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Sam. J. May

T H E

City Remembrancer:

B E I N G

HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

O F T H E

GREAT PLAGUE at LONDON, 1665;

G R E A T F I R E, 1666;

A N D

G R E A T S T O R M, 1703.

To which are added,

OBSERVATIONS and REFLECTIONS on the
PLAGUE in general; considered in a Religious,
Philosophical, and Physical View:

W I T H

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS of the most memorable
PLAGUES, FIRES, and HURRICANES.

Collected from curious and authentic Papers, origi-
nally compiled by the late learned Dr. HARVEY,
his Majesty's Physician to the Tower, and enlarged
with Authorities of a more recent Date.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

O f t h e P L A G U E.

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. NICOLL, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLXIX.

29857



ms

GENERAL PREFACE.

I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought : how great are his signs ! how mighty are his wonders ! DAN. iv. 2, 3.

PREACHING is speaking to few, printing is talking to the world : the address of the preacher is, *My brethren* ; he that prints, seems to say, *Know all men* : and though the preacher ought to be careful that nothing pass from him but truth, he that publishes in print is under a yet greater obligation in point of veracity. A sermon extends no farther than the memory of the auditors ; a printed book is a record, always ready to be produced as authority for what it reports ; and conveys its contents to ages. An ill-grounded sermon trespasses on few ; but falshood in print imposes on the world at large. The fondness of telling strange stories, has dwindled many otherwise valuable pieces of history into meer romance.

iv GENERAL PREFACE.

The accounts of things in the remoter ages, confounding genealogies and achievements, originals, and successions, have made deities of those who led the most dissolute and inhuman lives: the transactions of infamous men and the revolutions of ages, are so mixed with rhodomontades; that nothing is safely to be depended upon; the looseness of the pen, having jumbled fact and fable from the beginning. Heathen history is full of impostures, as well as uncertainty, and christian history is but too liable to the same censure.

To avoid these imputations some pains have been taken, in the following narratives, to collect, and transmit to memory, authentic accounts of the most dreadful, and universal judgments that the ALMIGHTY ever brought upon this part of his creation, by *plague, fire, and hurricane*: and although many matters therein have much of what may be esteemed marvellous, yet the reader shall not have occasion to distrust the authenticity of the relation. The compiler has endeavoured to select those facts only which are supported by the most legitimate

GENERAL PREFACE. v

legitimate authority ; from accounts written and published mostly by clergymen of undoubted integrity, who were living at the times the calamities happened : the circumstances are confirmed by testimonies of eyewitnesses, and the most approved physicians and historians.

Time and labour have not been misapplied, if what is here presented shall have any effect to make proper impressions, especially on young minds, for whose use the whole was principally intended : the impressions aimed at, are such as we should study to preserve, and not think our labour lost to retain to our dying day.

Many of our youth have scarcely heard that their fore-fathers were involved in, and suffered such grievous calamities : and of the few who know of them, still fewer lay them to heart. This is no work of fancy or imagination : plain facts, related in a plain manner, merely as a REMEMBRANCE.

In the account of the plague, some may imagine there is too much religion intermixed ; but when we reflect that the inhabitants of

‡

London

vi GENERAL PREFACE.

London at that time, had nothing to think of, but the most intolerable, shocking, and immediate death! nothing to do but to prepare for sudden judgment and eternity! a great mixture of piety must necessarily enter into a true representation of that deplorable affliction. Religion was then in fashion, however antiquated and uncouth it may appear in more prosperous days.

A N
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE
O F T H E
G R E A T P L A G U E
A T
L O N D O N , 1 6 6 5 :

W I T H
An ABSTRACT of the Most Common OPINIONS
concerning the CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, and
CURE of that fatal DISORDER.

A N D
Some Account of other remarkable PLAGUES,
Ancient and Modern.

Interpersed
With many OBSERVABLE Passages of HISTORY, &c.

L O N D O N :
Printed for W. N I C O L L , in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLXIX.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

OF THE

GREAT PLAGUE

AND

LONDON, 1665.

1714

An Account of the Plague and Pestilence which
ruled in London, in the Year 1665, and
of the manner of its spreading.

By W. Mordaunt, Esq. of the Middle Temple,
and Secretary to the Hon. the Lord Mayor.

London,

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Sun,
in St. Dunstons Church-yard.

LONDON

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Sun,
in St. Dunstons Church-yard.

