sent word that as he knew the nature of the Dutch, I should get more money, to show them at a

Gilder

Guilder than at a Dollar; so I advertised it immediately in the
 papers, agreeable to Sir Joseph's plan, this was on the Saturday,
 so on Monday, I had several people to see them, and likewise
 on the Tuesday, and Wednesday, when I received several Messages
 that the Prince was coming, and about eleven O'clock he came, with
 the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and 12 Noblemen with them; under one
 of the Temples, was an Organ, which played a very fine piece of
 Music, so I set the Organ at work, and drew up the Festoon-
 Curtains, and the Prince seemed to be much astonished at both
 hearing and seeing, and came up to me in a very polite manner,
 and said it was an honour to me and my Country, to shew him
 such things, and asked me if I could take them to the Palace
 in the Wood; I found the Princess could not come to see them, for
 she had not been out since the Prince was born, who was to be
 christened the next week; I told him I could, but it would be
 attended with a deal of Trouble, for the Table that the Car run
 upon, was six feet diameter, and the top was in three different
 pieces, screwed together, and it had seven Feet, with Brass caps
 that screwed up and down to make it level; the pair of Tables
 cost me above 200, with packing case &c; when the Prince and
 his company had viewed them as much as they thought proper,

guilder than at a dollar; so I advertised it immediately in
 the papers, agreeable to Sir Joseph's plan. This was on the
 Saturday, so on Monday I had several people to see them and
 likewise on the Tuesday and Wednesday, when I received
 several messages that the Prince was coming, and about
 eleven o'clock he came with the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and 12
 noblemen with them. Under one of the Temples was an organ
 which played a very fine piece of music, so I set the organ at
 work and drew up the festoon-curtains; and the Prince seemed
 to be much astonished at both hearing and seeing, and came
 up to me in a very polite manner and said it was an honour
 to me and my country to show him such things, and asked
 me if I could take them to the palace in the Wood. I found the
 Princess could not come to see them, for she had not been
 out since the prince was born, who was to be christened the
 next week. I told him I could, but it would be attended with a
 deal of trouble, for the table that the car run upon was six feet
 diameter, and the top was in three different pieces screwed
 together, and it had seven feet with brass caps that screwed
 up and down to make it level. The pair of tables cost me
 above £200 with packing case etc. When the Prince and his
 company had viewed them as much as they thought proper,

he took his leave in a very polite manner, and went away and said no more to me about taking them to the House in the Wood. Soon after he was gone, he sent back one of his noblemen with a little roll of paper, in which were 12 ducats as a present for the sight. But in a day or two after, Baron Vanzoolen sent for me & when I waited on him, he desired me to meet him that afternoon at the House in the Wood to settle this matter, and I promised to meet him at 5 o'clock, and took Mr Mayaffree, a gentleman of my acquaintance, with me, who could speak French, Dutch and English very well. I waited on him at the time and found Baron Wilkins with him, and they asked me what I must have to bring my things and show them to the Court. I said I would not ask anything but would leave it to the Prince, as I did not doubt his generosity; but they were not satisfied with that, and said that would not do but that I must mention the sum, which I was determined not to do for I wanted to see what they would be at. As they could not make anything of me, they called Mr Mayaffree to them. I saw what they wanted, which was to have something for nothing, which I told Mr Mayaffree, who said he was quite ashamed of the Court and of his country. He went to them and they asked him what they should offer me; and he

he took his leave, in a very polite manner, and went away and said no more to me about taking them to the House in the Wood, soon after he was gone, he sent back one of his Noblemen, with a little roll of paper, in which were 12 ducats, as a present for the sight; but in a day or two after, Baron Vanzoolen sent for me, & when I waited on him, he desired me to meet him that afternoon at the House in the wood, to settle this matter, and I promised to meet him at 5 o'clock, and took M^r Mayaffree, a gentleman of my acquaintance with me, who could speak French Dutch and English, very well; I waited on him, at the time, and found Baron Wilkins with him, and they asked me what I must have to bring my things and shew them to the Court, I said I would not ask any thing, but would leave it to the prince, as I did not doubt his generosity, but they were not satisfied with that, and said that would not do, but that I must mention the sum; which I was determin'd not to do, for I wanted to see what they would be at; as they could not make any thing of me, they called M^r Mayaffree to them; I saw what they wanted, which was to have ~~something~~ something for nothing, which I told M^r Mayaffree, who said he was quite ashamed of the Court, and of his country; he went to them, and they asked him what they should offer me, and he told

Told them that I lived in a genteel stile in England, and that he had been at my House, both in London and the Country, and that I kept a bariage, and that they could not offer me a trifle, then they asked him what they should offer, Mr. Mayaffree told them they could not offer less than a hundred ducats (which is not 50 £) and they said it was too much; after talking with them a long time, he came back and told me, that the most he would give was 20 ducats for the sight, and 4 more for the expences in bringing them to the House, and taking them back to the Hague, which nettled me, and I desired Mr. Mayaffree to go back, & tell them, I would shew them to the Prince for nothing; and the next day I took them down, and met Baron Vanzoolen, and we looked out the best Room for the purpose, and the Baron assisted me in getting ready, and helped up the bar &c upon the Table, with all the good-nature possible; and when all was in order, he went and acquainted the Prince, that all was ready, and soon after he came in with the Prince, and a young Princess in leading-strings, who seemed to be very much pleased; then followed the Prince of Wolfenbüttel, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and the Prince of Glætestain, and about a hundred and fifty Nobility, and Gentry, of the different provinces; this I thought was a good time to sell, not
only

told them that I lived in a genteel style in England, and that he had been at my house, both in London and the country, and that I kept a carriage, and that they could not offer me a trifle. Then they asked him what they should offer. Mr Mayaffree told them they could not offer less than a hundred ducats (which is not £50), and they said it was too much. After talking with them a long time, he came back and told me that the most [they] would give was 20 ducats for the sight and 4 more for the expenses in bringing them to the house and taking them back to The Hague; which nettled me and I desired Mr Mayaffree to go back & tell them I would show them to the Prince for nothing. And the next day I took them down and met Baron Vanzoolen, and we looked out the best room for the purpose, and the baron assisted me in getting ready and helped up the car etc. upon the table, with all the good-nature possible. And when all was in order, he went and acquainted the Prince that all was ready, and soon after he came in with the Princess and a young princess in leading-strings, who seemed to be very much pleased; then followed the Prince of Wolfenbüttel, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and the Prince of Glætestain, and about a hundred and fifty nobility and gentry of the different provinces. This, I thought, was a good time to sell not

only my large things, but my gold enamelled watches, chains, trinkets, toys etc. which I had brought over; but to my great surprise I did not sell a single thing, notwithstanding they were so much admired by all of them; so that I had all these great people to talk with, (as many as could speak English, and those who could not, I conversed with through my son Thomas, who could speak French and Dutch very well), and they behaved with great politeness, especially the Prince of Orange who talked with me very often. So I showed it to them first by day-light and afterwards by candle-light, and I can assure you that, what with my things and the elegance of the room & company, it cut a grand figure. When the Prince and company had seen enough, the Prince came up to me and made a very genteel bow, and said "Mr Upjohn, I thank you and wish you a good night;" and soon after the room was cleared and the people all gone, the Prince sent his cashier to me with a roll of ducats as before, which when I opened, I found no more than 24, which was the very sum they offered and no more. So after I had paid all expenses of taking them there and back again to The Hague, I had just 32 ducats for my trouble in showing them at The Hague and at the House in the Wood. I think this is enough to let you see the

only my large things, but my Gold enamelled Watches, Chains, Trinkets, Toys &c, which I had brought over; but to my great surprise I did not sell a single thing, notwithstanding they were so much admired by all of them; so that I had all these great people to talk with, (as many as could speak English, and those who could not, I conversed with thro' my Son Thomas, who could speak French and Dutch very well) and they behaved with great politeness especially the Prince of Orange, who talk'd with me very often; so I shewed it to them first by day light, and afterwards by candle-light; and I can assure ^{you} that, what with my things and the elegance of the Room & Company, it cut a grand Figure; When the Prince and Company had seen enough, the Prince came up to me, and made a very genteel Bow, and said "Mr Upjohn I thank you and wish you a good night;" and soon after the Room was cleared, and the people all gone, the Prince sent his cashier to me, with a roll of ducats, as before, which when I opened, I found no more than 24, which was the very Sum they offered, and no more; so after I had paid all expenses of taking them there and back again to the Hague, I had just 32 ducats for my Trouble in showing them, at the Hague, and at the House in the Wood; - I think this is enough to let you see the Generosity

generosity of the Dutch, — after I had been at the Hague eleven weeks, I had not cleared my expenses: I think a private gentleman in England would have paid me better for my trouble, than I was paid by the Prince of Orange, for if you reckon the number of people who were there you will find it a mere trifle to pay for the sight of such curiosities,* which was but half what was left on my hands by Mr Cox.

After I had stayed eleven weeks at the Hague, and could do little or nothing there, I was willing to try farther, I took my things to Amsterdam, where I could not show them without the permission of the Burgomaster, nor then, without I would allow them one quarter of the money that was taken at the Door; so they sent a man with an Iron Box, or small chest, with a notch in the Top of it, to put the money in, and insisted on my paying this fellow a guilder a day for taking my money, I told them that they were more arbitrary than the King of Prussia, and I had scarce patience to put up with it; when I had been there some time, and had been 3 months from home, and being quite tired, and wanting to be at home

* For a Description of them See pages 152, 153, 154 & 155.

generosity of the Dutch. After I had been at The Hague eleven weeks, I had not cleared my expenses. I think a private gentleman in England would have paid me better for my trouble than I was paid by the Prince of Orange, for if you reckon the number of people who were there, you will find it a mere trifle to pay for the sight of such curiosities,* which was but half what was left on my hands by Mr Cox.

After I had stayed eleven weeks at The Hague and could do little or nothing there, I was willing to try farther & took my things to Amsterdam, where I could not show them without the permission of the Burgomaster, nor then without I would allow them one quarter of the money that was taken at the door. So they sent a man with an iron box or small chest with a notch in top of it to put the money in, and insisted on my paying this fellow a guilder a day for taking my money; I told them that they were more arbitrary than the King of Prussia, and I had scarce patience to put up with it. When I had been there some time and had been 3 months from home, and being quite tired and wanting to be at home

* For a Description of them see pages 152, 153, 154 & 155

to transact my business there, I agreed with a German clockmaker to go with my son Thomas all through the different provinces to see if anything could be done, and then I came home. But this was making bad worse, for Tom was a young, wild, unsteady fellow, and took care to spend the money as fast as he could get it. As this was the case, I sent for his accounts Dr. & Cr.³⁹ and found nothing coming in. I then ordered the things all to be packed up and put into their proper cases and put by, and they remained there in that situation for two years; at the end of which I got them home, and sent them out by a captain, as said in the description of them, and they were sold for £3,035, out of which he was paid 10 per cent commission. So that this affair from first to last turned out a very heavy loss, from the time I had been kept out of my money, which was from the year 1770 to 1777, which was 7 years that I was kept out of my money, besides all the other losses I sustained; for by the pair of tables and domes I lost near £200, for what cost me £200 fetched me no more than £12, and what ought to have fetched me £13,000 and upwards was sold and brought me no more than £2,800. For all the time they were in hand, I could make no use of the money, either in trade or the stocks.

(137)
 to transact my Business there; I agreed with a German clockmaker to go with my son Thomas all through the different provinces, to see if any thing could be done, and then I came home; but this was making bad worse, for Tom was a young wild, unsteady, fellow, and took care to spend the money as fast as he could get it, as this was the case, I sent for his Accounts Dr. & Cr. and found nothing coming in; I then ordered the things all to be packed up and put into their proper Cases, and put by, and they remained there in that situation, for two Years, at the end of which, I got them home and sent them out by a Captain, as said in the description of them, and they were sold for 3035, out of which he was paid 10 per cent Commission; so that this Affair from first to last turned out a very heavy loss, from the time I had been kept out of my Money, which was from the year 1770 to 1777, which was 7 Years, that I was kept out of my Money, besides the other losses I sustained; for by the pair of tables and Domes I lost near 200, for what cost me 200. fetched me no more than 12, and what ought to have fetched me 13000, and upwards, was sold and brought me no more than 2800, for all the time they were in hand, I could make no use of the money, either in Trade or the Stocks.

