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DE FOE'S WORKS.

VOL. V.

THE NOVELS AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH PREFACES AND NOTES, INCLUDING THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1665; TO WHICH I ADDED THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON, 1666, BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER.

THE STORM, 1703. WITH THE ESSAY, IN VERSE.

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN: A SATIRE.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1881.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE History of the Great Plague in London is one of that particular class of compositions which hovers between romance and history. Undoubtedly De Foe embodied a number of traditions upon this subject with what he might actually have read, or of which he might otherwise have received direct evidence. This dreadful disease, which, in the language of Scripture, might be described as "the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day," was indeed a fit subject for a pencil so veracious as that of De Foe. Had he not been the author of Robinson Crusoe, De Foe would have deserved immortality for the genius which he has displayed in this work.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

HISTORY

OF

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.

It was about the beginning of September, 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither they say, it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from the letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the government had a true account of it, and several counsels were held about ways to prevent its coming over, but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter end of November, or the beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long-acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury-lane. The family

they were in, endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible; but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the secretaries of state got knowledge of it. And concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house, and make inspection. This they did, and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague. Whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:

PLAGUE, 2. PARISHES INFECTED, 1.

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper: and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible. This possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury-lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business, that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus; the usual number of burials in a week, in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, were from twelve to seventeen or nineteen each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example:

From Dec. 27th to Jan. 3rd,	St. Giles's	16
	St. Andrew's	17
Jan. 3rd to Jan. 10th,	St. Giles's	12
	St. Andrew's	25
Jan. 10th to Jan. 17th,	St. Giles's	18
	St. Andrew's	18
Jan. 17th to Jan. 24th,	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
Jan. 24th to Jan. 31st,	St, Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th,	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
Feb. 7th to Feb. 14th,	St. Giles's	24

Whereof one of the plague.

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parishes of St. Bride's, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly, were from four to six or eight, whereas at that time they were increased as follows:

From Dec. 20th to Dec. 27th,	St. Bride's	0
	St. James	8
Dec. 27th to Jan. 3rd,	St. Bride's	6
	St. James	9
Jan. 3rd to Jan. 10th,	St. Bride's	11
	St. James	7
Jan. 10th to Jan. 17th,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James	9
Jan. 17th to Jan. 24th,	St. Bride's	9
	St. James	15
Jan. 24th to Jan. 31st,	St. Bride's	8
	St. James	12
Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th,	St. Bride's	13
	St. James	5
Feb. 7th to Feb. 14th,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people, that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week, was from about two hundred and forty, or thereabouts, to three hundred. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows:

		Increased.
December 20, to the 27th, Buried	291	
27, to the 3rd Jan.	349	58
January 3, to the 10th,	394	45
10, to the 17th,	415	21
17, to the 24th,	474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding visitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high. From the beginning of April, especially, they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand: however, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again, the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388, there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz., St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary-Wool-Church, that is to say, in Bearbinder-lane, near Stocks-market; in all there were nine of the plague,

and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry, found, that this Frenchman who died in Bearbinder-lane, was one who, having lived in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes: that which encouraged them was, that the city was healthy, the whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no farther; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole city or liberties, and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. It is true, St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty, but still as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy; the whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days. But it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day, so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's, it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself; there was indeed but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion; for St. Giles's parish, they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted upon the whole, that there were fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May, to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen; but the burials in St. Giles's were fifty-three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague: but on an

examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the lord mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June, the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell: for all that could conceal their distempers, did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been a hundred at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane: Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great, and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad-street where I lived: indeed nothing was to be seen, but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or

sent from the country to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night (for indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen,) it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the lord mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for, without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now as there had none died in the city for all this time, my lord mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too, for awhile.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the months of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass, for fear of bringing the infection along with them, though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself, concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice, and therefore I desire this account may pass with them rather for a direction to themselves to act by, than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me; the one was the carrying on my business and shop; which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole city; and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a saddler, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants, trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man it is true, but I had a family of servants, who I kept at my business; had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and, in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and, advising with him, his answer was in the three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz., Master, save thyself. In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me: he told me the same thing, which I argued for my staying, viz., That I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; For, says he, is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so eminent a point of danger, and trust him with your life?

I could not argue that I was in any strait, as to a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly, I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two

children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse: for though it is true, all the people did not go out of the city of London; yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city, for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant; and as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm, and no danger from taking cold. I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies, in the war which had not been many years past: and I must needs say, that speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled, done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country towns and houses, as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin of abundance of people.

But then my servant, who I had intended to take down with me, deceived me, and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away, was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz., about these disappointments being from heaven.

It came very warmly into my mind, one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine Power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God, that I should stay, he was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that he could cause his justice to overtake me when and where he thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again, and when

I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him, that I inclined to stay and take my lot in that station, in which God had placed me; and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was; that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him, who, having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of his providence, and which was not: but that I should take it as an intimation from heaven, that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might with ease travel a day or two on foot, and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse, or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attend the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia, and in other places, where he had been (for my brother being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined, and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week, whereas the Europeans, or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost seven hundred a week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared every-

thing as well as I could, as to my business, and who to intrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do. I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset, the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by and by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve first, what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate: also the intimations which I thought I had from heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture, and it occured to me, that if I had what I call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved, if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction, that I should be kept. Add to this, that turning over the Bible, which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinary serious upon the question, I cried out, Well, I know not what to do, Lord direct me! and the like; and at that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book, at the 91st Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read to the seventh verse exclusive; and after that, included the 10th, as follows:—"I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge, and my fortress, my God, in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day: nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made

the Lord which is my refuge, even the most high, thy habitation: there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

I scarce need tell the reader, that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that as my times were in his hands, he was as able to keep me in a time of the infection, as in a time of health; and if he did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in his hands, and it was meet he should do with me as should seem good to him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was farther confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to intrust my house and all my affairs. But I had a farther obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round farther into Buckinghamshire, or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was infected, but in about three days I grew better, the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things however, put off all my thoughts of going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him, or with myself, on that subject.

It was now mid July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and towards Westminster, began now to come eastward, towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us; for the city, that is to say within the walls, was indifferent healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark;

for though there died that week 1268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above nine hundred died of the plague; yet there was but twenty-eight in the whole city, within the walls, and but nineteen in Southwark, Lambeth parish included; whereas in the parishes of St. Giles, and St. Martin's in the Fields alone, there died four hundred and twenty-one.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterward; we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz., by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate; which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I have observed, there died near four hundred of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, in the parish of Stepney but one.

Likewise in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the plague, on the whole Southwark side of the water, than sixteen.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone, buried eight hundred and eighty-six, and Clerkenwell one hundred and fifty-five; of the first, eight hundred and fifty might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said, one hundred and forty-five were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see it was safe; and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the

house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town, as openly as ever, I will not say quite as frequently, because the number of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were, indeed, extremely lessened, by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July, they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe, that the court removed early, viz., in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say, that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far, in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered, I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for, as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face, and though some part were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself, and his family, as in the utmost danger: were it possible to represent those times exactly, to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and chil-

dren at the windows and doors of their houses, where their nearest relations were, perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard, as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and see nobody to direct me, except watchmen set at the doors of such houses as were shut up; of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town, on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually; and indeed I walked a great way where I had no business; I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The inns of court were all shut up, nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's-inn, or Gray's-inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace, there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places, were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates; but that great numbers of persons followed the court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies; and as others retired, really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets: but the fright was not yet near so great in the city, abstractedly so called; and particularly because,

though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet, as I have observed, that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were as it were alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east or south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town, and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people; and such persons as were unincumbered with trades and business. But of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgot here, that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a farther increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London, more than ever; yet we had always a notion that numbers of people, which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle in business, or to depend upon, and attend the court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say, it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither; all the soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here; again, the court brought with it a great flux of pride and new fashions; all people were gay and luxurious, and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time; while the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by heaven for an

Akeldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after, another, a little before the fire; the old women, and the phlegmatic hypocondriac part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked, especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over, that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone. That the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow; but, that the comet before the fire, was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious, and that, accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible, and frightful, as was the plague. But the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as was the conflagration; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it, that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and I must confess, had had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments, and especially when the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times, in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies, and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since: whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not,

but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as Lily's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Predictions, Poor Robin's Almanack, and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, Come out of Her my People, lest ye be partaker of her Plagues; another called, Fair Warning; another, Britain's Remembrancer, and many such; all, or most part of which, foretold directly or covertly, the ruin of the city; nay, some were so enthusiastically bold, as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed. I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, Woe to Jerusalem! a little before the destruction of that city: so this poor naked creature cried, O! the great, and the dreadful God! and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else; but kept on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills, dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things, were the dreams of old women; or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead; others saw apparitions in the air, and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed; and no wonder if they who were poring continually at the clouds, saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held

in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied and the like; just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> So hypochondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles in the firmament;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people give every day of what they have seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them, without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun, otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's, I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, showed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly and with so much readiness: Yes! I see it all plainly, says one, there's the sword as plain as can be; another saw the angel; one saw his very face, and cried out, What a glorious creature he was! One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon; and I said, indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied: but the woman turning to me looked me in the face and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned to me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer, told me that it was a time of

God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching, and that despisers, such as I, should wander and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she, and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them, and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also; and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate churchyard, by a row of almshouses; there are two church-yards to Bishopsgate church or parish, one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-street, coming out just by the church door, the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the almshouses are on the left, and a dwarf wall with a palisade on it on the right hand, and the city wall on the other side more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through the palisades into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the place would admit to stop without hindering the passage of others, and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there; he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, There it is! Now it comes this way! then, 'Tis turned back! till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven, and then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything, but so positive was this poor man that he gave them vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frightened, till at length few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people, plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of people should come to be buried in that churchyard, as indeed happened, but then he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge I never believed, nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it if possible.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing done in it, as I am informed, the government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers, that, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers, many of them I doubt not did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way.

One mischief always introduces another; these terrors and apprehensions of the people led them to a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to, and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortunes, or, as it is vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like, and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic; to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of, and this trade grew so open and so generally practised, that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors, Here lives a fortune-teller: Here lives an astrologer; Here you may have your nativity calculated; and the like; and friar Bacon's brazen-head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people, I really know not, but certain it is, that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day: and if but a grave fellow in a

velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurors generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds and ask them questions as they went along.

The case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again, by and by; for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away, and it was so, and of them abundance perished, and particularly those whom these false prophets flattered with hopes that they should be kept in their services and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great, and in all cases of this nature must be so, they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out; but I must also not forget that the more serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner; the government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin, and implore the mercy of God, to avert the dreadful judgment which hangs over their heads; and, it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion, how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, even to the very doors of the largest churches: also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places, at all which, the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion; several private families also, as well of one opinion as another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious, applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things; the very court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the

French court, had been set up and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing rooms, and music houses, which multiplied and began to debauch the manners of the people, where shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the common people, shut their shops, finding indeed no trade, for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people; death was before their eyes, and everbody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even these wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring his compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people: who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and, as I said before, that they ran to conjurers and witches and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them, who fed their fears and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets, so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money but poisoned themselves beforehand for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it was incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills, and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz., INFALLIBLE preventitive pills against the plague. NEVER-FAILING preservatives against the infection. SOVEREIGN cordials against the corruption of air. EXACT regulations for the conduct of the body in case of infection. Antipestilential pills. INCOM-

PARABLE drink against the plague, never found out before. An UNIVERSAL remedy for the plague. The ONLY TRUE plague-water. The ROYAL ANTIDOTE against all kinds of infection: and such a number more that I cannot reckon up, and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings for direction and advice in the case of infection; these had specious titles also, such as these:

An eminent High-Dutch physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great plague, last year, in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them.

An Italian gentlewoman just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did wonderful cures with it in the late plague there, wherein their died 20,000 in one day.

An ancient gentlewoman having practised with great success in the late plague in this city, anno 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoken with, &c.

An experienced physician, who has long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived at such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent being touched by any contagious distemper whatsoever. He directs the poor gratis.

I take notice of these by way of specimen; I could give you two or three dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. It is sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times, and how a set of theives and pickpockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the thing pretended to, and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack operators with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him,

but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave out in the streets, this advertisement in capital letters, viz., He gives advice to the poor for nothing.

Abundance of people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things to do which were of no great moment; but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which, if they took such a quantity of, every morning, he would pawn his life that they should never have the plague, no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it, but then, the price of that was so much, I think it was half-a-crown; But, sir, says one poor woman, I am a poor almswoman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say, you give the poor your help for nothing. Ay, good woman, says the doctor, so I do, as I published there, I give my advice, but not my physic! Alas, sir, says she, that is a snare laid for the poor then, for you give them your advice for nothing; that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your physic for their money, so does every shopkeeper with his wares. Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her up stairs again and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps too, was good for nothing when she had it.

But, to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pretenders and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people, for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time; and I was told that some of them got 5*l.* a day by their physic.

But there was still another madness beyond all this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor people at that time, and this was their following a worse sort of deceivers than any of these, for these petty theives only duluded them to pick their pockets and get their money,

in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceiver's deceiving, not upon the deceived; but in this part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both; and this was in wearing charms, philters, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations to fortify the body against the plague, as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit, and it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus:

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits' mark in a cross:
I H
S

Others had nothing but this mark, thus:
+

I might spend a great deal of my time in exclamations against the follies, and indeed the wickednesses of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequence as this of a national infection; but my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice of the fact, and mention only that it was so. How the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead-carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the plague being at hand, was among them, and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas, 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St. Giles's in the beginning of December; and again after another alarm in February, for when the plague evidently spread itself, they soon began to see the folly of trusting to

these unperforming creatures, who had gulled them of their money, and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take or what to do, either to help or to relieve themselves, but they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets, from one door to another, with repeated cries of, Lord have mercy upon us, what shall we do?

I am supposing now, the plague to have begun, as I have said, and that the magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious consideration; what they did as to the regulation of the inhabitants, and of infected families I shall speak to by itself; but, as to the affair of health, it is proper to mention here, my having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks, mountebanks, wizards, and fortune-tellers, which they did as above even to madness. The lord mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for the relief of the poor, I mean the diseased poor, and, in particular, ordered the college of physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor in all the circumstances of the distemper. This indeed was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done at that time, for this drove the people from haunting the doors of every disperser of bills, and from taking down blindly and without consideration, poison for physic, and death instead of life.

This direction of the physicians was done by a consultation of the whole college, and as it was particularly calculated for the use of the poor, and for cheap medicines, it was made public, so that everybody might see it, and copies were given gratis to all that desired it: but as it is public and to be seen on all occasions, I need not give the reader of this the trouble of it.

It remains to be mentioned now, what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper when it broke out; I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the order and regulations which they published for the government of infected families.

I mentioned above shutting of houses up, and it is needful to say something, particularly to that; for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy; but the most grievous story must be told.

About June, the lord mayor of London, and the court of aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The justices of the peace for Middlesex, by direction of the secretary of state, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Martin's, St. Clement's Danes, &c., and it was with good success, for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died as soon as they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes after they had been visited to the full, than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others; the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of the houses was a method first taken, as I understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the coming of King James the I. to the crown, and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by act of parliament, entitled, An act for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with plague. On which act of parliament, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, founded the order they made at this time, and which took place the 1st of July, 1665, when the numbers of infected within the city were but few, the last bill for the ninety-two parishes being but four, and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some people being removed to the pesthouse beyond Bunhill-fields, in the way to Islington; I say, by these means, when there died near one thousand a week in the whole, the number in the city was but twenty-eight; and the city was preserved more healthy in proportion, than any other place all the time of the infection,

These orders of my lord mayor's were published, as I have said, the latter end of June, and took place from the 1st of July, and were as follow, viz.:

ORDERS CONCEIVED AND PUBLISHED BY THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF LONDON, CONCERNING THE INFECTION OF THE PLAGUE; 1665.

WHEREAS in the reign of our late sovereign King James, of happy memory, an act was made for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague: whereby authority was given to justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers, to appoint within their several limits examiners, searchers, watchmen, keepers, and buriers, for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices; and the same statute did also authorise the giving of their directions, as unto them for other present necessity should seem good in their discretions. It is now upon special consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of infection of sickness (if it shall please Almighty God), that these officers following be appointed, and these orders hereafter duly observed.

Examiners to be appointed to every Parish.

First, it is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every parish there be one, two, or more persons of good sort and credit chosen by the alderman, his deputy, and common-council of every ward, by the name of examiners, to continue in that office for the space of two months at least: and, if any fit person so appointed, shall refuse to undertake the same, the said parties so refusing to be committed to prison until they shall conform themselves accordingly.

The Examiner's Office.

That these examiners be sworn by the aldermen to inquire and learn from time to time what houses in every parish be visited, and what persons be sick, and of what diseases, as near as they can inform themselves, and, upon doubt in that case, to command restraint of access until it appear what the disease shall prove; and if they find any person sick of the infection, to give order to the constable that the house be shut up; and if the constable shall be found remiss and negligent, to give notice thereof to the alderman of the ward.

Watchmen.

That to every infected house there be appointed two watchmen, one for every day, and the other for the night, and that these watchmen have a special care that no person go in or out of such infected houses whereof they have the charge, upon pain of severe punishment. And the said watchmen to do such farther offices as the sick house shall need and require; and if the watchman be sent upon any business, to lock up the house and take the key with him; and the watchman by day to attend until ten o'clock at night, and the watchman by night until six in the morning.

Searchers.

That there be a special care to appoint women-searchers in every parish, such as are of honest reputation, and of the best sort as can be got in this kind; and these to be sworn to make due search and true report to the utmost of their knowledge, whether the persons whose bodies they are appointed to search do die of the infection, or of what other diseases, as near as they can; and that the physicians who shall be appointed for the cure and prevention of the infection, do call before them the said searchers, who are, or shall be appointed for the several parishes under their respective cares, to the end they may consider whether they be fitly qualified for that employment, and charge them from time to time, as they shall see cause, if they appear defective in their duties.

That no searcher during this time of visitation, be permitted to use any public work or employment, or keep a shop or stall, or be employed as a laundress, or in any other common employment whatsoever.

Chirurgeons.

For better assistance of the searchers, forasmuch as there has been heretofore great abuse in misreporting the disease, to the farther spreading of the infection, it is therefore ordered that there be chosen and appointed able and discreet chirurgeons besides those that do already belong to the pesthouse; amongst whom the city and liberties to be quartered as they lie most apt and convenient, and every of these to have one quarter for his limit; and the said chirurgeons in every of

their limits to join with the searchers for the view of the body, to the end there may be a true report made of the disease.

And farther, that the said chirurgeons shall visit and search such like persons as shall either send for them, or be named and directed unto them by the examiners of every parish, and inform themselves of the disease of the said parties.

And, forasmuch as the said chirurgeons are to be sequestered from all other cures, and kept only to this disease of the infection, it is ordered that every of the said chirurgeons shall have twelvepence a body searched by them, to be paid out of the goods of the party searched, if he be able, or otherwise by the parish.

Nurse-keepers.

If any nurse-keeper shall remove herself out of any infected house before twenty-eight days after the decease of any person dying of the infection, the house to which the said nurse-keeper doth so remove herself, shall be shut up until the said twenty-eight days shall be expired.

ORDERS CONCERNING INFECTED HOUSES, AND PERSONS SICK OF THE PLAGUE.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

The master of every house as soon as any one in his house complaineth, either of botch, or purple, or swelling in any part of his body, or falleth otherwise dangerously sick without apparent cause of some other disease, shall give notice thereof to the examiner of health, within two hours after the said sign shall appear.

Sequestration of the Sick.

As soon as any man shall be found by this examiner, chirurgeon, or searcher, to be sick of the plague, he shall the same night be sequestered in the same house, and in case he be so sequestered, then, though he die not, the house wherein he sickened, shall be shut up for a month after the use of the due preservatives taken by the rest.

Airing the Stuff.

For sequestration of the goods and stuff of the infection,

their bedding, and apparel, and hangings of chambers, must be well aired with fire, and such perfumes as are requisite, within the infected house, before they be taken again to use. This to be done by the appointment of the examiner.

Shutting up of the House.

If any person shall visit any man known to be infected of the plague, or entereth willingly into any known infected house, being not allowed, the house wherein he inhabiteth shall be shut up for certain days by the examiner's direction.

None to be removed out of Infected Houses, but, &c.

Item, That none be removed out of the house where he falleth sick of the infection, into any other house in the city (except it be to the pesthouse or a tent, or unto some such house, which the owner of the said house holdeth in his own hands, and occupieth by his own servants), and so as security be given to the said parish whither such remove is made, that the attendance and charge about the said visited persons shall be observed and charged in all the particularities before expressed, without any cost of that parish to which any such remove shall happen to be made, and this remove to be done by night; and it shall be lawful to any person that hath two houses, to remove either his sound or his infected people to his spare house at his choice, so as if he send away first his sound, he do not after send thither the sick; nor again unto the sick, the sound; and that the same which he sendeth be for one week, at the least, shut up, and secluded from company, for the fear of some infection at first not appearing.

Burial of the Dead.

That the burial of the dead by this visitation be at most convenient hours, always before sun-rising, or after sun-setting, with the privity of the church-wardens, or constable, and not otherwise; and that no neighbours nor friends be suffered to accompany the corpse to church, or to enter the house visited, upon pain of having his house shut up, or be imprisoned.

And, that no corpse dying of the infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common prayer, sermon, or lecture. And, that no children be suffered at time of burial of any corpse, in any church, churchyard, or burying-

place, to come near the corpse, coffin, or grave; and, that all graves shall be at least six feet deep.

And farther, all public assemblies at other burials are to be forborne during the continuance of this visitation.

No Infected Stuff to be uttered.

That no clothes, stuff, bedding, or garments, be suffered to be carried or conveyed out of any infected houses, and that the criers and carriers abroad of bedding or old apparel to be sold or pawned, be utterly prohibited and restrained, and no brokers of bedding or old apparel be permitted to make any public show, or hang forth on their stalls, shop-boards, or windows towards any street, lane, common-way, or passage, any old bedding or apparel to be sold, upon pain of imprisonment. And if any broker or other person shall buy any bedding, apparel, or other stuff out of any infected house, within two months after the infection hath been there, his house shall be shut up as infected, and so shall continue shut up twenty days at the least.

No Person to be conveyed out of any Infected House.

If any person visited do fortune by negligent looking unto, or by any other means, to come or be conveyed from a place infected to any other place, the parish from whence such party hath come, or been conveyed, upon notice thereo given, shall, at their charge, cause the said party so visited and escaped, to be carried and brought back again by night, and the parties in this case offending, to be punished at the direction of the alderman of the ward, and the house of the receiver of such visited person, to be shut up for twenty days.

Every Visited House to be marked.

That every house visited be marked with a red cross of a foot long, in the middle of the door, evident to be seen, and with these usual printed words, that is to say, "Lord have mercy upon us," to be set close over the same cross, there to continue until lawful opening of the same house.

Every visited House to be watched.

That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep in, and minister necessaries to them at their own charges, if they be

examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the lord mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June, the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell: for all that could conceal their distempers, did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been a hundred at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane: Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great, and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad-street where I lived: indeed nothing was to be seen, but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or

Lay-stalls to be made far off from the City.

That the lay-stalls be removed as far as may be out of the city and common passages, and that no nightman or other be suffered to empty a vault into any vault or garden near about the city.

Care to be had of unwholesome Fish or Flesh, and of musty Corn.

That special care be taken that no stinking fish, or unwholesome flesh, or musty corn, or other corrupt fruits, of what sort soever, be suffered to be sold about the city, or any part of the same.

That the brewers and tippling-houses be looked unto for musty and unwholesome casks.

That no hogs, dogs, or cats, or tame pigeons, or conies, be suffered to be kept within any part of the city, or any swine to be or stray in the streets or lanes, but that such swine be impounded by the beadle or any other officer, and the owner punished according to the act of common-council, and that the dogs be killed by the dog-killers appointed for that purpose.

ORDERS CONCERNING LOOSE PERSONS AND IDLE ASSEMBLIES.

Beggars.

Forasmuch as nothing is more complained of than the multitude of rogues and wandering beggars that swarm about in every place about the city, being a great cause of the spreading of the infection, and will not be avoided notwithstanding any orders that have been given to the contrary: it is therefore now ordered that such constables and others, whom this matter may any way concern, take special care that no wandering beggars be suffered in the streets of this city, in any fashion or manner whatsoever, upon the penalty provided by law to be duly and severely executed upon them.

Plays.

That all plays, bear-baitings, games, singing of ballads, buckler-play, or such like causes of assemblies of people be utterly prohibited, and the parties offending severely punished, by every alderman in his ward.

Feasting prohibited.

That all public feasting, and particularly by the companies of this city, and dinners in taverns, ale-houses, and other places of public entertainment, be forborne till farther order and allowance, and that the money thereby spared be preserved, and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with the infection.

Tippling-Houses.

That disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, coffee-houses, and cellars, be severely looked unto as the common sin of the time, and greatest occasion of dispersing the plague. And that no company or person be suffered to remain or come into any tavern, ale-house, or coffee-house, to drink, after nine of the clock in the evening, according to the ancient law and custom of this city, upon the penalties ordained by law.

And for the better execution of these orders, and such other rules and directions as upon farther consideration shall be found needful, it is ordered and enjoined that the aldermen, deputies, and common-council-men shall meet together weekly, once, twice, thrice, or oftener, as cause shall require, at some one general place accustomed in their respective wards, being clear from infection of the plague, to consult how the said orders may be put in execution, not intending that any, dwelling in or near places infected, shall come to the said meeting while their coming may be doubtful. And the said aldermen, deputies, and common-council-men, in their several wards, may put in execution any other orders, that by them, at their said meetings, shall be conceived and devised for the preservation of his majesty's subjects from the infection.

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Lord Mayor.
Sir GEORGE WATERMAN, } Sheriffs.
Sir CHARLES DOE, }

I need not say, that these orders extended only to such places as were within the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction: so it is requisite to observe, that the justices of peace, within those parishes and places as were called the hamlets and out-parts, took the same method: as I remember, the orders for shutting up of houses did not take place so soon on our side, because, as I said before, the plague did not reach to this

eastern part of the town at least, nor begin to be violent till the beginning of August.—For example, the whole bill from the 11th to the 18th of July, was 1761, yet there died but seventy-one of the plague in all those parishes we call the Tower-hamlets; and they were as follows:

Aldgate,	14		34		65
Stepney,	33	the next	58	and to the	76
Whitechapel,	21	week was	48	1st. of Aug.	79
St. Kath. Tower,	2	thus:	4	thus:	4
Trin. Minories,	1		1		4
	71		145		228

It was indeed coming on amain, for the burials that same week were, in the next adjoining parishes, thus:

St. L. Shoreditch	64	the next week	84	to the 1st.	110
St.Bot. Bishopsg.	65	prodigiously	105	of Aug.	116
St. Giles's Crippl.	213	increased, as	431	thus:	554
	342		620		780

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations; complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my lord mayor, of houses causelessly, and some maliciously, shut up; I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious; or, if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the pesthouse, was released.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning about eight o'clock, there was a great noise; it is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because the people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there, nor did I stay long there; but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and I called to one, who looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter?

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up; he had been there all night, for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day watch-

man had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him; all this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen, they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen, neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from Monday afternoon, when he heard a great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems the night before, the dead-cart, as it was called, had been stopt there, and a servant-maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers or bearers, as they were called. put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while, but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, What d'ye want, that you make such a knocking? He answered, I am the watchman, how do you do? What is the matter? The person answered, what is that to you? Stop the dead-cart. This it seems, was about one o'clock; soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead-cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered; he continued knocking, and the bellman called out several times, Bring out your dead; but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart being called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man, or day-watchman, as they called him, came to relieve him. Giving him an account of the particulars, they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered, and they oberved that the window or casement, at which the person looked out who had answered before, continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window, and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor, in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift; but though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered, neither could he hear any noise in the house

He came down again upon this and acquainted his fellow,

who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the lord mayor, or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broke open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered, and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected, and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and to get open the door; or get out at some back-door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and, as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at this bitter parting, which to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn, nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick; the master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman, and to the lord mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the pesthouse, but was refused; so the door was marked with a red-cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door, according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was no remedy, but that he, his wife and his children were locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then and fetch a nurse for them to attend this poor girl, for that it would be certain death to them all to oblige them to nurse her, and told him plainly that, if he would not do this, the maid would perish either of the distemper, or be starved for want of food, for he was resolved none of his family should go near her, and she lay in the garret, four story high, where she could not cry out, or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse, as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening; during this interval, the master of the house

took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where formerly a cobbler had sat before or under his shop window; but the tenant, as may be supposed, at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping; having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also; but the night following, having contrived to send the watchman ot another trifling errand, which, as I take it, was to an apothecary's for a plaster for the maid, which he was to stay for the making up, or some other such errand, that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench, that is, throw her into the cart, and take care of the house.

Not far from the same place they blowed up a watchman with gunpowder, and burnt the poor fellow dreadfully; and while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows, one story high, two that were left sick, calling out for help. Care was taken to give them nurses to look after them, but the persons fled were never found, till after the plague was abated they returned; but as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

In other cases, some had gardens and walls, or pales between them and their neighbours; or yards and back-houses; and these, by friendship and entreaties, would get leave to get over those walls or pales, and so go out at their neighbours' doors; or, by giving money to their servants, get them to let them through in the night; so that, in short, the shutting up of houses was in nowise to be depended upon; neither did it answer the end at all; serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities, as that they would break out at all adventures.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out, spread the infection farther by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, than they would otherwise have done: for, whoever considers all the particulars in such cases, must acknowledge, and can-

not doubt but the severity of those confinements made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or, indeed what they did; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down, by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into the country, and went forward any way, as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go, till, faint and tired, and not getting any relief, the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no, they have perished by the road side, or gotten into barns, and died there, none daring to come to them, or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

On the other hand, when the plague at first seized a family, that is to say, when any one body of the family had gone out, and unwarily or otherwise catched the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known by the family before it was known to the officers, who, as you will see by the order, were appointed to examine into the circumstances of all sick persons, when they heard of their being sick.

In this interval, between their being taken sick, and the examiners coming, the master of the house had leisure and liberty to remove himself, or all his family, if he knew whither to go, and many did so. But the great disaster was, that many did thus after they were really infected themselves, and so carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them, which it must be confessed, was very cruel and ungrateful.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased. On the other hand, many who thus got away had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and kept hid till the plague was over; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions, sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely, that they were neither seen or heard of, till the infection was quite ceased,

and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particulars of their management; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such, whose circumstances would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off. Nor do I remember, that any one of those families miscarried. Among these, several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them; particularly one in a court in Throckmorton-street, whose house looked into Drapers' garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up by the magistrates. The misery of those families is not to be expressed; and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified, and even frightened to death, by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember, and, while I am writing this story, I think I hear the very sound of it: a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune; they were only lodgers in the house where they were. The young woman, her mother, and the maid, had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but, about two hours after they came home, the young lady complained she was not well, in a quarter of an hour more she vomited, and had a violent pain in her head. Pray God, says her mother, in a terrible fright, my child has not the distemper! The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed; and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken, when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing, the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in the bed, she, looking upon her body with a candle, immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle, and screeched out in such a frightful manner, that it was enough

to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream, or one cry, but the fright having seized her spirits, she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours, void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and, as I was told, never came thoroughly to herself again. As to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment; for the gangrene, which occasions the spots, had spread over her whole body, and she died in less than two hours. But still the mother continued crying out, not knowing any thing more of her child, several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago, that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their kinsman, who, being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away, and, indeed, not knowing where to go to have any retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation, which, though in itself at first desperate, yet was so natural, that it may be wondered that no more did so at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor, as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences, such as might serve to keep life and soul together; and, finding the distemper increasing in a terrible manner, they resolved to shift as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars, and before that in the Low Countries; and, having been bred to no particular employment but his arms, and, besides, being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit, in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman too, but, somehow or other, had been hurt of one leg, that he could not go to sea, but had worked for his living at a sailmaker's in Wapping, or thereabouts; and being a good husband, had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner or carpenter by trade, a handy fellow; and he had no wealth, but his box, or basket of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went, and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the town, and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of those three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the particulars, or answer for any mistakes, I shall give as distinctly as I can; believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such occasion, which God of his infinite mercy grant us, still the story may have its uses so many ways, as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the churchyard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was, and I could not resist my curiosity to go and see it; as near as I may judge, it was about forty feet in length, and about fifteen or sixteen feet broad; and, at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep; but it was said, they dug it near twenty feet deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this; for, though the plague was long a coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and Whitechapel.

I say they had dug several pits in another ground when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each, then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, by the middle to the end of August, came to from two hundred to four hundred a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface; and the water coming on at about seventeen or

eighteen feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit; but now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug, for such it was rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more, when they dug it, and some blamed the churchwardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come tc lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish, who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what place of the churchyard the pit lay better than I can; the mark of it also was many years to be seen in the churchyard on the surface, lying in length, parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard, out of Houndsditch, and turns east again, into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three-Nuns inn.

It was about the 10th of September, that my curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near four hundred people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day time, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth, by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but, after some time, that order was more necessary, for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits wrapt in blankets, or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard, that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Crip-

plegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, many came and threw themselves in, and expired there, before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this; that it was indeed, very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the churchyard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go: telling me very seriously, for he was a good religious and sensible man, that it was, indeed, their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend, was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that, perhaps, it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. Nay, says the good man, if you will venture upon that score, 'Name of God, go in; for, depend upon it, it will be a sermon to you, it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. It is a speaking sight, says he, and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance; and with that he opened the door, and said, Go, if you will.

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while, but, just at that interval, I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody as I could perceive at first, in the churchyard, or going into it, but the buriers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart, but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands, under his cloak, as if he was in great agony; and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious, or desperate creatures, that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves; he said nothing as he walked

about, but two or three times groaned very deeply, and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife and several of his children, all in the cart, that was just come in with him, and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief, that could not give itself vent by tears; and, calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in, and go away, so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit, promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable; I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself. I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon; the buriers ran to him and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye-tavern, over-against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again, as he went away, but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that, though there was light enough, for there were lanthorns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of terror; the cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies, some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose, that what covering they had fell from them, in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should,

for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

It was reported, by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them, decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding sheet tied over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported, that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground: but, as I cannot credit anything so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors, as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviour and practice of nurses, who attended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they attended in their sickness. But I shall say more of this in its place.

I was indeed shocked with this sight, it almost overwhelmed me; and I went away with my heart most afflicted, and full of afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe; just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house I saw another cart, with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also towards the church. I stood awhile, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness, the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury; as indeed I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and, indeed, I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind, that I could not prevail with myself but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pye-tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there; the truth was, the people of the house knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, notwithstanding the danger of being infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern. The

people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open, and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who, in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaving with all the revelling and roaring extravagances as is usual for such people to do at other times, and indeed to such an offensive degree, that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed, and then terrified, at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street; and, as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street end to go into Houndsditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows, as soon as they heard the bell, and look out at them; and, as they might often hear sad lamentations of people in the streets, or at their windows, as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times, in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen being something disturbed with the clutter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry and very high with the master of the house, for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but, being answered, that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man, and his sorrow for his wife and children; taunting him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to heaven, as they jeeringly expressed it, along with them; adding some very profane, and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, and, as far as I could see, though the man sat still, mute, and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse. Upon this, I gently reproved them, being well enough acquainted with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths; asked me what I did out of my grave, at such a time,

when so many honester men were carried into the churchyard; and why I was not at home saying my prayers, against the dead-cart came for me; and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me; however, I kept my temper. I told them, that though I defied them, or any man in the world, to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged, that, in this terrible judgment of God, many better than I were swept away, and carried to their grave; but, to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God, whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain, by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner; and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of his goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness, in behaving in such a manner, and in such an awful time as this was, especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman, and a neighbour, for some of them knew him, who they saw was overwhelmed with sorrow, for the breaches which it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish abominable raillery, which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinariest people in the street would not use; for, except such hardened creatures as these, the most wicked wretches that could be found, had at that time some terror upon their mind, of the hand of that Power which could thus, in a moment destroy them.

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God, and talk atheistically; making a jest at my calling the plague the hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke; and that the people calling upon God, as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies, was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking, that it made them rail the more; so that I

confess it filled me with horror, and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that judgment which had visited the whole city, should glorify his vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious insolent scoffs that they could think of for preaching to them, as they called it, which indeed grieved me, rather than angered me; and I went away blessing God, however, in my mind, that I had not spared them, though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious, or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us, and I was informed they flouted in the same manner, at the good people, who, notwithstanding the contagion, met at the church, fasted and prayed to God to remove his hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days, I think it was no more, when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman what he did out of his grave, was struck from heaven with the plague, and died in a most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were every one of them carried into the great pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight, or thereabout.

These men were guilty of many extravagances, such as one would think human nature should have trembled at the thoughts of, at such a time of general terror as was then upon us; and, particularly, scoffing and mocking at everything which they happened to see that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship, to implore mercy from heaven in such a time of distress; and this tavern where they held their club, being within view of the church door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical profane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident, which I have related, happened; for the infection increased so violently at this part of the town now, that people began to be afraid to come to the church, at least such numbers did not resort thither as was usual; many of the clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country; for

it really required a steady courage, and a strong faith, for a man not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of a minister to a congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many of them were actually infected with the plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It seems they had been checked for their open insulting religion in this manner, by several good people of every persuasion, and that and the violent raging of the infection, I suppose, was the occasion that they had abated much of their rudeness for some time before, and were only roused by the spirit of ribaldry and atheism at the clamour which was made, when the gentleman was first brought in there, and, perhaps, were agitated by the same devil, when I took upon me to reprove them; though I did it at first with all the calmness, temper, and good manners that I could, which, for awhile, they insulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their resentment, though afterwards they found the contrary.

These things lay upon my mind; and I went home very much greived and oppressed with the horror of these men's wickedness, and to think that anything could be so vile, so hardened, and so notoriously wicked, as to insult God and his servants, and his worship, in such a manner, and at such a time as this was; when he had, as it were, his sword drawn in his hand, on purpose to take vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole nation.

I had, indeed, been in some passion at first, with them, though it was really raised, not by any affront they had offered me personally, but by the horror their blaspheming tongues filled me with; however, I was doubtful in my thoughts, whether the resentment I retained was not all upon my own private account, for they had given me a great deal of ill language too, I mean personally; but after some pause, and having a weight of grief upon my mind, I retired myself, as soon as I came home, for I slept not that night, and giving God most humble thanks for my preservation in the imminent danger I had been in, I set my mind seriously, and with the utmost earnestness, to pray for those desperate wretches, that God would pardon them, open their eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my duty, namely to pray for those

who despitefully used me, but I fully tried my own heart, to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their zeal for the honour of God, and the effects of their private passions and resentment.

I remember a citizen, who, having broken out of his house in Aldersgate-street, or thereabout, went along the road to Islington; he attempted to have gone in at the Angel-Inn, and after that at the White-Horse, two inns, known still by the same signs, but was refused; after which he came to the Pyed-Bull, an inn also still continuing the same sign; he asked them for lodging for one night only, pretending to be going into Lincolnshire, and assuring them of his being very sound, and free from the infection, which also, at that time, had not reached much that way.

They told him, they had no lodging that they could spare, but one bed up in the garret, and that they could spare that bed but for one night, some drovers being expected the next day with cattle; so, if he would accept of that lodging, he might have it, which he did; so a servant was sent up with a candle with him, to show him the room. He was very well dressed, and looked like a person not used to lie in a garret, and when he came to the room he fetched a deep sigh, and said to the servant, I have seldom lain in such a lodging as this; however, the servant assured him again that they had no better: Well, says he, I must make shift, this is a dreadful time, but it is but for one night; so he sat down upon the bed-side, and bade the maid, I think it was, fetch him a pint of warm ale; accordingly the servant went for the ale, but some hurry in the house, which, perhaps, employed her otherways, put it out of her head, and she went up no more to him.

The next morning, seeing no appearance of the gentleman, somebody in the house asked the servant that had showed him up stairs, what was become of him? she started; Alas, says she, I never thought more of him: he bade me carry him some warm ale, but I forgot; upon which, not the maid, but some other person was sent up to see after him, who, coming into the room, found him stark dead, and almost cold, stretched out across the bed; his clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug

of the bed being grasped hard in one of his hands, so that it was plain he died soon after the maid left him, and it is probable, had she gone up with the ale, she had found him dead in a few minutes after he had sat down upon the bed. The alarm was great in the house, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the distemper, till that disaster, which bringing the infection to the house, spread it immediately to other houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the house itself, but I think the maid-servant, who went up first with him, fell presently ill by the fright, and several others; for, whereas, there died but two in Islington of the plague, the week before, there died nineteen the week after, whereof fourteen where of the plague; this was in the week from the 11th of July to the 18th.

There was one shift that some families had, and that not a few, when their houses happened to be infected, and that was this; the families, who, in the first breaking out of the distemper, fled away into the country and had retreats among their friends, generally found some or other of their neighbours or relations to commit the charge of those houses to, for the safety of the goods, and the like. Some houses were indeed entirely locked up, the doors padlocked, the windows and doors having deal boards nailed over them, and only the inspection of them committed to the ordinary watchmen and parish officers, but these were but few.

It was thought, that there were not less than a thousand houses forsaken of the inhabitants, in the city and suburbs, including what was in the out-parishes, and in Surrey, or the side of the water they called Southwark. This was besides the numbers of lodgers and of particular persons who were fled out of other families, so that in all it was computed, that about two hundred thousand people were fled and gone in all. But of this I shall speak again; but I mention it here on this account, namely, that it was a rule with those, who had thus two houses in their keeping or care, that if anybody was taken sick in a family, before the master of the family let the examiners or any other officer know of it, he immediately would send all the rest of his family, whether children or servants, as it fell out to be, to such other house which he had not in charge, and then giving notice of the sick person to the examiner, have a nurse or nurses, appointed, and having another person to be shut up in the house with them

(which many for money would do), so to take charge of the house, in case the person should die.

This was in many cases the saving a whole family, who, if they had been shut up with the sick person, would inevitably have perished; but on the other hand, this was another of the inconveniences of shutting up houses; for the apprehensions and terror of being shut up, made many run away with the rest of the family, who, though it was not publicly known, and they were not quite sick, had yet the distemper upon them; and who, by having an uninterrupted liberty to go about, but being obliged still to conceal their circumstances, or, perhaps, not knowing it themselves, gave the distemper to others, and spread the infection in a dreadful manner, as I shall explain farther hereafter.

I had in my family, only an ancient woman, that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself, and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act; the many dismal objects, which happened everywhere, as I went about the streets, had filled my mind with a great deal of horror, for fear of the distemper itself, which was indeed very horrible in itself, and in some more than others; the swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful, that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects of that kind: others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard, as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say, but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness, when I had been out, and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of; I say, I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town, and I wished, often, that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home

sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to him with fasting and humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occured to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, whom I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth, when I was in the streets; he also came very often to see me, and as he was a good Christian, as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me, in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived, and Dr. Heath coming to visit me and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up, and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room, where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone and gunpowder, and the like, and we did this for some time, but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely; however, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it, ; and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own

bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks; also, I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses, on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper, on these occasions, one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so; and, therefore, I cannot say with satisfaction, what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree, that few of their shops were kept open, and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-End, and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity, that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants, or their children; and, as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound, brought death home with them.

It is true, people used all possible precaution; when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it out of the butcher's hand, but took it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were employed; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account. Sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very markets; for many people that had the plague upon

them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments; this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the street suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that, when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground; on the other hand, it is observable, that though, at first, the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet, afterward, no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go across the way and not come near it; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again, and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon; and, in those cases, the corpse was always left, till the officers had notice to come and take them away; or till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures, who performed these offices, fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But, to return to the markets; the butchers took that care, that, if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand, to take them up upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent, that such were not entered in the weekly bill, found dead in the streets or fields, as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before; and the lord mayor caused the country people who brought provisions, to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields; as particularly, in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spittlefields. Note, those streets,

now called Spittlefields, were then indeed open fields: also, in St. George's-fields, in Southwark; in Bunhill-fields, and in a great field, called Wood's Close, near Islington; thither the lord mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible, and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm; which I suppose added also to that report, of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But, though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and, though I generally came frighted and terrified home, yet I could not restrain; only, that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations indeed upon me, to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman-street parish, and which he had left to my care; and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes; as, particularly, of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Token-House-yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, Oh! death, death, death! in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror, and a chilness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another; so I went on to pass into Bell-alley.

Just in Bell-alley, on the right hand of the passage, there

was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window, but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side the alley called and asked, What is the matter? Upon which, from the first window it was answered, O Lord, my old master has hanged himself! The other asked again, Is he quite dead? and the first answered, Ay, ay, quite dead: quite dead and cold! This person was a merchant, and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention his name, though I knew his name too; but that would be a hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one. It is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day; people, in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children, in their lunacy; some dying of mere grief, as a passion; some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all; others frighted into idiotism and foolish distractions; some into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable; the physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures even to death. The swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plasters, or poultices, to break them; and if these did not do, they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some, those swellings were made hard, partly by the force of the distemper, and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard, that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some, for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves, as above; some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watchmen, or other officers, and plunge themselves into the water, wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented: but of the two this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection; for, if these swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or, as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered; whereas, those who, like the gentlewoman's daughter, were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferently easy, till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropt down, as, in apoplexies and epilepsies, is often the case. Such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses, if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream; such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all, till the gangrene was spread through their whole body; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them, till they opened their breasts, or other parts of their body, and saw the tokens.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen, who looked after the dying people, that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or, by other wicked means, hastening their end; that is to say, murdering of them. And watchmen being set to guard houses that were shut up, when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they have broke in and murdered that body, and immediately thrown them out into the dead-cart; and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were executed for murders of that kind. But, I must say, I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say; nor did it seem to be so rational, where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves, for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a

murder; at least, not equal to the fact, where they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time, I do not deny; the power of avarice was so strong in some, that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder; and, particularly, in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and, without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies, and the bed clothes from others, where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter, the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead-cart, were found stark naked, one in one chamber, and one in another, lying dead on the floor, and the clothes of the beds, from whence it is supposed they were rolled off, by thieves, stolen, and carried quite away.

It is, indeed, to be observed, that the women were, in all this calamity, the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures; and, as there were vast numbers that went about as nurses, to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty thieveries in the houses were they were employed; and some of them were publicly whipt for it, when, perhaps, they ought rather to have been hanged for examples, for numbers of houses were robbed on these occasions; till, at length, the parish officers were sent to recommend nurses to the sick, and always took an account who it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account, if the house had been abused where they were placed.

But these robberies extended chiefly to wearing clothes, linen, and what rings or money they could come at, when the person died who was under their care, but not to a general plunder of the houses; and I could give you an account of one of these nurses, who, several years after, being on her death-bed, confessed, with the utmost horror, the robberies she had committed at the time of her being a nurse, and by which she had enriched herself to a great degree; but as for murders, I do not find that there was ever any proofs of the fact, in the manner as it has been reported, except as above.

They did tell me, indeed, of a nurse in one place, that

laid a wet cloth upon the face of a dying patient whom she tended, and so put an end to his life, who was just expiring before; and another that smothered a young woman she was looking to, when she was in a fainting fit, and would have come to herself; some that killed them by giving them one thing, some another, and some starved them by giving them nothing at all. But these stories had two marks of suspicion that always attended them, which caused me always to slight them, and to look on them as mere stories, that people continually frighted one another with. (1.) That, wherever it was that we heard it, they always placed the scene at the farther end of the town, opposite, or most remote from where you were to hear it. If you heard it in Whitechapel, it had happened at St. Giles's, or at Westminster, or Holborn, or that end of the town; if you heard it at that end of the town, then it was done in Whitechapel, or the Minories, or about Cripplegate parish; if you heard of it in the city, why then, it happened in Southwark; and if you heard of it in Southwark, then it was done in the city, and the like.

In the next place, of whatsoever part you heard the story, the particulars were always the same, especially that of laying a wet double clout on a dying man's face, and that of smothering a young gentlewoman; so that it was apparent, at least to my judgment, that there was more of tale than of truth in those things.

A neighbour and acquaintance of mine having some money owing to him from a shopkeeper in Whitecross-street, or thereabouts, sent his apprentice, a youth about eighteen years of age, to endeavour to get the money. He came to the door, and finding it shut, knocked pretty hard, and, as he thought, heard somebody answer within, but was not sure, so he waited, and after some stay, knocked again, and then a third time, when he heard somebody coming down stairs.

At length the man of the house came to the door; he had on his breeches, or drawers, and a yellow flannel waistcoat, no stockings, a pair of slip shoes, a white cap on his head, and, as the young man said, death in his face.

When he opened the door, says he, What do you disturb me thus for? The boy, though a little surprised, replied, I come from such a one, and my master sent me for the money which he says you know of. Very well, child, returns the living ghost, call, as you go by, at Cripplegate church, and

bid them ring the bell; and, with these words, shut the door again, and went up again and died the same day, nay, perhaps the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the plague was not come to a height; I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month; it must have been before the dead-carts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain in that parish, at least, before the month of July; for, by the 25th of July, there died five hundred and fifty and upwards in a week, and then they could no more bury, in form, rich or poor.

I have mentioned above, that notwithstanding this dreadful calamity, yet that numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions where they had found any prey; and that these were generally women. It was one morning about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house in Coleman-street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall and a gate in it; and within that, several warehouses, where his goods of several sorts lay. It happened, that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats, which came out of the country, and were, as I suppose, for exportation; whither I know not.

I was surprised, that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women, with high-crowned hats on their heads, and, as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands; but as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went across the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that time, for fear of the plague; but, when I came nearer to the gate I met another woman, with more hats, come out of the gate. What business, mistress, said I, have you had there? There are more people there, said she; I have had no more business there than they. I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her; by which means she got away. But, just as I came to the gate, I saw two more coming across the yard, to come out, with hats also on their heads, and under their arms; at which I threw the gate too behind me, which having a spring-

lock, fastened itself; and, turning to the women, Forsooth, said I, what are you doing here? and seized upon the hats, and took them from them. One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief, Indeed, says she, we are wrong; but we were told they were goods that had no owner; be pleased to take them again, and look yonder, there are more such customers as we. She cried, and looked pitifully; so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate, and bade them be gone; for I pitied the women indeed: but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been at a hatter's shop, buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who, for some weeks, I had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street, I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account. They all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody's goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first, went back to the gate, and took out the key, so that they were all my prisoners; threatened to lock them all into the warehouse, and go and fetch my lord mayor's officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open, and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value; which, indeed, was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broke, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside also loose, and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length I considered, that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous; and besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several people come to me, and I go to several, whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of; and that, even at this time, the plague was so high, as that there died four thousand a week; so that, in showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself with taking the names and places where some of them

lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and threatening, that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another footing with them; and asked them how they could do such things as these, in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very doors, and, it may be, in their very houses; and they did not know but that the dead-cart might stop at their doors in a few hours, to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood, hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother (for they had been both dependants upon his family), and they came to my assistance. These being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were, and where they lived; and, it seems, they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a farther remembrace. The name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time under-sexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; by under-sexton was understood at that time grave-digger and bearer of the dead. This man carried, or assisted to carry, all the dead to their graves, which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form; and after that form of burying was stopt, went with the dead-cart and the bell, to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and houses; for the parish was, and is, still remarkable, particularly, above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares, very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way, which alleys now remain to witness it; such as White's-alley, Cross-Keys-court, Swan-alley, Bell-alley, White-Horse-alley, and many more. Here they went with a kind of handbarrow, and laid the dead bodies on, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed, and never had the distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife at the same time was a

nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being for her honesty recommended by the parish officers; yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco; this I also had from his own mouth; and his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-clothes so with vinegar, as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose, and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-clothes, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed, that, though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage. I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion or prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but ran into any business which they could get any employment in, though it was the most hazardous; such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pesthouse, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said that it was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually went his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he in return would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people, and thus he lived. It was but a very bad time for this diversion, while things were as I have told, yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did, he would answer, the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night, that this poor fellow, whether somebody had given him too much drink or no (John Hayward said he had not drink in his house, but that they had given

him a little more victuals than ordinary at a public-house in Coleman-street), and the poor fellow having not usually had a bellyful, or, perhaps, not a good while, was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep at a door, in the street near London-wall, towards Cripplegate, and that, upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house, in the alley of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking too that this poor fellow had been a dead body as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward with his bell and the cart came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used, and threw them into the cart; and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart, yet all this while he slept soundly; at length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mountmill; and, as the cart usually stopt some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when, raising himself up in the cart, he called out, Hey, where am I? This frighted the fellow that attended about the work, but, after some pause, John Hayward recovering himself, said, Lord bless us! there's somebody in the cart not quite dead! So another called to him, and said, Who are you? The fellow answered, I am the poor piper: Where am I? Where are you! says Hayward; why, you are in the dead-cart, and we are going to bury you. But I an't dead though, am I? says the piper; which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frightened at first; so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes, he set up his pipes in the cart, and frighted the bearers and others, so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above, I am fully satisfied of the truth of.

It is to be noted here, that the dead-carts in the city were

not confined to particular parishes, but one cart went through several parishes, according as the number of dead presented; nor were they tied to carry the dead to their respective parishes, but many of the dead taken up in the city were carried to the burying ground in the out-parts for want of room.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was now no more hope but that the whole city would be visited; when, as I have said, all that had friends or estates in the country retired with their families, and when, indeed, one would have thought the very city itself was running out of the gates, and that there would be nobody left behind, you may be sure, from that hour, all trade except such as related to immediate subsistence, was, as it were, at a full stop.

This is so lively a case, and contains in it so much of the real condition of the people, that I think I cannot be too particular in it; and, therefore, I descend to the several arrangements or classes of people who fell into immediate distress upon this occasion. For example,

1. All master workmen in manufactures; especially such as belonged to ornament, and the less necessary parts of the people's dress, clothes and furniture for houses; such as ribband weavers and other weavers, gold and silver lace makers, and gold and silver wire drawers, sempstresses, milliners, shoemakers, hat-makers, and glove-makers; also upholsterers, joiners, cabinet-makers, looking-glass-makers, and innumerable trades which depend upon such as these. I say the master workmen in such, stopped their work, dismissed their journeymen and workmen, and all their dependents.

2. As merchandizing was at a full stop (for very few ships ventured to come up the river, and none at all went out), so all the extraordinary officers of the customs, likewise the watermen, carmen, porters, and all the poor whose labour depended upon the merchants, were at once dismissed, and put out of business.

3. All the tradesmen usually employed in building or repairing of houses were at a full stop, for the people were far from wanting to build houses, when so many thousand houses were at once stript of their inhabitants; so that this one article turned out all the ordinary workmen of that kind of business, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, joiners,

plasterers, painters, glaziers, smiths, plumbers, and all the labourers depending on such.

4. As navigation was at a stop, our ships neither coming in or going out as before, so the seamen were all out of employment, and many of them in the last and lowest degree of distress; and with the seamen, were all the several tradesmen and workmen belonging to and depending upon the building and fitting out of ships; such as ship-carpenters, calkers, rope-makers, dry coopers, sail-makers, anchor-smiths and other smiths; block-makers, carvers, gun-smiths, ship-chandlers, ship-carvers, and the like. The masters of those, perhaps, might live upon their substance, but the traders were universally at a stop, and consequently all their workmen discharged. Add to these, that the river was in a manner without boats, and all or most part of the watermen, lightermen, boat-builders, and lighter-builders, in like manner idle, and laid by.

5. All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that stayed; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving men, shopkeepers, journeymen, merchants' book-keepers, and such sort of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless without employment and without habitation; and this was really a dismal article.

I might be more particular as to this part, but it may suffice to mention, in general, all trades being stopt, employment ceased, the labour, and, by that, the bread of the poor, were cut off; and at first, indeed, the cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear; though, by the distribution of charity, their misery that way was gently abated. Many, indeed, fled into the country; but thousands of them having stayed in London, till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road, and they served for no better than the messengers of death; indeed, others carrying the infection along with them, spread it very unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

The women and servants that were turned off from their places were employed as nurses to tend the sick in all places; and this took off a very great number of them.

And which, though a melancholy article in itself, yet was deliverance in its kind, namely, the plague, which raged in

a dreadful manner from the middle of August to the middle of October, carried off in that time thirty or forty thousand of these very people, which, had they been left, would certainly have been an insufferable burden, by their poverty; that is to say, the whole city could not have supported the expense of them, or have provided food for them; and they would, in time, have been even driven to the necessity of plundering either the city itself, or the country adjacent, to have subsisted themselves, which would, first or last, have put the whole nation, as well as the city, into the utmost terror and confusion.

It was observable then, that this calamity of the people made them very humble; for now, for about nine weeks together, there died near a thousand a day, one day with another; even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands; the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. This account is verified by the following bills of mortality.

		Of all Diseases	*Of the Plague.*
From	*Aug.* 8 to *Aug.* 15	5319	3880
	—— to 22	5668	4237
	—— to 29	7496	6102
	Aug. 29 to *Sept.* 5	8252	6988
	—— to 12	7690	6544
	—— to 19	8297	7165
	—— to 30	6400	5533
	Sept. 27 to *Oct.* 3	5728	4929
	—— to 10	5068	4227
		59,918	49,605

So that the gross of the people were carried off in these two months; for, as the whole number which was brought in to die of the plague was but 68,590, here is fifty thousand of them, within a trifle, in two months; I say fifty thousand, because as there wants 395 in the number above, so there wants two days of two months in the account of time.

Now, when I say that the parish officers did not give in a

full account, or were not to be depended upon for their account, let any one but consider how men could be exact in such a time of dreadful distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very time when their accounts were to be given in; I mean the parish-clerks, besides inferior officers; for though these poor men ventured at all hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common calamity; especially if it be true that the parish of Stepney had, within the year, 116 sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bell-men, and drivers of carts, for carrying off the dead bodies.

Indeed the work was not of such a nature as to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all huddled together, in the dark, into a pit; which pit, or trench, no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. I have observed often, that in the parishes of Aldgate, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, there were five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a week in the bills; whereas, if we may believe the opinion of those that lived in the city all the time, as well as I, there died sometimes two thousand a a week in those parishes; and I saw it under the hand of one that made as strict an examination as he could, that there really died a hundred thousand people of the plague in it that one year; whereas, in the bills, the article of the plague was but 68,590.

If I may be allowed to give my opinion, by what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses, I do verily believe the same, viz., that there died, at least, a hundred thousand of the plague only, besides other distempers; and besides those which died in the fields and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called, and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures, who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid or melancholy by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and woods, and into secret uncouth places, almost anywhere, to creep into a bush or hedge, and die.

The inhabitants of the villages adjacent, would, in pity, carry them food, and set it at a distaece, that they might

fetch it if they were able, and sometimes they were not able; and the next time they went, they would find the poor wretches lie dead, and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects were many; and I know so many that perished thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very place and dig their bones up still; for the country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then, with long poles and hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in form, as far as they could cast it, to cover them; taking notice how the wind blew, and so come on that side which the seamen call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them. And thus great numbers went out of the world who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without.

This, indeed, I had, in the main, only from the relation of others; for I seldom walked into the fields, except towards Bethnal-green and Hackney; or as hereafter. But when I did walk, I always saw a great many poor wanderers at a distance, but I could know little of their cases; for, whether it were in the street or in the fields, if we had seen anybody coming, it was a general method to walk away; yet I believe the account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the streets and fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time. The great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties, all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved street, and the people generally went in the middle with the horses and carts. It is true, that the farthest end, towards Whitechapel church, was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange, since the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them in several places; neither cart nor coach was seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or pease, hay, and straw, to the market, and those but very few compared to what was

usual. As for coaches, they were scarce used but to carry sick people to the pesthouse and to other hospitals, and some few to carry physicians to such places as they thought fit to venture to visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, and people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been carried in them last; and sick infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the pesthouses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the infection came to such a height as I have now mentioned, there were very few physicians who cared to stir abroad to sick houses, and very many of the most eminent of the faculty were dead, as well as the surgeons also; for now it was indeed a dismal time, and, for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than fifteen or seventeen hundred a day, one day with another.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September; when, indeed, good people were beginning to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above one thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate, that there was not a house in twenty uninfected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over-against me, I say, in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near six hundred a week, by the bills, and in my opinion, near twice as many; whole families, and, indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but that some of the bodies lay unburied, till the neighbouring

families were offended by the stench, and consequently infected. And this neglect of the officers was such, that the churchwardens and constables were summoned to look after it; and even the justices of the hamlets were obliged to venture their lives among them, to quicken and encourage them; for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near; and had it not been that the number of people who wanted employment, and wanted bread, as I have said before, was so great, that necessity drove them to undertake anything, and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed; and then the bodies of the dead would have lain above ground and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead, fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied the places with others, which, by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned that, notwithstanding the infinite number of people which died, and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away, and carried off every night; so that it was never to be said of London, that the living were not able to bury the dead.

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper; and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring, and crying, and wringing their hands along the street; some would go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction; but, be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses, and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, where heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast; he, though not infected at all, but in his head, went about, denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner;

sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

I will not say whether that clergyman was distracted or not, or whether he did it out of pure zeal for the poor people, who went every evening through the streets of Whitechapel, and, with his hands lifted up, repeated that part of the liturgy of the church, continually, Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood; I say, I cannot speak positively of these things, because these were only the dismal objects which represented themselves to me as I looked through my chamber windows, for I seldom opened the casements, while I confined myself within doors during that most violent raging of the pestilence, when, indeed, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and indeed, I began to think so too, and, therefore, kept within doors for about a fortnight, and never stirred out. But I could not hold it. Besides, there were some people, who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times. And though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation; and this as long as they would hear them. And dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I had been for fourteen days or thereabouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go and carry a letter for my brother to the post-house: then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, with money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how

long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropt it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big, that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so, that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it. So he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse, the train reached about two yards; after this he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red-hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently. But he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings, and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

Much about the same time, I walked out into the fields towards Bow; for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river, and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's self from the infection to have retired into a ship; and musing how to satisfy my curiosity in that point, I turned away over the fields, from Bow to Bromley and down to Blackwall, to the stairs that are there for landing or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked awhile also about, seeing the houses all shut up; at last I fell into some talk, at a distance with this poor man. First I asked how people did thereabouts? Alas! sir, says he, almost desolate, all dead or sick: here are very few families in this part, or in that village, pointing at Poplar, where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick. Then he pointing to one house, They are all dead, said he, and the house stands open, nobody dares go into it. A poor thief, says he, ventured in to steal

something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the churchyard too, last night. Then he pointed to several other houses. There, says he, they are all dead, the man and his wife and five children. There, says he, they are shut up, you see a watchman at the door; and so of other houses. Why, says I, what do you here all alone? Why, says he, I am a poor desolate man; it hath pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of my children dead. How do you mean then, said I, that you are not visited? Why, says he, that is my house, pointing to a very little low boarded house, and there my poor wife and two children live, said he, if they may be said to live; for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them. And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

But, said I, why do you not come at them? How can you abandon your own flesh and blood? Oh, sir, says he, the Lord forbid; I do not abandon them, I work for them as much as I am able; and, blessed be the Lord, I keep them from want. And with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to heaven with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man that was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man; and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness, that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family did not want. Well, says I, honest man, that is a great mercy, as things go now with the poor. But how do you live then, and how are you kept from the dreadful calamity that is now upon us all? Why, sir, says he, I am a waterman, and there is my boat, says he, and the boat serves me for a house; I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night, and what I get I lay it down upon that stone, says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house; and then, says he, I halloo and call to them till I make them hear, and they come and fetch it.

Well, friend, says I, but how can you get money as a waterman? Does anybody go by water these times? Yes, sir, says he, in the way I am employed there does. Do you see there, says he, five ships lie at anchor, pointing down the river a good way below the town; and do you see, says he, eight or ten ships lie at the chain there, and at anchor yonder,

pointing above the town. All those ships have families on board, of their merchants and owners, and such-like, who have locked themselves up, and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God, I am preserved hitherto.

Well, said I, friend, but will they let you come on board after you have been on shore here, when this has been such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?

Why, as to that, said he, I very seldom go up the ship side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side and they hoist it on board: if I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them.

Nay, says I, but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody; for the village, said I, is as it were the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it.

That is true, added he, but you do not understand me right. I do not buy provisions for them here, I row up to Greenwich, and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich and buy there; then I go to single farm houses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls, and eggs, and butter, and bring to the ships as they direct me, sometimes one sometimes the other. I seldom come on shore here; and I came only now to call my wife and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money which I received last night.

Poor man! said I; and how much hast thou gotten for them.

I have gotten four shillings, said he, which is a great sum, as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread too, and a salt fish, and some flesh; so all helps out.

Well, said I, and have you given it them yet?

No, said he, but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half an hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her. Poor woman! says he,

she is brought sadly down; she has had a swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover, but I fear the child will die; but it is the Lord!—Here he stopt, and wept very much.

Well, honest friend, said I, thou hast a sure comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; he is dealing with us all in judgment.

Oh, sir, says he, it is infinite mercy if any of us are spared; and who am I to repine!

Say'st thou so, said I; and how much less is my faith than thine? And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was, on which he stayed in the danger, than mine; that he had nowhere to fly; that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependance, and a courage resting on God; and yet, that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little way from the man, while these thoughts engaged me; for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman opened the door, and called, Robert, Robert; he answered, and bid her stay a few moments, and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat, and fetched up a sack in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships; and when he returned, he hallooed again; then he went to the great stone which he showed me, and emptied the sack, and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away; and he called, and said, such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing, and at the end adds, God has sent it all, give thanks to him. When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

Well, but, says I to him, did you leave her the four shillings too, which you said was your week's pay?

Yes, yes, says he, you shall hear her own it. So he calls again, Rachel, Rachel, which, it seems was her name, did you take up the money? Yes, said she. How much was it? said he. Four shillings and a groat, said she. Well, well,

says he, the Lord keep you all; and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain from contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance; so I called him, Hark thee, friend, said I, come hither, for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee; so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before, Here, says I, go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never forsake a family that trusts in him as thou dost; so I gave him four other shillings, and bid him go lay them on the stone, and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself, but by tears running down his face. He called his wife, and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money, and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman, too, made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich. He said it had not till about a fortnight before, but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for, but was very careful.

I asked him then, how it came to pass, that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had, but, on the other had, some did not come on board till they were frightened into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things, and that he waited on two ships which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit-bread and ship-beer, and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him, if there were any more ships that had separated themselves as those had done? He told me, Yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shores of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the

stream; and that some of them had several families on board. I asked him if the distemper had not reached them? He said, he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful as to keep the seamen from going on shore as others had been; and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich, as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked if he would let me go with him and bring me back; for that I had a great mind to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me. He told me, if I would assure him on the word of a Christian, and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not; that it had pleased God to preserve me; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air, but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

Well, sir, says he, as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me and ruining my whole family. The poor man troubled me so much when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern, and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him, I would lay aside my curiosity, rather than make him uneasy; though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither, but, to let me see how confident he was, that I was just to him, he now importuned me to go; so, when the tide came up to his boat, I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich. While he bought the things which he had in charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill, under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town, to get a prospect of the river; but it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and in some places, two or three such lines in the breadth of the river, and this not only up to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliffe and Redriff, which they name the pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long-Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must have been several hundreds of sail, and I could not but applaud the contrivance; for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own dwelling, very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man; also, I rejoiced to see that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families on board, in a time of such desolation. I observed also, that, as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast as they could best come at.

But it was also true, that all the people who thus left the land, and lived on board the ships, were not entirely safe from the infection; for many died, and were thrown overboard into the river, some in coffins, and some, as I heard, without coffins, whose bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down, with the tide in the river.

But I believe, I may venture to say, that, in those ships which were thus infected, it either happened where the people had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the ship till they had stayed too long on shore, and had the distemper upon them, though perhaps they might not perceive it; and so the distemper did not come to them on board the ships, but they really carried it with them. Or, it was in these ships, where the poor waterman said they had not had time to furnish themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore to buy what they had occasion for, or suffered boats to come to them from the shore; and so the distemper was brought insensibly among them.

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange temper of the people of London at that time contributed extremely to their own destruction. The plague began, as I have observed, at the other end of the town, namely in Long Acre, Drury lane, &c., and came on towards the city very gradually and slowly. It was felt at first in December, then again in February, then again in April, and always but a very little at a time; then it stopped till May, and even the last week

in May there were but seventeen in all that end of the town; and all this while, even so long as till there died above 3,000 a week, yet had the people in Redriff, and in Wapping, and Ratcliff, on both sides the river, and almost all Southwark side, a mighty fancy that they should not be visited, or, at least, that it would not be so violent among them. Some people fancied the smell of the pitch and tar, and such other things, as oil, and resin, and brimstone, which is much used by all trades relating to shipping, would preserve them. Others argued it, because it was in its extremest violence in Westminster, and the parish of St. Giles's and St. Andrew's, &c., and began to abate again, before it came among them, which was true, indeed, in part. For example:—

From the 8th to the 15th of August.				Total this week.
St. Giles's in the fields	242	Stepney - - - - -	197	4030
		St. Mag. Bermondsey	24	
Cripplegate	886	Rotherhithe - - - -	3	

From the 15th to the 22nd of August.				Total this week.
St. Giles's in the fields	175	Stepney - - - - -	273	5319
		St. Mag. Bermondsey.	36	
Cripplegate	847	Rotherhithe - - - -	2	

N. B. That it was observed that the numbers mentioned in Stepney parish at that time were generally all on that side where Stepney parish joined to Shoreditch, which we now call Spitalfields, where the parish of Stepney comes up to the very wall of Shoreditch church-yard; and the plague at this time was abated at St. Giles's in the fields, and raged most violently in Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch parishes, but there were not ten people a week that died of it in all that part of Stepney parish which takes in Limehouse, Ratcliff highway, and which are now the parishes of Shadwell and Wapping, even to St. Katherine's, by the Tower, till after the whole month of August was expired; but they paid for it afterwards, as I shall observe by and bye.

This I say, made the people of Redriff and Wapping, Ratcliff and Limehouse, so secure, and flatter themselves so much with the plague's going off without reaching them, that they took no care either to fly into the country, or shut them-

selves up; nay, so far were they from stirring, that they rather received their friends and relations from the city into their houses; and several from other places really took sanctuary in that part of the town, as a place of safety, and as a place which they thought God would pass over, and not visit as the rest was visited.

And this was the reason, that when it came upon them, they were more surprised, more unprovided, and more at a loss what to do, than they were in other places, for when it came among them really, and with violence, as it did, indeed, in September and October, there was then no stirring out into the country; nobody would suffer a stranger to come near them, no, nor near the towns where they dwelt; and, as I have been told, several that wandered into the country on the Surrey side, were found starved to death in the woods and commons, that country being more open and more woody than any other part so near London, especially about Norwood, and the parishes of Camberwell, Dulwich, and Lusum, where, it seems, nobody durst relieve the poor distressed people for fear of the infection.

This notion having, as I said, prevailed with the people in that part of the town, was in part the occasion, as I said before, that they had recourse to ships for their retreat; and where they did this early, and with prudence, furnishing themselves so with provisions, so that they had no need to go on shore for supplies, or suffer boats to come on board to bring them; I say, where they did so, they had certainly the safest retreat of any people whatsoever: but the distress was such that people ran on board in their fright, without bread to eat; and some into ships that had no men on board, to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and go down the river to buy provisions, where it may be done safely; and these often suffered, and were infected on board as much as on shore.

As the richer sort got into ships, so the lower rank got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats; and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats; but those made sad work of it, especially the latter, for going about for provision, and perhaps to get their subsistence, the infection got in among them, and made a fearful havoc; many of the watermen died alone in their wherries, as they rid at their roads.

as well above bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in condition for anybody to touch or come near them.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration; but, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near them, that they had no room to pity the distresses of others; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families; and knew not what to do, or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all compassion; self-preservation, indeed, appeared here to be the first law. For the children ran away from their parents, as they languished in the utmost distress; and, in some places, though not so frequent as the other, parents did the like to their children; nay, some dreadful examples there were, and particularly two in one week, of distressed mothers, raving and distracted, killing their own children; one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt, the poor lunatic creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the sin of what she had done, much less to be punished for it.

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at; for the danger of immediate death to ourselves, took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another. I speak in general; for there were many instances of immoveable affection, pity, and duty, in many, and some that came to my knowledge, that is to say, by hearsay; for I shall not take upon me to vouch the truth of the particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention, that one of the most deplorable cases, in all the present calamity, was that of women with child; who, when they came to the hour of their sorrows, and their pains came upon them, could neither have help of one kind or another; neither midwife or neighbouring women to come near them; most of the midwives were dead, especially of such as served the poor; and many, if not all, the midwives of note, were fled into the country; so that it was next to impossible for a poor woman, that could not pay an immoderate price, to get any midwife to come to her; and, if they did, those they could get were generally unskilful and ignorant creatures; and the consequence of this was, that a most unusual and incredible

number of women were reduced to the utmost distress. Some were delivered and spoiled by the rashness and ignorance of those who pretended to lay them. Children without number, were, I might say, murdered by the same, but a more justifiable ignorance, pretending they would save the mother whatever became of the child; and many times, both mother and child were lost in the same manner; and especially where the mothers had the distemper, then nobody would come near them, and both sometimes perished. Sometimes the mother has died of the plague; and the infant, it may be, half born, or born, but not parted from the mother. Some died in the very pains of their travail, and not delivered at all; and so many were the cases of this kind, that it is hard to judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual numbers which are put into the weekly bills (though I am far from allowing them to be able to give anything of a full account), under the articles of childbed, abortive and stillborn, chrisoms and infants.

Take the weeks in which the plague was most violent, and compare them with the weeks before the distemper began, even in the same year. For example:

		Childbed.	*Ab.*	*Still-b.*
From	*Jan.* 3 to *Jan.* 10	7	1	13
	to 17	8	6	11
	to 24	9	5	15
	to 31	3	2	9
	Jan. 31 to *Feb.* 7	3	3	8
	to 14	6	2	11
	to 21	5	2	13
	to 28	2	2	10
	Feb. 28 to *Mar.* 7	5	1	10
		48	24	100

					Childbed.	*Ab.*	*Still-b.*
From	*Aug.* 1	to	*Aug.* 8		25	5	11
			to 15		23	6	8
			to 22		28	4	4
			to 29		40	6	10
	Aug. 29	to	*Sept.* 5		38	2	11
			to 12		39	23	—
			to 19		42	5	17
			to 26		42	6	10
	Sept. 26	to	*Oct.* 3		14	4	9
					291	61	80

To the disparity of these numbers, is to be considered and allowed for, that, according to our usual opinion, who were then upon the spot, there were not one-third of the people in the town during the months of August and September, as were in the months of January and February. In a word, the usual number that used to die of these three articles, and, as I hear, did die of them the year before, was thus:

1664	*Childbed,*	189
	Abortive and Stillborn,	458
		647
1665	*Childbed,*	625
	Abortive and Stillborn,	617
		1242

This inequality, I say, is exceedingly augmented, when the numbers of people are considered. I pretend not to make any exact calculation of the numbers of people which were at this time in the city; but I shall make a probable conjecture at that part by and by. What I have said now is to explain the misery of those poor creatures above; so that it might well be said, as in the Scripture, "Woe be to those who are with child, and to those which give suck in that day;" for indeed it was a woe to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many particular families where these things happened; but the outcries of the miserable were heard afar off. As to those who were with child, we have seen some calculation made, 291 women dead in child-

bed in nine weeks, out of one-third part of the number of whom there usually died in that time but eighty-four of the same disaster. Let the reader calculate the proportion.

There is no room to doubt but the misery of those that gave suck was in proportion as great. Our bills of mortality could give but little light in this; yet some it did; there were several more than usual starved at nurse; but this was nothing. The misery was, where they were—First, starved for want of a nurse, the mother dying, and all the family and the infants found dead by them, merely for want; and, if I may speak my opinion, I do believe, that many hundreds of poor helpless infants perished in this manner. Secondly (not starved but), poisoned by the nurse; nay, even where the mother has been nurse, and having received the infection, has poisoned, that is, infected the infant with her milk, even before they knew they were infected themselves; nay, and the infant has died in such a case before the mother. I cannot but remember to leave this admonition upon record, if ever such another dreadful visitation should happen in this city; that all women that are with child, or that give suck, should be gone, if they have any possible means, out of the place; because their misery, if infected, will so much exceed all other people's.

I could tell here dismal stories of living infants being found sucking the breasts of their mothers, or nurses, after they have been dead of the plague. Of a mother, in the parish where I lived, who, having a child that was not well, sent for an apothecary to view the child, and when he came, as the relation goes, was giving the child suck at her breast, and to all appearance, was herself very well; but when the apothecary came close to her, he saw the tokens upon that breast with which she was suckling the child. He was surprised enough to be sure, but not willing to fright the poor woman too much, he desired she would give the child into his hand; so he takes the child, and going to a cradle in the room, lays it in, and, opening its clothes, found the tokens upon the child too, and both died before he could get home to send a preventive medicine to the father of the child, to whom he had told their condition. Whether the child infected the nurse-mother, or the mother the child, was not certain, but the last most likely.

Likewise of a child brought home to the parents from a nurse that had died of the plague: yet the tender mother would not refuse to take in her child, and laid it in her bosom, by which she was infected and died, with the child in her arms dead also.

It would make the hardest heart move at the instances that were frequently found of tender mothers, tending and watching with their dear children, and even dying before them; and sometimes taking the distemper from them, and dying, when the child, for whom the affectionate heart had been sacrificed, has got over it and escaped.