1714

Chas. J. King Esq.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE plague is very terrible! it poisons the blood and spirits; breeds a strange venom in the body, which breaks forth in boils and blains, and great carbuncles; or works more dangerously when it preyeth upon the vitals inwardly: so noisome a disease, turns the good humours into putrefaction, and putting itself forth in the issues of running sores, doth give a most odious smell. *My wounds stink and are corrupt, my loins are filled with a loathsome disease, and there is no soundness in my flesh: my lovers and friends stand aloof from my sore, and my kinsmen stand afar off.* Men and women do generally dread the pestilence; as excluding the society of the choicest friends and dearest relations. It is infectious, spreading itself worse than the leprosy among the Jews; attacking not only those who are weak and infirm, and full of ill humours, but those who are young, strong, healthful, and of the best temperature, and those sometimes sooner than others. It kills where it comes without mercy; almost certainly; very few escape; especially

Vincent.

Psalms
xxxviii.
5, 7, 11.

Rosewell.

Vincent.

especially upon its entrance, before its malignity be spent; few are touched but are killed, and suddenly, it gives no warning; under other diseases men may linger out weeks or months, nay years, but the plague usually killeth in a few days, sometimes a few hours.

The plague is very terrible! terrible to those that have it, as it usually comes followed by grim death, the king of terrors; terrible to those that have it not, because of the danger of being infected; the fear of which has made such an impression on some, that it has razed out of their hearts, for a while, all affections of love and pity to their nearest relations and dearest friends; so that when the disease hath seized them and they had greatest need of succour, their friends left them in their distress, and fled from them as from their greatest enemies.—It makes a great impression of fear upon the hearts of men: it walketh in darkness, and is called the terror by night. Men fear when they hear other houses are shut up, but what increase of terror when the plague enters their own doors!

Psalms xci.
5, 6.

INTRODUCTION. vii

When God is not heard any other way, he speaketh by terrible things ! The voice of the Lord was loud and full of terror in England, and particularly in London in the instances related in the following narratives : nor have we wanted frequent calls to repentance in later days. If men regard not the Lord, nor the operations of his hands, he will recompence them after their own works : if temporal judgments are not heeded, **Great Plagues** remain for the ungodly.

Psalms
xxxii. 11.

A stiff and freezing horror stagnates the rivers of my blood ! My hair stands an end with the panting of my brains ! Mine eyeballs are ready to start out, being beaten with the billows of my tears ! when I do but think how the bowels of my sick country have been torn ! **SORROW** and **TRUTH**, sit you on each side of me, whilst I am delivered of this deadly burden ; prompt me, that I may utter ruthful and compassionate condolment ; aim my trembling hand, that I may boldly rip up and anatomize the ulcerous body of this anthropophagized plague : lend me art, to paint and delineate to the life the whole story of this mortal and pestiferous battle !

Wonderful
yeere.

O F

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the early history of the subject, from its origin in the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century. The second chapter deals with the history of the subject from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. The third chapter deals with the history of the subject from the middle of the 19th century to the present time.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It is divided into two chapters. The first chapter deals with the theory of the subject, and the second chapter deals with the practice of the subject. The theory of the subject is based on the principles of the subject, and the practice of the subject is based on the application of these principles to the subject.

A PHILOSOPHICAL,
PHYSICAL, and HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PLAGUE.

CHAP. I.
OF JUDGMENTS.

*Judge not : who art thou that judgest?—Thou art
inexcusable, whosoever thou art.—Ye judge after
the flesh :—Neither hath this man sinned, nor his
parents.—As I live, saith the LORD GOD, I
have no pleasure in the death of the wicked—
God's judgments are like the great deep. MATT.
vii. 1. ROM. ii. 1. JOHN viii. 15. ix. 3. EZEK.
xxxiii. 11. PSAL. xxxvi. 6. Old Translation.*

*Whatever is, is in its causes just,
Since all things are by fate ;
But man, vain man, would, with his short-lin'd plummet,
Fathom the vast abyss of heavenly justice. DRYDEN.*

THE mistaken use which men are apt to
make of the extraordinary and signal Tillotson,
judgments of God, is, to be uncharitable and xiv. 151.
censorious ; which is consequent upon a gross
B and

and stupid neglect of themselves: they are not so uncharitable merely out of spite and malice to others, but out of self-flattery, and a fond affection to themselves: this makes them forward to represent others to all the disadvantage that may be, and render them as bad as they can, that they may appear less evil, and have a colour to set off themselves by comparison. When men grievously censure those whom God hath smitten, it seems a vindication of themselves from the same guilt, since they are not included in the same sufferings: it gratifies their pride and curiosity, in seeming to understand the reasons of God's judgments, as if they had been of his privy-council. Many times to gratify their own passions and foolish conceits, that God is angry with those persons and things which displease them; and that God's judgments are expressions of his particular dislike of those men whom they disaffect, and would certainly punish, if the government of the world were in their hands.—

The following instances are not produced as reflections on particulars, but as an endeavour to convince all parties and religions that they have been too rash in forming their opinions of judgments: the spirit of party or prejudice is not the spirit we should be of: but man, with all his blindness and ignorance about him, will dispute with God, and talk to him of his judgments. I would not, says
the

OF J U D G M E N T S. 3

the reverend Mr. Vincent, reflect alone on one party, inasmuch as all parties have sinned; and I believe the Lord hath been offended with all, as in his judgments he hath made no difference, that all might be awakened to see their faults with sorrow and shame. Hell doth not engross all that die by the visitation, some there are who have room made for them in the mansions above: the plague makes little difference between the righteous and the wicked.