From the bad success I had met with, I was determined to quit my Country House, sell my Landauette, and to turn off my Servants, and go to my Town House to Business again; and at that time I was much wasted in Body with fretting, and was quite low in Spirits, but on serious reflection, I found it a folly to fret as it could do me no good, but injure myself and Family; so I fixed a resolution, to behave like a Man of Honor & Honesty, and was determined to lop off all superfluous Expences, and to let my Country House which I did, and got 65 guineas for 6 months, ready furnished, (and afterwards, I let it for a year more for 50, and after that gave up the Lease to my Son-in-law, M^r Wirgman; at this time I was so unhappy in my mind, that I went to M^r Olive my Surgeon in London, and told him I was come for his advice, and that I was not sick, but very much depressed in my Spirits, for that I had met with a number of crosses and disappointments, one upon the back of the other, and that I wanted to behave like a Man, and desired him to tell me the best way to get out of it; he said he had heard of my misfortunes, & was sorry for me and would give me the best

advice

From the bad success I had met with, I was determined to quit my country house, sell my landauette,⁴⁰ and to turn off my servants, and go to my town house to business again. And at that time I was much wasted in body with fretting and was quite low in spirits, but on serious reflection I found it a folly to fret, as it could do me no good, but injure myself and family. So I fixed a resolution to behave like a man of honour & honesty, and was determined to lop off all superfluous expenses and to let my country house, which I did and got 65 guineas for 6 months, ready furnished, and afterwards I let it for a year more for £50, and after that gave up the lease to my son-in-law, Mr Wirgman. At this time, I was so unhappy in my mind that I went to Mr Olive, my surgeon in London, and told him I was come for his advice, and that I was not sick but very much depressed in my spirits, for that I had met with a number of crosses and disappointments, one upon the back of the other, and that I wanted to behave like a man, and desired him to tell me the best way to get out of it. He said he had heard of my misfortunes & was very sorry for me, and would give me the best

advice he could. And in the first place, he desired me not to look back but to look forward, and endeavour to forget all my misfortunes, and to go to the tavern in the evenings and drink a glass of wine and laugh and talk with my friends; and then to subscribe to the Cold Bath⁴¹ and go in two or three times every week, which would be of service to me. He advised me likewise to change my air and go a journey into the country. I then bought a one-horse chaise and went into the country, through Essex, Norfolk & Suffolk, amongst my old friends and customers whom I had not seen for many years; as I had so largely dipped into foreign affairs, I had neglected them. The first old friend I found in Essex was very much surprised at seeing me, and said "Good God! Mr Upjohn, are you come again? I thought we should never have seen you more, and that you was rich and proud and above us poor country fellows," and said I had entirely forsaken them. In answer to which, I said I did not quit them for I never refused their orders, but as I had so much business at home and abroad, I could not wait on them in person. I had done a great deal of business all over England, and had made 2,500 watches a year for many years successively for the country trade only. My old friend asked me to drink tea with him, which I readily accepted of, and after a little chat he said he would give

advice he could, and in the first place, he desired me not to look back, but to look forward, and endeavour to forget all my misfortunes, and to go to the Tavern in the Evening, and drink a glass of Wine, and laugh and talk with my Friends, and then to subscribe to the Cold Bath, and go in two or 3 times every week, which would be of Service to me; he advised me likewise to change my Air and go a Journey into the Country; I then bought a one-horse Chaise, and went into the Country, through Essex, Norfolk, & Suffolk, amongst my old Friends and Customers, whom I had not seen for many Years, — as I had so largely dipped into Foreign Affairs, I had neglected them; — the first old Friend I found in Essex was very much surprized at seeing me, and said "Good God! Mr Upjohn are you come again, I thought we should never have seen you more, and that you was rich and proud and above us poor Country Fellows", and said I had entirely forsaken them; in answer to which, I said, I did not quit them, for I never refused their Orders; but as I had so much business at home and abroad, I could not wait on them in person; — I had done a great deal of Business all over England, and had made 2500 Watches a year for many years successively, for the Country Trade only; my old Friend asked me to drink Tea with him, which I readily accepted of, and after a little chat, he said he would give
me

me an Order, for old Acquaintances sake; my Friends kind behavior to me, gave me Spirits, and as I went on from place to place, they all behaved so kind, and genteel to me, that it made me quite alive; and what with the change of Air, the Exercise and my being so politely received among my old Acquaintances, recovered me quite well in about 6 weeks, that I was out; from that time I have been getting into the old tract again, and have been throwing off my Foreign Trade; so that all the Education I had given my four Sons, was but of little use; they could all speak Dutch and French, and understood Merchants Accounts, but seem'd more inclined to live at home than to be Merchants abroad; - My grand design was, (after I had fix'd my son James in a House in Holland) to fix one at Hamborough, which I found to be the Key of all Germany, and which made me go twice all through that Country to see where the Trade lay; and finding Hamborough to be the place, I resolv'd on fixing my 3. son, Edward, there, and gave him an education suitable for the Business; my eldest Son, was intended to be my partner at home, and I was not to be confined to the Watch trade only, for I intended to deal in all Articles in England that would fetch a profit, and import all Articles from abroad that would fetch a profit here, and for the 3 Houses, to pay into each others hands; but what shall we say, Providence has

me an order for old acquaintance's sake. My friend's kind behaviour to me gave me spirits, and as I went on from place to place, they all behaved so kind and genteel to me that it made me quite alive. And what with the change of air, the exercise and my being so politely received among my old acquaintances, recovered me quite well in about 6 weeks that I was out. From that time, I have been getting into the old tract again, and have been throwing off my foreign trade, so that all the education I had given my four sons was but of little use; they could all speak Dutch and French, and understood merchants' accounts, but seemed more inclined to live at home than to be merchants abroad. My grand design was, (after I fixed my son James in a house in Holland), to fix one at Hamburg, which I found to be the key of all Germany, and which made me go twice all through that country to see where the trade lay; and finding Hamburg to be the place, I resolved on fixing my 3rd son Edward there, and gave him an education suitable for the business. My eldest son was intended to be my partner at home, and I was not to be confined to the watch trade only, for I intended to deal in all articles in England that would fetch a profit, and import all articles from abroad that would fetch a profit here, and for the 3 houses to pay into each others' hands. But what shall we say, Providence

has ordered it otherwise, and I hope for the best; for the many losses I met with abroad, my son Edward's leaving Hamburg and my son James being taken in by a fellow at Amsterdam for £2,000, made me call him home, and then I was determined to have all under my own eye. And to add to my misfortunes, after my son James had been taken in by a merchant who had taken up a quantity of goods and pawned them, (I think he paid £80 & upwards to get them out), he afterwards sent the goods to the East Indies and added as many more to them that the whole came to between £400 and £500, and took the captain's bond, which will never fetch a shilling. Notwithstanding all these misfortunes, and an innumerable quantity more that I sustained in London & about England, I have got through it and have at this time from £1,200 to £1,400 a year brought in by trade, for myself and partner. And now I'll let you see how I have been connected with my own family.⁴² I took Mr Wirgman in as a partner in December 1768 and gave him £500, which made him well known amongst all the trade and has been of great use to him, as by that means he has had as much as he could do. I gave my son Francis the Dutch trade to himself till 1780; and in December 1780 I gave my son Francis the 3rd part of all my trade to himself, which

has ordered it otherwise, and I hope for the best; for the many losses I met with abroad, my son Edward's leaving Hamborough, and my Son James being taken in by a Fellow at Amsterdam, for ^{the} 2000, made me call him home, and then I was determined to have all under my own eye; and to add to my misfortunes, after my son James had been taken in by a Merchant who had taken up a quantity of Goods and pawned them (I think he paid ^{the} 80 & upwards to get them out) he afterwards sent the Goods to the East Indies and added as many more to them that the whole came to ^{between four} £500, and took the Captain's Bond, which will never fetch a Shilling. ~~Notwithstanding all these misfortunes, and an innumerable quantity more, that I sustained in London & about England, I have got through it, and have at this time from 12 to 1400, brought in by Trade, for myself and partner. And, let you see, how I have been connected with my own Family. I took M^r Wirgman in as a partner, in December 1768, and gave him 500, which made him well known amongst all the Trade, and has been of great use to him, as by that means he has had as much as he could do; I gave my Son Francis the Dutch Trade to himself, and in Dec^r. 1780, I gave my son Francis the 3. part of my Trade, which~~

was what I called my North Journey, from London to Newcastle upon Tyne, with a set of settled customers in all the different countries on both sides, going down, and coming back, with my rider and horse, and £500 to trade with; I had given M^{rs} Wirgman the same sum when she was married to M^r Wirgman, and my son James has had the same sum wrote off to him; and in July 1782, I entered into a fresh partnership with my son James, which was for him to take the full management of the Business and to allow me £500 a year, but not to trust any body without my consent, and to receive my money at so much ^{to explain this matter fully} of week, as in the year to make up the full sum; in the first place, after my matters turn'd out so badly abroad, and my two sons, Francis & James were come home, I agreed to give each of them a 3rd part of the profits of my Business, for 3 years; which was from 1777, to 1778 & 1779, and in December 1780, Francis went for himself, and took a House in Bridgewater Square, and from that time my son James and myself were equal, till our fresh agreement, July 1st 1782, at which time, I came to live entirely in Green Street, ^{Kentish Town} and not to have any more to do with the conducting of the Business; and when we took out our bad Debts, the amount of them, to my share, was £908 etc. when I have done, I intend

was what I called my North Journey, from London to Newcastle upon Tyne, with a set of settled customers in all the different countries on both sides, going down and coming back, with my rider and horse and £500 to trade with. I had given Mrs Wirgman the same sum when she was married to Mr Wirgman, and my son James has had the same sum wrote off to him. And in July 1782, I entered into a fresh partnership with my son James, which was for him to take the full management of the business and to allow me £500 a year; but not to trust any body without my consent, and to receive my money at so much per week as in the year to make up the full sum. To explain this matter fully: in the first place, after my matters turned out so badly abroad and my two sons Francis & James were come home, I agreed to give each of them a 3rd part of the profits of my business for 3 years, which was from 1777 to 1778 & 1779; and in December 1780, Francis went for himself, and took a house in Bridgewater Square; and from that time my son James and myself were equal till our fresh agreement July 1st 1782, at which time I came to live entirely in Green Street, Kentish Town, and not to have any more to do with the conducting of the business; and when we took out our bad debts, the amount of them to my share was £908 etc. When I have done, I

intend getting the account of all my losses together and place them at the end of this book that I may see the amount, in order to let you see the difference of times and expenses from the year 1743, which was when I first came to London, until now, and which I think will be worth your notice.⁴³ When I first set out on horseback, which I believe was in the year 1746, I used to ride a journey of 500 miles in 18 days and spend but 5s. per day, whereas now our rider spends more than double that sum. I continued to ride on horse-back several years, till I was so bad that I had 7 plasters on at one time, which made me determine to buy a chaise, for I could ride on horse-back no longer. In the first chaise that I bought, I took Mrs Upjohn down to Exeter to see my father and mother and family, and took my first-born daughter with us, and came home by the way of Bath and Bristol. We set out in October 1758 & Mrs Wirgman was then about 12 years old. It was a two-wheeled chaise with two horses, and did very well at that time, for our post-chaises were then in the same style, and the people went in by a cover that lifted up in the front; but in a few years after, I had a four-wheeled chaise made which cost me forty guineas, and I drove it with a pair of grey horses for 12 years, and had

intend getting the account of all my losses together and place them at the end of this Book, that I may see the amount, in order to let you see the difference of Times, and Expences, from the year 1743; which was when I first came to London, untill now, and which I think will be worth your Notice; - When I first set out on Horseback, which I believe was in the year 1746, I used to ride a Journey of 500 Miles in 18 Days, and spend but 5/0 p^{er} Day, whereas now, our Rider spends more than double that Sum; I continued to ride on Horse-back several years, till I was so bad that I had 7 plasters on at one time, which made me determine to buy a Chaise, for I could ride on Horse-back no longer; in the first Chaise that I bought I took M^{rs} Upjohn down to Exeter, to see my Father and Mother and Family, and took my First-born Daughter with us, and came home, by the way of Bath and Bristol; we set out in October 1758, & M^{rs} Wirgman was then about 12 years old; it was a two-wheeled Chaise with two Horses, and did very well at that time, for our post Chaises were then in the same stile, and the people went in by a cover that lifted up in the Front; but in a few years after, I had a four-wheeled Chaise made, which cost me forty Guineas, and I drove ^{it with} a pair of Grey Horses, for 12 years, and had them

them when I first came into Green Street; the duty on Carriages at that time was 40 Shillings, which is not so high as it is now. I continued travelling in a Chaise till I left off the management of the Business, in July 1782. my Son Peter went the last Journey with me, and I introduced him to all my Friends in the West, since which, he has undertaken to ride the Journeys on Horse-back, and he seems to like it, and now rides for the House; - My Brother Nathaniel, died at Plymouth in December 1782, much lamented by all his Friends, for he bore a worthy character, he left a Son (Nathaniel) in the Business, and his Widow and Daughters in good Circumstances, and I find Nathaniel the 2. goes on very well. - As little has been said about my Son Thomas, I will give you some Account of him; he not being inclined to any trade at home, chose to go to Sea, and went two voyages to India, the last time he went out Midshipman in the Norfolk, Captain Buggin, and was empowered to sell my Affairs, jointly with the Captain; but he told me when any one came to see the things, he was ordered on board, so that he was of very little service to me in that matter; he took it into his head not to go any more in that Service, and nothing would do, but the Merchants Service, so I went among my Friends,

them when I first came into Green Street. The duty on two-wheeled carriages at that time was 40 shillings, which is not so high as it is now. I continued travelling in a chaise till I left off the management of the business in July 1782. My son Peter went the last journey with me, and I introduced him to all my friends in the West, since which he has undertaken to ride the journeys on horse-back, and he seems to like it and now rides for the house. My brother Nathaniel died at Plymouth in December 1782, much lamented by all his friends, for he bore a worthy character. He left a son (Nathaniel) in the business, and his widow and daughter in good circumstances, and I find Nathaniel the 2nd goes on very well. As little has been said about my son Thomas, I will give you some account of him. He not being inclined to any trade at home, chose to go to sea, and went two voyages to India. The last time he went out midshipman in the Norfolk, Captain Buggin, and was empowered to sell my affairs jointly with the captain; but he told me, when anyone came to see the things he was ordered on board, so that he was of very little service to me in that matter.⁴⁴ He took it into his head not to go any more in that service, and nothing would do but the merchant service; so I went among my

friends upon 'Change and was well recommended to Captain Carbin, to whom I gave £20 to take him with him for two years, and to let him dine in the cabin with him. After going two voyages, the war broke out and he could go no more there.⁴⁵ Then Tom had learnt navigation and thought himself seaman enough to undertake a Mate's berth to Quebec and Montreal, which he did, but neither his master or myself thought him steady enough for it. He was so unfortunate as to disagree with the captain & left the ship at Quebec, where he set up the trade of a watchmaker, by which means he lost all his wages. And I have since heard that he was taken sick, and went to sea again, and was some kind of an officer on board an armed ship out of that island, and was taken prisoner and sent to Boston. Since which, in December 1782 I received a letter from him dated 8 months before, wherein he told me that he was well, and that he intended to come home, for he was then at liberty; and he desired me to write to him, but I could not think of sending a letter to Boston when he was coming home. He never has given me the least account how he has fared since he left the ship, or in what station he has been in, so that I cannot say where he is at present.