The like of a tradesman in East Smithfield, whose wife was big with child of her first child, and fell in labour, having the plague upon her. He could neither get midwife to assist her, or nurse to tend her; and two servants which he kept, fled both from her. He ran from house to house like one distracted, but could get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a watchman, who attended at an infected house shut up, promised to send a nurse in the morning. The poor man, with his heart broke, went back, assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of the midwife, brought the child dead into the world; and his wife, in about an hour, died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came, brought the nurse as he had promised; and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief, that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of the infection upon him, but merely sunk under the weight of his grief.

I have heard also of some, who, on the death of their relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable sorrow; and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the pressure upon his spirits, that by degrees, his head sunk into his body, so between his shoulders, that the crown of his head was very little seen above the bone of his shoulders; and by degrees, losing both voice and sense, his face looking forward, lay against his collar-bone, and could not be kept up any otherwise, unless held up by the hands of other people; and the poor man never came to himself again, but languished near a year in that condition, and died. Nor was he ever once seen to lift up his eyes, or to look upon any particular object.

I cannot undertake to give any other than a summary of such passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the particulars, where sometimes the whole families, where such things happened, were carried off by the distemper: but there were innumerable cases of this kind, which presented to the eye, and the ear, even in passing along the streets, as I have hinted above; nor is it easy to give any story of this or that family, which there was not divers parallel stories to be met with of the same kind.

But as I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost parts of the town; how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape, and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did; for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man when it did come; I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, and whom I mentioned before; one a biscuit-baker, one a sail-maker, and the other a joiner; all of Wapping, or thereabouts.

The sleepiness and security of that part, as I have observed, was such that they not only did not shift for themselves, as others did, but they boasted of being safe, and of safety being with them; and many people fled out of the city, and out of the infected suburbs to Wapping, Ratcliff, Limehouse, Poplar, and such places, as to places of security; and it is not at all unlikely that their doing this helped to bring the plague that way faster than it might otherwise have come. For, though I am much for people's flying away, and emptying such a town as this, upon the first appearance of a like visitation, and that all people, who have any possible retreat, should make use of it in time, and begone; yet I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left, and must stand it, should stand stock still where they are, and not shift from one end of the town, or one part of the town, to the other; for that is the bane and mischief of the whole, and they carry the plague from house to house in their very clothes.

Wherefore were we ordered to kill all the dogs and cats, but because, as they were domestic animals, and are apt to run from house to house, and from street to street, so they are capable of carrying the effluvia or infectious steams of bodies infected, even in their furs and hair? and therefore it was, that in the beginning of the infection, an order was published by the lord mayor and by the magistrates, according

to the advice of the physicians, that all the dogs and cats should be immediately killed, and an officer was appointed for the execution.

It is incredible, if their account is to be depended upon, what a prodigious number of those creatures were destroyed. I think they talked of forty thousand dogs, and five times as many cats, few houses being without a cat, some having several, sometimes five or six in a house. All possible endeavours were used also to destroy the mice and rats, especially the latter, by laying rat's-bane and other poisons for them, and a prodigious multitude of them were also destroyed.

I often reflected upon the unprovided condition that the whole body of the people were in at the first coming of this calamity upon them, and how it was for want of timely entering into measures and managements, as well public as private, that all the confusions that followed were brought upon us; and that such a prodigious number of people sunk in that disaster, which, if proper steps had been taken, might, Providence concurring, have been avoided, and which, if posterity think fit, they may take a caution and warning from; but I shall come to this part again.

I come back to my three men: their story has a moral in every part of it, and their whole conduct, and that of some whom they joined with, is a pattern for all poor men to follow, or women either, if ever such a time comes again; and if there was no other end in recording it, I think this a very just one, whether my account be exactly according to fact or no.

Two of them were said to be brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a biscuit-baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a sail-maker; the third a joiner. Says John, the biscuit-baker, one day to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker, Brother Tom, what will become of us? the plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way: what shall we do?

Truly, says Thomas, I am at a great loss what to do, for, I find, if it comes down into Wapping, I shall be turned out of my lodging. And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John. Turned out of your lodging, Tom! if you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there is no getting a lodging anywhere.

Tho. Why, the people where I lodge are good civil people,

and have kindness for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

John. Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Tho. Nay, I might even resolve to stay within doors too, for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while; there 's no trade stirs now, workmen and servants are turned off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too. But I do not see that they will be willing to consent to that any more than to the other.

John. Why, what will you do then, brother? and what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country, but a maid, and she is to go next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you; and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Tho. We were both distracted we did not go away at first, when we might ha' travelled anywhere; there is no stirring now; we shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town, they won't let us have victuals, no, not for our money, nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John. And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Tho. As to that, we might make shift; I have a little, though not much; but I tell you there is no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel; and at Barnet, or Whetstone, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them, if they pretended to go forward; so they are come back again quite discouraged.

John. I would have ventured their fire, if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money, they should have seen me take it before their faces; and if I had tendered money for it, they could not have taken any course with me by the law.

Tho. You talk your old soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now; but this is a serious thing. The

people have good reason to keep anybody off, that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a time as this, and we must not plunder them.

John. No, brother, you mistake the case, and mistake me too, I would plunder nobody; but for any town upon the road to deny me leave to pass through the town in the open highway, and deny me provisions for my money, is to say the town has a right to starve me to death, which cannot be true.

Tho. But they do not deny you liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.

John. But the next town behind me will by the same rule, deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them; besides, there is no law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the road.

Tho. But there will be so much difficulty in disputing with them at every town on the road, that it is not for poor men to do it, or undertake it, at such a time as this is especially.

John. Why, brother, our condition, at this rate, is worse than anybody's else; for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria, If we stay here, we are sure to die. I mean, especially as you and I are situated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody's else; there is no lying in the street at such a time as this, we had as good go into the dead-cart at once. Therefore, I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, and if we go away we can but die; I am resolved to be gone.

Tho. You will go away. Whither will you go? and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, If I knew whither; but we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.

John. Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom is my native country as well as this town. You may as well say, I must not go out of my house if it is on fire, as that I must not go out of the town I was born in, when it is infected with the plague. I was born in England, and have a right to live in it if I can.

Tho. But you know every vagrant person may, by the

laws of England be taken up, and passed back to their last legal settlement.

John. But how shall they make me vagrant? I desire only to travel on upon my lawful occasions.

Tho. What lawful occasions can we pretend to travel, or rather wander, upon? They will not be put off with words.

John. Is not flying to save our lives a lawful occasion? and do they not all know that the fact is true? we cannot be said to dissemble.

Tho. But, suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go?

John. Anywere to save our lives; it is time enough to consider that when we are got out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go.

Tho. We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it.

John. Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July; and though the plague was come forward in the west and north parts of the town, yet all Wapping, as I have observed before, and Redriff, and Ratcliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar, in short, Deptford and Greenwich, both sides of the river from the Hermitage, and from over-against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free; there had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and not one on the south side of Whitechapel-road, no, not in any parish; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced, and the number greatly increased. The bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing; though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well. But some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Ratcliff-highway, when the sail-maker came to his brother John, express, and in some fright; for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as bad a case, for he was quite out; and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit-baker, to lodge in an outhouse belonging to his workhouse, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit-sacks, or bread-sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection; and being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sail-maker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number: and thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of money; but as the sail-maker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect to get anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it should, without any grudging, be all added to the public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe. And a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel; which they were so far from adjusting, that even to the morning they set out, they were not resolved on it.

At last, the seaman put in a hint that determined it. First, says he, the weather is very hot, and, therefore, I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun upon our faces and beating upon our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us; and I have been told, says he, that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place, says he, I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go. These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought so to hit that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John, the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. First, says he, we none of us expect to get any

lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air; though it may be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp, and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this; and, therefore, says he, you, brother Tom, that are a sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the inns in England; if we have a good tent over our heads, we shall do well enough.

The joiner opposed this, and told them, let them leave that to him; he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but at last, the soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot. But the sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in, which made that easy; for his master who he worked for, having a rope-walk as well as sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail that was worn out, but was sufficient, and more than enough, to make a very good tent. The soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon, by his direction, made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; viz. three men, one tent, one horse, one gun for the soldier, who would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit-baker but a trooper. The joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful, if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as his own. What money they had, they brought all into one public stock; and thus they began their journey. It seems that in the morning when they set out, the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N.W. by W.; so they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the plague was now very violent, especially on the

north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east through Ratcliff-highway, as far as Ratcliff-cross, and leaving Stepney church still on their left-hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff-cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the churchyard; and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest. So, I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow.

Here the watch placed upon Bow-bridge would have questioned them; but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the higher end of the town of Bow, to Oldford, avoided any inquiry there, and travelled on to Old-ford. The constables, everywhere were upon their guard, not so much it seems to stop people passing by, as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns; and, withal, because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, viz., that the poor people in London, being distressed, and starved for want of work, and, by that means, for want of bread, were up in arms, and had raised a tumult, and that they would come out to all the towns round to plunder for bread. This, I say, was only a rumour, and it was very well it was no more; but it was not so far off from being a reality as it has been thought, for in a few weeks more the poor people became so desperate by the calamity they suffered, that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the fields and towns, and tearing all in pieces wherever they came; and as I have observed before, nothing hindered them but that the plague raged so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the grave by thousands than into the fields in mobs by thousands; for in the parts about the parishes of St. Sepulchre's, Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Bishops-gate, and Shoreditch, which were the places where the mob began to threaten, the distemper came on so furiously that there died in those few parishes, even then, before the plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 people in the first three weeks in August, when, at the same time, the parts about Wapping, Ratcliff, and Rotherhithe were, as before described, hardly touched, or but very lightly; so that in a

word, though, as I said before, the good management of the Lord Mayor and justices did much to prevent the rage and desperation of the people from breaking out in rabbles and tumults, and, in short, from the poor plundering the rich; I say, though they did much, the dead-cart did more, for, as I have said, that, in five parishes only, there died above 5000 in twenty days, so there might be probably three times that number sick all that time, for some recovered, and great numbers fell sick every day, and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say, that if the bills of mortality said five thousand I always believed it was twice as many in reality, there being no room to believe that the account they gave was right, or that, indeed, they were, among such confusions as I saw them in, in any condition to keep an exact account.

But to return to my travellers:—Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public-house, where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be inquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Oldford, as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London; which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the country, yet was literally true; Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate, directed to the next constable, that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace; who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty. And thus they passed through the long divided town of Hackney (for it lay then in several separated hamlets), and travelled on till they came into the great north road, on the top of Stamford hill.

By this time they began to weary; and so, in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent, and encamp for the first

night; which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent, with the head of it against the barn; this they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying it to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel, and guard his companions. So, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout but he heard a noise of people coming on as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently awake his companions, but in a few minutes more their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit-baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too. The other being the lame sail-maker, and most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people whom they had heard, came on directly to the barn; when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with, Who comes there? The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind them, Alas! alas! we are all disappointed, says he, here are some people before us; the barn is taken up.

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise; and it seems, there were about thirteen of them in all, and some women among them. They consulted together what they should do; and by their discourse, our travellers soon found they were poor distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety; and besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, Who comes there? they could hear the women say, as if frighted, Do not go near them; how do you know but they may have the plague? And when one of the men said, Let us but speak to them, the women said, No, don't by any means; we have escaped thus far, by the goodness of God; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you.

Our travellers found by this, that they were a good sober sort of people, and flying for their lives as they were; and as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner, his comrade, Let us encourage them too, as much as we can. So he called to them, Hark ye, good people, says the joiner, we find by your talk that you are flying from the same dreadful enemy as we are: do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor men of us; if you are free from the distemper you shall not be hurt by us; we are not in the barn, but in a little tent here on the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent again immediately anywhere else. And upon this a parley began between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, whose said name was Ford.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Rich. Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you should put yourselves into any danger, and, therefore, I tell you, that we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it that you may be safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable. But if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and it may be are laid down to rest? we will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves a while, and we need not disturb you.

Rich. Well, but you are more than we are; I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us, as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape, though it be but few; what may be our portion still, we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich. What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford. Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich. What part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us from Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Rich. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford. We have been away some time, and kept together

as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we are come away in a fright.

Rich. And what way are you going?

Ford. As our lot shall cast us, we know not whither; but God will guide those that look up to him.

They parleyed no farther at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest; but our travellers observed, that before they went to sleep, an ancient man, who it seems was the father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and protection of providence before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year; and as Richard, the joiner, had kept guard the first part of the night, so John, the soldier, relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It seems, when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded-river, and so avoiding the towns, they left Hornsey on the left hand, and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side. And now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least not so poor as to be in want: at least, they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself; and would abate, if it were only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers; only that they seemed to be the better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go farther off; for as to the first, they did

not propose to go farther than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence every two or three days how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse; for, by means of the horse to carry their baggage, they were obliged to keep in the road, whereas, the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence, and in that indeed they were put to much difficulty: of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage, in breaking down fences and gates, to go over inclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company, and take their lot with them; and, after some discourse, they laid aside their first design, which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex; so in the morning they took up their tent and loaded their horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river-side, the ferryman being afraid of them; but, after some parley at a distance, the ferryman was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so, putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and he, having another boat, said he would fetch it again; which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here, giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small and not fit for it; and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest; but when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere; the

constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them. They gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason, that two or three companies had already come that way and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice too, as they had deserved, that, about Brentwood or that way, several of them perished in the fields; whether of the plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason, indeed, why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of; but, as Richard, the joiner, and one of the other men, who parleyed with them, told them, it was no reason why they should block up the roads, and refuse to let the people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them, but to go through the street; that, if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut their doors; they would neither show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing, so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows, to consult what was to be done. It was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while; but, at last, John, the soldier and biscuit-baker, considering awhile, Come, says he, leave the rest of the parley to me. He had not appeared yet; so he sets the joiner Richard to work to cut some poles out of the trees, and shape them as like guns as he could, and, in a little time, he had five or six fair muskets, which at a distance would not be known; and about the part where the lock of a gun is, he caused them to wrap cloth and rags, such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather to preserve the locks of their pieces from rust; the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanced himself, and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane, within sight

of the barrier which the townsmen had made, and set a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so as that the people of the town might see them; also he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got some dry sticks together, and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and by all that they could see, could not but suppose that they were a great many in company, they began to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were: and above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane with their muskets, as they took them to be, shouldered; I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frightened; and it seems they went to a justice of the peace, to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening, they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

What do you want? says John.

Why, what do you intend to do? says the constable.

To do, says John, What would you have us to do?

Const. Why don't you be gone? What do you stay there for?

John. Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Const. We are not bound to tell you the reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John. We told you we were all sound and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have satisfied you of; and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Const. We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it; besides, this is not the king's highway, it is a way upon sufferance. You see here is a gate, and, if we do let people pass here, we make them pay toll.

John. We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you and you may see we are flying for our lives, and it is very unchristian and unjust in you to stop us.

Const. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No, it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Const. Well, you may go any other way then.

John. No, no; I suppose you see we are able to send you going and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will, but, since you have stopt us here, we are content; you see we have encamped here, and here we will live; we hope you will furnish us with victuals.

Const. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here you must keep us.

Const. You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Const. Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John. We have offered no violence to you yet, why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier and cannot starve; and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Const. Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you. I have orders to raise the county upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we; and, since you are for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it. We shall begin our march in a few minutes.

Const. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town. We should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us; we are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you can be so unmerciful!

Const. Self-preservation obliges us.

John. What! To shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Const. Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John. Our horsemen cannot pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road? Besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us; I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Const. If you will go another way, we will send you some provisions.

John. That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

Const. If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents, you want no lodging.

John. Well; what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Const. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company; we are in three companies; if you will send us bread for twenty men and about six or seven women for three days, and show us the way over the field you speak of, we desire not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of our way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.

Const. And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John. No, no; you may depend on it.

Const. You must oblige yourself too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John. I answer for it we will not.

Here he called to one of his men, and bade him order Capt. Richard and his people to march the lower way on the side of the marshes, and meet them in the forest; which was all a sham, for they had no Capt. Richard or any such company.

Accordingly, they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed, but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go; and, as it was evening, if they had looked, they could not have seen them so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management; but this gave such an alarm to the county, that, had they really been two

or three hundred, the whole county would have been raised upon them, and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this; for two days afterwards they found several parties of horsemen and footmen also about, in pursuit of three companies of men armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London and had the plague upon them; and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in; so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades with the horse went away as if towards Waltham; the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off from one another, but not setting up the tent for fear that should discover them. On the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet, and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow, served them very plentifully this night, and as for the next, they left it to providence. They had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct, that they now willingly made him their leader, and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them, that they were now at a proper distance enough from London; that, as they need not be immediately beholden to the country for relief, they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the country; that what little money they had, they must be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred themselves to his direction; so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping; the captain also, for so they now called him, and his two fellow-travellers, laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping, they halted, choosing out

a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway but not far out of it, on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard trees. Here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had besides this, a little tent where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened, that the next day, or the next but one, was market-day at Epping, when captain John and one of the other men went to market, and bought some provisions; that is to say, bread, and some mutton and beef, and two of the women went separately, as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack, which the carpenter carried his tools in, to put it in; the carpenter went to work, and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of a table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them; and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come to them, For, says he, we are all whole and sound people here, and we would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you.

After this the parish officers came up to them, and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place? John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to, if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and, having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the plague being come into that town, were fled farther, and, as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field, and in the forest, being

willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think, or be afraid, that they should receive injury by them.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them, that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rents of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard; and they would be loath to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told, how barbarous, how inhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London, when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world: that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful throughout all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets, whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already; that they would think it very hard, that when any of them fled for fear before they were touched, they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again, that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it; and that it was reported, that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town, and force their way whether the parish officers would or no; that there were near two hundred of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers! that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers; and that several of them having gone away towards Rumford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large

towns, so that the people durst not go to market there as usual; that it was very likely they were some of that party; and if so, they deserved to be sent to the the county gaol, and be secured till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered, that what other people had done was nothing to them; that they assured them they were all of one company; that they had never been more in number than they saw them at that time, (which by the way, was very true); that they came out in two seperate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same; that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody desired of them, and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome; for where it was not, they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

But, said the townsmen, we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it; we suppose you can give us no security against your being chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection.

Why, look you, says John, as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London.

As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expense, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man, not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expense, which, I am persuaded, says John, he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expense of.

On the other hand, says John, if you will shut up all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not

extort anything by violence, or steal from any one; but when that little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done.

John wrought so upon the townsmen, by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them, and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house on the outskirts of the town, to whom they called, at a distance, to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at some distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time, the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and would sometimes talk with them at some space between; and, particularly it was observed, that the first Sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and the people began to pity them and speak very well of them; the consequence of which was, that, upon the occasion of a very wet rainy night, a certain gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon as to cover and thatch their huts, and to keep them dry. The minister of a parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two bushels of wheat and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful, to be sure, for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made them frames to lie in, like troughs, and filled them with leaves of trees and such things as they could get, and had cut all their tent-cloth out to make coverlids, yet they lay damp and hard, and unwholesome till this straw came, which was to them like feather-beds; and, as John said, more welcome than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentle-

men who dwelt in the country round about; some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids; some earthern ware, and some kitchen ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter, in a few days, built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September; but this house being very well thatched, and the sides and roof very thick, kept out the cold well enough; he made also an earthern wall at one end, with a chimney in it; and another of the company, with a vast deal of trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived comfortably, though coarseley, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham-abbey on the one side, and Rumford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the forest; and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to the report which was afterwards spread all over England, but, which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market people, carrying provisions to the city, never got the infection, or carried it back into the country; both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle; that abundance went and came and were not touched, and that was much encouragement for the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or at least more preserved, than could be reasonably expected.

But these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually; for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard, for now they had little or nothing but what

the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with; but, for their encouragement, it happened that other gentlemen of the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them; and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker; another two sheep, and another sent them a calf; in short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and such things. They were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn, they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it; this made them eat the first two bushels of wheat that was sent them, in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a windmill, near Woodford, where they had it ground; and afterwards the buiscuit-baker made a hearth so hollow and dry, that he could bake biscuit-cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about a hundred and twenty were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them; but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses and built huts in the forest, after the same manner as they had done. But it was observed, that several of these poor people that had so removed had the sickness even in their huts or booths; the reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but because they did not remove time enough; that is to say, not till by openly conversing with other people their neighbours, they had the distemper upon them, or, as may be said, among them, and so carried it about with them whither they went. Or, (2.) Because they were not careful enough after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed, they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity, and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor, with the distress they were in; and to crave his assistance and advice.

This good charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place, for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all, by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him whether he, being a justice of the peace, would give them certificates of health to other justices who they might come before, that so, whatever might be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health; and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly, they had a full certificate of health, intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex, so long; that being examined and scrutinized sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were, therefore, certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere; having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John, inclining not to go far from home, they removed toward the marshes on the side of Waltham. But here they found a man who, it seems, kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise water for the barges which go up and down the river, and [illegible] terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham, Waltham-cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way; though it seems, the

man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Romford and Brentwood; but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down in the forest, reaching near Rumford; and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly, and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities, as that they offered many violences to the country, robbed, and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like: and others, building huts and hovels by the road-side, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief: so that the country was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them, that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the county, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them: and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases with themselves

Upon all these considerations, John, their captain, in all their names, went back to their good friend and benefactor who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or, if not, to remove but a little farther out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them; and as they really wanted some house, rather than huts, to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable; and by consent of a farmer, to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of it they could.

The ingenious joiner, and all the rest by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all, in case of bad weather; and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins, yet they made them both fit for use: and raising additions, sheds and lean-to's on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window-shutters,

floors, doors, and several other things: but as the gentleman above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them; and, above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more; they saw plainly how terribly alarmed that country was everywhere, at anybody that came from London; and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance as they had received here.

Now although they received great assistance and encouragement from the country gentlemen, and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship; so that they got cold in their limbs, and distempers, but never had the infection. And thus, about December, they came home to the city again.

I give this story thus at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which immediately appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated; for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able, and had retreats in the country, fled to those retreats. So when it was increased to such a frightful extremity as I have related, the middling people who had not friends, fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well those that had money to relieve themselves, as those that had not. Those that had money always fled furthest, because they were able to subsist themselves; but those who were empty, suffered, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expense of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to punish them; but, often too, they forced them from place to place, till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I have, since my knowing this story of John and his brother, inquired and found that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate people, as above, fled into the country every way; and some of them got little sheds, and barns, and outhouses to live in, where they could obtain so much

kindness of the country; and especially where they had any the least satisfactory account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of London too late. But others, and that in great numbers, built themselves little huts and retreats in the fields and woods, and lived like hermits, in holes and caves, or any place they could find; and where, we may be sure, they suffered great extremities, such that many of them were obliged to come back again, whatever the danger was; and so those little huts were often found empty, and the country people supposed the inhabitants lay dead in them of the plague, and would not go near them for fear, no not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the unhappy wanderers might die so all alone, even sometimes for want of help, as particularly in one tent or hut, was found a man dead; and on the gate of a field just by, was cut with his knife in uneven letters, the following words, by which it may be supposed the other man escaped, or that one dying first, the other buried him as well as he could;

O m I s E r Y!
We Bo T H Sh a L L D y E,
W o E, W o E

I have given an account already of what I found to have been the case down the river among the seafaring men, how the ships lay in the offing, as it is called, in rows or lines, astern of one another, quite down from the Pool as far as I could see. I have been told that they lay in the same manner quite down the river as low as Gravesend, and some far beyond, even everywhere, or in every place where they could ride with safety as to wind and weather; nor did I ever hear that the plague reached to any of the people on board those ships, except such as lay up in the Pool, or as high as Deptford Reach, although the people went frequently on shore to the country towns and villages, and farmers' houses, to buy fresh provisions, fowls, pigs, calves, and the like, for their supply.

Likewise, I found that the watermen on the river above the bridge found means to convey themselves away up the river as far as they could go; and that they had, many of them, their whole families in their boats, covered with tilts

and bales, as they call them, and furnished with straw within for their lodging; and that they lay thus all along by the shore in the marshes, some of them setting up little tents with their sails, and so lying under them on shore in the day, and going into their boats at night; and in this manner, as I have heard, the river sides were lined with boats and people as long as they had anything to subsist on, or could get anything of the country; and indeed the country people, as well gentlemen as others, on these and all other occasions, were very forward to relieve them, but they were by no means willing to receive them into their towns and houses, and for that we cannot blame them.

There was one unhappy citizen, within my knowledge, who had been visited in a dreadful manner, so that his wife and all his children were dead, and himself and two servants only left, with an elderly woman, a near relation, who had nursed those that were dead as well as she could. This disconsolate man goes to a village near the town, though not within the bills of mortality, and finding an empty house there, inquires out the owner, and took the house. After a few days, he got a cart, and loaded it with goods, and carries them down to the house; the people of the village opposed his driving the cart along, but with some arguings, and some force, the men that drove the cart along, got through the street up to the door of the house; there the constable resisted them again, and would not let them be brought in. The man caused the goods to be unloaded and laid at the door, and sent the cart away, upon which they carried the man before a justice of peace; that is to say, they commanded him to go, which he did. The justice ordered him to cause the cart to fetch away the goods again, which he refused to do; upon which the justice ordered the constable to pursue the carters and fetch them back, and make them reload the goods and carry them away, or to set them in the stocks till they came for further orders; and if they could not find them, and the man would not consent to take them away, they should cause them to be drawn with hooks from the house door and burnt in the street. The poor distressed man upon this fetched the goods again, but with grievous cries and lamentations at the hardship of his case. But there was no remedy, self-preservation obliged the people to those severities, which they would not otherwise have been concerned in.

Whether this poor man lived or died I cannot tell, but it was reported that he had the plague upon him at that time, and perhaps the people might report that to justify their usage of him; but it was not unlikely that either he or his goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole family had been dead of the distemper so little a while before.

I know that the inhabitants of the towns adjacent to London were much blamed for cruelty to the poor people that ran from the contagion in their distress, and many very severe things were done, as may be seen from what has been said; but I cannot but say also, that where there was room for charity and assistance to the people, without apparent danger to themselves, they were willing enough to help and relieve them. But as every town were indeed judges in their own case, so the poor people who ran abroad in their extremities were often ill-used and driven back again into the town; and this caused infinite exclamations and outcries against the country towns, and made tho clamor very popular.

And yet more or less, maugre all the caution, there was not a town of any note within ten (or I believe twenty) miles of the city, but what was more or less infected, and had some died among them. I have heard the accounts of several; such as they were reckoned up, as follows:—

In Enfield	32
Hornsey	58
Newington	17
Tottenham	42
Edmonton	19
Barnet and Hadley	43
St. Albans	121
Watford	45
Uxbridge	117
Hertford	90
Ware	160
Hodsdon	30
Waltham Abbey	23
Epping	26
Deptford	623
Greenwich	631
Eltham and Lusum	85

Croydon	61
Brentwood	70
Rumford	109
Barking, about	200
Brandford	432
Kingston	122
Staines	82
Chertsey	18
Windsor	103
	cum aliis.

Another thing might render the country more strict with respect to the citizens, and especially with respect to the poor; and this was what I hinted at before, namely, that there was a seeming propensity, or a wicked inclination, in those that were infected to infect others.

There have been great debates among our physicians as to the reason of this: some will have it to be in the nature of the disease, and that it impresses every one that is seized upon by it with a kind of rage and a hatred against their own kind, as if there were a malignity, not only in the distemper to communicate itself, but in the very nature of man, prompting him with evil will, or an evil eye, that as they say in the case of a mad dog, who, though the gentlest creature before of any of his kind, yet then will fly upon and bite any one that comes next him, and those as soon as any who have been most observed by him before.

Others placed it to the account of the corruption of human nature, who cannot bear to see itself more miserable than others of its own species, and has a kind of involuntary wish that all men were as unhappy or in as bad a condition as itself.

Others say it was only a kind of desperation, not knowing or regarding what they did, and consequently unconcerned at the danger or safety, not only of anybody near them, but even of themselves also. And, indeed, when men are once come to a condition to abandon themselves, and be unconcerned for the safety or at the danger of themselves, it cannot be so much wondered that they should be careless of the safety of other people.

But I choose to give this grave debate quite a different turn, and answer it or resolve it all by saying that I do not

grant the fact. On the contrary, I say that the thing is not really so, but that it was a general complaint raised by the people inhabiting the out-lying villages against the citizens, to justify, or at least excuse, those hardships and severities so much talked of, and in which complaints both sides may be said to have injured one another; that is to say, the citizens pressing to be received and harboured in time of distress, and with the plague upon them, complain of the cruelty and injustice of the country people, in being refused entrance, and forced back again with their goods and families; and the inhabitants finding themselves so imposed upon, and the citizens breaking in as it were upon them, whether they would or no, complain that when they were infected they were not only regardless of others, but even willing to infect them: neither of which was really true, that is to say, in the colours they were described in.

It is true there is something to be said for the frequent alarms which were given to the country of the resolution of the people of London to come out by force, not only for relief, but to plunder and rob, that they ran about the streets with the distemper upon them without any control, and that no care was taken to shut up houses, and confine the sick people from infecting others; whereas, to do the Londoners justice, they never practised such things, except in such particular cases as I have mentioned above, and such like. On the other hand, everything was managed with so much care, and such excellent order was observed in the whole city and suburbs, by the care of the lord mayor and aldermen, and by the justices of the peace, churchwardens, &c., in the out-parts, that London may be a pattern to all the cities in the world for the good government and the excellent order that was everywhere kept, even in the time of the most violent infection, and when the people were in the utmost consternation and distress. But of this I shall speak by itself.

One thing, it is to be observed, was owing principally to the prudence of the magistrates, and ought to be mentioned to their honour, viz., the moderation which they used in the great and difficult work of shutting up houses. It is true, as I have mentioned, that the shutting up of houses was a great subject of discontent, and I may say indeed the only subject of discontent among the people at that time; for the

confining the sound in the some house with the sick was counted very terrible, and the complaints of people so confined were very grievous; they were heard in the very streets, and they were sometimes such that called for resentment, though oftener for compassion; they had no way to converse with any of their friends but out of their windows, where they would make such piteous lamentations as often moved the hearts of those they talked with, and of others who, passing by, heard their story; and as those complaints oftentimes reproached the severity, and sometimes the insolence, of the watchmen placed at their doors, those watchmen would answer saucily enough, and perhaps be apt to affront the people who were in the street talking to the said families, for which, or for their ill-treatment of the families, I think seven or eight of them in several places were killed; I know not whether I should say murdered or not, because I cannot enter into the particular cases. It is true, the watchmen were on their duty, and acting in the post where they were placed by a lawful authority: and killing any public legal officer in the execution of his office is always, in the language of the law, called murder. But as they were not authorized by the magistrate's instructions, or by the power they acted under, to be injurious or abusive, either to the people who were under their observation, or to any that concerned themselves for them, so that when they did so they might be said to act themselves, not their office; to act as private persons, not as persons employed; and consequently, if they brought mischief upon themselves by such an undue behaviour, that mischief was upon their own heads; and indeed they had so much the hearty curses of the people, whether they deserved it or not, that whatever befel them nobody pitied them, and everybody was apt to say they deserved it, whatever it was; nor do I remember that anybody was ever punished, at least to any considerable degree, for whatever was done to the watchmen that guarded their houses.

What variety of stratagems were used to escape and get out of houses thus shut up, by which the watchmen were deceived or overpowered, and that the people got away, I have taken notice of already, and shall say no more to that; but I say the magistrates did moderate and ease families upon many occasions in this case, and particularly in that of

taking away or suffering to be removed the sick persons out of such houses, when they were willing to be removed, either to a pest-house or other places, and sometimes giving the well persons in the family so shut up, leave to remove upon information given that they were well, and that they would confine themselves in such houses where they went so long as should be required of them. The concern also of the magistrates for the supplying such poor families as were infected: I say, supplying them with necessaries, as well physic as food, was very great, and in which they did not content themselves with giving the necessary orders to the officers appointed, but the aldermen in person, and on horseback, frequently rode to such houses and caused the people to be asked at their windows whether they were duly attended or not; also whether they wanted anything that was necessary, and if the officers had constantly carried their messages, and fetched them such things as they wanted, or not? and if they answered in the affimative, all was well; but if they complained that they were ill-supplied, and that the officer did not do his duty, or did not treat them civilly, they (the officers) were generally removed, and others placed in their stead.

It is true such complaint might be unjust, and if the officer had such arguments to use as would convince the magistrate that he was right, and that the people had injured him, he was continued and they reproved. But this part could not well bear a particular inquiry, for the parties could very ill be well heard and answered in the street from the windows, as was the case then; the magistrates therefore generally chose to favour the people, and remove the man, as what seemed to be the least wrong, and of the least ill consequence; seeing, if the watchman was injured, yet they could easily make him amends by giving him another post of a like nature; but if the family was injured, there was no satisfaction could be made to them, the damage perhaps being irreparable, as it concerned their lives.

A great variety of these cases frequently happened between the watchmen and the poor people shut up, besides those I formerly mentioned about escaping; sometimes the watchmen were absent, sometimes drunk, sometimes asleep when the people wanted them, and such never failed to be punished severely, as indeed they deserved.

But after all that was or could be done in these cases, the shutting up of houses, so as to confine those that were well with those that were sick, had very great inconveniences in it, and some that were very tragical, and which merited to have been considered if there had been room for it; but it was authorized by a law, it had the public good in view, as the end chiefly aimed at, and all the private injuries that were done by the putting it in execution must be put to the account of the public the benefit.

It is doubtful whether, in the whole, it contributed anything to the stop of the infection, and, indeed, I cannot say it did; for nothing could run with greater fury and rage than the infection did when it was in its chief violence; though the houses infected were shut up as exactly and effectually as it was possible. Certain it is, that if all the infected persons were effectually shut in, no sound person could have been infected by them, because they could not have come near them. But the case was this, and I shall only touch it here, namely, that the infection was propagated insensibly, and by such persons as were not visibly infected, who neither knew whom they infected, nor whom they were infected by.

A house in Whitechapel was shut up for the sake of one infected maid, who had only spots, not the tokens, come out upon her, and recovered; yet these people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air or exercise, forty days; want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such an injurious treatment, cast the mistress of the family into a fever; and visitors came into the house and said it was the plague, though the physicians declared it was not; however, the family were obliged to begin their quarantine anew, on the report of the visitor or examiner, though their former quarantine wanted but a few days of being finished. This oppressed them so with anger and grief, and, as before, straitened them also so much as to room, and for want of breathing and free air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments, only one a violent cholic, until after several prolongings of their confinement, some or other of those that came in with the visitors to inspect the persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the distemper with them, and infected the whole house, and all or most of them died, not of the plague as really upon them before, but of the plague

that those people brought them, who should have been careful to have protected them from it; and this was a thing which frequently happened, and was, indeed, one of the worst consequences of shutting houses up.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about; though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster; and this was, being appointed, by the alderman of Portsoken ward, one of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived; we had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us: the people called us visitors. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused; particularly, I alleged, that I was against shutting up houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for; but all the abatement I could get was only, that whereas the officer was appointed by my lord mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but three weeks, on condition, nevertheless, that I could then get some other sufficient housekeeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment, that was fit to be intrusted with it.

It is true, that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment, namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been both very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about streets with the distemper upon them: which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, as, indeed, they began to do at first very much, until they were restrained; nay, so very open they were, that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

A poor unhappy gentlewoman, a substantial citizen's wife, was, if the story be true, murdered by one of these creatures in Aldersgate-street, or that way. He was going along the street, raving mad to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the plague

upon him, which, it seems, was true; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her; she was terribly frightened, as he was a rude fellow, and she run from him; but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her; when she saw he would overtake her, she turned and gave him a thrust, so forcibly, he being but weak, as pushed him down backward; but very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also; and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the plague, and why should not she have it as well as he? She was frightened enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the plague, she screamed out and fell down into a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the plague or no.

Another infected person came and knocked at the door of a citizen's house, where they knew him very well; the servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family were at supper. They began to rise up a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was; but he bid them sit still, he only come to take his leave of them. They asked him, Why Mr.—— where are you going? Going says he, I have got the sickness, and shall die to morrow night. It is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in; the women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frightened almost to death, and got up, one running out at one door, and one at another, some down stairs and some up stairs, and getting together as well as they could, locked themselves into their chambers, and screamed out at the windows for help, as if they had been frightened out of their wits. The master, more composed than they, though both frightened and provoked, was going to lay hands on him and throw him down stairs, being in a passion; but then considering a little the condition of the man, and the danger of touching him, horror seized his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man, all this while, being as well diseased in his brain as in his body, stood still like one amazed; at length he turns round, Ay! says he, with all the seeming

calmness imaginable, is it so with you all? Are you all disturbed at me? Why then I'll e'en go home and die there. And so he goes immediately down stairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do; the man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered the fright; but as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it, you may be sure, with great satisfaction; though the man was gone it was some time, nay, as I heard, some days, before they recovered themselves of the hurry they were in; nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur; all separately shifted, and washed their clothes and the like. As to the poor man, whether he lived or died I do not remember.

It is most certain, that if, by the shutting up of houses, the sick had not been confined, multitudes, who in the height of their fever were delirious and distracted, would have been continually running up and down the streets; and, even as it was, a very great number did so, and offered all sorts of violence to those they met, even just as a mad dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that should one of those infected diseased creatures have bitten any man or woman, while the frenzy of the distemper was upon them, they, I mean the person so wounded, would as certainly have been incurably infected, as one that was sick before, and had the tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected creature, who, running out of his bed in his shirt, in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat, but the nurse resisting and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, ran down stairs, and into the street directly to the Thames, in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frightened at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Still-yard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames; and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that

is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon-stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by that time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Still-yard, landed, ran up the streets to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs, and into his bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, that is to say, under his arms and in his groin, and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I have only to add, that I do not relate this any more than some of the other, as a fact within my own knowledge, so as that I can vouch the truth of them, and especially that of the man being cured by the extravagant adventure, which I confess I do not think very possible, but it may serve to confirm the many desperate things which the distressed people falling into deliriums, and what we call light-headedness, were frequently run upon at that time, and how infinitely more such there would have been if such people had not been confined by the shutting up of houses; and this I take to be the best, if not the only good thing, which was performed by that severe method.

On the other hand, the complaints and the murmurings were very bitter against the thing itself.

It would pierce the hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous cries of those infected people, who, being thus out of their understandings by the violence of their pain, or the heat of their blood, were either shut in, or perhaps tied in their beds and chairs, to prevent their doing themselves hurt, and who would make a dreadful outcry at their being confined, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they called it, and as they would have done before.

This running of distempered people about the streets was very dismal, and the magistrates did their utmost to prevent it; but, as it was generally in the night, and always sudden, when such attempts were made, the officers could not be at hand to prevent it; and, even when they got out in the day, the officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected to be sure when

they were come to that height, so they were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous things that could be to touch them; on the other hand, they generally ran on, not knowing what they did, till they dropped down stark dead, or till they had exhausted their spirits so, as that they would fall and then die in perhaps half an hour or an hour; and which was most piteous to hear, they were sure to come to themselves entirely in that half hour or hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing cries and lamentations, in the deep afflicting sense of the condition they were in. There was much of it before the order for shutting up of houses was strictly put into execution; for, at first, the watchmen were not so rigorous and severe as they were afterwards in the keeping the people in; that is to say, before they were, I mean some of them, severely punished for their neglect, failing in their duty, and letting people who were under their care slip away, or conniving at their going abroad, whether sick or well. But, after they saw the officers appointed to examine into their conduct were resolved to have them do their duty, or be punished for the omission, they were more exact, and the people were strictly restrained; which was a thing they took so ill, and bore so impatiently, that their discontents can hardly be described; but there was an absolute necessity for it, that must be confessed, unless some other measures had been timely entered upon; and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the sick being restrained as above, been our case at that time, London would have been the most dreadful place that ever was in the world; there would, for aught I know, have as many people died in the streets as died in their houses; for, when the distemper was at its height, it generally made them raving and delirious, and when they were so, they would never be persuaded to keep in their beds but by force; and many who were not tied, threw themselves out of windows, when they found they could not get leave to go out of their doors.

It was for want of people conversing one with another in this time of calamity, that it was impossible any particular person could come at the knowledge of all the extraordinary cases that occurred in different families; and, particularly, I believe it was never known to this day how many people in their deliriums drowned themselves in the Thames, and in

the river which runs from the marshes by Hackney, which we generally called Ware river, or Hackney river. As to those which were set down in the weekly bill, they were indeed few, nor could it be known of any of those, whether they drowned themselves by accident or not; but I believe I might reckon up more, who, within the compass of my knowledge or observation, really drowned themselves in that year, than are put down in the bill of all put together, for many of the bodies were never found, who yet were known to be lost; and the like in other methods of self-destruction. There was also one man in or about Whitecross-street burnt himself to death in his bed; some said it was done by himself, others, that it was by the treachery of the nurse that attended him, but that he had the plague upon him was agreed by all.

It was a merciful disposition of Providence also, and which I have many times thought of at that time, that no fires, or no considerable ones at least, happened in the city during that year, which, if it had been otherwise, would have been very dreadful; and either the people must have let them alone unquenched, or have come together in great crowds and throngs, unconcerned at the danger of the infection, not concerned at the houses they went into, at the goods they handled, or at the persons or the people they came among: but so it was, that, excepting that in Cripplegate parish, and two or three little eruptions of fires, which were presently extinguished, there was no disaster of that kind happened in the whole year. They told us a story of a house in a place called Swan alley, passing from Goswell street near the end of Old Street into St. John street, that a family was infected there in so terrible a manner that every one of the house died; the last person lay dead on the floor, and, as it is supposed, had laid herself all along to die just before the fire; the fire, it seems, had fallen from its place, being of wood, and had taken hold of the boards and the joists they lay on, and burnt as far as just to the body, but had not taken hold of the dead body, though she had little more than her shift on, and had gone out of itself, not hurting the rest of the house, though it was a slight timber house. How true this might be I do not determine, but the city being to suffer severely the next year by fire, this year it felt very little of that calamity.

Indeed, considering the deliriums which the agony threw

people into, and how I have mentioned in their madness when they were alone, they did many desperate things, it was very strange there were no more disasters of that kind.

It has been frequently asked me, and I cannot say that I ever knew how to give a direct answer to it, how it came to pass that so many infected people appeared abroad in the streets, at the same time that the houses which were infected were so vigilantly searched, and all of them shut up and guarded as they were.

I confess I know not what answer to give to this, unless it be this, that in so great and populous a city as this is, it was impossible to discover every house that was infected as soon as it was so, or to shut up all the houses that were infected; so that people had the liberty of going about the streets, even where they pleased, unless they were known to belong to such and such infected houses.

It is true, that as the several physicians told my Lord Mayor, the fury of the contagion was such at some particular times, and people sickened so fast, and died so soon, that it was impossible, and, indeed, to no purpose, to go about to inquire who was sick and who was well, or to shut them up with such exactness as the thing required; almost every house in a whole street being infected, and in many places every person in some of the houses; and that which was still worse, by the time that the houses were known to be infected, most of the persons infected would be stone dead, and the rest run away for fear of being shut up, so that it was to very small purpose to call them infected houses and shut them up; the infection having ravaged, and taken its leave of the house, before it was really known that the family was any way touched.

This might be sufficient to convince any reasonable person, that as it was not in the power of the magistrates, or of any human methods or policy, to prevent the spreading the infection, so that this way of shutting up of houses was perfectly insufficient for that end. Indeed it seemed to have no manner of public good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous burthen that it was to the particular families that were so shut up; and as far as I was employed by the public in directing that severity, I frequently found occasion to see that it was incapable of answering the end. For example, as I was desired as a visitor or examiner to inquire

into the particulars of several families which were infected, we scarce came to any house where the plague had visibly appeared in the family but that some of the family were fled and gone. The magistrates would resent this, and charge the examiners with being remiss in their examination or inspection; but by that means houses were long infected before it was known. Now, as I was in this dangerous office but half the appointed time, which was two months, it was long enough to inform myself that we were no way capable of coming at the knowledge of the true state of any family, but by inquiring at the door, or of the neighbours. As for going into every house to search, that was a part no authority would offer to impose on the inhabitants, or any citizen would undertake, for it would have been exposing us to certain infection and death, and to the ruin of our own families as well as of ourselves; nor would any citizen of probity, and that could be depended upon, have stayed in the town, if they had been made liable to such a severity.

Seeing, then, that we could come at the certainty of things by no method but that of inquiry of the neighbours or of the family, and on that we could not justly depend, it was not possible but that the uncertainty of this matter would remain as above.

It is true masters of families were bound by the order to give notice to the examiner of the place wherein he lived, within two hours after he should discover it, of any person being sick in his house, that is to say, having signs of the infection; but they found so many ways to evade this, and excuse their negligence, that they seldom gave that notice till they had taken measures to have every one escape out of the house who had a mind to escape, whether they were sick or sound; and while this was so, it was easy to see that the shutting up of houses was no way to be depended upon as a sufficient method for putting a stop to the infection, because, as I have said elsewhere, many of those that so went out of those infected houses had the plague really upon them, though they might really think themselves sound; and some of these were the people that walked the streets till they fell down dead, not that they were suddenly struck with the distemper, as with a bullet that killed with the stroke, but that they really had the infection in their blood long before, only, that as it preyed secretly on their vitals, it appeared not till it

seized the heart with a mortal power, and the patient died in a moment, as with a sudden fainting, or an apoplectic fit.

I know that some, even of our physicians, thought, for a time, that those people that so died in the streets were seized but that moment they fell, as if they had been touched by a stroke from heaven, as men are killed by a flash of lightning; but they found reason to alter their opinion afterward, for upon examining the bodies of such after they were dead, they always either had tokens upon them, or other evident proofs of the distemper having been longer upon them than they had otherwise expected.

This often was the reason that, as I have said, we that were examiners were not able to come at the knowledge of the infection being entered into a house till it was too late to shut it up, and sometimes not till the people that were left were all dead. In Petticoat lane two houses together were infected, and several people sick; but the distemper was so well concealed, the examiner, who was my neighbour, got no knowledge of it till notice was sent him that the people were all dead, and that the carts should call there to fetch them away. The two heads of the families concerted their measures, and so ordered their matters, as that when the examiner was in the neighbourhood, they appeared generally at a time, and answered, that is, lied for one another, or got some of the neighbourhood to say they were all in health, and perhaps knew no better, till death making it impossible to keep it any longer as a secret, the dead carts were called in the night to both the houses, and so it became public; but when the examiner ordered the constable to shut up the houses, there was nobody left in them but three people, two in one house, and one in the other, just dying, and a nurse in each house, who acknowledged that they had buried five before, that the houses had been infected nine or ten days, and that for all the rest of the two familes, which were many, they were gone, some sick, some well, or whether sick or well, could not be known.

In like manner, at another house in the same lane, a man, having his family infected, but very unwilling to be shut up, when he could conceal it no longer, shut up himself; that is to say, he set the great red cross upon the door, with the words,—"LORD, HAVE MERCY UPON US;" and so deluded the examiner, who supposed it had been done by the constable,

by order of the other examiner, for there were two examiners to every district or precinct. By this means he had free egress and regress into his house again, and out of it, as he pleased, notwithstanding it was infected, till at length his stratagem was found out, and then he, with the sound part of his family and servants, made off, and escaped; so they were not shut up at all.

These things made it very hard, if not impossible, as I have said, to prevent the spreading of an infection by the shutting up of houses, unless the people would think the shutting up of their houses no greivance, and be so willing to have it done as that they would give notice duly and faithfully to the magistrates of their being infected, as soon as it was known by themselves; but as that cannot be expected from them, and the examiners cannot be supposed, as above, to go into their houses to visit and search, all the good of shutting up houses will be defeated, and few houses will be shut up in time, except those of the poor, who cannot conceal it, and of some people who will be discovered by the terror and consternation which the thing put them into.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in, as soon as I could get another admitted, whom I had obtained for a little money to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two months, which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

In the execution of this office, I could not refrain speaking my opinion among my neighbours, as to the shutting up the people in their houses; in which we saw most evidently the severities that were used, though grievous in themselves, had also this particular objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the end, as I have said, but that the distempered people went, day by day, about the streets; and it was our united opinion, that a method to have removed the sound from the sick, in case of a particular house being visited, would have been much more reasonable, on many accounts, leaving nobody with the sick persons, but such as should, on such occasions, request to stay, and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

Our scheme for removing those that were sound from those that were sick, was only in such houses as were infected.

and confining the sick was no confinement; those that could not stir would not complain while they were in their senses, and while they had the power of judging. Indeed, when they came to be delirious and light-headed, then they would cry out of the cruelty of being confined; but, for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they should be removed from the sick, and that, for other people's safety, they should keep retired for awhile, to see that they were sound, and might not infect others; and we thought twenty or thirty days enough for this.

Now, certainly, if houses had been provided on purpose for those that were sound, to perform this demi-quarantine in, they would have much less reason to think themselves injured in such a restraint, than in being confined with infected people in the houses where they lived.

It is here, however, to be observed, that after the funerals became so many that people could not toll the bell, mourn, or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before; no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; so, after a while, the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased, that, in short, they shut up no houses at all; it seemed enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury, so that as the fire the succeeding year spread itself and burnt with such violence, that the citizens, in despair, gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the plague, it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair. Whole streets seemed to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind in empty houses, for want of people to shut them; in a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for but an universal desolation; and it was even in the height of this general despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising, like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand; and that above, if not without the agency of means, as I shall take notice of in its proper place.

But I must still speak of the plague, as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even, as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them in this extremity of the distemper; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could affect a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul than to see a man, almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed into the street, come out of Harrow-alley, a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages, in the Butcher-row in Whitechapel; I say, what could be more affecting, than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run, dancing and singing, and making a thousand antic gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying and calling upon him, for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him, or to come near him?

This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows; for all this while the poor afflicted man was, as I observed it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or to suppurate; but by laying strong caustics on them, the surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them, which caustics were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continued roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful! the usual concourse of the people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated; the Exchange was not kept shut indeed, but it was no more frequented; the fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days, by a very smart and hasty rain; but that was not all, some of the physicians insisted, that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of the people. This they made a loud clamour about, and complained to the lord mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were and must be useful, to assauge the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account

of their arguments on both sides, only this I remember, that they cavilled very much with one another. Some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood, and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir, in particular, or cedar, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were neither for one or other. Upon the whole, the lord mayor ordered no more fires: and especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce, that they saw evidently it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease, upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness, either to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of business, for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains, nor their persons: but nothing answered, the infection raged, and the people were now terrified to the last degree; so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

But let me observe here, that, when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal state; but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection, or to outlive the plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the last two weeks in August, and in the first three weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at the farthest, and many the very same day they were taken. Whether the dog-days, as our astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the dog-star had that malignant effect, or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above three thousand people died in one night; and they that would have us be-

lieve they more critically observed it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two hours; viz., between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people dying at this time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood; one family without the bars, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family; that evening, one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touched, whereof one died the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday; in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants, were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who lived not far off, and who had not been sick.

Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carried away dead, and especially in an alley farther on the same side beyond the bars, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron. There were several houses together, which they said had not one person left alive in them; and some that died last in several of those houses, were left a little too long before they were fetched out to be buried; the reason of which was not, as some have written, very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley, that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies there to be buried. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carried; and, as the carts could not come any nearer than to the alley-gate in the High-street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left. I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

As I have mentioned how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life, and abandoned themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks, that is, it made them bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went anywhere and everywhere, and began to converse; one would say to another—"I do not ask you how you are, or

say how I am; it is certain we shall all go, so 'tis no matter who is sick or who is sound;" and so they ran desperately into any place or company.

As it brought the people into public company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches; they inquired no more into who they sat near to, or far from, what offensive smells they met with, or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together as if their lives were of no consequence compared to the work which they came about there; indeed, the zeal which they showed in coming, and the earnestness and affection they showed in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last. Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about, the person whom they found in the pulpit when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted but that many of the ministers of the parish churches were cut off among others in so common and dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country as they found means for escape; as then some parish churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of an act of parliament called the Act of Uniformity, to preach in the churches, nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty in accepting their assistance; so that many of those whom they called silent ministers, had their mouths opened on this occasion, and preached publicly to the people.

Here we may observe, and I hope it will not be amiss to take notice of it, that a near view of death would soon reconcile men of good principles one to another, and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situation in life, and our putting these things far from us, that our breaches are fomented, ill blood continued, prejudices, breach of charity and of christian union so much kept and so far carried on among us as it is: another plague year would reconcile all these differences, a close conversing with death, or with diseases that threaten death, would scum off the gall from our tempers, remove the

animosities among us, and bring us to see with differing eyes than those which we looked on things with before; as the people who had been used to join with the church were reconciled at this time with the admitting the dissenters to preach to them; so the dissenters, who, with an uncommon prejudice, had broken off from the communion of the church of England, were now content to come to their parish churches, and to conform to the worship which they did not approve of before; but as the terror of the infection abated, those things all returned again to their less desirable channel, and to the course they were in before.

I mention this but historically, I have no mind to enter into arguments to move either or both sides to a more charitable compliance one with another; I do not see that it is probable such a discourse would be either suitable or successful, the breaches seem rather to widen, and tend to a widening farther than to closing; and who am I, that I should think myself able to influence either one side or other? But this I may repeat again, that it is evident death will reconcile us all—on the other side the grave we shall be all brethren again; in heaven, whither I hope we may come from all parties and persuasions, we shall find neither prejudice nor scruple; there we shall be of one principle and of one opinion. Why we cannot be content to go hand in hand to the place where we shall join heart and hand without the least hesitation and with the most complete harmony and affection; I say, why we cannot do so here I can say nothing to, neither shall I say anything more of it, but that it remains to be lamented.

I could dwell a great while upon the calamities of this dreadful time, and go on to describe the objects that appeared among us every day, the dreadful extravagancies which the distraction of sick people drove them into; how the streets began now to be fuller of frightful objects, and families to be made even a terror to themselves; but after I have told you, as I have above, that one man being tied in his bed, and finding no other way to deliver himself, set the bed on fire with his candle, which unhappily stood within his reach, and burnt himself in bed; and how another, by the insufferable torment he bore, danced and sung naked in the streets, not knowing one ecstacy from another; I say, after I have mentioned these things, what can be added more? What can be said to represent the misery of these times more lively to

the reader, or to give him a perfect idea of a more complicated distress?

I must acknowledge that this time was so terrible that I was sometimes at the end of all my resolutions, and that I had not the courage that I had at the beginning. As the extremity brought other people abroad, it drove me home, and, except having made my voyage down to Blackwall and Greenwich, as I have related, which was an excursion, I kept afterwards very much within doors, as I had for about a fortnight before. I have said already, that I repented several times that I had ventured to stay in town, and had not gone away with my brother and his family, but it was too late for that now; and after I had retreated and stayed within doors a good while before my impatience led me abroad, then they called me, as I have said, to an ugly and dangerous office, which brought me out again; but as that was expired, while the height of the distemper lasted, I retired again, and continued close ten or twelve days more, during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street, as that particularly from Harrow-alley, of the poor outrageous creature who danced and sung in his agony; and many others there were. Scarce a day or a night passed over but some dismal thing or other happened at the end of that Harrow-alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery.

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almost all the dead part of the night the dead cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in, it could not well turn again and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies; and, as the churchyard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again. It is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out to the cart; and, by the number, one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city living in those places. Several times they cried murder, sometimes fire; but

it was easy to perceive that it was all distraction, and the complaints of distressed and distempered people.

I believe it was everywhere thus at that time, for the plague raged for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have expressed and came even to such a height, that, in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets, or burials in the daytime; for there was a necessity in this extremity, to bear with its being otherwise for a little while.

One thing I cannot omit here, and, indeed, I thought it was extraordinary, at least it seemed a remarkable hand of divine justice; viz., that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurors, and the like, calulators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded, that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and, indeed, their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretel their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities. Some have been critical enough to say, that every one of them died. I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations, during this dreadful part of the visitation. I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost forty thousands from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks. The particulars of the bills are as follows; viz:

From August the 22nd to the 29th	7,496
To the 5th of September	8,252
To the 12th	7,690
To the 19th	8,297
To the 26th	6,460
	38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself; but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe, that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe, that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks, both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city, at that time, was inexpressible; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before, and were recovered; and some of them dropped down when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pitside, and just ready to throw them in; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken by the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown here, some there, in a dismal manner. Another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury-fields, the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate, the dead carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate, full of dead bodies; but neither bellman or driver, or any one else with it. Neither in these, or many other cases, did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows; and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

The vigilance of the magistrate was now put to the utmost trial; and, it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion; also, whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either:—

1. Provisions were always to be had in full plenty and the price not much raised neither, hardly worth speaking.

2. No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if any-one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral, or sign of it, was to be seen in the daytime; except a little, as I have said, in the first three weeks in September.

This last article, perhaps, will hardly be believed, when some accounts which others have published since that, shall be seen; wherein they say, that the dead lay unburied, which I am sure was utterly false; at least, if it had been anywhere so, it must have been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers. All which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employed a little in the direction of that part of the parish in which I lived, and where as great a desolation was made, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, as was anywhere. I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remained unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of, none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them; and this is sufficient to the argument; for what might lie in houses and holes, as in Moses and Aaron-alley, is nothing, for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dearness, though I have mentioned it before, and shall speak of it again, yet I must observe here,

(1.) The price of bread in particular was not much raised; for in the beginning of the year, viz., in the 1st week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten onnces and a half; and in the height of the contagion it was to be had at nine ounces and a half, and never dearer, no, not all that season. And about the beginning of November, it was sold at ten ounces and a half again, the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a visitation, before.

(2.) Neither was there, which I wondered much at, any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread: but this was indeed alleged by some families, viz., that their maid-servants going to the bakehouses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes

came home with the sickness, that is to say, the plague upon them.

In all this dreadful visitation, there were, as I have said before, but two pest-houses made use of, viz., one in the fields beyond Old-street, and one in Westminster; neither was there any compulsion used in carrying people thither. Indeed there was no need of compulsion in the case, for there were thousands of poor distressed people, who, having no help, or conveniences, or supplies, but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither, and been taken care of, which, indeed, was the only thing that, I think, was wanting in the whole public management of the city; seeing nobody was here allowed to be brought to the pest-house, but where money was given, or security for money, either at their introducing, or upon their being cured and sent out; for very many were sent out again whole, and very good physicians were appointed to those places, so that many people did very well there, of which I shall make mention again. The principal sort of people sent thither were, as I have said, servants, who got the distemper by going of errands to fetch necessaries for the families where they lived; and who, in that case, if they came home sick, were removed, to preserve the rest of the house; and they were so well looked after there, in all the time of the visitation, that there was but 156 buried in all at the London pest-house, and 159 at that of Westminster.

By having more pest-houses, I am far from meaning a forcing all people into such places. Had the shutting up of houses been omitted, and the sick hurried out of their dwellings to pest-houses, as some proposed it seems at that time as well as since, it would certainly have been much worse than it was; the very removing the sick would have been a spreading of the infection, and the rather because that removing could not effectually clear the house where the sick person was of the distemper; and the rest of the family being then left at liberty, would certainly spread it among others.

The methods also in private families, which would have been universally used to have concealed the distemper, and to have concealed the persons being sick, would have been such that the distemper would sometimes have seized a whole family before any visitors or examiners could have known of it. On the other hand, the prodigious numbers which would have been sick at a time would have exceeded all the

capacity of public pest-houses to receive them, or of public officers to discover and remove them.

This was well considered in those days, and I have heard them talk of it often. The magistrates had enough to do to bring people to submit to having their houses shut up, and many ways they deceived the watchmen and got out, as I observed; but that difficulty made it apparent that they would have found it impracticable to have gone the other way to work; for they could never have forced the sick people out of their beds, and out of their dwellings: it must not have been my lord mayor's officers, but an army of officers, that must have attempted it; and the people on the other hand would have been enraged and desperate, and would have killed those that should have offered to have meddled with them, or with their children and relations, whatever had befallen them for it; so that they would have made the people, who, as it was, were in the most terrible distraction imaginable—I say, they would have made them stark mad! whereas, the magistrates found it proper on several occasions to treat them with lenity and compassion, and not with violence and terror, such as dragging the sick out of their houses, or obliging them to remove themselves, would have been.

This leads me again to mention the time when the plague first began, that is to say, when it became certain that it would spread over the whole town, when, as I have said, the better sort of people first took the alarm, and began to hurry themselves out of town; it was true, as I observed in its place, that the throng was so great, and the coaches, horses, waggons, and carts were so many, driving and dragging the people away, that it looked as if all the city was running away, and had any regulations been published that had been terrifying at that time, especially such as would pretend to dispose of the people otherwise than they would dispose of themselves, it would have put both the city and suburbs into the utmost confusion.

The magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged, made very good by-laws for the regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making everything as eligible as possible to all sorts of people.

In the first place, the lord mayor and the sheriffs, the court of aldermen, and a certain number of the common-council men, or their deputies, came to a resolution, and published

it, viz., that they would not quit the city themselves, but that they would be always at hand for the preserving good order in every place, and for doing justice on all occasions; as also for the distributing the public charity to the poor; and, in a word, for the doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens, to the utmost of their power.

In pursuance of these orders, the lord mayor, sheriffs, &c., held councils every day, more or less, for making such dispositions as they found needful for preserving the civil peace; and though they used the people with all possible gentleness and clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous rogues, such as thieves, housebreakers, plunderers of the dead or of the sick, were duly punished, and several declarations were continually published by the lord mayor and court of aldermen against such.

Also, all constables and churchwardens were enjoined to stay in the city upon severe penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient housekeepers as the deputy-aldermen, or common-councilmen of the precinct should approve, and for whom they should give security; and also security in case of mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other constables in their stead.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much; especially in the first of their fright, when they talked of making so universal a flight, that the city would have been in danger of being entirely deserted of its inhabitants, except the poor, and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitude. Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my lord mayor and the sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger; and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding about them, yet, in emergent cases, they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints; my lord mayor had a low gallery, built on purpose in his hall, where he stood, a little removed from the crowd, when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise, the proper officers, called my lord mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were in waiting; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were instantly employed to fill up and officiate

in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner the sheriffs and aldermen did, in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office, and the sheriff's officers or serjeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective aldermen in their turn; so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed; and in this part, either the lord mayor, or one or both of the sheriffs, were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets, and going back again; and that no nuisance or frightful object should be seen in the streets to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come. Also, the bakers were taken under particular order, and the master of the Bakers' Company was, with his court of assistants, directed to see the order of my lord mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the due assize of bread, which was weekly appointed by my lord mayor, observed; and all the bakers were obliged to keep their ovens going constantly, on pain of losing the privileges of a freeman of the city of London.

By this means, bread was always to be had in plenty, and as cheap as usual, as I said above; and provisions were never wanting in the markets, even to such a degree that I often wondered at it, and reproached myself with being so timorous and cautious in stirring abroad, when the country people came freely and boldly to market, as if there had been no manner of infection in the city, or danger of catching it.

It was, indeed, one admirable piece of conduct in the said magistrates, that the streets were kept constantly clear and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant; unless where anybody fell down suddenly, or died in the streets, as I have said above, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next churchyard till night. All the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any diseased bodies were removed or dead

bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night; and all the bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several churchyards or burying-grounds, as has been observed, were so removed in the night; and everything was covered and closed before day. So that in the daytime, there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard of, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and sometimes from the passionate outcries and lamentations of the people, out at their windows, and from the numbers of houses and shops shut up.

Nor was the silence and emptiness of the streets so much in the city as in the out-parts; except just at one particular time, when, as I have mentioned, the plague came east, and spread over all the city. It was indeed a merciful disposition of God, that as the plague began at one end of the town first, as has been observed at large, so it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not come on this way, or eastward, till it had spent its fury in the west part of the town; and so as it came on one way, it abated another; for example:—

It began at St. Giles's and the Westminster end of the town, and it was in its height in all that part by about the middle of July, viz., in St. Giles's-in-the-fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's Danes, St. Martin's-in-the-fields, and in Westminster: the latter end of July it decreased in those parishes, and coming east, it increased prodigiously in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's and Aldersgate. While it was in all these parishes, the city and all the parishes of the Southwark side of the water, and all Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping, and Ratcliff, were very little touched; so that people went about their business unconcerned, carried on their trades, kept open their shops, and conversed freely with one another in all the city, the east and north-east suburbs, and in Southwark, almost as if the plague had not been among us.

Even when the north and north-west suburbs were fully infected, viz., Cripplegate, Clerkenwell, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, yet still all the rest were tolerably well: for example:—

From the 25th July to the 1st of August, the bill stood thus of all diseases:—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	554
St. Sepulchre's	250
Clerkenwell	103
Bishopsgate	116
Shoreditch	110
Stepney Parish	127
Aldgate	92
Whitechapel	104
All the 97 Parishes within the walls	228
All the Parishes in Southwark	205
	1889

So that, in short, there died more that week in the two parishes of Cripplegate and St. Sepulchre's by 48, than all the city, all the east suburbs, and all the Southwark parishes put together: this caused the reputation of the city's health to continue all over England, and especially in the counties and markets adjacent, from whence our supply of provisions chiefly came, even much longer than that health itself continued; for when the people came into the streets from the country by Shoreditch and Bishopsgate, or by Old-street and Smithfield, they would see the out-streets empty, and the houses and shops shut, and the few people that were stirring there walk in the middle of the streets; but when they came within the city, there things looked better, and the markets and shops were open, and the people walking about the streets as usual, though not quite so many; and this continued till the latter end of August and the beginning of September.

But then the case altered quite, the distemper abated in the west and north-west parishes, and the weight of the infection lay on the city and the eastern suburbs, and the Southwark side, and this in a frightful manner.

Then indeed the city began to look dismal, shops to be shut, and the streets desolate; in the high street indeed necessity made people stir abroad on many occasions; and there would be in the middle of the day a pretty many people, but in the mornings and evenings scarce any to be seen even there, no, not in Cornhill and Cheapside.

These observations of mine were abundantly confirmed by the weekly bills of mortality for those weeks, an abstract of which, as they respect the parishes which I have mentioned,

and as they make the calculations I speak of very evident, take as follows:—

The weekly bill which makes out this decrease of the burials in the west and north side of the city, stands thus:—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	456
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	140
Clerkenwell	77
St. Sepulchre's	214
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	183
Stepney Parish	716
Aldgate	621
Whitechapel	532
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1493
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1636
	6070

Here is a strange change of things indeed, and a sad change it was, and had it held for two months more than it did, very few people would have been left alive; but then such, I say, was the merciful disposition of God, that when it was thus, the west and north part, which had been so dreadfully visited at first, grew, as you see, much better; and as the people disappeared here, they began to look abroad again there; and the next week or two altered it still more, that is, more to the encouragement of the other part of the town; for example:—

From the 19th of September to the 26th.

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	277
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	119
Clerkenwell	76
St. Sepulchre's	193
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	146
Stepney Parish	616
Aldgate	496
Whitechapel	346
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1268
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1390
	4927

From the 26th of September to the 3rd of October:—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	196
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	95
Clerkenwell	48
St. Sepulchre's	137
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	128
Stepney Parish	674
Aldgate	372
Whitechapel	328
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1149
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1201
	4328

And now the misery of the city, and of the said east and south parts, was complete indeed; for as you see, the weight of the distemper lay upon those parts, that is to say, the city, the eight parishes over the river, with the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, and this was the time that the bills came up to such a monstrous height as that I mentioned before; and that eight or nine, and, as I believe, ten or twelve thousand a week, died; for it is my settled opinion, that they never could come at any just account of the numbers, for the reasons which I have given already.

Nay, one of the most eminent physicians, who has since published in Latin an account of those times, and of his observations, says, that in one week there died twelve thousand people, and that particularly there died four thousand in one night: though I do not remember that there ever was any such particular night so remarkably fatal as that such a number died in it: however, all this confirms what I have said above of the uncertainty of the bills of mortality, &c., of which I shall say more hereafter.

And here let me take leave to enter again, though it may seem a repetition of circumstances, into a description of the miserable condition of the city itself, and of those parts were I lived, at this particular time. The city, and those other parts, notwithstanding the great numbers of people that were gone into the country, was vastly full of people; and perhaps the fuller, because people had, for a long time, a strong belief that the plague would not come into the city, nor into Southwark, no, nor into Wapping or Ratcliff at all; nay,

such was the assurance of the people on that head, that many removed from the suburbs on the west and north sides, into those eastern and south sides as for safety, and, as I verily believe, carried the plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here, also, I ought to leave a further remark for the use of posterity, concerning the manner of people's infecting one another; namely, that it was not the sick people only from whom the plague was immediately received by others that were sound, but the well. To explain myself; by the sick people, I mean those who were known to be sick, had taken their beds, had been under cure, or had swellings or tumours upon them, and the like; these everybody could beware of, they were either in their beds, or in such condition as could not be concealed.

By the well, I mean such as had received the contagion, and had it really upon them and in their blood, yet did not show the consequences of it in their countenances; nay, even were not sensible of it themselves, as many were not for several days. These breathed death in every place, and upon everybody who came near them; nay, their very clothes retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they were warm and sweaty, and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now, it was impossible to know these people, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected. These were the people that so often dropped down and fainted in the streets; for oftentimes they would go about the streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door, and die. It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get home to their own doors, or, at other times, would be just able to go into their houses, and die instantly; other times they would go about till they had the very tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an hour or two after they came home, but be well as long as they were abroad. These were the dangerous people, these were the people of whom the well people ought to have been afraid; but then, on the other side, it was impossible to know them.

And this is the reason why it it is impossible in a visitation to prevent the spreading of the plague by the utmost human vigilance, viz., that it is impossible to know the infected

people from the sound; or that the infected people should perfectly know themselves. I knew a man who conversed freely in London all the season of the plague in 1665, and kept about him an antidote or cordial, on purpose to take when he thought himself in any danger, and he had such a rule to know, or have warning of the danger by, as indeed I never met with before or since; how far it may be depended on I know not. He had a wound in his leg, and whenever he came among any people that were not sound, and the infection began to affect him, he said he could know it by that signal, viz., that the wound in his leg would smart, and look pale and white; so as soon as ever he felt it smart it was time for him to withdraw, or to take care of himself, taking his drink, which he always carried about him for that purpose. Now it seems he found his wound would smart many times when he was in company with such who thought themselves to be sound, and who appeared so to one another; but he would presently rise up, and say publicly,—"Friends, here is somebody in the room that has the plague;" and so would immediately break up the company. This was indeed a faithful monitor to all people, that the plague is not to be avoided by those that converse promiscuously in a town infected, and people have it when they know it not, and that they likewise give it to others when they know not that they have it themselves; and in this case shutting up the well or removing the sick will not do it, unless they can go back and shut up all those that the sick had conversed with, even before they knew themselves to be sick, and none knows how far to carry that back, or where to stop; for none knows when, or where, or how they may have received the infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the reason which makes so many people talk of the air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the contagion was in the air. I have seen them in strange agitations and surprises on this account. "I have never come near any infected body!" says the disturbed person, "I have conversed with none but sound healthy people, and yet I have gotten the distemper!"—"I am sure I am struck from heaven," says another, and he falls to the serious part. Again, the first goes on exclaiming, "I have come near no infection, or any infected person; I am sure it is in the air:

we draw in death when we breathe, and therefore it is the hand of God: there is no withstanding it." And this at last made many people, being hardened to the danger, grow less concerned at it, and less cautious towards the latter end of the time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at first; then, with a kind of a Turkish predestinarianism they would say, if it pleased God to strike them it was all one whether they went abroad or stayed at home, they could not escape it, and therefore they went boldly about, even into infected houses and infected company, visited sick people, and, in short, lay in the beds with their wives or relations when they were infected; and what was the consequence but the same that is the consequence in Turkey, and in those countries where they do those things? namely, that they were infected too, and died by hundreds and thousands.

I would be far from lessening the awe of the judgments of God, and the reverence to his Providence, which ought always to be on our minds on such occasions as these; doubtless the visitation itself is a stroke from heaven upon a city, or country, or nation where it falls, a messenger of his vengeance, and a loud call to that nation, or country, or city, to humiliation and repentance, according to that of the prophet Jeremiah, xviii. 7, 8. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom to pluck up, and pull down, and destroy it: if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." Now to prompt due impressions of the awe of God on the minds of men on such occasions, and not to lessen them, it is that I have left those minutes upon record.

I say, therefore, I reflect upon no man for putting the reason of those things upon the immediate hand of God, and the appointment and direction of his Providence; nay, on the contrary, there were many wonderful deliverances of persons from infection, and deliverances of persons when infected, which intimate singular and remarkable Providence in the particular instances to which they refer; and I esteem my own deliverance to be one next to miraculous, and do record it with thankfulness.

But when I am speaking of the plague as a distemper arising from natural causes, we must consider it as it was really propagated by natural means, nor is it at all the less a

judgment for its being under the conduct of human causes and effects; for as the divine power has formed the whole scheme of nature, and maintains nature in its course, so the same power thinks fit to let his own actings with men, whether of mercy or judgment, to go on in the ordinary course of natural causes, and he is pleased to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means; excepting and reserving to himself nevertheless a power to act in a supernatural way when he sees occasion. Now it is evident that, in the case of an infection, there is no apparent extraordinary occasion for supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appears sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that heaven usually directs by a contagion. Among these causes and effects this of the secret conveyance of infection, imperceptible and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute the fierceness of divine vengeance, without putting it upon supernaturals and miracles.

The acute, penetrating nature of the disease itself was such, and the infection was received so imperceptibly, that the most exact caution could not secure us while in the place; but I must be allowed to believe, and I have so many examples fresh in my memory, to convince me of it, that I think none can resist their evidence; I say, I must be allowed to believe, that no one in this whole nation ever received the sickness or infection but who received it in the ordinary way of infection from somebody, or the clothes, or touch, or stench of somebody that was infected before.

The manner of its first coming to London proves this also, viz., by goods brought over from Holland, and brought thither from the Levant; the first breaking of it out in a house in Long Acre, were those goods were carried and first opened; its spreading from that house to other houses by the visible unwary conversing with those who were sick, and the infecting the parish officers who were employed about persons dead, and the like. These are known authorities for this great foundation point, that it went on and proceeded from person to person, and from house to house, and no otherwise. In the first house that was infected there died four persons; a neighbour, hearing the mistress of the first house was sick, went to visit her, and went home and gave the distemper to her family, and died, and all her household. A minister called to pray with the first sick person in the

second house, was said to sicken immediately, and die, with several more in his house. Then the physicans began to consider, for they did not at first dream of a general contagion; but the physicians being sent to inspect the bodies, they assured the people that it was neither more or less than the plague, with all its terrifying particulars, and that it threatened an universal infection, so many people having already conversed with the sick or distempered, and having as might be supposed, received infection from them, that it would be impossible to put a stop to it.

Here the opinion of the physicians agreed with my observation afterwards, namely, that the danger was spreading insensibly; for the sick could infect none but those that came within reach of the sick person, but that one man, who may have really received the infection, and knows it not, but goes abroad and about as a sound person, may give the plague to a thousand people, and they to greater numbers in proportion, and neither the person giving the infection, nor the persons receiving it, know anything of it, and perhaps not feel the effects of it for several days after. For example:—

Many persons, in the time of this visitation, never perceived that they were infected, till they found, to their unspeakable surprise, the tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours; for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrene spots, or mortified flesh, in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain death; and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till those mortal marks were upon them. But everybody must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time; and, consequently, their breath, their sweat, their very clothes were contagious for many days before.

This occasioned a vast variety of cases, which physicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but some came within the compass of my observation, or hearing, of which I shall name a few.

A certain citizen, who had lived safe and untouched till the month of September, when the weight of the distemper lay more in the city than it had done before, was mighty

cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body. Says another citizen, a neighbour of his, to him, one day, Do not be too confident, Mr. ——; it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see men alive and well to outward appearance one hour, and dead the next. That is true, says the first man, (for he was not a man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while; and men, as I have said above, especially in the city, began to be over-easy on that score). That is true, says he, I do not think myself secure, but I hope I have not been in company with any person that there has been any danger in. No! says his neighbour; was not you at the Bull-head tavern in Gracechurch-street, with Mr. ——, the night before last? Yes, says the first, I was, but there was nobody there that we had any reason to think dangerous. Upon which his neighbour said no more, being unwilling to surprise him; but this made him more inquisitive, and, as his neighbour appeared backward, he was the more impatient; and in a kind of warmth, says he aloud, Why, he is not dead, is he? Upon which his neighbour still was silent, but cast up his eyes, and said something to himself; at which the first citizen turned pale, and said no more but this, Then I am a dead man too! and went home immediately, and sent for a neighbouring apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the apothecary opening his breast, fetched a sigh, and said no more but this, "Look up to God;" and the man died in a few hours.

Now let any man judge, from a case like this, if it is possible for the regulations of magistrates, either by shutting up the sick or removing them, to stop an infection which spreads itself from man to man even while they are perfectly well and insensible of its approach, and may be so for many days.

It may be proper to ask here how long it may be supposed men might have the seeds of the contagion in them before it discovered itself in this fatal manner, and how long they might go about seemingly whole, and yet be contagious to all those that came near them. I believe the most experienced physicians cannot answer this question directly any more than I can; and something an ordinary observer may take notice of, which may pass their observation. The opinion of

physicians abroad seems to be, that it may lie dormant in the spirits, or in the blood-vessels, a very considerable time; why else do they exact a quarantine of those who come into their harbours and ports from suspected places? Forty days is, one would think, too long for nature to struggle with such an enemy as this and not conquer it or yield to it; but I could not think by my own observation that they can be infected, so as to be contagious to others, above fifteen or sixteen days at farthest; and on that score it was, that when a house was shut up in the city, and any one had died of the plague, but nobody appeared to be ill in the family for sixteen or eighteen days after, they were not so strict but that they would connive at their going privately abroad; nor would people be much afraid of them afterwards, but rather think they were fortified the better, having not been vulnerable when the enemy was in their house; but we sometimes found it had lain much longer concealed.