Terrible
Voice 34,
73.

To humble us (and surely it is enough to humble even religious prejudice) we must, in the midst of our censures, acknowledge, that God judgeth not as man judgeth: we are mistaken partial judges: his ways are not like our ways, nor his thoughts like our thoughts.

Isai. lv. 8.

Jonah was for destroying Nineveh, because it was That Great City, full of Sin and Provocation! God would have it spared, because it was That Great City, full of Danger, and had most need of Mercy! which displeas'd Jonah exceedingly, and he was very angry; and imagin'd he did well to be angry, even unto death.

Reeves's
Lond.
Rembr.
27.

There are some men so liberal of their judgments, that we may say to them as Diogenes to one of the like kind, How long is it since thou camest out of heaven?

The king of Israel, when the famine was so sore in Samaria, that he could not help his

2. Kings
vi. 33.

4 OF J U D G M E N T S.

people either out of the barn-floor or out of the wine press, but they were reduced so low as to eat their own children, resolved to remove the judgment by killing the prophet, whom he imagined was the cause of it, the troubler of Israel: Behold, says he, in despair, this evil is of the LORD; what! should I wait for the LORD any longer!

Hammond
N. Test.
p. 335.

Many prejudices there are against understanding Acts i. 25. (*that he might go to his own place*) of Hell, as the place whither Judas was to go, as some have understood it: for that was not the proper place or assignation of Judas, but common to all other damned spirits. It was not St. Luke's office to pass sentence on Judas any farther than by setting down the heinousness of his crime, which he had done: he was not to proceed to judge, or affirm, aught of God's secrets, such as is his going to Hell. And it is St. Chrysostome's observation; Behold the wisdom of St. Luke, how he doth not reproach or insult Judas; but simply sets down the matter of fact, without any descant on it: and what he adds, (He discourses of the present vengeance) belongs evidently to what befel him in this present world, and so excludes all enlarging as to his future damnation.

Acts
xxviii. 4,
6.

When the inhabitants of Melitus saw the venomous beast hang on the hand of Paul, they said, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom,

OF JUDGMENTS. 5

whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live: they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

Howbeit, both judgments were equally erroneous: the most censorious sometimes change their minds with as little reason as they censured.

All the fearful judgments which fell on the Roman empire in the early ages of Christianity were, by the Romans, interpreted as sent to testify the displeasure of Heaven against that new sect of religion: and by the Christians, as the wrath and indignation of God manifested plainly against their barbarous and cruel persecutors.

If the Tyber overflows, or the Nile does not; if the weather is unseasonable; if there happen an earthquake, or famine, or pestilence; the general cry is, Away with the Christians to the lions.

Houteville's Discourse, translated by Pettin-gal, p. 61.

When the Roman empire was torn to pieces and fell to ruin, under Arcadius and Honorius, with a mighty destruction; upon this general disaster, Christianity became more than ever the subject of public hatred, as the fatal cause of their miseries; it was THIS that had provoked their gods, and armed them against them: but they did not

Petting. 119.

Petting. 62, 63.

6 OF J U D G M E N T S.

reflect, that it was unjust in their gods to punish the Romans for the crimes of the Christians; and that the impotence of their Gods was discovered, in not preventing those afflicting evils, and suspending the power of the God of the Christians.

Petting.
62, 124,
125.

Arnobius and St. Augustin shew, that the state had suffered, long before the time of Christianity, as great, or greater disasters: that all revolutions, of what kind soever, were disposed by the hand of Providence; that the evils were the natural consequences of the constitution of the universe, which by its own nature cannot be always constant and regular. Many Christians perished in the general carnage, and their misfortunes were the same; they lost their goods, were debarred the honour of sepulture; their virgins were exposed to insults and abuse; their captives were loaded with chains, as much as others: the only difference was, the Christians were supported under their sufferings by the comfortable assistances of the Holy Spirit; whereby they sustained the weight of temporal hardships.

Petting.
125.

Petting.
85, 86.

Christianity stood the shock of persecution under tyrants who were industrious in contriving unheard-of cruelties and new kinds of death; while persecutors fatigued themselves with blood and murder: but no sooner were palaces open to the church, and she was received by princes with honour, but she
tasting

Of J U D G M E N T S. 7

tasting the sweets of liberty and peace-dried up her tears, in the time of Constantine: then the face of things was changed and the cross was looked upon as the protection of the Romish people and empire: and the church gave law to its enemies.