July 15th 1783, I sold my travelling chaise, on which I had paid duty for near two years, as I could never

Friends upon 'Change, and was well recommended to Captain Carbin, to whom I gave 20, to take him with him for two years, and to let him dine in the cabin with him; after going two Voyages, the War broke out, and he ~~could~~ go no more there: - then Tom, had learnt Navigation, and thought himself Seaman enough to undertake a Mates berth, to Quebec and Montreal, which he did, but neither his Master or myself thought him steady enough, for it; he was so unfortunate as to disagree with the Captain, & left the Ship at Quebec, where he set up the Trade of a Watch-maker, by which means he lost all his Wages: and I have since heard that he was taken sick, and went to Sea again, and was some kind of an Officer, on board an Armed Ship, out of that Island, and was taken prisoner, and sent to Boston, since which, in Dec^r. 1782, I received a Letter from him, dated 8 months before, wherein he told me that he was well, and that he intended to come home, for he was then at liberty, and he desired me to write to him, but I could not think of sending a Letter to Boston, when he was coming home; he never has given me the least account how he has fared since he left the Ship, or in what Station he has been in, so that I cannot say where he is at present.

July 15th 1783, I sold my travelling Chaise, which I had paid duty for near two years, as - I could never
get

(146)

get Mrs Upjohn to ride in it above 2 or 3 times, and she was fully determined, not to ride in it any more, which I am sorry for, as it deprives me of many a pleasant ride with her, as I have so much time on my hands, and we could go from place to place very comfortably to see our Friends & Acquaintances, which are very numerous in different places; the reason she will not ride in it any more, is because she has had the misfortune of being twice, in 30 years, thrown out by the falling of the Horse; I must now content myself with riding on Horse-back, and I have bought a Horse for that purpose and one for my Daughter Rebecca, who I take out with me, as my companion; my Family is small, and consists of as follows. — Myself Mrs Upjohn & Daughter, a Man & Maid-Servant, two Horses, three Dogs and three Cats.

It may not be amiss, to acquaint you that my youngest Brother, Richard, took to my Father's Business when he died, ^{at Exeter} which I think was in 1764, my Brother had a very large and expensive Family, and was very often ill, he died ~~in~~ in St Peter's Church yard Exeter, in the year 1777, and left a Widow and eight Children, for me to provide for, for no one besides me, would do anything; he did not
succeed

(146)

get Mrs Upjohn to ride in it above 2 or 3 times, and she was fully determined not to ride in it any more; which I am sorry for, as it deprives me of many a pleasant ride with her, as I have so much time on my hands, and we could go from place to place very comfortably, to see our friends & acquaintances which are very numerous in different places. The reason she will not ride in it any more is because she has had the misfortune of being twice, in 30 years, thrown out by the falling of the horse. I must now content myself with riding on horse-back, and I have bought a horse for that purpose and one for my daughter Rebecca, who I take out with me as my companion. My family is small and consists of as follows: myself, Mrs Upjohn & daughter, a man & maid-servant, two horses, three dogs and three cats.

It may not be amiss to acquaint you that my youngest brother Richard took to my father's business when he died at Exeter, which I think was in 1764. My brother had a very large and expensive family, and was very often ill. He died [and was buried] in St Peter's churchyard, Exeter, in the year 1777, and left a widow and eight children for me to provide for, for no one besides me would do anything. He did not

succeed in life so well as I could wish, notwithstanding he had always a good business. I believe it was a misfortune, both to him and me, that he had a brother who indulged him so much, for I suppose from the time he began business till he died, he never was less than from £300 to £500 in my debt, and I was so unfortunate as to lose £500 by him, besides upwards of £100 more by taking the house he lived in and the next to it on a repairing lease, to keep the business together; but it did not answer my end, so I gave it to Mr Brown the foreman. Besides this, I provided for the greatest part of his family in the following manner. His eldest, Mary, I took off his hands when she was 14 years old, and she came and lived at my house in Green Street at Kentish Town until I went back to Red Lion Street: she was brought up so as to provide for herself, and she has had a genteel place and is at present in a very good one. Her brother Edward, I took at 11 years old, and brought him up in my business till he was about 16, and after all my care and trouble, for no reason in the world, he took it into his head to run away and enter on board a privateer, but was taken back after many fair promises and tried again. I desired him to come and dine with me at Green Street one Sunday, before I went into the West, and told him if he was

succeed in life so well as I could wish, notwithstanding he had always a good Business: I believe it was a misfortune both to him (and me, that he had a Brother who indulged him so much, for I suppose from the time he began Business, till he died he never was less than from 3 to 500 in my debt, and I was so unfortunate as to lose 500 £ by him, besides upwards of 100 more by taking the House he lived in and the next to it, on a repairing Lease, to keep the Business together, but it did not answer my end, so I gave it to Mr Brown; besides this, I provided for the greatest part of his Family in the following manner; his eldest Mary, I took off his Hands when she was 14 years old, and she came and lived at my House in Green Street, at Kentish Town, untill I went back to Red Lion Street, She was brought up so as to provide for herself, and she has had a genteel place, and is at present in a very good one; her Brother Edward, I took at 11 years old, and brought him up in my Business, till he was about 16, and after all my care and trouble, for no reason in the world, he took it into his head to run away, and enter on board a privateer, but was taken back after many fair promises, and tried again, I desired him to come and dine with me at Green Street, one Sunday, before I went into the West, and told him if he was
not

(148)

not satisfied with his situation to tell me, and if he had any inclination to go to Sea, I was not against it; he said no, & told me he was sorry for what he had done, and would make me amends for his late behaviour; but as soon as I was gone, he set off, and went to Exeter to his mother, who had ~~no~~ nothing to help herself, and they sent him back again by the coach at my expense, and my son took him to the Marine-Society and sent him on board a Man of War: William the eldest son, entered into the Army and died abroad; Elizabeth the 2. Daughter, served her time with a Mantua-maker, and married a Mr Blackmore, who left her, and she now carries on her Business in London; Fanny the 3. Daughter, likewise served her time with a Mantua-maker, and has since got a good place to wait on a Lady in Ireland; Richard I have put to Mr Brown, who took to my Brother's Business at Exeter; James I gave 10 with to a Taylor, and Charles, which was the youngest, I put to a Hair Dresser & Barber, and I am to find these two last in clothes for seven years.

I have now given you an account how my Bro. then Children were disposed of, and in the next place shall inform you how my own Sons and Daughters are disposed of

(148)

not satisfied with his situation to tell me, and if he had any inclination to go to sea, I was not against it. He said no & told me he was sorry for what he had done and would make me amends for his late behaviour; but as soon as I was gone, he set off and went to Exeter to his mother, who had nothing to help herself, and they sent him back again by the coach at my expense, and my son took him to the Marine Society and sent him on board a man-of-war. William, the eldest son, entered into the army and died abroad. Elizabeth, the 2nd daughter, served her time with a mantua-maker and married a Mr Blackmore who left her, and she now carries on her business in London. Fanny, the 3rd daughter, likewise served her time with a mantua-maker, and has since got a good place to wait on a lady in Ireland. Richard I have put to Mr Brown, who took to my brother's business at Exeter; & James I gave £10 with to a tailor; and Charles, which was the youngest, I put to a hairdresser & barber; and I am to find these two last in clothes for seven years.

I have now given you an account how my brother's children were disposed of, and in the next place shall inform you how my own sons and daughters are disposed

of likewise, which is as follows. My eldest daughter is married to Mr Gabriel Wirgman, who came from Sweden. He served his time at Stockholm but is a native of Gothenburg, and is now an eminent enameller and jeweller in Denmark Street, Soho, but his dwelling house for his family is in Green Street, Kentish Town, very near mine. He speaks good English and is a very genteel and agreeable man. He has a large family of eight children, besides some which are dead. Francis, my eldest son, is married and carries on a good trade in Bridgewater Square; he married a Miss Wollaston, a young lady of a good family with a genteel fortune. James, my 2nd son, is my partner, and is married to a Miss Sowden, daughter of Mr Thomas Sowden of Reading, a genteel young lady with a good fortune.⁴⁶ My 3rd son is dead. My 4th son went to sea and is at present abroad. Peter, my 5th son, is now rider for our house; and my youngest daughter lives with me at my house in Green Street, Kentish Town.

I finished this book October the 31st 1783, and on reflection am really surprised at myself, when I think of my courage in leaving my family & friends, and pushing

of likewise; which is as follows; My eldest Daughter is married to M^r Gabriel Wirgman, who came from Sweden, he served his time at Stockholm, but is a native of Gothenburg, and is now an eminent Enameller and Jeweller, in Denmark Street Soho; but his Dwelling House for his Family is in Green Street Kentish Town, very near mine; he speaks good English, and is a very Gentle and agreeable Man; he has a large Family of eight Children, besides some which are Dead; Francis, my eldest Son, is married and carries on a good Trade in Bridgewater Square; he married a Miss Wollaston, a young Lady of a good Family, with a genteel Fortune; James my 2^d Son is my Partner, and is married to a Miss Sowden, daughter of M^r Thomas Sowden of Reading, a genteel young Lady with a good Fortune; my 3^d Son is dead; my 4th Son went to Sea, and is at present abroad; Peter my 5th Son, is now Rider for our House, and my youngest Daughter lives with me at my house in green street Kentish Town.

I finished this Book October the 31st 1783, and on Reflection, am really surprised at myself, when I think of my courage, in leaving my Family & Friends, and pushing
ing

ing into the World, with so small a Sum as 5 Shillings, and without the least dependance on any Friend, to assist me; I thought I was not well used at home; so I went with great resolution, and was determined to proceed, at all events; - my coming to London, without being sure to meet with a single Friend, and to make such a rapid progress in Trade, in so short a time, and my getting so soon married and settled in Business, I think is amazing; and it gives me great satisfaction, when I look through this Book, and see how many difficulties I have surmounted, and that the Hand of Providence has brought me through, it is wonderful: I think the hard Trials I have went through, is enough to break the heart of a lion; and I think I could not do it was it to happen to me again; my first going to Holland, without knowing the language, was great resolution. And the many difficulties I met with, ^{there} and the great extent I carried my Trade to, is beyond Imagination: it gives me great pleasure to sit down & read the account of the different Journeys, as it brings every place fresh to my memory; - as I have from time to time made some remarks, as I went on, I think I see the places before me. - I am now happy to find myself in a situation to enjoy the fruits of 40 years
labour

into the world with so small a sum as 5 shillings, and without the least dependence on any friend to assist me. I thought I was not well used at home so I went with great resolution, and was determined to proceed at all events. My coming to London without being sure to meet with a single friend, and to make such a rapid progress in trade in so short a time, and my getting so soon married and settled in business, I think is amazing; and it gives me great satisfaction, when I look through this book and see how many difficulties I have surmounted, and that the Hand of Providence had brought me through, it is wonderful. I think the hard trials I have went through is enough to break the heart of a lion; and I think I could not do it, was it to happen to me again. My first going to Holland without knowing the language was great resolution, and the many difficulties I met with there, and the great extent I carried my trade to, is beyond imagination. It gives me great pleasure to sit down & read the account of the different journeys, as it brings every place fresh to my memory. As I have from time to time made some remarks as I went on, I think I see the places before me. I am now happy to find myself in a situation to enjoy the fruits of 40 years'

labour, and humbly thank my God for his favours towards me etc.

N.B. My reason for leaving my father is as follows:

When I was bound, I asked my father how old I should be when my time expired. He said 21, which I thought a proper age, so I went on cheerfully till half my time was out. My eldest brother at that time went to the Parish Books to see his age, & found it and likewise all our ages, & brought the account home to us. And I was very much surprised to see it, for my father had made mistake and had bound me at 15 instead of 14, so that I should have been 22 instead of 21, which I thought was not using me well. I being a high spirited lad, took it so ill that I said I would not stay: I was then about of age. My father said I was bound & should obey, but I said I would not, but would go away. That caused words, & my father struck me off my stool that I sat at work on, & my father, mother & brother Richard all fell on me & caused me to go off in a pet.

labour, and humbly thank my God for his favours towards me, &c

N.B. My reason for leaving my Father, is as follows

When I was bound, I asked my Father, how old I should be when my time expired, he said 21, which I thought a proper age, so I went on cheerfully, till half my time was out. My Eldest brother, at that time, went to the Parish books to see his age, & found it, and likewise all our ages, & bro't the acct home to us, and I was very much surprised to see it, for my Father had made mistake, and had bound me at 15, instead of 14, so that I should have been 22, instead of 21, which I thought was not using me well, I being a high spirited lad, took it so ill, that I said, I would not stay. I was then a bout of age, my Father said, I was bound, & should obey, but I said I would not, but would go away, that caused words, & my Father struck me off my stool, that I sat at work on, & my Father, mother, & brother, all fell on me, & caused me to go off, in a pet.