Upon the foot of all these observations I must say, that, though Providence seemed to direct my conduct to be otherwise, it is my opinion, and I must leave it as a prescription, viz., that the best physic against the plague is to run away from it. I know people encourage themselves by saying, God is able to keep us in the midst of danger, and able to overtake us when we think ourselves out of danger; and this kept thousands in the town, whose carcases went into the great pits by cart-loads; and who, if they had fled from the danger, had, I believe, been safe from the disaster; at least, 'tis probable they had been safe.

And were this very fundamental only duly considered by the people on any future occasion of this or the like nature, I am persuaded it would put them upon quite different measures for managing the people from those that they took in 1665, or than any that have been taken abroad, that I have heard of; in a word, they would consider of separating the people into smaller bodies, and removing them in time farther from one another, and not let such a contagion as this, which is indeed chiefly dangerous to collected bodies of people, find a million of people in a body together, as was very near the case before, and would certainly be the case if it should ever appear again.

The plague, like a great fire, if a few houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few houses; or if

it begins in a single, or, as we call it, a lone house, can only burn that lone house where it begins. But if it begins in a close-built town or city, and gets a-head, there its fury increases, it rages over the whole place, and consumes all it can reach.

I could propose many schemes on the foot of which the government of this city, if ever they should be under the apprehension of such another enemy (God forbid they should), might ease themselves of the greatest part of the dangerous people that belong to them; I mean such as the begging, starving, labouring poor, and among them chiefly those who, in a case of siege, are called the useless mouths; who being then prudently, and to their own advantage, disposed of, and the wealthy inhabitants disposing of themselves, and of their servants and children, the city, and its adjacent parts would be so effectually evacuated that there would not be above a tenth part of its people left together, for the disease to take hold upon: but suppose them to be a fifth part, and that two hundred and fifty thousand people were left, and if it did seize upon them, they would by their living so much at large be much better prepared to defend themselves against the infection, and be less liable to the effects of it than if the same number of people lived close together in one smaller city, such as Dublin, or Amsterdam, or the like.

It is true, hundreds, yea thousands of families fled away at this last plague; but then of them many fled too late, and not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went and infected those whom they went among for safety; which confounded the thing, and made that be a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it; and this too, is evident of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but must speak more fully to here; namely, that men went about apparently well, many days after they had the taint of the disease in their vitals, and after their spirits were so seized as that they could never escape it; and that all the while they did so they were dangerous to others; I say, this proves that so it was; for such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as the families they went among. And it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper among them, more or less; and always they would tell you such a Londoner or such a Londoner brought it down.

It must not be omitted, that when I speak of those people who were really thus dangerous, I suppose them to be utterly ignorant of their own condition; for if they really knew their circumstances to be such as indeed they were, they must have been a kind of wilful murderers, if they would have gone abroad among healthy people, and it would have verified indeed the suggestion which I mentioned above, and which I thought seemed untrue, viz., that the infected people were utterly careless as to giving the infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not; and I believe it was partly from this very thing that they raised that suggestion, which I hope was not really true in fact.

I confess no particular case is sufficient to prove a general, but I could name several people within the knowledge of some of their neighbours and families yet living, who showed the contrary to an extreme. One man, the master of a family in my neighbourhood, having had the distemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor workman whom he employed, and whom he went to his house to see, or went for some work that he wanted to have finished; and he had some apprehensions even while he was at the poor workman's door, but did not discover it fully, but the next day it discovered itself, and he was taken very ill; upon which he immediately caused himself to be carried into an outbuilding which he had in his yard, and where there was a chamber over a workhouse, the man being a brazier. Here he lay, and here he died; and would be tended by none of his neighbours, but by a nurse from abroad; and would not suffer his wife, nor children, nor servants, to come up into the room, lest they should be infected, but sent them his blessing and prayers for them by the nurse, who spoke it to them at a distance; and all this for fear of giving them the distemper, and without which, he knew, as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I must observe also, that the plague, as I suppose all distempers do, operated in a different manner on differing constitutions. Some were immediately overwhelmed with it and it came to violent fevers, vomitings, insufferable headaches, pains in the back, and so up to ravings and ragings with those pains: others with swellings and tumours in the neck or groin, or armpits, which, till they could be broke, put them into insufferable agonies and torment; while others

as I have observed, were silently infected, the fever preying upon their spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and death without pain.

I am not physician enough to enter into the particular reasons and manner of these differing effects of one and the same distemper, and of its differing operation in several bodies; nor is it my business here to record the observations which I really made, because the doctors themselves have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may, in some things, differ from theirs. I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe, of the particular cases, and what fell within the compass of my view, and the different nature of the infection as it appeared in the particular cases which I have related; but this may be added, too, that though the former sort of those cases, namely, those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to pain, I mean those that had such fevers, vomitings, headaches, pains, and swellings, because they died in such a dreadful manner: yet the latter had the worst state of the disease, for in the former they frequently recovered, especially if the swellings broke; but the latter was inevitable death, no cure, no help could be possible, nothing could follow but death; and it was worse also to others, because, as above, it secretly and unperceived by others or by themselves, communicated death to those they conversed with, the penetrating poison insinuating itself into their blood in a manner which it was impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

This infecting and being infected, without so much as its being known to either person, is evident from two sorts of cases, which frequently happened at that time; and there is hardly anybody living, who was in London during the infection, but must have known several of the cases of both sorts.

1. Fathers and mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believed themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected and been the destruction of their whole families; which they would have been far from doing, if they had had the least apprehensions of their being unsound and dangerous themselves. A family, whose story I have heard, was thus infected by the father, and the distemper began to appear upon some of them even before he found it

upon himself; but searching more narrowly, it appeared he had been infected some time, and as soon as he found that his family had been poisoned by himself, he went distracted, and would have laid violent hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who looked to him, and in a few days he died.

2. The other particular is, that many people having been well to the best of their own judgment, or by the best observation which they could make of themselves for several days, and only finding a decay of appetite, or a light sickness upon their stomachs; nay, some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light pain in their heads, have sent for physicians to know what ailed them, and have been found, to their great surprise, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague grown up to an incurable height.

It was very sad to reflect, how such a person as this last mentioned above, had been a walking destroyer, perhaps for a week or fortnight before that; how he had ruined those that he would have hazarded his life to save; and had been breathing death upon them, even perhaps in his tender kissing and embracings of his own children. Yet thus certainly it was, and often has been, and I could give many particular cases where it has been so. If, then, the blow is thus insensibly striking; if the arrow flies thus unseen and cannot be discovered; to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick people? Those schemes cannot take place but upon those that appear to be sick, or to be infected; whereas there are among them, at the same time, thousands of people who seem to be well, but are all that while carrying death with them into all companies which they come into.

This frequently puzzled our physicians, and especially the apothecaries and surgeons, who knew not how to discover the sick from the sound. They all allowed that it was really so; that many people had the plague in their very blood, and preying upon their spirits, and were in themselves but walking putrified carcases, whose breath was infectious, and their sweat poison, and yet were as well to look on as other people, and even knew it not themselves; I say, they all allowed that it was really true in fact, but they knew not how to propose a discovery.

My friend Dr. Heath was of opinion, that it might be known bv the smell of their breath; but then, as he said, who durst smell to that breath for his information? since, to know it, he must draw the stench of the plague up into his own brain, in order to distinguish the smell! I have heard, it was the opinion of others, that it might be distinguished by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where the breath condensing, there might living creatures be seen by a microscope, of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, such as dragons, snakes, serpents, and devils, horrible to behold. But this I very much question the truth of; and we had no microscopes at that time, as I remember, to make the experiment with.

It was the opinion also of another learned man, that the breath of such a person would poison and instantly kill a bird; not only a small bird, but even a cock or hen; and that if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be roupy, as they call it; particularly that if they had laid any eggs at that time, they would be all rotten. But those are opinions which I never found supported by any experiments, or heard of others that had seen it! so I leave them as I find them, only with this remark, namely, that I think the probabilities are very strong for them.

Some have proposed that such persons should breathe hard upon warm water, and that they would leave an unusual scum upon it, or upon several other things; especially such as are of a glutinous substance, and are apt to receive a scum and support it.

But, from the whole, I found that the nature of this contagion was such, that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent it spreading from one to another by any human skill.

Here was indeed one difficulty, which I could never thoroughly get over to this time, and which there is but one way of answering that I know of, and it is this, viz., the first person that died of the plague was on December 20th, or thereabouts, 1664, and in or about Long-acre: whence the first person had the infection was generally said to be from a parcel of silks imported from Holland, and first opened in that house.

But after this we heard no more of any person dying of the plague, or of the distemper being in that place, till the

9th of February, which was about seven weeks after, and then one more was buried out of the same house: then it was hushed, and we were perfectly easy as to the public for a great while; for there were no more entered in the weekly bill to be dead of the plague till the 22nd of April, when there were two more buried, not out of the same house, but out of the same street; and, as near as I can remember, it was out of the next house to the first: this was nine weeks asunder, and after this we had no more till a fortnight, and then it broke out in several streets, and spread every way. Now the question seems to lie thus:—Where lay the seeds of the infection all this while? how came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer? Either the distemper did not come immediately by contagion from body to body, or if it did, then a body may be capable to continue infected, without the disease discovering itself, many days, nay, weeks together, even not a quarantine of days only, but a soixantine, not only forty days, but sixty days, or longer.

It is true, there was, as I observed at first, and is well known to many yet living, a very cold winter, and a long frost, which continued three months, and this, the doctors say, might check the infection; but then the learned must allow me to say, that if, according to their notion, the disease was as I may say, only frozen up, it would, like a frozen river, have returned to its usual force and current when it thawed, whereas the principal recess of this infection, which was from February to April, was after the frost was broken, and the weather mild and warm.

But there is another way of solving all this difficulty, which I think my own remembrance of the thing will supply; and that is, the fact is not granted, namely, that there died none in those long intervals, viz., from the 20th of December to the 9th of February, and from thence to the 22nd of April. The weekly bills are the only evidence on the other side, and those bills were not of credit enough, at least with me, to support an hypothesis, or determine a question of such importance as this: for it was our received opinion at that time, and I believe upon very good grounds, that the fraud lay in the parish officers, searchers, and persons appointed to give account of the dead, and what diseases they died of: and as people were very loath at first to have the neighbours believe their houses were infected, so they gave money to procure, or

otherwise procured the dead persons to be returned as dying of other distempers; and this I know was practised afterwards in many places, I believe I might say in all places where the distemper came, as will be seen by the vast increase of the numbers placed in the weekly bills under other articles of diseases during the time of the infection; for example, in the months of July and August, when the plague was coming on to its highest pitch, it was very ordinary to have from a thousand to twelve hundred, nay, to almost fifteen hundred a week, of other distempers; not that the numbers of those distempers were really increased to such a degree; but the great number of families and houses where really the infection was, obtained the favour to have their dead be returned of other distempers, to prevent the shutting up their houses. For example:—

Dead of other diseases besides the Plague.

From the 18th to the 25th July	942
To the 1st of August	1004
To the 8th	1213
To the 15th	1439
To the 22nd	1331
To the 29th	1394
To the 5th of September	1264
To the 12th	1056
To the 19th	1132
To the 26th	927

Now it was not doubted but the greatest part of these, or a great part of them, were dead of the plague, but the officers were prevailed with to return them as above, and the numbers of some particular articles of distempers discovered is as follows:—

From the	1st to 8th Aug.	to 15th,	to 22nd,	to 29th.
Fever	314	353	348	383
Spotted Fever	174	190	166	165
Surfeit	85	87	74	99
Teeth	90	113	111	133
	663	743	699	780

From Aug. 29, to Sept.	5th,	to 12th,	to 19th,	to 26th.
Fever . .	364	332	309	268
Spotted Fever .	157	97	101	65
Surfeit . .	68	45	49	36
Teeth . .	138	128	121	112
	727	602	580	481

There were several others articles which bore a proportion to these, and which it is easy to perceive were increased on the same account, as aged, consumptions, vomitings, imposthumes, gripes, and the like, many of which were not doubted to be infected people; but as it was of the utmost consequence to families not to be known to be infected, if it was possible to avoid it, so they took all the measures they could to have it not believed; and if any died in their houses to get them returned to the examiners, and by the searchers, as having died of other distempers.

This, I say, will account for the long interval which, as I have said, was between the dying of the first persons that were returned in the bills to be dead of the plague, and the time when the distemper spread openly, and could not be concealed.

Besides, the weekly bills themselves, at that time, evidently discovers this truth; for, while there was no mention of the plague, and no increase after it had been mentioned, yet it was apparent that there was an increase of those distempers which bordered nearest upon it; for example, there were eight, twelve, seventeen of the spotted fever, in a week when there were none or but very few of the plague; whereas, before, one, three, or four, were the ordinary weekly numbers of that distemper. Likewise, as I observed before, the burials increased weekly in that particular parish, and the parishes adjacent, more than in any other parish, although there were none set down of the plague; all which tell us that the infection was handed on, and the succession of the distemper really preserved, though it seemed to us at that time to be ceased, and to come again in a manner surprising.

It might be also, that the infection might remain in other parts of the same parcel of goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps opened, or at least not fully, or in the clothes of the first infected person; for I cannot

think that anybody could be seized with the contagion in a fatal and mortal degree for nine weeks together, and support his state of health so well, as even not to discover it to themselves; yet, if it were so, the argument is the stronger in favour of what I am saying, namely, that the infection is retained in bodies apparently well, and conveyed from them to those they converse with, while it is known to neither the one nor the other.

Great were the confusions at that time upon this very account; and when people began to be convinced that the infection was received in this surprising manner from persons apparently well, they began to be exceeeding shy and jealous of every one that came near them. Once, on a public day, whether a sabbath-day or not, I do not remember, in Aldgate church, in a pew full of people, on a sudden one fancied she smelt an ill smell; immediately she fancies the plague was in the pew, whispers her notion or suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the pew; it immediately took with the next, and so with them all, and every one of them and of the two or three adjoining pews, got up and went out of the church, nobody knowing what it was offended them, or from whom.

This immediately filled everybody's mouths with one preparation or other, such as the old women directed, and some perhaps as physicians directed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others; insomuch, that if we came to go into a church, when it was anything full of people, there would be such a mixture of smells at the entrance, that it was much more strong, though perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an apothecary's or druggist's shop. In a word, the whole church was like a smelling bottle; in one corner it was all perfumes, in another aromatics, balsamics, and a variety of drugs and herbs; in another, salts and spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation: yet I observed, that after people were possessed, as I have said, with the belief, or rather assurance, of the infection being thus carried on by persons apparently in health, the churches and meeting-houses were much thinner of people than at other times, before that they used to be; for this is to be said of the people of London, that, during the whole time of the pestilence, the churches or meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline coming out to the public worship of God, except only in some parishes, when the

violence of the distemper was more particularly in that parish at that time; and even then no longer than it continued to be so.

Indeed, nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service of God, even at that time when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion: this I mean before the time of desperation which I have mentioned already. This was a proof of the exceeding populousness of the city at the time of the infection, notwithstanding the great numbers that were gone into the country at the first alarm, and that fled out into the forests and woods when they were further terrified with the extraordinary increase of it. For when we came to see the crowds and throngs of people which appeared on the Sabbath-days at the churches, and especially in those parts of the town where the plague was abated, or where it was not yet come to its height, it was amazing. But of this I shall speak again presently. I return, in the meantime, to the article of infecting one another at first. Before people came to right notions of the infection, and of infecting one another, people were only shy of those that were really sick; a man with a cap upon his head, or with clothes round his neck, which was the case of those that had swellings there, such was indeed frightful; but when we saw a gentleman dressed, with his band on, and his gloves in his hand, his hat upon his head, and his hair combed, of such we had not the least apprehensions, and people conversed a great while freely, especially with their neighbours and such as they knew. But when the physicians assured us that the danger was as well from the sound, that is, the seemingly sound, as the sick, and that those people that thought themselves entirely free, were oftentimes the most fatal; and that it came to be generally understood that people were sensible of it, and of the reason of it; then, I say, they began to be jealous of everybody, and a vast number of people locked themselves up, so as not to come abroad into any company at all, nor suffer any that had been abroad in promiscuous company to come into their houses, or near them; at least not so near them as to be within the reach of their breath, or of any smell from them; and when they were obliged to converse at a distance with strangers, they would always have preservatives in their mouths, and about their clothes, to repel and keep off the infection.

It must be acknowledged, that when people began to use these cautions, they were less exposed to danger, and the infection did not break into such houses so furiously as it did into others before, and thousands of families were preserved, speaking with due reserve to the direction of divine Providence, by that means.

But it was impossible to beat anything into the heads of the poor. They went on with the usual impetuosity of their tempers, full of outcries, and lamentations when taken, but madly careless of themselves, foolhardy and obstinate, while they were well. Where they could get employment they pushed into any kind of business, the most dangerous and the most liable to infection; and, if they were spoken to, their answer would be, I must trust to God for that; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me; and the like. Or thus, Why, what must I do? I cannot starve, I had as good have the plague as perish for want; I have no work; what could I do? I must do this, or beg. Suppose it was burying the dead, or attending the sick, or watching infected houses, which were all terrible hazards; but their tale was generally the same. It is true, necessity was a justifiable, warrantable plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of talk was much the same, where the necessities were not the same. This adventurous conduct of the poor was that which brought the plague among them in a most furious manner; and this joined to the distress of their circumstances, when taken, was the reason why they died so by heaps; for I cannot say I could observe one jot of better husbandry among them, I mean the labouring poor, while they were all well and getting money, than there was before, but as lavish, as extravagant, and as thoughtless for to-morrow as ever; so that when they came to be taken sick, they were immediately in the utmost distress, as well for want as for sickness, as well for lack of food as lack of health.

The misery of the poor I had many occasions to be an eye-witness of, and sometimes also of the charitable assistance that some pious people daily gave to such, sending them relief and supplies both of food, physic, and other help, as they found they wanted; and indeed it is a debt of justice due to the temper of the people of that day, to take notice here, that not only great sums, very great sums of money, were charitably sent to the lord mayor and aldermen for the assistance

and support of the poor distempered people, but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent people about to inquire into the condition of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them; nay, some pious ladies were transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in discharge of the great duty of charity, that they went about in person distributing alms to the poor, and even visiting poor families, though sick and infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering apothecaries and surgeons, the first to supply them with drugs or plasters, and such things as they wanted, and the last to lance and dress the swellings and tumours, where such were wanting; giving their blessing to the poor in substantial relief to them, as well as hearty prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of those charitable people were suffered to fall under the calamity itself; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of the like distress; and doubtless, if they that give to the poor, lend to the Lord, and he will repay them, those that hazard their lives to give to the poor, and to comfort and assist the poor in such misery as this, may hope to be protected in the work.

Nor was this charity so extraordinary eminent only in a few; but (for I cannot lightly quit this point) the charity of the rich, as well in the city and suburbs as from the country, was so great, that, in a word, a prodiguous number of people, who must otherwise have perished for want as well as sickness, were supported and subsisted by it; and though I could never, nor I believe any one else, come to a full knowledge of what was so contributed, yet I do believe that as I heard one say that was a critical observer of that part, there was not only many thousand pounds contributed, but many hundred thousand pounds, to the relief of the poor of this distressed, afflicted city; nay, one man affirmed to me that he could reckon up above one hundred thousand pounds a week, which was distributed by the churchwardens at the several parish vestries, by the lord mayor and the aldermen in the several wards and precincts, and by the particular direction of the court and of the justices respectively in the parts where they resided;

over and above the private charity distributed by pious hands in the manner I speak of; and this continued for many weeks together.

I confess this is a very great sum; but if it be true that there was distributed in the parish of Cripplegate only, seventeen thousand eight hundred pounds in one week to the relief of the poor, as I heard reported, and which I really believe was true, the other may not be improbable.

It was doubtless to be reckoned among the many signal good providences which attended this great city, and of which there were many other worth recording; I say this was a very remarkable one, that it pleased God thus to move the hearts of the people in all parts of the kingdom so cheerfully to contribute to the relief and support of the poor at London; the good consequences of which were felt many ways, and particularly in preserving the lives and recovering the health of so many thousands, and keeping so many thousands of families from perishing and starving.

And now I am talking of the merciful disposition of Providence in this time of calamity, I cannot but mention again, though I have spoken several times of it already on other accounts, I mean that of the progression of the distemper; how it began at one end of the town, and proceeded gradually and slowly from one part to another, and like a dark cloud that passes over our heads, which, as it thickens and overcasts the air at one end, clears up at the other end; so, while the plague went on raging from west to east, as it went forwards east it abated in the west, by which means those parts of the town which were not seized, or who were left, and where it had spent its fury, were (as it were) spared to help and assist the other; whereas, had the distemper spread itself over the whole city and suburbs at once, raging in all places alike, as it has done since in some places abroad, the whole body of the people must have been overwhelmed, and there would have died twenty thousand a day, as they say there did at Naples, nor would the people have been able to have helped or assisted one another.

For it must be observed, that where the plague was in its full force, there indeed the people were very miserable, and the consternation was inexpressible. But a little before it reached even to that place, or presently after it was gone, they were quite another sort of people, and I cannot but

acknowledge that there was too much of that common temper of mankind to be found among us all at that time, namely, to forget the deliverance when the danger is past; but I shall come to speak of that part again.

It must not be forgot here to take some notice of the state of trade during the time of this common calamity; and this with respect to foreign trade, as also to our home trade.

As to foreign trade, there needs little to be said. The trading nations of Europe were all afraid of us; no port of France, or Holland, or Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill terms with the Dutch, and were in a furious war with them, though in a bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Our merchants were accordingly at a full stop, their ships could go nowhere, that is to say, to no place abroad; their manufactures and merchandise, that is to say of our growth, would not be touched abroad; they were as much afraid of our goods as they were of our people; and, indeed, they had reason, for our woollen manufactures are as retentive of infection as human bodies, and if packed up by persons infected, would receive the infection and be as dangerous to the touch as a man would be that was infected; and, therefore, when any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they did take the goods on shore, they always caused the bales to be opened and aired in places appointed for that purpose. But from London, they would not suffer them to come into port, much less to unload their goods upon any terms whatever; and this strictness was especially used with them in Spain and Italy: in Turkey, and the islands of the Arches indeed, as they are called, as well those belonging to the Turks as to the Venetians, they were not so very rigid; in the first there was no obstruction at all, and for ships which were then in the river loading for Italy, that is, for Leghorn and Naples, being denied product, as they call it, went on to Turkey, and were freely admitted to unlade their cargo without any difficulty, only that when they arrived there some of their cargo was not fit for sale in that country, and other parts of it being consigned to merchants at Leghorn, the captains of the ships had no right nor any orders to dispose of the goods, so that great inconveniences followed to the merchants. But this was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required, and

the merchants at Leghorn and Naples having notice given them, sent again from thence to take care of the effects, which were particularly consigned to those ports, and to bring back in other ships such as were improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater; for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report, that one of our ships, having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which were some bales of English cloth, cotton, kerseys and such-like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burnt, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This I believe was in part true, though I do not affirm it; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the infection being so violent in London.

I heard likewise that the plague was carried into those countries by some of our ships, and particularly to the port of Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, belonging to the King of Portugal; and that several persons died of it there, but it was not confirmed.

On the other hand, though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, it is most certain that the plague, as has been said, keeping at first much at that end of the town next Westminster, the merchandising part of the town, such as the city, and the waterside, was perfectly sound, till at least the beginning of July; and the ships in the river till the beginning of August; for, to the 1st of July, there had died but seven within the whole city, and but 60 within the liberties; but one in all the parishes of Stepney, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, and but two in all the eight parishes of Southwark; but it was the same thing abroad, for the bad news was gone over the whole world, that the city of London was infected with the plague; and there was no inquiring there how the infection proceeded, or at which part of the town it was begun or was reached to.

Besides, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the bills grew so high all on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to lessen the report of it, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was, the account which the weekly bills gave in was sufficient; and that there died two thousand to three or four thousand a week, was sufficient

to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very city itself, put the whole world, I say, upon their guard against it.

You may be sure also that the report of these things lost nothing in the carriage; the plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great, as you may observe of what I have said; but the rumour was infinitely greater, and it must not be wondered that our friends abroad, as my brother's correspondents in particular were told there, namely, in Portugal and Italy, where he chiefly traded, that in London there died twenty thousand in a week; that the dead bodies lay unburied by heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, or the sound to look after the sick; that all the kingdom was infected likewise, so that it was an universal malady, such as was never heard of in those parts of the world; and they could hardly believe us when we gave them an account how things really were, and how there was not above one-tenth part of the people dead; that there were five hundred thousand left that lived all the time in the town; that now the people began to walk the streets again, and those who were fled to return; there was no miss of the usual throng of people in the streets, except as every family might miss their relations and neighbours, and the like; I say, they could not believe these things; and if inquiry were now to be made in Naples, or in other cities on the coast of Italy, they would tell you there was a dreadful infection in London so many years ago, in which, as above, there died twenty thousand in a week, &c., just as we have had it reported in London that there was a plague in the city of Naples in the year 1656, in which there died twenty thousand people in a day, of which I have had very good satisfaction that it was utterly false.

But these extravagant reports were very prejudicial to our trade, as well as unjust and injurious in themselves, for it was a long time after the plague was quite over before our trade could recover itself in those parts of the world; and the Flemings and Dutch, but especially the last, made very great advantages of it, having all the market to themselves, and even buying our manufactures in the several parts of England where the plague was not, and carrying them to Holland and Flanders, and from thence transporting them to Spain and to Italy, as if they had been of their own making.

But they were detected sometimes and punished, that is to say, their goods confiscated, and ships also; for if it was true that our manufactures, as well as our people, were infected, and that it was dangerous to touch or to open and receive the smell of them, then those people ran the hazard by that clandestine trade, not only of carrying the contagion into their own country, but also of infecting the nations to whom they traded with those goods; which, considering how many lives might be lost in consequence of such an action, must be a trade that no men of conscience could suffer themselves to be concerned in.

I do not take upon me to say that any harm was done, I mean of that kind, by those people; but I doubt I need not make any such proviso in the case of our own country; for either by our people of London, or by the commerce, which made their conversing with all sorts of people in every county, and of every considerable town, necessary; I say by this means the plague was first or last spread all over the kingdom, as well in London as in all the cities and great towns, especially in the trading manufacturing towns and seaports; so that, first or last, all the considerable places in England were visited more or less, and the kingdom of Ireland in some places, but not so universally. How it fared with the people in Scotland I had no opportunity to inquire.

It is to be observed, that while the plague continued so violent in London, the outports, as they are called enjoyed a very great trade, especially to the adjacent countries, and to our own plantations; for example, the towns of Colchester, Yarmouth, and Hull, on that side of England, exported to Holland and Hamburgh, the manufactures of the adjacent counties for several months after the trade with London was as it were, entirely shut up; likewise the cities of Bristol, and Exeter, with the port of Plymouth, had the like advantage to Spain, to the Canaries, to Guinea, and to the West Indies, and particularly to Ireland; but as the plague spread itself every way after it had been in London to such a degree as it was in August and September, so all or most of those cities and towns were infected first or last, and then trade was, as it were, under a general embargo, or at a full stop, as I shall observe farther when I speak of our home trade.

One thing however must be observed, that as to ships coming in from abroad, as many you may be sure did, some

who were out in all parts of the world a considerable while before, and some who, when they went out, knew nothing of an infection, or, at least, of one so terrible; these came up the river boldly, and delivered their cargoes as they were obliged to do, except just in the two months of August and September, when the weight of the infection lying, as I may say, all below bridge, nobody durst appear in business for a while; but, as this continued but for a few weeks, the homeward bound ships, especially such whose cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an anchor for a time short of the Pool, or fresh water part of the river, even as low as the river Medway, where several of them ran in, and others lay at the Nore, and in the Hope below Gravesend; so that by the latter end of October there was a very great fleet of homeward bound ships to come up, such as the like had not been known for many years.

Two particular trades were carried on by water-carriage all the while of the infection, and that with little or no interruption, very much to the advantage and comfort of the poor distressed people of the city, and those were the coasting trade for corn, and the Newcastle trade for coals.

The first of these was particularly carried on by small vessels from the port of Hull, and other places in the Humber, by which great quantities of corn were brought in from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; the other part of this corn trade was from Lynn in Norfolk, from Wells, and Burnham, and from Yarmouth all in the same county; and the third branch was from the river Medway, and from Milton, Feversham, Margate, and Sandwich, and all the other little places and ports round the cost of Kent and Essex.

There was also a very good trade from the coast of Suffolk, with corn, butter, and cheese. These vessels kept a constant course of trade, and without interruption came up to that market known still by the name of Bear-key, where they supplied the city plentifully with corn, when land carriage began to fail, and when the people began to be sick of coming from many places in the country.

This also was much of it owing to the prudence and conduct of the lord mayor, who took such care to keep the masters and seamen from danger when they came up, causing their corn to be bought off at any time they wanted a market (which, however, was very seldom), and causing the corn-

factors immediately to unlade and deliver the vessels laden with corn, that they had very little occasion to come out of their ships or vessels, the money being always carried on board to them, and put it into a pail of vinegar before it was carried.

The second trade was that of coals from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, without which the city would have been greatly distressed; for not in the streets only, but in private houses and families, great quantities of coal were then burnt, even all the summer long, and when the weather was hottest, which was done by the advice of the physicians. Some, indeed, opposed it, and insisted that to keep the houses and rooms hot was a means to propagate the distemper, which was a fermentation and heat already in the blood; that it was known to spread and increase in hot weather, and abate in cold, and therefore they alleged that all contagious distempers are the worst for heat, because the contagion was nourished and gained strength in hot weather, and was as it were, propagated in heat.

Others said, they granted that heat in the climate might propagate infection, as sultry hot weather fills the air with vermin, and nourishes innumerable numbers and kinds of venomous creatures, which breed in our food, in the plants, and even in our bodies, by the very stench of which infection may be propagated; also, that heat in the air, or heat of weather, as we ordinarily call it, makes bodies relax and faint, exhausts the spirits, opens the pores, and makes us more apt to receive infection or any evil influence, be it from noxious, pestilential vapours, or any other thing in the air; but that the heat of fire, and especially of coal fires, kept in our houses or near us, had quite a different operation, the heat being not of the same kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish but to consume and dissipate all those noxious fumes which the other kind of heat rather exhaled, and stagnated than separated, and burnt up; besides, it was alleged that the sulphureous and nitrous particles that are often found to be in the coal, with that bituminous substance which burns, are all assisting to clear and purge the air, and render it wholesome and safe to breathe in, after the noxious particles (as above) are dispersed and burnt up.

The latter opinion prevailed at that time, and, as I must confess, I think, with good reason, and the experience of the

citizens confirmed it, many houses which had constant fires kept in the rooms having never been infected at all; and I must join my experience to it, for I found the keeping of good fires kept our rooms sweet and wholesome, and I do verily believe made our whole family so, more than would otherwise have been.

But I return to the coals as a trade. It was with no little difficulty that this trade was kept open, and particularly because as we were in an open war with the Dutch at that time, the Dutch capers at first took a great many of our collier ships, which made the rest cautious, and made them to stay to come in fleets together; but after some time the capers were either afraid to take them, or their masters, the States, were afraid they should, and forbade them, lest the plague should be among them, which made them fare the better.

For the security of those northern traders, the coal ships were ordered by my lord mayor not to come up into the Pool above a certain number at a time, and ordered lighters and other vessels, such as the woodmongers, that is, the wharf-keepers, or coal-sellers furnished, to go down and take out the coals as low as Deptford and Greenwich, and some farther down.

Others delivered great quantities of coals in particular places, where the ships could come to the shore, as at Greenwich, Blackwall, and other places, in vast heaps, as if to be kept for sale, but were then fetched away after the ships which brought them were gone; so that the seamen had no communication with the river men, nor so much as came near one another.

Yet all this caution could not effectually prevent the distemper getting among the colliery, that is to say, among the ships, by which a great many seamen died of it; and that which was still worse was, that they carried it down to Ipswich and Yarmouth, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places on the coast; where, especially at Newcastle and at Sunderland, it carried off a great number of people.

The making so many fires as above did indeed consume an unusual quantity of coals; and that upon one or two stops of the ships coming up, whether by contrary weather or by the interruption of enemies, I do not remember, but the price of coals was exceedingly dear, even as high as 4*l.* a chaldron,

but it soon abated when the ships came in, and as afterwards they had a freer passage, the price was very reasonable all the rest of that year.

The public fires which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the city about 200 chaldron of coals a week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great quantity, but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spared; however, as some of the physicians cried them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five days. The fires were ordered thus:

One at the Custom House; one at Billingsgate; one at Queenhithe; and one at the Three Cranes; one in Blackfriars; and one at the gate of Bridewell; one at the corner of Leadenhall-street, and Gracechurch; one at the north, and one at the south gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guildhall, and one at Blackwell hall gate; one at the lord mayor's door in St. Helen's; one at the west entrance into St. Paul's; and one at the entrance into Bow church. I do not remember whether there was any at the City gates, but one at the Bridge foot there was, just by St. Magnus church.

I know some have quarrelled since that at the experiment, and said that there died the more people because of those fires; but I am persuaded those that say so offer no evidence to prove it, neither can I believe it on any account whatever.

It remains to give some account of the state of trade at home in England, during this dreadful time; and particularly as it relates to the manufactures and the trade in the city. At the first breaking out of the infection, there was, as it is easy to suppose, a very great fright among the people, and consequently a general stop of trade, except in provisions and necessaries of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled, and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds, if above one-half, of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, and not of hay or grass; by which means bread was cheap, by reason of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass, but butter and cheese were dear for the same reason; and hay in the market, just beyond Whitechapel bars, was sold at 4*l.* per load; but that affected not the poor. There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts

of fruit, such as apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, grapes, and they were the cheaper because of the wants of the people, but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

But to come to matters of trade. First, foreign exportation being stopped, or at least very much interrupted and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course, which were usually brought for exportation; and, though sometimes merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent, the passages being so generally stopped that the English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation in most parts of England, except in some outports, and even that was soon stopped; for they all had the plague, in their turn. But, though this was felt all over England, yet, what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the city being stopped.

All kinds of handicrafts in the city, &c., tradesmen and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades, but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for; as also of families, whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families; I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess, it is for the honour of the city of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands of those as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed, so that it may be safely averred, that nobody perished for want, at least that the magistrates had any notice given them of.

This stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country would have put the people there to much greater difficulties, but that the master workmen, clothiers, and others, to the uttermost of their stocks and strength, kept on making their goods to keep the poor at work, believing that as soon as

the sickness should abate, they would have a quick demand in proportion to the decay of their trade at that time: but as none but those masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the manufacturing trade in England suffered greatly, and the poor were pinched all over England by the calamity of the city of London only.

It is true that the next year made them full amends by another terrible calamity upon the city; so that the city by one calamity impoverished and weakened the country, and by another calamity, even terrible too of its kind, enriched the country, and made them again amends: for an infinite quantity of household stuff, wearing apparel, and other things, besides whole warehouses filled with merchandize and manufactures, such as come from all parts of England, were consumed in the fire of London, the next year after this terrible visitation: it is incredible what a trade this made all over the whole kingdom, to make good the want, and to supply that loss: so that, in short, all the manufacturing hands in the nation were set on work, and were little enough for several years to supply the market and answer the demands; all foreign markets also were empty of our goods, by the stop which had been occasioned by the plague, and before an open trade was allowed again; and the prodigious demand at home falling in, joined to make a quick vent for all sorts of goods; so that there never was known such a trade all over England for the time, as was in the first seven years after the plague, and after the fire of London.

It remains now, that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to its crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend, Dr Heath, coming to see me the week before, told me, he was sure the violence of it would assuage in a few days; but, when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being 8297 of all diseases, I upraided him with it, and asked him, what he had made his judgment from. His answer, however, was not so much to seek as I thought it would have been. Look you, says he; by the number which are at this time sick and infected, there should have been twenty thousand dead the last week instead of eight thousand, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago; for then it

ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten; and then not above one in five recovered, whereas. I have observed, that now not above two in five miscarry; and observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do; for, though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated; adding, that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis, and was going off; and, accordingly, so it was, for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost two thousand.

It is true, the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than 6460, and the next to that 5720; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster, and more in number, than they used to do; and, indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London? for, according to my friend, there were not fewer than sixty thousand people at that time infected, whereof, as above, 20,477 died, and near forty thousand recovered; whereas, had it been as it was before, fifty thousand of that number would very probably have died, if not more, and fifty thousand more would have sickened; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more; for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased 1843, so that the number dead of the plague was but 2665: and the next week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly, that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but as above, the malignity of the disease abated.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people, whether it is so or not all over the world that is none of my particular business to inquire, but I saw it apparently here, that as, upon the first sight of the infection, they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright; so now, upon this notion spreading, viz., that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was catched, it was not so mortal; and seeing abundance of people who

really fell sick recover again daily, they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much. They not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them, that were running, and consequently contagious, but eat and drank with them; nay, into their houses to visit them; and even, as I was told, into their very chambers were they lay sick.

This I could not see rational. My friend, Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the distemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell sick, but only he alleged that so many of those that fell sick did not die: but I think, that, while many did die, and that at best the distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before; all those things, together with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous mixture with the sick people, and make them as anxious almost to avoid the infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics which the surgeons laid on the swellings, to bring them to break and to run; without which, the danger of death was very great, even to the last; also, the insufferable torment of the swellings, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted, as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no danger, and sadly repented their rashness and folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary conduct of the people end here; for a great many that thus cast off their cautions, suffered more deeply still, and though many escaped, yet many died; and at least, it had this public mischief attending it, that it made the decrease of burials slower than it would otherwise have been; for, as this notion ran like lightning through the city, and the people's heads were possessed with it, even as soon as

the first great decrease in the bills appeared, we found that the two next bills did not decrease in proportion; the reason I take to be the people's running so rashly into danger, giving up all their former cautions and care, and all shyness which they used to practise; depending that the sickness would not reach them, or that, if it did, they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue reserved and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper; terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already; with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no purpose; the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy, and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded, but that the bitterness of death was passed; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them, than to an east wind; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without; neither inquiring of their health, or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew them not to be sound.

This imprudent rash conduct cost a great many their lives, who had with great care and caution shut themselves up, and kept retired as it were from all mankind, and had by that means, under God's providence, been preserved through all the heat of that infection.

This rash and foolish conduct of the people went so far, that the ministers took notice to them of it, and laid before them both the folly and danger of it; and this checked it a little, so that they grew more cautious; but it had another effect, which they could not check, for as the first rumour had spread, not over the city only, but into the country, it had the like effect, and the people were so tired with being so long from London, and so eager to come back, that they

flocked to town without fear or forecast, and began to show themselves in the streets, as if all the danger was over: it was indeed surprising to see it, for though there died still from a thousand to eighteen hundred a week, yet the people flocked to town as if all had been well.

The consequence of this was that the bills increased again four hundred the very first week in November; and, if I might believe the physicians, there were above three thousand fell sick that week, most of them new comers too.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this; I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone into the country as many others did; and finding the plague so decreased in November, that there died but 905 per week of all diseases, he ventured home again; he had in his family ten persons, that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid servant; he had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop, and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in his family, and within about five days they all died, except one; that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices; and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the wintry weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return. There were, indeed, some returns of the distemper, even in the month of December, and the bills increased near a hundred; but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel. And wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden; so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings. Few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some, there was no want of tenants for them.

I wish I could say that, as the city had a new face, so the manners of the people had a new appearance: I doubt not

but there were many that retained a sincere sense of their deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that Sovereign Hand that had protected them in so dangerous a time; it would be very uncharitable to judge otherwise in a city so populous, and where the people were so devout as they were here in the time of the visitation itself; but, except what of this was to be found in particular families and faces, it must be acknowledged that the general practice of the people was just as it was before, and very little difference was to be seen.

Some, indeed, said things were worse, that the morals of the people declined from this very time; that the people, hardened by the danger they had been in, like seamen after a storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened in their vices and immoralities than they were before: but I will not carry it so far neither; it would take up a history of no small length to give a particular of all the gradations by which the course of things in this city came to be restored again, and to run in their own channel as they did before.

Some parts of England were now infected as violently as London had been; the cities of Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places were now visited; and the magistrates of London began to set rules for our conduct as to corresponding with those cities: it is true, we could not pretend to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible to know them asunder, so, after many consultations, the lord mayor and court of aldermen were obliged to drop it: all they could do was to warn and caution the people not to entertain in their houses, or converse with, any people who they knew came from such infected places.

But they might as well have talked to the air, for the people of London thought themselves so plague-free now that they were past all admonitions; they seemed to depend upon it that the air was restored, and that the air was like a man that had had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived that notion that the infection was all in the air, that their was no such thing as contagion from the sick people to the sound; and so strongly did this wimsy prevail among people, that they run altogether promiscuously, sick and well; not the Mahometans, who, prepossessed with the principle of predestination, value nothing of contagion,

let it be in what it will, could be more obstinate than the people of London; they that were perfectly sound, and came out of the wholesome air, as we call it, into the city, made nothing of going into the same houses and chambers, nay, even into the same beds, with those that had the distemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Some, indeed, paid for their audacious boldness with the price of their lives; an infinite number fell sick, and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered, that is to say, they generally recovered; but certainly there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above a thousand or twelve hundred a week, than there was when there died five or six thousand a week; so entirely negligent were the people at that time in the great and dangerous case of health and infection, and so ill were they able to take or except of the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

The people being thus returned, as it were in general, it was very strange to find, that in their inquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away, that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king as the universal heir; upon which we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such as deodands to the lord mayor and court of aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the poor, of whom there were very many. For it is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief, and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague, than now after all was over; yet the distress of the poor was more now, a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were shut; people supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands; whereas, particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Though the health of the city was now very much restored, yet foreign trade did not begin to stir, neither would fo-

reigners admit our ships into their ports for a great while; as for the Dutch, the misunderstandings between our court and them had broken out into a war the year before, so that our trade that way was wholly interrupted; but Spain and Portugal, Italy and Barbary, as also Hamburg, and all the ports in the Baltic, these were all shy of us a great while and would not restore trade with us for many months.

The distemper sweeping away such multitudes, as I have observed, many, if not all, of the out-parishes were obliged to make new burying-grounds, besides that I have mentioned in Bunhill fields, some of which were continued, and remain in use to this day; but others were left off, and which, I confess, I mention with some reflection, being converted into other uses, or built upon afterwards, the dead bodies were disturbed, abused, dug up again, some even before the flesh of them was perished from the bones, and removed like dung or rubbish to other places. Some of those which came within the reach of my observations are as follows:—

First. A piece of ground beyond Goswell-street, near Mount mill, being some of the remains of the old lines or fortifications of the city, where abundance were buried promiscuously from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city. This ground, as I take it, was since made a physic garden, and after that, has been built upon.

Second. A piece of ground just over the Black Ditch, as it was then called, at the end of Holloway-lane, in Shoreditch parish; it has been since made a yard for keeping hogs and for other ordinary uses, but is quite out of use as a burying ground.

Third. The upper end of Hand-alley, in Bishopsgate street, which was then a green field, and was taken in particularly for Bishopsgate parish, though many of the carts out of the city brought their dead thither also, particularly out of the parish of St. Allhallows-on-the-wall: this place I cannot mention without much regret. It was, as I remember, about two or three years after the plague was ceased that Sir Robert Clayton came to be possessed of the ground; it was reported, how true I know not, that it fell to the king for want of heirs, all those who had any right to it being carried off by the pestilence, and that Sir Robert Clayton obtained a grant of it from King Charles II. But however

he came by it, certain it is the ground was let out to build on, or built upon by his order. The first house built upon it was a large fair house, still standing, which faces the street, or way, now called Hand-alley, which, though called an alley, is as wide as a street: the houses in the same row with that house northward are built on the very same ground where the poor people were buried, and the bodies, on opening the ground for the foundations, were dug up, some of them remaining so plain to be seen that the women's sculls were distinguished by their long hair, and of others the flesh was not quite perished; so that the people began to exclaim loudly against it, and some suggested that it might endanger a return of the contagion: after which the bones and bodies, as fast as they came at them, were carried to another part of the same ground, and thrown altogether into a deep pit, dug on purpose, which now is to be known, in that it is not built on, but is a passage to another house at the upper end of Rose-alley, just against the door of a meeting-house, which has been built there many years since; and the ground is palisadoed off from the rest of the passage in a little square; there lie the bones and remains of near two thousand bodies, carried by the dead-carts to their grave in that one year.

Fourth. Besides this, there was a piece of ground in Moorfields, by the going into the street which is now called Old Bethlem, which was enlarged much, though not wholly taken in, on the same occasion.

N.B. The author of this journal lies buried in that very ground, being at his own desire, his sister having been buried there a few years before.

Fifth. Stepney parish, extending itself from the east part of London to the north, even to the very edge of Shoreditch churchyard, had a piece of ground taken in to bury their dead, close to the said churchyard; and which, for that very reason, was left open, and is since, I suppose, taken into the same churchyard: and they had also two other burying-places in Spitalfields, one, were since a chapel or tabernacle has been built for ease to this great parish, and another in Petticoat-lane.

There were no less than five other grounds made use of for the parish of Stepney at that time; one where now stands the parish church of St. Paul, Shadwell, and the other

where now stands the parish church of St. John, at Wapping, both which had not the names of parishes at that time, but were belonging to Stepney parish.

I could name many more, but these coming within my particular knowledge, the circumstance I thought made it of use to record them: from the whole, it may be observed that they were obliged in this time of distress to take in new burying-grounds in most of the out-parishes for laying the prodigious numbers of people which died in so short a space of time; but why care was not taken to keep those places separate from ordinary uses, that so the bodies might rest undisturbed, that I cannot answer for, and must confess I think it was wrong; who were to blame I know not.

I should have mentioned, that the quakers had at that time also a burying-ground set apart to their use, and which they still make use of, and they had also a particular dead-cart to fetch their dead from their houses; and the famous Solomon Eagle, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the plague as a judgment, and run naked through the streets, telling the people that it was come upon them to punish them for their sins, had his own wife died the very next day of the plague, and was carried, one of the first, in the quaker's dead-cart to their new burying-ground.

I might have thronged this account with many more remarkable things which occurred in the time of the infection, and particularly what passed between the lord mayor and the court, which was then at Oxford, and what directions were from time to time received from the government for their conduct on this critical occasion. But really the court concerned themselves so little, and that little they did was of so small import, that I do not see it of much moment to mention any part of it here, except that of appointing a monthly fast in the city, and the sending the royal charity to the relief of the poor; both which I have mentioned before.

Great was the reproach thrown upon those physicians who left their patients during the sickness; and now they came to town again, nobody cared to employ them; they were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up on their doors, and written, Here is a doctor to be let! So that several of those physicians were fain for awhile to sit still and look about them, or at least remove their dwellings and set up in new places, and among new acquaintance. The like was the

case with the clergy, whom the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them; setting upon the church door, Here is a pulpit to be let; or, sometimes, To be sold; which was worse.

It was not the least of our misfortunes that, with our infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the spirit of strife and contention, slander and reproach, which was really the great troubler of the nation's peace before: it was said to be the remains of the old animosities which had so lately involved us all in blood and disorder. But as the late act of indemnity had lain asleep the quarrel itself, so the government had recommended family and personal peace, upon all occasions, to the whole nation.

But it could not be obtained, and particularly after the ceasing of the plague in London, when any one had seen the condition which the people had been in, and how they caressed one another at that time, promised to have more charity for the future, and to raise no more reproaches: I say, any one that had seen them then would have thought they would have come together with another spirit at last. But, I say, it could not be obtained; the quarrel remained, the church and the presbyterians were incompatible: as soon as the plague was removed, the dissenting ousted ministers, who had supplied the pulpits which were deserted by the incumbents, retired; they could expect no other but that they should immediately fall upon them and harras them with their penal laws, accept their preaching while they were sick, and persecute them as soon as they were recovered again; this even we, that were of the church, thought was hard, and could by no means approve of it.

But it was the government, and we could say nothing to hinder it; we could only say it was not our doing and we could not answer for it.

On the other hand, the dissenters reproaching those ministers of the Church with going away, and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had most need of comfort, and the like; this we could by no means approve; for all men have not the same faith, and the same courage, and the Scripture commands us to judge the most favourably, and according to charity.

A plague is a formidable enemy, and is armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist, or pre-

pared to stand the shock against. It is very certain that a great many of the clergy, who were in circumstances to do it, withdrew, and fled for the safety of their lives; but it is true, also, that a great many of them stayed, and many of them fell in the calamity, and in the discharge of their duty.

It is true some of the dissenting turned out ministers stayed, and their courage is to be commended and highly valued; but these were not abundance. It cannot be said that they all stayed, and that none retired into the country, any more than it can be said of the church clergy that they all went away; neither did all those that went away go without substituting curates and others in their places to do the offices needful, and to visit the sick as far as it was practicable; so that, upon the whole, an allowance of charity might have been made on both sides, and we should have considered that such a time as this of 1665 is not to be paralleled in history, and that it is not the stoutest courage that will always support men in such cases. I had not said this, but had rather chosen to record the courage and religious zeal of those of both sides, who did hazard themselves for the service of the poor people in their distress, without remembering that any failed in their duty on either side, but the want of temper among us has made the contrary to this necessary; some that stayed, not only boasting too much of themselves, but reviling those that fled, branding them with cowardice, deserting their flocks, and acting the part of the hireling, and the like. I recommend it to the charity of all good people to look back, and reflect duly upon the terrors of the time, and whoever does so will see that it is not an ordinary strength that could support it; it was not like appearing in the head of an army, or charging a body of horse in the field; but it was charging death itself on his pale horse: to stay was indeed to die, and it could be esteemed nothing less; especially as things appeared at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, and as there was reason to expect them at that time; for no man expected, and I dare say, believed, that the distemper would take so sudden a turn as it did, and fall, immediately, two thousand in a week, when there was such a prodigious number of people sick at that time as it was known there was; and then it was that many shifted away that had stayed most of the time before.

Besides, if God gave strength to some more than to others, was it to boast of their ability to abide the stroke, and upbraid

those that had not the same gift and support, or ought they not rather to have been humble and thankful, if they were rendered more useful than their brethren?

I think it ought to be recorded to the honour of such men, as well clergy as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, magistrates, and officers of every kind, as also all useful people, who ventured their lives in discharge of their duty, as most certainly all such as stayed did to the last degree, and several of these kinds did not only venture, but lost their lives on that sad occasion.

I was once making a list of all such, I mean of all those professions and employments who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their duty; but it was impossible for a private man to come at a certainty in the particulars. I only remember, that there died sixteen clergymen, two aldermen, five physicians, thirteen surgeons, within the city and liberties, before the beginning of September. But this being, as I said before, the crisis and extremity of the infection, it can be no complete list. As to inferior people, I think there died six and forty constables and headboroughs in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel; but I could not carry my list on, for when the violent rage of the distemper, in September, came upon us, it drove us out of all measure. Men did then no more die by tale and by number; they might put out a weekly bill, and call them seven or eight thousand, or what they pleased; it is certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps; that is to say, without account. And if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I, though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had; I say, if we may believe them, there was not many less buried those first three weeks in September, than twenty thousand per week; however the others aver the truth of it, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account; seven or eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read to be able to say that everything is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

Upon all these accounts, I say, I could wish, when we were recovered, our conduct had been more distinguished for charity and kindness, in remembrance of the past calamity, and not

so much in valuing ourselves upon our boldness in staying, as if all men were cowards that fly from the hand of God, or that those who stay do not sometimes owe their courage to their ignorance, and despising the hand of their Maker which is a criminal kind of desperation, and not a true courage.

I cannot but leave it upon record, that the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, lord-mayor's and sheriff's-men, also parish officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties, in general, with as much courage as any, and, perhaps, with more; because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with the infection. But then it must be added too, that a great number of them died; indeed, it was scarcely possible it should be otherwise.

I have not said one word here about the physic or preparations that were ordinarily made use of on this terrible occasion; I mean we that frequently went abroad up and down the streets, as I did; much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already. It may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice; and which, being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

One thing I could not help observing, what befel one of the quacks, who published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which, whoever kept about them, should never be infected, or liable to infection. This man, who, we may reasonably suppose did not go abroad without some of this excellent preservative in his pocket, yet was taken by the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the physic-haters, or physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr Heath; but yet I must acknowledge I made use of little or nothing, except, as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent, to have ready in case I met with anything of offensive smells, or went too near any burying place or dead body.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the spirits

high and hot with cordials, and wine, and such things, and which, as I observed, one learned physician used himself so much to, as that he could not leave them off when the infection was quite gone, and so became a sot for all his life after.

I remember my friend the doctor used to say, that there was a certain set of drugs and preparations, which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an infection; out of which, or with which, physicians might make an infinite variety of medicines, as the ringers of bells make several hundred different rounds of music, by the changing and order of sound but in six bells; and that all these preparations shall be really very good; Therefore, said he, I do not wonder that so vast a throng of medicines is offered in the present calamity; and almost every physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his judgment or experience guides him; but, says my friend, let all the prescriptions of all the physicians in London be examined; and it will be found that they are all compounded of the same things, with such variations only as the particular fancy of the doctor leads him to; so that, says he, every man, judging a little of his own constitution and manner of his living, and circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own medicines out of the ordinary drugs and preparations. Only that, says he, some recommend one thing as most sovereign, and some another; some, says he, think that Pill. Ruff., which is called itself the anti-pestilential pill, is the best preparation that can be made; others, think that Venice Treacle is sufficient of itself to resist the contagion, and I, says he, think as both these think, viz., that the first is good to take beforehand, to prevent it, and the last, if touched, to expel it. According to this opinion, I several times took Venice Treacle, and a sound sweat upon it, and thought myself as well fortified against the infection as any one could be fortified by the power of physic.

As for quackery and mountebank, of which the town was so full, I listened to none of them, and observed, often since, with some wonder, that, for two years after the plague, I scarcely ever heard one of them about the town. Some fancied they were all swept away in the infection to a man, and were for calling it a particular mark of God's vengeance upon them, for leading the poor people into the pit of des-

truction, mérely for the lucre of a little money they got by them; but I cannot go that length neither; that abundance of them died is certain—many of them came within the reach of my own knowledge; but that all of them were swept off, I much question. I believe, rather, they fled into the country, and tried their practices upon the people there, who were in apprehension of the infection before it came among them.

This, however, is certain, not a man of them appeared, for a great while, in or about London. There were, indeed, several doctors, who published bills recommending their several physical preparations for cleansing the body, as they call it, after the plague, and needful, as they said, for such people to take, who had been visited, and had been cured; whereas, I must own, I believe that it was the opinion of the most eminent physicians of that time, that the plague was itself a sufficient purge; and that those who escaped the infection needed no physic to cleanse their bodies of any other things; the running sores, the tumours, &c., which were broken and kept open by the direction of the physicians, having sufficiently cleansed them; and that all other distempers, and causes of distempers, were effectually carried off that way; and as the physicians gave this as their opinion, wherever they came, the quacks got little business.

There were, indeed, several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the plague, and which, whether they were contrived to fright and disorder the people, as some imagined, I cannot say, but sometimes we were told the plague would return by such a time; and the famous Solomon Eagle, the naked Quaker I have mentioned, prophesied evil tidings every day; and several others telling us that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and the sorer and severer strokes were yet behind: had they stopped there, or had they descended to particulars, and told us that the city should be the next year destroyed by fire; then, indeed, when we had seen it come to pass, we should not have been to blame to have paid more than common respect to their prophetic spirits, at least, we should have wondered at them, and have been more serious in our inquiries after the meaning of it, and whence they had the foreknowledge, but as they generally told us of a relapse into the plague, we have had no concern since that about them; yet, by those frequent clamours, we were all kept with some kind of apprehensions constantly

upon us; and, if any died suddenly, or if the spotted fevers at any time increased, we were presently alarmed; much more if the number of the plague increased; for, to the end of the year there were always between two and three hundred of the plague. On any of these occasions, I say, we were alarmed anew.

Those who remember the city of London before the fire, must remember, that there was then no such place as that we now call Newgate Market; but, in the middle of the street, which is now called Blow Bladder-street, and which had its name from the butchers, who used to kill and dress their sheep there (and who, it seems had a custom to blow up their meat with pipes, to make it look thicker and fatter than it was, and were punished there for it by the Lord Mayor), I say, from the end of the street towards Newgate, there stood two long rows of shambles for the selling meat.

It was in those shambles, that two persons falling down dead as they were buying meat, gave rise to a rumour that the meat was all infected, which, though it might affright the people, and spoiled the market for two or three days, yet it appeared plainly afterwards, that there was nothing of truth in the suggestion: but nobody can account for the possession of fear when it takes hold of the mind However, it pleased God, by the continuing of the winter weather, so to restore the health of the city, that by February following, we reckoned the distemper quite ceased, and then we were not easily frighted again.

There was still a question among the learned, and at first perplexed the people a little; and that was, in what manner to purge the houses and goods where the plague had been, and how to render them habitable again which had been left empty during the time of the plague; abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind, some of another; in which the people who listened to them put themselves to a great, and, indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expense; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things, in their rooms, did as well as the best; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste, and at all hazards, found little or no

inconvenience in their houses, nor in their goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent, cautious people did enter into some measures for airing and sweetening their houses, and burnt perfumes, incense, benjamin, resin, and sulphur, in their rooms close shut up, and then let the air carry it all out with a blast of gunpowder; others caused large fires to be made all day and all night, for several days and nights. By the same token that two or three were pleased to set their houses on fire, and so effectually sweetened them by burning them down to the ground; as particularly one at Ratcliff, one in Holborn, and one at Westminster, besides two or three that were set on fire, but the fire was happily got out again before it went far enough to burn down the houses; and one citizen's servant, I think it was in Thames Street, carried so much gunpowder into his master's house, for clearing it of the infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the roof of the house. But the time was not fully come that the city was to be purged with fire, nor was it far off, for within nine months more I saw it all lying in ashes; when, as some of our quaking philosophers pretend, the seeds of the plague were entirely destroyed, and not before; a notion too ridiculous to speak of here, since had the seeds of the plague remained in the houses, not to be destroyed but by fire, how has it been that they have not since broken out? seeing all those buildings in the suburbs and liberties, all in the great parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Cripplegate, and St. Giles's, where the fire never came, and where the plague raged with the greatest violence, remain still in the same condition they were in before.

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain that those people who were more than ordinarily cautious of their health, did take particular directions for what they called seasoning of their houses, and abundance of costly things were consumed on that account, which, I cannot but say, not only seasoned those houses as they desired, but filled the air with very grateful and wholesome smells, which others had the share of the benefit of, as well as those who were at the expenses of them.

Though the poor came to town very precipitantly as I have said, yet, I must say, the rich made no such haste. The

men of business, indeed, came up, but many of them did not bring their families to town till the spring came on, and that they saw reason to depend upon it that the plague would not return.

The court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas; but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon, and had employment under the administration, did not come so soon.

I should have taken notice here that, notwithstanding the violence of the plague in London, and other places, yet it was very observable that it was never on board the fleet, and yet for some time, there was a strange press in the river, and even in the streets for seamen to man the fleet. But it was in the beginning of the year, when the plague was scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the city where they usually press for seamen; and though a war with the Dutch was not at all grateful to the people at that time, and the seamen went with a kind of reluctancy into the service, and many complained of being dragged into it by force, yet it proved, in the event, a happy violence to several of them, who had probably perished in the general calamity, and who, after the summer service was over, though they had cause to lament the desolation of their families, who, when they came back, were many of them in their graves; yet they had room to be thankful that they were carried out of the reach of it, though so much against their wills. We, indeed, had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted; but we lost a great many men and some ships; but as I observed, the plague was not in the fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples historically; I mean of the thankfulness to God, our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the deliverance were, indeed, very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already; and, particularly, the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop to the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have done it; the contagion despised all medicine, death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair, every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, Vain was the help of man; I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself; and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died; and the very first week's bill decreased 1843, a vast number indeed.

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning, when the weekly bill came out: it might have been perceived in their conntenances, that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and asked how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated; some would return, when they said good news, and ask, What good news? And when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost two thousand, they would cry out, God be praised; and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was as it were life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

I must confess myself to have been very much dejected just before this happened; for the prodigious numbers that were taken sick the week or two before, besides those that died was such, and the lamentations were so great everywhere, that a man must have seemed to have acted even against his reason if he had so much as expected to escape; and as there was hardly a house but mine in all my neighbourhood but what was infected, so had it gone on, it would not have been long that there would have been any more neighbours to

be infected; indeed it is hardly credible what dreadful havoc the last three weeks had made; for if I might believe the person whose calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than thirty thousand people dead, and near one hundred thousand fallen sick in the three weeks I speak of; for the number that sickened was surprising, indeed, it was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before, sunk under it now.

In the middle of their distress, when the condition of the city of London was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by his immediate hand, to disarm this enemy; the poison was taken out of the sting; it was wonderful: even the physicians themselves were surprised at it: wherever they visited they found their patients better, either they had sweated kindly, or the tumours were broke, or the carbuncles went down, and the inflammations round them changed colour, or the fever was gone, or the violent headache was assuaged, or some good symptom was in the case; so that, in a few days everybody was recovering; whole families that were infected and down, that had ministers praying with them, and expected death every hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

Nor was this by any new medicine found out, or new method of cure discovered, or by any experience in the operation, which the physicians or surgeons attained to; but it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us; and let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying what they please, it is no enthusiasm. It was acknowledged, at that time, by all mankind. The disease was enervated, and its malignity spent, and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker; those physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it.

If I should say that this is a visible summons to us all to thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history; making

myself a teacher, instead of giving my observations of things; and this restrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwise do; but if ten lepers were healed, and but one returned to give thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself.

Nor will I deny but there were abundance of people who, to all appearance were very thankful at that time: for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinarily long affected with it; but the impression was so strong at that time that it could not be resisted—no, not by the worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street that were strangers and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, "Lord, what an alteration is here! Why, last week I came along here, and hardly anybody was to be seen." Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, "'Tis all wonderful; 'tis all a dream." "Blessed be God," says a third man, "and let us give thanks to him, for 'tis all his own doing." Human help and human skill were at an end. These were all strangers to one another, but such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets, giving God thanks for their deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed, we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapt round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance; and I should wrong them very much, if I should not acknowledge, that I believe many of them were really thankful; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red sea, and looked back and saw the

Egyptians overwhelmed in the water; viz., "That they sang his praise, but they soon forgot his works."

I can go no farther here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasing work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitious year, therefore, with a coarse but a sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written;—

A dreadful plague in London was,
  In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousand souls
  Away; yet I alive!

H. F.

THE END OF THE HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE.

AN

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

OF THE

GREAT and TERRIBLE

FIRE of LONDON,

Sept. 2nd 1666:

* *This Narrative is not written by Defoe, but is inserted here as a suitable sequel to his account of the "Plague." It is taken from the "City Remembrancer,"* 2 vols., 8vo., *a scarce work, published in London,* 1768.

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HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

OF

THE FIRE OF LONDON.

No sooner was the plague so abated in London that the inhabitants began to return to their habitations, than a most dreadful fire broke out in the city, and raged as if it had commission to devour everything that was in its way,. On the second of September, 1666, this dismal fire broke out at a baker's shop in Pudding-lane by Fish-street, in the lower part of the city, near Thames-street, (among rotten wooden houses ready to take fire, and full of combustible goods) in Billinsgate-ward; which ward in a few hours was laid in ashes. It began in the dead of the night, and the darkness very much increased the confusion and horror of the surprising calamity: when it had made havoc of some houses, it rushed down the hill towards the bridge; crossed Thames-street, invaded St. Magnus church at the bridge foot, and though that church was so great, yet it was not a sufficient barricado against this merciless conqueror; but having scaled and taken this fort, it shot flames with so much the greater advantage into all places round about, and a great building of houses upon the bridge is quickly thrown down to the ground; there, being stayed in its course at the bridge, the fire marched back through the city again, and ran along, with great noise and violence, through Thames-street, westward, where, having such combustible matter to feed on, and such a fierce wind upon its back, it prevailed with little resistance, unto the astonishment of the beholders. The fire is soon taken notice of, though in the midst of the night: *Fire! Fire! Fire!* doth resound through the streets; many start out of their sleep, look out of their windows; some dress themselves, and run to the place. The citizens affrighted and amazed, delayed the use of timely remedies; and what added to the misfortune, was, the people neglecting

their houses, and being so fatally set on the hasty removing of their goods, which were, notwithstanding, devoured by the nimble increase of the flames. A raging east wind fomented it to an incredible degree, and in a moment raised the fire from the bottoms to the tops of the houses, and scattered prodigious flakes in all places, which were mounted so vastly high in the air, as if heaven and earth were threatened with the same conflagration. The fury soon became insuperable against the arts of men and power of engines; and beside the dismal scenes of flames, ruin and desolation, there appeared the most killing sight in the distracted looks of the citizens, the wailings of miserable women, the cries of poor children, and decripid old people; with all the marks of confusion and despair. No man that had the sense of human miseries could unconcernedly behold the dismal ravage and destruction made in one of the noblest cities in the world.

The lord mayor of the city comes with his officers; what a confusion there is!—counsel is taken away; and London, so famous for wisdom and dexterity, can now find neither brains nor hands to prevent its ruin: the decree was gone forth, London must now fall: and who can prevent it? No wonder, when so many pillars are removed, the building tumbles. The fire gets the mastery, and burns dreadfully, by the force of the wind; it spreads quickly; and goes on with such force and rage, overturning all so furiously, that the whole city is brought into jeopardy and desolation.

> ———Fire commission'd by the winds,
> Begins on sheds, but, rolling in a round,
> On palaces returns. DRYDEN.

That night most of the Londoners had taken their last sleep in their houses; they little thought it would be so when they went into their beds: they did not in the least expect, that when the doors of their ears were unlocked, and the casements of their eyes were opened in the morning, to hear of such an enemy invading the city, and that they should see him with such fury enter the doors of their houses, break into every room, and look out at their windows with such a threatening countenance.

That which made the ruin more dismal was, that it began on the Lord's Day morning; never was there the like Sabbath in London; some churches were in flames that day; God seemed to come down and preach himself in them, as he did in Sinai

when the mount burned with fire; such warm preaching those churches never had: in other churches ministers were preaching their farewell sermons; and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment: instead of a holy rest which Christians had taken that day, there was a tumultuous hurrying about the streets towards the place that burned, and more tumultuous hurrying upon the spirits of those that sat still, and had only the notice of the ear, of the strange and quick spreading of the fire.

Now the trained bands are up in arms, watching at every quarter for outlandishmen, because of the general fears and rumours that fire-balls were thrown into houses by several of them, to help on and provoke the too furious flames. Now goods are moved hastily from the lower parts of the city, and the body of the people begins to retire and draw upward. Yet some hopes were retained on the Sunday that the fire would be extinguished, especially by those who lived in remote parts; they could scarce imagine that the fire a mile off could reach their houses. All means to stop it proved ineffectual; the wind was so high, that flakes of fire and burning matter were carried across several streets, and spread the conflagration everywhere.

But the evening draws on, and now the fire is more visible and dreadful; instead of the black curtains of the night which used to spread over the city, now the curtains are yellow; the smoke that arose from the burning part seemed like so much flame in the night, which being blown upon the other parts by the wind, the whole city, at some distance, seemed to be on fire. Now hopes begin to sink, and a general consternation seizeth upon the spirits of the people: little sleep is taken in London this night; some are at work to quench the fire, others endeavour to stop its course, by pulling down houses; but all to no purpose; if it be a little allayed, or put to a stand, in some places, it quickly recruits, and recovers its force: it leaps, and mounts, and makes the more furious onset, drives back all opposers, snatches the weapons out of their hands, seizes upon the water-houses and engines, and makes them unfit for service. Some are upon their knees in the night, pouring out tears before the Lord, interceding for poor London in the day of its calamity; yet none can prevail to reverse that doom, which is gone forth against the city, the fire hath received its commission, and all attempts to hinder it are in vain.

Sunday night the fire had got as far as Garlick-hithe in Thames-street, and had crept up into Cannon-street, and levelled it with

the ground, and still is making forward by the water-side, and upward to the brow of the hill on which the city was built.

On Monday, Gracechurch-street is all in flames, with Lombard street on the left, and part of Fenchurch-street on the right, the fire working (though not so fast) against the wind that way: before it, were pleasant and stately houses; behind it, ruinous and desolate heaps. The burning then was in fashion of a bow; a dreadful bow it was! such as few eyes had ever seen before!

Now the flames break in upon Cornhill, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the tram of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from houses to prevent its spreading, and so they lick the whole streets as they go; they mount up to the tops of the highest houses, they descend down to the bottom of the lowest cellars; they march along both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise as never was heard in the city of London; no stately buildings so great as to resist their fury: the Royal Exchange itself, the glory of the merchants, is now invaded, and when once the fire was entered, how quickly did it run through the galleries, filling them with flames; then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giveth forth flaming vollies, and filleth the court with fire: by and bye down fall all the kings upon their faces, and the greatest part of the building upon them, (the founder's statue only remaining) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing.

September the third, the Exchange was burnt, and in three days almost all the city within the walls: the people having none to conduct them right, could do nothing to resist it, but stand and see their houses burn without remedy; the engines being presently out of order and useless!

Then! then! the city did shake indeed! and the inhabitants did tremble! they flew away in great amazement from their houses, lest the flames should devour them. Rattle! rattle! rattle! was the noise which the fire struck upon the ear round about, as if there had been a thousand iron chariots beating upon the stones; and if you turned your eyes to the opening of the streets where the fire was come, you might see in some places whole streets at once in flames, that issued forth as if they had been so many forges from the opposite windows, and which folding together united into one great volume throughout the whole street; and then you might see the houses tumble, tumble,

tumble, from one end of the street to the other, with a great crash! leaving the foundations open to the view of the heavens.

Now fearfulness and terror doth surprise all the citizens of London; men were in a miserable hurry, full of distraction and confusions; they had not the command of their own thoughts, to reflect and enquire what was fit and proper to be done. It would have grieved the heart of an unconcerned person, to see the rueful looks, the pale cheeks, the tears trickling down from the eyes (where the greatness of sorrow and amazement could give leave for such a vent) the smiting of the breast, the wringing of the hands; to hear the sighs and groans, the doleful and weeping speeches of the distressed citizens, when they were bringing forth their wives (some from their child-bed) and their little ones (some from their sick beds) out of their houses, and sending them into the fields, with their goods.—Now the hope of London is gone; their heart is sunk: Now there is a general remove in the city, and that in a greater hurry than before the plague; their goods being in greater danger by the fire, than their persons were by the pestilence. Scarcely are some returned, but they must remove again; and not as before; now, without any more hopes of ever returning and living in those houses any more. The streets were crowded with people and carts, to carry what goods they could get out; they who were most active and had most money to pay carriage at exorbitant prices, saved much, the rest lost almost all. Carts, drays, coaches, and horses, as many as could have entrance into the city were laden, and any money is given for help; five, ten, twenty, thirty pounds for a cart, to bear forth to the fields some choice things which were ready to be consumed; and some of the countrymen had the conscience to accept the prices which the citizens did offer in their extremity. Now casks of wine and oil, and other commodities, tumbled along, and the owners shove as much as they can toward the gates: every one became a porter to himself and scarcely a back, either of man or woman, but had a burden on it in the streets. It was very melancholy to see such throngs of poor citizens coming in and going forth from the unburnt parts, heavy loaden, with pieces of their goods, but more heavy loaden with grief and sorrow of heart; so that it is wonderful they did not quite sink down under their burdens.

Monday night was a dreadful night! When the wings of the night had shadowed the light of the heavenly bodies, there was no darkness of night in London, for the fire shines now about

with a fearful blaze, which yielded such light in the streets as it had been the sun at noon-day. The fire having wrought backward strangely against the wind to Billingsgate, &c., along Thames-street, eastward, runs up the hill to Tower-street; and having marched on from Gracechurch-street, maketh farther progress in Fenchurch-street; and having spread its rage beyond Queenhithe in Thames-street, westward, mounts up from the water-side through Dowgate and Old Fish-street into Watling-street; but the great fury was in the broader streets; in the midst of the night it came into Cornhill, and laid it in the dust, and running along by the Stocks, there meets with another fire which came down Threadneedle-street, a little farther with another which came up Walbrook; a little farther with another which comes up Bucklersbury; and all these four meeting together, break into one of the corners of Cheapside, with such a dazzling glare, burning heat, and roaring noise, by the falling of so many houses together, that was very amazing! and though it was somewhat stopped in its swift course at Mercer's chapel, yet with great force, in a while it burns through it, and then with great rage proceedeth forward in Cheapside.

On Tuesday, was the fire burning up the very bowels of London; Cheapside is all in a light fire in a few hours' time; many fires meeting there as in centre; from a Soper-lane, Bow-lane, Bread-street, Friday-street, and Old Change, the fire comes up almost together, and breaks furiously into the broad street, and most of that side the way was together in flames: a dreadful spectacle! and then, partly by the fire which came down from Mercer's chapel, partly by the fall of the houses cross the way, the other side is quickly kindled, and doth not stand long after it.

Now the fire gets into Blackfriars, and so continues its course by the water, and makes up toward St. Paul's church on that side, and Cheapside fire besets the great building on this side; and the church, though all of stone outward, though naked of houses about it, and though so high above all buildings in the city, yet within awhile doth yield to the violent assaults of the all-conquering flames, and strangely takes fire at the top: now the lead melts and runs down, as if it had been snow before the sun; and the great beams and massy stones, with a hideous noise, fell on the pavement, and break through into Faith church underneath; and great flakes of stone scale and peel off strangely from the side of the walls: the conqueror having got this high ort, darts its flames round about; now Paternoster-row, New-

gate-street, the Old Bailey, and Ludgate-hill, have submitted themselves to the devouring fire, which, with wonderful speed rush down the hill, into Fleet-street. Now Cheapside, fire marcheth along Ironmonger-lane, Old-jury, Laurence-lane, Milk-street, Wood-street, Gutter-lane, Foster-lane; now it comes along Lothbury, Cateaton-street, &c. From Newgate-street it assaults Christ church, conquers that great building, and burns through St. Martins-le-grand toward Aldersgate; and all so furiously as it would not leave a house standing.

Terrible flakes of fire mount up to the sky, and the yellow smoke of London ascendeth up towards heaven like the smoke of a great furnace; a smoke so great as darkeneth the sun at noon-day; if at any time the sun peeped forth it looked red like blood: the cloud of smoke was so great, that travellers did ride at noon-day some miles together in the shadow thereof, though there were no other clouds beside to be seen in the sky.

If Monday night was dreadful, Tuesday night was much more so, when far the greatest part of the city was consumed: many thousands, who, on Saturday had houses convenient in the city, both for themselves and to entertain others, have not where to lay their heads; and the fields are the only receptacle they can find for themselves and their few remaining goods: most of the late inhabitants lie all night in the open air, with no other canopy over them but that of the heavens. The fire is still making toward them, and threatening the suburbs. It was amazing to see how it had spread itself several miles in compass: among other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view, for several hours after the fire had taken it, without flames (possibly because the timber was such solid oak) in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass.

On Wednesday morning, when people expected the suburbs would be burnt as well as the city, and with speed were preparing their flight, as well as they could with their luggage, into the countries and neighbouring villages; then the Lord had pity upon poor London: the wind is hushed; the commission of the fire is withdrawing, and it burns so gently, even when it meets with no opposition, that it was not hard to be quenched, in many places, with a few hands; an angel came which had power over fire.* The citizens began to gather a little heart and encouragement in their endeavours to quench the fire. A check it had in Leaden-

* Rev. xiv. 18.

hall by that great building: it had a stop in Bishopsgate-street, Fenchurch-street, Lime-street, Mark-lane, and toward the Tower; one means (under God) was the blowing up houses with gunpowder. It is stayed in Lothbury, Broad-street, and Coleman-street; toward the gates it burnt, but not with any great violence; at the Temple also it staid, and in Holborn, where it had got no great footing; and when once the fire was got under, it was kept under: and on Thursday, the flames were extinguished.

Few could take much sleep for divers nights together, when the fire was burning in the streets, and burning down the houses, lest their persons should have been consumed with their substance and habitations. But on Wednesday night, when the people, late of London, now of the fields, hoped to get a little rest on the ground where they had spread their beds, a more dreadful fear falls upon them than they had before, through a rumour that the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the fire: they were now naked, weak, and in ill condition to defend themselves; and the hearts, especially of the females, do quake and tremble, and are ready to die within them; yet many citizens having lost their houses, and almost all they had, are fired with rage and fury; and they began to stir up themselves like lions, or bears bereaved of their whelps. Now, arm! arm! arm! doth resound through the fields and suburbs with a great noise. We may guess the distress and perplexity of the people this night; but it was somewhat alleviated when the falseness of the alarm was discovered.

Thus fell great London, that ancient and populous city! London! which was the queen city of the land; and as famous as most cities in the world! and yet how is London departed like smoke, and her glory laid in the dust! How is her destruction come, which no man thought of, and her desolation in a moment! How do the nations about gaze and wonder! How doth the whole land tremble at her fall! How do her citizens droop and hang down their heads, her women and virgins weep, and sit in the dust! Oh! the paleness that now sits upon the cheeks! the astonishment and confusion that covers the face, the dismal apprehensions that arise in the minds of most, concerning the dreadful consequences which are likely to be of this fall of London! How is the pride of London stained, her beauty spoiled; her arm broken, and her strength departed! her riches almost gone, and her treasures so much consumed!—every one is sensible of the stroke. Never was England in greater danger of being

made a prey to a foreign power, than after the firing and fall of the city, which had the strength and treasure of the nation in it. How is London ceased, that rich, that joyous city! One corner, indeed, is left; but more than as many houses as were within the walls, are turned into ashes.