A Description of the things which were bespoke by Mr James Cox of Shoe Lane, and left on my hands, and how disposed of. — and 1st a Description of a pair of Musical Clocks, which was made by me in Red Lion Street Clerkenwell, and was sent out in the *Morse* Indiaman, Captain Horne, in the year 1770 and was valued and invoiced at 4000 £.

The Bases on which these Clocks are placed, are 3 feet Square, supported on each corner by an elegant Foot, the bottom Steps of which are beautifully faced with Tortoise-shell, and adorned with Festoons, Vases &c. richly gilt and two are covered with crimson-velvet, with a large Dragon at each corner; on this is a curious piece of Rockwork, from the caverns of which are issuing variety of Animals, and over the Rockwork a beautiful Temple embellished with fine Landscapes in the inside, and twenty rich Chinese Figures set with Jewels, walking in procession, during the time of the Music: over this is a second Temple, the fronts of which are adorned with pillars, of the Composite order, surrounded with Serpents, curiously set with Jewels; within this Temple, on an eminence, and under a canopy, stands Alexander the Great, in the
midst

A description of the things which were bespoke by Mr James Cox of Shoe Lane and left on my hands, and how disposed of.⁴⁷ And 1st a description of a pair of Musical Clocks, which was made by me in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, and was sent out in the *Morse* Indiaman, Captain Horne, in the year 1770, and was valued and invoiced at £4,000.⁴⁸

The bases on which these clocks are placed are 3 feet square, supported on each corner by an elegant foot, the bottom steps of which are beautifully faced with tortoiseshell, and adorned with festoons, vases etc. richly gilt, and two are covered with crimson velvet, with a large dragon at each corner. On this is a curious piece of rockwork, from the caverns of which are issuing variety of animals, and over the rockwork a beautiful temple embellished with fine landscapes in the inside, and twenty rich Chinese figures set with jewels, walking in procession during the time of the music. Over this is a second temple, the fronts of which are adorned with pillars of the Composite order, surrounded with serpents curiously set with jewels; within this temple, on an eminence and under a canopy, stands Alexander the Great in the

midst of his guards, all of which move round during the time the music is playing. Above these is a clock that is surrounded with a moving glory composed of curious jewels, over which is a curious embellished windmill always at work, and on the top of all is a globe surmounted with a moving dragon ornamented with jewels, as are, indeed, the figures throughout the whole piece of mechanism.

NB. These clocks are four feet and a half high, enclosed with very neat glass cases in brass mouldings.

2d: A description of a pair of Triumphal Cars and a pair of Temples, which was made by me as aforesaid, & left on my hands by Mr James Cox of Shoe Lane, valued at £5,000.⁴⁹

These Triumphal Cars are each drawn by an elephant that moves his eyes, ears, trunk and tail as natural as if alive, having each a figure on its neck to guide it. In the middle of the carriage stands a very fine figure curiously set with jewels, representing a warrior, which moves round and back again, as seeming to be viewing the spectators, and under his

midst of his guards, all of which move round during the time the Music is playing. Above these is a Clock that is surrounded with a moving Glory, composed of curious Jewels, over which is a curious embellished Windmill, always at work, and on the top of all is a globe surmounted with a moving Dragon, ornamented with Jewels, as are, indeed, the figures, throughout the whole piece of Mechanism.

NB. These clocks are four feet and a half high, inclosed with very neat Glass Cases in Brass Mouldings.

2: A Description of a pair of Triumphal Cars, and a pair of Temples, which was made by me as aforesaid & left on my hands by Mr. James Cox of Shoe Lane, valued at 5000 £.

These Triumphal Cars are each drawn by an Elephant that moves his Eyes, Ears, Trunk, and Tail, as natural as if alive having each, a figure on its neck, to guide it; in the middle of the Carriage stands a very fine Figure curiously set with Jewels, representing a Warrior, which moves round, and back again, as seeming to be viewing the Spectators, and under his feet

feet are moving Stars; in the body of the carriage is a Musical Clock, that plays 6 Tunes; there are likewise a number of small Figures moving in procession, while the Carriage is going and the Music playing, with curious moving Landscapes behind them: on the top of the Carriage, is an Eight-day Clock, that shews time both ways, supported by two figures, richly ornamented with Jewels, with great variety of Trophies and Implements of War, placed on different parts of the Carriage; the Wheels are made of Silver, and curiously set with a double row of Jewels; the housing of each Elephant, is all over richly adorned with Jewels, of various Colours, and there are 7 figures, such as Officers Trumpeters, &c. standing round each Carriage, which are richly ornamented with Jewels, and each move on a large mahogany Table, of six feet Diameter, which is railed round with Brass, neatly ornamented, and covered with a fine glass case, in imitation of the Dome of St. Paul's, which moves round the Table, with a touch of the Finger, to get at the Carriage &c. and on the top of each, is a fine figure of Fame. The Carriage with the Elephant, is about 4 feet in length, and the large Wheels eight inches in Diameter

and

feet are moving stars. In the body of the carriage is a musical clock that plays 6 tunes; there are likewise a number of small figures moving in procession while the carriage is going and the music playing, with curious moving landscapes behind them. On the top of the carriage is an eight-day clock that shows time both ways, supported by two figures richly ornamented with jewels, with great variety of trophies and implements of war placed on different parts of the carriage. The wheels are made of silver and curiously set with a double row of jewels. The housing of each elephant is all over richly adorned with jewels of various colours, and there are 7 figures, such as officers, trumpeters etc. standing round each carriage, which are richly ornamented with jewels; and each moves on a large mahogany table of six feet diameter, which is railed round with brass, neatly ornamented and covered with a fine glass case in imitation of the dome of St Paul's, which moves round the table with a touch of the finger, to get at the carriage etc.; and on the top of each is a fine figure of Fame. The carriage with the elephant is about 4 feet in length, and the large wheels eight inches in diameter,

and the height of the tables and glass cases ten feet.

The Temples.

These curious Temples are each fixed on a rock which looks like a rock of solid gold, with a fine dragon in the cavern of it; and the Temples are each surmounted by four elephants set with jewels, over which is a musical clock that plays six tunes, and in the front is a great variety of moving pictures, with a windmill & watermill and various moving figures. Over this is an eight-day clock, and above that a double star which is surmounted by a large spiral star in motion, with nine small stars moving in the centre of it and a small dragon above, all in motion. The front and pillars are ornamented with variety of jewels. The whole is four feet high, and covered with neat glass cases in brass mouldings.

NB. Under these two Temples are Machine Organs, the largest of which plays the overture in Artaxerxes⁵⁰ with a march at the end of it; and the others plays 8 French tunes.

These Cars and Temples were sent to Canton in China in the year 1771, and cost £115 freight and £105 insurance;

and the height of the Tables and Glass Cases ten feet.

The Temples.

These curious Temples, are each fixed on a rock, which looks like a Rock of Solid Gold, with a fine Dragon in the cavern of it; and the Temples are each surmounted by four Elephants, set with jewels, over which is a Musical Clock, that plays six Tunes, and in the Front, is a great variety of moving pictures, with a Windmill & Watermill, and various moving Figures; over this, is an eight-day clock, and above that a double Star, which is surrounded by a large Spiral Star, in motion, with nine small Stars, moving in the center of it, and a small Dragon above all in motion; the front and pillars, are ornamented with variety of Jewels; the whole is four feet high, and covered with neat Glass Cases, in Brass mouldings.

NB. Under these two Temples are Machine Organs, the largest of which plays the Overture in Artaxerxes, with a March at the end of it; and the others, plays 8 French Tunes.

These Cars and Temples, were sent to Canton in China, in the year 1771, and cost 115 Freight and 105 Insurance,

and

and in two Years were returned unsold, with a Loss of near 600 £.
 (and in the Year 1775, the whole was sent out in the Norfolk, Capt.
 Buggin, and he brought me an Account, that they sold for no
 more than 3035, out of which he had 10 per cent Commission,
 since which, a person who was in the Ship at that time, told
 a Friend of mine, that he had sold as many things of mine
 as amounted to 5000; but ^{when} I came to speak to him on the
 subject, he said they might be mine, he could not tell, and
 would not speak out; so I have great reason to believe I was
 cheated out of above 2000 pounds. — My first expectations
 was a profit on the whole (which amounted to 9000) which on the
 lowest that could be made was 50 per cent, and which would have
 made if they had come home with profit, a good round sum &
 not less than 13500 pounds.

and in two years were returned unsold with a loss of near
 £600. And in the year 1775, the whole was sent out in the
 Norfolk, Captain Buggin,⁵¹ and he brought me an account that
 they sold for no more than £3,035, out of which he had 10
 per cent commission. Since which, a person who was in the
 ship at that time told a friend of mine that he had sold as
 many things of mine as amounted to £5,000; but when I came
 to speak to him on the subject, he said they might be mine,
 he could not tell, and would not speak out. So I have great
 reason to believe I was cheated out of above £2,000. My first
 expectations was a profit on the whole (which amounted to
 £9,000) which on the lowest that could be made was 50 per
 cent, and which would have made, if they had come home
 with profit, a good round sum - not less than £13,500.

A few lines made at Amsterdam in the year 1773, when I had all my great affairs on my hands that was returned from the Indies, and after showing them to the Prince without success; and my son James being taken in for £2,000 by one man and by many others for very large sums; and my son Edward's destroying me between £400 and £500 at Hamburg and leaving the place; with sundry other gloomy things before me, made me sit down & write as follows.

O God, thou great giver of all good gifts, who knowest every thing that is best for us, and hast brought about these seeming great afflictions, foreseeing that greater may follow if not prevented in time; I doubting not, O God, but thou hast done it for our good, that we may be all in one place and of one mind in working and doing everything to make ourselves happy in this world, and that I may not be so overwhelmed with so many cares and burdens in this life, but have some leisure to think of a place in thy heavenly kingdom; to this end, O God, I submit myself to thy godly wisdom, so out of thy great goodness be thou my support and

A few Lines made at Amsterdam, in the year 1773, when I had all my great Affairs on my hands, that was returned from the Indies, and after showing them to the Prince without Success; and my Son James being taken in for 2000, by one Man, and by many others for very large Sums; and my son Edwards destroying me between 4 and 500 at Hamborough, and leaving the place, with sundry other gloomy things before me, made me sit down & write as follows.

O God, thou great giver of all good Gifts, who knowest every thing that is best for us, and hast brought about these seeming great Afflictions, foreseeing, that greater may follow, if not prevented in time; I doubting not, O God, but thou hast done it for our good, that we may be all in one place, and of one mind, in working and doing every thing to make ourselves happy in this world, and that I may not be so overwhelmed, with so many cares and Burdens in this Life, but have some leisure, to think of a place in thy Heavenly Kingdom: to this end, O God, I submit myself to thy Godly wisdom, so out of thy great goodness, be thou my support, and

(158)

direct me in all my doings, to the advancement of thy glory; and grant me success, in all my honest endeavours, and keep me in Health and Strength, to persevere in all well-doing; and that I may live to glorify thy Name and obtain a place in thy Kingdom, through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Amen.

The following is a few Lines made at the end of the first year, after I delivered up the management of the Business to my Son James, for him to allow me £500 a year, and for me to leave the whole of my capital in Trade, and him to have all the profit above that Sum. — Just turned of Sixty years of Age.

O Almighty God, I return thee my sincere and hearty thanks, for thy loving-kindness towards me, and for thy support from my Youth up to this time, and for granting me my request, in giving me some leisure to view thy Heavenly works; and for the support I now have from the assistance of my Son and partner, in conducting my Affairs; and may thy Almighty hand be stretched forth, to grant him Health, Strength, and Spirits, in order, that he may fulfill all that he has promised to

(158)

direct me in all my doings, to the advancement of thy glory; and grant me success in all my honest endeavours; and keep me in health and strength to persevere in all well-doing; and that I may live to glorify thy name and obtain a place in thy kingdom, through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Amen.

The following is a few lines made at the end of the first year, after I delivered up the management of the business to my son James, for him to allow me £500 a year, and for me to leave the whole of my capital in trade, and him to have all the profit above that sum. Just turned of sixty years of age.

O Almighty God, I return thee my sincere and hearty thanks for thy loving-kindness towards me; and for thy support from my youth up to this time; and for granting me my request in giving me some leisure to view thy heavenly works; and for the support I now have from the assistance of my son and partner in conducting my affairs; and may thy almighty hand be stretched forth to grant him health, strength and spirits, in order that he may fulfil all that he has promised

to perform; and, O Lord, grant him success in all his honest endeavours to support himself and family, so that with his industry he may succeed in life and live comfortably all his days, and that by thy protection and assistance, he may be enabled to fulfil all his engagements so that I and my family may not come to poverty and want; and may I never despair, but always rely on thee, O God, who knowest all our wants and what is best for us; and may I be so guided and governed with thy good spirit all the remainder of my days, to do every thing that is righteous in thy sight, so as to obtain a place in thy Heavenly Kingdom, through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Amen.

to perform; and, O Lord, grant him success in all his honest Endeavours, to support himself and family, so that with his industry he may succeed in Life, and live comfortably all his Days, and that by thy protection and assistance, he may be enabled to fulfill all his Engagements, so that I and my Family may not come to Poverty and Want; and may I never despair, but always rely on thee O God, who knowest all our wants, and what is best for us, and may I be so guided and governed with thy good Spirit, all the remainder of my Days, to do every thing that is righteous in thy sight, so as to obtain a place in thy Heavenly Kingdom, through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. - Amen.

(160)

A few Lines made on my landing in England 26th Nov^r 1773.