The merchants now have left the Royal Exchange; the buyers and sellers have now forsaken the streets: Gracechurch-street, Cornhill, Cheapside, Newgate-market, and the like places, which used to have throngs of traffickers, now are become empty of inhabitants; and instead of the stately houses which stood there last summer, they lie this winter in ruinous heaps. The glory of London is fled away like a bird; the trade of London is shattered and broken to pieces: her delights also are vanished, and pleasant things laid waste: now there is no chanting to the sound of the viol, nor dancing to the sweet music of instruments; no drinking wine in bowls, and stretching upon beds of lust; no excess of wine and banqueting; no feasts in halls; no amorous looks and wanton dalliances; no rustling silks and costly dresses; these things at that place are at an end. The houses for God's worship (which formerly were bulwarks against fire, partly through the walls about them, partly through the fervent prayers within them) now are devoured by the flames; the habitations of many who truly feared God have not escaped: the fire makes no discrimination between the houses of the godly and the houses of the ungodly; they are all made of the same combustible matter, and are kindled, as bodies are infected, by one another.

London was laid in ashes, and made a ruinous heap: it was a by-word and a proverb, a gazing stock and an hissing and astonishment to all that passed by; it caused the ears of all to tingle that heard the rumour and report of what the righteous hand of God had brought upon her. A mighty city turned into ashes and rubbish, comparatively in a few hours; made a place fit for Zim and Okim to take up their abode in; the merciless element where it raged scarcely leaving a lintel for a cormorant or bittern to lodge in, or the remainder of a scorched window to sing in. A sad and terrible face was there in the ruinous parts of London: in the places where God had been served, nettles growing, owls screeching, thieves and cut-throats lurking. The voice of the Lord hath been crying, yea, roaring, in the city, of the dreadful judgments of plague and fire.

There was suddenly and unexpectedly seen, a glorious city laid waste; the habitations turned into rubbish; estates destroyed;

the produce and incomes of many years hard labour and careful industry all in a few moments swept away and consumed by devouring flames.—To have seen dear relations, faithful servants, even yourselves and families, reduced from plentiful, affluent, comfortable trade and fortune, over-night, to the extremest misery next morning! without an house to shelter, goods to accommodate, or settled course of trade to support. Many forced, in old age, to begin the world anew; and exposed to all the hardships and inconveniences of want and poverty.

Should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my father's sepulchre, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?

While the terrors occasioned by the conflagration remained in the minds of men, many eminent, learned, pious divines of the Church of England were more than ordinary diligent in the discharge of their holy function in this calamitous time; and many ministers who had not conformed, preached in the midst of the burning ruins, to a willing and attentive people: conventicles abounded in every part; it was thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God in any way they would, when there were no churches, nor ministers to look after them. Tabernacles, with all possible expedition, were everywhere raised for public worship till churches could be built. Among the established clergy were Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Whitcot, Dr. Horton, Dr. Patrick, Mr. White, Dr. Outram, Mr. Giffard, Mr. Nest, Mr. Meriton, and many others: divines of equal merit and moderation, ornaments of their sacred profession and the Established Church. Among the Presbyterians were Dr. Manton, Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Thomas Doolittle, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Chester, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Watson, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, Mr. Turner, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Brooks, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, Dr. Goodwin, and Mr. Barker.

The loss in goods and houses is scarcely to be valued, or even conceived. The loss of books was an exceeding great detriment, not to the owners only, but to learning in general. The library at Sion-college, and most private libraries in London, were burnt.

The fire of London most of all endamaged the Company of Printers and Stationers, most of whose habitations, storehouses, shops, stocks, and books, were not only consumed, but their ashes and scorched leaves conveyed aloft, and dispersed by the

winds to places above sixteen miles distant, to the great admiration of beholders!

Nothwithstanding the great losses by the fire, the devouring pestilence in the city the year preceding, and the chargeable war with the Dutch at that time depending, yet by the king's grace, the wisdom of the Parliament then sitting at Westminster, the diligence and activity of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commoners of the city, (who were likewise themselves the most considerable losers by the fatal accident) it was in the space of four or five years well nigh rebuilt. Divers churches, the stately Guildhall, many halls of companies, and other public edifices; all infinitely more uniform, more solid, and more magnificent than before; so that no city in Europe (scarcely in the universe) can stand in competition with it in many particulars.*

The fire of London ending at the east end of Tower-street, the extent of which came just to the dock on the west side of the Tower, there was nothing between the Tower-walls and it but the breadth of the dock, and a great many old timber houses which were built upon the banks of the dock, and in the outward bulwark of the Tower and Tower-ditch (which then was very foul) to the very wall of the Tower itself. Which old houses, if the fire had taken hold of, the Tower itself, and all the buildings within it, had in all probability been destroyed. But such was the lieutenant's care of the great charge committed to him, that to prevent future damage, a few weeks after, he caused all these old houses which stood between the Tower-dock and the Tower-wall, to be pulled down: and not only them, but all those which were built upon or near the Tower-ditch, from the bulwark-gate along both the Tower-hills, and so to the Iron-gate; and caused strong rails of oak to be set up upon the wharf where those houses stood which were about four hundred: so that by these means, not only the White-tower but the whole outward Tower-wall and the ditch round about the same, are all visible to passengers, and afford a very fine prospect.

During the whole continuance of this unparalleled calamity, the king himself, roused from his pleasures, commiserated the care of the distressed, and acted like a true father of his people. In a manuscript from the secretary's office, we find these words, "All own the immediate hand of God, and bless the goodness and tender care of the king, who made the round of the fire usually twice every day, and, for many hours together, on horse-

* Seymour's Survey, i, 70.

back and on foot; gave orders for pursuing the work, by commands, threatenings, desires, example, and good store of money, which he himself distributed to the workers, out of an hundred pound bag which he carried with him for that purpose." At the same time, his royal highness, the Duke of York also, and many of the nobility, were as diligent as possible; they commended and encouraged the forward, assisted the miserable sufferers, and gave a most generous example to all, by the vigorous opposition they made against the devouring flames.

The king and the duke, with the guards, were almost all the day on horseback, seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off persons or goods to the fields. The king was never observed to be so much struck with anything in his whole life.

In the dreadful fire of London, the king and the duke did their utmost in person to extinguish it; and after it had been once mastered, and broke out again in the Temple, the duke watching there all night, put an effectual stop to it by blowing up houses.

Afterward, when the multitudes of poor people were forced to lodge in the fields, or crowd themselves into poor huts and booths built with deal boards, his majesty was frequent in consulting all ways to relieve these wretches, as well by proclamations, as by his orders to the justices of the peace, to send provisions into Moorfields and other places; and moreover he sent them out of the Tower the warlike provisions which were there deposited for the seamen and soldiers, to keep them from starving in this extremity.

At the same time he proclaimed a fast throughout England and Wales; and ordered that the distressed condition of the sufferers should be recommended to the charity of all well-disposed persons, upon that day, to be afterwards distributed by the hands of the lord mayor of London. Lastly, to shew his special care for the city's restoration, in council, wherein he first prohibited the hasty building any houses till care should be taken for its re-edification, so as might best secure it from the like fatal accident; for the encouragement of others, he promised to rebuild his Custom-house, and to enlarge it, for the benefit of the merchants and trade; which he performed at his own particular charge, and at the expense of ten thousand pounds.

At the news of the fire of London all the good subjects of Ireland were seized with the utmost consternation upon that de-

plorable accident in compassion to the sufferers, the lord-lieutenant (the Duke of Ormond) set on foot a subscription for their relief, which rose to a higher value than could be expected in so distressed a country, where there was not money to circulate for the common necessities of the people, or to pay the public taxes: therefore, the subscription was made in beeves, thirty thousand of which were sent to London.*

Extract from the Speech of Sir Edward Turner, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, at the Prorogation of the Parliament, February, 8, 1667.

We must for ever with humility acknowledge the justice of God in punishing the whole nation in the late conflagration in London. We know they were not the greatest sinners on whom the tower of Siloam fell; and doubtless all our sins did contribute to the filling up that measure, which being full, drew down the wrath of God upon our city; but it very much reviveth us to behold the miraculous blessing of God upon your Majesty's endeavours for the preservation of that part of the city which is left. We hope God will direct your royal heart, and this fortunate island, in a few days to lay a foundation-stone in the re-building of that royal city; the beauty and praise whereof shall fill the whole earth. For the encouragement of this noble work we have prepared several bills; one for the establishing a judicatory for the speedy determining all actions and causes of action that may arise between landlords and tenants upon this sad accident. Though I persuade myself no Englishman would be exempted from making some offering to carry on the pious undertaking, yet the exemplary charity of your majesty's twelve reverend judges is fit with honour to be mentioned before your majesty: they are willing to spend all their sand that doth not run out in your majesty's immediate service, in dispensing justice in their several courts to your people, in hearing and determining the controversies that may arise upon old agreements, and making new rules between owners and tenants, for their mutual agreement in this glorious action. We have likewise prepared a bill for the regularity of the new buildings, that they may be raised with more conveniency, beauty, and security than they had before: some streets we have ordered to be opened and enlarged, and many obstructions to be removed; but all with

* Carte Ormd. i. 329.

your majesty's approbation. This, we conceive, cannot be done with justice, unless a compensation be given to those that shall be losers; we have, therefore laid an imposition of twelve pence upon every chaldron, and every ton of coals that shall be brought into the port of London for ten years, the better to enable the Lord Mayor and aldermen to recompense those persons whose ground shall be taken from them.

Rome was not built in a day: nor can we in the close of this session finish the rules for the dividing the parishes, re-building of the churches, and the ornamental parts of the city, that we intended; these things must rest till another session: but we know your majesty in the meantime will take them into your princely consideration, and make it your care that the houses of God, and your royal chamber, be decently and conveniently restored.

The fire of London had exercised the wits and inventions of many heads, and especially put several ingenious persons on contriving and setting up offices for insuring of houses from fire; since which many of those offices are framed.

All persons were indefatigably industrious in the great work of re-building; and when all provisions were made for the city's resurrection, the famous Sir Jonas Moore first of all produced the beautiful Fleet-street, according to the appointed model; and from that beginning the city grew so hastily toward a general perfection, that within the compass of a few years it far transcended its former splendour.

In the meantime, Gresham College was converted into an exchange, and in the apartments the public business of the city was transacted, instead of Guildhall.

To the same place, Alderman Backwell, a noted banker, removed from Lombard-street. Alderman Meynell, and divers other bankers of Lombard-street were preserved in their estates, and settled in and about Broad-street.

The Royal Society being driven out from Gresham College, Henry Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, late Earl Marshal of England, invited that noble body to hold their meetings at Arundel House, where he assigned them very convenient rooms, and, on New Year's day, being himself a member of that society, he very generously presented them and their successors with a fair library of books; being the whole Norfolkian library, with permission of changing such books as were not proper for their collection.

Sir Robert Viner, a very great banker, providentially removed all his concerns twenty-four hours before the furious fire entered Lombard-street, and settled in the African-house, which was then kept near the middle of Broad-street, till such time as he built that noble structure in Lombard-street, now used for the General Post Office, which was purchased by King Charles the Second for that purpose. The neatly wrought conduit in the Stocks market-place, at the west end of Lombard-street (the spot on which the Lord Mayor's Mansion House is since erected) whereon was placed a large statue of King Charles the Second on horseback, trampling upon an enemy, was set up at the sole cost and charges of that worthy citizen and alderman, Sir Robert Viner, knight and baronet.*

The excise office was kept in Southampton-fields, near Southampton (now Bedford House.)

The General Post Office was moved to the Two Black Pillars, in Bridges-street, Covent Garden.

The affairs of the Custom House were transacted in Mark-lane, at a house called Lord Bayning's, till the Custom House was rebuilt in a much more magnificent, uniform, and commodious manner, by King Charles the Second, which cost him £10,000.

The office for hearth money was kept near Billeter-lane, in Leadenhall-street.

The king's great wardrobe, together with the fair dwelling houses of the master and officers, near Puddle Wharf, being consumed, that office has since been kept in York House-buildings.

The buildings of Doctor's Commons, in the Parish of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, near St. Paul's, being entirely consumed

* Of this clumsy piece of sculpture we have the following account from Maitland's Survey, page 1,049:—"It is impossible to quit this place without taking notice of the equestrian statue raised here in honour of Charles II.; a thing in itself so exceedingly ridiculous and absurd, that it is in no one's power to look upon it without reflecting on the tastes of those who set it up. But when we enquire into the history of it, the farce improves upon our hands, and what was before contemptible, grows entertaining. This statue was originally made for John Sobieski, King of Poland, but, by some accident was left upon the workman's hands. About the same time the city was loyal enough to pay their devoirs to King Charles immediately upon his restoration; and finding this statue ready made to their hands, resolved to do it in the cheapest way, and convert the Polander into a Briton, and the Turk underneath into Oliver Cromwell, to make their compliment complete: and the turban upon the last mentioned figure is an undeniable proof of the truth of the story.

by the dreadful fire, their offices were held at Exeter House, in the Strand, until the year 1672, when they returned to their former place, rebuilt in a very splendid and convenient manner, at the proper cost and charges of the said doctors.

The college of physicians had purchased a house and ground at the end of Amen-street, whereon the famous Dr. Harvey, at his proper charge, did erect a magnificent structure, both for a library, and a public hall; this goodly edifice could not escape the fury of the dreadful fire; and the ground being but a lease-hold, the fellows purchased a fair piece of ground in Warwick-lane, whereon they have erected a very magnificent edifice, with a noble apartment for the containing an excellent library, given them partly by the Marquis of Dorchester, but chiefly by that eminent professor, Sir Theodore Mayerne, knight.

The former burse (or Royal Exchange) began to be erected in the year 1566, just one hundred years before it was burnt, at the cost and charge of that noble merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham. It was built of brick, and yet was the most splendid burse then in Europe.

It is now rebuilt within and without, of excellent stone, with such curious and admirable architecture, especially for a front, a high turret or steeple, wherein are an harmonious chime of twelve bells, and for arch-work, that it surpasses all other burses. It is built quadrangular, with a large court wherein the merchants may assemble, and the greatest part, in case of rain or hot sun-shine, may be sheltered in side galleries or porticos. The whole fabric cost fifty thousand pounds, whereof one-half was disbursed by the Chamber of London, or corporation of the city, and the other half by the Company of Mercers.

Before the dreadful fire, there were all around the quadrangle of this Royal Exchange the statues of the sovereign princes, since what was called the Norman Conquest, and by the care and cost of the city companies most of those niches were again filled with the like curious statues, in marble or alabaster.

St. Paul's Cathedral was new building at the time of the fire, the stone work almost finished; but, it is now re-built with greater solidity, magnificence and splendour, by the most renowned architect, Sir Christopher Wren.

Not far from the college of Doctor's Commons stood the College of Heralds, in an ancient house called Derby House, being built by Thomas Stanly, Earl of Derby, who married Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry the

Seventh, where their records were preserved. This college was burnt down, but the books and records were preserved, and placed, by the king's appointment, at the lower end of the Court of Requests.

Since the late dreadful fire this college has been handsomely rebuilt, upon St. Bennet's-hill, near Doctor's Commons, where their library is now kept. The house of St. Bartholomew's Hospital escaped the fury of the great fire, but most of the estates belonging to it were consumed.

The companies' halls were rebuilt, all at the charges of each fraternity, with great magnificence; being so many noble structures or palaces, with gallant frontispieces, stately courts, spacious rooms. The halls, especially, from which the whole are named, are not only ample enough to feast all the livery in each company, some to the number of three or four hundred, but many of them are fit to receive a crowned head with all its nobles—those of each of the twelve companies especially. The Company of Mercers, beside their hall, have a sumptuous and spacious chapel for divine service.

Those city gates which were burnt down, as Ludgate and Newgate, were rebuilt with great solidity and magnificence.

The attempt to make Fleet brook or ditch navigable to Holborn Bridge, was a mighty chargeable and beautiful work, and though it did not fully answer the designed purpose, it was remarkable for the curious stone bridges over it, and the many huge vaults on each side thereof, to treasure up Newcastle coals for the use of the poor.

The whole damage sustained by the fire is almost inconceivable and incredible; but the following method of computation hath been taken, to form some sort of gross estimate; and at the time was accounted very moderate:—

Thirteen thousand two hundred houses, one with another, at twenty-five pounds rent, at the low rate of twelve years' purchase	3,960,000
* Eighty-seven parish churches, at eight thousand pounds each	696,000
Six consecrated chapels, at two thousand pounds each	12,000
The Royal Exchange - - - - - - -	50,000

* The certificate says, eighty-nine parish Churches; but see the Act of Parliament and inscription on the monument.

The Custom House	10,000
Fifty-two halls of companies, most of which were magnificent structures and palaces, at fifteen hundred pounds each	78,000
Three city gates, at three thousand pounds each	9,000
Jail of Newgate	15,000
Four stone bridges	6,000
Sessions House	7,000
Guildhall, with the courts and offices belonging to it	40,000
Blackwell Hall	3,000
Bridewell	5,000
Poultry Compter	5,000
Wood Street Compter	3,000
Toward rebuilding St. Paul's Church, which, at that time, was new building; the stonework being almost finished	2,000,000
Wares, household stuff, monies, and moveable goods lost and spoiled	2,000,000
Hire of porters, carts, waggons, barges, boats, &c., for removing wares, household stuff, &c., during the fire, and some small time after	200,000
Printed books and papers in shops and warehouses	150,000
Wine, tobacco, sugar, plums, &c., of which the city was at that time very full	1,500,000
Cutting a navigable river to Holborn Bridge	27,000
The Monument	14,500
	£10,730,500

Besides melioration money paid to several proprietors who had their ground taken away, for the making of wharves, enlarging the old, or making new streets, market places, &c.

The fire spread itself, beside breadth, from almost Tower-hill, to St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street. After it had burnt almost three days and three nights, some seamen taught the people to blow up some of the next houses with gunpowder; which stopped the fire: so that, contrary to the inscription on the Monument, there were human counsels in the stopping of the fire. It stopped at Holborn Bridge, at St. Sepulchre's church, when the church was burnt, in Aldgate and Cripplegate, and other places on the wall; in Austin Friars, the Dutch church stopped it, and escaped. It stopped in Bishopsgate-street, in

Leadenhall-street, in the midst of Fenchurch-street, and near the Tower. Alderman Jefferies lost tobacco to the value of twenty thousand pounds.

Extract from the certificates of the Surveyors appointed to survey the ruins.

THE fire began September 2nd, 1666, at Mr. Farryner's, a baker, in Pudding-lane, between one and two in the morning, and continued burning till the 6th: did overrun three hundred and seventy-three acres, within the walls. Eighty-nine parish churches, besides chapels burnt. Eleven parishes, within the walls standing. Houses burnt, thirteen thousand and two hundred.

JONAS MOORE, }
RALPH GATRIX, } Surveyors.

The superstition and zeal of those times made canonization much cheaper in a Protestant than a Popish Church. A vehement preacher was a chief saint among the godly, and a few warm expressions were esteemed little less than prophecies.

In the dedication to the Rev. Mr. Reeves's sermon, preached 1655, are the following queries:—

"Can sin and the city's safety, can impenitency and impunity stand long together? Fear you not some plague? Some coal blown with the breath of the Almighty, that may sparkle and kindle, and burn you to such cinders, that not a wall or pillar may be left to testify the remembrance of a city?"

The same gentleman says:* "Your looking-glasses will be snatched away, your mirrors cracked, your diamonds shivered in pieces; this goodly city all in shreds. Ye may seek for a pillar or threshhold of your ancient dwellings, but not find one. All your spacious mansions and sumptuous monuments are then gone. Not a porch, pavement, ceiling, staircase, turret, lantern, bench, screen, pane of a window, post, nail, stone, or dust of your former houses to be seen. No, with wringing hands you may ask, where are those sweet places where we traded, feasted, slept? where we lived like masters, and shone like morning stars? No, the houses are fallen, and the householders dropped with them. We have nothing but naked streets, naked fields for shelter; not so much as a chamber to couch down our children

* London's Remembrancer, page 33,—ten years before the fire.

or repose our own members, when we are spent or afflicted with sickness. Woe unto us! our sins have pulled down our houses, shaken down our city. We are the most harbourless people in the world; like foreigners rather than natives; yea, rather like beasts than men. Foxes have holes and fowls have nests, but we have neither holes or nests: our sins have deprived us of couch and covert. We should be glad if an hospital would receive us, dens or caves shelter us. The bleak air and cold ground are our only shades and refuges. But, alas! this is but the misery of the stone-work, of arches, roofs, &c."

The following paragraph is taken from Mr. Rosewell's causes and cures of the pestilence, printed at London, in the year of the great plague 1665—a year before the fire of London.

"Is it not of the Lord that the people shall labour in the very fire, and weary themselves for vanity? It is of the Lord, surely! It comes to pass, by the secret counsel of God, that these houses and cities which they build, shall either come to be consumed by fire; or else, the people shall weary themselves in vain, for vanity to no purpose; seeing it comes so soon to be destroyed and ruinated, what they build."

SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRE OF LONDON, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, FROM THE "LONDON GAZETTE."

Sept. 2.—About two o'clock this morning, a sudden and amentable fire broke out in this city; beginning not far from Thames-street, near London Bridge, which continues still with great violence, and hath already burnt down to the ground many houses thereabouts: which said accident affected his Majesty with that tenderness and compassion, that he was pleased to go himself in person, with his royal highness, to give orders that all possible means should be used for quenching the fire, or stopping its further spreading: in which care the right honourable the Earl of Craven was sent by his Majesty, to be more particularly assisting to the Lord Mayor and magistrates; and several companies of his guards sent into the city, to be helpful in what means they could in so great a calamity.

Whitehall, Sept. 8.—The ordinary course of this paper being interrupted by a sad and lamentable accident of fire, lately happened in the city of London, it hath been thought fit to

satisfy the minds of so many of his Majesty's good subjects who must needs be concerned for the issue of so great an accident, to give this short but true account of it.

On the 2nd inst., at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding-lane, New Fish-street, which falling out at that hour of the night and, in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that the lamentable fire in a short time became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch-street, and downward from Cannon-street to the water side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

The people in all parts about it were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care was to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it by pulling down houses, and making great intervals; but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself, even through those places, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his Majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible means to prevent it; calling upon and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unwearedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people. By the favour of God the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never departing nor slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple Church; near Holborn Bridge; Pye Corner; Aldersgate; Cripplegate; near the lower end of Coleman-street; at the end of Basinghall-street; by the Postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street; and Leadenhall-street; at the Standard, in Cornhill; at the church in Fenchurch-street;

near Clothworkers' Hall in Mincing-lane; in the middle of Mark-lane; and at the Tower-dock.

On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished. But so as that evening it burst out afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed, upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there the whole night in person, by the great labour and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day, happily mastered it.

Divers strangers, Dutch and French, were, during the fire, apprehended, upon suspicion that they contributed maliciously to it, who are all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make severe inquisition hereupon by my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the Lords of the privy council, and some principal members of the city: notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forward in all its ways by strong winds, makes us conclude the whole was an effect of an unhappy chance, or to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us, for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgment, in thus raising the fire, and immediately after, his miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy, in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His Majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it were the danger and mischief was greatest, till this morning that he hath sent his Grace the Duke of Albermarle, whom he hath called for to assist him in this great occasion: to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.

About the Tower, the seasonable orders given for pulling down houses to secure the magazines of powder, was most especially successful, that part being up the wind; notwithstanding which, it came almost to the very gates of it, so as, by the early provision, the several stores of war lodged in the Tower were entirely saved; and we have hitherto this infinite cause particularly to give God thanks that the fire did not happen in any of those places were his Majesty's naval stores are kept; so as though it hath pleased God to visit us with his own hand, he hath not, by disfurnishing us with the means of carrying on the war, subjected us to our enemies.

It must be observed, that this fire happened at a part of the town, where, though the commodities were not very rich, yet they were so bulky that they could not be removed, so that the inhabitants of that part where it first began, have sustained very great loss; but, by the best inquiry we can make, the other parts of the town, where the commodities were of greater value, took the alarm so early, that they saved most of their goods of value, which possibly may have diminished the loss; though some think, that if the whole industry of the inhabitants had been applied to the stopping of the fire, and not to the saving their particular goods, the success might have been much better; not only to the public, but to many of them in their own particulars.

Through this sad accident it is easy to be imagined how many persons were necessitated to remove themselves and goods into the open fields, where they were forced to continue some time, which could not but work compassion in the beholders; but his Majesty's care was most signal on this occasion, who, besides his personal pains, was frequent in consulting all ways for relieving those distressed persons, which produced so good effect, as well by his Majesty's proclamations and orders issued to the neighbouring justices of the peace, to encourage the sending provisions into the markets, which are publicly known, as by other directions, that when his Majesty, fearing lest other orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the victualler of his navy to send bread into Moorfields for the relief of the poor, which, for the more speedy supply, he sent in biscuit out of the sea stores; it was found that the market had been already so well supplied that the people, being unaccustomed to that kind of bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to his Majesty's stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe, to the confusion of all his Majesty's enemies, who endeavoured to persuade the world abroad of great parties and disaffection at home, against his Majesty's government, that a greater instance of the affections of this city could never be given, than hath now been given in this sad and most deplorable accident, when, if at any time, disorder might have been expected, from the losses, distractions, and almost desperation of some persons in their private fortunes—thousands of people not having habitations to cover them. And yet all this time it hath been so far from any appearance of designs or attempts against his Majesty's government, that his Majesty and his royal brother, out of their care to stop and prevent the fire, exposing frequently

their persons, with very small attendants, in all parts of the town, sometimes even to be intermixed with those who laboured in the business; yet, nevertheless, there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any; but, on the contrary, even those persons whose losses render their conditions most desperate, and to be fit objects of others' prayers, beholding those frequent instances of his Majesty's care of his people, forgot their own misery, and filled the streets with their prayers for his Majesty, whose trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own.

Whitehall, Sept. 12.—His Majesty, in a religious sense of God's heavy hand upon this kingdom, in the late dreadful fire happened in the city of London, hath been pleased to order that the tenth of October next, be observed as a general and solemn fast throughout England, Wales, &c.; and that the distresses of those who have more particularly suffered in that calamity be on that day most effectually recommended to the charity of all well-disposed Christians, in the respective churches and chapels of this kingdom, to be afterward, by the hands of the Lord Mayor of the city of London, distributed for the relief of such as shall be found most to need it.

Whitehall, Sept. 15.—His Majesty pursuing, with a gracious impatience, his pious care for the speedy restoration of his city of London, was pleased to pass, the twelfth instant, his declaration, in council to his city of London upon that subject, full of that princely tenderness and affection which he is pleased on all occasions to express for that, his beloved city.

In the first place, upon the desires of the lord mayor and court of aldermen, he is pleased to prohibit the hasty building of any edifice, till such speedy care be taken for the re-edification of the city as may best secure it from the like accidents, and raise it to a greater beauty and comeliness than formerly it had; the lord mayor and aldermen being required to pull down what shall, contrary to this prohibition be erected, and return the names of such refractory persons to his Majesty and his council, to be proceeded against according to their deserts.

That any considerable number of men addressing themselves to the court of aldermen, and manifesting in what places their ground lies upon which they intend to build, shall in short time receive such order and direction that they shall have no cause to complain.

That no person erect any house or building, but of brick or

stone, that they be encouraged to practise the good husbandry of strongly arching their cellars, by which divers persons have received notable benefit in the late fire.

That Fleet-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and all other eminent streets, be of a breadth to prevent the mischief one side may receive from the other by fire; that no streets, especially near the water be so narrow as to make the passages uneasy or inconvenient; nor any allies or lanes erected, but upon necessity, for which there shall be published rules and particular orders.

That a fair quay and wharf be left on all the river side, no houses to be erected, but at a distance declared by the rules. That none of those houses next the river be inhabited by brewers, dyers, or sugar-bakers, who by their continual smokes contribute much to the unhealthiness of the adjacent places; but that such places be allotted them by the lord mayor and court of aldermen, as may be convenient for them, without prejudice of the neighbourhood.

That the lord mayor and court of aldermen cause an exact survey to be made of the ruins, that it may appear to whom the houses and ground did belong, what term the occupiers were possessed of, what rents were paid, and to whom the reversions and inheritances did appertain, for the satisfying all interests, that no man's right be sacrificed to the public convenience. After which a plot and model shall be framed of the whole building, which no doubt may so well please all persons, as to induce them willingly to conform to such rules and orders as shall be agreed to.

His majesty likewise recommends the speedy building some of those many churches which have been burnt, to the charity and magnanimity of well-disposed persons, whom he will direct and assist in the model, and by his bounty encourage all other ways that shall be desired.

And to encourage the work by his example, his majesty will use all expedition to rebuild the Custom House, and enlarge it for the more convenience of the merchants, in the place where it formerly stood: and upon all his own lands, will part with any thing of his own right and benefit, for the advancement of the public benefit and beauty of the city; and remit to all persons who shall erect any new buildings, according to this his gracious declaration, all duties arising from hearth-money for the space of seven years; as by the declaration itself more at large appears.

Whitehall, Sep. 18. This day was presented to his Majesty, by his highness the Duke of York, Edmundbury Godfrey, Esq.; one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster, who, after the public thanks and acknowledgment of his eminent services done in helping to suppress the late fire in the city and liberty of London, received the honour of knighthood.

Whitehall, Sep. 29. This day, by warrant from his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the person of Valentine Knight was committed to the custody of one of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary, for having presumed to publish in print certain propositions for rebuilding the city of London, with considerable advantages to his Majesty's revenue by it, as if his Majesty would draw a benefit to himself from so public a calamity of his people of which his Majesty is known to have so deep sense, that he is pleased to seek rather by all means to give them ease under it.

Westminster, Sep. 28. This day the House of Commons resolved, that the humble thanks of the house should be given his Majesty for his great care and endeavour to prevent the burning of the city.

Leghorn, Oct. 18. The merchants here, in consideration of the losses sustained in London, by the late fire, have out of their charity, raised near 300*l.* towards their relief, which they intend speedily to return, to be distributed as his Majesty pleases.

London, Oct. 29. This day Sir William Bolton, lord mayor for the year ensuing, went in his coach to Westminster, attended by his brethren the aldermen, the sheriffs, and other eminent citizens in their coaches, where he was sworn with the usual ceremonies.

Whitehall, Oct. 30. Sir Jonas Moore, with some other proprietors of houses lately demolished by the fire, in Fleet-street, having prayed liberty to rebuild the same, according to such model, form and scantling as should be set them by the committee appointed by his Majesty for the advancement of that great work, (to which they offered with all willingness to submit and conform themselves); it was this day ordered by his Majesty in council, that the said proprietors shall have their liberty to re-edify their buildings accordingly.

By Stat. 19 and 20 Car. 2, Any three or more of the judges were authorised to hear and determine all differences between landlords and tenants, or occupiers of buildings or other things

by the fire demolished. They were, without the formalities of courts of law or equity, upon the inquisition or verdict of jurors, testimonies of witnesses upon oath, examination of persons interested, or otherwise, to determine all differences: they were, in complaints, to issue out notes of time and place for the parties' attendance, and proceed to make orders: their determinations were final, without appeal, writ of error, or reversal. Their orders were to be obeyed by all persons, and binding to representatives for ever. The judgments and determinations were recorded in a book by them signed: which book is placed and intrusted in the custody of the lord mayor and aldermen for the time being, to remain as a perpetual and lasting record. The judges were not to take any fee or reward, directly or indirectly, for any thing they did by virtue of that act. All differences not being determined, the act was continued in force till Sept. 29, 1672.

In gratitude to the memory of these judges, the city caused their pictures, in full proportion in their scarlet robes, to be set up in the Guildhall, with their names underneath, viz.

Sir Heneage Finch,
Sir Orlando Bridgman,
Sir Matthew Hale,
Sir Richard Rainsford,
Sir Edward Turner,
Sir Thomas Tyrril,
Sir John Archer,
Sir William Morton,
Sir Robert Atkins,
Sir Samuel Brown,
Sir Edward Atkins,
Sir John Vaughan,
Sir John North,
Sir Thomas Twisden,
Sir Christopher Turner,
Sir William Wyld,
Sir Hugh Windham,
Sir William Ellys,
Sir Edward Thurland,
Sir Timothy Lyttleton,
Sir John Kelynge,
Sir William Windham.

The city rose out of its ashes after the dreadful fire, as it was first built, not presently, by building continued streets, in any one part, but first here a house and there a house, to which others by degrees were joined; till, at last, single houses were united into whole streets; whole streets into one beautiful city; not merely, as before, a great and magnificent city, for in a short time it not only excelled itself, but any other city in the whole world that comes near it, either in largeness, or number of inhabitants.

The begining of the year 1670, the city of London was rebuilt, with more space and splendour than had been before seen in

England. The act for rebuilding it was drawn by Sir Matthew Hale, with so true judgment and foresight, that the whole city was raised out of its ashes without any suits of law; which if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a second charge on the city, not much less than the fire itself had been. And upon that, to the amazement of all Europe, London was, in four years' time, rebuilt with so much beauty and magnificence, that they who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, could not reflect on it, without wondering where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expense as was laid out in the rebuilding. This good and great work was very much forwarded by Sir William Turner, lord mayor, 1669. He was so much honoured and beloved, that at the end of the year they chose him again; but he refused it, as being an unusual thing.

Whatever the unfortunate citizens of London suffered by this dreadful fire, it is manifest, that a greater blessing could not have happened for the good of posterity; for, instead of very narrow, crooked, and incommodious streets, dark, irregular and ill-contrived wooden houses, with their several stories jutting out, or hanging over each other, whereby the circulation of the air was obstructed, noisome vapours harboured, and verminious, pestilential atoms nourished, as is manifest, by the city not being clear of the plague for twenty-five years before, and only free from contagion three years in above seventy; enlarging of the streets, and modern way of building, there is such a free circulation of sweet air through the streets, that offensive vapours are expelled, and the city freed from pestilential symptoms: so that it may now justly be averred that there is no place in the kingdom where the inhabitants enjoy a better state of health, or live to a greater age, than the citizens of London.

SECTION III.

VARIOUS OPINIONS CONCERNING THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT FIRE.

WHETHER the fire came casually, or on design, remains still a secret: though the general opinion might be that it was casual, yet there were presumptions on the other side of a very odd nature. Great calamities naturally produce various conjectures; men seldom considering, that the most stupendous effects often proceed from the most minute causes, or most remote accidents.

People failed not to give a scope to their imagination, and to form guesses concerning the causes and authors of this afflicting and astonishing misfortune.

The king in his speech calls it "God's judgment;" the pious and religious, and at first all other men, generally and naturally ascribed it to the just vengeance of Heaven, on a city where vice and immorality reigned so openly and shamefully, and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the raging pestilence of the foregoing year.

Sir Edward Turner, speaker of the House of Commons, at presenting bills for the royal assent, says, "We must for ever with humility, acknowledge the justice of God in punishing this whole nation by the late dreadful conflagration of London."

The act of common-council for rebuilding, says, "The fire was by all justly resented as a most sad and dismal judgment of Heaven."

But time soon produced abundance of suspicions and variety of opinions concerning the means and instruments made use of.

There were some so bold as even to suspect the king. Those reports, and Oates's and Bedloe's narratives, are suppositions too monstrous, and the evidence too wretchedly mean to deserve consideration.

The citizens were not well satisfied with the Duke of York's behaviour: they thought him a little too gay and negligent for such an occasion; that his look and air discovered the pleasure he took in that dreadful spectacle; on which account, a jealousy that he was concerned in it was spread with great industry, but with very little appearance of truth.

Some suspected it was an insidious way of the Dutch and French making war upon the English; their two fleets being then nearest to a conjunction. What increased the suspicion was, that some criminals that suffered were said to be under the direction of a committee at London, and received orders from another council in Holland.

Not long before the fire, the French sent the governor of Chousey in a small boat with a letter to Major-General Lambert, then prisoner in Guernsey, to offer him terms to contrive the delivery of that island to them.

Divers strangers, both French and Dutch, were apprehended, upon suspicion, imprisoned, and strictly examined. It was said, a Dutch boy of ten years old, confessed, that his father, his uncle, and himself, had thrown fire-balls into the house where the fire began, through a window which stood open.

The English fleet had some time before landed on the Vly, an island near the Texel, and burnt it; upon which some came to De Wit, and offered, in revenge, if they were but assisted, to set London on fire; but he rejected the [villanous] proposal; and thought no more on it till he heard the city was burnt.

The fire which laid so great part of London in ashes, gave a fresh occasion to the enemies of the republicans to charge them with being the malicious authors thereof; because the fire happened to break out the third of September, a day esteemed fortunate to the republicans, on account of the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, obtained by Oliver Cromwell, when general of the armies of the commonwealth of England.

In the April before, some commonwealth men were found in a plot, and hanged; and at their execution confessed, that they had been requested, to assist in a design of firing London on the second of September.

At the trial of the conspirators at the Old Bailey, it appeared, a design was laid to suprise the town and fire the city; the third of September was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lilly's almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day. The third of September was a day auspicious and full of expectation from one party, but at this time ominous and direful to the nation. The city was burnt at the time projected and prognosticated, which gave a strong suspicion, though not a proof, of the authors and promoters of it.

The Dutch were pressed by the commonwealth men to invade England, and were assured of powerful assistance, and hopes of a general insurrection, but they would not venture in so hazardous a design.

Though several persons were imprisoned, it was not possible to discover, or prove, that the house where this dreadful calamity began, was fired on purpose. Whether it was wilful or accidental was a long time a party dispute.

The great talk at that time was, who were the burners of the city? some said it was contrived and carried on by a conspiracy of the Papists and Jesuits, which was afterward offered to be made appear in the popish plot. And there came in so many testimonies to prove that it was the plotted weapon of the papists, as caused the parliament to appoint a committee to enquire into it, and receive informations.

By the dreadful fire in 1666, multitudes of people lost their estates, goods and merchandizes; and many families, once in

flourishing circumstances, were reduced to beggary. From the inscription on the plinth of the lower pedestal of the Monument it appears that the Papists were the authors of this fire; the Parliament being of this persuasion, addressed the king to issue a proclamation, requiring all Popish Priests and Jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month; and appointed a committee, who received evidence of some Papists, who were seen throwing fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets. This sad disaster produced some kind of liberty to the Non-conformists.

A sudden and dreadful massacre of the Protestants was feared; and the suspicion confirmed by particular kinds of knives found after the fire in barrels.

Several evidences were given to the committee that men were seen in several parts of the city casting fire-balls into houses; some that were brought to the guard of soldiers, and to the Duke of York, but were never heard of afterwards. Some weeks after, Sir Robert Brooks, chairman of the committee, went to France, and as he was ferried over a river, was drowned, with a kinsman of his, and the business drowned with him.*

Oates, in his narrative, says: The dreadful fire in 1666 was principally managed by Strange, the provincial of the Jesuits, in which the society employed eighty or eighty-six men, and spent seven hundred fire-balls; and over all their vast expense, they were fourteen thousand pounds gainers by the plunder; among which was a box of jewels consisting of a thousand carats of diamonds. He farther learned, that the fire in Southwark, in 1676, was brought about by the like means; and though in that they were at the expense of a thousand pounds, they made shift to get two thousand clear into their own pockets.†

Mr. Echard was told by an eminent prelate, that Dr. Grant, a Papist, was strongly suspected, who having a share in the waterworks, contrived, as is believed, to stop up the pipes the night before the fire broke out, so that it was many hours before any water could be got after the usual manner.

Dr. Lloyd, afterward bishop of Worcester, told Dr. Burnet, that one Grant, a Papist, had sometime before applied himself to Lloyd, who had great interest with the Countess of Clarendon, (who had a large estate in the new river, which is brought from Ware to London) and said he could raise that estate considerably if she would make him a trustee for her. His schemes were probable, and he was made one of the board that governed that

* Oldmison, i. 547. † Rapin, ii. 690.

matter; and by that he had a right to come as often as he pleased to view their works at Islington. He went thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks, which were then open, and stopped the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. When the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. Some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the doors were to be broke open, and the cocks turned, and it was long before the water got from Islington. Grant denied that he turned the cocks; but the officer of the works affirmed that he had, according to order, set them all a unning, and that no person had got the keys from him but Grant; who confessed he had carried away the keys, but did it without design.

When we consider, several depositions were made after the fire, of its breaking out in several different places at the same time, and that one man confessed his setting fire to the houses where it began, when he was executed for it: when we remember Bishop Lloyd's testimony concerning Grant, we cannot easily be convinced that it was entirely accidental.

Bishop Kennet gives the following account: There was but one man tried at the Old Bailey for being the incendiary, who was convicted by his own confession, and executed for it. His name was Roger* Hubert, a French Huguenot† of Rohan, in Normandy. Some people shammed away this confession, and said he was *non compos mentis;* and had a mind, it seems, to assume the glory of being hanged for the greatest villain. Others say he was sober and penitent; and being, after conviction, carried through the ruins to shew where he put fire, he himself directed through the ashes and rubbish, and pointed at the spot where the first burning house stood.

The fire was generally charged on the Papists; one Hubert, a a Frenchman, who was seized in Essex as he was flying to France, confessed he had begun the conflagration. He was blindfolded, and purposely conducted to wrong places, where he told them it was not the spot where he began the flames; but when he was brought to the right, he confessed that was the place where he threw the fire-ball into the baker's house, the

* Robert, according to Rapin.

† Bishop Burnet and some others say he was a Papist.

place where the fatal fire began, which he persisted in to the last moments of his execution. He was hanged upon no other evidence: though his broken account made some believe him melancholy mad.*

But Oates several years afterwards informed the world the execrable deed was performed by a knot of eighty jesuits, friars, and priests, of several nations.†

After all examinations there was but one man tried for being the incendiary, who confessing the fact, was executed for it: this was Robert Hubert, a French Hugenot, of Rohan, in Normandy, a person falsely said to be a Papist, but really a sort of lunatic, who by mere accident was brought into England just before the breaking out of the fire, but not landed till two days after, as appeared by the evidence of Laurence Peterson, the master of the ship who had him on board.‡

It was soon after complained of, that Hubert was not sufficiently examined who set him to work, and who joined with him. And Mr. Hawles, in his remarks upon Fitzharris's trial is bold to say, that the Commons resolving to examine Hubert upon that matter next day, Hubert was hanged before the house sat, so could tell no farther tales.

Lord Russell and Sir Henry Capel observed to the House of Commons (1680) that those that were taken in carrying on that wicked act, were generally discharged without trial.

In 1679, the House of Commons were suddenly alarmed with an information of a fresh design of the Papists to burn London a second time. The house of one Bird, in Fetter-lane, being set on fire, his servant Elizabeth Oxly, was suspected of firing it wilfully, and sent to prison. She confessed the fact, and declared she had been employed to do it by one Stubbs, a Papist, who had promised her five pounds. Stubbs being taken up, confessed he persuaded her to do it, and that Father Giffard, his confessor, put him upon it; telling him it was no sin to burn all the houses of heretics. He added he had frequent conferences on this affair with Giffard and two Irishmen. Stubbs and the maid declared, the Papists were to make an insurrection, and expected an army of sixty thousand men from France. It was generally inferred from this incident, that it was not Giffard's fault (nor that of his party), that the city of London was not burnt, as in the year 1666; and confirmed those in their opinion who thought

* Burnet, Abr., 120. † Howell, Impartial History of James II., i. 9
‡ Echard, i. 169.

that general conflagration was the contrivance and work of the Papists.

The hand of man was made use of in the beginning and carrying on of this fire. The beginning of the fire at such a time when there had been so much hot weather which had dried the houses, and made them the more fit for fuel; the beginning of it in such a place, where there were so many timber houses, and the shops filled with so much combustible matter; and the beginning of it just when the wind did blow so fiercely upon that corner toward the rest of the city, which then was like tinder to the sparks; this doth smell of a popish design, hatched in the same nest with the gunpowder plot. The world sufficiently knows how correspondent this is to popish principles and practices; they might, without any scruple of their kinds of conscience, burn an heretical city, as they count it, into ashes: for beside the dispensations they can have from his holiness (rather his wickedness) it is not unlikely but they count such an action as this meritorious.

Lord Chancellor (Earl of Nottingham) in his speech in giving judgment against Lord Viscount Stafford, said, "Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by Papists?" though there was not one word in the whole trial relating to it.

The inscription on the plinth of the lower pedestal of the Monument has given an opportunity to the Reverend Mr. Crookshanks to say, it appears that the Papists were the authors of the fire, and that the Parliament being of the same persuasion, addressed the king.

The inscription is in English:

"This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666. In order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the protestant religion and old English liberty, and introducing popery and slavery."

This inscription was erased by King James upon his succession to the crown; but reinscribed presently after the revolution, in such deep characters as are not easily to be blotted out.

The latter part of the incription on the north side (*Sed furor papisticus, qui tam dira patravit, nondum restinguitur*) containing an offensive truth, was erased at King James's accession, and re-inscribed soon after the revolution.

* Old. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, i. 207.

Mr. Pope differs much in his opinion concerning these inscriptions, when he says—

> Where London's column, pointing at the skies,
> Like a tall bully, rears its head, and lies.

It seems wonderful (says the author of the Craftsman) that the plague was not as peremptorily imputed to the Papists as the fire.

There was a general suspicion of incendiaries laying combustible stuff in many places, having observed several houses to be on fire at the same time: but we are told, God with his great bellows did blow upon it, and made it spread quickly, and horrible flakes of fire mounted to the skies.

There was a strange concurrence of several natural causes which occasioned the fire so vigorously to spread and increase.

There was a great supineness and negligence in the people of the house where it began: it began between one and two o'clock after midnight, when all were in a dead sleep: on a Saturday night, when many of the eminent citizens, merchants, and others, were retired into the country, and left servants to look to their city houses: it happened in the long vacation, at a time of year when many wealthy citizens are wont to be in the country at fairs, or getting in debts, and making up accounts with their chapmen.

The houses where it began were mostly built of timber, and those very old: the closeness and narrowness of the streets did much facilitate the progress of the fire, and prevented the bringing in engines. The wares and commodities stowed and vended in those parts were most combustible of any other, as oil, pitch, tar, cordage, hemp, flax, rosin, wax, butter, cheese, wine, brandy, sugar, and such like.

The warmth of the preceding season had so dried the timber, that it was never more apt to take fire; and an easterly wind (which is the driest of all) had blown for several days together before, and at that time very strongly.

The unexpected failing of the water from the New River; the engine at London-bridge called the Thames water-tower was out of order, and in a few hours was itself burnt down, so that the pipes which conveyed the water from thence through the streets, were soon empty.

Beside, there was an unusual negligence at first, and a confidence of easily quenching it, and of its stopping at several places

* Seymour, i. 454.

afterward; which at last turned into confusion, consternation, and despair; people choosing rather by flight to save their goods, than by a vigorous opposition to save their own houses and the whole city.

Thus a small spark, from an unknown cause, for want of timely care, increased to such a flame, that nothing could extinguish, which laid waste the greatest part of the city in three days' time.

The king in his speech to the parliament, says, "God be thanked for our meeting together in this place: little time hath passed since we were almost in despair of having this place left to meet in. You see the dismal ruins the fire hath made: and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preserved what is left from the same destruction."

When the presumptions of the city's being burnt by design came to be laid before a committee of the House of Commons, they were found of no weight: and the many stories, published at that time with great assurance, were declared void of credibility.

After all, it may perhaps be queried, whether the foregoing rumours and examinations, though incongruous with each other, may not afford some colour to a whisper, that the government itself was not without some ground of suspicion of having been the secret cause of the conflagration; to afford an opportunity of restoring the capital of the nation, in a manner more secure from future contagion, more generally wholesome for the inhabitants, more safe from fires, and more beautiful on the whole, from the united effect of all these salutary purposes. Such, however, has been the result of that temporary disaster, whether accidental or not; and if intended, a more pardonable instance of doing evil that good may come of it, cannot perhaps be produced.

SECTION IV.

OF THE MONUMENT.

THE Act of Parliament 19 and 20 Car. II., enacts, that—The better to preserve the memory of this dreadful visitation, a column or pillar of brass or stone be erected on, or as near unto the place where the fire unhappily began, as conveniently may be; in perpetual remembrance thereof: with such inscription thereon as the lord mayor and court of aldermen shall direct.

In obedience to which act, the fine piece of architecture, called

* Echard, iii. 168. † Burnet, Abr. 121.

The Monument, was erected, at the expense of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds; it is the design of the great Sir Christopher Wren, and undoubtedly the finest modern column in the world, and in some respects may vie with the most famous of antiquity, being twenty-four feet higher than Trajan's pillar at Rome. It is of the Doric order, fluted; its altitude, two hundred and two feet from the ground; greatest diameter of the body fifteen feet; the ground bounded by the plinth or lower part of the pedestal, twenty-eight feet square; and the pedestal is in altitude forty feet; all of Portland stone. Within, is a large staircase of black marble, containing three hundred and forty-five steps, ten inches and a half broad, and six inches risers; a balcony within thirty-two feet from the top, whereon is a spacious and curious gilded flame, very suitable to the intent of the whole column.

On the front or west side of the die of the pedestal of this magnificent column is finely carved a curious emblem of this tragical scene, by the masterly hand of Mr. Gabriel Cibber. The eleven principal figures are in alto, the rest in basso relievo.

At the north end of the plain the city is represented in flames, and the inhabitants in consternation, their arms extended upward, crying for succour. A little nearer the horizon, the arms, cap of maintenance, and other ensigns of the city's grandeur, partly buried under the ruins. On the ruins, lies the figure of a woman crowned with a castle, her breasts pregnant, and in her hand a sword; representing the strong, plentiful, and well-governed city of London in distress. The king is represented on a place ascended to by three steps, providing by his power and prudence for the comfort of his citizens and ornament of his city. On the steps stand three women: 1. Liberty, having in her right hand a hat, wherein the word Liberty, denoting the freedom or liberty given those who engaged three years in the work. 2. Ichnographia, with rule and compasses in one hand, and a scroll in the other; near her, the emblem of Industry, a beehive. 3. Imagination, holding the emblem of Invention. All which intimate, that the speedy re-erection of the city was principally owing to liberty, imagination, contrivance, art, and industry. There is the figure of time raising the woman in distress, and Providence with a winged hand containing an eye, promising peace and plenty, by pointing to those two figures in the clouds. Behind the king, the work is going forward. Under the king's feet appears Envy enraged at the prospect of success, and blowing flames out of his mouth. The figure of a lion, with

one fore-foot tied up, and the muzzle of a cannon, denote this deplorable misfortune to have happened in time of war; and Mars, with a chaplet in his hand, is an emblem of approaching peace. Round the cornice are noble enrichments of trophy work, sword, the king's arms, cap of maintenance, &c., at the angles, four very large dragons, the supporters of the city arms.

On this column of perpetual remembrance the lord mayor and court of aldermen have ordered inscriptions to be cut in Latin:

That on the north side, describes the desolation of the city in ashes; and is thus translated:

In the year of Christ 1666, the second day of September, eastward from hence at the distance of two hundred and two feet, (the height of this column) about midnight, a most terrible fire broke out, which, driven by a high wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also places very remote, with incredible noise and fury: it consumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses, four hundred streets; of twenty-six wards, it entirely consumed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt; the ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from the Tower by the Thames side to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate of the city wall to Holborn-bridge: to the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable*; that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world.

The destruction was sudden, for in a small space of time, the the same city, was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing.

Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human councils and endeavours, in the opinions of all, as it were by the will of heaven, it stopped, and on every side was extinguished.

The south side describes the glorious restoration of the city, and has been thus translated:—

Charles the Second, son of Charles the Martyr, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, while

* It was a very miraculous circumstance, amidst all this destruction and public confusion, no person was known either to be burnt, or trodden to death in the streets.

the ruins were yet smoking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and the ornament of his city; remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants to the parliament, who immediately passed an act, that public buildings should be restored to greater beauty with public money, to be raised by an imposition on coals; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul's, should be rebuilt from their foundations with all magnificence; that bridges, gates, and prisons should be made new; the sewers cleansed; the streets made straight and regular; such as were steep, levelled, and those too narrow, made wider; markets and shambles removed to separate places. They also enacted, that every house should be built with party walls, and all in front raised of equal height, and those walls all of square stone or brick; and that no man should delay beyond the space of seven years. Moreover, care was taken by law to prevent all suits about their bounds. Also, anniversary prayers were enjoined;* and to perpetuate the memory hereof to posterity, they caused this column to be erected. The work was carried on with diligence, and London is restored; but whether with greater speed or beauty may be made a question. Three years' time saw that finished which was supposed to be the business of an age.

The east side, over the door, has an inscription, thus Englished:

This pillar was begun, Sir Richard Ford, knight, being lord mayor of London, in the year 1671: carried on in the mayoralties of Sir George Waterman, knight; Sir Robert Hanson, knight; Sir William Hooker, knight; Sir Robert Vinen, knight; Sir Joseph Sheldon, knight; and finished, Sir Thomas Davis, knight, being lord mayor, in the year 1677.

The inscription on the plinth of the lower pedestal is in page 245.

On a stone in front of the house built on the spot where the fire began, there was (very lately) the following inscription:

* By statute 19 and 20, Car. II., it is enacted, That the citizens of London, and their successors for the time to come, may retain the memory of so sad a desolation, and reflect seriously on the manifold iniquities, which are the unhappy causes of such judgments: be it therefore enacted, that the second day of September (unless the same happen to be Sunday, and if so, then the next day following) be yearly for ever hereafter observed as a day of fasting and humiliation within the said city and liberties thereof, to implore the mercy of Almighty God upon the said city; to make devout prayers and supplications unto him, to divert the like calamity for the time to come.

"Here, by the permission of Heaven, hell broke loose on this protestant city, from the malicious hearts of barbarous Papists, by the hand of their agent, Hubert, who confessed, and on the ruins of this place declared his fact, for which he was hanged, viz.:—That he here began the dreadful fire, which is described and perpetuated on and by the neighbouring pillar. Erected 1680, in the mayorality of Sir Patience Ward, knight."

THE

STORM:

OR, A

COLLECTION

Of the most Remarkable

CASUALTIES

AND

DISASTERS

Which happen'd in the Late

Dreadful TEMPEST,

BOTH BY

SEA and LAND.

The Lord hath his way in the Whirlwind, and in the Storm, and the Clouds are the dust of his Feet.—Nah. i. 3.

LONDON:

Printed for *G. Sawbridge*, in *Little Britain*, and Sold by *E. Nutt*, near *Stationer's Hall.* MDCCIV.

THE PREFACE.

PREACHING of sermons is speaking to a few of mankind: printing of books is talking to the whole world. The parson prescribes himself, and addresses to the particular auditory with the appelation of *My brethren*; but he that prints a book, ought to preface it with a *Noverint Universi*, Know all men by these presents.

The proper inference drawn from this remarkable observation, is, that though he that preaches from the pulpit ought to be careful of his words, that nothing pass from him but with an especial sanction of truth; yet he that prints and publishes to all the world, has a tenfold obligation.

The sermon is a sound of words spoken to the ear, and prepared only for present meditation, and extends no farther than the strength of memory can convey it; a book printed is a record, remaining in every man's possession, always ready to renew its acquaintance with his memory, and always ready to be produced as an authority or voucher to any reports he makes out of it, and conveys its contents for ages to come, to the eternity of mortal time, when the author is forgotten in his grave.

If a sermon be ill grounded, if the preacher imposes upon us, he trespasses on a few; but if a book printed obtrudes a falsehood, if a man tells a lie in print, he abuses mankind,

and imposes upon the whole world, he causes our children to tell lies after us, and their children after them, to the end of the world.

This observation I thought good to make by way of preface, to let the world know, that when I go about a work in which I must tell a great many stories, which may in their own nature seem incredible, and in which I must expect a great part of mankind will question the sincerity of the relator; I did not do it without a particular sense upon me of the proper duty of an historian, and the abundant duty laid on him to be very wary what he conveys to posterity.

I cannot be so ignorant of my own intentions, as not to know, that in many cases I shall act the divine, and draw necessary practical inferences from the extraordinary remarkables of this book, and some digressions which I hope may not be altogether useless in this case.

And while I pretend to a thing so solemn, I cannot but premise I should stand convicted of a double imposture, to forge a story, and then preach repentance to the reader from a crime greater than that I would have him repent of: endeavouring by a lie to correct the reader's vices, and sin against truth to bring the reader off from sinning against sense.

Upon this score, though the undertaking be very difficult amongst such an infinite variety of circumstances, to keep exactly within the bounds of truth; yet I have this positive assurance with me, that in all the subsequent relation, if the least mistake happen, it shall not be mine.

If I judge right, 'tis the duty of an historian to set every thing in its own light, and to convey matter of fact upon its legitimate authority, and no other: I mean thus (for I would be as explicit as I can), that where a story is vouched to him with

sufficient authority, he ought to give the world the special testimonial of its proper voucher, or else he is not just to the story: and where it comes without such sufficient authority, he ought to say so; otherwise he is not just to himself. In the first case he injures the history, by leaving it doubtful where it might be confirmed past all manner of question; in the last he injures his own reputation, by taking upon himself the risk, in case it proves a mistake, of having the world charge him with a forgery.

And indeed, I cannot but own it is just, that if I tell a story in print for a truth which proves otherwise, unless I, at the same time, give proper caution to the reader, by owning the uncertainty of my knowledge in the matter of fact, it is I impose upon the world; my relator is innocent, and the lie is my own.

I make all these preliminary observations, partly to inform the reader, that I have not undertaken this work without the serious consideration of what I owe to truth, and to posterity; nor without a sense of the extraordinary variety and novelty of the relation.

I am sensible, that the want of this caution is the foundation of that great misfortune we have in matters of ancient history; in which the impudence, the ribaldry, the empty flourishes, the little regard to truth, and the fondness of telling a strange story, has dwindled a great many valuable pieces of ancient history into mere romance.

How are the lives of some of our most famous men, nay, the actions of whole ages, drowned in fable? Not that there wanted pen-men to write, but that their writings were continually mixed with such rhodomontades of the authors that posterity rejected them as fabulous.

From hence it comes to pass that matters of fact are handed

down to posterity with so little certainty, that nothing is to be depended upon; from hence the uncertain account of things and actions in the remoter ages of the world, the confounding the genealogies as well as achievements of *Belus*, *Nimrod*, and *Nimrus*, and their successors, the histories and originals of *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and the rest of the celestial rabble, whom mankind would have been ashamed to have called *Gods*, had they had the true account of their dissolute, exorbitant, and inhuman lives.

From men we may descend to action: and this prodigious looseness of the pen has confounded history and fable from the beginning of both. Thus the great flood in *Deucalion's* time is made to pass for the universal deluge: the ingenuity of *Dedalus*, who by a clue of thread got out of the *Egyptian* maze, which was thought impossible, is grown into a fable of making himself a pair of wings, and flying through the air:—the great drought and violent heat of summer, thought to be the time when the great famine was in *Samaria*, fabled by the poets and historians into *Phaeton* borrowing the chariot of the sun, and giving the horses their heads, they run so near the earth as burnt up all the nearest parts, and scorched the inhabitants, so that they have been black in those parts ever since.

These, and such like ridiculous stuff, have been the effects of the pageantry of historians in former ages: and I might descend nearer home, to the legends of fabulous history which have swallowed up the actions of our ancient predecessors, King *Arthur*, the Giant *Gogmagog*, and the *Britain*, the stories of St. *George* and the *Dragon*, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, *Bevis* of *Southampton*, and the like.

I'll account for better conduct in the ensuing history: and though some things here related shall have equal wonder du

to them, posterity shall not have equal occasion to distrust the verity of the relation.

I confess here is room for abundance of romance, because the subject may be safer extended than in any other case, no story being capable to be crowded with such circumstances, but infinite power, which is all along concerned with us in every relation, is supposed capable of making true.

Yet we shall nowhere so trespass upon fact, as to oblige infinite power to the shewing more miracles than it intended.

It must be allowed, that when nature was put into so much confusion, and the surface of the earth and sea felt such extraordinary a disorder, innumerable accidents would fall out that till the like occasion happen may never more be seen, and unless a like occasion had happened could never before be heard of: wherefore the particular circumstances being so wonderful, serve but to remember posterity of the more wonderful extreme, which was the immediate cause.

The uses and application made from this terrible doctrine, I leave to the men of the pulpit; only take the freedom to observe, that when heaven itself lays down the doctrine, all men are summoned to make applications by themselves.

The main inference I shall pretend to make or at least venture the exposing to public view, in this case, is, the strong evidence God has been pleased to give in this terrible manner to his own being, which mankind began more than ever to affront and despise: and I cannot but have so much charity for the worst of my fellow-creatures, that I believe no man was so hardened against the sense of his maker, but he felt some shocks of his wicked confidence from the convulsions of nature at this time.

I cannot believe any man so rooted in atheistical opinions, as not to find some cause to doubt whether he was not in the

wrong, and a little to apprehend the possibility of a supreme being, when he felt the terrible blasts of this tempest. I cannot doubt but the atheist's hardened soul trembled a little as well as his house, and he felt some nature asking him some little questions; as these—*Am not I mistaken? Certainly there is some such thing as a God—What can all this be? What is the matter in the world?*

Certainly atheism is one of the most irrational principles in the world; there is something incongruous in it with the test of humane policy, because there is a risk in the mistake one way, and none another. If the christian is mistaken, and it should at last appear that there is no future state, God or Devil, reward or punishment, where is the harm of it? All he has lost is, that he has practised a few needless mortifications, and took the pains to live a little more like a man than he would have done. But if the atheist is mistaken, he has brought all the powers, whose being he denied, upon his back, has provoked the infinite in the highest manner, and must at last sink under the anger of him whose nature he has always disowned.

I would recommend this thought to any man to consider of, one way he can lose nothing, the other way be undone. Certainly a wise man would never run such an unequal risk: a man cannot answer it to common arguments, the law of Numbers, and the rules of proportion are against him. No gamester will set at such a main; no man will lay such a wager, where he may lose, but cannot win.

There is another unhappy misfortune in the mistake too, that it can never be discovered till it is too late to remedy. He that resolves to die an atheist, shuts the door against being convinced in time.

If it should so fall out, as who can tell,
But that there is a God, a Heaven, and Hell,
Mankind had best consider well for fear,
'T should be too late when his mistakes appear.

I should not pretend to set up for an instructor in this case, were not the inference so exceeding just; who can but preach where there is such a text? when God himself speaks his own power, he expects we should draw just inferences from it, both for ourselves and our friends.

If one man, in an hundred years, shall arrive at a conviction of the being of his maker, it is very worth my while to write it, and to bear the character of an impertinent fellow from all the rest.

I thought to make some apology for the meanness of style, and the method, which may be a little unusual, of printing letters from the country in their own style.

For the last I only leave this short reason with the reader, the desire I had to keep close to the truth, and hand my relation with the true authorities from whence I received it, together with some justice to the gentlemen concerned, who, especially in cases of deliverances, are willing to record the testimonial of the mercies they received, and to set their hands to the humble acknowledgment. The plainness and honesty of the story will plead for the meanness of the style in many of the letters, and the reader cannot want eyes to see what sort of people some of them come from.

Others speak for themselves, and being writ by men of letters, as well as men of principles, I have not arrogance enough to attempt a correction either of the sense or style; and if I had gone about it, should have injured both author and reader.

These come dressed in their own words because I ought not, and those because I could not mend them. I am persuaded, they are all dressed in the desirable, though unfashionable garb of truth, and I doubt not but posterity will read them with pleasure.

The gentlemen, who have taken the pains to collect and transmit the particular relations here made public, I hope will have their end answered in this essay, conveying hereby to the ages to come the memory of the dreadfulest and most universal judgment that ever almighty power thought fit to bring upon this part of the world.

And as this was the true native and original design of the first undertaking, abstracted from any part of the printer's advantage, the editor and undertakers of this work, having their ends entirely answered, hereby give their humble thanks to all those gentlemen who have so far approved the sincerity of their design as to contribute their trouble, and help forward by their just observations, the otherwise very difficult undertaking.

If posterity will but make the desired improvement both of the collector's pains, as well as the several gentlemen's care in furnishing the particulars, I dare say they will all acknowledge their end fully answered, and none more readily than

THE AGE'S HUMBLE SERVANT.

THE STORM.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NATURAL CAUSES AND ORIGINAL OF WINDS.

THOUGH a system of exhalation, dilation, and extension, things which the ancients founded the doctrine of winds upon, be not my direct business, yet it cannot but be needful to the present design to note, that the difference in the opinions of the ancients, about the nature and original of winds, is a leading step to one assertion which I have advanced in all that I have said with relation to winds, viz. :—that there seems to be more of God in the whole appearance, than in any other part of operating nature.

Nor do I think I need explain myself very far in this notion: I allow the high original of nature to be the Great Author of all her actings, and by the strict rein of his providence, is the continual and exact guide of her executive power; but still it is plain that in some of the principal parts of nature she is naked to our eye. Things appear both in their causes and consequences, demonstration gives its assistance, and finishes our further inquiries: for we never inquire after God in those works of nature which depending upon the course of things are plain and demonstrative; but where we find nature defective in her discovery, where we see effects but cannot reach their causes; there it is most just, and nature herself seems to direct us to it, to end the rational inquiry, and resolve it into speculation: nature plainly refers us beyond herself, to the mighty hand of infinite power, the the author of nature, and original of all causes.

Among these Arcana of the sovereign Oeconomy, the winds are laid as far back as any. Those ancient men of genius who rifled nature by the torch-light of reason even to her very nudities, have been run a-ground in this unknown

channel; the wind has blown out the candle of reason, and left them all in the dark.

Aristotle, in his problems, sec. 23, calls the wind, "Aeris Impulsum." Seneca says, "Ventus est aer fluens." The Stoics held it, "Motum aut fluxionem aeris." Mr. Hobbs, "Air moved in a direct or undulating motion." Fsurnier, "Le-Vent et un movement agitation de l' air causi par des exhalations et vapours." The moderns, "A hot and dry exhalation repulsed by antiperistasis;" Des Cartes defines it, "Venti nihil sunt nisi moti, &c." Dilati Vapores, and various other opinions are very judiciously collected by the learned Mr. Bohun in his treatise of the origin and properties of wind, p. 7, and concludes, "That no one hypothesis, how comprehensive soever, has yet been able to resolve all the incident phenomena of Winds." Bohun, of winds p. 9.

This is what I quote them for, and this is all my argument demands; the deepest search into the region of cause and consequence, has found out just enough to leave the wisest philosopher in the dark, to bewilder his head, and drown his understanding. You raise a storm in nature by the very inquiry; and at last, to be rid of you, she confesses the truth and tells you, "It is not in me, you must go home and ask my father."

Whether then it be the motion of air, and what that air is, which as yet is undefined, whether it is a dilation, a previous contraction, and then violent extension as in gunpowder, whether the motion is direct, circular, or oblique, whether it be an exhalation repulsed by the middle region, and the antiperistatis of that part of the heavens which is set as a wall of brass to bind up the atmosphere, and keep it within its proper compass for the functions of respiration condensing and rarefying, without which nature would be all in confusion; whatever are their efficient causes, it is not to the immediate design.

It is apparent, that God Almighty, whom the philosophers care as little as possible to have anything to do with, seems to have reserved this, as one of those secrets in nature which should more directly guide them to himself.

Not but that a philosopher may be a Christian, and some of the best of the latter have been the best of the former, as Vossius, Mr. Boyle, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Verulam, Dr.

Harvey, and others; and I wish I could say Mr. Hobbs, for it a pity there should lie any just exceptions to the piety of a man, who had so few to his general knowledge, and an exalted spirit in philosophy.

When therefore I say the philosophers do not care to concern God himself in the search after natural knowledge, I mean, as it concerns natural knowledge, merely as such; for it is a natural cause they seek, from a general maxim, that all nature has its cause within itself: it is true, it is the darkest part of the search, to trace the chain backward; to begin at the consequence, and from thence hunt counter, as we may call it, to find out the cause: it would be much easier if we could begin at the cause, and trace it to all its consequences.

I make no question, the search would be equally to the advantage of science, and the improvement of the world; for without doubt there are some consequences of known causes which are not yet discovered, and I am as ready to believe there are yet in nature some *terra incognita* both as to cause and consequence too.

In this search after causes, the philosopher, though he may at the same time be a very good Christian, cares not at all to meddle with his Maker: the reason is plain; we may at any time resolve all things into infinite power, and we do allow that the finger of Infinite is the first mighty cause of nature herself: but the treasury of immediate cause is generally committed to nature; and if at any time we are driven to look beyond her, it is because we are out of the way: it is not because it is not in her, but because we cannot find it.

Two men met in the middle of a great wood; one was searching for a plant which grew in the wood, the other had lost himself in the wood, and wanted to get out: the latter rejoiced when through the trees he saw the open country; but the other man's business was not to get out, but to find what he looked for: yet this man no more under-valued the pleasantness of the champion country than the other.

Thus in nature, the philosopher's business is not to look through nature, and come to the vast open field of infinite power; his business is in the wood; there grows the plant he looks for; and it is there he must find it. Philosophy's aground if it is forced to any farther inquiry. The Christian begins just where the philosopher ends; and when the in-

quirer turns his eyes up to heaven, farewell philosopher; it is a sign he can make nothing of it here.

David was a good man, the scripture gives him that testimony; but I am of the opinion, that he was a better king than a scholar, more a saint than a philosopher: and it seems very proper to judge that David was upon the search of natural causes, and found himself puzzled as to the inquiry, when he finishes the inquiry with two pious ejaculations, "When I view the Heavens, the works of thy hands, the moon and the stars which thou hast made; then I say, what is man!" David may very rationally be supposed to be searching the causes, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies; and finding his philosophy aground, and the discovery not to answer his search, he turns it all to a pious use, recognises infinite power, and applies it to the ecstacies and raptures of his soul, which were always employed in the charm of exhalted praise.

Thus in another place we find him dissecting the womb of his mother, and deep in the study of anatomy; but having, as it may be well supposed, no help from John Remelini, or of the learned Riolanus, and other anatomists, famous for the most exquisite discovery of human body, and all the vessels of life, with their proper dimensions and use, all David could say to the matter was, good man, to look up to heaven, and admire what he could not understand, Psal.— "I was fearfully and wonderfully made," &c.

This is very good, and well becomes a pulpit; but what is all this to a philosopher? It is not enough for him to know that God has made the heavens, the moon, and the stars, but must inform himself where he has placed them, and why there; and what their business, what their influences, their functions, and the end of their being. It is not enough for an anatomist to know that he is fearfully and wonderfully made in the lowermost part of the earth, but he must see those lowermost parts; search into the method nature proceeds upon in the performing the office appointed, must search the steps she takes, the tools she works by; and, in short, know all that the God of nature has permitted to be capable of demonstration.

And it seems a just authority for our search, that some things are so placed in nature by a chain of causes and effects, that upon a diligent search we may find out what we

look for: to search after what God has in his sovereignty thought fit to conceal, may be criminal, and doubtless is so; and the fruitlessness of the inquiry is generally part of the punishment to a vain curiosity: but to search after what our maker has not hid, only covered with a thin veil of natural obscurity, and which upon our search is plain to be read, seems to be justified by the very nature of the thing, and the possibility of the demonstration is an argument to prove the lawfulness of the inquiry.

The design of this digression, is, in short, that as where nature is plain to be searched into, and demonstration easy, the philosopher is allowed to seek for it; so where God has, as it were, laid his hand upon any place, and nature presents us with an universal blank, we are therein led as naturally to recognise the infinite wisdom and power of the God of nature, as David was in the texts before quoted.

And this is the case here; the winds are some of those inscrutables of nature, in which human search has not yet been able to arrive at any demonstration.

"The winds," says the learned Mr. Bohun, "are generated in the intermediate space between the earth and the clouds, either by rarefaction or repletion, and sometimes haply by pressure of clouds, elastical virtue of the air, &c., from the earth or seas, as by submarine or subterraneal eruption or decension or refelition from the middle region."

All this, though no man is more capable of the inquiry than this gentleman, yet to the demonstration of the thing, amounts to no more than what we had before, and still leaves it as abstruse and cloudy to our understanding as ever.

Not but that I think myself bound in duty to science in general, to pay a just debt to the excellency of philosophical study, in which I am a mere junior, and hardly any more than an admirer; and therefore I cannot but allow that the demonstrations made of rarefaction and dilation are extraordinary; and that by fire and water wind may be raised in a close room, as the Lord Verulam made experiment in the case of his feathers.

But that, therefore, all the causes of wind are from the influences of the sun upon vaporous matter first exhaled, which being dilated are obliged to possess themselves of more space than before, and consequently make the particles fly before them; this does not seem to be a sufficient demonstra-

tion of wind: for this, to my weak apprehension, would rather make a blow like gunpowder than a rushing forward; at best this is indeed a probable conjecture, but admits not of demonstration equal to other phenomena in nature.

And this is all I am upon, viz., that this case has not equal proofs of the natural causes of it that we meet with in other cases: the Scripture seems to confirm this, when it says, in one place, "He holds the wind in his hand;" as if he should mean, other things are left to the common discoveries of natural inquiry, but this is a thing he holds in his own hand, and has concealed it from the search of the most diligent and piercing understanding: this is farther confirmed by the words of our Saviour, "The wind blows where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh"; it is plainly expressed to signify that the causes of the wind are not equally discovered by natural inquiry as the rest of nature is.

If I would carry this matter on, and travel into the seas, and mountains of America, where the mansones, the trade-winds, the sea-breezes and such winds as we have little knowledge of, are more common; it would yet more plainly appear "that we hear the sound, but know not from whence they come."

Nor is the cause of their motion parallel to the surface of the earth, a less mystery than their real original, or the difficulty of their generation: and though some people have been forward to prove the gravity of the particles must cause the motion to be oblique; it is plain it must be very little so, or else navigation would be impracticable, and in extraordinary cases where the pressure above is perpendicular, it has been fatal to ships, houses, &c., and would have terrible effects in the world, if it should more frequently be so.

From this I draw only this conclusion, that the winds are a part of the works of God by nature, in which he has been pleased to communicate less of demonstration to us than in other cases; that the particulars more directly lead us to speculations, and refer us to infinite power more than the other parts of nature does.

That the wind is more expressive and adapted to his immediate power, as he is pleased to exert it in extraordinary cases in the world.

That it is more frequently made use of as the executioner

of his judgments in the world, and extrordinary events are brought to pass by it.

From these three heads we are brought down directly to speak of the particular storm before us; viz., the greatest, the longest in duration, the widest in extent, of all the tempests and storms that history gives any account of since the beginning of time.

In the farther conduct of the story, it will not be foreign to the purpose, nor unprofitable to the reader, to review the histories of ancient time and remote countries, and examine in what manner God has been pleased to execute his judgments by storms and tempests; what kind of things they have been, and what the consequences of them; and then bring down the parallel to the dreadful instance before us.

We read in the Scripture of two great storms; one past and the other to come. Whether the last be not allegorical rather than prophetical, I shall not busy myself to determine.

The first was when God caused a strong wind to blow upon the face of the deluged world; to put a stop to the flood, and reduce the waters to their proper channel.

I wish our naturalists would explain that wind to us, and tell us which way it blew, or how it is possible that any direct wind could cause the waters to ebb; for to me it seems, that the deluge being universal, that wind which blew the waters from one part must blow them up in another.

Whether it was not some perpendicular gusts that might by their force separate the water and the earth, and cause the water driven from off the land to subside by its own pressure.

I shall dive no farther into that mysterious deluge, which has some things in it which recommend the story rather to our faith than demonstration.

The other storm I find in the Scripture is that "God shall reign upon the wicked, plagues, fire, and a horrible tempest." What this shall be, we wait to know; and happy are they who shall be secured from its effects.

Histories are full of instances of violent tempests and storms in sundry particular places. What that was, which mingled with such violent lightnings set the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah on fire, remains to me yet undecided: nor am satisfied the effect it had on the waters of the lake, which

are to this day called the Dead Sea, are such as some fabulous authors have related, and as travellers take upon them to say.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE OPINION OF THE ANCIENTS, THAT THIS ISLAND WAS MORE SUBJECT TO STORMS THAN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

I AM not of opinion with the early ages of the world, when these islands were first known, that they were the most terrible of any part of the world for storms and tempests.

Cambden tells us, the Britons were distinguished from all the world by unpassable seas and terrible northern winds, which made the Albion shores dreadful to sailors; and this part of the world was therefore reckoned the utmost bounds of the northern known land, beyond which none had ever sailed: and quotes a great variety of ancient authors to this purpose; some of which I present as a specimen.

Et Penitus Toto Divisos Orbe Britannos.

Britain's disjoined from all the well known world.

Quem Littus adusta,
Horrescit Lybiæ, ratibusq; Impervia *—*Thule.*
Ignotumq; Fretum.—*Claud.*

And if the notions the world then had were true, it would be very absurd for us who live here to pretend miracles in any extremes of tempests; since by what the poets of those ages flourished about stormy weather, was the native and most proper epithet of the place:

Belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.—*Hor.*

Nay, some are for placing the nativity of the winds hereabouts, as if they had been all generated here, and the confluence of matter had made this island its general rendezvous.

But I shall easily show, that there are several places in the world far better adapted to be the general receptacle or centre of vapours, to supply a fund of tempestuous matter than England; as particularly the vast lakes of North America, of which afterwards.

* Taken frequently for Britain.

And yet I have two notions, one real, one imaginary, of the reasons which gave the ancients such terrible apprehensions of this part of the world; which of late we find as habitable and navigable as any of the rest.

The real occasion I suppose thus: that before the multitude and industry of inhabitants prevailed to the managing, enclosing, and improving the country, the vast tract of land in this island which continually lay open to the flux of the sea, and to the inundations of land-waters, were as so many standing lakes; from whence the sun continually exhaling vast quantities of moist vapours, the air could not but be continually crowded with all those parts of necessary matter to which we ascribe the original of winds, rains, storms, and the like.