O God who with thy mighty hand,
Hast brought me to my Native Land,
And safe unto my welcome Shore,
For which I'll praise thee evermore;
Guarding me still by Day and Night,
Lead me to do what's just and Right;
Conduct me safe unto my Wife,
With her to dwell and know no strife;
And to my House and Children dear,
Whom I've brought up with Love and care.
One thing I shall esteem a Treasure,
Is now and then to have some leisure
That I thy works may love and view,
As they afford me something new;
Then I shall think my time well spent
And have no moments to relent:
Riches, O God! I do not crave,
But decent living to my grave:
My days well spent and being dead,
In Heav'n, O God, lift up my head;
That I may view thy Heavenly Rays,
And ever give my Maker praise.

FINIS.

(160)

A few lines made on my landing in England, 26th November
1773 [recte 1772].

O God, who with thy mighty hand
Hast brought me to my native land,
And safe unto my welcome shore,
For which I'll praise thee evermore;
Guarding me still by day and night,
Lead me to do what's just and right;
Conduct me safe unto my wife,
With her to dwell and know no strife;
And to my house and children dear,
Whom I've brought up with love and care.
One thing I shall esteem a treasure,
Is now and then to have some leisure,
That I thy works may love and view,
As they afford me something new;
Then I shall think my time well spent
And have no moments to relent:
Riches, O God! I do not crave,
But decent living to my grave:
My days well spent and being dead,
In heav'n, O God, lift up my head;
That I may view thy heav'nly rays,
And ever give my Maker praise.

FINIS

| | Page |
|--|-------|
| My birth and family & of my father's beginning the watchmaking | 1 |
| His leaving England and going to Philadelphia | 2 |
| His leaving Philadelphia & going to Charles Town and his return to England | 3 |
| His settling at Topsham and my sister's marriage | 4 |
| His moving to Exeter etc | 5 |
| His and my brother's transactions at Exeter | 6 |
| His and my mother's death | 7 |
| My brother William's death, and my brother Peter's marriage, and my brother Nathaniel's settling at Plymouth | 7 & 8 |
| My brother Edward's death | 9 |
| My serving my time with my father and leaving him and going to London | ibid |
| My proceedings on my arrival in London | 10 |
| My acquaintance with Mr Garle and of my marriage with his sister | 13 |
| My settling in St Martin's le Grand, and my taking Mrs Upjohn to Exeter | 14 |
| Account of my journey and safe arrival in London | 15 |
| Of my success in trade & removal to Red Lion Street | 16 |
| My children's birth etc | 17 |

I N D E X .

| | Page. |
|---|-------|
| <i>My Birth and Family & of my Father's beginning the Watch-making</i> | 1 |
| <i>His leaving England and going to Philadelphia</i> | 2 |
| <i>His leaving Philadelphia & going to Charles-Town and his return to England</i> | 3 |
| <i>His settling at Topsham and my Sister's marriage</i> | 4 |
| <i>His moving to Exeter &c</i> | 5 |
| <i>His and my Brother's transactions at Exeter</i> | 6 |
| <i>His and my Mother's Death</i> | 7 |
| <i>My Brother William's Death & my Brother Peter's marriage</i> | 7 |
| <i>And my Brother Nathaniel's settling at Plymouth</i> | 8 |
| <i>My Brother Edwards Death</i> | 9 |
| <i>My serving my time with my Father and leaving him and going to London</i> | ibid |
| <i>My proceedings on my arrival in London</i> | 10 |
| <i>My acquaintance with M^r Garle and of my marriage with his Sister</i> | 13 |
| <i>My settling in St. Martins le Grand, and my taking M^{rs} Upjohn to Exeter</i> | 14 |
| <i>Account of my Journey and safe arrival in London</i> | 15 |
| <i>Of my success in Trade & removal to Red Lion Street</i> | 16 |
| <i>My Children's Birth &c</i> | 17 |

Index.

| | |
|---|------|
| My Daughter Fanny's Death | 17 |
| My taking a Shop near the 'Change | 18 |
| My removal into Lombard Street | 19 |
| My being taken in by Michael Luke &c | ibid |
| My first going to Holland | 20 |
| My settling a Trade at Leyden and my watches seized | 21 |
| My efforts to recover them and my sending my son Francis to Holland | 22 |
| My second voyage to Holland, and my being taken in for £150. by Mr. F. Wichew | 23 |
| Mather's ill usage & my sending Francis to Holland | 24 |
| My losses abroad & my endeavours to recover them | 25 |
| My taking my Son James abroad | 27 |
| My eldest Daughter's marriage and our going to Calais | 28 |
| Further proceedings on our journey | 29 |
| Some description of the Towns of Ghent & Brussels | 31 |
| Journey continued with some description of Antwerp | 34 |
| Story of the Blacksmith in love with Rubens' Daughter | 35 |
| Further proceedings on our journey | 36 |
| Of my meeting with my son James at Marlay | 38 |
| Proceedings on our journey from Brussels to Braine &c | ibid |

(162)

| | |
|--|------|
| | Page |
| My daughter Fanny's death | 17 |
| My taking a shop near the 'Change | 18 |
| My removal into Lombard Street | 19 |
| My being taken-in by Michael Luke etc | ibid |
| My first going to Holland | 20 |
| My settling a trade at Leiden, and my watches seized | 21 |
| My efforts to recover them, and my sending my son Francis to Holland | 22 |
| My second voyage to Holland, and my being taken in for £150. by Mr. F. Wichew [Wishaw] | 23 |
| Mather's ill usage & my sending Francis to Holland | 24 |
| My losses abroad & my endeavours to recover them | 25 |
| My taking my son James abroad | 27 |
| My eldest daughter's marriage and our going to Calais | 28 |
| Further proceedings on our journey | 29 |
| Some descriptions of the towns of Ghent & Brussels | 31 |
| Journey continued with some description of Antwerp | 34 |
| Story of the blacksmith in love with Rubens' daughter | 35 |
| Further proceedings on our journey | 36 |
| Of my meeting with my son James at Marlay | 38 |
| Proceedings on our journey from Brussels to Braine etc | ibid |

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Of our taking some rooms at the hotel at Paris, and some description of the Royal Gardens etc | 39 |
| Description of Paris continued | 40 |
| Further proceedings at Paris | 41 |
| The Royal Hospital for Soldiers described | 44 |
| Some description of Versailles | 45 |
| Do. of the King's stables and gardens | ibid |
| Further description etc | 47 |
| Our journey to St Denis | 49 |
| Mrs Wirgman taken ill | 50 |
| Took our leave of the ladies etc. & our journey to Brussels | 52 |
| Our journey to Maastricht | 53 |
| My bargain with Mr. Debeefe for some pictures | 54 |
| My loss by them | 56 |
| My journey to Aix-la-Chapelle with its description | ibid |
| Description of Cologne and the flying-bridge | 59 |
| The story of Mrs. Radermaker | ibid |
| The story of the beggars | 62 |
| Description of Bonn | 63 |
| Journey to Coblenz, Nassau etc | 65 |
| Our arrival at Mainz with some account of the town | 66 |

| Index. | |
|---|-------|
| | Page. |
| Of our taking some Rooms at the Hotel at Paris, and some description of the Royal Gardens &c | 39 |
| (Description of Paris continued) | 40 |
| Further proceedings at Paris | 41 |
| The Royal Hospital for Soldiers described | 44 |
| Some description of Versailles | 45 |
| (D. of the Kings Stables and Gardens | ibid. |
| Further description &c | 47 |
| Our Journey to St. Dennis | 49 |
| M ^{rs} Wirgman taken ill | 50 |
| Took our leave of the Ladies & our Journey to Brussels | 52 |
| Our Journey to Maastricht | 53 |
| My Bargain with M ^r . Debeefe for some pictures | 54 |
| My loss by them | 56 |
| My Journey to Aix-la-Chapelle with its Description | ibid |
| (Description of Cologne and the Flying-Bridge | 59 |
| The story of M ^{rs} . Radermaker | ibid |
| The Story of the Beggars | 62 |
| Description of Bonn | 63 |
| Journey to Coblenz, Nassau &c | 65 |
| Our arrival at Mayntz with some account of the Town | 66 |

Index.

| | Page |
|--|------|
| The Palace at Mayntz described | 66 |
| Description of Frankfurt | 67 |
| Arrival at Hefscastle with its Description | 69 |
| Description of Whitestone near Hefscastle | 70 |
| Journey to Hanover with its description | 71 |
| Journey from Hanover to Hamborough | 74 |
| Hamborough described | 75 |
| Some Account of M ^r Vaughan | 76 |
| Of my buying two Horses at Hamborough | 77 |
| Our Journey to Bremen with its description | 78 |
| Description of an Inn on the road | 79 |
| Journey to Emden and proceedings there | 82 |
| Journey to Gronogan the first province in Holland | 84 |
| Description of the Country and Gronogan | 85 |
| Journey to Leeuwarden and 15 Islands described | 86 |
| Journey to Zutphen and Minwagen; its description | 87 |
| Of my buying a Wicker Chaise | 88 |
| Journey to Utrecht described | ibid |
| Further description of D ^o & our Journey to Amsterdam | 89 |
| Description of Amsterdam | 90 |
| Of settling my son James at Amsterdam | 92 |

(164)

| | Page |
|--|------|
| The palace at Mainz described | 66 |
| Description of Frankfurt | 67 |
| Arrival at Hesse-Cassel with its description | 69 |
| Description of the Whitestone near Hesse-Cassel | 70 |
| Journey to Hanover with its description | 71 |
| Journey from Hanover to Hamburg | 74 |
| Hamburg | 75 |
| Some account of Mr Vaughan | 76 |
| Of my buying two horses at Hamburg | 77 |
| Our journey to Bremen with its description | 78 |
| Description of an inn on the road | 79 |
| Journey to Emden and proceedings there | 82 |
| Journey to Groningen the first province in Holland | 84 |
| Description of the country and Groningen | 85 |
| Journey to Leeuwarden and 15 islands described | 86 |
| Journey to Zutphen and Nijmegen; its description | 87 |
| Of my buying a wicker chaise | 88 |
| Journey to Utrecht described | ibid |
| Further description of ditto & our journey to Amsterdam | 89 |
| Description of Amsterdam | 90 |
| Of settling my son James at Amsterdam | 92 |

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Journey to Haarlem. Printing first invented | 92 |
| Leiden described | 93 |
| Description of The Hague | 94 |
| The House in the Wood described | 97 |
| Description of Rotterdam | 99 |
| Our crossing the River to Dort, and selling my horse | 101 |
| Dort described | 102 |
| Description of Moerdijk, Goes etc | 104 |
| Middleburg described | ibid |
| Of my leaving my son James at Bruges | 105 |
| Proceedings at Dunkirk etc. etc. | 106 |

Part 2d.

| | |
|---|------|
| My journey to Warmond to see Thomas at school | 107 |
| Journey to Frankfurt with the town described | 108 |
| My hiring a coach in company with | |
| Mr. Clotz & Mr. Douglass | 110 |
| Our departure from Frankfurt described | 111 |
| Our journey to Leipzig described | 112 |
| Further account of our journey, & why | |
| the inns are so bad | 113 |
| A remarkable dinner described | 115 |
| Journey continued | ibid |

Index.

| | Page |
|---|------|
| <i>Journey to Haarlem. Printing first invented</i> | 92 |
| <i>Leyden described</i> | 93 |
| <i>Description of The Hague</i> | 94 |
| <i>The House in the wood described</i> | 97 |
| <i>Description of Rotterdam</i> | 99 |
| <i>Our crossing the River to Dort, and selling my Horse</i> | 101 |
| <i>Dort described</i> | 102 |
| <i>Description of Moordijk, Tergoose &c</i> | 104 |
| <i>Middleburgh described</i> | ibid |
| <i>Of my leaving my son James at Bruges</i> | 105 |
| <i>Proceedings at Dunkirk &c &c</i> | 106 |

Part 2^d.

| | |
|--|------|
| <i>My Journey to Warmond to see Thomas at School</i> | 107 |
| <i>Journey to Frankfurt with the Town described</i> | 108 |
| <i>My hiring a coach in C. with M^r Clotz & M^r Douglass</i> | 110 |
| <i>Our departure from Frankfurt described</i> | 111 |
| <i>Our Journey to Leipzig described</i> | 112 |
| <i>Further account of our Journey, & why the Inns are so bad</i> | 113 |
| <i>A Remarkable dinner described</i> | 115 |
| <i>Journey continued</i> | ibid |

Index.