He that is acquainted with the situation of England, and can reflect on the vast quantities of flat grounds, on the banks of all our navigable rivers, and the shores of the sea, which lands at least lying under water every spring tide, and being thereby continually full of moisture, were like a stagnated standing body of water brooding vapours in the interval of the tide, must own that at least a fifteenth part of the whole island may come into this denomination.

Let him that doubts the truth of this, examine a little the particulars; let him stand upon Shooters Hill in Kent, and view the mouth of the river Thames, and consider what a river it must be when none of the marshes on either side were walled in from the sea, and when the sea without all question flowed up to the foot of the hills on either shore, and up every creek, where he must allow is now dry land on either side the river for two miles in breadth at least, sometimes three or four, for above forty miles on both sides the river.

Let him farther reflect, how all these parts lay when, as our ancient histories relate, the Danish fleet came up almost to Hartford; so that all that range of fresh marshes which reach for twenty-five miles in length, from Ware to the river Thames, must be a sea.

In short, let any such considering person imagine the vast tract of marsh-lands on both sides the river Thames, to Harwich on the Essex side, and to Whitstable on the Kentish side, the levels of marshes up the Stour from Sandwich to Canterbury, the whole extent of the low-grounds commonly

called Rumney-marsh, from Hythe to Winchelsea, and up the banks of the Rother; all which put together, and being allowed to be in one place covered with water, what a lake would it be supposed to make? According to the nicest calculations I can make, it could not amount to less than 500,000 acres of land.

The isle of Ely, with the flats up the several rivers from Yarmouth to Norwich, Beccles, &c., the continued levels in the several counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln, I believe do really contain as much land as the whole county of Norfolk; and it is not many ages since these countries were universally one vast Moras or Lough, and the few solid parts wholly unapproachable: insomuch that the town of Ely itself was a receptacle for the malecontents of the nation, where no reasonable force could come near to dislodge them.

It is needless to reckon up twelve or fourteen like places in England, as the moores in Somersetshire, the flat shores in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Durham, the like in Hampshire, and Sussex; and in short, on the banks of every navigable river.

The sum of the matter is this; that while this nation was thus full of standing lakes, stagnated waters, and moist places, the multitude of exhalations must furnish the air with a quantity of matter for showers and storms, infinitely more than it can be now supplied withal, those vast tracts of land being now fenced off, laid dry, and turned into wholesome and profitable provinces.

This seems demonstrated from Ireland, where the multitude of loughs, lakes, bogs, and moist places, serve the air, with exhalations, which give themselves back again in showers, and make it be called, the pisspot of the world.

The imaginary notion I have to advance on this head, amounts only to a reflection upon the skill of those ages in the art of navigation; which being far short of what it is since arrived to, made these vast northern seas too terrible for them to venture in: and accordingly, they raised those apprehensions up to fable, which began only in their want of judgment.

The Phonecians, who were our first navigators, the Genoese, and after them the Portugese, who arrived to extraordinary proficiency in sea affairs, were yet all of them as we

say, fair-weather seamen: the chief of their navigation was coasting; and if they were driven out of their knowledge, had work enough to find their way home, and sometimes never found it at all; but one sea conveyed them directly into the last ocean, from whence no navigation could return them.

When these, by adventures, or misadventures rather, had at any time extended their voyaging as far as this island, which, by the way, they always performed round the coast of Spain, Portugal, and France; if ever such a vessel returned, if ever the bold navigator arrived at home, he had done enough to talk on all his days, and needed no other diversion among his neighbours, than to give an account of the vast seas, mighty rocks, deep gulfs, and prodigious storms he met with in these remote parts of the known world: and this magnified by the poetical arts of the learned men of those times, grew into a received maxim of navigation. That these parts were so full of constant tempests, storms, and dangerous seas, that it was present death to come near them, and none but madmen and desperadoes could have any business there, since they were places where ships never came, and navigation was not proper in the place.

And Thule, where no passage was
For ships their sails to bear.

Horace has reference to this horrid part of the world, as a place full of terrible monsters, and fit only for their habitation, in the words before quoted.

Belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.

Juvenal follows his steps;

Quanto Delphino Balæna Britannica major.—*Juv.*

Such horrid apprehensions those ages had of these parts, which by our experience, and the prodigy to which navigation in particular, and sciential knowledge in general, is since grown, appear very ridiculous.

For we find no danger in our shores, no uncertain wavering in our tides, no frightful gulfs, no horrid monsters, but what the bold mariner has made familiar to him. The gulfs, which frighted those early sons of Neptune, are searched out by our seamen, and made useful bays, roads, and harbours of safety. The promontories which running out into the sea

gave them terrible apprehensions of danger, are our safety and make the sailors' hearts glad, as they are the first lands they make when they are coming home from a long voyage, or as they are a good shelter when in a storm our ships get under their lee.

Our shores are sounded, the sands and flats are discovered, which they knew little or nothing of, and in which more real danger lies, than in all the frightful stories they told us; useful sea-marks and land-figures are placed on the shore, buoys, on the water, lighthouses on the highest rocks; and all these dreadful parts of the world are become the seat of trade, and the centre of navigation: art has reconciled all the difficulties, and use made all the horribles and terribles of those ages become as natural and familiar as daylight.

The hidden sands, almost the only real dread of a sailor, and by which till the channels between them were found out, our eastern coast must be really unpassable, now serve to make harbours: and Yarmouth road was made a safe place for shipping by them. Nay, when Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other good harbours would not defend our ships in the violent tempest we are treating of, here was the least damage done of any place in England, considering the number of ships which lay at anchor, and the openness of the place.

So that upon the whole it seems plain to me, that all the dismal things the ancients told us of Britain, and her terrible shores, arose from the infancy of marine knowledge, and the weakness of the sailor's courage.

Not but that I readily allow we are more subject to bad weather and hard gales of wind than the coasts of Spain, Italy, and Barbary: but if this be allowed, our improvement in the art of building ships is so considerable, our vessels are so prepared to ride out the most violent storms, that the fury of the Sea is the least thing our sailors fear: keep them but from a lee shore, or touching upon a sand, they will venture all the rest: and nothing is a greater satisfaction to them, if they have a storm in view, than a sound bottom and good sea room.

From hence it comes to pass, that such winds as in those days would have passed for storms, are called only a fresh gale, or blowing hard. If it blows enough to fright a South country sailor, we laugh at it: and if our sailors bald terms

were set down in a table of degrees, it will explain what we mean.

Stark calm.	A topsail gale.
Calm weather.	Blows fresh.
Little wind.	A hard gale of wind.
A fine breeze.	A fret of wind.
A small gale.	A storm.
A fresh gale.	A tempest.

Just half these tarpaulin article, I presume, would have passed in those days for a storm; and that our sailors call a top sail gale would have drove the navigators of those ages into harbours: when our sailors reef a topsail, they would have handed all their sails; and when we go under a main course, they would have run afore it for life to the next port they could make: when our hard gale blows, they would have cried a tempest; and about the fret of wind they would be all at their prayers.

And if we should reckon by this account, we are a stormy country indeed, our seas are no more navigable now for such sailors than they were then: if the Japanesses, the East Indians, and such like navigators were to come with their thin cockle shell barks and calico sails; if Cleopatra's fleet, or Cæsar's great ships with which he fought the battle of Actium, were to come upon our seas, there hardly comes a March or a September in twenty years but would blow them to pieces, and then the poor remnant that got home, would go and talk of a terrible country where there is nothing but storms and tempests; when all the matter is, the weakness of their shipping, and the ignorance of their seamen: and I make no question but our ships ride out many a worse storm than that terrible tempest which scattered Julius Cæsar's fleet, or the same that drove Æneas on the coast of Carthage.

And in modern times we have a famous instance in the Spanish Armada; which, after it rather frighted than damaged by Sir Francis Drake's machines, not then known by the name of fire ships, were scattered by a terrible storm, and lost upon every shore.

The case is plain, it was all owing to the accident of navigation: they had, no doubt, a hard gale of wind, and perhaps a storm; but they were also on an enemy's coast, their pilots out of their knowledge, no harbour to run into, and an

enemy astern, that when once they separated, fear drove them from one danger to another, and away they went to the northward, where they had nothing but God's mercy, and the winds and seas to help them. In all those storms and distresses which ruined that fleet, we do not find an account of the loss of one ship, either of the English or Dutch; the Queen's fleet rode it out in the downs, which all men know is none of the best roads in the world; and the Dutch rode among the flats of the Flemish coast, while the vast galleons not so well fitted for the weather, were forced to keep the sea, and were driven to and fro till they had got out of their knowledge; and like men desperate, embraced every danger they came near.

This long digression I could not but think needful, in order to clear up the case, having never met with anything on this head before: at the same time it is allowed, and histories are full of the particulars, that we have often very high winds, and sometimes violent tempests in these northern parts of the world; but I am still of opinion, such a tempest never happenned before as that which is the subject of these sheets: and I refer the reader to the particulars.

CHAPTER. III.

OF THE STORM IN GENERAL.

BEFORE we come to examine the damage suffered by this terrible night, and give a particular relation of its dismal effects; it is necessary to give a summary account of the thing itself, with all its affrightning circumstances.

It had blown exceeding hard, as I have already observed, for about fourteen days past; and that so hard, that we thought it terrible weather: several stacks of chimnies were blown down, and several ships were lost, and the tiles in many places were blown off from the houses; and the nearer it came to the fatal 26th of November, the tempestuousness of the weather encreased.

On the Wednesday morning before, being the 24th of November, it was fair weather, and blew hard; but not so as to give any apprehensions, till about four o'clock in the afternoon the wind increased, and with squalls of rain and terrible gusts blew very furiously.

The collector of these sheets narrowly escaped the mischief of a part of a house, which fell on the evening of that day by the violence of the wind; and abundance of tiles were blown off the houses that night: the wind continued with unusual violence all the next day and night; and had not the great storm followed so soon, this had passed for a great wind.

On Friday morning, it continued to blow exceeding hard, but not so as that it gave any apprehensions of danger within doors; towards night it increased: and about ten o'clock, our barometers informed us that the night would be very tempestuous; the Mercury sunk lower than ever I had observed it on any occasion whatsoever, which made me suppose the tube had been handled and disturbed by the children.

But as my observations of this nature are not regular enough to supply the reader with a full information, the disorders of that dreadful night have found me other employment, expecting every moment when the house I was in would bury us all in its own ruins; I have therefore subjoined a letter from an ingenious gentleman on this very head, directed to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 289, P. 1530, as follows:—

A Letter from the Reverend Mr. William Derham, F.R.S., *containing his Observations concerning the late Storm.*

Sir—According to my promise at the general meeting of the R. S. on St. Andrew's day, I here send you inclosed the account of my ingenious and inquisitive friend Richard Towneley, Esq.; concerning the state of the atmosphere in that part of Lancashire where he liveth, in the late dismal storm. And I hope it will not be unacceptable, to accompany his with my own observations at Upminster; especially since I shall not weary you with a long history of the devastations, &c., but rather some particulars of a more philosophical consideration.

And first, I do not think it improper to look back to the preceding seasons of the year. I scarce believe I shall go out of the way, to reflect as far back as April, May, June and July; because all these were wet months in our southern parts. In April there fell 12.49 lbs. of rain through my tunnel: and about 6, 7, 8, or 9, lbs. I esteem a moderate

quantity for Upminster. In May, there fell more than in any month of any year since the year 1696, viz. 20.77 lbs. June likewise was a dripping month, in which fell 14.55 lbs. And July, although it had considerable intermissions, yet had 14.19 lbs. above 11 lbs. of which fell on July 28th and 29th in violent showers. And I remember the newspapers gave accounts of great rains that month from divers places of Europe; but the north of England (which also escaped the violence of the late storm) was not so remarkably wet in any of those months; at least not in that great proportion more than we, as usually they are; as I guess from the tables of rain, with which Mr. Towneley hath favoured me. Particularly July was a dry month with them, there being no more than 3.65 lbs. of rain fell through Mr. Towneley's tunnel of the same diameter with mine.

From these months let us pass to September, and that we shall find to have been a wet month, especially the latter part of it; there fell of rain in that month, 14.86 lbs

October and November last, although not remarkably wet, yet have been open warm months for the most part. My thermometer (whose freezing point is about 84) hath been very seldom below 100 all this winter, and especially in November.

Thus I have laid before you as short account as I could of the preceding disposition of the year, particularly as to wet and warmth, because I am of opinion that these had a great influence in the late storm; not only in causing a replention of vapours in the atmosphere, but also in raising such nitro-sulphureous or other heterogeneous matter, which when mixed together might make a sort of explosion (like fired gunpowder) in the atmosphere. And, from this explosion, I judge those corruscations or flashes in the storm to have proceeded, which most people as well as myself observed, and which some took for lightning. But these things I leave to better judgments, such as that very ingenious member of our society, who hath undertaken the province of the late tempest; to whom, if you please, you may impart these papers; Mr. Halley, you know, I mean.

From preliminaries it is time to proceed nearer to the tempest itself. And the foregoing day, viz. Thursday, Nov. 25, I think deserveth regard. In the morning of that day was a little rain, the winds high in the afternoon S. b. E.

and S. In the evening there was lightning; and between 9 and 10 of the clock at night, a violent, but short storm of wind, and much rain at Upminster; and of hail in some other places, which did some damage: there fell in that storm 1.65 lbs. of rain. The next morning, which was Friday, Nov, 26. the wind was S.S.W. and high all day, and so continued till I was in bed and asleep. About 12 that night, the storm awakened me, which gradually increased till near 3 that morning; and from thence till near 7, it continued in the greatest excess: and then began to abate, and the mercury to rise swiftly. The barometer I found at 12 h. $\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. at 28.72, where it continued till about 6 the next morning, or 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, and then hastily rose; so that it was gotten to 82 about 8 of the clock, as in the table.

How the wind sat during the late storm I cannot positively say, it being excessively dark all the while, and my vane blown down also, when I could have seen: but by information from millers, and others that were forced to venture abroad; and by my own guess, I imagine it to have blown about S.W. by S. or nearer to the S. in the beginning, and to veer about towards the west towards the end of the storm, as far as W.S.W.

The degrees of the wind's strength being not measurable (that I know of, though talked of) but by guess, I thus determine, with respect to other storms. On Feb. 7, 169$\frac{8}{9}$. was a terrible storm that did much damage. This I number 10 degrees; the wind then W.N.W. vid. Ph. Tr. No. 262. Another remarkable storm was Feb. 3. 170$\frac{1}{2}$, at which time was the greatest descent of the Mercury ever known: this I number 9 degrees. But this last of November, I number at least 15 degrees.

As to the stations of the barometer, you have Mr. Towneley's and mine in the following table, to be seen at one view. As to November 17th (whereon Mr. Towneley mentions a violent storm in Oxfordshire) it was a stormy afternoon here at Upminster, accompanied with rain, but not violent, nor mercury very low. November 11th and 12th, had both higher winds and more rain; and the mercury was those days lower than even in the last storm of Nov. 26th.

Thus, sir, I have given you the truest account I can of what I thought most to deserve observation; both befor

and in the late storm. I could have added some other particulars, but that I fear I have already made my letter long, and am tedious. I shall therefore only add, that I have accounts of the violence of the storm at Norwich, Beccles, Sudbury, Colchester, Rochford, and several other intermediate places; but I need not tell particulars, because I question not but you have better informations.

A Table, showing the heigth of the Mercury in the Barometer at Towneley and Upminster, before, in, and after the Storm.

Towneley.			Upminster.		
Day.	Hour.	Height of Mercury.	Day.	Hour.	Height of Mercury.
Nov. 25	7	28 98	Nov 25	8	29 50
	3	64		12	39
	9½	61		9	14
26	7	80	26	8	33
	3	70		12	28
	9⅓	47		9	10
				12½	28 72
27	7	50	27	7½	82
	3	81		12	29 31
	9½	95		9	42
28	7	29 34	28	8	65
	3	62		12	83
	9	84		9	30 07
29	7	88	29	8	25

Thus far Mr. Derham's Letter.

It did not blow so hard till twelve o'clock at night, but that most families went to bed, though many of them not without some concern at the terrible wind which then blew. But about one, or, at least, by two o'clock, 'tis supposed, few people, that were capable of any sense of danger, were so hardy as to lie in bed. And the fury of the tempest increased to such a degree, that, as the editor of this account being in

London, and conversing with the people the next days, understood, most people expected the fall of their houses.

And yet, in this general apprehension, nobody durst quit their tottering habitations; for, whatever the danger was within doors, it was worse without. The bricks, tiles, and stones, from the tops of the houses, flew with such force, and so thick in the streets, that no one thought fit to venture out, though their houses were near demolished within.

The author of this relation was in a well built brick house in the skirts of the city, and a stack of chimneys falling in upon the next houses, gave the house such a shock, that they thought it was just coming down upon their heads: but opening the door to attempt an escape into a garden, the danger was so apparent, that they all thought fit to surrender to the disposal of Almighty Providence, and expect their graves in the ruins of the house, rather than to meet most certain destruction in the open garden. For, unless they could have gone above two hundred yards from any building, there had been no security; for the force of the wind blew the tiles point blank; though their weight inclines them downward, and in several very broad streets we saw the windows broken by the flying of tile-sherds from the other side: and where there was room for them to fly, the author of this has seen tiles blown from a house above thirty or forty yards, and stuck from five to eight inches into the solid earth. Pieces of timber, iron and sheets of lead, have from higher buildings been blown much farther, as in the particulars hereafter will appear.

It is the received opinion of abundance of people that they felt, during the impetuous fury of the wind, several movements of the earth, and we have several letters which affirm it. But as an earthquake must have been so general that everybody must have discerned it, and as the people were in their houses when they imagined they felt it, the shaking and terror of which might deceive their imagination, and impose upon their judgment, I shall not venture to affirm it was so. And being resolved to use so much caution in this relation as to transmit nothing to posterity without authentic vouchers, and such testimony as no reasonable man will dispute, so, if any relation came in our way, which may afford us a probability, though it may be related for the sake of its strangeness or novelty, it shall nevertheless come in the company of all its

uncertainties, and the reader left to judge of its truth: for this account had not been undertaken, but with design to undeceive the world in false relations, and to give an account backed with such authorities, as that the credit of it should admit of no disputes.

For this reason I cannot venture to affirm that there was any such thing as an earthquake; but the concern and consternation of all people was so great, that I cannot wonder at their imagining several things which were not, any more than their enlarging on things that were, since nothing is more frequent, than for fear to double every object, and impose upon the understanding: strong apprehensions being apt very often to persuade us of the reality of such things which we have no other reasons to show for the probability of than what are grounded in those fears which prevail at that juncture.

Others thought they heard it thunder. 'Tis confessed, the wind, by its unusual violence made such a noise in the air as had a resemblance to thunder, and it was observed, the roaring had a voice as much louder than usual, as the fury of the wind was greater than was ever known. The noise had also something in it more formidable; it sounded aloft, and roared not very much unlike remote thunder.

And yet, though I cannot remember to have heard it thunder, or that I saw any lightning, or heard of any that did in or near London; yet, in the country the air was seen full of meteors and vaporous fires: and in some places both thunderings and unusual flashes of lightning, to the great terror of the inhabitants.

And yet I cannot but observe here, how fearless such people as are addicted to wickedness, are both of God's judgments and uncommon prodigies; which is visible in this particular, that a gang of hardened rogues assaulted a family at Poplar, in the very height of the storm, broke into the house, and robbed them: it is observable, that the people cried thieves, and after that cried fire, in hopes to raise the neighbourhood, and to get some assistance; but such is the power of self-preservation, and such was the fear the minds of the people were possessed with, that nobody would venture out to the assistance of the distressed family, who were rifled and plundered in the middle of all the extremity of the tempest.

It would admit of a large comment here, and perhaps not

very unprofitable, to examine from what sad defect in principle it must be that men can be so destitute of all manner of regard to invisible and superior power, to be acting one of the vilest parts of a villain, while infinite power was threatening the whole world with desolation, and multitudes of people expected the last day was at hand.

Several women in the city of London who were in travail, or who fell into travail by the fright of the storm, were obliged to run the risk of being delivered with such help as they had; and midwives found their own lives in such danger, that few of them thought themselves obliged to shew any concern for the lives of others.

Fire was the only mischief that did not happen to make the night completely dreadful; and yet that was not so everywhere, for in Norfolk, the town of—— was almost ruined by a furious fire, which burnt with such vehemence, and was so fanned by the tempest, that the inhabitants had no power to concern themselves in the extinguishing it; the wind blew the flames, together with the ruins, so about, that there was no standing near it; for if the people came to windward they were in danger to be blown into the flames; and if to leeward the flames were so blown up in their faces, they could not bear to come near it.

If this disaster had happened in London, it must have been very fatal; for as no regular application could have been made for the extinguishing it, so the very people in danger would have had no opportunity to have saved their goods, and hardly their lives: for though a man will run any risk to avoid being burnt, yet it must have been next to a miracle, if any person so obliged to escape from the flames had escaped being knocked on the head in the streets; for the bricks and tiles flew about like small shot; and it was a miserable sight in the morning after the storm, to see the streets covered with tile-sherds, and heaps of rubbish from the tops of the houses, lying almost at every door.

From two of the clock the storm continued, and increased till five in the morning; and from five, to half-an-hour after six, it blew with the greatest violence: the fury of it was so exceeding great for that particular hour and a half, that if it had not abated as it did, nothing could have stood its violence much longer.

In this last part of the time the greatest part of the damage

was done: several ships that rode it out till now, gave up all; for no anchor could hold. Even the ships in the river Thames were all blown away from their moorings, and from Execution Dock to Limehouse Hole there was but four ships that rid it out, the rest were driven down into the Bite, as the sailors call it, from Bell Wharf to Limehouse; where they were huddled together and drove on shore, heads and sterns, one upon another, in such a manner, as any one would have thought it had been impossible: and the damage done on that account was incredible.

Together with the violence of the wind, the darkness of the night added to the terror of it; and as it was just new moon, the spring tides being then up at about four o'clock, made the vessels, which were afloat in the river, drive the farther up upon the shore: of all which, in the process of this story, we shall find very strange instances.

The points from whence the wind blew, are variously reported from various hands: it is certain, it blew all the day before at S. W., and I thought it continued so till about two o'clock; when, as near as I could judge by the impressions it made on the house, for we durst not look out, it veered to the S.S.W. then to the W. and about six o'clock to W. by N., and still the more northward it shifted, the harder it blew, till it shifted again southerly about seven o'clock; and as it did so, it gradually abated.

About eight o'clock in the morning it ceased so much, that our fears were also abated, and people began to peep out of doors; but it is impossible to express the concern that appeared in every place; the distraction and fury of the night was visible in the faces of the people, and every body's first work was to visit and inquire after friends and relations. The next day or two was almost entirely spent in the curiosity of the people, in viewing the havoc the storm had made, which was so universal in London, and especially in the out-parts, that nothing can be said sufficient to describe it.

Another unhappy circumstance with which this disaster was joined, was a prodigious tide, which happened the next day but one, and was occasioned by the fury of the winds; which is also a demonstration, that the winds veered for part of the time to the northward: and as it is observable, and known by all that understand our sea affairs, that a north-west wind makes the highest tide, so this blowing to the

northward, and that with such unusual violence, brought up the sea raging in such a manner, that in some parts of England it was incredible, the water rising six or eight feet higher than it was ever known to do in the memory of man; by which ships were fleeted up upon the firm land several rods off from the banks, and an incredible number of cattle and people drowned; as in the pursuit of this story will appear.

It was a special providence that so directed the waters, that in the river Thames, the tide, though it rose higher than usual, yet it did not so prodigiously exceed; but the height of them as it was, proved very prejudicial to abundance of people whose cellars and warehouses were near the river; and had the water risen a foot higher, all the marshes and levels on both sides the river had been overflowed, and a great part of the cattle drowned.

Though the storm abated with the rising of the sun, it still blew exceeding hard; so hard, that no boats durst stir out on the river, but on extraordinary occasions; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the next day, being Saturday, it increased again, and we were in a fresh consternation, lest it should return with the same violence. At four it blew an extreme storm, with sudden gusts as violent as any time of the night; but as it came with a great black cloud, and some thunder, it brought a hasty shower of rain which allayed the storm; so that in a quarter of an hour it went off, and only continued blowing as before.

This sort of weather held all Sabbath-day and Monday, till on Tuesday afternoon it increased again; and all night it blew with such fury, that many families were afraid to go to bed; and had not the former terrible night hardened the people to all things less than itself, this night would have passed for a storm fit to have been noted in our almanacks. Several stacks of chimnies that stood out the great storm, were blown down in this; several ships which escaped in the great storm, perished this night; and several people who repaired their houses, had them untiled again. Not but that I may allow those chimnies that fell now might have been disabled before.

At this rate it held blowing till Wednesday, about one o'clock in the afternoon, which was that day seven-night on which it began; so that it might be called one continued storm from Wednesday noon to Wednesday noon: in all

which time, there was not one interval of time in which a sailor would not have acknowledged it blew a storm; and in that time two such terrible nights as I have described.

And this I particularly noted as to time, Wednesday, November 24th, was a calm fine day as at that time of year shall be seen; till above four o'clock, when it began to be cloudy, and the wind rose of a sudden, and in an half-an-hour's time it blew a storm. Wednesday, December the 2nd, it was very tempestuous all the morning; at one o'clock, the wind abated, the sky cleared, and by four o'clock, there was not a breath of wind.

Thus ended the greatest and the longest storm that ever the world saw. The effects of this terrible providence are the subject of the ensuing chapter; and I close this with a pastoral poem sent us among the accounts of the storm from a very ingenious author, and desired to be published in this account.

A PASTORAL,

OCCASIONED BY THE LATE VIOLENT STORM.

DAMON. Walking alone by pleasant Isis side,
Where the two streams their wanton course divide,
And gently forward in soft murmurs glide;
Pensive and sad I Melibæus meet,
And thus the melancholy shepherd greet.
Kind swain, what cloud dares overcast your brow,
Bright as the skies o're happy Nile till now!
Does Chloe prove unkind, or some new fair?

MELIBÆUS. No Damon, mine's a public, nobler care;
Such in which you and all the world must share.
One friend may mollify another's grief,
But public loss admits of no relief.

DAM. I guess your cause; O you that used to sing
Of Beauty's charms and the delights of Spring;
Now change your note, and let your lute rehearse
The dismal tale in melancholy verse.

MEL. Prepare then, lovely swain; prepare to hear
The worst report that ever reached your ear.
My bower you know, hard by yon shady grove,

A fit recess for Damon's pensive love:
As there dissolved I in sweet slumbers lay,
Tired with the toils of the precedent day,
The blustering winds disturb my kind repose,
Till frightened with the threatening blast, I rose.
But O, what havoc did the day disclose!
Those charming willows which on Cherwel's banks
Flourished, and thrived, and grew in evener ranks
Than those which followed the divine command
Of Orpheus lyre, or sweet Amphion's hand,
By hundreds fall, while hardly twenty stand.
The stately oaks which reached the azure sky,
And kissed the very clouds, now prostrate lie.
Long a huge pine did with the winds contend;
This way, and that, his reeling trunk they bend,
Till forced at last to yield, with hideous sound
He falls, and all the country feels the wound.
Nor was the God of winds content with these;
Such humble victims can't his wrath appease:
The rivers swell, not like the happy Nile,
To fatten, dew, and fructify our Isle:
But like the deluge, by great Jove designed
To drown the universe, and scourge mankind.
In vain the frighted cattle climb so high,
In vain for refuge to the hills they fly;
The waters know no limits but the sky.
So now the bleating flock exchange in vain,
For barren clifts, their dewy fertile plain:
In vain, their fatal destiny to shun,
From Severn's banks to higher grounds they run.
Nor has the navy better quarter found;
There we've received our worst, our deepest wound.
The billows swell, and haughty Neptune raves,
The winds insulting o'er the impetuous waves.
Thetis incensed, rises with angry frown,
And once more threatens all the world to drown,
And owns no Power, but England's and her own.
Yet the Æolian God dares vent his rage;
And ev'n the Sovereign of the seas engage.
What tho' the mighty Charles of Spain 's on board,
The winds obey none but their blustering Lord.
Some ships were stranded, some by surges rent,
Down with their cargo to the bottom went.

The absorbent ocean could desire no more;
So well regal'd he never was before.
The hungry fish could hardly wait the day,
When the sun's beams should chase the storm away.
But quickly seize with greedy jaws their prey.

DAM. So the great Trojan, by the hand of fate,
And haughty power of angry Juno's hate,
While with like aim he crossed the seas, was tost,
From shore to shore, from foreign coast to coast:
Yet safe at last his mighty point he gained;
In charming promised peace and splendour reigned.

MEL. So may great Charles, whom equal glories move,
Like the great Dardan prince successful prove:
Like him, with honour may he mount the throne,
And long enjoy a brighter destined crown.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE EXTENT OF THIS STORM, AND FROM WHAT PARTS IT WAS SUPPOSED TO COME; WITH SOME CIRCUMSTANCES AS TO THE TIME OF IT.

As all our histories are full of the relations of tempests and storms which have happened in various parts of the world, I hope it may not be improper that some of them have been thus observed with their remarkable effects.

But as I have all along insisted, that no storm since the Universal Deluge was like this, either in its violence or its duration, so I must also confirm it as to the particular of its prodigious extent.

All the storms and tempests we have heard of in the world, have been gusts or squalls of wind that have been carried on in their proper channels, and have spent their force in a shorter space.

We feel nothing here of the hurricanes of Barbadoes, the north-west of New England and Virginia, the terrible gusts of the Levant, or the frequent tempests of the North Cape. When Sir Francis Wheeler's squadron perished at Gibraltar, when the city of Straelfond was almost ruined by a storm, England felt it not, nor was the air here disturbed with the motion. Even at home we have had storms of violent wind in one part of England which have not been felt in another. And if what I have been told has any truth in it, in St.

George's channel there has frequently blown a storm at sea, right up and down the channel, which has been felt on neither coast, though it is not above 20 leagues from the English to the Irish shore.

Sir William Temple gives us the particulars of two terrible storms in Holland while he was there; in one of which the great cathedral church at Utrecht was utterly destroyed: and after that there was a storm so violent in Holland, that 46 vessels were cast away at the Texel, and almost all the men drowned: and yet we felt none of these storms here.

And for this very reason I have reserved an abridgment of these former cases to this place; which as they are recited by Sir William Temple, I shall put them down in his own words, being not capable to mend them, and not vain enough to pretend to it.

"I stayed only a night at Antwerp, which passed with so great thunders and lightnings, that I promised myself a very fair day after it, to go back to Rotterdam in the States Yacht, that still attended me. The morning proved so; but towards evening the sky grew foul, and the seamen presaged ill weather, and so resolved to lie at anchor before Bergen ap Zoom, the wind being cross and little. When the night was fallen as black as ever I saw, it soon began to clear up, with the most violent flashes of lightning as well as cracks of thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our age and climate. This continued all night; and we felt such a fierce heat from every great flash of lightning, that the captain apprehended it would fire his ship. But about eight the next morning the wind changed, and came up with so strong a gale, that we came to Rotterdam in about four hours, and there found all mouths full of the mischiefs and accidents that the last night's tempest had occasioned both among the boats and the houses, by the thunder, lightning, hail, or whirlwinds. But the day after, came stories to the Hague from all parts, of such violent effects as were almost incredible; at Amsterdam they were deplorable, many trees torn up by the roots, ships sunk in the harbour, and boats in the channels; houses beaten down, and several people were snatched from the ground as they walked the streets, and thrown into the canals. But all was silenced by the relations from Utrecht, where the great and ancient cathedral was torn in pieces by the violence of this storm; and the vast pillars of stone that supported it, were wreathed like

a twisted club, having been so strongly composed and cemented, as rather to suffer such a change of figure than break in pieces, as other parts of the fabric did; hardly any church in the town escaped the violence of this storm; and very few houses without the marks of it; nor were the effects of it less astonishing by the relations from France and Brussels, where the damages were infinite, as well from whirlwinds, thunder, lightning, as from hailstones of prodigious bigness. This was in the year 1674.

"In November, 1675, happened a storm at north-west, with a spring tide so violent, as gave apprehensions of some loss irrecoverable in the province of Holland, and by several breaches in the great dikes near Enchusen, and others between Amsterdam and Harlem, made way for such inundations as had not been seen before by any man then alive, and filled the country with many relations of most deplorable events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of the people upon such occasions, gave a stop to the fury of that element, and made way for recovering next year all the lands, though not the people, cattle, and houses that had been lost."

Thus far Sir William Temple.

I am also credibly informed that the greatest storm that ever we had in England before, and which was as universal here as this, did no damage in Holland or France, comparable to this tempest; I mean the great wind in 1661, an abstract of which, as it was printed in Mirabilis Annis, an unknown, but unquestioned Author, take as follows, in his own words :—

A dreadful storm of wind, accompanied with thunder, lightning hail and rain; together with the sad effects of it in many parts of the nation.

Upon the 18th of February, 1661, being Tuesday, very early in the morning, there began a very great and dreadful storm of wind (accompanied with thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, which in many places were as salt as brine) which continued with a strange and unusual violence till almost night; the sad effects whereof throughout the nation are so many, that a very great volume is not sufficient to contain the narrative of them. And indeed some of them are so stupendous and amazing, that the report of them, though from never so authentic hands, will scarce gain credit among any but those that have an affection-

ate sense of the unlimited power of the Almighty, knowing and believing that there is nothing too hard for him to do.

Some few of which wonderful effects we shall give a brief account of, as we have received them from persons of unquestionable credit in the several parts of the nation.

In the city of London, and in Covent Garden, and other parts about London and Westminster, five or six persons were killed outright by the fall of houses and chimnies; especially one Mr. Luke Blith, an attorney, that lived at or near Stamford, in the county of Lincoln, was killed that day by the fall of a riding house not far from Piccadilly: and there are some very remarkable circumstances in this man's case, which do make his death to appear at least like a most eminent judgment and severe stroke of the Lord's hand upon him.

From other parts likewise we have received certain information, that divers persons were killed by the effects of this great wind.

At Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, a maid was killed by the fall of a tree, in or near the churchyard.

An honest yeoman likewise of Scaldwele, in Northamptonshire, being upon a ladder to save his hovel, was blown off, and fell upon a plough, died outright, and never spoke word more.

Also at Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, a man was blown from an house, and broken to pieces.

At Elsbury, likewise, in the same county, a woman was killed by the fall of tiles or bricks from a house.

And not far from the same place, a girl was killed by the fall of a tree.

Near Northampton, a man was killed by the fall of a great barn.

Near Colchester, a young man was killed by the fall of a windmill.

Not far from Ipswich, in Suffolk, a man was killed by the fall of a barn.

And about two miles from the said town of Ipswich, a man was killed by the fall of a tree.

At Langton, or near to it, in the county of Leicester, one Mr. Roberts had a windmill blown down, in which were three men; and by the fall of it, one of them was killed outright, a second had his back broken, and the other had his arm or leg

struck off; and both of them (according to our best information) are since dead.

Several other instances there are of the like nature; but it would be too tedious to mention them: let these therefore suffice to stir us up to repentance, lest we likewise perish.

There are also many effects of this storm which are of another nature, whereof we shall give this following brief account.

The wind hath very much prejudiced many churches in several parts of the nation.

At Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, it blew down a very fair window belonging to the church there, both the glass, and the stone-work also; the doors likewise of that church were blown open, much of the lead torn up, and some part of a fair pinnacle thrown down.

Also at Red Marly and Newin, not far from Tewkesbury, their churches are extremely broken and shattered, if not a considerable part of them blown down. The like was done to most, if not all the public meeting places at Gloucester City. And it is reported, that some hundreds of pounds will not suffice to repair the damage done to the cathedral at Worcester, especially in that part that is over the choir.

The like fate happened to many more of them, as Hereford, and Leighton Beaudesart in Bedfordshire, and Eaton-Soken in the same country; where they had newly erected a very fair cross of stone, which the wind blew down: and, as some of the inhabitants did observe, that was the first damage which that town sustained by the storm, though afterwards, in other respects also, they were in the same condition with their neighbours. The steeples also, and other parts of the churches of Shenley, Waddon, and Woolston, in the county of Bucks, have been very much rent and torn by the wind. The spire of Finchinfield steeple in the county of Essex, was blown down, and it broke through the body of the church, and spoiled many of the pews; some hundreds of pounds will not repair that loss. But that which is most remarkable of this kind, is, the fall of that most famous spire, or pinnacle of the Tower church, in Ipswich: it was blown down upon the body of the church, and fell reversed, the sharp end of the shaft striking through the leads on the south side of the church, carried much of the timber work down before it into the alley just behind the pulpit, and took off one side of the sounding-

board over the pulpit: it shattered many pews: the weather-cock, and the iron upon which it stood, broke off as it fell; but the narrowest part of the wood work, upon which the fane stood, fell into the alley, broke quite through a grave stone, and ran shoring under two coffins that had been placed there one on another; that part of the spire which was plucked up was about three yards deep in the earth, and it is believed some part of it is yet behind in the ground; some hundreds of pounds will not make good the detriment done to the church by the fall of this pinnacle.

Very great prejudice has been done to private houses; many of them blown down, and others extremely shattered and torn. It is thought that five thousand pounds will not make good the repairs at Audley-end house, which belongs to the Earl of Suffolk. A good part also of the Crown-office in the Temple is blown down. The instances of this kind are so many and so obvious, that it would needlessly take up too much time to give the reader an account of the collection of them; only there has been such a wonderful destruction of barns, that (looking so much like a judgment from the Lord, who the last year took away our corn, and this our barns) we cannot but give a short account of some part of that intelligence which hath come to our hands of that nature.

A gentleman of good account, in Ipswich, affirms, that in a few miles' riding that day, there were eleven barns and out-houses blown down in the road within his view; and within a very few miles of Ipswich round about, above thirty barns, and many of them with corn in them, were blown down. At Southold not far from the place before mentioned, many new houses and barns (built since a late fire that happened there) are blown down; as also a salt house is destroyed there: and a thousand pounds, as it is believed, will not make up that particular loss.

From Tewkesbury it is certified, that an incredible number of barns have been blown down in the small towns and villages and thereabouts. At Twyning, at least eleven barns are blown down. In Ashchurch parish, seven or eight. At Lee, five. At Norton, a very great number, three whereof belonging to one man. The great abbey barn also at Tewkesbury is blown down.

It is credibly reported, that within a very few miles circumference in Worcestershire, about an hundred and forty

barns are blown down. At Finchinfield in Essex, which is but an ordinary village, about sixteen barns were blown down. Also at a town called Wilchampstead, in the county of Bedford (a very small village) fifteen barns at least are blown down. But especially the parsonage barns went to wrack in many places throughout the land: in a few miles' compass in Bedfordshire, and so in Northamptonshire, and other places, eight, ten, and twelve are blown down; and at Yielding parsonage, in the county of Bedford (out of which was thrust by oppression and violence the late incumbent) all the barns belonging to it are down. The instances also of this kind are innumerable, which we shall therefore forbear to make farther mention of.

We have also a large account of the blowing down of a very great and considerable number of fruit-trees, and other trees in several parts; we shall only pick out two or three passages which are the most remarkable. In the counties of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, several persons have lost whole orchards of fruit-trees; and many particular men's losses hath amounted to the value of forty or fifty pounds at the least, merely by destruction of their fruit-trees; and so in other parts of England proportionably, the like damage hath been sustained in this respect. And as for other trees, there has been a great destruction made of them in many places by this storm. Several were blown down at Hampton Court, and three thousand brave oaks at least, but in one principal part of the forest of Dean, belonging to his Majesty. In a little grove at Ipswich, belonging to the lord of Hereford (which together with the spire of the steeple before mentioned, were the most considerable ornaments of that town) are blown down, at least two hundred goodly trees, one of which was an ash, which had ten load of wood upon it: there are now few trees left there.

In Bramton Bryan Park in the county of Hereford, belonging to Sir Edward Harly, one of the late knights of the Bath above thirteen hundred trees are blown down; and above six hundred in Hopton Park not far from it: and thus it is proportionably in most places where this storm was felt. And the truth is, the damage which the people of this nation have sustained upon all accounts by this storm, is not easily to be valued: some sober and discreet people, who have endeavoured to compute the loss of the several countries one with another, by the destruction of houses and barns, the blowing away of

hovels and ricks of corn, the falling of trees &c., do believe it can come to little less than two millions of money.

There are yet behind many particulars of a distinct nature from those that have been spoken of; some whereof are very wonderful, and call for a very serious observation of them.

In the cities of London and Westminster, especially on the bridge and near Wallingford house, several persons were blown down, one on the top of another.

In Hertfordshire, a man was taken up, carried a pole in length, and blown over a very high hedge; and the like in other places.

The water in the river Thames, and other places, was in a very strange manner blown up into the air: yea, in the new pond in James's park, the fish, to the number of at least two hundred, were blown out and lay by the bank-side, whereof many were eye-witnesses.

At Moreclack, in Surrey, the birds, as they attempted to fly, were beaten down to the ground by the violence of the wind.

At Epping, in the county of Essex, a very great oak was blown down, which of itself was raised again, and doth grow firmly at this day.

At Taunton, a great tree was blown down, the upper part whereof rested upon a brick or stone wall, and after a little time, by the force of the wind, the lower part of the tree was blown quite over the wall.

In the city of Hereford, several persons were, by the violence of the wind, borne up from the ground; one man (as it is credibly reported) at least six yards.

The great fane at Whitehall, was blown down; and one of the four which were upon the White Tower, and two more of them strangely bent; which are to be seen at this day, to the admiration of all that behold them.

The several triumphant arches in the city of London were much shattered and torn; that in Leadenhall-street lost the King's Arms, and many other rare pieces that were affixed to it; that in Cheapside, which represented the Church, suffered very much by the fury of the storm; and a great part of that in Fleet-street (which represented Plenty) was blown down: but, blessed be God, none as we hear of were either killed or hurt by the fall of it.

The wind was so strong, that it blew down several carts

loaded with hay in the road between Barnet and London; and in other roads leading to the city of London.

Norwich coach, with four or six horses, was not able to come towards London, but stayed by the way till the storm was somewhat abated.

It is also credibly reported, that all, or some of the heads which were set up upon Westminster hall, were that day blown down.

There was a very dreadful lightning which did at first accompany the storm, and by it some of his Majesty's household conceive that the fire which happened at Whitehall that morning, was kindled; as also that at Greenwich, by which (as we are informed) seven or eight houses were burnt down.

Thus far the Author of *Mirabilis Annis*.

It is very observable, that this storm blew from the same quarter as the last, and that they had less of it northward than here; in which they were much alike.

Now as these storms were perhaps very furious in some places, yet they neither came up to the violence of this, nor any way to be compared for the extent, and when ruinous in one country, were hardly heard of in the next.

But this terrible night shook all Europe; and how much farther it extended, he only knows who has "his way in the whirlwind, and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

As this storm was first felt from the west, some have conjectured that the first generation or rather collection of materials, was from the continent of America, possibly from that part of Florida and Virginia, where, if we respect natural causes, the confluence of vapours raised by the sun from the vast and unknown lakes and inland seas of water, which as some relate are incredibly large as well as numerous, might afford sufficient matter for the exhalation; and where time, adding to the preparation, God, who has generally confined his Providence to the chain of natural causes, might muster together those troops of combustion till they made a sufficient army duly proportioned to the expedition designed.

I am the rather inclined to this opinion, because we are told, they felt upon that coast an unusual tempest a few days before the fatal 27th of November.

I confess, I have never studied the motion of the clouds so

nicely, as to calculate how long time this army of terror might take up in its furious march; possibly the velocity of its motion might not be so great at its first setting out as it was afterward, as a horse that is to run a race does not immediately put himself into the height of his speed: and though it may be true, that by the length of the way the force of the wind spends itself, and so by degrees ceases as the vapour finds more room for dilation; besides, yet we may suppose a conjunction of some confederate matter which might fall in with it by the way, or which meeting it at its arrival here, might join forces in executing the commission received from above, all natural causes being allowed a subserviency to the direction of the great supreme cause; yet where the vast collection of matter had its first motion, as it did not all take motion at one and the same moment, so when all the parts had felt the influence, as they advanced and pressed those before them, the violence must increase in proportion: and thus we may conceive that the motion might not have arrived at its meridian violence till it reached our island; and even then it blew some days with more than common fury, yet much less than that last night of its force; and even that night the violence was not at its extremity till about an hour before sunrise, and then it continued declining, though it blew a full storm for four days after it.

Thus providence by whose special direction the quantity and conduct of this judgment was managed, seemed to proportion things so, as that by the course of things the proportion of matter being suited to distance of place, the motion should arrive at its full force just at the place where its execution was to begin.

As then our island was the first this way, to receive the impressions of the violent motion, it had the terriblest effects here; and continuing its steady course, we find it carried a true line clear over the continent of Europe, traversed England, France, Germany, the Baltic sea, and passing the Northern Continent of Sweedland, Finland, Muscovy, and part of Tartary, must at last lose itself in the vast northern ocean, where man never came, and ship never sailed; and its violence could have no effect, but upon the vast mountains of ice and the huge drifts of snow, in which abyss of moisture and cold it is very probable the force of it was checked, and the world restored to calmness and quiet: and in this circle of fury it

might find its end not far off from where it had its beginning, the fierceness of the motion perhaps not arriving to a period, till having passed the pole, it reached again the northern parts of America.

The effects of this impetuous course, are the proper subjects of this book; and what they might be before our island felt its fury, who can tell? Those unhappy wretches who had the misfortune to meet it in its first approach, can tell us little, having been hurried by its irresistible force directly into eternity: how many they are, we cannot pretend to give an account; we are told of about seventeen ships, which having been out at sea are never heard of: which is the common way of discourse of ships foundered in the ocean: and indeed all we can say of them is, the fearful exit they have made among the mountains of waters, can only be duly reflected on by those who have seen those wonders of God in the deep.

Yet I cannot omit here to observe, that this loss was in all probability much less than it would otherwise have been; because the winds having blown with very great fury, at the same point, for near fourteen days before the violence grew to its more uncommon height, all those ships which were newly gone to sea were forced back, of which some were driven into Plymouth and Falmouth, who had been above a hundred and fifty leagues at sea; others, which had been farther, took sanctuary in Ireland.

On the other hand, all those ships which were homeward bound, and were within 500 leagues of the English shore, had been hurried so furiously on afore it (as the seamen say) that they had reached their port before the extremity of the storm came on; so that the sea was as it were swept clean of all shipping, those which were coming home were blown home before their time; those that had attempted to put to sea, were driven back again in spite of all their skill and courage: for the wind had blown so very hard, directly into the channel, that there was no possibility of their keeping the sea whose course was not right afore the wind.

On the other hand, these two circumstances had filled all our ports with unusual fleets of ships, either just come home or outward bound, and consequently the loss among them was very terrible; and the havock it made among them, though it was not so much as everybody expected, was such as no age or circumstance can ever parallel, and we hope will never feel again.

Nay, so high the winds blew, even before that we call the storm, that had not that intolerable tempest followed so soon after, we should have counted those winds extraordinary high: and any one may judge of the truth of this from these few particulars; that the Russia fleet, composed of near a hundred sail, which happened to be then upon the coast, was absolutely dispersed and scattered, some got into Newcastle, some into Hull, and some into Yarmouth roads; two foundered in the sea; one or two more run ashore, and were lost; and the reserve frigate, their convoy, foundered in Yarmouth roads, all her men being lost, and no boat from the shore durst go off to relieve her, though it was in the day time, but all her men perished.

In the same previous storms the——, man-of-war was lost off of Harwich; but by the help of smaller vessels most of her men were saved.

And so high the winds blew for near a fortnight, that no ship stirred out of harbour; and all the vessels, great or small, that were out at sea, made for some port or other for shelter.

In this juncture of time it happened, that together with the Russia fleet, a great fleet of laden colliers, near 400 sail, were just put out of the river Tyne: and these being generally deep and unwieldly ships, met with hard measure, though not so fatal to them as was expected; such of them as could run in for the Humber, where a great many were lost afterwards, as I shall relate in its course; some got shelter under the high lands of Cromer and the northern shores of the county of Norfolk, and the greater number reached into Yarmouth roads.

So that when the great storm came, our ports round the sea-coast of England were exceeding full of Ships of all sorts; a brief account whereof take as follows:—

At Grimsby, Hull, and the other roads of the Humber, lay about 80 sail, great and small, of which about 50 were colliers, and part of the Russia fleet as aforesaid.

In Yarmouth roads there rode at least 400 sail, being most of them laden colliers, Russia-men, and coasters from Lynn and Hull.

In the River Thames, at the Nore, lay about 12 sail of the Queen's hired ships and storeships, and only two men-of-war.

Sir Cloudesly Shovel was just arrived from the Mediterranean with the Royal Navy: part of them lay at St. Helens, part in the Downs, and with 12 of the biggest ships he was coming round the Foreland to bring them into Chatham:

and when the great storm begun was at an anchor at the Gunfleet, from whence the association was driven off from sea as far as the coast of Norway; what became of the rest, I refer to a chapter by itself.

At Gravesend, there rode five East India-men, and about 30 sail of other merchantmen, all outward bound.

In the Downs 160 sail of merchant ships outward bound, besides that part of the fleet which came in with Sir Cloudesly Shovel, which consisted of about 18 men-of-war, with tenders and victuallers.

At Portsmouth and Cowes, there lay three fleets; first a fleet of transports and tenders, who with Admiral Dilks brought the forces from Ireland that were to accompany the king of Spain to Lisbon; secondly, a great fleet of victuallers, tenders, store-ships, and transports, which lay ready for the same voyage, together with about 40 merchant-ships, who lay for the benefit of their convoy; and the third article was, the remainder of the grand fleet which came in with Sir Cloudesly Shovel; in all almost 300 sail, great and small.

In Plymouth Sound, Falmouth, and Milford Havens, were particularly several small fleets of merchant ships, driven in for shelter and harbour from the storm, most homeward bound from the Islands and Colonies of America.

The Virginia fleet, Barbadoes fleet, and some East India-men, lay scattered in all our ports, and in Kinsale, in Ireland, there lay near 80 sail, homeward bound and richly laden.

At Bristol, about 20 sail of home-bound West India-men, not yet unladen.

In Holland, the fleet of transports for Lisbon waited for the King of Spain, and several English men-of-war lay at Helvoet Sluice; the Dutch fleet from the Texel lay off of Cadsandt, with their forces on board, under the Admiral Callenberge. Both these fleets made 180 sail.

I think I may very safely affirm, that hardly in the memory of the oldest man living, was a juncture of time when an accident of this nature could have happened, that so much shipping, laden out and home, ever was in port at one time.

No man will wonder that the damages to this nation were so great, if they consider these unhappy circumstances: it should rather be wondered at, that we have no more disasters to account to posterity, but that the navigation of this country came off so well.

And therefore some people have excused the extravagancies of the Paris Gazetteer, who affirmed in print, that there was 30000 seamen lost in the several ports of England, and 300 sail of ships; which they say was a probable conjecture; and that considering the multitude of shipping, the openness of the roads in the Downs, Yarmouth, and the Nore, and the prodigious fury of the wind, any man would have guessed the same as he.

It is certain, it is a thing wonderful to consider, that especially in the Downs and Yarmouth roads anything should be safe: all men that know how wild a road the first is, and what crowds of ships there lay in the last; how almost everything quitted the road, and neither anchor nor cable would hold; must wonder what shift or what course the mariners could direct themselves to for safety.

Some which had not a mast standing, nor an anchor or cable left them, went out to sea wherever the winds drove them; and lying like a trough in the water, wallowed about till the winds abated; and after were driven some into one port, some into another, as Providence guided them.

In short, horror and confusion seized upon all, whether on shore or at sea: no pen can describe it; no tongue can express it; no thought conceive it, unless some of those who were in the extremity of it; and who, being touched with a due sense of the sparing mercy of their Maker, retain the deep impressions of his goodness upon their minds, though the danger be past: and of those I doubt the number is but few.

OF THE

EFFECTS OF THE STORM.

THE particular dreadful effects of this tempest, are the subject of the ensuing part of this history; and though the reader is not to expect that all the particulars can be put into this account, and perhaps many very remarkable passages may never come to our knowledge; yet as we have endeavoured to furnish ourselves with the most authentic accounts we could from all parts of the nation, and a great many worthy gentlemen have contributed their assistance in various, and some very exact relations and curious remarks; so we pretend, not to be meanly furnished for this work.

Some gentlemen, whose accounts are but of common and trivial damages, we hope will not take it ill from the author, if they are not inserted at large; for that we are willing to put in nothing here common with other accidents of like nature; or which may not be worthy of a history and a historian to record them; nothing but what may serve to assist in convincing posterity that this was the most violent tempest the world ever saw.

From hence it will follow, that those towns who only had their houses untiled, their barns and hovels levelled with the ground, and the like, will find very little notice taken of them in this account; because if these were to be the subject of a history, I presume it must be equally voluminous with Fox, Grimston, Holinshead, or Stow.

Nor shall I often trouble the reader with the multitude or magnitude of trees blown down, whole parks ruined, fine walks defaced, and orchards laid flat, and the like: and though I had, myself, the curiosity to count the number of trees, in a circuit I rode over most part of Kent, in which, being tired with the number, I left off reckoning after I had

gone on to 17000; and though I have great reason to believe I did not observe one half of the quantity, yet in some parts of England, as in Devonshire especially, and the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, which are full of very large orchards of fruit trees, they had much more mischief.

In the pursuit of this work, I shall divide it into the following chapters or sections, that I may put it into as good order as possible.

1. Of the Damage in the city of London, &c.
2. in the countries.
3. On the Water in the Royal Navy.
4. On the Water to Shipping in general.
5. by Earthquake.
6. by High Tides.
7. Remarkable providences and deliverances.
8. Hardened and blasphemous contemners both of the storm and its effects.
9. Some calculations of damage sustained.
10. The conclusion.

We had designed a chapter for the damages abroad, and have been at no small charge to procure the particulars from foreign parts: which are now doing in a very authentic manner: but as the world has been long expecting this work, and several gentlemen who were not a little contributing to the information of the author, being unwilling to stay any longer for the account, it was resolved to put it into the press without any farther delay: and if the foreign accounts can be obtained in time, they shall be a supplement to the work; if not, some other method shall be found out to make them public.

I. *Of the damages in the City of* London, *and parts adjacent.*

Indeed the city was a strange spectacle, the morning after the storm, as soon as the people could put their heads out of doors; though I believe, everybody expected the destruction was bad enough; yet I question very much, if anybody believed the hundredth part of what they saw.

The streets lay so covered with tiles and slates, from the tops of the houses, especially in the out-parts, that the quan-

tity is incredible; and the houses were so universally stript, that all the tiles in fifty miles round would be able to repair but a small part of it.

Something may be guessed at on this head, from the sudden rise of the price of tiles; which rose from 21s. per thousand to 6*l.* for plain tiles; and from 50s. per thousand for pantiles, to 10*l.*, and bricklayers' labour to 5s. per day; and though after the first hurry the prices fell again, it was not that the quantity was supplied; but because,

1st. The charge was so extravagant, that an universal neglect of themselves, appeared both in landlord and tenant; an incredible number of houses remained all the winter uncovered, and exposed to all the inconveniences of wet and cold; and are so even at the writing of this chapter.

2. Those people who found it absolutely necessary to cover their houses, but were unwilling to go to the extravagant price of tiles; changed their covering to that of wood, as a present expedient, till the season for making of tiles should come on; and the first hurry being over, the prices abate: and it is on this score, that we see, to this day, whole ranks of buildings, as in Christ Church Hospital, the Temple, Ask's Hospital, Old street, Hogsden squares, and infinite other places, covered entirely with deal boards; and are like to continue so, perhaps a year or two longer, for want of tiles.

These two reasons reduced the tile merchants to sell at a more moderate price: but it is not an irrational suggestion, that all the tiles which shall be made this whole summer, will not repair the damage in the covering of houses within the circumference of the city, and ten miles round.

The next article in our street damage was, the fall of chimnies; and as the chimnies in the city buildings are built in large stacks, the houses being so high, the fall of them had the more power, by their own weight, to demolish the houses they fell upon.

It is not possible to give a distinct account of the number, or particular stacks of chimnies, which fell in this fatal night; but the reader may guess by this particular, that in Cambray house, commonly so called, a great house near Islington, belonging to the family of the Comptons, Earls of Northampton, but now let out into tenements, the collector of these remarks counted eleven or thirteen stacks of chimnies, either wholly thrown in, or the greatest parts of them.

at least, what was exposed to the wind, blown off. I have heard persons, who pretended to observe the desolation of that terrible night very nicely; and who, by what they had seen and inquired into, thought themselves capable of making some calculations, affirm, they could give an account of above two thousand stacks of chimnies blown down in and about London; besides gable ends of houses, some whole roofs, and sixteen or twenty whole houses in the outparts.

Under the disaster of this article, it seems most proper to place the loss of the people's lives, who fell in this calamity; since most of those, who had the misfortune to be killed, were buried, or beaten to pieces with the rubbish of the several stacks of chimnies that fell.

Of these, our weekly bills of mortality gave us an account of twenty-one; besides such as were drowned in the river, and never found: and besides above two hundred people very much wounded and maimed.

One woman was killed by the fall of a chimney in or near the palace of St. James's, and a stack of chimnies falling in the new unfinished building there, and carried away a piece of the coin of the house.

Nine soldiers were hurt, with the fall of the roof of the guard house at Whitehall, but none of them died.

A distiller in Duke street, with his wife and maid servant, were all buried in the rubbish of a stack of chimnies, which forced all the floors, and broke down to the bottom of the house; the wife was taken out alive, though very much bruised, but her husband and the maid lost their lives.

One Mr. Dyer, a plasterer in Fetter lane, finding the danger he was in by the shaking of the house, jumped out of bed to save himself; and had, in all probability, time enough to have got out of the house, but staying to strike a light, a stack of chimnies fell in upon him, killed him and wounded his wife.

Two boys, at one Mr. Purefoy's, in Cross street, Hatton garden, were both killed, and buried in the rubbish of a stack of chimnies; and a third very much wounded.

A woman in Jewin street, and two persons more near Aldersgate street, were killed; the first, as it is reported, by venturing to run out of the house into the street; and the other two by the fall of a house.

In Threadneedle street, one Mr. Simpson, a scrivener, being in bed and fast asleep, heard nothing of the storm; but the rest of the family being more sensible of danger, some of them went up and woke him; and telling him their own apprehensions, pressed him to rise; but he too fatally slept, and consequently unconcerned at the danger, told them he did not apprehend anything; and so, notwithstanding all their persuasions, could not be prevailed with to rise: they had not been gone many minutes out of his chamber, before the chimnies fell in, broke through the roof over him, and killed him in his bed.

A carpenter in Whitecross street was killed almost in the same manner, by a stack of chimnies of the Swan Tavern, which fell into his house; it was reported, that his wife earnestly desired him not to go to bed; and had prevailed upon to sit up till near two o'clock, but then finding himself very heavy, he would go to bed against all his wife's entreaties; after which, she waked him, and desired him to rise, which he refused, being something angry for being disturbed, and going to sleep again, was killed in his bed: and his wife, who would not go to bed, escaped.

In this manner, our weekly bills gave us an account of twenty-one persons killed in the city of London, and parts adjacent.

Some of our printed accounts give us larger and plainer accounts of the loss of lives, than I will venture to affirm for truth; as of several houses near Moorfields levelled with the ground: fourteen people drowned in a wherry going to Gravesend, and five in a wherry from Chelsea. Not that it is not very probable to be true; but as I resolve not to hand anything to posterity, but what comes very well attested, I omit such relations as I have not extraordinary assurance as to the fact.

The fall of brick walls, by the fury of this tempest, in and about London, would make a little book of itself; and as this affects the out-parts chiefly, where the gardens and yards are walled in, so few such have escaped: at St. James's a considerable part of the garden wall; at Greenwich park there are several pieces of the wall down for an hundred rods in a place; and some much more, at Battersea, Chelsea, Putney, at Clapham, at Deptford, at Hackney, Islington, Hogsden, Woods close by St. John street, and on every side

the city, the walls of the gardens have generally felt the shock, and lie flat on the ground twenty, thirty rod of walling in a place.

The public edifices of the city come next under our consideration; and these have had their share in the fury of this terrible night.

A part of her Majesty's palace, as is before observed, with a stack of chimnies in the centre of the new buildings, then not quite finished, fell with such a terrible noise as very much alarmed the whole household.

The roof of the guard house at Whitehall, as is also observed before, was quite blown off; and the great vane, or weathercock at Whitehall, blown down.

The lead, on the tops of the churches and other buildings, was in many places rolled up like a roll of parchment, and blown in some places clear off from the buildings; as at Westminster Abbey, St. Andrews, Holborn, Christ Church Hospital, and abundance of other places.

Two of the new built turrets, on the top of St. Mary Aldermary church, were blown off, whereof one fell upon the roof of the church; of eight pinnacles on the top of St. Albans, Wood street, five of them were blown down; part of one of the spires of St. Mary Overies blown off; four pinnacles on the steeple of St. Michael, Crooked lane, blown quite off: the vanes and spindles of the weathercocks in many places, bent quite down; as on St. Michael, Cornhill, St. Sepulchres', the tower, and divers other places.

It was very remarkable, that the bridge over the Thames received but little damage, and not in proportion to what in common reason might be expected; since the buildings there stand high, and are not sheltered, as they are in the streets, one by another.

If I may be allowed to give this philosophical account of it, I hope it may not be absurd; that the indraft of the arches underneath the houses giving vent to the air, it passed there with a more than common current; and consequently relieved the buildings, by diverting the force of the storm: I ask pardon of the ingenious reader for this opinion, if it be not regular, and only present it to the world for want of a better; if those better furnished that way will supply us with a truer account, I shall withdraw mine, and submit to theirs. The fact however is certain, that the houses on bridge did not suffer in

proportion to the other places; though all must allow, they do not seem to be stronger built, than other streets of the same sort.

Another observation I cannot but make; to which, as I have hundreds of instances, so I have many more witnesses to the truth of fact, and the uncommon experiment has made it the more observed.

The wind blew, during the whole storm, between the points of S.W. and N.W., not that I mean it blew at all these points, but I take a latitude of eight points to avoid exceptions, and to confirm my argument; since what I am insisting upon, could not be a natural cause from the winds blowing in any of those particular points.

If a building stood north and south, it must be a consequence that the east side slope of the roof must be the lee-side, lie out of the wind, be weathered by the ridge, and consequently receive no damage in a direct line.

But against this rational way of arguing, we are convinced by demonstration and experiment, after which argument must be silent. It was not in one place or two, but in many places; that where a building stood ranging north and south the sides or slopes of the roof to the east and west, the east side of the roof would be stript and untiled by the violence of the wind; and the west side, which lay open to the wind, be sound and untouched.

This, I conceive, must happen either where the building had some open part, as windows or doors to receive in the wind in the inside, which being pushed forward by the succeeding particles of the air, must force its way forward, and so lift off the tiling on the leeward side of the building; or it must happen from the position of such building near some other higher place or building, where the wind being repulsed, must be forced back again in eddies; and consequently taking the tiles from the lower side of the roof, rip them up with the more ease.

However it was, it appeared in many places, the windward side of the roof would be whole, and the leeward side, or the side from the wind, be untiled; in other places, a high building next the wind has been not much hurt, and a lower building on the leeward side of the high one clean ript, and hardly a tile left upon it: this is plain in the building of Christ Church Hospital in London, where the build-

ing on the west and south side of the cloister was at least twenty five foot higher than the east side, and yet the roof of the lower side on the east was quite untiled by the storm; and remains at the writing of this, covered with deal boards above an hundred feet in length.

The blowing down of trees may come in for another article in this part; of which, in proportion to the quantity, here was as much as in any part of England: some printed accounts tell us of seventy trees in Moorfields blown down, which may be true; but that some of them were three yards about, as is affirmed by the authors, I cannot allow; above a hundred elms in St. James's Park, some whereof were of such growth, as they tell us they were planted by Cardinal Wolsey; whether that part of it be true or not, is little to the matter, but only to imply that they were very great trees; about Baums, commonly called Whitmore house, there were above two hundred trees blown down, and some of them of extraordinary size broken off in the middle.

And it was observed, that in the morning after the storm was abated, it blew so hard, the women, who usually go for milk to the cowkeepers in the villages round the city, were not able to go along with their pails on their heads; and one that was more hardy than the rest, was blown away by the fury of the storm, and forced into a pond, but by struggling hard, got out, and avoided being drowned; and some that ventured out with milk the evening after, had their pails and milk blown off from their heads.

It is impossible to innumerate the particulars of the damage suffered, and of the accidents which happened under these several heads, in and about the city of London; the houses looked like skeletons, and an universal air of horror seemed to sit on the countenances of the people; all business seemed to be laid aside for the time, and people were generally intent upon getting help to repair their habitations.

It pleased God so to direct things, that there fell no rain in any considerable quantity, except what fell the same night or the ensuing day, for near three weeks after the storm, though it was a time of the year that is generally dripping. Had a wet rainy season followed the storm, the damage which would have been suffered in and about this city to household goods, furniture and merchandise, would have been incredible, and might have equalled all the rest of the calamity:

but the weather proved fair and temperate for near a month after the storm, which gave people a great deal of leisure in providing themselves shelter, and fortifying their houses against the accidents of weather by deal boards, old tiles, pieces of sail cloth, tarpaulin, and the like.

II.—*Of the Damages in the Country.*

As the author of this was an eye-witness and sharer of the particulars in the former chapter; so, to furnish the reader with as authentic, and which he has as much cause to depend upon as if he had seen them, he has the several particulars following from like eye-witnesses, and that in such a manner, as I think their testimony is not to be questioned, most of the gentlemen being of piety and reputation.

And as a publication was made to desire all persons who were willing to contribute to the forwarding this work, and to transmit the memory of so signal a judgment to posterity that they would be pleased to send up such authentic accounts of the mischiefs, damages, and disasters in their respective countries that the world might rely on; it cannot, without a great breach of charity, be supposed that men moved by such principles, without any private interest or advantage, would forge anything to impose upon the world, and abuse mankind in ages to come.

Interest, parties, strife, faction, and particular malice, with all the scurvy circumstances attending such things, may prompt men to strain a tale beyond its real extent; but, that men should invent a story to amuse posterity, in a case where they have no manner of motive, where the only design is to preserve the remembrance of Divine vengeance, and put our children in mind of God's judgments upon their sinful fathers, this would be telling a lie for God's sake, and doing evil for the sake of itself, which is a step beyond the devil.

Besides, as most of our relators have not only given us their names, and signed the accounts they have sent, but have also given us leave to hand their names down to posterity with the record of the relation they give, we would hope no man will be so uncharitable to believe that men would be forward to set their names to a voluntary untruth, and have themselves recorded to posterity for having, with-

out motion, hope, reward, or any other reason, imposed a falsity upon the world, and dishonoured our relation with the useless banter of an untruth.

We cannot, therefore, but think, that as the author believes himself sufficiently backed by the authority of the vouchers he presents, so after what has been here premised, no man will have any room to suspect us of forgery.

The ensuing relation therefore, as to damages in the country, shall consist chiefly of letters from the respective places were such things have happened; only that as all our letters are not concise enough to be printed as they are, where it is otherwise, the letter is digested into a relation only; in which the reader is assured we have always kept close to the matter of fact.

And first, I shall present such accounts as are entire, and related by men of letters, principally by the clergy; which shall be given you in their own words.

The first is from Stowmarket, in Suffolk, where, by the violence of the storm, the finest spire in that county, and but new built, viz., within thirty years, was overthrown, and fell upon the church. The letter is signed by the reverend minister of the place, and vouched by two of the principal inhabitants, as follows.

Sir,—Having seen an advertisement of a design to perpetuate the remembrance of the late dreadful storm, by publishing a collection of all the remarkable accidents occasioned by it, and supposing the damage done to our church to be none of the least, we were willing to contribute something to your design, by sending you an account thereof, as follows.

We had formerly a spire of timber covered with lead, of the height of 77 foot; which being in danger of falling, was taken down: and in the year 1674, with the addition of 10 loads of new timber, 21 thousand and 8 hundred weight of lead, a new one was erected, 100 foot high from the steeple, with a gallery at the height of 40 foot all open, wherein hung a clock bell of between 2 and 3 hundred weight. The spire stood but 8 yards above the roof of the church; and yet by the extreme violence of the storm, a little before 6 in the morning, the spire was thrown down; and carrying with it all the battlements on the east side, it fell upon the church at the distance of 28 foot; for so much is the distance

between the steeple and the first breach, which is on the north side of the middle roof, of the length of 17 foot, where it brake down 9 spars clean, each 23 foot long, and severally supported with very strong braces. The spire inclining to the north, fell cross the middle wall, and broke off at the gallery, the lower part falling in at the aforesaid breach, and the upper upon the north isle, which is 24 foot wide, with a flat roof lately built, all new and very strong: it carried all before it from side to side, making a breach 37 foot long, breaking assunder two large beams that went across, which were 12 inches broad and 15 deep, besides several others smaller. Besides these two breaches, there is a great deal of damage done by the fall of great stones upon other parts of the roof, as well as by the winds riving up the lead, and a third part of the pews broken all in pieces, every thing falling into the church, except the weathercock, which was found in the churchyard, at a considerable distance, in the great path that goes cross by the east end of the church. It will cost above 400*l.* to make all good as it was before. There were 3 single chimnies blown down, and a stack of 4 more together, all about the same time; and some others so shaken, that they were forced to be pulled down; but, we thank God, nobody hurt, though one bed was broken in pieces that was very oft lain in: nobody lay in it that night. Most houses suffered something in their tiling, and generally all round the country, there is incredible damage done to churches, houses, and barns.

SAMUEL FARR, Vicar.
JOHN GAUDY.
WILLIAM GARRARD.

From Oxfordshire we have an account very authentic, and yet unaccountably strange: but the reverend author of the story being a gentleman whose credit we cannot dispute, in acknowledgment to his civility, and for the advantage of our true design, we give his letter also verbatim.

SIR,—Meeting with an advertisement of yours in the Gazette, of Monday last, I very much approved of the design, thinking it might be a great motive towards making people, when they hear the fate of others, return thanks to Almighty God for his providence in preserving them. I accordingly

was resolved to send you all I knew. The place where I have for some time lived, is Besselsleigh, in Barkshire, about four miles S.W. of Oxon. The wind began with us much about one of the clock in the morning, and did not do much harm, only in untiling houses, blowing down a chimney or two, without any person hurt, and a few trees: but what was the only thing that was strange, and to be observed was, a very tall elm, which was found the next morning standing, but perfectly twisted round; the root a little loosened, but not torn up. But what happened the afternoon preceding, is abundantly more surprising, and is indeed the intent of this letter.

On Friday, the 26th of November, in the afternoon, about four of the clock, a country fellow came running to me in a great fright, and very earnestly entreated me to go and see a pillar, as he called it, in the air, in a field hard by. I went with the fellow: and when I came, found it to be a spout marching directly with the wind: and I can think of nothing I can compare it to better than the trunk of an elephant, which it resembled, only much bigger. It was extended to a great length, and swept the ground as it went, leaving a mark behind. It crossed a field; and what was very strange (and which I should scarce have been induced to believe had I not myself seen it, besides several countrymen who were astonished at it) meeting with an oak that stood towards the middle of the field, snapped the body of it assunder. Afterwards, crossing a road, it sucked up the water that was in the cart-ruts; then coming to an old barn, it tumbled it down, and the thatch that was on the top was carried about by the wind, which was then very high, in great confusion. After this I followed it no farther, and therefore saw no more of it. But a parishioner of mine going from hence to Hinksey, in a field about a quarter of a mile off of this place, was on the sudden knocked down, and lay upon the place till some people came by and brought him home; and he is not yet quite recovered. Having examined him, by all I can collect both from the time, and place, and manner of his being knocked down, I must conclude it was done by the spout, which, if its force had not been much abated, had certainly killed him: and indeed I attribute his illness more to the fright, than the sudden force with which he was struck down.

I will not now enter into a dissertation on the cause of

spouts, but by what I can understand, they are caused by nothing but the circumgyration of the clouds, made by two contrary winds meeting in a point, and condensing the cloud till it falls in the shape we see it; which by the twisting motion sucks up water, and doth much mischief to ships at sea, where they happen oftner than at land. Whichever of the two winds prevails, as in the above-mentioned was the S.W., at last dissolves and dissipates the cloud, and then the spout disappears.

This is all I have to communicate to you, wishing you all imaginable success in your collection. Whether you insert this account, I leave wholly to your own discretion; but can assure you, that to most of these things, though very surprising, I was myself an eye witness. I am,

Sir, Your humble Servant,

Dec. 12, 1703. JOSEPH RALTON.

The judicious reader will observe here, that this strange spout, or cloud, or what else it may be called, was seen the evening before the great storm: from whence is confirmed what I have said before of the violent agitation of the air for some time before the tempest.

A short, but very regular account, from Northampton, the reader may take in the following letter; the person being of undoubted credit and reputation in the town, and the particulars very well worth remark.

SIR,—Having seen in the Gazette an intimation, that there would be a memorial drawn up of the late terrible wind, and the effects of it, and that the composer desired informations from credible persons, the better to enable him to do the same, I thought good to intimate what happened in this town, and its neighbourhood. 1. The weathercock of All-Saints church being placed on a mighty spindle of iron, was bowed together, and made useless. Many sheets of lead on that church, as also on St. Giles's and St. Sepulchre's, rolled up like a scroll. Three windmills belonging to the town, blown down, to the amazement of all beholders; the mighty upright post below the floor of the mills being snapt in two, like a reed. Two entire stacks of chimnies in a house uninhabited fell on two several roofs, and made a most amazing ruin in the chambers, floors, and even to the lower windows and wainscot, splitting and tearing it as if a blow

by gunpowder had happened. The floods at this instant about the south bridge, from a violent S.W. wind, rose to a great and amazing height; the wind coming over or athwart large open meadows, did exceeding damage in that part of the town, by blowing down some whole houses, carrying whole roofs at once into the streets, and very many lesser buildings of tanners, fell-mongers, dyers, glue-makers, &c., yet, through the goodness of God, no person killed or maimed: the mighty doors of the sessions house, barred and locked, forced open, whereby the wind entering, made a miserable havock of the large and lofty windows: a pinnacle on the Guildhall, with the fane was also blown down. To speak of houses shattered, cornricks and hovels blown from their standings, would be endless. In Sir Thomas Samwell's park, a very great headed elm was blown over the park wall into the road, and yet never touched the wall, being carried some yards. I have confined myself to this town. If the composer finds anything agreeable to his design, he may use it or dismiss it at his discretion. Such works of providence are worth recording. I am,

Northampton, Your loving Friend,
Dec. 12, 1703. BEN. BULLIVANT.

The following account from Berkly and other places in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, &c., are the sad effects of the prodigious tide in the Severn. The wind blowing directly into the mouth of that channel we call the Severn Sea, forced the waters up in such quantity, that it is allowed the flood was eight foot higher than ever was known in the memory of man; and at one place, near Huntspill, it drove several vessels a long way upon the land; from whence, no succeeding tide rising to near that height, they can never be gotten off: as will appear in the two following letters.

SIR,—This parish is a very large one in the county of Gloucester, on one side whereof runneth the river Severn, which by reason of the violence of the late storm beat down and tore to pieces the sea wall (which is made of great stones, and sticks which they call rouses, a yard and a half long, about the bigness of one's thigh, rammed into the ground as firm as possible) in many places, and levelled it almost with the ground, forcing vast quantities of earth a great distance from the shore, and stones, many of which were above a hundred

weight: and hereby the Severn was let in above a mile over one part of the parish, and did great damage to the land; it carried away one house which was by the seaside, and a gentleman's stable, wherein was a horse, into the next ground, and then the stable fell to pieces, and so the horse came out. There is one thing more remarkable in this parish, and it is this: twenty six sheets of lead, hanging all together, were blown off from the middle isle of our church, and were carried over the north isle, which is a very large one, without touching it; and into the churchyard ten yards distance from the church; and they were took up all joined together as they were on the roof; the plumber told me that the sheets weighed each three hundred and a half, one with another. This is what is most observable in our parish: but I shall give you an account of one thing (which perhaps you may have from other hands) that happened in another, called Kingscote, a little village about three miles from Tedbury, and seven from us: where William Kingscote, Esq., has many woods; among which was one grove of very tall trees, being each near eighty foot high; the which he greatly valued for the tallness and prospect of them, and therefore resolved never to cut them down: but it so happened, that six hundred of them, within the compass of five acres were wholly blown down; (and supposed to be much at the same time) each tree tearing up the gronnd with its root; so that the roots of most of the trees, with the turf and earth about them, stood up at least fifteen or sixteen foot high; the lying down of which trees is an amazing sight to all beholders. This account was given by the gentleman himself, whom I know very well. I have no more to add, but that I am your humble servant, wishing you good success in your undertaking,

Jan. 24. HENRY HEAD, Vicar of Berkly.

The damage of the sea wall may amount to about five hundred pounds.

SIR,—I received a printed paper sometime since, wherein I was desired to send you an account of what happened in the late storm: and I should have answered it sooner, but was willing to make some inquiry first about this country; and by what I can hear or learn, the dismal accident of our

late bishop and lady was most remarkable; who was killed by the fall of two chimney stacks, which fell on the roof, and drove it in upon my lord's bed, forced it quite through the next floor down into the hall, and buried them both in the rubbish: and it is supposed my lord was getting up, for he was found some distance from my lady, who was found in her bed; but my lord had his morning gown on, so that it is supposed he was coming from the bed just as it fell. We had likewise two small houses blown flat down just as the people were gone out to a neighbour's house; and several other chimney stacks fell down, and some through the roof, but no other accident as to death in this town or near it: abundance of tiles are blown off, and likewise thatch in and about this town, and several houses uncovered, in the country all about us, abundance of apple and elm trees are rooted up by the ground; and also abundance of wheat and hay-mows blown down: at Huntspill, about twelve miles from this town, there was four or five small vessels drove ashore which remain there still, and it is supposed cannot be got off; and in the same parish, the tide broke in breast high, but all the people escaped; only one woman, who was drowned. These are all the remarkable things that happened near us, as I can hear of; and is all, but my humble service; and beg leave to subscribe myself,

Sir, Your most humble servant,

Wells, in Somersetshire, EDITH. CONYERS.
Feb. 9, 1703.

SIR,—The dreadful storm did this church but little damage, but our houses were terribly shaken hereabouts, and the tide drowned the greatest part of the sheep on our common; as it likewise did, besides many cows, between this place and Bristol; on the opposite shore of Glamorganshire, as (I suppose you may also know) it brake down part of Chepstow bridge, over the Wye. In the midst of this churchyard grew a vast tree, thought to be the most large and flourishing elm in the land, which was torn up by the roots, some of which are really bigger than one's middle, and several than a man's thigh; the compass of them curiously interwoven with the earth, being from the surface (or turf) to the basis, full an ell in depth, and eighteen foot and half in the diameter, and yet thrown up near perpendicular; the trunk,

together with the loaden roots, is well judged to be thirteen ton at least, and the limbs to make six loads of billets with faggots; and, about two years since, our minister observed, that the circumambient boughs dropt round above two hundred yards: he hath given it for a singers seat in our said church, with this inscription thereon; "Nov. 27, A.D. 1703. Miserere," &c.

WILLIAM FRITH, Churchwarden.

Slimbridge near Severn, Dec. 28, 1703.

SIR,—By the late dreadful storm a considerable breach was made in our town wall, and part of the church steeple blown down; besides most of the inhabitants suffered very much by untiling their houses, &c., and abundance of trees unrooted: at the same time our river overflowed, and drowned the low grounds of both sides the town, whereby several hundreds of sheep were lost, and some cattle; and one of our market boats lifted upon our key. This is a true account of most of our damages, I am,

Cardiff, Your humble Servant,

Jan. 10, 1703. WILLIAM JONES.

HONOURED SIR,—In obedience to your request I have here sent you a particular account of the damages sustained in our parish by the late violent storm; and because that of our church is the most material which I have to impart to you, I shall therefore begin with it. It is the fineness of our church which magnifies our present loss, for in the whole it is a large and noble structure, composed within and without of ashler curiously wrought, and consisting of a stately roof in the middle, and two isles running a considerable length from one end of it to the other, makes a very beautiful figure. It is also adorned with 28 admired and celebrated windows, which, for the variety and fineness of the painted glass that was in them, do justly attract the eyes of all curious travellers to inspect and behold them; nor is it more famous for its glass, than newly renowned for the beauty of its seats and paving, both being chiefly the noble gift of that pious and worthy gentleman Andrew Barker, Esq., the late deceased lord of the manor. So that all things considered, it does equal, at least, if not exceed, any parochial church in England. Now that part of it which most of all felt the

fury of the winds, was, a large middle west window, in dimension about 15 foot wide, and 25 foot high, it represents the general judgment, and is so fine a piece of art, that 1500*l.* has formerly been bidden for it, a price, though very tempting, yet were the parishioners so just and honest as to refuse it. The upper part of this window, just above the place where our Saviour's picture is drawn sitting on a rainbow, and the earth his footstool, is entirely ruined, and both sides are so shattered and torn, especially the left, that upon a general computation, a fourth part at least, is blown down and destroyed. The like fate has another west window on the left side of the former, in dimension about 10 foot broad, and 15 foot high, sustained; the upper half of which is totally broke, excepting one stone munnel. Now if these were but ordinary glass, we might quickly compute what our repairs would cost, but we the more lament our misfortune herein, because the paint of these two as of all the other windows in our church, is stained through the body of the glass; so that if that be true which is generally said, that this art is lost, than have we an irretrievable loss. There are other damages about our church, which, though not so great as the former, do yet as much testify how strong and boisterous the winds were, for they unbedded 3 sheets of lead upon the uppermost roof, and rolled them up like so much paper. Over the church porch, a large pinnacle and two battlements were blown down upon the leads of it, but resting there, and their fall being short, these will be repaired with little cost.

This is all I have to say concerning our church: our houses come next to be considered, and here I may tell you, that (thanks be to God) the effects of the storm were not so great as they have been in many other places; several chimnies, and tiles, and slates, were thrown down, but nobody killed or wounded. Some of the poor, because their houses were thatched, were the greatest sufferers; but to be particular herein, would be very frivoulous, as well as vexatious. One instance of note ought not to be omitted; on Saturday, the 26th, being the day after the storm, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, without any previous warning, a sudden flash of lightning, with a short, but violent clap of thunder, immediately following it like the discharge of ordnance, fell upon a new and strong built house in the middle of our town, and at the same time disjointed two chimnies, melted some of

the lead of ar. upper window, and struck the mistress of the house into a swoon, but this, as appeared afterwards, proved the effect more of fear, than of any real considerable hurt to be found about her. I have nothing more to add, unless it be the fall of several trees and ricks of hay amongst us, but these being so common everywhere, and not very many in number here, I shall conclude this tedious scribble, and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient and humble Servant,

Fairford, Gloucest. EDW. SHIPTON, Vicar.
January, 1704.

The following letters though in a homely style, are written by very honest plain and observing persons, to whom entire credit may be given.

BREWTON.

SIR,—Some time since I received a letter from you, to give you an account of the most particular things that happened in the late dreadful tempest of wind, and in the first place is the copy of a letter from a brother of mine, that was an exciseman at Axbridge, in the west of our county of Somerset; these are his words:—

What I know of the winds in these parts, are, that it broke down many trees, and that the house of one Richard Henden, of Charterhouse on Mendip, called Piney, was almost blown down, and in saving their house, they, and the servants, and others, heard grievous cries and screeches in the air. The tower of Compton Bishop was much shattered, and the leads that covered it were taken clean away, and laid flat in the churchyard: the house of John Cray, of that place, received much and strange damages, which together with his part in the sea wall, amounted to 500*l.* Near the salt works, in the parish of Burnham, were driven five trading vessels as colliers and corn dealers, betwixt Wales and Bridgewater, at least 100 yards on pasture ground. In the north marsh, on the sides of Bristol river near Ken, at Walton Woodspring, the waters broke with such violence, that it came six miles into the country, drowning much cattle, carrying away several hay ricks and stacks of corn: and at a farm at Churchill, near Wrington, it blew

down 150 elms, that grew most in rows, and were laid as uniform as soldiers lodge their arms.

At Cheddar, near Axbridge, was much harm done in apple trees, houses, and such like; but what is worth remark, though not the very night of the tempest, a company of wicked people being at a wedding of one Thomas Marshall, John, the father of the said Thomas, being as most of the company was, very drunk, after much filthy discourse while he was eating, a strange cat pulling something from his trenchard, he cursing her, stoopt to take it up, and died immediately.

At Brewton, what was most remarkable, was this, that one John Dicer of that town, lay the night as the tempest was, in the barn of one John Seller, the violence of the wind broke down the roof of the barn, but fortunately for him there was a ladder which staid up a rafter, which would have fell upon the said John Dicer; but he narrowly escaping being killed, did slide himself through the broken roof, and so got over the wall without any great hurt. What hurt was done more about that town is not so considerable as in other places; such as blowing off the thatch from a great many back houses of the town; for the town is most tiled with a sort of heavy tile, that the wind had no power to move; there was some hurt done to the church, which was not above 40*s.* besides the windows, where was a considerable damage, the Lady Fitzharding's house standing by the church, the battlement with part of the wall of the house was blown down, which it is said, above 20 men with all their strength could not have thrown down; besides a great many trees in the park torn up by the roots, and laid in very good order one after another; it was taken notice that the wind did not come in a full body at once, but it came in several gusts, as myself have taken notice as I rid the country, that in a half a mile's riding I could not see a tree down, nor much hurt to houses, then again I might for some space see the trees down, and all the houses shattered; and I have taken notice that it run so all up the country in such a line as the wind sat; about one of the clock it turned to the north-west, but at the beggining was at south-west; I myself was up until one, and then I went to bed, but the highest of the wind was after that, so that my bed did shake with me.

What was about Wincanton, was, that one Mrs. Gapper had 36 elm trees growing together in a row, 35 of them was blown down; and one Edgehill, of the same town, and his family being a bed did arise, hearing the house begin to crack, and got out of the doors with his whole family, and as soon as they were out, the roof of the house fell in, and the violence of the wind took off the children's head-cloaths, that they never saw them afterwards.

At Evercreech, three miles from Brewton, there were a poor woman begged for lodging in the barn of one Edmond Peny that same night that the storm was, she was wet the day before in travelling, so she hung up her cloaths in the barn, and lay in the straw; but when the storm came, it blew down the roof of the barn where she lay, and she narrowly escaped with her life, being much bruised, and got out almost naked through the roof where it was broken most, and went to the dwelling house of the said Edmond Peny, and they did arise, and did help her to something to cover her, till they could get out her cloaths; that place of Evercreech received a great deal of hurt in their houses, which is too large to put here.

At Batcomb, easterly of Evercreech, they had a great deal of damage done as I said before, it lay exactly with the wind from Evercreech, and both places received a great deal of damage; there was one widow Walter lived in a house by itself, the wind carried away the roof, and the woman's pair of bodice, that was never heard of again, and the whole family escaped narrowly with their lives; all the battlements of the church on that side of the tower next to the wind was blown in, and a great deal of damage done to the church.

At Shipton Mallet was great damages done, as I was told by the post that comes to Brewton, that the tiles of the meeting house was blown off, and being a sort of light tiles, they flew against the neighbouring windows, and broke them to pieces: and at Chalton, near Shepton Mallet, at one Abbot's, the roof was carried from the walls of the house, and the house mightily shaken and seemingly the foundation removed, and in the morning they found a foundation stone of the house upon the top of the wall, where was a shew in the ground of its being driven out. At Dinder, within two miles of Thepton, there was one John Allen, and his son, being out of doors in the midst of the tempest, they saw a

great body of fire flying on the side of a hill, called Dinder hill, about half a mile from them, with a shew of black in the midst of it, and another body of fire following it, something smaller than the former.

There has been a strange thing at Butly, eight miles from Brewton, which was thought to be witchcraft, where a great many unusual things happened to one Pope, and his family, especially to a boy, that was his son, that having lain several hours dead, when he came to himself, he told his father, and several of his neighbors, strange stories of his being carried away by some of his neighbours that have been counted wicked persons; the things have been so strangely related that thousands of people have gone to see and hear it; it lasted about a year or more: but since the storm I have inquired of the neighbours how it was, and they tell me, that since the late tempest of wind the house and people have been quiet; for its generally said, that there was some conjuration in quieting of that house. If you have a desire to hear any farther account of it, I will make it my business to inquire farther of it, for there were such things happened in that time which is seldom heard of,

Your humble Servant,
HU. ASH.

Our town of Butly lies in such a place, that no post house is in a great many miles of it, or you should hear oftner.

SIR,—I received yours, desiring an account of the damage done by the late great wind about us. At Wilsnorton, three miles from Wittney, the lead of the church was rouled, and great damage done to the church, many great elms were tore up by the roots: at Helford, two miles from us, a rookery of elms, was most of it tore up by the roots: at Cockeup, two miles from us, was a barn blown down, and several elms blown down across the highway, so that there was no passage; a great oak of about nine or ten loads was blown down, having a raven sitting in it, his wing feathers got between two bows, and held him fast; but the raven received no hurt: at Duckleton, a little thatched house was taken off the ground-pening, and removed a distance from the place, the covering not damaged. Hay recks in abundance are torn to pieces: at Wittney, six stacks of chimneys blown down, one house had a sheet of lead taken from one side and blown

over to the other, and many houses were quite torn to pieces; several hundred trees blown down, some broke in the middle, and some torn up by the roots. Blessed be God, I hear neither man, woman, nor child that received any harm about us.

Your Servant,
Wittney, Oxfordsh. RICHARD ABENELL.

ILMISTER, Somerset.

Brief but exact remarks on the late dreadful storm of wind, as it affected the town, and the parts adjacent.

IMPRIMUS. At Ashil parish, 3 miles west from this town, the stable belonging to the Hare and Hounds Inn was blown down, in which were three horses, one killed, another very much bruised.

2. At Jurdans, a gentleman's seat in the same parish, there was a brick stable, whose roof, one back, and one end wall, were all thrown down, and four foot in depth of the fore wall; in this stable were 4 horses, which by reason of the hay loft that bore up the roof, were all preserved.

3. At Sevington parish, three miles east from this town, John Huthens had the roof of a new built house heaved clean off the walls. Note, the house was not glazed, and the roof was thatched.

4. In White Larkington park, a mile east from this town, besides four or five hundred tall trees broken and blown down, (admirable to behold, what great roots was turned up) there were three very large beaches, two of them that were near five foot thick in the stem, were broken off, one of them near the root, the other was broken off twelve foot above, and from that place down home to the root was shattered and flown; the other that was not broken, cannot have less than forty waggon loads in it; a very fine walk of trees before the house all blown down, and broke down the roof of a pidgeon house, the rookery carried away in lanes, the lodge house damaged in the roof, and one end by the fall of trees. In the garden belonging to the house, was a very fine walk of tall firrs, twenty of which were broken down.

5. The damage in the thatch of houses, (which is the usual covering in these parts) is so great and general, that the price of reed arose from twenty shillings to fifty, or three

pound a hundred; insomuch that to shelter themselves from the open air, many poor people were glad to use bean, helm, and furze, to thatch their houses with, things never known to be put to such use before.

6. At Kingston, a mile distance from this town, the church was very much shattered in its roof, and walls too, and all our country churches much shattered, so that churches and gentlemen's houses which were tiled, were so shattered in their roofs, that at present, they are generally patched with reed, not in compliance with the mode, but the necessity of the times.

7. At Broadway, two miles west of this town, Hugh Betty, his wife, and four children being in his house, it was by the violence of the storm blown down, one of his children killed, his wife wounded, but recovered, the rest escaped with their lives. A large almshouse had most of the tile blown off, and other houses much shattered; a very large brick barn blown down, walls and roof to the ground.

8. Many large stacks of wheat were broken, some of the sheaves carried two or three hundred yards from the place, many stacks of hay turned over, some stacks of corn heaved off the stadle, and set down on the ground, and not broken.

9. Dowslish walk, two miles south-east, the church was very much shattered, several load of stones fell down, not as yet repaired, therefore can't express the damage. A very large barn broken down that stood near the church, much damage was done to orchards, not only in this place, but in all places round, some very fine orchards quite destroyed; some to their great cost had the trees set up right again, but a storm of wind came after, which threw down many of the trees again; as to timber trees, almost all our high trees were broken down in that violent storm.

10. In this town Henry Dunster, his wife and two children, was in their house when it was blown down, but they all escaped with their lives, only one of them had a small bruise with a piece of timber, as she was going out of the chamber when the roof broke in.

The church, in this place, escaped very well, as to its roof, being covered with lead only on the chancel; the lead was at the top of the roof heaved up, and rolled together, more than ten men could turn back again, without cutting the sheets of lead, which was done to put it in its place

again: but in general the houses much broken and shattered, besides the fall of some.

This is a short, but true account. I have heard of several other things which I have not mentioned, because I could not be positive in the truth of them, unless I had seen it. This is what I have been to see the truth of. You may enlarge on these short heads, and methodize them as you see good.

At Henton St. George, at the Lord Pawlet's, a new brick wall was broken down by the wind for above 100 foot, the wall being built not above 2 years since, as also above 60 trees near 100 foot high.

At Barrington, about 2 miles north of this town, there was blown down above eight score trees, being of an extraordinary height, at the Lady Strouds.

As we shall not crowd our relation with many letters from the same places, so it cannot be amiss to let the world have, at least, one authentic account from most of those places where any capital damages have been sustained, and to sum up the rest in a general head at the end of this chapter.

From Wiltshire we have the following account from the Reverend the minister of Upper Donhead, near Shaftesbury, to which the reader is referred as follows.

Sir,—As the undertaking you are engaged in, to preserve the remembrance of the late dreadful tempest, is very commendable in itself, and may in several respects be serviceable not only to the present age, but also to posterity; so it merits a suitable encouragement, and, it is hoped, it will meet with such, from all that have either a true sense of religion, or have had any sensible share of the care of providence over them, or of the goodness of God unto them in the land of the living, upon that occasion. There are doubtless vast numbers of people in all parts (where the tempest raged) that have the greatest reason (as the author of this paper for one hath) to bless God for their wonderful preservation, and to tell it to the generation following. But to detain you no longer with preliminaries, I shall give you a faithful account of what occurred in my neighbourhood (according to the conditions mentioned in the advertisement in the Gazette)

worthy, at least, of my notice, if not of the undertakers; and I can assure you, that the several particulars were either such as I can vouch for on my own certain knowledge and observation, or else such as I am satisfied of the truth of by the testimony of others, whose integrity I have no reason to suspect. I will say no more than this in general, concerning the storm, that, at its height, it seemed for some hours, to be a perfect hurrican, the wind raging from every quarter, especially from all the points of the compass, from N.E. to the N.W., as the dismal effects of it in these parts do evidently demonstrate, in the demolishing of buildings (or impairing them at best) and in the throwing up vast numbers of trees by the roots, or snapping them off in their bodies, or larger limbs. But as to some remarkable particulars, you may take these following, viz.

1. The parish church received little damage, though it stands high, the chief was in some of the windows on the north side, and in the fall of the top stone of one of the pinnacles, which fell on a house adjoining to the tower with little hurt to the roof, from which glancing it rested on the leads of the south isle of the church. At the fall of it an aged woman living in the said house on which the stone fell, heard horrible screeches (as she constantly avers) in the air, but none before nor afterwards.

2. Two stone chimney-tops were thrown down, and 2 broad stones of each of them lay at even poize on the respective ridges of both the houses, and though the wind sat full against one of them to have thrown it off (and then it had fallen over a door, in and out at which several people were passing during the storm) and though the other fell against the wind, yet neither of the said stones stirred.

3. A stone of near 400 weight, having lain about 7 years under a bank, defended from the wind as it then sate, though it lay so long as to be fixed in the ground, and was as much out of the wind, as could be, being fenced by the bank, and a low stone wall upon the bank, none of which was demolished though 2 small holms standing in the bank between the wall and the stone, at the foot of the bank were blown up by the roots; I say, this stone, though thus fenced from the storm, was carried from the place where it lay, into an hollow way beneath, at least seven yards from the place where it was known to have lain for 7 years before.

4. A widow woman living in one part of an house by herself, kept her bed till the house over her was uncovered, and she expected the fall of the timber and walls; but getting below stairs in the dark, and opening the door to fly for shelter, the wind was so strong in the door, that she could neither get out at it, though she attempted to go out on her knees and hands, nor could she shut the door again with all her strength, but was forced to sit alone for several hours (till the storm slackened), fearing every gust would have buried her in the ruins; and yet it pleased God to preserve her, for the house (though a feeble one) stood over the storm.

5. Another, who made malt in his barn, had been turning his malt sometime before the storm was at its height, and another of the family being desirous to go again into the said barn sometime after, was dissuaded from it, and immediately thereupon the said barn was thrown down by the storm.

6. But a much narrower escape had one, for whose safety the collector of these passages has the greatest reason to bless and praise the great preserver of men, who was twice in his bed that dismal night (though he had warning sufficient to deter him the first time by the falling of some of the ceiling on his back and shoulders, as he was preparing to go to bed) and was altogether insensible of the great danger he was in, till the next morning after the daylight appeared, when he found the tiles, on the side of the house opposite to the main stress of the weather, blown up in two places, one of which was over his bed's head (about 9 foot above it) in which 2 or 3 laths being broken, let down a square of 8 or 10 stone tiles upon one single lath, where they hung dropping inward a little, and bended the lath like a bow, but fell not: what the consequence of their fall had been, was obvious to as many as saw it, and none has more reason to magnify God's great goodness, in this rescue of his Providence, than the relator.

7. A young man of the same parish, who was sent abroad to look after some black cattle and sheep that fed in an inclosure, in, or near to which there were some stacks of corn blown down, reports, that though he had much difficulty to find the inclosure in the dark, and to get thither by reason of the tempest then raging in the height of its fury; yet being there, he saw a mighty body of fire on an high ridge

of hills, about three parts of a mile from the said inclosure which gave so clear a light into the valley below, as that by it, the said young man could distinctly descry all the sheep and cattle in the said pasture, so as to perceive there was not one wanting.

8. At Ashgrove, in the same parish (where many tall trees were standing on the steep side of an hill) there were two trees of considerable bigness blown up against the side of the hill, which seems somewhat strange, to such as have seen how many are blown, at the same place, a quite contrary way, *i. e.*, down the hill; and to fall downwards was to fall with the wind, as upward, was to fall against it.

9. One in this neighbourhood had a poplar in his backside of near 16 yards high blown down, which standing near a small current of water, the roots brought up near a ton of earth with them, and there the tree lay for some days after the storm; but when the top or head of the tree was sawed off from the body (though the boughs were nothing to the weight of the but end), yet the tree mounted, and fell back into its place, and stood as upright without its head, as ever it had done with it. And the same happened at the Lady Banks, her house near Shaftesbury, where a walnut tree was thrown down in a place that declined somewhat, and after the greater limbs had been cut off in the day time, went back in the night following, of itself, and now stands in the same place and posture it stood in before it was blown down. I saw it standing the 16th of this instant, and could hardly perceive any token of its having been down, so very exactly it fell back into it's place. This is somewhat the more remarkable, because the ground (as I said) was declining, and consequently the tree raised against the hill. To this I shall only add, at present, that

10. This relator lately riding through a neighbouring parish, saw two trees near two houses thrown besides the said houses, and very near each house, which yet did little or no harm, when if they had fallen with the wind, they must needs have fallen directly upon the said houses. And

11. That this relator had two very tall elms thrown up by the roots, which fell in among five young walnut trees, without injuring a twig or bud of either of them, as raised the admiration of such as saw it.

12. In the same place, the top of another elm yet stand-

ing, was carried off from the body of the tree, a good part of 20 yards.

SIR,—I shall trouble you no farther at present, you may perhaps think this enough, and too much: but, however that may be, you, or your ingenious undertakers are left at liberty to publish so much, or so little of this narrative, as shall be thought fit for the service of the public. I must confess the particular deliverances were what chiefly induced me to set pen to paper, though the other matters are considerable, but whatever regard you show to the latter, in justice you should publish the former to the world, as the glory of God is therein concerned more immediately, to promote which, is the only aim of this paper. And the more effectually to induce you to do me right, (for contributing a slender mite towards your very laudable undertaking) I make no manner of scruple to subscribe myself,

Upper Donhead, Sir, Yours, &c.,
Decemb. 18th, 1703. RICE ADAMS.
Rector of Upper Donhead, Wilts, near Shaftesbury.

From Littleton, in Worcestershire, and Middleton, in Oxfordshire, the following letters may be a specimen of what those whole countries felt, and of which we have several other particular accounts.

SIR,—Public notice being given of a designed collection of the most prodigious as well as lamentable effects of the last dreadful tempest of wind. There are many persons hereabouts, and I suppose in many other places, wish all speedy furtherance and good success to that so useful and pious undertaking, for it may very well be thought to have a good influence both upon the present age, and succeeding generation, to beget in them a holy admiration and fear of that tremendous Power and Majesty, which as one Prophet tells us, "Causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth, and bringeth the wind out of his treasures," and as the Priest saith, "Hath so done his marvellous works, that they ought to be had in remembrance." As to these villages of Littleton, in Worcestershire, I can only give this information, that this violent hurricane visited us also in its passage, to the great terror of the inhabitants, who although by the gracious Providence of God all escaped with their lives and

limbs, and the main fabric of their houses stood; though with much shaking, and some damage in the roofs of many of them: yet when the morning light appeared after that dismal night, they were surprised with fresh apprehensions of the dangers escaped, when they discovered the sad havock that was made among the trees of their orchards and closes; very many fruit trees, and many mighty elms being torn up, and one elm above the rest, of very great bulk and ancient growth, I observed, which might have defied the strength of all the men and teams in the parish (though assaulted in every branch with ropes and chains), was found torn up by the roots, all sound, and of vast strength and thickness, and with its fall (as was thought) by the help of the same impetuous gusts, broke off in the middle of the timber another great elm, its fellow and next neighbour. And that which may exercise the thoughts of the curious, some little houses and outhouses that seemed to stand in the same current, and without any visible burrough or shelter, escaped in their roofs without any, or very little damage; what accidents of note happened in our neighbouring parishes, I suppose you may receive from other hands. This (I thank God) is all that I have to transmit unto you from this place, but that I am a well-wisher to your work in hand, and your humble servant,

Littleton, December 20. RALPH NORRIS.

Middleton-Stony, in Oxfordshire, Nov. 26, 1703.

The wind being south-west and by west, it began to blow very hard at twelve of the clock at night, and about four or five in the morning, Nov. 27, the hurricane was very terrible; many large trees were torn up by the roots in this place; the leads of the church were rolled up, the stone battlements of the tower were blown upon the leads, several houses and barns were uncovered, part of a new built wall of brick, belonging to a stable was blown down, and very much damage of the like nature, was done by the wind in the towns and villages adjacent.

WILLIAM OFFLEY, Rector of Middleton-Stony.

From Leamington Hasting, near Dun-church, in Warwickshire, we have the following account.

SIR,—I find in the advertisements a desire to have a

account of what happened remarkable in the late terrible storm in the country; the stories everywhere are very many, and several of them such as will scarce gain credit; one of them I send here an account of, being an eye-witness, and living upon the place. The storm here began on the 26th of November, 1703, about 12 o'clock, but the severest blasts were between five and six in the morning, and between eight and nine, the 27th, I went up to the church, where I found all the middle aisle clearly stript of the lead from one end to the other, and a great many of the sheets lying on the east end upon the church, rolled up like a piece of cloth: I found on the ground six sheets of lead, at least 50 hundred weight, all join'd together, not the least parted, but as they lay upon the aisle, which six sheets of lead were so carried in the air by the wind fifty yards and a foot, measured by a workman exactly as could be, from the place of the aisle where they lay, to the place they fell; and they might have been carried a great way further, had they not happened in their way upon a tree, struck off an arm of it near 17 yards high; the end of one sheet was twisted round the body of the tree, and the rest all join'd together, lay at length, having broke down the pales first where the tree stood, and lay upon the pales on the ground, with one end of them, as I said before, round the body of the tree.

At the same time, at Marson, in the County of Warwick, about 4 miles from this place, a great rick of wheat was blown off from its staddles, and set down without one sheaf remov'd or disturb'd, or without standing away 20 yards from the place.

If you have a mind to be farther satisfied in this matter, let me hear from you, and I will endeavour it; but I am in great hast at this time, which forces me to be confus'd. I am your friend, E. KINGSBURGH.

The following account we have from Fareham and Christ Church in Hampshire, which are also well attested.

SIR,—I received yours, and in answer these are to acquaint you, that we about us came noways behind the rest of our neighbours in that mighty storm or hurricane. As for our own parish, very few houses or outhouses escaped. There was in the parish of Fareham six barns blown down, with divers other outhouses, and many trees blown up by the

roots, and other blown off in the middle; by the fall of a large elm, a very large stone window at the west end of our church was broken down; there was but two stacks of chimnies thrown down in all our parish that I know of, and those without hurting any person. There was in a coppice called Pupal Coppice, an oak tree, of about a load of timber, that was twisted off with the wind, and the body that was left standing down to the very roots so shivered, that if it were cut into lengths, it would fall all in pieces. Notwithstanding so many trees, and so much out-housing was blown down, I do not hear of one beast that was killed or hurt. There was on the down called Portsdown, in the parish of Southwick, within three miles of us, a windmill was blown down, that had not been up very many years, with great damage in the said parish to Mr. Norton, by the fall of many chimnies and trees. The damage sustained by us in the healing is such, that we are obliged to make use of slit deals to supply the want of slats and tyles until summer come to make some. And so much thatching wanting, that it cannot be all repaired till after another harvest. As for sea affairs about us, we had but one vessel abroad at that time, which was one John Watson, the master of which was never heard of yet, and I am afraid never will; I have just reason to lament her loss, having a great deal of good on board of her. If at any time any particular relation that is true, come to my knowledge in any convenient time, I will not fail to give you an account, and at all times remain, your servant, HEN. STANTON.

Fareham, January the 23rd, 1703.

SIR,—In answer to yours, relating to the damage done by the late storm in and about our town is, that we had great part of the roof of our church uncovered, which was covered with very large Purbick-stone, and the battlements of the tower, and part of the leads blown down, some stones of a vast weight blown from the tower, several of them between two or three hundred weight, were blown some rods or perches distance from the church; and 12 sheets of lead rouled up together, that 20 men could not have done the like, to the great amazement of those that saw 'em. And several houses and barns blown down, with many hundreds of trees of all sorts; several stacks of chimneys being blown

down, and particularly of one Thomas Spencer's of this town, who had his top of a brick chimney taken off by the house, and blown across a cart road, and lighting upon a barn of Richard Holloway's, broke down the end of the said barn, and fell upright upon one end, on a mow of corn in the barn; but the said Spencer and his wife, although they were then sitting by the fire, knew nothing thereof until the morning. And a stack of chimneys of one of Mr. Imber's fell down upon a young gentlewoman's bed, she having but just before got out of the same, and several outhouses and stables were blown down, some cattle killed; and some wheat ricks entirely blown off their stafolds, and lighted on their bottom without any other damage; this is all the relation I can give you that is remarkable about us. I remain your friend and servant, WILLIAM MITCHEL.

At Ringwood and Fording-bridge, several houses and trees are blown down, and many more houses uncovered.

From Oxford, the following account was sent, enclosed in the other, and are confirmed by letters from other hands.

SIR,—The inclosed is a very exact, and I am sure, faithful account of the damages done by the late violent tempest in Oxford. The particulars of my Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his lady's misfortune are as follows: The palace is the relicks of a very old decayed castle, only one corner is new built; and had the bishop had the good fortune to have lain in those apartments that night, he had saved his life. He perceived the fall before it came, and accordingly jump't out of bed, and made towards the door, where he was found with his brains dashed out; his lady perceiving it, wrapt all the bed-cloaths about her, and in that manner was found smothered in bed. This account is authentick. I am, Sir, yours, J. BAGSHOT

December 9, 1703.

SIR,—I give you many thanks for your account from London: we were no less terrified in Oxon with the violence of the storm, though we suffered in comparison, but little damage. The most considerable was, a child killed in St.

Giles's by the fall of an house; two pinnacles taken off from the top of Magdalen tower, one from Merton; about twelve trees blown down in Christ Church long walk, some of the battlements from the body of the cathedral, and two or three ranges of rails on the top of the great quadrangle; part of the great elm in University Garden was blown off, and a branch of the oak in Magdalen walks; the rest of the colleges scaped tolerably well, and the schools and theatre entirely. A very remarkable passage happened at Queen's College, several sheets of lead judged near 6000 lbs. weight, were taken off from the top of Sir J. Williamson's buildings, and blown against the west end of St. Peter's church with such violence, that they broke an iron bar in the window, making such a prodigious noise with the fall, that some who heard it, thought the tower had been falling. The rest of our losses consisted for the most part in pinnacles, chimneys, trees, slates, tiles, windows, &c., amounting in all, according to computation, to not above 1000*l*.

Ox., December 7, 1703.

From Kingstone-upon-Thames, the following letter is very particular, and the truth of it may be depended upon.

Sir,—I have informed myself of the following matters; here was blown down a stack of chimneys of Mrs. Copper, widow, which fell on the bed, on which she lay; but she being just got up, and gone down, she received no harm on her body; likewise, here was a stack of chimneys of one Mr. Robert Banford's blown down, which fell on a bed, on which his son and daughter lay, he was about 14 years, and the daughter 16; but they likewise were just got down stairs, and received no harm. A stack of chimneys at the Bull-Inn was blown down, and broke way down into the kitchen, but hurt nobody. Here was a new brick malt-house of one Mr. Francis Best blown down, had not been built above two years, blown off at the second floor; besides many barns and outhouses; and very few houses in the town but lost tiling, some more, some less, and multitudes of trees in particular. Eleven elms of one Mr. John Bowles, shooemaker; about 30 apple-trees of one Mr. Pierces; and of one John Andrew, a gardiner, 100 apple-trees blown to the ground; one Walter Kent, Esq., had about 20 rod of new brick wall of his

garden blown down; one Mr. Tiringam, gentleman, likewise, about 10 rod of new brick wall blown down; Mr. George Cole, merchant, had also some rods of new brick wall blown down; also, Mr. Blitha, merchant, had his wal ling blown down, and other extraordinary losses. These are the most considerable damages done here.—Your humble servant, C. CASTLEMAN.

From Teuxbury, in Gloucestershire, and from Hatfield, in Hartfordshire, the following letters are sent us from the ministers of the respective places.

SIR,—Our church, though a very large one, suffered no great discernible damage. The lead roof, by the force of the wind, was strangely ruffled, but was laid down without any great cost or trouble. Two well-grown elms, that stood before a sort of alms-house in the churchyard had a different treatment; the one was broken short in the trunk, and the head turned southward; the other tore up by the roots, and cast northward. Divers chimneys were blown down, to the great damage and consternation of the inhabitants; and one rising in the middle of two chambers fell so violently, that it broke through the roof and ceiling of the chamber, and fell by the bed of Mr. W. M., and bruised some part of the bedteaster and furniture; but himself, wife, and child, were signally preserved. An out-house of Mr. F. M. (containing a stable, mill-house, and a sort of barn, judged about 40 foot in length), standing at the end of our town, and much ex posed to the wind, entirely fell, which was the most considerable damage. Not one of our town was killed or notably hurt, though scarce any but were terribly alarmed by the dreadful violence of it, which remitted about five in the morning. The beautiful cathedral church of Glocester suffered much; but of that I suppose you will have an account from some proper hand. This I was willing to signify to you, in answer to your letter, not that I think them worthy of a publick memorial; but the preservation of W. M., his wife, and child was remarkable.—Your unknown friend and servant, JOHN MATTHEWS.

Teuxbury, Jan. 12, 1703.

Bishop's Hatfield, Dec. 9, 1703.

SIR,—I perceive by an advertisement in the Gazette of last Monday, that a relation of some considerable things which happened in the late tempest is intended to be printed, which design I believe will be well approved of, that the memory of it may be perpetuated. I will give you an account of some of the observable damages done in this parish. The church, which was til'd, is so shattered, that the body of it is entirely to be ripp'd. Two barns and a stable have been blown down; in the latter were 13 horses, and none of them hurt, tho' there was but one to be seen when the men first came. I have numbered about 20 large trees blown down, which stood in the regular walks, in the park here. It is said, that all the trees blown down in both the parks will make above an hundred stacks of wood. A summer-house which stood on the east side of the bowling-green at Hatfield House, was blown against the wall, and broken, and a large part of it carried over the wall, beyond a cartway into the ploughed grounds. A great part of the south wall belonging to one of the gardens was levelled with the ground; though it was so strong that great part of it continues cemented, though it fell upon a gravel walk. Several things which happened, incline me to think that there was something of an hurricane. Part of the fine-painted glass window in my Lord Salisbury's chapel was broken, though it looked towards the east. The north side of an house was untiled several yards square. In some places, the lead has been raised up, and over one portal quite blown off. In Brocket-hall Park, belonging to Sir John Reade, so many trees are blown down, that lying as they do, they can scarce be numbered, but by a moderate computation, they are said to amount to above a thousand. The damages which this parish hath sustained, undoubtedly amount to many hundred pounds, some of the most considerable I have mentioned to you, of which I have been in great measure an eye-witness, and have had the rest from credible persons, especially the matter of Brocket-hall Park, it being two miles out of town, though in this parish.—I am, Sir, your humble Servant, GEORGE HEMSWORTH, M.A., Curate of Bishop's Hatfield, in Hartfordshire.

The shorter accounts which have been sent up from almost all parts of England, especiallv to the south of the Trent;

though we do not transmit them at large as the above said letters are, shall be faithfully abridged for the readier comprising them within the due compass of our volume.

From Kent, we have many strange accounts of the violence of the storm, besides what relate to the sea affairs.

At Whitstable, a small village on the mouth of the East Swale of the river Medway, we are informed a boat belonging to a hoy was taken up by the violence of the wind, clear off from the water, and being bourn up in the air, blew turning continually over and over in its progressive motion, till it lodged against a rising ground, above 50 rod from the water; in the passage, it struck a man who was in the way, and broke his knee to pieces.

We content ourselves with relating only the fact, and giving assurances of the truth of what we relate, we leave the needful remarks on such things to another place.

At a town near Chartham, the lead of the church rolled up together, and blown off from the church above 20 rod distance, and being taken up afterwards, and weighed, it appeared to weigh above 2600 weight.

At Brenchly, in the western parts of Kent, the spire of the steeple, which was of an extraordinary height, was overturned; the particulars whereof you have in the following letter from the minister of the place.

Sir,—According to your request, and my promise, for the service of the public, I have here given you an account of the effects of the late tempestuous winds in the parish of Brenchly, in the county of Kent, as freely and impartially as can be consistent with the damages sustained thereby, viz.:

A stately steeple, whose altitude exceeded almost, if not all, in Kent, the height whereof, according to various computations, it never in my knowledge being exactly measured, did amount at least to 10 rods, some say 12, and others more; yet this strong and noble structure, by the rage of the winds, was levelled with the ground, and made the sport and pastime of boys and girls, who to future ages, tho' perhaps incredibly, yet can boast they leaped over such a steeple; the fall thereof beat down great part of the church and porch, the damage of which to repair, as before, will not amount to less than 800*l.* or 1000*l.* This is the public loss; neither does private and particular much less bemoan their condition,

for some houses and some barns, with other buildings, are quite demolished; though blessed be God, not many lives or limbs lost in the fall; and not one house but what suffered greatly by the tempest. Neither were neighbouring parishes much more favoured; but especially a place called Great Peckham, whose steeple also, almost as high as ours, was then blown down, but not so much damage to the church, which God preserve safe and sound for ever.

This is the nearest account that can be given by your unknown Servant, THO. FIGG.

As the above letter mentions the fall of the spire of Great Peckham, we have omitted a particular letter from the place.

In or near Hawkhurst, in Sussex, a waggon standing in a field laden with straw, and bound well down in order to be fetched away the next day, the wind took the waggon, drove it backward several rods, forced it through a very thick hedge into the road, and the way being dirty, drove it with that force into the mud or clay of the road, that six horses could not pull it out.

The collector of these accounts cannot but enter the remarks he made, having occasion to traverse the country of Kent about a month after the storm; and besides the general desolation which in every village gave almost the same prospect, he declares that he reckoned 1107 dwelling-houses, out-houses, and barns blown quite down, whole orchards of fruit-trees laid flat upon the ground, and of all other sorts of trees such a quantity, that though he attempted to take an account of them, he found it was impossible, and was obliged to give it over.

From Monmouth we have a letter, that among a vast variety of ruins, in their own houses and barns, one whereof fell with a quantity of sheep in it, of which seven were killed. The lead of the great church, though on the side from the wind, was rolled up like a roll of cloth, and blown off from the church.

I choose to note this, because the letter says it was upon the north side of the church, and which seems to confirm what I have observed before, of the eddies of the wind, the operations whereof has been very strange in several places, and more violent than the storm itself.

At Wallingford, one Robert Dowell and his wife, being both in bed, the chimney of the house fell in, demolished the

house, and the main beam breaking, fell upon the bed; the woman received but little damage, but the man had his thigh broken by the beam, and lay in a dangerous condition when the letter was wrote, which was the 18th of January after.

From Axminster, in Somersetshire, take the following plain, but honest account.

Sir,—The best account I can give of the storm in these parts is as follows:—Dr. Towgood had his court gate, with a piece of wall, blown to the other side of the road, and stands upright against the hedge, which was 12 foot over, and it was as big as two horses could draw. A sheet of lead which lay flat was carried from Sir William Drake's quite over a wall into the minister's court, near threescore yards. There was a tree which stood in Mr. John Whitty's ground which broke in the middle, and the top of it blew over the hedge and over the wall, and over a top of a house, and did not hurt the house. There was a mow of corn that was blown off the posts, and sate upright without hurt, belonging to William Oliver, at an estate of Edward Seymour's, called Chappel Craft. A maiden oke which stood in the Quille more than a man could fathom, was broke in the middle. Several hundred of apple trees, and other trees blown down. Most houses damnify'd in the tilth and thatch, but no houses blown down, and no person hurt nor killed; neither did the church nor tower, nor the trees in the church-yard received much damage. Our loss in the apple-trees is the greatest; because we shall want liquor to make our hearts merry; the farmers sate them up again, but the wind has blown them down since the storm.

From Hartley, in the county of Southampton, an honest countryman brought the following account, by way of certificate, from the minister of the parish.

Sir,—I, the minister of the abovesaid parish, in the county of Southampton, do hereby certifie of the several damages done by the late great wind in our own, and the parish adjacent; several dwelling-houses stripped, and several barns overturn'd, several sign posts blown down, and many trees, both timber and fruit; and particularly my own dwelling house

very much mortify'd, a chimney fell down, and endanger'd both my own and families lives.—I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

NATHAN KINSEY.

From Okingham, in Berkshire, and from Bagshot, in Surrey, as follows.

SIR,—Great damage to the houses, some barns down, the market house very much shattred, the clock therein spoiled, several hundreds of trees torn up by the roots, most of them elms, nothing more remarkable than what was usual in other places. It is computed that the damage amounts to 1000*l.* And most of the signs in the town blown down, and some of the leads on the church torn up; yet, by the goodness of God, not one person killed nor hurt.

Bagshot, in Surrey.

The chimneys of the mannor house, some of them blown down, and 400 panel of pales, with some of the garden walls blown down, and in and about the town several great elms torn up by the roots, most of the houses shattered, and the tops of chimneys blown down.

In the parish, a great many chimneys, the tops of them blown down, and the houses and barns very much shatter'd, &c.; the damage in all is supposed about 300*l.*; none killed.

This is all the account I can give you concerning the damage done by the tempest hereabouts. This is all at present from your humble Servant,

Bagshot, Feb. 1, 1704. JO. LEWIS.

At Becles, the leads of the church ript up, part of the great window blown down, and the whole town exceedingly shattered.

At Ewell, by Epsome, in Surrey, the lead from the flat roof of Mr. William's house was rolled up by the wind, and blown from the top of the house clear over a brick wall near 10 feet high, without damnifying either the house or the wall; the lead was carried near 6 rod from the house, and as our relator says, was computed to weigh near 10 ton. This is certified by Mr. George Holdsworth, of Epsome, and

sent for the service of the present collection, to the post house at London, to whom we refer for the truth of the story.

From Ely, in the county of Cambridge, we have the following relation; also by a letter from another hand, and I the rather transmit this letter, because by other hands we had an account, that it was expected the cathedral or minister at Ely, being a very ancient building, and crasy, would not have stood the fury of the wind, and some people that lived within the reach of it, had terrible apprehensions of its falling, some shocks of the wind gave it such a motion, that any one that felt it, would have thought it was impossible it should have stood.

Sir,—According to your request, I have made it my business to get the exactest and truest account (I am able) of the damages and losses sustained on this side the country, by the late violent storm. The cathedral church of Ely, by the Providence of God, did, contrary to all men's expectations, stand out the shock, but suffered very much in every part of it, especially that which is called the body of it, the lead being torn and rent up a considerable way together; about 40 lights of glass blown down, and shattered to pieces, one ornamental pinnacle belonging to the north isle demolished, and the lead in divers other parts of it blown up into great heaps. Five chimneys falling down in a place called the colledge, the place where the Prebendaries lodgings are, did no other damage (prais'd be God) than beat down some part of the houses along with them; the loss which the church and college of Ely sustained, being by computation near 2000*l.* The sufferers are the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of the said cathedral. The windmills belonging both to the town and country, felt a worse fate, being blown or burnt down by the violence of the wind, or else disabled to that degree, that they were wholly unable of answering the design they were made for; three of the aforesaid mills belonging to one Jeremiah Fouldsham, of Ely, a very industrious man of mean substance, were burnt and blown down, to the almost ruin and impoverishment of the aforesaid person, his particular loss being upwards of a 100*l.*; these are the most remarkable disasters that befel this side of the country. The inhabitants both of the town

of Ely and country general, received some small damages more or less in their estates and substance, viz.: The houses being stript of the tiling, barns and out-houses laid even with the ground, and several stacks of corn and cocks of hay being likewise much damaged, the general loss being about 20,000*l.*, the escape of all persons here from death being generally miraculous; none as we can hear of being kill'd, tho' some were in more imminent danger than others. This, Sir, is as true and as faithful an account as we are able to collect.—I am yours,

Ely, Jan. 21, 1704. A. ARMIGER.

From Sudbury, in Suffolk, an honest plain countryman gives us a letter, in which, telling us of a great many barns blown down, trees, chimneys and tiles, he tells us in the close, that their town fared better than they expected, but that for all the neighbouring towns they are fearfully shatter'd.

From Tunbridge, a letter to the post-master, giving the following account.

SIR,—I cannot give you any great account of the particular damage the late great winds has done, but at Penchurst Park there was above 500 trees blown down, and the grove at Southborough is almost blown down; and there is scarce a house in town, but hath received some damage, and particularly the school-house. A stack of chimnies blown down, but nobody, God be thanked, have lost their lives, a great many houses have suffered very much, and several barns have been blown down. At East Peckham, hard by us, the spire of the steeple was blown down. And at Sir Thomas Twisden's, in the same parish, there was a stable blown down, and 2 horses killed. And at Brenchly, the spire of the steeple was blown down; and at Summer-hill Park there were several trees blown down, which is all at present from your Servant to command,

ELIZABETH LUCK.

At Laneloe, in the county of Brecon, in Wales, a poor woman with a child, was blown away by the wind, and the

child being about 10 years old, was taken up in the air two or three yards, and very much wounded and bruised in the fall.

At Ledbury, in Herefordshire, we have an account of two windmills blown down, and four stacks of chimnies in a new built house at a village near Ledbury, which wounded a maid servant; and at another gentleman's house, near Ledbury, the coachman fearing the stable would fall, got his master's coach horses out to save them, but leading them by a great stack of hay, the wind blew down the stack upon the horses, killed one, and maimed the other.

From Medhurst in Sussex, the following letter is a short account of the loss of the Lord Montacute, in his seat there, which is extraordinary great, though abridged in the letter.

Sir,—I received a letter from you, wherein you desire me to give you an account of what damage was done in and about our town, I praise God we came off indifferent well; the greatest damage we received, was the untiling of houses, and 3 chimneys blown down, but 4 or 5 stacks of chimneys are blown down at my Lord Montacute's house, within a quarter of a mile of us, one of them fell on part of the Great Hall, which did considerable damage; and the church steeple of Osborn, half a mile from us, was blown down at the same time; and my Lord had above 500 trees torn up by the roots, and near us several barns blown down, one of Sir John Mill's, a very large tiled barn.

Medhurst, Your humble Servant,
Jan. 18, 1704. John Prinke.

From Rigate the particulars cannot be better related, than in the following letter.

Sir,—In answer to the letter you sent me, relating to the late great wind, the calamity was universal about us, great numbers of vast tall trees were blown down, and some broken quite asunder in the middle, tho' of a very considerable bigness. Two wind-mills were blown down, and in one there happened a remarkable Providence, and the story thereof may perhaps be worth your observation, which is, viz., that the Miller of Charlewood Mill, not far from Rigate hearing in

the night time the wind blew very hard, arose from his bed, and went to his mill, resolving to turn it toward the wind, and set it to work, as the only means to preserve it standing; but on the way feeling for the key of the mill, he found he had left it at his dwelling house, and therefore returned thither to fetch it, and coming back again to the mill, found it blown quite down, and by his lucky forgetfulness saved his life, which otherwise he most inevitably had lost. Several stacks of corn and hay were blown down and shattered a very great distance from the places where they stood. Many barns were also blown down, and many stacks of chimnies; and in the Town and Parish of Rigate, scarce a house but suffered considerable damage, either in the tyling or otherwise. In the Parish of Capal by Darking lived one Charles Man, who was in bed with his wife and two children, and by a fall of part of his house, he and one child were killed, and his wife, and the other child, miraculously preserved, I am,

Rigate, Sir, Your humble Servant,
Jan. 13, 1704. THO. FOSTER.

From the City of Hereford, this short letter is very explicit.

SIR,—The best account I can give of this Storm, is as follows; a man and his son was killed with the fall of his house, in the parish of Wormsle, 2 miles off Webly in Herefordshire. My Lord Skudamoor, had several great oaks blown down in the parish of Hom, 4 miles from Hereford; there were several great elms blown down at a place called Hinton, on Wye side, half a mile off Hereford, and some hundreds of fruit trees in other parts of this country, and two stacks of chimnies in this city, and abundance of tiles off the old houses.

Hereford, Yours, &c.
Jan. 2, 1704. ANNE WATTS.

At Hawkhurst, on the Edge of Sussex and Kent, 11 barns were blown down, besides the houses shattered or uncovered.

From Basingstoke in Hampshire, the following letter is our authority for the particulars.

SIR,—I cannot pretend to give you a particular account concerning the great wind, but here are a great many houses blown down, many barns, and abundance of trees. A little

park three miles from Basing Stoke, belonging to Esq. Waleps has a great quantity of timber blown down, there is 800*l.*'s worth of oak sold, and 800*l.*'s worth of other trees to be sold, and so proportionably all over the country. Abundance of houses until'd, and a great many chimneys blown down; but I do not hear of anybody kill'd about us. Most of the people were in great fears and consternation; insomuch, that they thought the world had been at an end. Sir,

Yours to command, W. NEVILL.

At Shoram, the market house, an antient and very strong building, was blown down flat to the ground, and all the town shatter'd. Brightelmston being an old built and poor, tho' populous town, was most miserably torn to pieces, and made the very picture of desolation, that it lookt as if an enemy had sackt it.

The following letter from a small town near Helford in Cornwall is very authentic, and may be depended on.

SIR,—According to your request in a late advertisement, in which you desired an impartial account of what accidents happened by the late dreadful storm, in order to make a true and just collection of the same, please to take the following relation, viz. Between 8 and 9 a-clock the storm began, with the wind at N.W. about 10 a-clock it veer'd about from W. to S. W. and back to West again, and between 11 and 12 a-clock it blew in a most violent and dreadful manner, that the country hereabouts thought the great day of judgment was coming.

It continued thus blowing till 5 a-clock, and then began to abate a little, but has done a prodigious damage to almost all sorts of people, for either their houses are blown down, or their corn blown out of their stack-yards, (some furlongs distance) from the same, that the very fields look in a manner, as if they had shak'd the sheaves of corn over them. Several barns blown down, and the corn that was in the same carried clear away.

The churches here abouts have suffered very much, the roofs of several are torn in pieces, and blown a considerable distance off.

The small quantity of fruit-trees we had in the neighbourhood about us are so dismember'd, and torn in pieces, that few or none are left fit for bearing fruit.

The large timber trees, as elm, oak, and the like, are generally blown down, especially the largest and highest trees suffered most: for few gentlemen that had trees about their houses have any left; and it is generally observ'd here, that the trees and houses that stood in valleys, and most out of the wind, have suffered most. In short, the damage has been so general, that both rich and poor have suffered much.

In Helford, a small haven, not far from hence, there was a tin ship blown from her anchors with only one man, and two boys on board, without anchor, cable or boat, and was forc'd out of the said haven about 12 a-clock at night; the next morning by 8 a-clock, the ship miraculously run in between two rocks in the Isle of Wight, where the men and goods were saved, but the ship lost: such a run in so short a time, is almost incredible, it being near 80 leagues in 8 hours time, I believe it to be very true, for the master of the said ship I know very well, and some that were concern'd in her lading, which was tin, &c.

From St. Keaverne Parish, in Cornwall,
May 26, 1704. Yours &c., W. T.

Thus far our Letters.

It has been impossible to give an exact relation in the matter of public damage, either as to the particulars of what is remarkable, or an estimate of the general loss.

The abstract here given, as near as we could order it, is so well taken, that we have, *generally speaking*, something remarkable from every quarter of the kingdom, to the south of the Trent.

It has been observed, that though it blew a great storm farther northward, yet nothing so furious as this way. At Hull, indeed, as the relation expresses, it was violent, but even that violence was moderate, compared to the stupenduous fury with which all the southern part of the nation was attacked.

When the reader finds an account here from Milford-haven in Wales, and from Helford in Cornwall West, from Yarmouth and Deal in the East, from Portsmouth in the South, and Hull in the North, I am not to imagine him so weak as to suppose all the vast interval had not the same, or proportioned suffering, when you find one letter from a town, and

two from a county, it is not to be supposed that was the whole damage in that county, but, on the contrary, that every town in the county suffered the same thing in proportion; and it would have been endless to the collector, and tiresome to the reader, to have enumerated all the individuals of every county; it would be endless to tell the desolation in the parks, groves, and fine walks of the gentry, the general havoc in the orchards and gardens among the fruit trees, especially in the counties of Devon, Somerset, Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester, where the making great quantities of Cyder and Perry, is the reason of numerous and large orchards, among which, for several miles together, there would be very few trees left.

In Kent, the Editor of this book has seen several great orchards, the trees lying flat on the ground, and perhaps one tree standing in a place by itself, as a house might shelter it, perhaps none at all.

So many trees were everywhere blown across the road, that till the people were called to saw them off, and remove them, the ways were not passable.

Stacks of corn and hay were in all places either blown down, or so torn, that they received great damage, and in this article it is very observable, those which were only blown down received the least injury; when the main body of a stack of hay stood safe, the top being loosened by the violence of the wind, the hay was driven up into the air, and flew about like feathers, that it was entirely lost, and hung about in the neighbouring trees, and spread on the ground for a great distance, and so perfectly separated, that there was no gathering it together.

Barley and oats suffered the same casualty, only that the weight of the corn settled it sooner to the ground than the hay.

As to the stacks of wheat, the accounts are very strange; from many places we have letters, and some so incredible, that we dare not venture on the reader's faith to transmit them, least they should shock their belief in those very strange relations already set down and better attested, as of a great stack of corn taken from the hovel on which it stood, and without dislocating the sheaves, set upon another hovel, from whence the wind had just before removed another stack of equal dimensions; of a stack of wheat taken up with the wind, and set down whole 16 rod off, and the like. But as we have other relations equally strange, their truth considered, we

refer the reader to them, and assure the world we have several accounts of stacks of wheat taken clear off from the frame or steddal, and set down whole, abundance more overset, and thrown off from their standings, and others quite dispersed, and in a great measure destroyed.

It is true, corn was exceeding cheap all the winter after, but they who bring that as a reason to prove there was no great quantity destroyed, are obliged to bear with me in telling them they are mistaken, for the true reason was as follows:—

The stacks of corn in some countries, the west chiefly, where the people generally lay up their corn in stacks, being so damnifyed as above, and the barns in all parts being universally uncovered, and a vast number of them overturned, and blown down, the country people were under a necessity of thrashing out their corn with all possible speed, least if a rain had followed, as at that time of year was not unlikely, it might have been all spoiled.

And it was a special providence to those people also, as well as to us in London that it did not rain, at least to any quantity, for near three weeks after the storm.

Besides this, the country people were obliged to thrash out their corn for the sake of the straw, which they wanted to repair the thatch, and covering of their barns, in order to secure the rest.

All these circumstances forced the corn to market in unusual quantities, and that by consequence made it cheaper than ordinary, and not the exceeding quantity then in store.

The seats of the gentlemen in all places had an extraordinary share in the damage; their parks were in many places perfectly dismantled, the trees before their doors levelled, their garden walls blown down, and I could give a list, I believe, of a thousand seats in England, within the compass of our collected papers, who had from 5 to 20 stacks of chimnies blown down, some more, some less, according to the several dimensions of the houses.

I am not obliging the reader to comply with the calculations here following, and it would have taken up too much room in this small tract to name particulars; but according to the best estimate I have been able to make from the general accounts sent up by persons forward to have this matter

recorded, the following particulars are rather under than over the real truth.

25 parks in the several countries, who have above 1000 trees in each park blown down.

New forest in Hampshire above 4000, and some of prodigious bigness; above 450 parks and groves, who have from 200 large trees to 1000 blown down in them.

Above 100 churches covered with lead, the lead rolled up, the churches uncovered; and on some of them, the lead in prodigious quantities blown to incredible distances from the church.

Above 400 windmills overset, and broken to pieces; or the sails so blown round, that the timbers and wheels have heat and set the rest on fire, and so burnt them down, as particularly several were in the Isle of Ely.

Seven steeples quite blown down, besides abundance of pinnacles and battlements from those which stood; and the churches where it happened most of them demolished or terribly shattered.

Above 800 dwelling houses blown down, in most of which the inhabitants received some bruise or wounds, and many lost their lives.

We have reckoned, including the City of London, about 123 people killed; besides such as we have had no account of; the number of people drowned are not easily guessed; but by all the calculations I have made and seen made, we are within compass, if we reckon 8000 men lost, including what were lost on the coast of Holland, what in ships blown away, and never heard of, and what were drowned in the flood of the Severn, and in the river of Thames.

What the loss, how many poor families ruined, is not to be estimated, the fire of London was an exceeding loss, and was by some reckoned at four millions sterling; which, though it was a great loss, and happened upon the spot where vast quantities of goods being exposed to the fury of the flames, were destroyed in a hurry, and 14000 dwelling houses entirely consumed.

Yet on the other hand, that desolation was confined to a small space, the loss fell on the wealthiest part of the people; but this loss is universal, and its extent general, not a house, not a family that had anything to lose, but have lost some-

thing by the storm, the sea, the land, the houses, the churches, the corn, the trees, the rivers, all have felt the fury of the winds.

I cannot, therefore, think I speak too large, if I say, I am of the opinion, that the damage done by this tempest far exceeded the fire of London.

They tell us the damages done by the tide, on the banks of the Severn, amounts to above 200,000 pounds, 15,000 sheep drowned in one level, multitudes of cattle, on all the sides, and the covering the lands with salt water is a damage cannot well be estimated. The high tide at Bristol spoiled or damnifyed 1500 hogsheads of sugars and tobaccoes, besides great quantities of other goods.

It is impossible to describe the general calamity, and the most we can do is, to lead our reader to supply by his imagination what we omit; and to believe, that as the head of the particulars is thus collected, as infinite variety at the same time happened in every place, which cannot be expected to be found in this relation.

There are some additional remarks to be made as to this tempest, which I cannot think improper to come in here: as,

1. That in some parts of England it was joined with terrible lightnings and flashings of fire, and in other places none at all; as to thunder, the noise the wind made, was so terrible, and so unusual, that I will not say people might not mistake it for thunder; but I have not met with any, who will be positive that they heard it thunder.

2. Others, as in many letters we have received to that purpose, insist upon it, that they felt an earthquake; and this I am doubtful of, for several reasons.

1st. We find few people either in city or country ventured out of their houses, or at least till they were forced out, and I cannot find any voucher to this opinion of an earthquake, from those whose feet stood upon the *terra firma*, felt it move, and will affirm it to be so.

2nd. As to all those people who were in houses, I cannot allow them to be competent judges, for as no house was so strong as not to move and shake with the force of the wind, so it must be impossible for them to distinguish whether that motion came from above or below. As to those in ships, they will not pretend to be competent judges in this case, and I think the people within doors as improper to decide,

for what might not that motion they felt in their houses, from the wind do, that an earthquake could do. We found it rocked the strongest buildings, and in several places made the bells in the steeples strike, loosened the foundations of the houses, and in some blew them quite down, but still if it had been an earthquake, it must have been felt in every house, and every place; and whereas in those streets of London, where the houses stand thick and well built, they could not be so shaken with the wind as in opener places; yet there the other would have equally been felt, and better distinguished; and this particularly by the watch, who stood on the ground, under shelter of public buildings, as in St. Paul's church, the Exchange gates, the gates of the city, and such like; wherefore, as I am not for handing to posterity any matter of fact upon ill evidence, so I cannot transmit what has its foundation only in the amazements of the people.

It is true that there was an earthquake felt in the North-east parts of the kingdoms, about a month afterwards, of which several letters here inserted make mention, and one very particularly from Hull; but that there was any such thing as an earthquake during the storm, I cannot agree.

Another remarkable thing I have observed, and have several letters to show of the water which fell in the storm, being brackish, and at Cranbrook in Kent, which is at least 16 miles from the sea, and above 25 from any part of the sea to windward, from whence the wind could bring any moisture, *for it could not be supposed to fly against the wind;* the grass was so salt, the cattle would not eat for several days, from whence the ignorant people suggested another miracle, viz., that it rained salt water.

The answer to this, I leave to two letters printed in the *Philosophical Transactions;* as follows,

Part of a letter from Mr. Denham to the Royal Society.

Sir,—I have just now, since my writing, receiv'd an account from a Clergyman, an intelligent person at Lewes in Sussex, not only that the storm made great desolations thereabouts, but also an odd Phœnomenon occasioned by it, viz.: That a Physician travelling soon after the storm to Tischyrst, about 20 miles from Lewes, and as far from the sea, as he rode he pluckt some tops of hedges, and chawing them found them salt. Some ladies of Lewes hearing this, tasted some

grapes that were still on the vines, and they also had the same relish. The grass on the downs in his parish was so salt, that the sheep in the morning would not feed till hunger compelled them, and afterwards drank like fishes, as the shepherds report. This he attributeth to saline particles driven from the sea.———He heareth also, that people about Portsmouth were much annoyed with sulphurous fumes, complaining they were most suffocated therewith.

V. Part of a Letter from Mr. Anthony van Leuwenhoek, F.R.S., giving his Observations on the late Storm.

Delft, Jan. 8, 1704 N.S.

Sir,—I affirmed in my letter of the 3d of November last past, that water may be so dash'd and beaten against the banks and dikes by a strong wind, and divided into such small particles, as to be carried far up into the land.

Upon the 8th of December, 1703 N.S., we had a dreadful storm from the south-west, insomuch, that the water mingled with small parts of chalk and stone, was so dasht against the glass-windows, that many of them were darkned therewith, and the lower windows of my house, which are made of very fine glass, and always kept well scower'd, and were not open'd till 8 a-clock that morning, notwithstanding that they look to the north-east, and consequently stood from the wind, and moreover, were guarded from the rain by a kind of shelf or pent-house over them, were yet so cover'd with the particles of the water which the whirlwind cast against them, that in less than half an hour they were deprived of most of their transparency, and, forasmuch as these particles of water were not quite exhaled, I concluded that it must be sea-water, which the said storm had not only dasht against our windows, but spread also over the whole country.

That I might be satisfied herein, I blow'd two small glasses, such as I thought most proper to make my observations with, concerning the particles of water that adhered to my windows.

Pressing these glasses gently against my windows, that were covered with the suppos'd particles of sea-water, my glasses were tinged with a few of the said particles.

These glasses, with the water I had thus collected on

them, I placed at about half a foot distance from the candle, I view'd them by my microscope, reck'ning, that by the warmth of the candle, and my face together, the particles of the said water would be put into such a motion, that they would exhale for the most part, and the salts that were in 'em would be expos'd naked to the sight, and so it happened, for in a little time a great many salt particles did, as it were, come out of the water, having the figure of our common salt, but very small, because the water was little from whence those small particles proceeded; and where the water had lain very thin upon the glass, there were indeed a great number of salt particles, but so exceeding fine, that they almost escaped the sight through a very good microscope.

From whence I concluded, that these glass windows could not be brought to their former lustre, but by washing them with a great deal of water; for if the air were very clear, and the weather dry, the watery particles would soon exhale, but the salts would cleave fast to the glass, which said salts would be again dissolv'd in moist weather, and sit like dew or mist upon the windows.

And accordingly my people found it when they came to wash the afore-mentioned lower windows of my house; but as to the upper windows, where the rain had beat against them, there was little or no salt to be found sticking upon that glass.

Now, if we consider what a quantity of sea-water is spread all over the country by such a terrible storm, and consequently, how greatly impregnated the air is with the same; we ought not to wonder, that such a quantity of water, being moved with so great a force, should do so much mischief to chimneys, tops of houses, &c., not to mention the damages at sea.

During the said storm, and about 8 a-clock in the morning, I cast my eye upon my barometer, and observ'd, that I had never seen the quick-silver so low; but half an hour after the quick-silver began to rise, tho' the storm was not at all abated, at least to any appearance; from whence I concluded, and said it to those that were about me, that the storm would not last long, and so it happened.

There are some that affirm, that the scattering of this salt water by the storm will do a great deal of harm to the fruits of the earth; but for my part I am of a quite

different opinion, for I believe that a little salt spread over the surface of the earth, especially where it is heavy clay ground, does render it exceeding fruitful; and so it would be, if the sand out of the sea were made use of to the same purpose.

These letters are too well, and too judiciously written to need any comment of mine; 'tis plain, the watery particles taken up from the sprye of the sea into the air, might, by the impetuosity of the winds be carried a great way, and if it had been much farther, it would have been no miracle in my account; and this is the reason, why I have not related these things, among the extraordinary articles of the storm.

That the air was full of meteors and fiery vapours, and that the extraordinary motion occasion'd the firing more of them than usual, a small stock of philosophy will make very rational; and of these we have various accounts, more in some places than in others, and I am apt to believe these were the lightnings we have been told of; for I am of opinion that there was really no lightning, such as we call so in the common acceptation of it; for the clouds that flew with so much violence through the air, were not, as to my observation, such as usually are freighted with thunder and lightning, the hurries nature was then in, do not consist with the system of thunder, which is air pent in between the clouds; and as for the clouds that were seen here flying in the air, they were by the fury of the winds so separated, and in such small bodies that there was no room for a collection suitable, and necessary to the case we speak of.

These cautions I thought necessary to set down here, for the satisfaction of the curious; and as they are only my opinions, I submit them to the judgment of the reader.

Of the Damages on the Water.

As this might consist of several parts, I was inclined to have divided it into sections or chapters, relating particularly to the public loss, and the private; to the merchant, or the navy, to floods by the tides, to the river damage, and that of the sea; but for brevity, I shall confine it to the following particulars:

First—*The damage to trade.*
Secondly—*The damage to the Royal Navy.*
Thirdly—*The damage by high tides.*

First—*Of the Damage to Trade.*

I might call it a damage to trade, that this season was both for some time before and after the tempest, so exceeding and so continually stormy, that the seas were in a manner unnavigable and negoce, at a kind of a general stop, and when the storm was over, and the weather began to be tolerable, almost all the shipping in England was more or less out of repair, for there was very little shipping in the nation, but what had received some damage or other.

It is impossible, but a nation so full of shipping as this, must be exceeding sufferers in such a general disaster, and who ever considers the violence of this storm by its other dreadful effects will rather wonder, and be thankful that we received no farther damage, than we shall be able to give an account of by sea.

I have already observed what fleets were in the several ports of this nation, and from whence they came. As to ships lost of whom we have no other account than that they were never heard of, I am not able to give any particulars, other than that about three and forty sail of all sorts are reckoned to have perished in that manner. I mean of such ships as were at sea, when the storm began and had no shelter or port to make for their safety. Of these, some were of the Russia fleet, of whom we had an account of 20 sail lost the week before the great storm, but most of them reached the ports of Newcastle, Humber, and Yarmouth, and some of the men suffered in the general distress afterwards.

But to proceed to the most general disasters, by the same method, as in the former articles of damages by land. Several persons having given themselves the trouble to farther this design with authentic particulars from the respective ports, I conceive we cannot give the world a clearer and more satisfactory relation than from their own words.

The first account, and placed so, because 'tis very authentic and particular, and the farthest port westward, and there-

fore proper to begin our relation, is from on board Her Majesty's ship the Dolphin, in Milford haven, and sent to us by Capt. Soanes, the commodore of a squadron of men-of-war then in that harbor, to whom the public is very much obliged for the relation, and which we thought ourselves bound here to acknowledge. The account is as follows—

Sir,—Reading the advertisement in the Gazette of your intending to print the many sad accidents in the late dreadful storm, induced me to let you know what this place felt, tho' a very good harbour. Her Majesty's ships the Cumberland, Coventry, Loo, Hastings, and Hector, being under my command, with the Rye, a cruiser on this station, and under our convoy about 130 merchant ships bound about land; the 26th of November, at one in the afternoon, the wind came at S. by E. a hard gale, between which and N.W. by W. it came to a dreadful storm; at three the next morning was the violentest of the weather, when the Cumberland broke her sheet anchor, the ship driving near this, and the Rye, both narrowly escap'd carrying away; she drove very near the rocks, having but one anchor left, but in a little time they slung a gun, with the broken anchor fast to it, which they let go, and wonderfully preserved the ship from the shoar. Guns firing from one ship or other all the night for help, tho' 'twas impossible to assist each other, the sea was so high, and the darkness of the night such, that we could not see where any one was, but by the flashes of the guns; when daylight appeared, it was a dismal sight to behold the ships driving up and down one foul of another, without masts, some sunk, and others upon the rocks, the wind blowing so hard, with thunder, lightning, and rain, that on the deck a man could not stand without holding. Some drove from Dale, where they were sheltered under the land, and split in pieces, the men all drowned: two others drove out of a creek, one on the shoar so high up was saved, the other on the rocks in another creek, and bulg'd; an Irish ship that lay with a rock thro' her, was lifted by the sea clear away to the other side of the creek on a safe place; one ship forced 10 miles up the river before she could be stopp'd, and several strangely blown into holes, and on banks; a ketch, of Pembroke was drove on the rocks, the

two men and a boy in her had no boat to save their lives, but in this great distress a boat which broke from another ship drove by them, without any in her, the two men leap into her, and were sav'd, but the boy drown'd; a prize at Pembroke was lifted on the bridge, whereon is a mill, which the water blew up, but the vessel got off again; another vessel carried almost into the gateway which leads to the bridge, and is a road, the tide flowing several foot above its common course. The storm continued till the 27th, about 3 in the afternoon; that by computation nigh 30 merchant ships and vessels without masts are lost, and what men are lost is not known; 3 ships are missing, that we suppose men and all lost. None of Her Majesty's ships came to any harm; but the Cumberland breaking her anchor in a storm which happen'd the 18th at night, lost another, which renders her uncapable of proceeding with us till supply'd. I saw several trees and houses which are blown down.—Your humble Servant, JOS. SOANES.

The next account we have from the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cheft, Minister of Chepstow, whose ingenious account being given in his own words, gives the best acknowledgement for his forwarding and approving this design.

SIR,—Upon the evening of Friday, Nov. 26, 1703, the wind was very high; but about midnight it broke out with a more than wonted violence, and so continued till near break of day. It ended a N.W. wind, tho' about 3 in the morning it was at S.W. The loudest cracks I observed of it, were somewhat before four of the clock; we had here the common calamity of houses shatter'd and trees thrown down.

But the wind throwing the tyde very strongly into the Severn, and so into the Wye, on which Chepstow is situated. And the fresh in Wye meeting with a rampant tide, overflowed the lower part of our town. It came into several houses about 4 foot high, rather more; the greatest damage sustained in houses, was by the makers of Salt, perhaps their loss might amount to near 200*l.*

But the bridge was a strange sight; it stands partly in Monmouthshire and partly in Gloucestershire, and is built mostly of wood, with a stone peer in the midst, the center of

which divides the two counties; there are also stone platforms in the bottom of the river to bear the woodwork. I doubt not but those stone platforms were covered then by the great fresh that came down the river. But over these there are wooden standards fram'd into peers 42 foot high; besides groundsils, cap-heads, sleepers, planks, and (on each side of the bridge) rails which may make about 6 foot more, the tyde came over them all. The length of the wooden part of the bridge in Monmouthshire is 60 yards exactly, and thereabout in Gloucestershire; the Gloucestershire side suffered but little, but in Monmouthshire side the planks were most of them carried away, the sleepers (about a tun by measure each) were many of them carried away, and several removed, and 'tis not doubted but the great wooden peers would have gone too; but it was so, that the outward sleepers on each side the bridge were pinn'd or bolted to the cap-heads, and so kept them in their places.

All the level land on the south part of Monmouthshire, called the Moors, was overflowed; it is a tract of land about 20 miles long, all level, save 2 little points of high land, or 3; the breadth of it is not all of one size, the broadest part is about 2 miles and ½. This tyde came 5 tydes before the top of the spring, according to the usual run, which surprised the people very much. Many of their cattle got to shore, and some dy'd after they were landed. It is thought by a moderate computation, they might lose in hay and cattle, between 3 and 4000*l*. I cannot hear of any person drown'd, save only one servant man, that ventur'd in quest of his master's cattle. The people were carried off, some by boats, some otherways, the days following; the last that came off (that I can hear of) were on Tuesday evening, to be sure they were uneasy and astonished in that interval. There are various reports about the height of this tide in the Moors, comparing it with that in Jan., 1606. But the account that seems likeliest to me, is, that the former tyde ran somewhat higher than this. 'Tis thought most of their land will be worth but little these 2 or three years, and 'tis known, that the repairing the sea walls will be very chargeable.

Gloucestershire too, that borders upon Severne, hath suffered deeply on the forrest of Deane side, but nothing in comparison of the other shore; from about Harlingham down to the mouth of Bristol River Avon, particularly from Aust

Cliffe to the river's mouth (about 8 miles) all that flat, called the Marsh, was drown'd. They lost many sheep and cattle. About 70 seamen were drown'd out of the Canterbury store-ship, and other ships that were stranded or wreck'd. The Arundel man-of-war, Suffolk and Canterbury storeships, a French prize, and a Dane, were driven ashore and damnified; but the Arundel and the Danish ship are got off, the rest remain on ground. The Richard and John, of about 500 tun, newly come into King road from Virginia, was staved. The Shoram rode it out in King road; but I suppose you may have a perfect account of these things from Bristol. But one thing yet is to be remembred, one Nelms of that country, as I hear his name, was carried away with his wife and 4 children, and house and all, and were lost, save only one girl, who caught hold of a bough, and was preserved.

There was another unfortunate accident yet in these parts, one Mr. Churchman, that keeps the inns at Betesley, a passage over the Severn, and had a share in the passing boats, seeing a single man tossed in a wood-bus off in the river, prevailed with some belonging to the customs, to carry himself and one of his sons and 2 servants aboard the boat, which they did, and the officers desired Mr. Churchman to take out the man, and come ashore with them in their pinnace. But he, willing to save the boat as well as the man, tarried aboard, and sometime after hoisting sail, the boat overset, and they were all drowned, viz., the man in the boat, Mr. Churchman, his son and 2 servants, and much lamented, especially Mr. Churchman and his son, who were persons very useful in their neighbourhood. This happened on Saturday, about 11 of the clock.—Your humble Servant,

THO. CHEST.

Mr. Tho. Little, Minister of ———— Church, in Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, being requested to give in the particulars of what happened thereabouts, gave the following short, but very pertinent, account.

SIR,—I had answer'd yours sooner, but that I was willing to get the best information I could of the effect of the late dismal storm amongst us. I have advis'd with our merchants and ship masters, and find that we have lost from this port 7 ships, damage whereof at a modest computa-

tion, amounts to 3000*l.*; the men that perished in them are reckon'd about 20 in number. There is another ship missing, though we are not without hopes that she is gone northward, the value of ship and cargo about 1500*l.*

The damage sustain'd in the buildings of the town is computed at 1000*l.* at least. - I am, your faithful friend and Servant, THO. LITTLE.

Lyn, Jan 17, 1704.

We have had various accounts from Bristol, but as they all contain something of the same in general, only differently expressed, the following, as the most possitively asserted, and best expressed, is recorded for the public information.

SIR,—Observing your desire, (lately signified in the Gazette) to be further informed concerning the effects of the late dreadful tempest, in order to make a collection thereof. I have presum'd to present you with the following particulars concerning Bristol, and the parts near adjacent, being an eye-witness of the same, or the majority of it. On Saturday the 27th of Nov. last, between the hours of one and two in the morning, arose a most prodigious storm of wind, which continued with very little intermission for the space of six hours, in which time it very much shattered the buildings, both public and private, by uncovering the houses, throwing down the chimneys, breaking the glass windows, overthrowing the pinnacles and battlements of the churches, and blowing off the leads. The churches in particular felt the fury of the storm. St. Stephen's tower had three pinnacles blown off, which beat down the greatest part of the church. The cathedral is likewise very much defac'd, two of its windows, and several battlements being blown away; and, indeed, most churches in the city felt its force more or less; it also blew down abundance of great trees in the Marsh, College-green, St. James's Church-yard, and other places in the city. And in the country it blew down and scattered abundance of hay and corn mows, besides almost levelling many orchards and groves of stout trees. But the greatest damage done to the city was the violent overflowing of the tide, occasioned by the force of the wind, which flowed an extraordinary height, and did abundance of damage to the merchants cellers. It broke in with great fury over the

marsh country, forcing down the banks or sea-walls, drowning abundance of sheep, and other cattle, washing some houses clear away, and breaking down part of others, in which many persons lost their lives. It likewise drove most of the ships in Kingroad a considerable way upon the land, some being much shatter'd, and one large vessel broke all in pieces, and near all the men lost, besides several lost out of other vessels. To conclude, the damage sustain'd by this city alone in merchandise, computed to an hundred thousand pounds, besides the great loss in the country, of cattel, corn, &c., which has utterly ruined many farmers, whose substance consisted in their stock of horse hay. So having given you the most material circumstances, and fatal effects of this great tempest in these parts, I conclude your (unknown) friend and Servant, DANIAL JAMES.

From Huntspill, in Somersetshire, we have the following account from, as we suppose, the minister of the place, though unknown to the collector of this work.