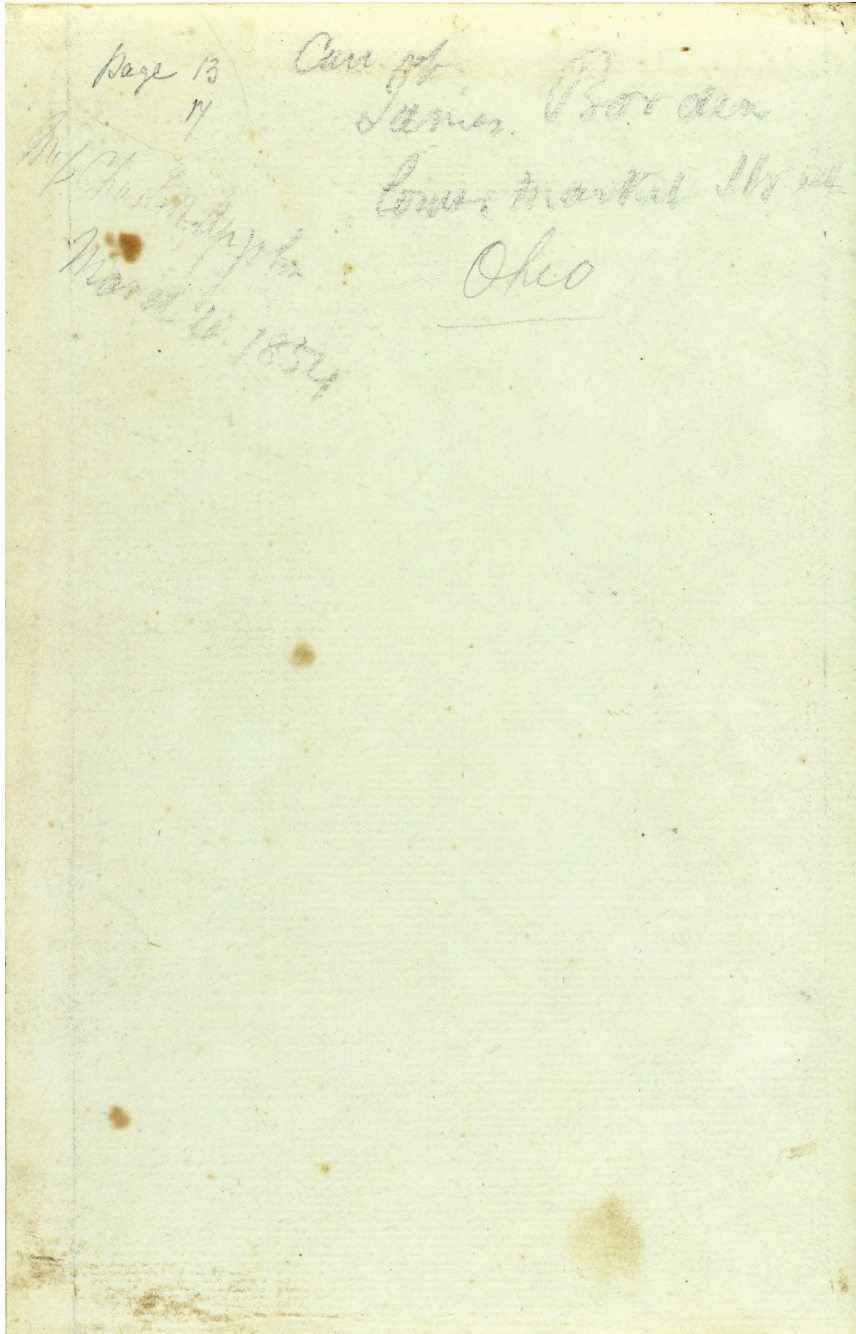
| | Page |
|--|------|
| Our journey continued and arrival at Saxagotta | 116 |
| Description of the Town and Palace | 117 |
| Erfurt described | 118 |
| Our journey continued and arrival at Leipzig | ibid |
| Description of the Fair and Play at Leipzig | 119 |
| Description of the Play concluded | 123 |
| Our journey back to Frankfurt | 124 |
| Our dining on board a Vessel | 125 |
| Our Voyage from Mayantz to Collogne | ibid |
| My arrival in London | 126 |
| My Brother Richards Death, and my fixing my son Peter and Mr Brown at Exeter | ibid |
| My first doing business with Mr Cox | 127 |
| My sending my Son Edward to Hamborough | 128 |
| My journey to the Hague in order to sell the Temples &c, with my proceedings &c there | 129 |
| My meeting with Sir Joseph York | 130 |
| My exhibition before the Prince of Hesse-Cassel &c | 132 |
| My delivering the Temples &c to a German Clockmaker | 137 |
| My application to my Surgeon | 138 |
| My journey through Essex Norfolk and Suffolk | 139 |

(166)

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Our journey continued and arrival at Saxe-Gotha | 116 |
| Description of the town and palace | 117 |
| Erfurt described | 118 |
| Our journey continued and arrival at Leipzig | ibid |
| Description of the fair and play at Leipzig | 119 |
| Description of the play concluded | 123 |
| Our journey back to Frankfurt | 124 |
| Our dining on board a vessel | 125 |
| Our voyage from Mainz to Cologne | ibid |
| My arrival in London | 126 |
| My brother Richard's death, and my fixing my son Peter and Mr Brown at Exeter | ibid |
| My first doing business with Mr Cox | 127 |
| My sending my son Edward to Hamburg | 128 |
| My journey to The Hague in order to sell the Temples etc, with my proceedings etc. there | 129 |
| My meeting with Sir Joseph York | 130 |
| My exhibition before the Prince of Hesse-Cassel etc. | 132 |
| My delivering the Temples etc. to a German clockmaker | 137 |
| My application to my surgeon | 138 |
| My journey through Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk | 139 |

| | Page |
|--|------|
| How I settled my sons | 141 |
| Some remarks when I first began trade | 143 |
| My brother Nathaniel's death | 144 |
| Some account of my son Thomas | ibid |
| Further account of my family | 146 |
| Account of my brother Richard and his family | 147 |
| The disposal of my own children | 148 |
| The conclusion | 149 |
| Description of the Musical Clocks | 152 |
| Ditto of the Triumphal Cars | 153 |
| Ditto of the Temples | 155 |

| <i>Index.</i> | Page |
|---|------|
| <i>How I settled my Sons</i> | 141 |
| <i>Some remarks when I first began Trade</i> | 143 |
| <i>My Brother Nathaniel's Death</i> | 144 |
| <i>Some Account of my Son Thomas</i> | ibid |
| <i>Further Account of my Family</i> | 146 |
| <i>Account of my Brother Richard and his Family</i> | 147 |
| <i>The disposal of my own Children</i> | 148 |
| <i>The Conclusion</i> | 149 |
| <i>Description of the Musical Clocks</i> | 152 |
| <i>D. of the Triumphal Cars</i> | 153 |
| <i>D. of the Temples</i> | 155 |



Notes to the Transcript [RS]

1. Shaston: a local name for Shaftesbury.
2. Moidore: a Portuguese gold coin minted 1640–1732, current in England for about 27 shillings. Exchange rates for other foreign currencies mentioned in the *Life* are given on p. xxxii.
3. Style: A reference to the change from Julian to Gregorian calendar, which took effect in 1752, one result being that the new year began on 1 January instead of 25 March. (This particular change had already been made in Scotland.) Upjohn was married on 1 January 1745 (Old Style).
4. The Jacobite Rebellion, which began with the landing of the Young Pretender in Scotland on 23 July 1745, effectively ended with his defeat by government forces at Culloden on 16 April 1746.
5. New Style: see note 3 above. It is not clear why Upjohn should stress the calendar change for Edward's birthday in September 1753, rather than for James's birthday in February of the previous year, which was more directly affected.
6. The 'Change: the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. The shop was also described as being in Threadneedle Street.
7. Hicks Hall: sessions house in Clerkenwell where the Middlesex magistrates sat.
8. Also named as Mr F. Wichew in Upjohn's index: probably Francis Whishaw, merchant, 11 New Square, Minories [*Baldwin's New Complete Guide to [...] the City of London (etc)* (1770).]
9. This law of 1698 (William III cap. 28) banned the export of watch cases and dial plates to other countries, where they could be fitted with inferior movements and, with London makers' names on the dial, passed off as English work. The fact that a major London watchmaker like Upjohn could claim to be ignorant of this legislation suggests that it had been widely forgotten. The abuses had undoubtedly continued, and in 1777 the Clockmakers' Company was forced to republish the official ban and the related Company bye-law, with threats of prosecution. [*London Gazette* 11836, 27–30 December 1777.]
10. William Nash, attorney: Alderman of Walbrook ward 1766–72; Lord Mayor 1771/2; died 31 December 1772.

[Biographical details provided by London Metropolitan Archives.]

11. Sense unclear: words apparently missing from the original.
12. Alexander Fordyce was the banker whose disastrous speculations triggered a major financial crisis in 1772. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1772, pp. 310–11.
13. In modern terms, German and Dutch.
14. Great Church: Upjohn's translation of the Dutch *Grote Kerk*, indicating the leading church or cathedral of a town and not merely any large church. Similarly, he frequently refers to the Town House or State House (sometimes Stadt-house), from *stadhuis*, *Stadthaus*, *Rathaus* or *hôtel de ville*, meaning Town Hall.
15. Daniel Aveline (d.1772), a watch-case maker of Denmark Street who is known to have made cases for Upjohn.
16. Probably the immigrant goldworker John Lewis Lautier of Fleet Street, whose own marriage to Ann Pantin, also in 1768, was witnessed by Gabriel Wirgman. [Information supplied by 'MCB'—see <<http://925-1000.com/forum/search.php?keywords=john+lewis+lautier>> (accessed 18 June 2015).]
17. Prince Charles of Lorraine (1712–80), Governor of the Austrian Netherlands.
18. Cabinet: in this case, a small room.
19. Perhaps the engraving by Wenceslaus (Wenzel or Václav) Hollar (1607–77), later famous for his panoramas of London. See Fig. 6.
20. This clock, made by Antoine Morand, was presented to Louis XIV in 1706. It was later recased and can still be seen in the *Salon de Mercure*, Versailles. See Figs. 5a, b.
21. Messrs. Isaac & Jean-François Panchaud in the Rue Saint-Sauveur were Swiss bankers with close London links, often used by British travellers. They may have been related to the London watchmaker Abel Panchaud of Oxford Street.
22. Decorative turning using a rose-engine was a fashionable pastime. The Italian portraits were presumably in micromosaic.
23. Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London, many editions from 1721).
24. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel supplied mercenary troops for British service during the Jacobite Rebellion 1745–46 and the American War of Independence 1776–83.

25. English house: apparently an inn catering especially for English travellers: see p. 107 for another in Leiden. The landlords of both houses were evidently English.
26. Probably one of two brothers from Basle, Claude and John Ulric Passavant. They had come to Exeter as woollen merchants by 1740, before Upjohn left the city, and were declared bankrupt there in 1761. Claude was buried in Exeter in 1776.
27. German Polony: large smoked sausage of Bologna type.
28. Clinkers: very hard Dutch bricks.
29. In fact, Nijmegen was not an official Barrier town, which were fortified places in present-day Belgium, garrisoned by the Dutch in the eighteenth century against the threat of French invasion.
30. Ship camel: machine for adding buoyancy to vessels. [*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*]
31. For Tholen and the two following places (Goes and Veere), Upjohn has prefixed the names with the Dutch preposition 'ter', meaning 'at the'.
32. Probably John Godfrey Klotz, merchant of Lime Street. [Thomas Mortimer, *Universal Director* (London: J. Coote, 1763), Pt. III, p. 42.]
33. Prog: old term for food for a journey etc.
34. The Maria Gloriosa bell was cast in 1497 by Geert van Wou; weight 12,555 kg. and diameter 2.57 metres. Upjohn evidently used the Flemish ell of 27 inches rather than the English ell of 45 inches.
35. Leopold, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (1676–1747), field marshal in the Prussian army and Frederick the Great's 'Old Dessauer', who married an apothecary's daughter.
36. John Moore, working goldsmith, 118 Fleet Street, 1758–74. [A. Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200–1800* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972).] The substantial premium suggests that Peter Upjohn was to be taught how to run a business as well as craft skills.
37. William Brown was stepson of Upjohn's brother. See p. 8.
38. Perhaps related to Isaac Martineau, Upjohn's near neighbour in Red Lion Street.
39. Debtor and Creditor.
40. Landaulette: a small carriage.

41. Cold Bath: presumably the nearby establishment for medical bathing in Cold Bath Fields (or Square), Clerkenwell. See *Survey of London*, vol. 47, 'Northern Clerkenwell and Pentonville' (London: English Heritage, 2008), pp. 22–51. [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=119436>]
42. Upjohn's business partnerships are summarized in the Introduction, p. xxiii.
43. If this was ever done, it was unfortunately not included in this manuscript.
44. According to *Norfolk's* Ledger, Thomas Upjohn joined the ship 19 December 1775 when she left her moorings at Gravesend, and was discharged 11 October 1777 on her return to Woolwich. His wages of £25 2s. 9d. were subsequently paid to his assignee, James Upjohn (presumably father rather than brother) on 15 December 1777, perhaps indicating that Thomas had already joined another ship.
[British Library (Asian & African Studies), IOR: L/MAR/B/541 V(1).] See also p. 156.
45. The American War of Independence began well before Thomas Upjohn returned from China in late 1777, so the reference to war breaking out after he had completed two voyages with Captain Carbin may refer to the escalation of maritime hostilities once France officially joined the conflict in February 1778.
46. Perhaps connected with Thomas Sowdon (sic) of Red Lion Street. See p. 23.
47. For surviving examples of these clocks, see Figs 1–2.
48. *Morse*, commanded by John Horne, left Portsmouth 9 April 1770 bound for Madras and Bengal, and returned to the Downs 5 June 1772.
49. An almost identical description of these pieces, said to have been 'just shipped for the East-Indies', was published in *The General Evening Post*, Thursday 14 February 1771, but giving no information about either the maker or the exporter.

50. The popular opera *Artaxerxes*, by Thomas Arne, was first performed in London in 1762. The exotic location of the plot, which is set in ancient Persia, would have seemed appropriate for a clock destined for the Orient.
51. *Norfolk*, commanded by James Buggin, actually left England at the beginning of 1776, sailing from Portsmouth for Madras and China 7 January 1776, and arriving back in the Downs 2 October 1777. See also p. 144 for Upjohn's son on *Norfolk*.

Index

Compiled by David Thompson

Note: Lower case roman numerals refer to the Introduction.
Page references in bold refer to an illustration.