SIR,—The parish of Huntspill hath received great damage by the late inundation of the salt water, particularly the west part thereof suffered most: for on the 27th day of November last, about four of the clock in the morning, a mighty south-west wind blew so strong as (in a little time) strangely tore our sea walls; insomuch, that a considerable part of the said walls were laid smooth, after which the sea coming in with great violence, drove in five vessels belonging to Bridgewater Key out of the channel, upon a wharf in our parish, which lay some distance off from the channel, and there they were all grounded; it is said, that the seamen there fathomed the depth, and found it about nine foot, which is taken notice to be four foot above our walls when standing; the salt water soon overflowed all the west end of the parish, forcing many of the inhabitants from their dwellings, and to shift for their lives: the water threw down several houses, and in one an antient woman was drowned, being about fourscore years old: some families sheltered themselves in the church, and there staid till the waters were abated: three window leaves of the town were blown down, and the ruff cast scaled off in many places: much of the lead of the church was damnify'd; the windows of the

church and chancel much broken, and the chancel a great part of it untiled; the parsonage house, barn and walls received great damage; as also, did some of the neighbours in their houses; at the west end of the parsonage house stood a very large elm, which was four yards a quarter and half a quarter in the circumference, itwas broken off near the ground by the wind, without forcing any one of the moars above the surface, but remained as they were before: the inhabitants (many of them) have received great losses in their sheep, and their other cattle; in their corn and hay there is great spoil made. This is what information I can give of the damage this parish hath sustained by the late dreadful tempest. I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

SAM. WOODDESON.

Huntspill, January, 6, 1704.

From Minehead, in Somersetshire, and Swansea, in Wales, the following accounts are to be depended upon.

SIR,—I received yours, and in answer to it these are to acquaint you, that all the ships in our harbour except two (which were 23 or 24 in number, besides fishing boats) were, through the violence of the storm, and the mooring posts giving way, drove from their anchors, one of them was staved to pieces, nine drove ashoar; but 'tis hoped will be got off again, though some of them are very much damnified: several of the fishing boats likewise, with their nets. and other necessaries were destroy'd. Three seamen were drowned in the storm, and one man was squeez'd to death last Wednesday, by one of the ships that was forc'd ashoar, suddenly coming upon him, as they were digging round her, endeavouring to get her off.

Our peer also was somewhat damaged, and it is thought, if the storm had continued till another tide, it would have been quite washed away, even level to the ground; which if so, would infallibly have ruined our harbour: our church likewise, was almost all untiled, the neighbouring churches also received much damage: the houses of our town, and all the country round about, were most of them damaged; some (as I am credibly informed) blown down, and several in a great measure uncovered: trees also of a very great bigness were broken off in the middle, and vast numbers blown down;

one gentleman, as he told me himself, having 2500 trees blown down: I wish you good success in these your undertakings, and I pray God that this late great calamity which was sent upon us as a punishment for our sins, may be a warning to the whole nation in general, and engage every one of us to a hearty and sincere repentance; otherwise, I am afraid we must expect greater evils than this was to fall upon us. From your unknown friend and servant,

FRIST CHAVE.

Swanzy, January 24, 1704.

SIR,—I received yours, and accordingly have made an enquiry in our neighbourhood what damage might be done in the late storm, thro' mercy we escap'd indifferently, but you will find underwritten as much as I can learn to be certainly true. The storm began here about 12 at night, but the most violent part of it was about 4 the next morning, about which time the greatest part of the houses in the town were uncovered, more or less, and one house clearly blown down; the damage sustain'd to the houses is modestly computed at 200*l.*, the south isle of the church was wholly uncovered, and considerable damage done to the other isles, and 4 large stones weighing about one hundred and fifty or two hundred pound each, was blown down from the end of the church, three of the four iron spears, that stood with vanes on the corners of the tower, were broke short off in the middle, and the vanes not to be found, and the tail of the weather cock, which stood in the middle of the tower was blown off, and found in a court near 400 yards distant from the tower. In Cline wood belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, near this town, there is about 100 large trees blown down; as also in a wood on our river belonging to Mr. Thomas Mansell, of Brittonferry about 80 large oakes. The tydes did not much damage, but two ships were blown off our bar, and by Providence one came aground on the salt house point near our harbour, else the ship and men had perished; the other came on shore, but was saved. I hear farther, that there are several stacks of corn over-turn'd by the violence of the wind, in the parishes of Roysily and Largenny in Gower; most of the thatcht houses in this

neighbourhood was uncovered. Sir, this you may rely on to be true. Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM JONES.

From Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, the following account is taken for favourable.

SIR,—The late dreadful tempest did not (blessed be God) much affect us on shore, so far was it from having any events more than common, that the usual marks of ordinary storms are not to be met with in these parts upon the land. I wish I could give as good an account of the ships then at anchor in our road, the whole fleet consisted of about an hundred sail, fifty whereof were wanting after the storm. The wrecks of four are to be seen in the road at low water, their men all lost, three more were sunk near the Spurn, all the men but one saved, six or seven were driven ashoar, and got off again with little or no damage. A small hoy, not having a man on board, was taken at sea, by a merchant ship, what became of the rest, we are yet to learn. This is all the account I am able to give of the effects of the late storm, which was so favourable to us. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

THO. FAIRWEATHER.

From Newport and Hastings, the following accounts are chiefly mentioned to confirm what we have from other inland parts, and particularly in the letter printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, concerning the salt being found on the grass and trees, at great distance from the sea, of which there are very authentic relations.

SIR,—I received yours, and do hereby give you the best account of what hapned by the late storm in our island; we have had several trees blown down, and many houses in our town, and all parts of the island partly uncovered, but blessed be God, not one person perisht that I know or have heard of; nor one ship or vessel stranded on our shores in that dreadful storm, but only one vessel laden with tin, which was driven from her anchors in Cornwal, but was not stranded here till the Tuesday after, having spent her main-mast and all her sails. On Sunday night last, we had several ships and vessels stranded on the south and south-west parts of our island; but reports are so various, that I cannot tell you how many,

some say 7, other 8, 12, and some say 15; one or two laden with cork, and two or three with Portugal wine, oranges, and lemons, one with hides and butter, one with sugar, one with pork, beef and oatmeal, and one with slates. Monday night, Tuesday and Wednesday, came on the back of our island, and some in at the Needles, the fleet that went out with the King of Spain, but it has been here such a dreadful storm, and such dark weather till this afternoon, that we can give no true account of them; some say that have been at the wrecks this afternoon, that there were several great ships coming in then: there is one thing I had almost forgotten, and I think is very remarkable, that there was found on the hedges and twigs of trees, knobs of salt congealed, which must come from the south and south-west parts of our sea coast, and was seen and tasted at the distance of 6 and 10 miles from those seas, and this account I had myself from the mouths of several gentlemen of undeniable reputation.

Yours, THO. READE.

Hastings, in Sussex, Jan. 25, 1704.

SIR,—You desire to know what effect the late dreadful storm of wind had upon this town; in answer to your desire, take the following account. This town consists of at least 600 houses, besides two great churches, some publick buildings, many shops standing upon the beach near the sea, and yet by the special blessing and providence of God, the whole town suffered not above 30*l.* or 40*l.* damage in their houses, churches, publick building and shops, and neither man, woman or child suffered the least hurt by the said terrible storm. The town stands upon the sea shore, but God be thanked the sea did us no damage; and the tydes were not so great as we have seen upon far less storms. The wind was exceeding boisterous, which might drive the froth and sea moisture six or seven miles up the country, for at that distances from the sea, the leaves of the trees and bushes, were as salt as if they had been dipped in the sea, which can be imputed to nothing else, but the violent winds carrying the frofth and moisture so far. I believe it may be esteemed almost miraculous that our town escaped so well in the late terrible storm, and therefore I have given you this account. I am, Sir, your friend,

STEPHEN GAWEN.

The following melancholy account from the town of Brighthemstone, in Sussex, is sent us.

Sir,—The late dreadful tempest in November 27, 1703 last, had very terrible effects in this town. It began here much about one of the clock in the morning, the violence of the wind stript a great many houses, turn'd up the leads off the church, overthrew two windmills, and laid them flat on the ground, the town in general (upon the approach of daylight) looking as if it had been bombarded. Several vessels belonging to this town were lost, others stranded, and driven ashoar, others forced over to Holland and Hamborough, to the great impoverishment of the place. Derick Pain, Junior, master of the Elizabeth ketch of this town lost, with all his company. George Taylor, master of the ketch call'd the Happy Entrance, lost, and his company, excepting Walter Street, who swimming three days on a mast between the Downs and North Yarmouth, was at last taken up. Richard Webb, master of the ketch call'd the Richard and Rose, of Brighthelmston, lost, and all his company, near St. Hellens. Edward Friend, master of the ketch called Thomas and Francis, stranded near Portsmouth. Edward Glover, master of the pink call'd Richard and Benjamin, stranded near Chichester, lost one of his men, and he, and the rest of his company, forced to hang in the shrouds several hours. George Beach, junior, master of the pink call'd Mary, driven over to Hamborough from the Downes, having lost his anchor, cables and sails. Robert Kichener, master of the Cholmley pink of Brighton, lost near the Roseant with nine men, five men and a boy saved by another vessel. This is all out of this town, besides the loss of several other able seamen belonging to this place, aboard of her Majesty's ships, transports and tenders.

From Lymington and Lyme, we have the following letters.

Sir,—I received your letter, and have made enquiry concerning what disasters happen'd during the late storm; what I can learn at present, and that may be credited, are these, that a Gurnsey privateer lost his fore-topmast, and cut his mainmast by the board, had 12 men wash'd overboard, and by the toss of another immediate sea three of them was put

on board again, and did very well; this was coming within the needles. That six stacks of chimneys were, by the violence of the wind, blown from a great house call'd New Park in the forrest, some that stood directly to windward, were blown clear off the house without injuring the roof, or damaging the house, or any mischief to the inhabitants, and fell some yards from the house. Almost 4000 trees were torn up by the roots within her Majesty's forrest call'd New Forrest, some of them of very great bulk, others small, &c. A ship of about 200 tun, from Maryland, laden with tobacco, call'd the Assistance, was cast away upon Hurst Beach, one of the mates, and 4 sailors, were lost. By the flowing of the sea over Hurst Beach, two salterns were almost ruined, belonging to one Mr. Perkins. A new barn, nigh this town, was blown quite down. The town received not much damage, only some houses being stript of the healing, windows broke, and a chimney or two blown down. Considerable damages amongst the farmers in the adjacent places, by overturning barns, out-houses, stacks of corn and hay, and also amongst poor families, and small houses, and likewise abundance of trees of all sorts, especially elms and apple-trees, has been destroyed upon the several gentlemen's and others estates hereabouts. These are the most remarkable accidents that I can collect at present; if anything occur, it shall be sent you by—Your humble servant,

Lymington, Feb. 1704. JAMES BAKER.

A true and exact account of the damages done by the late great wind in the town of Lyme Regis, and parts adjacent in the county of Dorset, as followeth.

SIR,—Impri. Five boats drove out of the cob and one vessel lost, broke loose all but one cabel, and swung out of the cob, but was got in again with little damage; and had that hurricane happened here at high water, the cob must, without doubt, have been destroyed, and all the vessels in it been lost, most of the houses had some damage: but a great many trees blown up by the roots in our neighbourhood, and four miles to the eastward of this town: A Guernsey privateer of eight guns, and 43 men drove ashoar, and but three men saved of the 43; the place where the said privateer run ashoar, is call'd Sea Town, half a mile from Chidock, where

most of there houses were uncovered, and one man killed as he lay in bed: this is the true account here, but all villages suffered extremely in houses, trees, both elem and apples without number—Sir, I am your humble servant,

STEPHEN BOWDIDGE.

From Margate, and the island of Thanet in Kent, the following is an honest account.

SIR,—The following account is what I can give you, of what damage is done in this island in the late great storm; in this town hardly a house escaped without damage, and for the most part of them the tiles blown totally off from the roof, and several chimneys blown down, that broke through part of the houses to the ground, and several families very narrowly escaped being kill'd in their beds, being by Providence just got up, so that they escaped, and none was kill'd; the like damages being done in most little towns and villages upon this island, as likewise barns, stables and out-housing blown down to the ground in a great many farm-houses and villages within the island, part of the leads of our church blown clear off, and a great deal of damage to the church itself; likewise a great deal of damage to the churches of St. Lawrance Minster, Mounton, and St. Nichola: in this road was blown out one Latchford, of Sandwich, bound home from London, with divers men and women passengers all totally lost: and another little pink, that is not heard of, blown away at the same time, but where it belonged is not known; here rid out the storm the Princess Anne, Captain Charles Gye, and the Swan, both hospital ships, had no damage, only Captain Gye was parted from one of his anchors, and part of a cable which was weigh'd and carry'd after him to the river, by one of our hookers. All from

Yours to command,

P. H.

From Malden, in Essex, and from Southampton, the following accounts.

SIR,—By the late great storm our damages were considerable. A spire of a steeple blown down: several vessels in this harbour were much shatter'd, particularly one corn ves-

sel laden for London, stranded, and the corn lost to the value of about 500*l.*, and the persons narrowly escaped by a small boat, that relieved them next day: many houses ript up, and some blown down: the churches shatter'd, and the principal inn of this town, thirty or forty pounds damage in tilling. At a gentleman's house (one Mr. Moses Bourton) near us, a stack of chimneys blown down, fell through the roof upon a bed, where his children was, who were drag'd out, and they narrowly escaped; many other chimneys blown down here, and much mischief done.

Southampton, February the 17th, 1701.

Sir,—Yours I have receiv'd, in which you desire me to give you an account of what remarkable damage the late violent storm hath done at this place; in answer, we had most of the ships in our river, and those that laid off from our keys blown ashoar, some partly torn to wrecks, and three or four blown so far on shoar with the violence of the wind, that the owners have been at the charges of unlading them, and dig large channels for the Spring Tides to float them off, and with much a do have got them off, it being on a soft sand or mud, had but little damage; we had, God be praised, no body drowned, tho' some narrowly escape't: as to our town it being most part old building, we have suffer'd much, few or no houses have escape't: several stacks of chimneys blown down, other houses most part untiled: several people bruis'd, but none kill'd: abundance of trees round about us, especially in the New Forest, blown down; others with their limbs of a great bigness torn: it being what we had most material. I rest. Sir, your humble Servant,

Geo. Powell.

We have abundance of strange accounts from other parts, and particularly the following letter from the Downs, and though every circumstance in this letter is not literally true, as to the number of ships, or lives lost, and the style coarse, and sailor-like; yet I have inserted this letter, because it seems to describe the horror and consternation the poor sailors were in at that time. And because this is written from one, who was as near an eye witness as any could possibly be; and be safe.

Sir,—These lines I hope in God will find you in good

health; we are all left here in a dismal condition, expecting every moment to be all drowned: for here is a great storm, and is very likely to continue; we have here the rear admiral of the blew in the ship call'd the Mary, a third rate, the very next ship to ours, sunk, with Admiral Beaumont, and above 500 men drowned: the ship call'd the Northumberland, a third rate, about 500 men all sunk and drowned: the ship call'd the Sterling castle, a third rate, all sunk and drowned above 500 souls: and the ship call'd the Restoration, a third rate, all sunk and drowned: these ships were all close by us which I saw; these ships fired their guns all night and day long, poor souls, for help, but the storm being so fierce and raging, could have none to save them: the ship called the Shrewsberry, that we are in, broke two anchors, and did run mighty fierce backwards, with 60 or 80 yards of the sands, and as God Almighty would have it, we flung our sheet anchor down, which is the biggest, and so stopt: here we all pray'd to God to forgive us our sins, and to save us, or else to receive us into his heavenly kingdom. If our sheet anchor had given way, we had been all drown'd: but I humbly thank God, it was his gracious mercy that saved us. There's one, Captain Fanel's ship, three hospital ships, all split, some sunk, and most of the men drown'd.

There are above 40 merchant ships cast away and sunk: to see Admiral Beaumont, that was next us, and all the rest of his men, how they climbed up the main mast, hundreds at aa time crying out for help, and thinking to save their lives nd in the twinkling of an eye, were drown'd: I can give you no account, but of these four men-of-war aforesaid, which I saw with my own eyes, and those hospital ships, at present, by reason the storm hath drove us far distant from one another: Captain Crow, of our ship, believes we have lost several more ships of war, by reason we see so few; we lye here in great danger, and waiting for a north-easterly wind to bring us to Portsmouth, and it is our prayers to God for it; for we know not how soon this storm may arise, and cut us all off, for it is a dismal place to anchor in. I have not had my cloaths off, nor a wink of sleep these four nights, and have got my death with cold almost.

Yours to command,

MILES NORCLIFFE.

I send this, having opportunity by our botes, that went ashore to carry some poor men off, that were almost dead, and were taken up swimming.

The following letter is yet more particular and authentic, and being better expressed, may further describe the terror of the night in this place.

Sir,—I understand you are a person concerned in making up a collection of some remarkable accidents that happened by the violence of the late dreadful storm. I here present you with one of the like. I presume you never heard before nor hope may never hear again of a ship that was blown from her anchors out of Helford Haven to the Isle of Wight, in less than eight hours, viz:—the ship lay in Helford Haven about two leagues and a half westward of Falmouth, being laden with tin, which was taken on board from Guague Wharf, about five or six miles up Helford river, the commanders name was Anthony Jenkins, who lives at Falmouth. About eight a-clock in the evening before the storm begun, the said commander and mate came on board, and ordered the crew that he left on board, which was but one man and two boys: that if the wind should chance to blow hard (which he had some apprehension of) to carry out the small bower anchor, and moor the ship by 2 anchors, and gave them some other orders, and his mate and he went ashore, and left the crew aforesaid on board; about nine a-clock the wind began to blow, then they carried out the small bower (as directed), it continued blowing harder and harder at west-north-west, at last the ship began to drive, then they were forced to let go the best bower anchor, which brought the ship up. The storm increasing more, they let go the kedge anchor, which was all they had to let go, so that the ship rid with four anchors a head: between eleven and twelve a-clock, the wind came about west and by south in a most terrible and violent manner, that, notwithstanding a very high hill just to windward of the ship, and four anchors ahead, she was drove from all her anchors; and about twelve a-clock drove out of the harbour without anchor or cable, nor so much as a boat left in case they could put into any harbour. In dreadful condition the ship drove out clear of the rocks to sea, where the man with the two boys con-

sulted what to do, at last resolved to keep her far enough to sea, for fear of Deadman's head, being a point of land between Falmouth and Plimouth, the latter of which places they designed to run her in, if possible, to save their lives; the next morning in this frighted condition they steer'd her clear of the land (to the best of their skill) sometimes almost under water, and sometimes a top, with only the bonet of her foresail out, and the fore yard almost lower'd to the deck; but instead of getting into Plymouth next day as intended, they were far enough off that port, for the next morning they saw land, which proved to be Peverel Point, a little to the westward of the Isle of Wight: so that they were in a worse consternation then before, for over-running their designed port by seven a-clock, they found themselves off the Isle of Wight; where they consulted again what to do to save their lives, one of the boys was for running her in the Downs, but that was objected against, by reason they had no anchors nor boat, and the storm blowing off shore in the Downs, they should be blown on the unfortunate Goodwin Sands and lost. Now comes the last consultation for their lives, there was one of the boys said he had been in a certain creek in the Isle of Wight, were between the rocks he believed there was room enough to run the ship in and save their lives, and desired to have the helm from the man, and he would venture to steer the ship into the said place, which he according did, where there was only just room between rock and rock for the ship to come in, where she gave one blow or two against the rocks, and sunk immediately, but the man and two boys jumpt ashore, and all the lading being tin, was saved, (and for their conduct and risk they run) they were all very well gratified, and the merchants well satisfied.—Your friend and servant,

May, 28, 1704. R. P.

And here I cannot omit that great notice has been taken of the townspeople of Deal who are blam'd, and I doubt not with too much reason for their great barbarity in neglecting to save the lives of abundance of poor wretches; who having hung upon the masts and rigging of the ships, or floated upon the broken pieces of wrecks, had gotten ashore upon the Goodwin Sands when the tide was out.

It was, without doubt, a sad spectacle to behold the poor

seamen walking to and fro upon the sands, to view their postures, and the signals they made for help, which, by the assistance of glasses, was easily seen from the shore.

Here they had a few hours' reprieve, but had neither present refreshment, nor any hopes of life, for they were sure to be all washed into another world at the reflux of the tide. Some boats are said to come very near them in quest of booty, and in search of plunder, and to carry off what they could get, but nobody concerned themselves for the lives of these miserable creatures.

And yet I cannot but insert what I have received from very good hands in behalf of one person in that town, whose humanity deserves this remembrance, and I am glad of the opportunity of doing some justice in this case to a man of so much charity in a town of so little.

Mr. Thomas Powell, of Deal, a slop-seller by trade, and at that time mayor of the town. The character of his person I need not dwell upon here, other than the ensuing accounts will describe, for when I have said he is a man of charity and courage, there is little I need to add to it to move the reader to value both his person and his memory; and though I am otherwise a perfect stranger to him, I am very well pleased to transmit to posterity the account of his behaviour, as an example to all good Christians to imitate on the like occasions.

He found himself moved with compassion at the distresses of the poor creatures whom he saw as aforesaid in that miserable condition upon the sands, and the first thing he did, he made application to the custom-house officers for the assistance of their boats and men, to save the lives of as many as they could come at, the custom-house men rudely refused, either to send their men, or to part with their boats.

Provoked with the unnatural carriage of the custom-house officers, he calls the people about him, and finding some of the common people began to be more than ordinarily affected with the distresses of their countrymen, and as he thought a little inclined to venture, he made a general offer to all that would venture out, that he would pay them out of his own pocket 5*s.* per head for all the men whose lives they could save; upon this proposal, several offered themselves to go, if he would furnish them with boats.

Finding the main point clear, and that he had brought the

men to be willing, he, with their assistance, took away the custom-house boats by force; and though he knew he could not justify it, and might be brought into trouble for it, and particularly if it were lost, might be obliged to pay for it, yet he resolved to venture that, rather than hazard the loss of his design, for the saving so many poor men's lives, and having manned their boat with a crew of stout honest fellows, he with them took away several other boats from other persons, who made use of them only to plunder and rob, not regarding the distresses of the poor men.

Being thus provided both with men and boats, he sent them off, and by this means brought on shore above 200 men, whose lives a few minutes after must infallibly have been lost.

Nor was this the end of his care, for when the tide came in, and it was too late to go off again, for all that were left were swallow'd up with the raging of the sea, his care was then to relieve the poor creatures, who he had saved, and who almost dead with hunger and cold, were naked and starving.

And first he applied himself to the Queen's agent for sick and wounded seamen, but he would not relieve them with one penny, whereupon, at his own charge, he furnished them with meat, drink, and lodging.

The next day several of them died, the extremities they had suffered, having too much mastered their spirits, these he was forced to bury also at his own charge, the agent still refusing to disburse one penny.

After their refreshment, the poor men assisted by the mayor, made a fresh application to the agent for conduct money to help them up to London, but he answered he had no order, and would disburse nothing; whereupon the mayor gave them all money in their pockets, and passes to Gravesend.

I wish I could say with the same freedom, that he received the thanks of the Government, and reimbursement of his money as he deserved, but in this I have been informed, he met with great obstructions and delays, though at last, after long attendance, upon a right application, I am informed, he obtained the repayment of his money, and some small allowance for his time spent in soliciting for it.

Nor can the damage suffered in the river of Thames be forgot. It was a strange sight to see all the ships in the

river blown away, the pool was so clear, that as I remember, not above 4 ships were left between the upper part of Wapping, and Ratcliffe Cross, for the tide being up at the time when the storm blew with the greatest violence, no anchors or landfast, no cables or moorings would hold them, the chains which lay cross the river for the mooring of ships, all gave way.

The ships breaking loose thus, it must be a strange sight to see the hurry and confusion of it, and as some ships had nobody at all on board, and a great many had none but a man or boy left on board just to look after the vessel, there was nothing to be done, but to let every vessel drive whither and how she would.

Those who know the reaches of the river, and how they lie, know well enough, that the wind being at south-west westerly, the vessels would naturally drive into the bite or bay from Ratcliff Cross to Limehouse Hole, for that the river winding about again from thence towards the new dock at Deptford, runs almost due south-west, so that the wind blew down one reach, and up another, and the ships must of necessity drive into the bottom of the angle between both.

This was the case, and as the place is not large, and the number of ships very great, the force of the wind had driven them so into one another, and laid them so upon one another as it were in heaps, that I think a man may safely defy all the world to do the like.

The author of this collection had the curiosity the next day to view the place, and to observe the posture they lay in, which nevertheless it is impossible to describe; there lay, by the best account he could take, few less than 700 sail of ships some very great ones between Shadwell and Limehouse inclusive, the posture is not to be imagined, but by them that saw it, some vessels lay heeling off with the bow of another ship over her waste, and the stem of another upon her forecastle, the boltsprits of some drove into the cabin windows of others; some lay with their sterns tossed up so high, that the tide flowed into their fore-castles before they could come to rights; some lay so leaning upon others, that the undermost vessels would sink before the other could float; the numbers of masts, boltsprits and yards split and broke, the staving the heads, and sterns, and carved work, the tearing and destruc-

tion of rigging, and the squeezing of boats to pieces between the ships, is not to be reckoned; but there was hardly a vessel to be seen that had not suffered some damage or other in one or all of these articles.

There were several vessels sunk in this hurry, but as they were generally light ships, the damage was chiefly to the vessels; but there were two ships sunk with great quantity of goods on board, the Russel galley was sunk at Limehouse, being a great part laden with bale goods for the Streights, and the Sarah gally lading for Leghorn, sunk at an anchor at Blackwall; and though she was afterwards weighed and brought on shore, yet her back was broke, or so otherwise disabled, as she was never fit for the sea; there were several men drowned in these last two vessels, but we could never come to have the particular number.

Near Gravesend several ships drove on shore below Tilbury Fort, and among them five bound for the West Indies, but as the shore is ouzy and soft, the vessels sat upright and easy, and here the high tides which followed, and which were the ruin of so many in other places, were the deliverance of all these ships whose lading and value was very great, for the tide rising to an unusual height, floated them all off, and the damage was not so great as they expected.

If it be expected I should give an account of the loss, and the particulars relating to small craft, as the sailors call it, in the river, it is to look for what is impossible, other than by generals. The watermen tell us of above 500 wherries lost, most of which were not sunk only, but dashed to pieces one against another, or against the shores and ships, where they lay. Ship boats without number were driven about in every corner, sunk and staved, and about 300 of them is supposed to be lost. Above 60 barges and lighters were found driven foul of the bridge; some printed accounts tell us of sixty more sunk or staved between he bridge and Hammersmith.

Abundance of lighters and barges drove quite through the bridge, and took their fate below, whereof many were lost, so that we reckon by a modest account above 100 lighters and barges lost and spoiled in the whole, not reckoning such as with small damage were recovered.

In all this confusion, it could not be but that many lives were lost, but as the Thames oftentimes buries those it

drowns, there has been no account taken. Two watermen at Blackfriars were drowned, endeavouring to save their boat; and a boat was said to be overset near Fulham, and five people drowned. According to the best account I have seen, about 22 people were drowned in the river upon this sad occasion, which considering all circumstances is not a great many; and the damage to shipping, computed with the vast number of ships then in the river, the violence of the storm, and the height of the tide, confirms me in the truth of that opinion, which I have heard many skilful men own, viz., that the river of Thames is the best harbour of Europe.

The height of the tide, as I have already observed, did no great damage in the river of Thames, and I find none of the levels or marshes which lie on both sides the river overflowed with it, it filled the cellars indeed at Gravesend, and on both sides in London, and the alehouse-keepers suffered some loss as to their beer, but this damage is not worth mentioning with what our accounts give us from the Severn; which, besides the particular letters we have already quoted, the reader may observe in the following, what our general intelligence furnishes us with.

The damages in the city of Gloucester they compute at 12000*l.*, above 15000 sheep drowned in the levels on the side of the Severn, and the sea walls will cost, as these accounts tell us, 5000*l.* to repair, all the country lies under water for 20 or 30 miles together on both sides, and the tide rose three feet higher than the tops of the banks.

At Bristol, they tell us, the tide filled their cellars, spoiled 1000 hogsheads of sugar, 1500 hogsheads of tobacco, and the damage they reckon at 100,000*l.* Above 80 people drowned in the marshes and river, several whole families perishing together.

The harbour at Plymouth, the castle at Pendennis, the cathedral at Gloucester, the great church at Berkely, the church of St. Stephen's at Bristol; the churches at Blandford, at Bridgewater, at Cambridge, and generally the churches all over England have had a great share of the damage.

In King Road, at Bristol, the damage by sea is also very great; the Canterbury store ship was driven on shore, and twenty-five of her men drowned, as by our account of the Navy will more particularly appear, the Richard and John,

the George and the Grace sunk, and the number of people lost is variously reported.

These accounts in the four last paragraphs being abstracted from the public prints, and what other persons collect, I desire the reader will observe, are not particularly vouched, but as they are all true in substance, they are so far to be depended upon, and if there is any mistake it relates to numbers and quantity only.

From Yarmouth we expected terrible news, and every one was impatient till they saw the accounts from thence, for as there was a very great fleet there, both of laden colliers, Russia men, and others, there was nothing to be expected but a dreadful destruction among them.

But it pleased God to order things there, that the loss was not in proportion like what it was in other places, not but that it was very great too.

The Reserve man-of-war was come in but a day or two before, convoy to the great fleet from Russia, and the captain, surgeon, and clerk, who after so long a voyage went on shore with two boats to refresh themselves, and buy provisions, had the mortification to stand on shore, and see the ship sink before their faces; she foundred about 11 o'clock, and as the sea went too high for any help to go off from the shore to them, so their own boats being both on shore, there was not one man saved: one Russian ship driving from her anchors, and running foul of a laden collier sunk by his side, but some of her men were saved by getting on board the collier; three or four small vessels were driven out to sea, and never heard of more; as for the colliers, though most of them were driven from their anchors, yet going away to sea, we have not an account of many lost.

This, next to the Providence of God, I give this reason for, first by all relations it appears that the storm was not so violent farther northward, as it was there; and as it was not so violent, so neither did it continue so long: now those ships who found they could not ride it out in Yarmouth roads, but slipping their cables went away to sea, possibly as they went away to the northward, found the weather more moderate, at least, not so violent, but it might be borne with, to this may be added, that it is well known to such as use the coast after they had run the length of Flambro, they had the benefit of the weather shore, and pretty high land, which if they took

shelter under, might help them very much; these, with other circumstances, made the damage much less than every body expected, and yet as it was, it was bad enough, as our letter from Hull gives an account. At Grimsby, it was still worse as to the ships, where almost all the vessels were blown out of the road, and a great many lost.

At Plymouth, they felt a full proportion of the storm in its utmost fury, the Eddystone has been mentioned already, but it was a double loss in that, the lighthouse had not been long down, when the Winchelsea, a homeward bound Virginia man was split upon the rock, where that building stood, and most of her men drowned.

Three other merchant ships were cast away in Plymouth road, and most of their men lost: the Monk man-of-war rode it out, but was obliged to cut all her masts by the board, as several men-of-war did in other places.

At Portsmouth was a great fleet, as has been noted already, several of the ships were blown quite out to sea, whereof some were never heard of more; the Newcastle was heard of upon the coast of Sussex, where she was lost with all her men but 23; the Resolution, the Eagle advice boat, and the Litchfield prize felt the same fate, only saved their men: from Cows several ships were driven out to sea, whereof one run on Shore in Stokes-bay, one full of soldiers, and two merchantmen have never been heard of, as I could ever learn; abundance of the ships saved themselves by cutting down their masts, and others stranded, but by the help of the ensuing tides got off again.

Portsmouth, Plymouth, Weymouth, and most of our seaport towns looked as if they had been bombarded, and the damage of them is not easily computed.

Several ships from the Downs were driven over to the coast of Holland, and some saved themselves there; but several others were lost there.

At Falmouth 11 sail of ships were stranded on the shore, but most of them got off again.

In Barnstable harbour a merchant ship outward bound was over-set, and the Express advice boat very much shattered, and the key of the town very much shattered.

It is endless to attempt any farther description of losses, no place was free either by land or by sea, everything that was capable felt the fury of the storm; and it is hard to say,

whether was greater the loss by sea, or by land; the multitude of brave stout sailors is a melancholy subject, and if there be any difference gives the sad balance to the account of the damage by sea.

We had an account of about 11 or 12 ships driven over for the coast of Holland, most of which were lost, but the men saved, so that by the best calculation I can make, we have not lost less than 150 sail of vessels of all sorts by the storm; the number of men and other damages, are calculated elsewhere.

We have several branches of this story which at first were too easily credited, and put into print, but upon more strict examination, and by the discoveries of time, appeared otherwise, and therefore are not set down.

It was in the design to have collected the several accounts of the fatal effects of the tempest abroad in foreign parts; but as our accounts came in from thence too imperfect to be depended upon; the collector of these papers could not be satisfied to offer them to the world, being willing to keep as much as possible to the terms of his preface.

We are told there is an abstract to the same purpose with this in France, printed at Paris, and which contains a strange variety of accidents in that country.

If a particular of this can be obtained, the author promises to put it into English, and adding to them the other accounts, which the rest of the world can afford, together, with some other additions of the English affairs, which could not be obtained in time here, shall make up the second part of this work.

In the mean time the reader may observe, France felt the general shock, the piers, and ricebank at Dunkirk, the harbour at Haver de Grace, the towns of Calais and Bulloign give us strange accounts.

All the vessels in the road before Dunkirk, being 23 or 27, I am not certain, were dashed in pieces against the pier heads, not one excepted, that side being a lee shore, the reason is plain, there was no going off to sea; and had it been so with us in the Downs or Yarmouth roads, it would have fared with us in the same manner, for had there been no going off to sea, 300 sail in Yarmouth roads had inevitably perished.

At Diepe the like mischief happened, and in proportion Paris felt the effects of it, as bad as London, and as a gentle-

man who came from thence since that time affirmed it to me, it was much worse.

All the north-east countries felt it, in Holland our accounts in general are very dismal, but the wind not being N.W. as at former storms, the tide did not drown them, nor beat so directly upon their sea wall.

It is not very irrational to judge, that had the storm beat more to the north-west, it must have driven the sea upon them in such a manner, that all their dikes and dams could not have sustained it, and what the consequence of such an inundation might have been, they can best judge, who remember the last terrible irruption of the sea there, which drowned several thousand people, and cattle without number.

But as our foreign accounts were not satisfactory enough to put into this collection, where we have promised to limit ourselves by just vouchers, we purposely refer it all to a farther description as before.

Several of our ships were driven over to those parts, and some lost there, and the story of our great ships which rid it out, at or near the Gunfleet, should have come in here, if the collector could have met with any person that was in any of the said vessels, but as the accounts he expected did not come in the time for the impression, they were of necessity left out.

The Association, a second rate, on board whereof was Sir Stafford Fairborn, was one of these, and was blown from the mouth of the Thames to the coast of Norway, a particular whereof as printed in the annals of the reign of Queen Anne, is as follows.

An account of Sir Stafford Fairborne's distress in the late storm.

Sir,—Her Majesty's ship Association, a second rate of 96 guns, commanded by Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and under him Captain Richard Canning, sailed from the Downs the 24th of November last, in company with seven other capital ships, under the command of the honourable Sir Cloudesly Shovel, admiral of the white, in their return from Leghorn, up the river. They anchored that night off of the Long-sand-head. The next day struck yards and top-masts. The 27th, about three in the morning, the wind at west south-west, increased to a hurricane, which

drove the Association from her anchors. The night was exceeding dark, but what was more dreadful, the Galloper, a very dangerous sand, was under her lee; so that she was in danger of striking upon it, beyond the power of man to avoid it. Driving thus at the mercy of the waves, it pleased God, that about five a-clock she passed over the tail of the Galloper in seven fathom of water. The sea boisterous and angry, all in a foam, was ready to swallow her up; and the ship received at that time a sea on her starboard-side, which beat over all, broke and washed several half ports, and forced in the entering port. She took in such a vast quantity of water, that it kept her down upon her side, and every body believ'd, that she could not have risen again, had not the water been speedily let down into the hold by scuttling the decks. During this consternation two of the lower-gun-deck-ports were pressed open by this mighty weight of water, the most hazardous accident, next to touching the ground, that could have happened to us. But the port, that had been forced open, being readily secured by the direction and command of the Vice-Admiral, who, though much indisposed, was upon deck all that time, prevented any farther mischief. As the ship still drove with the wind, she was not long in this shoal (where it was impossible for any ship to have lived at that time) but came into deeper water, and then she had a smoother sea. However the hurricane did not abate, but rather seemed to gather strength. For words were no sooner uttered, but they were carried away by the wind, so that although those upon deck spoke loud and close to one another, yet they could not often distinguished what was said; and when they opened their mouths, their breath was almost taken away. Part of the sprit sail, tho' fast furled, was blown away from the yard. A ten-oar-boat, that was lashed on her starboard-side, was often hove up by the strength of the wind, and over-set upon her gun-wale. We plainly saw the wind skimming up the water, as if it had been sand, carrying it up into the air, which was then so thick and gloomy, that day light, which should have been comfortable to us, did but make it appear more ghastly. The sun by intervals peeped through the corner of a cloud, but soon disappearing, gave us a more melancholick prospect of the the weather. About 11 a-clock it dispersed the clouds, and the hurricane abated into a more moderate storm, which drove

us over to the bank of Flanders, and thence along the coast of Holland and Friesland to the entrance of the Elb, where the 4th of December we had almost as violent a storm, as when we drove from our anchors, the wind at north-west, driving us directly upon the shoar. So that we must all have inevitably perished, had not God mercifully favoured us about 10 a-clock at night with a south-west wind, which gave us an opportunity to put to sea. But being afterwards driven near the coast of Norway, the ship wanting anchors and cables, our wood and candles wholly expended; no beer on board, nor any thing else in lieu; every one reduced to one quart of water per day, the men, who had been harrassed at Belle Isle, and in our Mediterranean voyage, now jaded by the continual fatigues of the storms, falling sick every day, the vice-admiral in this exigency thought it advisable to put into Gottenbourgh, the only port where we could hope to be supplied. We arrived there the 11th of December, and having without lost of time got anchors and cables from Copenhagen, and provisions from Gottenbourgh, we sailed thence the third of January, with twelve merchant-men under our convoy, all loaden with stores for her Majesty's Navy. The eleventh following, we prevented four French privateers from taking four of our store-ships. At night, we anchored off the Long-Sand-head. Weighed again the next day, but soon came to an anchor, because it was very hazy weather. Here we rid against a violent storm, which was like to have put us to sea. But after three days very bad weather, we weighed and arrived to the buoy of the Nore the 23rd of January, having run very grea risks among the sands. For we had not only contrary winds but also very tempestuous winds. We lost 28 men by sickness, contracted by the hardships which they endur'd in the bad weather; and had not Sir Stafford Fairborne by his great care and diligence, got the ship out of Gottenbourgh, and by that prevented her being frozen up, most part of the sailers had perished afterwards by the severity of the winter, which is intolerable cold in those parts.

Second.—*Of the Damage to the Royal Navy.*

This is a short but terrible article, there was one ship called the York, which was lost about 3 days before the great storm off of Harwich, but most of the men were saved.

The loss immediately sustained in the Royal Navy during the storm, is included in the list hereunto annexed, as appears from the Navy Books.

The damage done to the ships that were saved, is past our power to compute. The Admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel with the great ships, had made sail but the day before out of the Downs, and were taken with the storm as they lay at or near the Gunfleet, where they being well provided with anchors and cables, rid it out, though in great extremity, expecting death every minute.

A list of such of her Majesty's ships, with their Commander's names, as were cast away by the violent storm on Friday night, the 26th of November, 1703, the wind having been from the S.W. to W.S.W., and the storm continuing from about midnight to past six in the morning.

Reserve, fourth rate; 54 guns; 258 men; John Anderson, Com.; lost in Yarmouth-roads. Her captain, purser, master, chyrurgeon, clerk, and 16 men were ashore, the rest drowned.

Northumberland, third rate; 70 guns; 253 men; James Greenway, Com., lost on Goodwin Sands. All their men lost.

Restoration, third rate; 70 guns; 386 men; Fleetwood Emes, Com.; lost on Goodwin Sands. All their men lost.

Sterling Castle, third rate; 70 guns; 349 men; John Johnson, Com.; lost on Goodwin Sands. Third lieutenant, chaplain, cook, chyrurgeon's mate; four marine captains, and 62 men saved.

Mary, fourth rate; 64 guns; 273 men; Rear-Admiral Beaumont Edward Hopson, Com.; lost on Goodwin Sands. Only one man saved, by swimming from wreck to wreck, and getting to the Sterling Castle; the captain ashore, as also the purser.

Vigo, fourth rate; 54 guns; 212 men; Thomas Long, Com.; lost in Holland. Her company saved except four.

Mortar, Bomb. Vessel; 12 guns; 59 men; Raymond Raymond, Com.; lost in Holland. Her company saved except four.

Eagle, advice boat; 10 guns; 42 men; Nathan. Bostock, Com.; lost at Selsey. Their officers and men saved.

Resolution, third rate; 70 guns; 211 men; Thomas Liell, Com.; lost at Pemsey. Their officers and men saved.

Newcastle, fourth-rate; 46 guns; 253 men; William Carter, Com.; drove from Spithead, and lost upon the coast near Chichester. Carpenter and twenty-three men saved.

Canterbury, Storeship; 8 guns; 31 men; Thomas Blake, Com.; lost at Bristol. Captain and twenty-five men drowned; the ship recovered, and ordered to be sold.

Portsmouth, Bomb-Vessel; 4 guns; 41 men; George Hawes, Com.; lost at the Nore. Officers and men lost.

The Vanguard, a second-rate, was overset at Chatham, but no men lost, the ship not being fitted out.

The loss of small vessels hired into the service, and tending the fleet, is not included in this, nor can well be, several such vessels, and some with soldiers on board, being driven away to sea, and never heard of more.

The loss of the light-house, called the Eddystone, at Plymouth, is another article, of which we never heard any particulars other than this; that at night it was standing, and in the morning all the upper part, from the gallery, was blown down, and all the people in it perished, and, by a particular misfortune, Mr. Winstanley, the contriver of it, a person whose loss is very much regretted by such as knew him, as a very useful man to his country. The loss of that light-house is also a considerable damage, as 'tis very doubtful whether it will be ever attempted again, and as it was a great security to the sailors, many a good ship having been lost there in former times.

It was very remarkable that, as we are informed, at the same time the light-house abovesaid was blown down, the model of it, in Mr. Winstanley's House, at Littlebury in Essex, above 200 miles from the light-house, fell down, and was broken to pieces.

There are infinite stories of like nature with these, the disasters at sea are full of a vast variety, what we have recommended to the view of the world in this history may stand

as an abridgment; and the reader is only to observe that these are the short representations by which he may guess at the most dreadful night these parts of the world ever saw.

To relate all things that report furnishes us with, would be to make the story exceed common probability, and look like romance.

'Tis a sad and serious truth; and this part of it is preserved to posterity, to assist them in reflecting on the judgments of God, and handing them on for the ages to come.

Of the Earthquake.

Though this was some time after the storm, yet as the accounts of the storm bring it with them in the following letters, we cannot omit it.

The two following letters are from the respective ministers of Boston and Hull, and relate to the account of the earthquake, which was felt over most part of the county of Lincoln and the East Riding of Yorkshire.

The letter from Hull, from the Reverend Mr. Banks, minister of the place, is very particular, and deserves entire credit, both from the extraordinary character of the worthy gentleman who writes it, and from its exact correspondence with other accounts.

Sir,—I received yours, wherein you acquaint me with a design that, (I doubt not) will meet with that applause and acceptance from the world which it deserves; but am in no capacity to be in any way serviceable to it my self, the late hurricane having more frighted than hurt us in these parts. I doubt not but your intelligence in general from the northern parts of the nation supplies you with as little matter as what you have from these hereabouts, it having been less violent and mischievous that way. Some stacks of chimneys were over-turn'd here, and from one of them a little child of my own was (thanks be to God) almost miraculously preserv'd, with a maid that lay in the room with him. I hear of none else this way that was so much as in danger, the storm beginning here later than I perceive it did in some other places, its greatest violence being betwixt 7 and 8 in the morning, when most people were stirring.

The earthquake, which the publick accounts mention to have happen'd at Hull and Lincoln upon the 28th ult., was

felt here by some people about 6 in the evening, at the same time that people there, as well as at Grantham and other places, perceived it. We have some flying stories about it which look like fabulous, whose credit therefore I wou'd not be answerable for; as that upon Lincoln Heath the ground was seen to open, and flashes of fire to issue out of the chasm.

I doubt this account will hardly be thought worth the charge of passage: had there been any thing else of note, you had been very readily serv'd by, Sir, your humble servant,

Boston, Jan. 8, 1703. E. K.

Sir,—I am afraid that you will believe me very rude, that yours, which I receiv'd the 12th of April, has not sooner receiv'd such an answer as you expect and desire, and truly I think deserve; for, a design so generous, as to undertake to transmit to posterity a memorial of the dreadful effects of the late terrible tempest (that when God's judgments are in the world, they may be made so publick as to ingage the inhabitants of the earth to learn righteousness) ought to receive all possible encouragement.

But the true reason why I writ no sooner was, because, by the most diligent enquiries I cou'd make, I cou'd not learn what harm that dreadful tempest did in the Humber, neither indeed can I yet give you any exact account of it; for the great mischief was done in the night, which was so pitch-dark that of above 80 ships that then rid in the Humber, about Grimsby Road, very few escaped some loss or other, and none of 'em were able to give a relation of any body but themselves.

The best account of the effects of the storm in the Humber, that I have yet met with, I received but yesterday, from Mr. Peter Walls, who is master of that watch-tower, call'd the Spurn Light, at the Humber Mouth, and was present there on the night of the 26th of November, the fatal night of the storm.

He did verily believe that his Pharos (which is above 20 yards high) wou'd have been blown down; and the tempest made the fire in it burn so vehemently, that it melted down the iron bars on which it laid, like lead; so that they were forced, when the fire was by this means almost extinguished, to put in new bars, and kindle the fire a-fresh, which they

kept in till the morning light appeared: and then Peter Walls observed about six or seven and twenty sail of ships, all driving about the Spurn Head, some having cut, others broke their cables, but all disabled, and render'd helpless. These were a part of the two fleets that then lay in the Humber, being put in there by stress of weather a day or two before, some from Russia, and the rest of 'em colliers, to and from Newcastle. Of these, three were driven upon an island, call'd the Den, within the Spurn, in the mouth of the Humber.

The first of these no sooner touch'd ground, but she overset, and turned up her bottom; out of which, only one of six (the number of that ship's company) was lost, being in the shrowds: the other five were taken up by the second ship, who had sav'd their boat. In this boat were saved all the men of the three ships aforementioned (except as before excepted) and came to Mr. Walls's house, at the Spurn Head, who got them good fires, and all accommodations necessary for them in such a distress. The second ship, having no body aboard, was driven to sea with the violence of the tempest, and never seen or heard of more. The third, which was then a-ground, was (as he supposes) broken up and driven; for nothing, but some coals that were in her, was to be seen the next morning.

Another ship, the day after, viz., the 27th of November, was riding in Grimsby Road, and the ship's company (except two boys) being gone a-shore, the ship, with the two lads in her, drive directly out of Humber, and was lost, tho' 'tis verily believ'd the two boys were saved by one of the Russia ships, or convoys.

The same day, in the morning, one John Baines, a Yarmouth master, was in his ship, riding in Grimsby Road, and by the violence of the storm, some other ships coming foul upon him, part of his ship was broken down, and was driven towards sea; whereupon he anchored under Kilnsey Land, and with his crew came safe a-shore, in his boat, but the ship was never seen more.

The remainder of the six or seven and twenty sail aforesaid, being (as was before observed) driven out of the Humber, very few, if any of 'em, were ever heard of; and 'tis rationally believ'd that all, or the most of them, perished And indeed, altho' the storm was not so violent here as it was

about Portsmouth, Yarmouth Roads, and the southern coast, yet the crews of the three ships abovementioned declare, that they were never out in so dismal a night as that was of the 26th of November, in which the considerable fleet aforesaid rid in Grimsby Road in the Humber; for most of the 80 sail broke from their anchors, and run foul one upon another; but by reason of the darkness of the night, they cou'd see very little of the mischief that was done.

This is the best account I can give you at present of the effects of the tempest in the Humber; whereas, had the enquiry been made immediately after the storm was over, a great many more of remarkable particulars might have been discover'd.

As to the earthquake here, tho' I perceiv'd it not myself, (being then walking to visit a sick parishioner) yet it was so sensibly felt by so many hundreds, that I cannot in the least question the truth and certainty of it.

It happen'd here, and in these parts, upon Innocent's Day, the 28th of December, being Tuesday, about five of the clock in the evening, or thereabout. Soon after I gave as particular account as I cou'd learn of it, to that ingenious antiquary, Mr. Thoresby, of Leeds, in Yorkshire, but had no time to keep a copy of my letter to him, nor have I leisure to transcribe a copy of this to you, having so constant a fatigue of parochial business to attend; nor will my memory serve me to recollect all the circumstances of that earthquake, as I sent them to Mr. Thoresby; and possibly he may have communicated that letter to you, or will upon your least intimation, being a generous person, who loves to communicate any thing that may be serviceable to the publick.

However, lest I shou'd seem to decline the gratifying your request, I will recollect, and here set down, such of the circumstances of that earthquake as do at present occur to my memory.

It came with a noise like that of a coach in the streets, and mightily shak'd both the glass windows, pewter, China pots and dishes, and in some places threw them down off the shelves on which they stood. It did very little mischief in this town, except the throwing down a piece of one chimney. Several persons thought that a great dog was got under the chair they sat upon; and others fell from their seats, for fear of falling. It frighted several persons, and caus'd 'em for a

while to break off their reading, or writing, or what they were doing.

They felt but one shake here: but a gentleman in Nottinghamshire told me, that being then lame upon his bed, he felt three shakes, like the three rocks of a cradle, to and again.

At Laceby, in Lincolnshire, and in several other parts of that county, as well as of the counties of York and Nottingham, the earthquake was felt very sensibly; and particularly at Laceby aforesaid. There happen'd this remarkable story

On Innocent's Day, in the afternoon, several morrice-dancers came thither from Grimsby; and after they had danc'd and play'd their tricks, they went towards Alesby, a little town not far off: and as they were going about five a-clock, they felt two such terrible shocks of the earth, that they had much ado to hold their feet, and thought the ground was ready to open, and swallow 'em up. Whereupon thinking that God was angry at 'em for playing the fool, they return'd immediately to Laceby in a great fright, and the next day home, not daring to pursue their intended circuit and dancing.

I think 'tis the observation of Dr. Willis, that upon an earthquake the earth sends forth noisome vapours which infect the air, as the air does our bodies: and accordingly it has prov'd here, where we have ever since had a most sickly time, and the greatest mortality that has been in this place for 15 years last past: and so I believe it has been over the greatest part of England. This, Sir, is the best account I can give you of the earthquake, which had com'd sooner, but that I was desirous to get likewise the best account I cou'd of the effects of the storm in the Humber. My humble service to the undertakers: and if in any thing I am capable to serve them or you, please freely to command, Sir, your most humble servant, Ro. Banks.

We have a farther account of this in two letters from Mr. Thoresby, F.R.S., and written to the publisher of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and printed in their Monthly Collection, No. 289, as follows, which is the same mentioned by Mr. Banks.

Part of two Letters from Mr. Thoresby, F.R.S., to the Publisher, concerning an Earthquake, which happened in some places of the North of England, the 28th of December, 1703.

You have heard, no doubt, of the late earthquake that affected some part of the north, as the dreadful storm did the south. It being most observable at Hull, I was desirous of an account from thence that might be depended upon; and therefore writ to the very obliging Mr. Banks, prebendary of York, who, being vicar of Hull, was the most suitable person I knew to address my self unto: and he being pleased to favour me with a judicious account of it, I will venture to communicate it to you, with his pious reflection thereupon: As to the earthquake you mention, it was felt here on Tuesday, the 28th of the last month, which was Childermas Day, about three or four minutes after five in the evening. I confess I did not feel it my self; for I was at that moment walking to visit a sick gentleman, and the noise in the streets, and my quick motion, made it impossible, I believe, for me to feel it: but it was so almost universally felt, that there can be no manner of doubt of the truth of it.

Mr. Peers, my reader (who is an ingenious good man), was then at his study, and writing; but the heaving up of his chair and his desk, the shake of his chamber, and the rattling of his windows, did so amaze him, that he was really affrighted, and was forc'd for a while to give over his work: and there are twenty such instances amongst tradesmen, too tedious to repeat. My wife was then in her closet, and thought her china would have come about her ears, and my family felt the chairs mov'd, in which they were sitting by the kitchen fire-side, and heard such a rattle of the pewter and windows as almost affrighted them. A gentlewoman not far off, said, her chair lifted so high, that she thought the great dog had got under it, and to save herself from falling, slipt off her chair. I sent to a house where part of a chimney was shak'd down, to enquire of the particulars; they kept ale, and being pretty full of company that they were merry, they did not perceive the shock, only heard the pewter and glass-windows dance; but the landlady's mother, who was in a chamber by herself, felt the shock so violent, that she verily believed the house to be coming down (as

part of the chimney afore-mentioned did at the same moment) and cried out in a fright, and had fallen, but that she catched hold of a table. It came and went suddenly, and was attended with a noise like the wind, though there was then a perfect calm.

From other hands I have an account that it was felt in Beverly, and other places; at South Dalton particularly, where the parson's wife (my own sister) being alone in her chamber, was sadly frighted with the heaving up of the chair she sat in, and the very sensible shake of the room, especially the windows, &c. A relation of mine, who is a minister, near Lincoln, being then at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, was amazed at the moving of the chairs they sat upon, which was so violent, he writes, every limb of him was shaken; I am told also from a true hand, that so nigh us as Selby, where Mr. Travers, a minister, being in his study writing, was interrupted much as Mr. Peers above-mentioned, which minds me of worthy Mr. Bank's serious conclusion. And now I hope you will not think it unbecoming my character to make this reflection upon it, viz., that famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, are joyned by our Blessed Saviour, as portending future calamities, and particularly the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish State, if not the end of the world, St. Matth. xxiv. 7. And if, as philosophers observe, those gentler convulsions within the bowels of the earth, which give the inhabitants but an easie jog, do usually portend the approach of some more dreadful earthquake, then surely we have reason to fear the worst, because I fear we so well deserve it, and pray God of his infinite mercy to avert his future judgments.

Since my former account of the earthquake at Hull, my cousin Cookson has procured to me the following account from his brother, who is a clergyman, near Lincoln, viz., That he, being about five in the evening, December the 20th past, set with a neighbouring minister at his house about a mile from Navenby, they were surprised with a sudden noise, as if it had been of two or three coaches driven furiously down the yard, whereupon the servant was sent to the door, in expectation of some strangers; but they quickly perceived what it was, by the shaking of the chairs they sat upon; they could perceive the very stones move: the greatest damage was to the gentlewoman of the house, who was put

into such a fright, that she miscarried two days after. He writes, they were put into a greater fright upon the Fast-day, when there was so violent a storm, they verily thought the church would have fallen upon them. We had also at Leedes a much greater storm the night preceding the Fast, and a stronger wind that day, than when the fatal storm was in the south, but a good Providence timed this well, to quicken our too cold devotions.

Of Remarkable Deliverances.

As the sad and remarkable disasters of this terrible night were full of a dismal variety, so the goodness of Providence, in the many remarkable deliverances both by sea and land, have their share in this account, as they claim an equal variety and wonder.

The sense of extraordinary deliverances, as it is a mark of generous Christianity, so I presume 'tis the best token, that a good use is made of the mercies received.

The persons who desire a thankful acknowledgment should be made to their Merciful Deliverer, and the wonders of his Providence remitted to posterity, shall never have it to say, that the editor of this book refused to admit so great a subject a place in these memoirs, and therefore, with all imaginable freedom, he gives the world the particulars from their own mouths, and under their own hands.

The first account we have from the Reverend Mr. King, Lecturer at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, as follows:

Sir,—The short account I now send to shew the Providence of God in the late dreadful storm (if yet it comes not too late), I had from the mouth of the gentleman himself, Mr. Woodgate Giffer by name, who is a neighbour of mine, living in St. Martin's-street, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, and a sufferer in the common calamity; is as follows, viz.—

Between two and three of the clock in the morning, my neighbour's stack of chimneys fell, and broke down the roof of my garret into the passage going up and down stairs, upon which, I thought it convenient to retire into the kitchen with my family, where we had not been above a quarter of an hour, before my wife sent her maid to fetch

some necessaries out of a back parlour closet, and as she had shut the door, and was upon her return, the very same instant my neighbour's stack of chimneys, on the other side of the house, fell upon my stack, and beat in the roof, and so drove down the several floors through the parlour into the kitchen, where the maid was buried near five hours in the rubbish, without the least damage or hurt whatsoever. This, her miraculous preservation, was occasion'd (as I afterwards with surprize found) by her falling into a small cavity near the bed, and afterward (as she declar'd) by her creeping under the tester, that lay hollow by reason of some joices that lay athwart each other, which prevented her perishing in the said rubbish. About eight in the morning, when I helped her out of the ruins, and asked her how she did, and why she did not cry out for assistance, since she was not (as I suppos'd she had been) dead, and so to let me know she was alive; her answer was, that truly she for her part had felt no hurt, and was not the least affrighted, but lay quiet, and which is more, even slumbred until then.

The preservation of myself, and the rest of my family, about eleven in number, was, next to the Providence of God, occasion'd by our running into a vault almost level with the kitchen upon the noise and alarm of the falling of the chimneys, which breaking through three floors, and about two minutes in passing, gave us the opportunities of that retreat. Pray accept of this short account from

Your Humble Servant, and Lecturer,

Feb. 12, 1704. JAMES KING, M.A.

Another is from a reverend minister at ———, whose name is to his letter, as follows:

SIR,—I thank you for your charitable visit not long since; I could have heartily wish'd your business would have permitted you to have made a little longer stay at the Parsonage, and then you might have taken a stricker view of the ruins by the late terrible wind. Seeing you are pleas'd to desire from me a more particular account of that sad disaster, I have for your fuller satisfaction sent you the best I am able to give; and if it be not so perfect, and so exact a one, as you may expect, you may rely upon me it is a true

and a faithful one, and that I do not impose upon you or the world in the least in any part of the following relation. I shall not trouble you with the uneasiness the family was under all the fore part of the evening, even to a fault, as I thought, and told them, I did not then apprehend the wind to be much higher than it had been often on other times, but went to bed, hoping we were more afraid than we needed to have been; when in bed, we began to be more sensible of it, and lay most of the night awake, dreading every blast till about four of the clock in the morning, when to our thinking it seemed a little to abate; and then we fell asleep, and slept till about six of the clock, at which time my wife waking, and calling one of her maids to rise, and come to the children, the maid rose, and hasten'd to her; she had not been up above half an hour, but all on the sudden we heard a prodigious noise, as if part of the house had been fallen down: I need not tell you the consternation we were all in upon this alarm; in a minutes time, I am sure, I was surrounded with all my infantry, that I thought I should have been overlay'd; I had not even power to stir one limb of me, much less to rise, though I could not tell how to lie in bed. The shrieks and the cries of my dear babes perfectly stun'd me; I think I hear them still in my ears, I shall not easily, I am confident, if ever, forget them. There I lay preaching patience to those little innocent creatures, till the day began to appear.

Preces and Lachrimæ, prayers and tears, the primitive Christians' weapons, we had great plenty of to defend us withal; but had the house all fallen upon our heads, we were in that fright as we could scarce have had power to rise for the present, or do anything for our security. Upon our rising, and sending a servant to view what she could discover, we soon understood that the chimney was fallen down, and that with its fall it had beaten down a great part of that end of the house, viz.: the upper chamber and the room under it, which was the room I chose for my study. The chimney was thought as strong, and as well built as most in the neighbourhood, and it surprised the mason (whom I immediately sent for to view it) to see it down; but that which was most surprising to me, was the manner of its falling; had it fallen almost any other way than that it did, it must in all likelihood have killed the

much greater part of my family, for no less than nine of us lay at that end of the house, my wife and self, and five children and two servants, a maid, and a man then in my pay, and so a servant, though not by the year. The bed my eldest daughter and the maid lay in, joyned as near as possible to the chimney, and it was within a very few yards of the bed that we lay in; so that, as David said to Jonathan, there seemed to be but one single step between death and us, to all outward appearance. One thing I cannot omit, which was very remarkable and surprising. It pleased God so to order it, that in the fall of the house two great spars seemed to fall so as to pitch themselves on an end, and by that means to support that other part of the house which adjoined to the upper chamber; or else, in all likelihood, that must also have fallen too at the same time. The carpenter (whom we sent for forthwith) when he came, ask'd who plac'd those two supporters, supposing somebody had been there before him; and when he was told, those two spars in the fall so plac'd themselves, he could scarce believe it possible; it was done so artificially, that he declar'd, they scarce needed to have been removed.

In short, Sir, it is impossible to describe the danger we were in; you yourself was an eye-witness of some part of what is here related; and I once more assure you the whole account I have here given you is true, and what can be attested by the whole family. None of all those unfortunate persons who are said to have been killed with the fall of a chimney, could well be much more exposed to danger than we were; it is owing wholly to that watchful Providence to whom we are all indebted for every minute of our lives, that any of us escaped; none but He who never sleeps nor slumbers could have secured us. I beseech Almighty God to give us all that due sense as we ought to have of so great and so general calamity: that we truly repent of those sins that have so long provoked His wrath against us, and brought down so heavy a judgment as this upon us. O that we were so wise as to consider it, and to "sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon us." That it may have this happy effect upon all the sinful inhabitants of this land is, and shall be, the daily prayer of, dear Sir, your real friend and Servant,

JOHN GIPPS.

Another account from a Reverend Minister in Dorsetshire, take as follows, viz.:

SIR,—As you have desired an account of the disasters occasioned by the late tempest (which I can assure you was in these parts very terrible) so I think myself obliged to let you know, that there was a great mixture of mercy with it; for, though the hurricane was frightful and very mischievous, yet God's gracious Providence was herein very remarkable, in restraining its violence from an universal destruction; for then there was a commotion of the elements of air, earth, and water, which then seemed to outvie each other in mischief; for (in David's expression, 2 Saml., 22, 8) "The earth trembled and quaked, the foundations of the Heaven's moved and shook, because God was angry;" and yet, when all was given over for lost, we found ourselves more scar'd than hurt; for our lives was given us for a prey, and the tempest did us only so much damage, as to make us sensible that it might have done us a great deal more, had it not been rebuk'd by the God of Mercy, the care of whose Providence has been visibly seen in our wonderful preservations. Myself and three more of this parish were then strangely rescued from the grave; I narrowly escaped with my life, where I apprehended nothing of danger, for going out about midnight to give orders to my servants to secure the house, and reeks of corn and furses from being blown all away; as soon as I mov'd out of the place where I stood, I heard something of a great weight fall close behind me, and a little after going out with a light to see what it was, I found it to be the great stone which covered the top of my chimney to keep out the wet; it was almost a yard square, and very thick, weighing about an hundred and fifty pound. It was blown about a yard off from the chimney, and fell edge-long, and cut the earth about four inches deep exactly between my footsteps; and a little after, whilst sitting under the clavel of my kitchen chimney, and reaching out my arm for some fewel to mend the fire, I was again strangely preserved from being knocked on the head by a stone of great weight; it being about a foot long, half a foot broad, and two inches thick: for as soon as I had drawn in my arm, I felt something brush against my elbow, and presently I heard the stone fall close by my foot, a third part of which was broken

off by the violence of the fall, and skarr'd my ancle, but did not break the skin; it had certainly killed me, had it fallen while my arm was extended. The top of my wheat rick was blown off, and some of the sheaves were carried a stone's cast, and with that violence, that one of them, at that distance, struck down one Daniel Fooks, a late servant of the Lady Napier, and so forceably, that he was taken up dead, and to all appearance remained so for a great while, but at last was happily recover'd to life again. His mother, poor widow, was at the same time more fatally threatened at home, and her bed had certainly prov'd her grave, had not the first noise awaken'd and scar'd her out of bed; and she was scarce gotten to the door, when the house fell all in. The smith's wife likewise being scar'd at such a rate, leapt out of bed, with the little child in her arms, and ran hastily out of doors naked, without hose or shoocs, to a neighbour's house, and by that hasty flight, both their lives were wonderfully preserved. The sheets of lead on Lytton church were rolled up like sheets of parchment, and blown off to a great distance. At Strode, a large apple tree, being about a foot in square, was broken off cleverly like a stick, about four foot from the root, and carried over an hedge about ten foot high, and cast, as if darted (with the trunk forward), above fourteen yards off. And I am credibly inform'd, that at Ellwood, in the parish of Abbotsbury, a large wheat rick (belonging to one Jolyffe) was cleverly blown, with its staddle, off from the stones, and set down on the ground in very good order. I would fain know of the atheist what moved his Omnipotent Matter to do such mischief, &c.—Sir, I am your affectionate friend and Servant, though unknown,

JACOB COLE,

Rector of Swyre, in county of Dorset.

This account is very remarkable, and well attested, and the editor of this collection can vouch to the reputation of the relators, though not to the particulars of the story.

A Preservation in the late Storm.

About three of the clock in the morning, the violence of the wind blew down a stack of chimneys belonging to the

dwelling house of Dr. Gideon Harvey (situate in St. Martin's Lane over against the street end) on the back part of the next house, wherein dwells Mr. Robert Richards, an apothecary, at the sign of the Unicorn; and Capt. Theodore Collier and his family lodges in the same. The chimney fell with that force as made them pierce through the roofs and all the floors, carrying them down quite to the ground. The two families, consisting of fourteen, men, women, and children, besides three that came in from the next house, were at that instant dispos'd of as follows, a footman that us'd to lie in the back garret, had not a quarter of an hour before remov'd himself into the fore garret, by which means he escap'd the danger. In the room under that, lay Capt. Collier's child, of two months old, in bed with the nurse, and a servant maid lay on the bed by her: the nurse's child lying in a cribb by the bed-side, which was found, with the child safe in it, in the kitchen, where the nurse and maid likewise found themselves, their bed being shattered in pieces, and they a little bruis'd by falling down three stories. Capt. Collier's child was in about two hours found unhurt in some pieces of the bed and curtains, which had fallen through two floors only, and hung on some broken rafters in that place, which was the parlour. In the room under this, being one pair of stairs from the street, and two from the kitchen, was Capt. Collier in his bed, and his wife just by the bed-side, and her maid a little behind her, who likewise found herself in the kitchen a little bruis'd, and ran out to cry for help for her master and mistress, who lay buried under the ruins. Mrs. Collier was, by the timely aid of neighbours who remov'd the rubbish from her, taken out in about half an hour's time, having receiv'd no hurt, but the fright, and an arm a little bruis'd. Capt. Collier in about half an hour more, was likewise taken out unhurt. In the parlour were sitting Mr. Richards with his wife, the three neighbours, and the rest of his family, a little boy of about a year old lying in the cradle, they all run out at the first noise, and escap'd; Mrs. Richards staying a little longer than the rest, to pull the cradle with her child in it along with her, but the house fell too suddenly on it, and buried the child under the ruins, a rafter fell on her foot, and bruis'd it a little, at which she likewise made her escape, and brought in the neighbours, who soon uncovered the head of the cradle, and cutting it off, took the

child out alive and well. This wonderful preservation being worthy to be transmitted to posterity, we do attest to be true in every particular. Witness our hands,

GIDEON HARVEY.
London, Nov. 27, 1703. THEO. COLLIER.
ROBERT RICHARDS.

These accounts of like nature are particularly attested by persons of known reputation and integrity.

SIR,—In order to promote the good design of your book, in perpetuating the memory of God's signal judgment on this nation, by the late dreadful tempest of wind, which has hurl'd so many souls into eternity; and likewise his Providence in the miraculous preservation of several persons lives, who were expos'd to the utmost hazards in that hurricane. I shall here give you a short but true instance of the latter, which several persons can witness besides myself; and if you think proper may insert the same in the book you design for that purpose; which is as follows:—At the Saracen's Head, in Friday Street, a country lad lodging three pair of stairs next the roof of the house, was wonderfully preserv'd from death; for about two a-clock that Saturday morning the 27th of November, (which prov'd fatal to so many) there fell a chimney upon the roof, under which he lay, and beat it down through the ceiling (the weight of the tiles, bricks, &c., being judged by a workman to be about five hundred weight) into the room, fell exactly between the beds feet and door of the room, which are not two yards distance from each other, it being but small; the sudden noise awaking the lad, he jumps out of bed endeavouring to find the door, but was stopt by the great dust and falling of more bricks, &c., and finding himself prevented, in this fear he got into bed again, and remain'd there till the day light, (the bricks and tiles still falling between-whiles about his bed) and then got up without any hurt, or so much as a tile or brick falling on the bed; the only thing he complain'd of to me, was his being almost choak'd with dust when he got out of bed, or put his head out from under the cloaths. There was a great weight of tiles and bricks, which did not break through, as the workmen inform me, just over the beds tester, enough to have crush'd him to death, if they had fallen. Thus he lay safe among the dangers that threatened him. And Sir, if this be

worthy your taking notice of, I am ready to justify the same In witness whereof, here is my name,
Dec. 3, 1703. HENRY MAYERS.

A great preservation in the late Storm.

William Phelps and Frances his wife, living at the corner of Old Southampton Buildings, over against Gray's-Inn Gate, in Holborn, they lying up three pair of stairs, in the back room, that was only lath'd and plaster'd, he being then very ill, she was forc'd to lay in a table bed in the same room; about one a-clock in the morning, on the 27th of November last, the wind blew down a stack of chimneys of seven funnels that stood very high; which broke through the roof, and fell into the room, on her bed; so that she was buried alive, as one may say; she crying out, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Phelps, *the house is fall'n upon me*, there being so much on her that one could but just hear her speak; a coachman and a footman lying on the same floor, I soon call'd them to my assistance. We all fell to work, tho' we stood in the greatest danger; and through the goodness of God we did take her out without the least hurt, neither was any of us hurt, tho' there was much fell after we took her out. And when we took the bricks off the bed the next morning, we found the frame of the bed on which she lay broke all to pieces.

WILLIAM PHELPS.

Another great Preservation.

Mr. John Hanson, Register of Eaton College, being at London about his affairs, and lying that dreadful night, Nov. 26, at the Bell-Savage Inn, on Ludgate Hill, was, by the fall of a stack of chimneys (which broke through the roof, and beat down two floors above him, and also that in which he lay) carried in his bed down to the ground, without the least hurt, his cloaths, and everything besides in the room being buried in the rubbish; it having pleased God so to order it, that just so much of the floor and ceiling of the room (from which he fell) as covered his bed, was not broken down. Of this great mercy he prays he may live for ever mindful, and be for ever thankful to Almighty God.

SIR,—The design of your collecting the remarkable accidents of the late storm coming to my hands, I thought myself obliged to take this opportunity of making a public acknowledgment of the wonderful Providence of Heaven to me, namely, the preservation of my only child from imminent danger.

Two large stacks of chimneys, containing each five funnels, beat through the roof, in upon the bed where she lay, without doing her the least harm, the servant who lay with her being very much bruised. There were several loads of rubbish upon the bed before my child was taken out of it.

This extraordinary deliverance I desire always thankfully to remember.

I was so nearly touch'd by this accident, that I could not take so much notice as I intended of this storm; yet I observ'd the wind gradually to encrease from one a-clock till a quarter after five, or thereabouts; at which time it seem'd to be at the highest; when every gust did not only return with greater celerity, but also with more force.

From about a quarter before six it sensibly decreas'd. I went often to the door, at which times I observ'd, that every gust was preceded by small flashes, which, to my observation, did not dart perpendicularly, but seem'd rather to skim along the surface of the ground; nor did they appear to be of the same kind with the common light'ning flashes.

I must confess I cannot help thinking that the earth itself suffer'd some convulsion; and that for this reason, because several springs, for the space of 48 hours afterwards, were very muddy, which were never known to be so by any storm of wind or rain before; nor indeed is it possible, they lying so low, could be affected by any thing less than a concussion of the earth itself.

How far these small hints may be of use to the more ingenious enquiries into this matter, I shall humbly leave to their consideration, and subscribe myself,

SIR, your humble Servant,

Dec. 8, 1703. JOSEPP CLENCH,

Apothecary in Jermyn Street, near St. James's.

SIR,—This comes to let you know that I received yours in the Downs, for which I thank you. I expected to have seen you in London before now, had we not met with a most violent storm in our way to Chatham. On the 27th of the last month, about three of the clock in the morning, we lost all our anchors and drove to sea; about six we lost our rother, and were left in a most deplorable condition to the merciless rage of the wind and seas; we also sprung a leak, and drove 48 hours expecting to perish. But it pleased God to give us a wonderful deliverance, scarce to be parallel'd in history; for about midnight we were drove into shoul water, and soon after our ship struck upon the sands; the sea broke over us, we expected every minute that she would drop to pieces, and that we should all be swallowed up in the deep; but in less than two hours time we drove over the sands, and got (without rother or pilot, or any help but Almighty God's) into this place, where we run our ship on shore, in order to save our lives; but it has pleased God also, far beyond our expectation, to save our ship, and bring us safe off again last night. We shall remain here a considerable while to refit our ship, and get a new rother. Our deliverance is most remarkable, that in the middle of a dark night we should drive over a sand where a ship that was not half our bigness durst not venture to come in the day; and then, without knowing where we were, drive into a narrow place where we have saved both lives and ship. I pray God give us all grace to be thankful, and never forget so great a mercy.

I am, Your affectionate friend and humble Servant,

Russel, at Helverfluce in Holland, Dec. 16, 1703. HENRY BARCLAY.

SIR,—According to the publick notice, I send you two or three observations of mine upon the late dreadful tempest, as,

1. In the parish of St. Mary Cray, Kent, a poor man, with his wife and child, were but just gone out of their bed, when the head of their house fell in upon it, which must have kill'd them.

2. A great long stable in the town, near the church, was blown off the foundation entirely at one sudden blast, from the west side to the east, and cast out into the highway, over

the heads of five horses, and a carter feeding them at the same time, and not one of them hurt, nor the rack or manger touch'd, which are yet standing to the admiration of all beholders.

3. As the church at Heyes received great damage, so the spire, with one bell in it, were blown away over the churchyard.

4. The minister of South-ash had a great deliverance from a chimney falling in upon his bed just as he rose, and hurt only his feet; as blessed be God, our lives have been all very miraculously preserv'd, tho' our buildings every where damag'd. You may depend on all, as certify'd by me,

THOMAS WATTS,
Vicar of Orpington and St. Mary Cray.

There are an innumerable variety of deliverances besides these, which deserve a memorial to future ages; but these are noted from the letters, and at the request of the persons particularly concerned.

Particularly, it is a most remarkable story of a man belonging to the Mary, a fourth rate man-of-war, lost upon the Goodwin Sands; and all the ship's company but himself being lost, he, by the help of a piece of the broken ship, got aboard the Northumberland; but the violence of the storm continuing, the Northumberland ran the same fate with the Mary, and coming on shore upon the same sand, was split to pieces by the violence of the sea; and yet this person by a singular Providence, was one of the 64 that were delivered by a Deal Hooker out of that ship, all the rest perishing in the sea.

A poor sailor of Brighthelmston, was taken up after he had hung by his hands and feet on the top of a mast 48 hours, the sea raging so high, that no boat durst go near him.

A Hoy run on shore on the rocks in Milford Haven, and just splitting to pieces (as by Captain Soam's letter) a boat drove by, being broke from another vessel, with nobody in it, and came so near the vessel, as that two men jumped into it, and saved their lives; the boy could not jump so far, and was drowned.

Five sailors shifted three vessels on an island near the Humber, and were at last saved by a long-boat out of the fourth.

A waterman in the river Thames lying asleep in the cabin of a barge, at or near Blackfriars, was driven through bridge in the storm, and the barge went of herself into the Tower Dock, and lay safe on shore; the man never waked, nor heard the storm, till it was day; and, to his great astonishment, he found himself safe as above.

Two boys in the Poultry, lodging in a garret or upper room, were, by the fall of chimnies, which broke through the floors, carried quite to the bottom of the cellar, and received no damage at all.

SIR,—At my return home on Saturday at night, I receiv'd yours; and having said nothing in my last concerning the storm I send this to tell you, that I hear of nothing done by it in this country that may seem to deserve a particular remark. Several houses and barns were stripped of their thatch, some chimneys and gables blown down, and several stacks of corn and hay very much dispers'd; but I hear not of any persons either kill'd or maim'd. A neighbour of ours was upon the ridge of his barn endeavouring to secure the thatch, and the barn at that instant was overturn'd by the storm: but by the good Providence of God, the man receiv'd little or no harm. I say no more, not knowing of anything more remarkable. I am sorry that other places were such great sufferers, and I pray God avert the like judgments for the future. I am

Your real friend to serve you,

Orby, Jan. 18, 1703. HENRY MARSHAL.

SIR,—I have no particular relation to make to you of any deliverance in the late storm, more than was common with me to all the rest that were in it: but having, to divert melancholy thoughts while it lasted, turn'd into verse the CXLVIII Psalm to the 9th, and afterwards all the Psalm; I give you leave to publish it with the rest of those memoirs on that occasion you are preparing for the press.

Sir, Your, &c.,

HENRY SQUIER.

I. Verse 1, 2.

Hallelujah: from Heav'n
The tuneful praise begin;
Let praise to God be giv'n
Beyond the starry scene:
Ye angels sing
His joyful praise;
Your voices raise
Ye swift of wing.

II. 3, 4.

Praise him, thou radiant sun,
The spring of all thy light;
Praise him thou changing moon,
And all the stars of night:
Ye heav'ns declare
His glorious fame;
And waves that swim
Above the sphere.

III. 5, 6.

Let all his praises sing,
His goodness and his power,
For at his call they spring,
And by his grace endure;
That joins 'em fast,
The chain is fram'd,
Their bounds are nam'd,
And never past.