(175)

A
Aachen, 56, 58
Acknowledgements, ix
Aix-la-Chapelle, 56, 58
Allan, David, artist, **xxxvii (fig 4)**
Almanus Manuscript, vi
Altona
 James Upjohn's visit to, 76
Amersfoort, 89
Amsterdam, 89, 91
 automata shown there, 136
 Edward, James and Francis Upjohn, 126
 State House, 90
 Town Hall, Dam Square, painting by Gerrit Andriaenszoon, **xxxii (fig 9)**
Andriaenszoon, Gerrit, The *Town Hall, Dam Square*, (Amsterdam) **xxxii (fig 9)**
Antwerp, 34–36
 Exchange, 36
Antwerp Cathedral, by Wenceslaus Hollar, **xxxix (fig 6)**
Arne, Thomas, Artaxerxes, 171
Arnhem, 89
Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, 117
automata
 carriage, **xxxvi (fig 3)**
 clock at Versailles, 46
 clock with soldier, 52
 costs of showing, 135
 elephant carriage, **xxxv (fig 2)**
 made for James Cox, xix, xx
 Morand, Antoine, clock, **xxxvii (fig 5)**
 musical clocks, 152
 post-chaise, xxi, 129
 prices of, 134
 Prince of Orange, offered to, 131–32
 shown in Amsterdam, 136
 shown to the Prince of Orange, 133
 tables supporting, 132
 temple clock, **xxxiv (fig 1)**
 temples (large pair), xx, xxi, 128, 132
 temples (small pair), xx, xxi, 129
 temples for James Cox, 155
 triumphal car, xxii, 129
 triumphal cars (pair), xx, xxi, 153, 154
Aveline, Daniel, watch-case maker, 28, 170

B
Baltinglass, Lord, 33
Barre, see Rous & Barre, Netherlands
Barrow, Mr, tool seller, xi, 11
Bartholomew Lane, London, 19
Bayly, Richard
 partner in Upjohn business, xi, xxiii
begging, 62
bell, in Erfurt, 118
Bergen op Zoom, 103
Berka, 116
Berthoud, Ferdinand, xiii
Bideford, Peter Upjohn at, 7
Blackmore, Mr, 148
Blucher, Mr, merchant in Hamburg, xiii, 128
Blue Shank, inn, 73
Boam House, Hanover, 75
Boizenburg
 James Upjohn's visit to, 77
Bolsward, 86
Bonn, Grand Palace, 63–65
Boston, Massachussetts, 145
Brackenwagen, Mr, 76
Bremen
 Exchange, 79
 James Upjohn's visit to, 78
Bridgewater Square, London, 142, 149
Broach, Mr, xiii
Broadbent, Mr, Sheffield merchant, 109, 110
Brown, John, goldsmith, watchmaker and jeweller, 8
Brown, Mr, innkeeper, 75, 78
Brown, widow, wife of Nathaniel Upjohn, 8
Brown, William, foreman to James Upjohn, xi, 8, 126, 147, 148
Bruges, 105
Brussels, 32, 51
 Prince of Lorraine's palace, 33
Buggin, Captain, 144, 156
Bush, Mr, 109, 111
Bush, Mr & Mrs, 110
Butty and Dumee, goldsmiths, xxii
Buxtehude
 James Upjohn's visit to, 78

C
Cabrier, Charles, xiii
Cacha, 116
calendar, old style/new style, 169
Cambrai, 38
Canton, 129, 155
Carbin, Captain, 145
Carolina, coffee house, 79
Carr, Mr, 29
carriages, 65, 71–73, 74, 88, 110, 143–44
casemaker's mark
 IW (John Wright), **xxxvii (fig 4)**
chaise
 James Upjohn's, 143, 145–46
'Change, The, (Royal Exchange), 18, 36, 169
Charlemagne, Emperor (portrait of), 57
Charles, Prince of Lorraine, 170
Charles V, Emperor, xvii
Charleston, South Carolina, 129
 Upjohn family life in, 3
China, export trade to, viii, xx, xxi
Clerkenwell
 Red Lion Street, 16
 St John's Gate, 12

Clockmakers' Company
 acquisition of the manuscript, x
 Ms. 20,384, viii
Clotz, Mr, German merchant from London, 109, 110, 112, 113
Coblenz, 65
coinage, xxxii
cold bath, 139
Colebrooke, Sir George, 18
Cologne, 59, 61–62
 Jewish people in, 62
Coster, Laurence, printer, 92
costs
 automata, 134, 156
 automata, showing of, 135
 carriages, 143
 horses, 78, 109
 James Upjohn's daily spend, 143
 sending automata to China, 155
 snuff boxes, 44
 tables for automata, 132
 triumphal car automata, 153
 watch manufacture, xii
 watches, 43, 127–28
Cox, James
 automata made by James Upjohn, xix, 152–53
 bankruptcy, 129
 China, trade with, viii
 clocks made by James Upjohn, 152
 exhibition in Spring Gardens, xx
 financial affairs, xx
 James Upjohn's business with, xii, xix, xx, 127
Cox, William, junior, x
Cranenborg, Harm J., watchmaker, xviii, 85
Crutenden, East Indiaman, xx

D
Dale, Thomas, 11
de Beefe, Franciscus and Andreas, xvii
Debeefe, Mr
 dealer in paintings, 54, 55
Debeefe, Mr (brother to Maastricht dealer), 56
Delane, Ludwig (de Laene), xv, 25, 26
Delft, 99
Delmenhorst, 79
Denmark Street, Soho, 149
Dessau, Prince of, 123, 124
Deventer, 87
dial, enamelled, 21
Dort, 102, 103
Douglass, Mr, from Manchester, 109–10, 112, 114–15
 wrestling with a woman, 115–16
drawings, shown to James Cox, 128
Duc de Brabant, inn, 32
Dumee, see Butty and Dumee, xxii

Dunkirk, 29–30, 106
Dutch, meanness of the, 136
Dutch trade, 141

E
East India Company, xx
Edmonton
 James Upjohn's address, 17
Eisenach, 116
elephant carriage, **xxxv (fig 2)**
Emden, 83
 Governor of, 83–84
Erasmus, statue of, 101
Erfurt, 118
Ever, 118
Exeter
 Southgate Street business, 5–6
 Swiss merchant, 79
export ban for watch cases and dial plates, 169

F
Fary, Mr, Clerkenwell watch-glass salesman, xi, 10
financial losses, 137, 143
fire in James Upjohn's clothes, 107–108
Fitzwilliam, Lord, 67
Flieden, 113
Flushing, 105
food and drink, 80, 81–2, 109–10, 112–15
Fordyce, Alexander, banker, 26, 170
foremen to James Upjohn, 128
forgery, see watch, forgery
fortifications, 103
Franeker, 86
Frankfurt am Main, 68
Frankfurt Fair, 107, 109
Fratelli, Moina of Amsterdam, xiii
fraud, 141, 156
Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Princess of Prussia, xxii
Friend, Mr, foreman to James Upjohn, 18
Fugger, Jakob, xvii
Furnes (Verne), 30

G
Garle, Miss Mary
 marriage to James Upjohn, 13
Garle, Thomas, 28
 watch-spring maker, xi, xxv, 13
Gelnhausen, 112
Gendron, Mr, 40, 44, 49, 50
General Evening Post, xx
Germany, watch trade, xiv
Ghent, 31, 32
Glattstein, Prince of (Glatestain), xxii, 134
Goes, 104
Goesand, 105
Golden Ball, inn, 93, 107

Goldsmiths' Company, 18
 James Upjohn's freedom, 18
 Gordon, Mr, envoy to Brussels, 26
 Grand Jury-man, 18
 Grand Palace, Bonn, 63–65
 Green Street, Kentish Town, 26, 142, 149
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 36
 Groningen, 85, 86
 Groningen Museum, vi

H
 Haarlem, 92
 Hague, The, 93
 Het Binnen Hof, **xxxxiii (fig 10)**
 Huis ten Bosch, **xxxxiv (fig 11)**, 97, 98,
 Little Voorhout, 97
 New Voorhout, 97
 Plain, The, 97
 Prinsengracht, 97
 Hale, Mary, xxv
 Hamburg
 Edward Upjohn junior there, 140
 James Upjohn's visit to, 75–76
 Hamilton, Mr, 29
 Hanover
 James Upjohn's visit to, 73
 Harlingen, 86
 health of James Upjohn, 138–39
 Hellevoetsluis, 107
 Henster, Mr, from Birmingham, 108, 109
 Herrenhausen Palace, 73
 Hesse-Cassel, 70
 James Upjohn's visit to, 69
 Hesse-Cassel, Elector of, 170
 Hesse-Cassel, Prince of, xxii, 134
 palace of, 111
Het Binnen Hof, engraving by Gerrit van Giessen,
 xxxxiii (fig 10)
 Het Loo, 28
 Hicks Hall, 169
 Hillier & Co., Wolverhampton, 19
 Hocks, Mr, merchant and watchmaker, xiii, 59
 Hollar, Wenceslaus, 170
 Antwerp Cathedral, **xxxix (fig 6)**
 Horne, Captain, 152
 horses, 77, 81, 84, 92, 101–02, 109, 120, 143,
 146
Hotel de Holland, Cologne, 59
Hotel royal des Invalides, painting by Pierre
 Lepautre, **xxxx (fig 7)**
 Huis ten Bosch,
 automata demonstrated there, 132
 painting by Jan van der Hayden,
 xxxxiv (fig 11)

I
 index (James Upjohn's), 160–168
 India, trade with, xxi

Invalides, Hotel royal des, **xxxx (fig 7)**
 Irwin, Mr, 110
 Isaacs, Aron, watch dealer, xiv

J
 Jewish people, 62–63, 69
 Jewish watch suppliers, xiv, 21

K
 Kent (county of), 17
 Knip, Gerrit & Zoon of Amsterdam, xxii

L
 Labherd, Mr, 69, 80
The Labourer, inn, 34
Lady Coventry's Minuet, 31
 Lambe, Edmund, xiii
 Land's End, 17
 Lautier, John Lewis, 170
 Le Dieu,
 Cornelia Maria, xv
 Franciscus, xv
 Leer, 80
 Leeuwarden, 86
 Leiden, 93
 Leipzig, 118–119
 churches, 122
 Leipzig Fair, xi, xix, 107, 119–20
 Leopold, John (Jan Hendrik)
 Almanus Manuscript, vi
 portrait, v
 tribute to, vi
 Lepautre, Pierre, *Veue de la facade de l'église de*
 l'hôtel royal des Invalides, **xxxx (fig 7)**
Les Deux Écus, hotel, Paris, 39
 Les Invalides, Paris, 44
 Leslip, Count, his two brothers, 68
 Light, R.U., x
 Lombard Street, London, 19
London Gazette, xxiii
 Lorraine, Prince Charles Alexander of, xvii
 palace, 33
 Lotur, Mr & Mrs, 28
 Louis XV at Versailles, 46
 Louvain, 53
 Ludwig Ernst, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel,
 xxii
 Luke, Michael, 19, 20
 Luther, Dr, 116
 Lutherans, 118
 Luxembourg Palace, Paris, 49

M
 Maastricht, 53–54
 State House, 56–57
 Maccarties, Mrs, 93
 Mainz, 66–67, 124–125
 mantua makers, 148

Marine Society, 148
 Marlay, 37
 Martineau, Mr, 130
 Massys, Quentin, artist, xvii
 marries Rubens' daughter, 35
 Mather, Darlow, 4
 Mather, Edward, watchmaker, xiii, xv, 21, 23,
 26–28
 Mayaffree, Mr, 95, 133–34
 meanness, 136
 Mechelen, 34
 Melondon, Aron, watch dealer, xiv
 merchant
 Thornton, Mr, 76
 Middelburg, 104
 Moerdijk, 103
 Moidore, 169
 money, see coinage
 Moore, Mr, husband of Elizabeth Upjohn, 8
 Moore, Mr John, goldsmith, 126
 Morand, Antoine, 170
 automaton clock, **xxxvii (fig 5)**
Morse, East Indiaman ship, 152, xx
 museum
 Amsterdam
 Rijksmuseum, **xxxix (fig 9)**
 Beijing
 Palace Museum, xxi, **xxxiv (fig 1)**,
 xxxv (fig 2)
 Groningen, vi
 London
 British Museum, **xxxix (fig 6)**,
 xxxx (fig 7)
 Victoria & Albert Museum, xxi,
 xxxvii (fig 4)
 New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum,
 xxxvi (fig 3)
 musical clocks by James Upjohn, 152

N
 Nash, Mr, Lord Mayor, 22
 Nash, William, attorney, 169
 Naumburg, 118
 Netherlands watch trade, xiv
 New Rents, St. Martin's le Grand, 13
 Newcastle upon Tyne, 18, 142
 Nieuport, 31
 Nieuweschans, 84
 Nijmegen, 87
Norfolk, ship, 144, 156, 171
 notes on the text, 169

O
 Oldenburg, 79
 Olive, Mr, 138
 Orange, Prince of, 28, 129, 135
 automata offered to, 131
 cabinet of curiosities, 96, 130

palace of, in The Hague, 95
The Origin of Painting, David Allan,
xxxvii (fig 4)
 Oudeschoot, 87

P
Pacifick, East Indiaman, xx
 paintings from Mr Debeefe, 54
 Palais Royale, Paris, 40
 Panchaud, J. John, banker, 48
 Panchaud, Isaac & Jean-François, bankers, 170
 Paris
 James Upjohn's visit to, 40, xii
 Les Invalides, **xxxx (fig 7)**, 44
 Luxembourg Palace, 49
 St Denis (Saint-Denis), xvii, 49
 Parkinson, Mr, 107
 pay rates, 130
 Philadelphia
 Upjohn family life in, 2–3
 Place des Vosges, Paris, 44
 play, at Leipzig Fair, 120–22
 Plymouth, home of Nathaniel Upjohn, 8
 poem—'lines made on my landing in England',
 160
 poor rates, 18
 population of Leipzig, 123
 post-chaise, 29
 automaton, xxi, 129
 Prescott, bankers, 18
 prices, see costs, xii
 priest and Mrs Radermaker, 61
 production rate
 watches, 139
 Prussia, King's brother, 82
 punch, 114