IV. 7, 8.

Thou earth his praise proclaim,
Devouring gulfs and deeps;
Ye fires, and fire-like flame,
That o'er the meadows sweeps;
Thou rattling hail,
And flaky snow,
And winds that blow
To do his Will.

V. 9, 10.

Ye prodigies of earth,
And hills of lesser size,
Cedars of nobler birth,
And all ye fruitful trees;
His praises show,
All things that move,
That fly above,
Or creep below.

VI. 11, 12.

Monarchs, and ye their praise,
The num'rous multitude;
Ye judges, triumphs raise;
And all of nobler blood:
Of ev'ry kind,
And ev'ry age,
Your hearts engage,
In praises join'd.

VII. 13, 14.

Let all his glorious name
Unite to celebrate;
Above the heavens his fame;
His fame that's only great:
His people's stay
And praise is He,
And e're will be:
Hallelujah.

The two following letters, coming from persons in as great danger as any could be, are placed here, as proper to be called deliverances of the greatest and strangest kind.

From on board a ship blown out of the Downs to Norway.

Sir,—I cannot but write to you of the particulars of our sad and terrible voyage to this place. You know we were, by my last, riding safe in the Downs, waiting a fair wind, to make the best of our way to Portsmouth, and there to expect the Lisbon convoy.

We had two terrible storms, one on the Friday before, and one on Thursday; the one the 18th, the other the 25th of November: in the last, I expected we shou'd have founder'd at an anchor; for our ground tackle being new and very good, held us fast, but the sea broke upon us so heavy and quick, that we were in danger two or three times of foundering as we rod: but, as it pleas'd God, we rid it out, we began to think all was over, and the bitterness of death was past.

There was a great fleet with us in the Downs, and several of them were driven from their anchors, and made the best of their way out to sea for fear of going on shore upon the Goodwin. The grand fleet was just come in from the Streights, under Sir Cloudesly Shovel; and the great ships being design'd for the river, lay to leeward: most of the ships that went out in the night appear'd in the morning, and I think there was none known to be lost, but one Dutch vessel upon the Goodwin.

But the next day, being Friday, in the evening, it began to gather to windward; and as it had blown very hard all day, at night the wind freshen'd, and we all expected a stormy night. We saw the men of war struck their top-masts, and rod with two cables an-end: so we made all as snug as we could, and prepar'd for the worst.

In this condition we rid it out till about 12 a-clock; when, the fury of the wind encreasing, we began to see destruction before us: the objects were very dreadful on every side; and tho' it was very dark, we had light enough to see our own danger, and the danger of those near us. About one a-clock the ships began to drive, and we saw several come by us without a mast standing, and in the utmost distress.

By two a-clock we could hear guns firing in several parts of this road, as signals of distress; and tho' the noise was very great with the sea and wind, yet we could distinguish plainly, in some short intervals, the cries of poor souls in extremities.

By four a-clock we miss'd the Mary and the Northumberland, who rid not far from us, and found they were driven from their anchors; but what became of them, God knows: and soon after a large man of war came driving down upon us, all her masts gone, and in a dreadful condition. We were in the utmost despair at this sight, for we saw no avoiding her coming thwart our haiser: she drove at last so

near us, that I was just gowing to order the mate to cut away, when it pleas'd God the ship sheer'd contrary to our expectation to windward, and the man of war, which we found to be the Sterling Castle, drove clear off us, not two ships lengths to leeward.

It was a sight full of terrible particulars, to see a ship of eighty guns and about six hundred men in that dismal case; she had cut away all her masts, the men were all in the confusions of death and despair; she had neither anchor, nor cable, nor boat to help her; the sea breaking over her in a terrible manner, that sometimes she seem'd all under water; and they knew, as well as we that saw her, that they drove by the tempest directly for the Goodwin, where they could expect nothing but destruction. The cries of the men, and the firing their guns, one by one, every half minute for help, terrified us in such a manner, that I think we were half dead with the horror of it.

All this while we rid with two anchors a-head, and in great distress. To fire guns for help, I saw was to no purpose, for if any help was to be had, there were so many other objects for it, that we could not expect it, and the storm still encreasing.

Two ships, a-head of us, had rid it out till now, which was towards five in the morning, when they both drove from their anchors, and one of them coming foul of a small pink, they both sunk together; the other drove by us, and having one mast standing, I think it was her main-mast, she attempted to spread a little peak of her sail, and so stood away before it: I suppose she went away to sea.

At this time, the raging of the sea was so violent, and the tempest doubled its fury in such a manner, that my mate told me we had better go away to sea, for 'twould be impossible to ride it out. I was not of his opinion, but was for cutting my masts by the board, which at last we did, and parted with them with as little damage as could be expected, and we thought she rid easier for it by a great deal; and I believe, had it blown two hours longer, we should have rid it out, having two new cables out, and our best bower and sheet anchor down. But about half an hour after five to six, it blew, if it be possible to conceive it so, as hard again as it had done before, and first our best bower anchor came home: the mate, who felt it give way, cried out, we are all undone,

for the ship drove. I found it too true, and, upon as short a consultation as the time would admit, we concluded to put out to sea before we were driven too far to leeward, when it would be impossible to avoid the Goodwin.

So we slipt our sheet cable, and sheering the ship towards the shore, got her head about, and stood away afore it; sail we had none, nor mast standing. Our mate had set up a jury missen, but no canvass could bear the fury of the wind; yet he fastened an old tarpaulin so as that it did the office of a missen, and kept us from driving too fast to leeward.

In this condition we drove out of the Downs, and past so near the Goodwin, that we could see several great ships fast a-ground, and beating to pieces. We drove in this desperate condition till day-break, without any abatement of the storm, and our men heartless and dispirited, tir'd with the service of the night, and every minute expecting death.

About 8 a-clock, my mate told me he perceived the wind to abate; but it blew still such a storm, that if we had not had a very tite ship, she must have founder'd, as we were now farther off at sea, and by my guess might be in the mid-way between Harwich and the Brill, the sea we found run longer, and did not break so quick upon us as before, but it ran exceeding high, and we having no sail to keep us to rights, we lay wallowing in the trough of the sea in a miser-able condition. We saw several ships in the same condition with our selves, but could neither help them, nor they us; and one we saw founder before our eyes, and all the people perish'd.

Another dismal object we met with, which was an open boat, full of men, who, as we may suppose, had lost their ship; any man may suppose, what condition a boat must be in, if we were in so bad a case in a good ship: we were soon tost out of their sight, and what became of them any one may guess; if they had been within cables length of us we could not have help'd them.

About two a clock in the afternoon, the wind encreased again, and we made no doubt it would prove as bad a night as before, but that gust held not above half an hour.

All night it blew excessive hard, and the next day, which was Sabbath day, about eleven a-clock it abated, but still blew hard; about three it blew something moderately, com-par'd with the former, and we got up a jury mainmast, and

rigg'd it as well as we could, and with a main-sail lower'd almost to the deck, stood at a great rate afore it all night and the next day, and on Tuesday morning we saw land, but could not tell where it was; but being not in a condition to keep the sea, we run in, and made signals of distress; some pilots came off to us, by whom we were inform'd we had reached the coast of Norway, and having neither anchor nor cable on board capable to ride the ship, a Norweigian pilot came on board, and brought us into a creek, where we had smooth water, and lay by till we got help, cables, and anchors, by which means we are safe in place.

Your humble Servant,

J. ADAMS.

From on board the John and Mary, riding in Yarmouth Roads during the great Storm, but now in the river of Thames.

SIR,—Hearing of your good design of preserving the memory of the late dreadful storm for the benefit of posterity, I cannot let you want the particulars as happen'd to us on board our ship.

We came over the bar of Tinmouth about the —— having had terrible blowing weather for almost a week, insomuch that we were twice driven back almost the length of Newcastle; with much difficulty and danger we got well over that, and made the high land about Cromer, on the north side of Norfolk; here it blew so hard the Wednesday night before, that we could not keep the sea, nor fetch the roads of Yarmouth; but as the coast of Norfolk was a weather-shore, we hall'd as close Cromer as we durst lie, the shore there being very flat; here we rode Wednesday and Thursday, the 24th and 25th of November.

We could not reckon ourselves safe here, for as this is the most dangerous place between London and Newcastle, and has been particularly fatal to our colliers, so we were very uneasy; I considered, that when such tempestuous weather happen'd, as this seem'd to threaten, nothing is more frequent than for the wind to shift points; and if it should have blown half the wind from the south-east, as now blew from the south-west, we must have gone ashore there, and

been all lost for being embayed; there we should have had no putting out to sea, nor staying there.

This consideration made me resolve to be gon, and thinking on Friday morning the wind slacken'd a little, I weigh'd and stood away for Yarmouth Roads; and with great boating and labour, got into the roads about one in the afternoon, being a little after flood, we found a very great fleet in the roads; there was above three hundred sail of colliers, not reckoning above thirty sail which I left behind me, that rode it out thereabouts, and there was a great fleet just come from Russia, under the convoy of the Reserve frigate, and two other men-of-war, and about a hundred sail of coasters, Hull-men, and such small craft.

We had not got to an anchor, moor'd, and set all to rights, but I found the wind freshen'd, the clouds gather'd, and all look'd very black to windward; and my mate told me, he wish'd he had staid where we were, for he would warrant it we had a blowing night of it.

We did what we could to prepare for it, struck our topmast, and slung our yards, made all tite and fast upon deck; the night prov'd very dark, and the wind blew a storm about eight a-clock, and held till ten, when we thought it abated a little, but at eleven it freshen'd again, and blew very hard; we rid it out very well till twelve, when we veer'd out more cable, and in about half an hour after, the wind encreasing, let go our sheet anchor; by one a-clock it blew a dreadful storm, and though our anchors held very well, the sea came over us in such a vast quantity, that we was every hour in danger of foundering. About two a-clock the sea fill'd our boat as she lay upon the deck, and we was glad to let her go over board for fear of staving in our decks. Our mate would then have cut our mast by the board, but I was not willing, and told him, I thought we had better slip our cables, and go out to sea; he argued she was a deep ship, and would not live in the sea, and was very eager for cutting away the mast, but I was loth to part with my mast, and could not tell where to run for shelter if I lost them.

About three a-clock abundance of ships drove away, and came by us, some with all their masts gone, and foul of one another; in a sad condition my men said they saw two founder'd together, but I was in the cabin, and cannot say I saw it. I saw a Russia ship come foul of a collier, and both

drove away together out of our sight, but I am told since, the Russia-man sunk by her side.

In this condition we rid till about three a-clock, the Russia ships which lay a-head of me, and the men of war, who lay a-head of them, fir'd their guns for help, but 'twas in vain to expect it; the sea went too high for any boat to live. About five, the wind blew at that prodigious rate, that there was no possibility of riding it out, and all the ships in the road seem'd to us to drive. Yet still our anchors held it, and I began to think we should ride it out there, or founder, when a ship's long-boat came driving against us, and gave such a shock on the bow that I thought it must have been a ship come foul of us, and expected to sink all at once; our men said there was some people in the boat, but as the sea went so high, no man dust stand upon the fore-castle, so nobody could be sure of it; the boat staved to pieces with the blow, and went away, some on one side of us and some on the other; but whether our cable received any damage by it or not we cannot tell, but our sheet cable gave way immediately, and as the other was not able to hold us alone, we immediately drove; we had then no more to do, but to put afore the wind, which we did: it pleased God by this time, the tide of ebb was begun, which something abated the height of the sea, but still it went exceeding high; we saw a great many ships in the same condition with ourselves, and expecting every moment to sink in the sea. In this extremity, we drove till daylight, when we found the wind abated, and we stood in for the shore, and coming under the lee of the cliff near Scarbro, we got so much shelter, as that our small bower anchors would ride us.

I can give you no account but this; but sure such a tempest never was in the world. They say here, that of eighty sail in Grimsby road, they can hear of but sixteen; yet the rest are all blown away. Here is about twelve or fourteen sail of ships come in to this place, and more are standing in for the shore. Yours, &c.

Abundance of other strange deliverances have been related, but with so small authority as we dare not convey them into the world under the same character with the rest; and have therefore chose to omit them.

THE CONCLUSION.

The editor of this book has laboured under some difficulties in this account; and one of the chief has been how to avoid too many particulars, the crowds of relations which he has been obliged to lay by to bring the story into a compass tolerable to the reader.

And though some of the letters inserted are written in a homely style, and expressed after the country fashion from whence they came, the author chose to make them speak their own language, rather than by dressing them in other words make the authors forget they were their own.

We received a letter, very particular, relating to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and reflecting upon his lordship for some words he spoke, "That he had rather have his brains knocked out, than," &c., relating to his inferior clergy. The gentleman takes the disaster for a judgment of God on him; but as in his letter, the person owns himself the bishop's enemy, fills his letter with some reflections indecent, at least for us: and at last, tho' he dates from Somerton, yet baulks setting his name to his letter: for these reasons, we could not satisfy to record the matter, and leave a charge on the name of that unfortunate gentleman, which, he being dead, could not answer, and we alive could not prove. And on these accounts hope the reverend gentleman who sent the letter will excuse us.

Also we have omitted, though our list of particulars promised such a thing, an account of some unthinking wretches, who passed over this judgment with banter, scoffing, and contempt. It is a subject ungrateful to recite, and full of horror to read; and we had much rather cover such actions with a general blank, in charity to the offenders, and in hopes of their amendment.

One unhappy accident I cannot omit, and which is brought us from good hands, and happened in a ship homeward bound from the West Indies. The ship was in the utmost danger of foundring; and when the master saw all, as he thought, lost, his masts gone, the ship leaky, and expecting her every moment to sink under him, filled with despair, he calls to him the surgeon of the ship, and by a fatal contract, as soon made as hastily executed, they resolved to prevent

the death they feared, by one more certain: and going into the cabin, they both shot themselves with their pistols. It pleased God the ship recovered the distress, was driven safe into ————, and the captain just lived to see the desperate course he took might have been spared; the surgeon died immediately.

There are several very remarkable cases come to our hands since the finishing this book, and several have been promised which are not come in; and the book having been so long promised, and so earnestly desired by several gentlemen that have already assisted that way, the undertakers could not prevail with themselves to delay it any longer.

THE STORM.

AN ESSAY, BY DANIEL DEFOE.

I'M told, for we have news among the dead,
  Heaven lately spoke, but few knew what it said;
  The voice in loudest tempests spoke,
And storms, which nature's strong foundation shook,
I felt it hither, and I'd have you know
I heard the voice, and knew the language too.
  Think it not strange I heard it here,
No place is so remote, but when he speaks they hear.
  Besides, tho' I am dead in fame,
  I never told you where I am.
  Tho' I have lost poetic breath,
  I'm not in perfect state of death:
From whence this Popish consequence I draw,
  I'm in the limbus of the law.
Let me be where I will I heard the storm,
From every blast it echo'd thus, REFORM;
I felt the mighty shock, and saw the night,
When guilt look'd pale, and own'd the fright;
  And every time the raging element
Shook London's lofty towers, at every rent
The falling timbers gave, they cry'd REPENT.
I saw, when all the stormy crew,
  Newly commission'd from on high,
Newly instructed what to do,
  In lowring cloudy troops drew nigh;
  They hover'd o'er the guilty land,
As if they had been backward to obey;
As if they wonder'd at the sad command,
  And pity'd those they should destroy.

But heaven, that long had gentler methods try'd
And saw those gentler methods all defy'd
  Had now resolved to be obey'd.
The Queen, an emblem of the soft still voice,
Had told the nation how to make their choice;
  Told them the only way to happiness
  Was by the blessed door of peace.
But the unhappy genius of the land,
Deaf to the blessing, as to the command,
  Scorn the high caution, and contemn the news,
  And all the blessed thoughts of peace refuse.
Since storms are then the nation's choice,
Be storms their portion, said the heavenly voice:
  He said, and I could hear no more,
So soon th' obedient troops began to roar:
  So soon the black'ning clouds drew near,
And fill'd with loudest storms the trembling air:
  I thought I felt the world's foundation shake,
And look'd when all the wond'rous frame would break.
  I trembl'd as the winds grew high,
And so did many a braver man than I;
For he whose valour scorns his sense,
Has chang'd his courage into impudence
  Man may to man his valour show,
  And 'tis his virtue to do so;
But if he's of his Maker not afraid,
He's not courageous then, but mad.

  Soon as I heard the horrid blast,
  And understood how long 'twould last,
View'd all the fury of the element,
  Consider'd well by whom 'twas sent,
And unto whom for punishment;
  It brought my hero to my mind,
William the glorious, great, and good, and kind,
  Short epithets to his just memory;
The first he was to all the world, the last to me.

The mighty genius to my thought appear'd,
  Just in the same concern he us'd to show,
  When private tempests used to blow,
Storms which the monarch more than death or battle fear'd,

When party fury shook his throne,
And made their mighty malice known,
I've heard the sighing monarch say,
The public peace so near him lay,
It took the pleasure of his crown away,
It fill'd with cares his royal breast.
Often he has those cares prophetically express'd,
That when he should the reins let to,
Heaven would some token of its anger show
To let the thankless nation see
How they despis'd their own felicity.
This robb'd the hero of his rest,
Disturb'd the calm of his serener breast.

When to the queen the sceptre he resign'd
With a resolv'd and steady mind,
Tho' he rejoic'd to lay the trifle down,
He pity'd her to whom he left the crown:
Foreseeing long and vig'rous wars,
Foreseeing endless, private, party jars,
Would always interrupt her rest,
And fill with anxious care her royal breast.
For storms of court ambition rage as high
Almost as tempests in the sky.

Could I my hasty doom retrieve,
And once more in the land of poets live,
I'd now the men of flags and fortune greet,
And write an elegy upon the fleet.
First, those that on the shore were idly found,
Whom other fate protects, while better men were drown'd,
They may thank God for being knaves on shore,
But sure the Queen will never trust them more.
They who rid out the storm, and liv'd,
But saw not whence it was deriv'd,
Senseless of danger, or the mighty hand,
That could to cease as well as blow command,
Let such unthinking creatures have a care,
For some worse end prepare.
Let them look out for some such day,
When what the sea would not, the gallows may.
Those that in former dangers shunn'd the fight,
But met their ends in this disast'rous night,

Have left this caution, tho' too late,
That all events are known to fate.
Cowards avoid no danger when they run,
And courage 'scapes the death it would not shun;
'Tis nonsense from our fate to fly,
All men must have heart enough to die.
Those sons of plunder are below my pen,
Because they are below the names of men;
Who from the shores presenting to their eyes
The fatal Goodwin, where the wreck of navies lies,
A thousand dying sailors talking to the skies.
From the sad shores they saw the wretches walk,
By signals of distress they talk;
There with one tide of life they're vext,
For all were sure to die the next.
The barbarous shores with men and boats abound,
The men more barbarous than the shores are found;
Off to the shatter'd ships they go,
And for the floating purchase row.
They spare no hazard, or no pain,
But 'tis to save the goods, and not the men,
Within the sinking suppliants reach appear,
As if they'd mock their dying fear.
Then for some trifle all their hopes supplant,
With cruelty would make a Turk relent.

If I had any Satire left to write,
Could I with suited spleen indite,
My verse should blast that fatal town,
And drown'd sailors' widows pull it down;
No footsteps of it should appear,
And ships no more cast anchor there.
The barbarous hated name of Deal shou'd die,
Or be a term of infamy;
And till that's done, the town will stand
A just reproach to all the land.

The ships come next to be my theme,
The men's the loss, I'm not concern'd for them;
For had they perish'd e'er they went,
Where to no purpose they were sent,

The ships might ha' been built again,
And we had sav'd the money and the men.
There the mighty wrecks appear,
Hic jacent, useless things of war.
Graves of men, and tools of state,
There you lie too soon, there you lie too late.
But O ye mighty ships of war!
What in winter did you there?
Wild November should our ships restore
To Chatham, Portsmouth, and the Nore.
So it was always heretofore;
For heaven itself is not unkind,
If winter storms he'll sometimes send,
Since 'tis supposed the men-of-war
Are all laid up and left secure.
Nor did our navy feel alone
The dreadful desolation;
It shook the walls of flesh as well as stone,
And ruffl'd all the nation,
The universal fright
Made guilty How expect his fatal night;
His harden'd soul began to doubt,
And storms grew high within as they grew high without.
Flaming meteors fill'd the air,
But Afgil miss'd his fiery chariot there;
Recall'd his black blaspheming breath,
And trembling paid his homage unto death.

Terror appear'd in every face,
Even vile Blackbourn felt some shocks of grace;
Began to feel the hated truth appear.
Began to fear,
After he had burlesqued a God so long,
He should at last be in the wrong.
Some power he plainly saw,
(And seeing, felt a strange unusual awe;)
Some secret hand he plainly found,
Was bringing some strange thing to pass,
And he that neither God nor devil own'd,
Must needs be at a loss to guess.
Fain he would not ha' guest the worst,
But guilt will always be with terror curst.

Hell shook, for devils dread Almighty power.
At every shock they fear'd the fatal hour,
The adamantine pillars mov'd,
And Satan's pandemonium trembl'd too;
The tottering seraphs wildly rov'd,
Doubtful what the Almighty meant to do;
For in the darkest of the black abode
There's not a devil but believes a God.
Old Lucifer has sometimes tried
To have himself be deifi'd;
But devils nor men the being of God denied,
Till men of late found out new ways to sin,
And turn'd the devil out to let the Atheist in.
But when the mighty element began,
And storms the weighty truth explain,
Almighty power upon the whirlwind rode,
And every blast proclaim'd aloud
There is, there is, there is, a God.

Plague, famine, pestilence, and war,
Are in their causes seen,
The true original appear
Before the effects begin:
But storms and tempests are above our rules,
Here our philosophers are fools.
The Stagirite himself could never show,
From whence, nor how they blow.
'Tis all sublime, 'tis all a mystery,
They see no manner how, nor reason why;
All Sovereign Being is our amazing theme,
'Tis all resolv'd to power supreme;
From this first cause our tempest came,
And let the Atheists 'spite of sense blaspheme,
They can no room for banter find,
Till they produce another father for the wind.

Satire, thy sense of sovereign being declare,
He made the mighty prince o' th' air,
And devils recognize him by their fear.

Ancient as time, and elder than the light,
E're the first day, or antecedent night,

E're matter into settl'd form became,
And long before existence had a name;
Before th' expanse of indigested space,
While the vast no-where filled the room of place.
Liv'd the First Cause, the first great Where and Why,
Existing to and from eternity,
Of his great Self, and of necessity.
This I call God, that one great word of fear,
At whose great sound,
When from his mighty breath 'tis echo'd round,
Nature pays homage with a trembling bow,
And conscious man would faintly disallow;
The secret trepidation racks the soul,
And while he says, No God, replies, Thou fool.
But call it what we will,
First being it had, does space and substance fill.
Eternal self-existing power enjoy'd,
And whatso'er is so, that same is God.

If then it should fall out, as who can tell,
But that there is a heaven and hell,
Mankind had best consider well for fear
'T should be too late when their mistakes appear;
Such may in vain reform,
Unless they do't before another storm.

They tell us Scotland 'scaped the blast;
No nation else have been without a taste:
All Europe sure have felt the mighty shock,
'T has been a universal stroke.
But heaven has other ways to plague the Scots,
As poverty and plots.
Her majesty confirms it, what she said,
I plainly heard it, though I'm dead.

The dangerous sound has rais'd me from my sleep,
I can no longer silence keep;
Here satire's thy deliverance,
A plot in Scotland, hatch'd in France,
And liberty the old pretence.
Prelatic power with Popish join,
The queen's just government to undermine;

This is enough to wake the dead,
The call 's too loud, it never shall be said
The lazy Satire slept too long,
When all the nation's danger claim'd his song;

Rise Satire from thy sleep of legal death,
And reassume satiric breath;
What though to seven years' sleep thou art confin'd,
Thou well may'st wake with such a wind.
Such blasts as these can seldom blow,
But they're both form'd above and heard below.
Then wake and warn us now the storm is past.
Lest heaven return with a severer blast.
Wake and inform mankind
Of storms that still remain behind.
If from this grave thou lift thy head,
They'll surely mind one risen from the dead.
Though Moses and the prophets can't prevail,
A speaking satire cannot fail.
Tell 'em while secret discontents appear,
There'll ne'er be peace and union here.
They that for trifles so contend,
Have something farther in their end;
But let those hasty people know,
The storms above reprove the storms below.
And 'tis too often known;
That storms below do storms above fore-run;

They say this was a high church storm,
Sent out the nation to reform;
But th' emblem left the moral in the lurch,
For 't blew the steeple down upon the church.
From whence we now inform the people,
The danger of the church is from the steeple.
And we've had many a bitter stroke,
From pinnacle and weather-cock;
From whence the learned do relate,
That to secure the church and state,
The time will come when all the town,
To save the church, will pull the steeple down.

Two tempests are blown over, now prepare
For storms of treason and intestine war.
The high-church fury to the north extends,
In haste to ruin all their friends.
Occasional conforming led the way,
And now occasional rebellion comes in play,
To let the wond'ring nation know,
That high-church honesty 's an empty show,
A phantom of delusive air,
That as occasion serves can disappear,
And loyalty 's a senseless phrase,
An empty nothing which our interest sways,
And as that suffers this decays.

Who dare the dangerous secret tell,
That churchmen can rebel.
Faction we thought was by the Whigs engross'd,
And forty-one was banter'd till the jest was lost.
Bothwell and Pentland hills were fam'd,
And Gilly Cranky hardly nam'd.
If living poets dare not speak,
We that are dead must silence break;
And boldly let them know the time's at hand,
When Ecclesiastic tempests shake the land.
Prelatic treason from the crown divides,
And now rebellion changes sides.
Their volumes with their loyalty may swell,
But in their turns too they rebel;
Can plot, contrive, assassinate,
And spite of passive laws disturb the state.
Let fair pretences fill the mouths of men,
No fair pretence shall blind my pen;
They that in such a reign as this rebel,
Must needs be in confederacy with hell.
Oppressions, tyranny, and pride,
May form some reasons to divide;
But where the laws with open justice rule,
He that rebels must be both knave and fool.
May heaven the growing mischief soon prevent,
And traitors meet reward in punishment.

THE

TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN:

A

SATIRE.

Statuimus pacem, et securitatem et concordiam judicum et justiciam inter Anglos et Normannos, Francos et Britanes, Walliæ, et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos, Albaniæ, similiter inter Francos et insulanos provincias et patrias, quæ pertinent ad coronam nostram, et inter omnes nobis subjectos firmiter et inviolabiliter observare.

Charta Regis Gullielmi Conquisitoris de Pacis Publica, cap. i.

DANIEL DEFOE, incensed at the cry against foreigners, which the opponents of King William excited against his Dutch favourites and guards, composed the following Satire in their defence. It was written especially in answer to Tutchin's "Foreigner," an abusive poem.

AN

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

It is not that I see any reason to alter my opinion in any thing I have writ, which occasions this epistle; but I find it necessary for the satisfaction of some persons of honour, as well as wit, to pass a short explication upon it; and tell the world what I mean, or rather, what I do not mean, in some things wherein I find I am liable to be misunderstood.

I confess myself something surpris'd to hear that I am taxed with bewraying my own nest, and abusing our nation, by discovering the meanness of our original, in order to make the English contemptible abroad and at home; in which, I think, they are mistaken: for why should not our neighbours be as good as we to derive from? And I must add, that had we been an unmix'd nation, I am of opinion it had been to our disadvantage: for to go no farther, we have three nations about us as clear from mixtures of blood as any in the world, and I know not which of them I could wish ourselves to be like; I mean the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish; and if I were to write a reverse to the Satire, I would examine all the nations of Europe, and prove, that those nations which are most mix'd, are the best, and have least of barbarism and brutality among them; and abundance of reasons might be given for it, too long to bring into a Preface.

But I give this hint, to let the world know, that I am far from thinking, 'tis a Satire upon the English nation, to tell them, they are derived from all the nations under heaven; that is, from several nations. Nor is it meant to undervalue the original of the English, for we see no reason to like them worse, being the relicts of Romans, Danes, Saxons and Normans, than we should have done if they had remain'd Britons, that is, than if they had been all Welshmen.

But the intent of the Satire is pointed at the vanity of those who talk of their antiquity, and value themselves upon their pedigree, their ancient families, and being true-born; whereas 'tis impossible we should be true-born: and if we could, should have lost by the bargain.

These sort of people, who call themselves true-born, and tell long stories of their families, and like a nobleman of Venice, think a foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the street with them, are own'd to be meant in this Satire. What they would infer from their long original, I know not, nor is it easy to make out whether they are the better or the worse for their ancestors: our English nation may value themselves for their wit, wealth and courage, and I believe few nations will dispute it with them; but for long originals, and ancient true-born families of English, I would advise them to wave the discourse. A true Englishman is one that deserves a character, and I have nowhere lessened him, that I know of; but as for a true-born Englishman, I confess I do not understand him.

From hence I only infer, that an Englishman, of all men, ought not to despise foreigners as such, and I think the inference is just, since what they are to day, we were yesterday, and to-morrow they will be like us. If foreigners misbehave in their several stations and employments, I have nothing to do with that; the laws are open to punish them equally with natives, and let them have no favour.

But when I see the town full of lampoons and invectives against Dutchmen, only because they are foreigners, and the king reproached and insulted by insolent pedants, and ballad-making poets, for employing foreigners, and for being a foreigner himself, I confess myself moved by it to remind our nation of their own original, thereby to let them see what a banter is put upon ourselves in it; since speaking of Englishmen *ab origine*, we are really all foreigners ourselves.

I could go on to prove it is also impolitic in us to discourage foreigners; since it is easy to make it appear that the multitudes of foreign nations who have taken sanctuary here, have been the greatest additions to the wealth and strength of the nation; the essential whereof is the number of its inhabitants; nor would this nation ever have arrived to the degree of wealth and glory it now boasts of, if the addition of foreign nations, both as to manufactures and

arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is ignorant of it, is too dull to be talked with.

The Satire therefore I must allow to be just, till I am otherwise convinced; because nothing can be more ridiculous than to hear our people boast of that antiquity, which if it had been true, would have left us in so much worse a condition than we are in now: whereas we ought rather to boast among our neighbours, that we are part of themselves, of the same original as they, but bettered by our climate, and like our language and manufactures, derived from them, and improved by us to a perfection greater than they can pretend to.

This we might have valued ourselves upon without vanity; but to disown our descent from them, talk big of our ancient families, and long originals, and stand at a distance from foreigners, like the enthusiast in religion, with a Stand off, I am more holy than thou: this is a thing so ridiculous, in a nation derived from foreigners, as we are, that I could not but attack them as I have done.

And whereas I am threatened to be called to a public account for this freedom; and the publisher of this has been newspapered into gaol already for it; tho' I see nothing in it for which the government can be displeased; yet if at the same time those people who with an unlimited arrogance in print, every day affront the king, prescribe the parliament, and lampoon the government, may be either punished or restrained, I am content to stand and fall by the public justice of my native country, which I am not sensible I have anywhere injured.

Nor would I be misunderstood concerning the clergy; with whom, if I have taken any license more than becomes a Satire, I question not but those gentlemen, who are men of letters, are also men of so much candor, as to allow me a loose at the crimes of the guilty, without thinking the whole profession lashed who are innocent. I profess to have very mean thoughts of those gentlemen who have deserted their own principles, and exposed even their morals as well as loyality; but not at all to think it affects any but such as are concerned in the fact.

Nor would I be misrepresented as to the ingratitude of the English to the king and his friends; as if I meant the English as a nation, are so. The contrary is so apparent,

that I would hope it should not be suggested of me: and, therefore when I have brought in Britannia speaking of the king, I suppose her to be the representative or mouth of the nation, as a body. But if I say we are full of such who daily affront the king, and abuse his friends; who print scurrilous pamphlets, virulent lampoons, and reproachful public banters, against both the king's person and his government; I say nothing but what is too true; and that the Satire is directed at such, I freely own; and cannot say, but I should think it very hard to be censured for this Satire, while such remain unquestioned and tacitly approved. That I can mean none but such, is plain from these few lines, page 453.

> Ye heavens regard! Almighty Jove, look down,
> And view thy injured monarch on the throne.
> On their ungrateful heads due vengeance take,
> Who sought his aid, and then his part forsake.

If I have fallen rudely upon our vices, I hope none but the vicious will be angry. As for writing for interest, I disown it; I have neither place, nor pension, nor prospect; nor seek none, nor will have none: if matter of fact justifies the truth of the crimes, the Satire is just. As to the poetic liberties, I hope the crime is pardonable; I am content to be stoned, provided none will attack me but the innocent.

If my countrymen would take the hint, and grow better natured from my ill-natured poem as some call it; I would say this of it, that though it is far from the best Satire that ever was wrote, it would do the most good that ever Satire did.

And yet I am ready to ask pardon of some gentlemen too; who though they are Englishmen, have good nature enough to see themselves reproved, and can hear it. These are gentlemen in a true sense, that can bare to be told of their *faux pas*, and not abuse the reprover. To such I must say, this is no Satire; they are exceptions to the general rule; and I value my performance from their generous approbation, more than I can from any opinion I have of its worth.

The hasty errors of my verse I made my excuse for before; and since the time I have been upon it has been but little, and my leisure less, I have all along strove rather to make the thoughts explicit, than the poem correct. However, I have

mended some faults in this edition, and the rest must be placed to my account.

As to answers, banters, true English Billingsgate, I expect them till nobody will buy, and then the shop will be shut. Had I wrote it for the gain of the press, I should have been concerned at its being printed again, and again, by pirates, as they call them, and paragraph-men; but would they but do it justice, and print it true, according to the copy, they are welcome to sell it for a penny, if they please.

The pence, indeed, is the end of their works. I will engage if nobody will buy, nobody will write: and not a patriot poet of them all, now will in defence of his native country which I have abused, they say, print an answer to it, and give it about for God's sake

PREFACE.

THE end of satire is reformation: and the author, though he doubt the work of conversion is at a general stop, has put his hand in the plough. I expect a storm of ill language from the fury of the town. And especially from those whose English talent it is to rail: and, without being taken for a conjuror, I may venture to foretel, that I shall be cavilled at about my mean style, rough verse, and incorrect language, things I indeed might have taken more care in. But the book is printed; and though I see some faults, it is too late to mend them. And this is all I think needful to say to them.

Possibly somebody may take me for a Dutchman; in which they are mistaken: but I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to strangers, and to governors also, that one might not be reproached in foreign countries for belonging to a nation that wants manners.

I assure you, gentlemen, strangers use us better abroad, and we can give no reason but our ill-nature for the contrary here.

Methinks an Englishman who is so proud of being called a good fellow, should be civil. And it cannot be denied, but we are, in many cases, and particularly to strangers, the most churlish people alive.

As to vices, who can dispute our intemperance, while an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise? All our reformations are banters, and will be so till our magistrates and gentry reform themselves, by way of example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing.

As to our ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that

particular people, who pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavoured to reduce the liberties and religion of this nation into the hands of King James and his Popish powers: together with such who enjoy the peace and protection of the present government, and yet abuse and affront the king who procured it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him: these, by whatsoever names or titles they are dignified or distinguished, are the people aimed at; nor do I disown, but that it is so much the temper of an Englishman to abuse his benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.

They who think I have been guilty of any error, in exposing the crimes of my own countrymen to themselves, may, among many honest instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr. Cowley, in his imitation of the second Olympic Ode of Pindar; his words are these:—

> But in this thankless world, the givers
> Are envied even by the receivers.
> 'Tis now the cheap and frugal fashion,
> Rather to hide than pay an obligation.
> Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
> It now an artifice doth grow,
> Wrongs and outrages they do,
> Lest men should think we owe.

THE INTRODUCTION.

SPEAK, Satire, for there's none can tell like thee,
Whether 'tis folly, pride, or knavery,
That makes this discontented land appear
Less happy now in times of peace, than war:
Why civil feuds disturb the nation more,
Than all our bloody wars have done before.

FOOLS out of favour grudge at knaves in place,
And men are always honest in disgrace:
The court preferments make men knaves in course;
But they which wou'd be in them wou'd be worse.
'Tis not at foreigners that we repine,
Wou'd foreigners their perquisites resign:
The grand contention's plainly to be seen,
To get some men put out, and some put in.
For this our Senators make long harangues.
And florid Ministers whet their polish'd tongues.
Statesmen are always sick of one disease;
And a good pension gives them present ease.
That's the specific makes them all content
With any King and any government.
Good patriots at court abuses rail,
And all the nation's grievances bewail:
But when the sov'reign balsam's once apply'd,
The zealot never fails to change his side;
And when he must the golden key resign,
The railing spirit comes about again.

WHO shall this bubbl'd nation disabuse,
While they their own felicities refuse?
Who at the wars have made such mighty pother,
And now are falling out with one another
With needless fears the jealous nations fill,
And always have been sav'd against their will

Who fifty millions sterling have disburs'd
To be with peace, and too much plenty, curs'd;
Who their old monarch eagerly undo,
And yet uneasily obey the new.
Search, Satire, search; a deep incision make:
The poison's strong, the antidote's too weak.
Tis pointed truth must manage this dispute,
And down-right English, Englishmen confute.

WHET thy just anger at the nation's pride;
And with keen phrase repel the vicious tide,
To Englishmen their own beginnings show,
And ask them, why they slight their neighbours so
Go back to elder times, and ages past,
And nations into long oblivion cast;
To elder Britain's youthful days retire,
And there for true-born Englishmen inquire,
Britannia freely will disown the name,
And hardly knows herself from whence they came;
Wonders that they of all men should pretend
To birth, and blood, and for a name contend.
Go back to causes where our follies dwell,
And fetch the dark original from hell:
Speak, Satire, for there's none like thee can tell.

THE

TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

PART I.

WHEREVER God erects a house of prayer,
The Devil always builds a chapel there:
And 'twill be found upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation:
For ever since he first debauch'd the mind,
He made a perfect conquest of mankind.
With uniformity of service, he
Reigns with general aristocracy.
No non-conforming sects disturb his reign,
For of his yoke, there's very few complain.
He knows the genius and the inclination,
And matches proper sins for ev'ry nation.
He needs no standing army government;
He always rules us by our own consent:
His laws are easy, and his gentle sway
Makes it exceeding pleasant to o bey.
The list of his vicegerents and commanders,
Out-does your Cæsars, or your Alexanders.
They never fail of his infernal aid,
And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd.
Thro' all the world they spread his vast command,
And death's eternal empire is maintain'd.
They rule so politicly and so well,
As if they were Lords Justices of hell;
Duly divided to debauch mankind,
And plant infernal dictates in his mind.

PRIDE, the first peer, and president of hell,
To his sh re, Spain, the largest province fell.

The subtle Prince thought fittest to bestow
On these the golden mines of Mexico,
With all the silver mountains of Peru;
Wealth which in wise hands would the world undo:
Because he knew their genius was such,
Too lazy and too haughty to be rich:
So proud a people, so above their fate,
That, if reduced to beg, they 'll beg in state:
Lavish of money, to be counted brave,
And proudly starve, because they scorn to save;
Never was nation in the world before,
So very rich, and yet so very poor.

LUST chose the torrid zone of Italy,
Where blood ferments in rapes and sodomy:
Where swelling veins o'erflow with living streams,
With heat impregnate from Vesuvian flames;
Whose flowing sulphur forms infernal lakes,
And human body of the soil partakes.
There nature ever burns with hot desires,
Fann'd with luxuriant air from subterranean fires:
Here undisturbed, in floods of scalding lust,
Th' infernal king reigns with infernal gust.

DRUNKENNESS, the darling favourite of hell,
Chose Germany to rule; and rules so well,
No subjects more obsequiously obey,
None please so well, or are so pleased as they;
The cunning artist manages so well,
He lets them bow to heav'n, and drink to hell.
If but to wine and him they homage pay,
He cares not to what deity they pray;
What god they worship most, or in what way.
Whether by Luther, Calvin, or by Rome,
They sail for heaven, by wine he steers them home.

UNGOVERN'D PASSION settled first in France,
Where mankind lives in haste, and thrives by chance;
A dancing nation, fickle and untrue,
Have oft undone themselves, and others too;
Prompt the infernal dictates to obey,
And in hell's favour none more great than they.

The pagan world he blindly leads away,
And personally rules with arbitrary sway:
The mask thrown off, plain devil, his title stands;
And what elsewhere he tempts, he there commands;
There, with full gust, th' ambition of his mind,
Governs, as he of old in heaven design'd:
Worshipp'd as God, his Paynim altars smoke,
Imbrued with blood of those that him invoke.

The rest by deputies he rules so well,
And plants the distant colonies of hell;
By them his secret power he firm maintains,
And binds the world in his infernal chains.

By zeal the Irish, and the Russ by folly,
Fury the Dane, the Swede by melancholy;
By stupid ignorance, the Muscovite;
The Chinese, by a child of hell, call'd wit;
Wealth makes the Persian too effeminate;
And poverty the Tartar desperate:
The Turks and Moors, by Mah'met he subdues;
And God has given him leave to rule the Jews:
Rage rules the Portuguese, and fraud the Scotch;
Revenge the Pole, and avarice the Dutch.

Satire, be kind, and draw a silent veil,
Thy native England's vices to conceal:
Or, if that task 's impossible to do,
At least be just, and show her virtues too;
Too great the first, alas! the last too few.

England, unknown, as yet unpeopled lay,—
Happy, had she remain'd so to this day,
And still to ev'ry nation been a prey.
Her open harbours, and her fertile plains,
The merchant's glory these, and those the swain's,
To ev'ry barbarous nation have betray'd her;
Who conquer her as oft as they invade her,
So beauty, guarded out by Innocence,
That ruins her which should be her defence.

Ingratitude, a devil of black renown,
Possess'd her very early for his own:

An ugly, surly, sullen, selfish spirit,
Who Satan's worst perfections does inherit;
Second to him in malice and in force,
All devil without, and all within him worse.

He made her first-born race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdued;
By sev'ral crowds of wandering thieves o'er-run
Often unpeopled, and as oft undone;
While ev'ry nation that her powers reduced,
Their languages and manners introduced;
From whose mix'd relics our compounded breed,
By spurious generation does succeed;
Making a race uncertain and uneven,
Derived from all the nations under heaven.

The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greek, and Lombards; and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sweno came,
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.
Scots, Picts, and Irish from th' Hibernian shore;
And conq'ring William brought the Normans o'er.

All these their barb'rous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind;
Blended with Britons, who before were here,
Of whom the Welch ha' blest the character.

From this amphibious, ill-born mob began,
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman.
The customs, sirnames, languages, and manners,
Of all these nations, are their own explainers;
Whose relics are so lasting and so strong,
They've left a Shiboleth upon our tongue;
By which, with easy search, you may distinguish
Your Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English.

The great invading Norman let us know
What conquerors in after-times might do.
To every musqueteer he brought to town,
He gave the lands which never were his own;

When first the English crown he did obtain,
He did not send his Dutchmen home again.
No re-assumptions in his reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his book alone.
No parliament his army could disband;
He raised no money, for he paid in land.
He gave his legions their eternal station,
And made them all freeholders of the nation.
He canton'd out the country to his men,
And every soldier was a denizen.
The rascals thus enrich'd, he called them lords,
To please their upstart pride with new-made words,
And doomsday book his tyranny records.

And here begins the ancient pedigree
That so exalts our poor nobility.
'Tis that from some French trooper they derive,
Who with the Norman bastard did arrive:
The trophies of the families appear;
Some show the sword, the bow, and some the spear,
Which their great ancestor, forsooth, did wear.
These in the herald's register remain,
Their noble mean extraction to explain,
Yet who the hero was no man can tell,
Whether a drummer or a colonel:
The silent record blushes to reveal
Their undescended dark original.

But grant the best. How came the change to pass;
A true-born Englishman of Norman race?
A Turkish horse can show more history,
To prove his well-descended family.
Conquest, as by the moderns 'tis express'd,
May give a title to the lands possess'd;
But that the longest sword should be so civil,
To make a Frenchman English, that's the devil.

These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones
Who ransack'd kingdoms, and dispeopled towns;

The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought;
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-hair'd offspring everywhere remains;
Who, join'd with Norman French, compound the breed
From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed.

And lest, by length of time, it be pretended,
The climate may this modern breed have mended;
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care;
We have been Europe's sink, the jakes, where she
Voids all her offal out-cast progeny;
From our fifth Henry's time the strolling bands,
Of banish'd fugitives from neighb'ring lands,
Have here a certain sanctuary found:
The eternal refuge of the vagabond,
Where in but half a common age of time,
Borrowing new blood and manners from the clime,
Proudly they learn all mankind to contemn,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

Dutch Walloons, Flemmings, Irishmen, and Scots,
Vaudois, and Valtolins, and Hugonots,
In good Queen Bess's charitable reign,
Supplied us with three hundred thousand men:
Religion—God, we thank thee!—sent them hither,
Priests, Protestants, the devil, and all together;
Of all professions, and of ev'ry trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid:
Whether for debt, or other crimes, they fled,
David at Hackelah was still their head.

The offspring of this miscellaneous crowd,
Had not their new plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew Englishmen, and raised their votes,
At foreign shoals of interloping Scots;
The royal branch from Pict-land did succeed,
With troops of Scots and scabs from north of Tweed;
The seven first years of his pacific reign,
Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods came whigging all away,

Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd;
With native truth, diseases, and no money,
Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey;
Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

THE civil wars, the common purgative,
Which always use to make the nation thrive,
Made way for all that strolling congregation,
Which throng'd in pious Charles's restoration.
The royal refugee our breed restores,
With foreign courtiers, and with foreign whores:
And carefully re-peopled us again,
Throughout his lazy, long, lascivious reign,
With such a blest and true-born English fry,
As much illustrates our nobility.
A gratitude which will so black appear,
As future ages must abhor to bear:
When they look back on all that crimson flood,
Which stream'd in Lindsey's, and Caernarvon's blood;
Bold Strafford, Cambridge, Capel, Lucas, Lisle,
Who crown'd in death his father's fun'ral pile.
The loss of whom, in order to supply
With true-born English nobility,
Six bastard dukes survive his luscious reign,
The labours of Italian Castlemain,
French Portsmouth, Tabby Scott, and Cambrian;
Besides the num'rous bright and virgin throng,
Whose female glories shade them from my song.
This offspring if our age they multiply,
May half the house with English peers supply:
There with true English pride they may contemn
Schomberg and Portland, new-made noblemen.

FRENCH cooks, Scotch pedlars, and Italian whores,
Were all made lords or lords' progenitors.
Beggars and bastards by this new creation
Much multiplied the peerage of the nation;
Who will be all, ere one short age runs o'er,
As true-born lords as those we had before.

THEN to recruit the commons he prepares,
And heal the latent breaches of the wars;
The pious purpose better to advance,
He invites the banish'd Protestants of France;
Hither for God's sake, and their own, they fled
Some for religion came, and some for bread:
Two hundred thousand pair of wooden shoes,
Who, God be thank'd, had nothing left to lose;
To heaven's great praise did for religion fly,
To make us starve our poor in charity.
In ev'ry port they plant their fruitful train,
To get a race of true-born Englishmen;
Whose children will, when riper years they see,
Be as ill-natured, and as proud as we;
Call themselves English, foreigners despise,
Be surly like us all, and just as wise.

THUS from a mixture of all kinds began,
That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman:
In eager rapes, and furious lust begot,
Betwixt a painted Briton and a Scot:
Whose gend'ring offspring quickly learn'd to bow,
And yoke their heifers to the Roman plough;
From whence a mongrel half-bred race there came,
With neither name nor nation, speech or fame,
In whose hot veins new mixtures quickly ran,
Infused betwixt a Saxon and a Dane;
While their rank daughters, to their parents just,
Received all nations with promiscuous lust.
This nauseous brood directly did contain
The well-extracted blood of Englishmen.

WHICH medley, canton'd in a heptarchy,
A rhapsody of nations to supply,
Among themselves maintain'd eternal wars,
And still the ladies loved the conquerors.

THE Western Angles all the rest subdued,
A bloody nation, barbarous and rude;
Who by the tenure of the sword possess'd
One part of Britain, and subdued the rest:
And as great things denominate the small,
The conquering part gave title to the whole;

The Scot, Pict, Briton, Roman, Dane, submit,
And with the English Saxon all unite:
And these the mixture have so close pursued,
The very name and memory's subdued;
No Roman now, no Briton does remain;
Wales strove to separate, but strove in vain:
The silent nations undistinguish'd fall,
And Englishman's the common name for all.
Fate jumbled them together, God knows how;
Whate'er they were, they're true-born English now.

THE wonder which remains is at our pride,
To value that which all wise men deride;
For Englishmen to boast of generation
Cancels their knowledge, and lampoons the nation,
A true-born Englishman's a contradiction,
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction:
A banter made to be a test of fools,
Which those that use it justly ridicules;
A metaphor intended to express,
A man a-kin to all the universe.

FOR as the Scots, as learned men have said,
Throughout the world their wand'ring seed have spread,
So open-handed England, 'tis believed,
Has all the gleanings of the world received.

SOME think of England, 'twas our Saviour meant,
The Gospel should to all the world be sent:
Since when the blessed sound did hither reach,
They to all nations might be said to preach.

'TIS well that virtue gives nobility,
Else God knows where had we our gentry,
Since scarce one family is left alive,
Which does not from some foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand English gentlemen,
Whose names and arms in registers remain,
We challenge all our heralds to declare
Ten families which English Saxons are.

FRANCE justly boasts the ancient noble line
Of Bourbon, Montmorency, and Lorraine.

The Germans too, their house of Austria show,
And Holland, their invincible Nassau.
Lines which in heraldry were ancient grown,
Before the name of Englishman was known.
Even Scotland, too, her elder glory shows,
Her Gordons, Hamiltons, and her Monro's;
Douglas', Mackays, and Grahams, names well known,
Long before ancient England knew her own.

But England, modern to the last degree,
Borrows or makes her own nobility,
And yet she boldly boasts of pedigree;
Repines that foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her antiquity and honour:
Her Sackvills, Savils, Cecils, Delamers,
Mohuns, Montagues, Duras, and Veeres,
Not one have English names, yet all are English peers.
Your Houblons, Papillons, and Lethuliers,
Pass now for true-born English knights and squires,
And make good senate-members, or lord-mayors.
Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes.
Antiquity and birth are needless here;
'Tis impudence and money makes a peer.

Innumerable city knights we know,
From Blue-coat Hospitals, and Bridewell flow.
Draymen and porters fill the city chair,
And foot-boys magisterial purple wear.
Fate has but very small distinction set
Betwixt the counter and the coronet.
Tarpaulin lords, pages of high renown,
Rise up by poor men's valour, not their own;
Great families of yesterday we show,
And lords, whose parents were the Lord knows who.

PART II.

THE breed's described: now, Satire, if you can,
Their temper show, for manners make the man.
Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
And less inclined to conquer than to save;
Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
And equally of fear and forecast void.
The Pict has made them sour, the Dane morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What honesty they have, the Saxon gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The climate makes them terrible and bold:
And English beef their courage does uphold:
No danger can their daring spirit dull,
Always provided when their belly's full.

IN close intrigues, their faculty's but weak;
For, gen'rally, whate'er they know they speak.
And often their own councils undermine
By their infirmity, and not design.
From whence, the learned say, it does proceed,
That English treason never can succeed:
For they're so open-hearted, you may know
Their own most secret thoughts, and others too.

THE lab'ring poor, in spite of double pay,
Are saucy, mutinous, and beggarly;
So lavish of their money and their time,
That want of forecast is the nation's crime.
Good drunken company is their delight;
And what they get by day they spend by night.
Dull thinking seldom does their heads engage,
But drink their youth away, and hurry on old age.
Empty of all good husbandry and sense;
And void of manners most when void of pence.
Their strong aversion to behaviour's such,
They always talk too little or too much.
So dull, they never take the pains to think;
And seldom are good natured but in drink.

In English ale their dear enjoyment lies,
For which they starve themselves and families.
An Englishman will fairly drink as much,
As will maintain two families of Dutch:
Subjecting all their labours to the pots;
The greatest artists are the greatest sots.
The country poor do by example live;
The gentry lead them, and the clergy drive;
What may we not from such examples hope?
The landlord is their god, the priest their pope;
A drunken clergy, and a swearing bench,
Has given the reformation such a drench,
As wise men think, there is some cause to doubt,
Will purge good manners and religion out.

Nor do the poor alone their liquor prize,
The sages join in this great sacrifice;
The learned men who study Aristotle,
Correct him with an explanation bottle:
Praise Epicurus rather than Lysander,
And Aristippus more than Alexander;
The doctors too their Galen here resign,
And generally prescribe specific wine;
The graduate's study's grown an easy task,
While for the urinal they toss the flask;
The surgeon's art grows plainer every hour,
And wine's the balm which into wounds they pour.

Poets long since Parnassus have forsaken,
And say the ancient bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good king Bacchus reigneth in his stead:
He does the chaos of the head refine,
And atom thoughts jump into words by wine:
The inspiration's of a finer nature,
As wine must needs excel Parnassus water.

Statesmen their weighty politics refine,
And soldiers raise their courages by wine.
Cecilia gives her choristers their choice,
And lets them all drink wine to clear the voice.

Some think the clergy first found out the way,
And wine's the only spirit by which they pray.
But others, less profane than so, agree,
It clears the lungs, and helps the memory:
And, therefore, all of them divinely think,
Instead of study, 'tis as well to drink.

And here I would be very glad to know,
Whether our Asgilites may drink or no;
The enlightening fumes of wine would certainly
Assist them much when they begin to fly;
Or if a fiery chariot should appear,
Inflamed by wine, they'd have the less to fear.

Even the gods themselves, as mortals say,
Were they on earth, would be as drunk as they:
Nectar would be no more celestial drink,
They'd all take wine, to teach them how to think.
But English drunkards, gods and men outdo,
Drink their estates away, and senses too.
Colon's in debt, and if his friend should fail
To help him out, must die at last in jail:
His wealthy uncle sent a hundred nobles,
To pay his trifles off, and rid him of his troubles:
But Colon, like a true-born Englishman,
Drunk all the money out in bright champaign,
And Colon does in custody remain.
Drunk'ness has been the darling of the realm,
E'er since a drunken pilot had the helm.

In their religion, they're so uneven,
That each man goes his own byway to heaven.
Tenacious of mistakes to that degree,
That ev'ry man pursues it sep'rately,
And fancies none can find the way but he:
So shy of one another they are grown,
As if they strove to get to heaven alone.
Rigid and zealous, positive and grave,
And ev'ry grace, but charity, they have;
This makes them so ill-natured and uncivil,
That all men think an Englishman the devil.

SURLY to strangers, froward to their friend,
Submit to love with a reluctant mind,
Resolved to be ungrateful and unkind.
If, by necessity, reduced to ask,
The giver has the difficultest task:
For what's bestow'd they awkardly receive,
And always take less freely than they give:
The obligation is their highest grief,
They never love where they accept relief;
So sullen in their sorrows, that 'tis known
They'll rather die than their afflictions own;
And if relieved, it is too often true,
That they'll abuse their benefactors too;
For in distress their haughty stomach's such,
They hate to see themselves obliged too much;
Seldom contented, often in the wrong,
Hard to be pleased at all, and never long.

IF your mistakes there ill opinion gain,
No merit can their favour re-obtain:
And if they're not vindictive in their fury,
'Tis their inconstant temper does secure ye:
Their brain's so cool, their passion seldom burns;
For all's condensed before the flame returns:
The fermentation's of so weak a matter,
The humid damps the flame, and runs it all to water;
So though the inclination may be strong,
They're pleased by fits, and never angry long:

THEN, if good-nature show some slender proof,
They never think they have reward enough;
But, like our modern Quakers of the town,
Expect your manners, and return you none.

FRIENDSHIP, th' abstracted union of the mind,
Which all men seek, but very few can find;
Of all the nations in the universe,
None can talk on't more, or understand it less;
For if it does their property annoy,
Their property their friendship will destroy.
As you discourse them, you shall hear them tell
All things in which they think they do excel:

No panegyric needs their praise record,
An Englishman ne'er wants his own good word.
His first discourses gen'rally appear,
Prologued with his own wond'rous character:
When, to illustrate his own good name,
He never fails his neighbour to defame.
And yet he really designs no wrong,
His malice goes no further than his tongue.
But, pleased to tattle, he delights to rail,
To satisfy the letch'ry of a tale.
His own dear praises close the ample speech,
Tells you how wise he is, that is, how rich:
For wealth is wisdom; he that's rich is wise;
And all men learned poverty despise:
His generosity comes next, and then
Concludes, that he's a true-born Englishman;
And they, 'tis known, are generous and free,
Forgetting, and forgiving injury:
Which may be true, thus rightly understood,
Forgiving ill turns, and forgetting good.

Cheerful in labour when they've undertook it,
But out of humour, when they're out of pocket.
But if their belly and their pocket's full,
They may be phlegmatic, but never dull:
And if a bottle does their brains refine,
It makes their wit as sparkling as their wine.

As for the general vices which we find,
They're guilty of in common with mankind,
Satire forbear, and silently endure,
We must conceal the crimes we cannot cure;
Nor shall my verse the brighter sex defame,
For English beauty will preserve her name;
Beyond dispute agreeable and fair,
And modester than other nations are;
For where the vice prevails, the great temptation
Is want of money more than inclination;
In general this only is allow'd,
They're something noisy, and a little proud.

An Englishman is gentlest in command,
Obedience is a stranger in the land:

Hardly subjected to the magistrate;
For Englishmen do all subjection hate.
Humblest when rich, but peevish when they're poor,
And think what'er they have, they merit more.

THE meanest English plowman studies law,
And keeps thereby the magistrates in awe,
Will boldly tell them what they ought to do,
And sometimes punish their omissions too.

THEIR liberty and property's so dear,
They scorn their laws or governors to fear;
So bugbear'd with the name of slavery,
They can't submit to their own liberty.
Restraint from ill is freedom to the wise!
But Englishmen do all restraint despise.
Slaves to the liquor, drudges to the pots;
The mob are statesmen, and their statesmen sots.

THEIR governors, they count such dang'rous things,
That 'tis their custom to affront their kings:
So jealous of the power their kings possess'd,
They suffer neither power nor kings to rest.
The bad with force they eagerly subdue;
The good with constant clamours they pursue,
And did King Jesus reign, they'd murmur too.
A discontented nation, and by far
Harder to rule in times of peace than war:
Easily set together by the ears,
And full of causeless jealousies and fears:
Apt to revolt, and willing to rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
No government could ever please them long,
Could tie their hands, or rectify their tongue.
In this, to ancient Israel well compared,
Eternal murmurs are among them heard.

IT was but lately, that they were oppress'd,
Their rights invaded, and their laws suppress'd:
When nicely tender of their liberty,
Lord! what a noise they made of slavery.
In daily tumults show'd their discontent,
Lampoon'd their king, and mock'd his government.

And if in arms they did not first appear,
'Twas want of force, and not for want of fear.
In humbler tone than English used to do,
At foreign hands for foreign aid they sue.

WILLIAM, the great successor of Nassau,
Their prayers heard, and their oppressions saw;
He saw and saved them: God and him they praised
To this their thanks, to that their trophies raised.
But glutted with their own felicities,
They soon their new deliverer despise;
Say all their prayers back, their joy disown,
Unsing their thanks, and pull their trophies down:
Their harps of praise are on the willows hung;
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long.

THE reverend clergy too, and who'd ha' thought
That they who had such non-resistance taught,
Should e'er to arms against their prince be brought
Who up to heav'n did regal power advance;
Subjecting English laws to modes of France
Twisting religion so with loyalty,
As one could never live, and t'other die;
And yet no sooner did their prince design
Their glebes and perquisites to undermine,
But all their passive doctrines laid aside,
The clergy their own principles denied;
Unpreach'd their non-resisting cant, and pray'd
To heav'n for help, and to the Dutch for aid;
The church chimed all her doctrines back again,
And pulpit-champions did the cause maintain;
Flew in the face of all their former zeal,
And non-resistance did at once repeal.

THE Rabbi's say it would be too prolix,
To tie religion up to politics,
The churches safety is *suprema lex:*
And so by a new figure of their own,
Their former doctrines all at once disown;
As laws *post facto* in the parliament,
In urgent cases have attained assent;
But are as dangerous precedents laid by,
Made lawful only by necessity.

THE rev'rend fathers then in arms appear,
And men of God became the men of war:
The nation, fired by them, to arms apply,
Assault their antichristian monarchy;
To their due channel all our laws restore,
And made things what they should have been before.
But when they came to fill the vacant throne,
And the pale priests look'd back on what they'd done,
How England liberty began to thrive,
And Church of England loyality outlive;
How all their persecuting days were done,
And their deliv'rer placed upon the throne:
The priests, as priests are wont to do, turn'd tail,
They're Englishmen, and nature will prevail;
Now they deplore their ruins they have made,
And murmur for the master they betray'd;
Excuse those crimes they could not make him mend,
And suffer for the cause they can't defend;
Pretend they'd not have carried things so high,
And proto-martyrs make for popery.

HAD the prince done as they design'd the thing,
High set the clergy up to rule the king:
Taken a donative for coming hither,
And so have left their king and them together;
We had, say they, been now a happy nation;
No doubt we had seen a blessed reformation:
For wise men say 'tis as dangerous a thing,
A ruling priesthood, as a priest-rid king;
And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst.

IF all our former grievances were feign'd,
King James has been abused, and we trepann'd;
Bugbear'd with popery and power despotic,
Tyrannic government, and leagues exotic;
The revolution's a fanatic plot,
William's a tyrant, King James was not;
A factious army and a poison'd nation,
Unjustly forced King James's abdication.

BUT if he did the subjects' rights invade,
Then he was punish'd only, not betrayed;

And punishing of kings is no such crime,
But Englishmen have done it many a time.

When kings the sword of justice first lay down,
They are no kings, though they possess the crown.
Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things,
The good of subjects is the end of kings;
To guide in war, and to protect in peace,
Where tyrants once commence the kings do cease;
For arbitrary power's so strange a thing,
It makes the tyrant and unmakes the king:
If kings by foreign priests and armies reign,
And lawless power against their oaths maintain,
Then subjects must have reason to complain:
If oaths must bind us when our kings do ill,
To call in foreign aid is to rebel:
By force to circumscribe our lawful prince,
Is wilful treason in the largest sense:
And they who once rebel, must certainly
Their God, and king, and former oaths defy;
If ye allow no mal-administration
Could cancel the allegiance of the nation,
Let all our learned sons of Levi try,
This ecclesiastic riddle to untie;
How they could make a step to call the prince,
And yet pretend the oath and innocence.

By th' first address they made beyond the seas,
They're perjur'd in the most intense degrees;
And without scruple for the time to come,
May swear to all the kings in Christendom:
Nay, truly did our kings consider all,
They'd never let the clergy swear at all,
Their politic allegiance they'd refuse,
For whores and priests do never want excuse.

But if the mutual contract was dissolved,
The doubt's explain'd, the difficulty solved;
That kings, when they descend to tyranny,
Dissolve the bond, and leave the subject free;
The government's ungirt when justice dies,
And constitutions are nonentities.
The nation's all a mob, there's no such thing,
As lords, or commons, parliament, or king;

A great promiscuous crowd the Hydra lies,
Till laws revive and mutual contract ties;
A chaos free to choose for their own share,
What case of government they please to wear
If to a king they do the reins commit,
All men are bound in conscience to submit;
But then the king must by his oath assent,
To *Postulata's* of the government;
Which if he breaks he cuts off the entail,
And power retreats to its original.

This doctrine has the sanction of assent
From nature's universal Parliament:
The voice of nations, and the course of things,
Allow that laws superior are to kings;
None but delinquents would have justice cease,
Knaves rail at laws, as soldiers rail at peace:
For justice is the end of government,
As reason is the test of argument:
No man was ever yet so void of sense,
As to debate the right of self-defence;
A principle so grafted in the mind,
With nature born, and does like nature bind;
Twisted with reason, and with nature too,
As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this right be less when national,
Reason which governs one should govern all
What'er the dialect of courts may tell,
He that his right demands can ne'er rebel;
Which right, if 'tis by governors denied,
May be procured by force or foreign aid;
For tyranny's a nation's term of grief,
As folks cry fire to hasten in relief;
And when the hated word is heard about,
All men should come to help the people out.

Thus England groan'd, Britannia's voice was heard,
And great Nassau to rescue her appear'd:
Call'd by the universal voice of fate,
God and the people's legal magistrate:
Ye heavens regard! Almighty Jove look down,
And view thy injured monarch on the throne;

On their ungrateful heads due vengeance take
Who sought his aid, and then his part forsake:
Witness, ye powers! it was our call alone,
Which now our pride makes us ashamed to own;
Britannia's troubles fetch'd him from afar,
To court the dreadful casualties of war;
But where requital never can be made,
Acknowledgment's a tribute seldom paid.

He dwelt in bright Maria's circling arms,
Defended by the magic of her charms,
From foreign fears and from domestic harms;
Ambition found no fuel for her fire,
He had what God could give or man desire,
Till pity roused him from his soft repose,
His life to unseen hazards to expose;
Till pity moved him in our cause to appear,
Pity! that word which now we hate to hear;
But English gratitude is always such,
To hate the hand that does oblige too much.

Britannia's cries gave birth to his intent,
And hardly gain'd his unforeseen assent;
His boding thoughts foretold him he should find
The people fickle, selfish, and unkind;
Which thought did to his royal heart appear
More dreadful than the dangers of the war;
For nothing grates a generous mind so soon,
As base returns for hearty service done.

Satire, be silent! awfully prepare
Britannia's song, and William's praise to hear;
Stand by, and let her cheerfully rehearse
Her grateful vows in her immortal verse.
Loud fame's eternal trumpet let her sound,
Listen, ye distant poles, and endless round,
May the strong blast the welcome news convey,
As far as sound can reach or spirit fly!
To neighb'ring worlds, if such there be, relate
Our heroes fame for theirs to imitate;
To distant worlds of spirits let her rehearse,
For spirits without the helps of voice converse:

May angels hear the gladsome news on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting symphony;
And hell itself stand in surprise to know,
Whether it be the fatal blast or no.

BRITANNIA.

THE fame of virtue 'tis for which I sound,
And heroes with immortal triumphs crown'd;
Fame built on solid virtue swifter flies,
Than morning light can spread the eastern skies:
The gath'ring air returns the doubling sound;
And loud repeating thunders force it round;
Echoes return from caverns of the deep,
Old Chaos dreams on't in eternal sleep:
Time hands it forward to its latest urn,
From whence it never, never shall return:
Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long,
'Tis heard by ev'ry ear, and spoke by every tongue.

MY hero, with the sails of honour furl'd,
Rises like the great genius of the world;
By fate and fame wisely prepared to be
The soul of war and life of victory;
He spreads the wings of virtue on the throne,
And ev'ry wind of glory fans them on;
Immortal trophies dwell upon his brow,
Fresh as the garlands he has won but now.

BY different steps the high ascent he gains,
And differently that high ascent maintains:
Princes for pride and lust of rule make war,
And struggle for the name of conqueror;
Some fight for fame, and some for victory,
He fights to save, and conquers to set free.

THEN seek no phrase his titles to conceal,
And hide with words what actions must reveal;
No parallel from Hebrew stories take,
Of godlike kings my similies to make;
No borrowed names conceal my living theme,
But names and things directly I proclaim;

His honest merit does his glory raise,
Whom that exalts let no man fear to praise;
Of such a subject no man need be shy,
Virtue's above the reach of flattery;
He needs no character but his own fame,
Nor any flattering titles but his own name.

WILLIAM'S the name that's spoke by every tongue,
William's the darling subject of my song;
Listen, ye virgins, to the charming sound,
And in eternal dances hand it round;
Your early offerings to this altar bring,
Make him at once a lover and a king;
May he submit to none but to your arms,
Nor ever be subdued, but by your charms;
May your soft thoughts for him be all sublime,
And ev'ry tender vow be made for him;
May he be first in ev'ry morning thought,
And heav'n ne'er hear a prayer where he's left out;
May every omen, every boding dream,
Be fortunate by mentioning his name;
May this one charm infernal powers affright,
And guard you from the terror of the night;
May ev'ry cheerful glass as it goes down
To William's health, be cordials to your own:
Let ev'ry song be chorust with his name,
And music pay her tribute to his fame;
Let ev'ry poet tune his artful verse,
And in immortal strains his deeds rehearse:
And may Apollo never more inspire
The disobedient bard with his seraphic fire
May all my sons their grateful homage pay,
His praises sing, and for his safety pray.

SATIRE, return to our unthankful isle,
Secured by heaven's regards, and William's toil:
To both ungrateful, and to both untrue,
Rebels to God, and to good nature too.

IF e'er this nation be distress'd again,
To whomsoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain;
To heav'n they cannot have the face to look,
Or, if they should, it would but heav'n provoke;

To hope for help from man would be too much,
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch:
How they came here our freedoms to maintain,
Were paid, and cursed, and hurried home again;
How by their aid we first dissolved our fears,
And then our helpers damn'd for foreigners:
'Tis not our English temper to do better,
For Englishmen think ev'ry one their debtor.

'Tis worth observing, that we ne'er complain'd
Of foreigners, nor of the wealth we gain'd,
Till all their services were at an end:
Wise men affirm it is the English way,
Never to grumble till they come to pay;
And then they always think, their temper's such,
The work too little, and the pay too much.

As frighted patients, when they want a cure,
Bid any price, and any pain endure:
But when the doctor's remedies appear,
The cure's too easy, and the price too dear:
Great Portland near was banter'd when he strove,
For us his master's kindest thoughts to move:
We ne'er lampoon'd his conduct, when employ'd
King James's secret councils to divide:
Then we caress'd him as the only man,
Who could the doubtful oracle explain;
The only Hushai, able to repel
The dark designs of our Achitophel:
Compared his master's courage to his sense,
The ablest statesman, and the bravest prince;
On his wise conduct we depended much,
And liked him ne'er the worse for being Dutch:
Nor was he valued more than he deserved,
Freely he ventured, faithfully he served;
In all King William's dangers he has shared,
In England's quarrels always he appear'd:
The revolution first, and then the Boyne,
In both, his counsels and his conduct shine;
His martial valour Flanders will confess,
And France regrets his managing the peace
Faithful to England's interest and her king,
The greatest reason of our murmuring:

Ten years in English service he appear'd,
And gain'd his master's and the world's regard;
But 'tis not England's custom to reward,
The wars are over, England needs him not;
Now he's a Dutchman, and the Lord knows what.

SCHONBERGH, the ablest soldier of his age,
With great Nassau did in our cause engage;
Both join'd for England's rescue and defence,
The greatest captain and the greatest prince;
With what applause his stories did we tell,
Stories which Europe's volumes largely swell!
We counted him an army in our aid,
Where he commanded, no man was afraid;
His actions with a constant conquest shine,
From Villa Vitiosa to the Rhine;
France, Flanders, Germany, his fame confess,
And all the world was fond of him but us:
Our turn first served, we grudged him the command,
Witness the grateful temper of the land.

WE blame the King, that he relies too much,
On Strangers, Germans, Hugonots, and Dutch;
And seldom does his great affairs of state,
To English counsellors communicate:
The fact might very well be answer'd thus:
He had so often been betray'd by us,
He must have been a madman to rely,
On English gentlemen's fidelity;
For, laying other argument aside:
This thought might mortify our English pride;
That foreigners have faithfully obey'd him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betray'd him:
They have our ships and merchants bought and sold,
And barter'd English blood for foreign gold;
First to the French they sold our Turkey fleet,
And injured Talmarsh next at Cameret;
The king himself is shelter'd from their snares,
Not by his merits, but the crown he wears;
Experience tells us 'tis the English way,
Their benefactors always to betray.

And, lest examples should be too remote,
A modern magistrate of famous note,
Shall give you his own history by rote;
I'll make it out, deny it he that can,
His worship is a true-born Englishman;
By all the latitude that empty word,
By modern acceptation's understood:
The parish books his great descent record,
And now he hopes ere long to be a lord;
And truly, as things go, it would be pity,
But such as he bore office in the city;
While robb'ry for burnt-offering he brings,
And gives to God what he has stole from kings;
Great monuments of charity he raises,
And good St. Magnus whistles out his praises;
To city jails he grants a jubilee,
And hires huzza's from his own mobile.

Lately he wore the golden chain and gown,
With which equipp'd he thus harangued the town.

HIS FINE SPEECH, &c.

With clouted iron shoes, and sheep-skin breeches,
More rags than manners, and more dirt than riches,
From driving cows and calves to Leyton market,
While of my greatness there appear'd no spark yet,
Behold I come to let you see the pride,
With which exalted beggars always ride.

Born to the needful labours of the plough,
The cart-whip graced me, as the chain does now.
Nature and fate in doubt what course to take,
Whether I should a lord or plough-boy make;
Kindly at last resolv'd they would promote me,
And first a knave, and then a knight they vote me.
What fate appointed, nature did prepare,
And furnish'd me with an exceeding care,
To fit me for what they design'd to have me;
And every gift but honesty they gave me.

And thus equipp'd, to this proud town I came,
In quest of bread, and not in quest of fame.
Blind to my future fate, an humble boy,
Free from the guilt and glory I enjoy.
The hopes which my ambition entertain'd,
Where in the name of foot-boy, all contain'd.
The greatest heights from small beginnings rise;
The gods were great on earth, before they reach'd the skies.

Backwell, the generous temper of whose mind,
Was always to be bountiful inclin'd:
Whether by his ill fate or fancy led,
First took me up, and furnish'd me with bread:
The little services he put me to,
Seem'd labours, rather than were truly so.
But always my advancement he design'd;
For 'twas his very nature to be kind:
Large was his soul, his temper ever free;
The best of masters and of men to me:
And I who was before decreed by fate,
To be made infamous as well as great,
With an obsequious diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his all, and then betray'd him.

All his past kindnesses I trampled on,
Ruin'd his fortunes to erect my own:
So vipers in the bosom bred begin,
To hiss at that hand first which took them in;
With eager treach'ry I his fall pursu'd,
And my first trophies were ingratitude.

Ingratitude's the worst of human guilt,
The basest action mankind can commit;
Which, like the sin against the Holy Ghost,
Has least of honour, and of guilt the most;
Distinguished from all other crimes by this,
That 'tis a crime which no man will confess;
That sin alone, which should not be forgiv'n
On earth, altho' perhaps it may in heaven.

Thus my first benefactor I o'erthrew;
And how shou'd I be to a second true?
The public trust came next into my care,
And I to use them scurvily prepare:

My needy sov'reign lord I play'd upon,
And lent him many a thousand of his own;
For which great interest I took care to charge,
And so my ill-got wealth became so large.

My predecessor Judas was a fool,
Fitter to have been whipt and sent to school,
Than sell a Saviour: had I been at hand,
His Master had not been so cheap trepann'd;
I would have made the eager Jews have found,
For thirty pieces, thirty thousand pound.

My cousin Ziba, of immortal fame,
(Ziba and I shall never want a name:)
First-born of treason, nobly did advance
His Master's fall, for his inheritance:
By whose keen arts old David first began
To break his sacred oath to Jonathan:
The good old king 'tis thought was very loth
To break his word, and therefore broke his oath.
Ziba's a traitor of some quality,
Yet Ziba might have been inform'd by me:
Had I been there, he ne'er had been content
With half th' estate, nor half the government.

In our late revolution 'twas thought strange,
That I of all mankind should like the change,
But they who wonder'd at it never knew,
That in it I did my old game pursue:
Nor had they heard of twenty thousand pound,
Which ne'er was lost, yet never could be found.

Thus all things in their turn to sale I bring,
God and my master first, and then the king;
Till by successful villanies made bold,
I thought to turn the nation into gold;
And so to forgery my hand I bent,
Not doubting I could gull the Government;
But there was ruffl'd by the Parliament.
And if I 'scaped th' unhappy tree to climb,
'Twas want of law, and not for want of crime;

But my old friend,* who printed in my face
A needful competence of English brass;
Having more business yet for me to do,
And loth to lose his trusty servant so,
Managed the matter with such art and skill,
As sav'd his hero, and threw out the Bill.

And now I'm grac'd with unexpected honours,
For which I'll certainly abuse the donors:
Knighted, and made a tribune of the people,
Whose laws and properties I'm like to keep well:
The custos rotulorum of the city,
And captain of the guards of their banditti.
Surrounded by my catchpoles, I declare
Against the needy debtor open war.
I hang poor thieves for stealing of your pelf,
And suffer none to rob you, but myself.

The king commanded me to help reform ye,
And how I'll do't, Miss —— shall inform ye.
I keep the best seraglio in the nation,
And hope in time to bring it into fashion;
No brimstone whore need fear the lash from me,
That part I'll leave to Brother Jefferey:
Our gallants need not go abroad to Rome,
I'll keep a whoring jubilee at home;
Whoring's the darling of my inclination;
An't I a magistrate for reformation?
For this my praise is sung by ev'ry bard,
For which Bridewell wou'd be a just reward.
In print my panegyric fills the street,
And hired gaol-birds their huzzas repeat;
Some charities contriv'd to make a show,
Have taught the needy rabble to do so;
Whose empty noise is a mechanic fame,
Since for Sir Beelzebub they'd do the same.

THE CONCLUSION.

THEN let us boast of ancestors no more.
Or deeds of heroes done in days of yore,
In latent records of the ages past,
Behind the rear of time, in long oblivion plac'd,
For if our virtues must in lines descend,
The merit with the families would end,
And intermixtures would most fatal grow;
For vice would be hereditary too;
The tainted blood would of necessity,
Involuntary wickedness convey.

VICE, like ill-nature, for an age or two,
May seem a generation to pursue;
But virtue seldom does regard the breed,
Fools do the wise, and wise men fools succeed.

WHAT is't to us, what ancestors we had?
If good, what better? or what worse, if bad?
Examples are for imitation set,
Yet all men follow virtue with regret.

COULD but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate;
How we contend for birth and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And openly disown the vile degenerate race:
For fame of families is all a cheat,
It's personal virtue only makes us great.

THE END.

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