Q
 Qianlong, Emperor, xxi
 Quebec, 145

R
 Radermaker, Mrs, 60–61
 story of the priest, 61
 Ramsgate, 107
 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, x, xxiii–iv, 147
 rent
 at Mr Ward's, 12
 Revor & Stunckin, Amsterdam, 20
 Rhine, river, 125
 Rippach, 118
Roman Emperor (Römischer Kaiser), inn,
 Frankfurt, 68, 108
 engraving of, **xxxxi (fig 8)**
 Rose, Mr, watchmaker in St Martin's le Grand, 10
 Rotterdam, 99, 101
 The Bomb Quay, 100
 churches, 100

College of the Maas, 100
 Stadt House, 101
 Rous, Jean *see* Rousseau, Mr
 Rous & Barre, Netherlands, xiii
 Rouse, Mr, 37
 Rousseau, Mr, xiii, 38
 Royal Exchange, London, 18, 19, 36
 Rubens, Peter Paul
 Christ taken down from the Cross, 35
 The Last Judgement, 57
 Lord's Supper, 34

S

Sass, Mr, 75, 77, 78
 Sax, Mr, miniature painter, 125
 Saxe-Gotha, 116
 Saxons, Upjohn's observations on, 116
 Scheemda, 85
 Scheveningen, 95
 Shaftesbury, birthplace of James Upjohn, 1
 Shaston (Shaftesbury), 169
 Shirley, Joseph, lapidary, 14
 shopping, 51, 56
 Sluis, 105
 Smith, Edward of Bideford, 8
 Smith, Miss, wife of Peter Upjohn, 7
 Smith, Roger
 foreword, ix
 Smith, *see* Westwood and Smith
 Sneek, 87
 snuff boxes, 108
 South, Mr, watchmaker, 19–20
 Sowden, Miss (wife of James Upjohn junior), 149
 Sowden, Thomas, of Reading, 149
 Sowden, Thomas, of Red Lion Street, 23, 24
 working for Upjohn, xii
 spectacles, James Upjohn's, 117
 St Denis (Saint-Denis), church, Paris, xvii, 49
 St Pierre, Abbey of, Ghent, 32
 States General, The Hague, 95
 Steinau, 112
 Stratford, Lord, 37–38
 Stratford, the Honourable Mr, 33
 Stunckin, Mr, 92
 Surrey, 17
 Sussex, 17
 Swiss merchant, 79

T

tables for automata, 132
 Tappy, Mr, xviii, 104
 temple clocks and automata, xx, xxi,
 xxxiv (fig 1), 129–29, 132
 made for James Cox, 155
The Red Man, inn, Frankfurt, 68
 Tholen, 103
 Thomas, John of Crewkerne, 9
 Thornton, Mr, merchant, 76, 77

Topsham
 Upjohn family life in, 3–4
 toys, 134
 Trade Ledgers, East-India Company, xx
 trades
 clockmaker, xvii
 enameller, 149
 goldsmith, xxii, 8, 28, 43, 126
 hairdresser and barber, 148
 jeweller, 8, 28, 149
 lapidary, 14
 merchant, 59, 106, 109
 printer, 92
 snuff-box maker, 44
 tool seller, 11
 watch dealer, xiv
 watch-glass salesman, xi
 watch merchant, xiii
 watch pillar and stud maker, xi
 watchmaker, xiii, xv, xvii, xviii, 2, 8, 19, 59
 triumphal car automata, xxi, 129, 153, 154
 Tuileries, Paris, 40, 41

U

Upjohn, A
 transcript of the manuscript, ix, x
 Upjohn, Charles (son of Richard), 148
 Upjohn, Edward, brother of James Upjohn, xi
 Upjohn, Edward junior, xix, 1
 at Mr Vanderville's, 106
 at Mr Windel's, 67
 bad behaviour, 129
 biography, 9
 birth of, 17
 death of, 129
 in Frankfurt, 107, 110
 sleeping arrangements in Gelnhausen, 112
 to Mr Blucher, merchant in Hamburg, 128
 Upjohn, Edward senior,
 clockmaking, 1, 2
 death of, 7
 Exeter, life in, 7
 later years, 5
 singing teacher, 2
 stonemason, father of James, 1
 watch-case making, 1
 Upjohn, Edward, son of Richard Upjohn, 147,
 148
 Upjohn, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Upjohn, 7
 Upjohn, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Upjohn,
 148
 Upjohn family
 biographical details, 7
 burial vault, 17
 Charleston, life in, 3
 general biography, 5
 move to Philadelphia, 2
 Philadelphia, life in, 3

return to England, 3
 Upjohn, Fanny, 148
 birth and death of, 17
 Upjohn, Francis, xi, xxii, 149
 birth of, 17
 Dutch and French speaking, 28
 Dutch trade, 141
 partnership with James Upjohn, xxiii
 Warmond School, Leiden, 22
 watches confiscated by Customs, 25–26
 Upjohn, James, 5
 address, x, xxiii, xxiv
 Bartholomew Lane, 19
 Edmonton, 17
 Green Street, Kentish Town, 26, 142
 Lombard Street, 19
 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, 147
 St Martin's le Grand, 5
 Amsterdam business, 23
 arrested, 54
 automata
 temple clocks, xx
 triumphal (car pair), xx
 automata for James Cox, 153, 154
 biographical details, 1
 biography and reminiscence, x, 150–51
 birth of, 17
 business plans, 140
 in Cambrai, 39
 carriage, first, 143
 carriage automaton, xxxvi (fig 3)
 chaise, 145, 146
 Clerkenwell, move to, xii
 clocks, musical, 152
 cost of watches, xii
 Cox, James, business with, xx
 Crewkerne, working in, 9
 Debeefe, Mr, lawsuit over paintings deal, 55
 defrauded by Captain Buggin, 156
 dining at St John's Gate, 12
 fall from a horse, 15
 family business, xi
 family of, 146
 financial losses, 137, 143, 157
 foreign trade, 140
 foremen, 128
 Garle, Thomas, with, 13
 Grand Jury-man, 18
 health of, 138–39
 Holland, in, 107
 income, 13, 16, 141
 journey, 1765 (1st), xv, 20–23
 journey, 1767 (2nd), xv, 23
 journey, 1767 (3rd), xvi, 26
 journey, 1767 (4th), xvi, 27–28
 journey, 1768 (5th), xvi, 29–106
 journey, 1769 (6th), xviii, 107–26
 journey, 1772 (7th), xix, 130–37

journey from Bremen to the Netherlands, 79
 journey through the Netherlands, 28
 journey to Breda, 27
 journey to Bruges, 27
 journey to Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk
 first 16
 second 139
 journey to Exeter, 14
 journey to Hanover, 71, 72, 73
 journey to Hesse-Cassel, 68
 journey to London, 10, 15
 journey to Newcastle upon Tyne, 142
 journey to Paris, 38
 journey to Plymouth, 15
 journey to Taunton, Bridgewater and
 Wells, 15
 journey to Zutphen, 27
 later career, xxii
 at Leipzig Fair, 119–20
 life in Topsham, 4
 marriage to Miss Mary Garle, xxvi, 14
 in Mechelen, 34
 at Mr Fary's, 10
 in Paris, 48
 partnership with James junior, 142
 partnerships, xxiii
 payments for weddings, 142
 payments to Francis and James junior, 142
 plans for an international business, xiii
 poem—'lines made on my landing in
 England', 160
 reasons for leaving his father, 151
 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, 16
 reminiscences, 158, 159
 retirement, 142
 shop in St. Martin's le Grand, 15
 shops, xii
 toys, 134
 trade in Surrey etc, 17
 travels to Germany, 59–65
 triumphal car automata, 153
 visit to
 Aix-la-Chapelle, 56, 58
 Antwerp, 36
 Boizenburg, 77
 Bremen, 78
 Buxtehude, 78
 Cologne, 59–62
 Frankfurt am Main, 67
 Hamburg, 75–76
 Hesse-Cassel, 69
 Louvain, 53
 Maastricht, 53–54
 Mainz, 66–67
 Marlay, 34
 Paris, xii, 39–40, 49
 watch empire, xi
 watch production, x, 18, 43

watches, gold and enamel, 130
 watches for James Cox, 127
 watchmaking, xii, 11
 working at Mr Rose's, 10
 Upjohn, James & Son, xxiii
 Upjohn, James, junior, xi, xix
 Amsterdam, 108
 defrauded, 141
 meets Edward Upjohn junior in Amsterdam, 129
 learns Dutch, 28
 learns French in Dieppe, 27
 partnership with James senior, 142
 partnership with James Upjohn, xxiii
 Zutphen, xvi
 Upjohn, James, son of Edward senior, 1
 Upjohn, James (i), son of James, died young, 16
 Upjohn, James (ii), son of James Upjohn
 biography, 149
 Upjohn, James, son of Richard, 148
 Upjohn, John
 brother to James, 5
 Upjohn, Mary, xv, xxiv, 4
 honeymoon, xvii
 marriage to Gabriel Wirgman, 28
 Upjohn, Mary daughter of James, 16, 149
 Upjohn, Mary, daughter of Richard Upjohn, 147
 Upjohn, Mary, sister of James, 1
 Upjohn, mother of James
 death of, 7
 Upjohn, Mrs Mary (Garle)
 fall from a horse, 146
 Upjohn, Nathaniel, brother of James, 1
 death of, 144
 Plymouth, 8
 Upjohn, Nathaniel, nephew of James, 144
 Upjohn, Peter, xi, xix
 biography, 149
 birth of, 17
 partnership with James Upjohn, xxiii
 watch finishing, 126
 Upjohn, Peter, brother of James, 1
 Upjohn, Peter junior
 sent to Amsterdam, 126
 Upjohn, Peter, son of James, 8
 birth of, 17
 Upjohn, Rebecca, x, 146
 birth of, 17
 Upjohn, Richard, 5
 biography, 146–47
 birth and death of, 17
 death of, 146
 debts, 147
 family of, 147
 Upjohn, Richard of Exeter, 126
 Upjohn, Thomas, xix, xxi
 biography, 144–45
 birth of, 17

character of, 137
 Warmond School, Leiden, 108
 watchmaker in Quebec, 145
 Upjohn, William
 death of, 7
 Exeter, Southgate Street business, 6
 watch repairing, 6
 Upjohn, William, son of Richard Upjohn, 148
 Upjohn & Co., London
 watch, xxxvii (fig 4)
 Utrecht, 88–89, 91

V

Valenciennes, 52
 van der Hayden, *The Huis ten Bosch at the Hague*, painting, xxxiv (fig 11)
 van Giessen, Het Binnen Hof, engraving, xxxiii (fig 10)
 van Zoelen (Vanzoolen, Baron), Anne Frans
 Pieck, xxii, 133, 134
 Vandermulin, Mr, 27
 Vanderville, Mr, 106
 Vandorn, Mr, 126
 Vanzoolen, Baron, see van Zoelen
 Vaughan, Mr, 76–78
 Veere, 104
 Verne (Furnes), 30
 Versailles, 47
 Versailles, Chateau de, xxxvii (fig 5), 45
 Veuve Grand l'Ainé, of Rotterdam, xiii

W

Ward, Mr
 James Upjohn boarding with, 12
 watch pillar and stud maker, xi
 watch,
 forgery of, xiii
 prices, 19, 55, 127–28
 production, 42–43
 repeater, 12
 Upjohn & Co. London, xxxvii (fig 4)
 watches
 at Leipzig Fair, 119–20
 repeating, 127
 Upjohn, James, gold and enamel, 129
 Upjohn, James, made for Cox, 127
 Upjohn's production rate, 139
 watchmaking practice, xii
 water clock, 1
 Weissenstein, 70
 Wendel, Mr & Mrs (Windel), 67
 Westwood and Smith, auctioneers, xxii
 Wetherall Miss (Wetherell, Wetheral), 51
 Wetherall sisters, xvii, 28
White Swan, inn, 34
 Wichew, Mr F., 169
 Wilkins, Baron, 133
 Willallme, Mr, 77

William I, King, xxi
 Windel, Mr, see Wendel
 wine, Rhenish, 113
 wine, see also food and drink
 Winschoten, 85
 Wirgman, Gabriel, 42, 51, 138
 biography, 149
 jeweller, xi, xvii
 jeweller and enameller, 28
 marriage to Mary Upjohn, 28
 partner to Upjohn, xxiii
 partnership with James Upjohn, 141
 Wirgman, Gabriel and Mrs, 44
 Wirgman, Mrs
 loses watch, 30
 taken ill, 50
 Wirgman, Mary, 16
 Wishaw, Francis, 20, 169
 buys gifts for his wife, 24
 defrauds James Upjohn, 23–25
 house in Zutphen, 25
 Wolfenbüttel, Prince of, 134
 Wollaston, Miss (wife of Francis Upjohn), 149
 women
 James Upjohn's observations, 42, 82, 84, 115, 119
 Wright, John, watchcase maker, xxxvii (fig 4)
 Wülkenitz, xxii

Y

Yorke, Sir Joseph, 96, 130, 131

Z

Zutphen, 87
 Zwolle, 87

THE
JAMES UPJOHN
FAMILY TREE

James Upjohn's Family