The total ruin of Basilica by a grievous pestilence, was supposed to be a judgment on the Turks, for turning a church into a mosque. Univ hist. vi. 150.

King Richard the third of England was noble, loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people; a prince in military virtue approved: jealous of the honour of the English nation, a good law-maker for the ease and solace of the people; and who had a kind of divination: this Richard was reputed, by the Divine Vengeance (favouring the designs of a man bred under a devout mother, and in nature a great observer of religious forms, and who always applied himself with great respect to the court of Rome) to be overthrown and slain. When Henry oppressed the people, the memory of Richard was so strong in the northern counties, that it lay like lees at the bottom of mens hearts. Ld. Verulam's hist. of Hen. VII p. 1, 2, 155. See also Walpole's Historical Doubts. Verulam. 67.

The party who supported the pretended Plantaganet, and knew him to be an idol, said, Their cause was pious and just; and that God had miraculously prospered their Verul. 29, 214.

8 O F J U D G M E N T S.

enterprizes. But Heaven is made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy.

The Papiſts ſay, the confuſions, diſtractions, and other afflictions wherewith England hath, in a dreadful manner, been viſited ſince the reformation, are juſt judgments for what they call hereſy and ſchiſm: ſome diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church of England are wont to aſcribe theſe calamities to a quite different cauſe, viz. that our reformation hath not gone far enough from the church of Rome.

Tillotſon,
xiv. 161.

In the beginning of the reformation, when Zuinglius was ſlain in a battle by the Papiſts, and his body burned, his heart was found entire in the aſhes: from whence his enemies concluded the obduratenefs of his heart; but his friends, the firmneſs and ſincerity of it in the true religion. It is hard to ſay which of theſe concluſions is moſt raſh and unreaſonable. Every party deals with them that are oppoſite to them, out of a fond perſuaſion that God is like themſelves; and that he cannot but hate thoſe whom they hate, and puniſh thoſe whom they would puniſh. It is raſh to determine where there is no revelation: and he who brought light to life, and knew what was in man, hath declared, that thoſe who ſuffer great and public calamities are not the greateſt ſinners.

Luke xii.
3, 5.

God hath in his providence ſo ordered his judgments, and they have fallen with ſo
great

great an equality on all sorts of men, that we cannot, without great rashness, fix the cause of them on any particulars. It does not appertain to us to pry into the secret reasons of God's dispensations: our business is to take off our eyes from others, and look into ourselves.

The disgrace in ill-defending Newhaven in Queen Elizabeth's time was one of the greatest blemishes that ever the English received upon French ground. This might easily have brought home Calais again; they brought home a great plague: in most mens judgment, a scourge for succouring the admiral, and those rebellious Hugunots in France. Jerusalem and Babel, 45°.

Gabrius would not let Queen Elizabeth die in peace, for he makes her death (after a most glorious reign of four and forty years) to be a judgment upon her; and says, as his sort of charity moved him, that she exchanged a wicked life for everlasting death. Tennison agst. Palton, 77.

These the Pope charged as heretical, and caused the French king to besiege in Tholouie, whither they had retired for safety, charged the famine and pestilence among their enemies (frequent in all camps) to the immediate hand of God. Burnet's Martyrs, 231.

In the great storm 1601, all the barns belonging to Yielding parsonage in the county of Bedford were blown down; out of which living Mirab. Annis.

living, the late incumbent was thrust by oppression and violence.—

The great storm at the time of Oliver Cromwell's death, gave Mr. Waller an opportunity to write a very fine complimentary poem : while the common people among the royalists asserted, and believed, that the devil fetched away his servant in a whirlwind.

Regicides
Speeches,
42.

I am persuaded (says Mr. Cook) that all those that had a chief hand, and prevaricate, will have a peculiar judgment by themselves: may we not hope, that God is whetting his tools, and gone back to fetch a greater blow. It is no matter what others say, for they must receive their judgment at the bar of Christ, and we shall judge our judges: mens law at Westminster will be adjudged treason in heaven. If I had been drowned in the storm, the malignants would have said, Though he escaped by land, yet the Divine Vengeance overtook him at sea. The royal party said, God's vengeance at last overtook him at the gallows.

Reg. Sp.
48, 49,
75.

The judgment of men may go wrong, but God's judgment is right.

Reg. Sp.
84, 85,
86.

They have merely murdered me (says Colonel Axtell); I wish my blood do not cry to the third and fourth generation: but I shall do them more hurt in my death than I could do in my life.

Colonel Axtell taking an eminent presbyterian minister by the hand, said, It is much
upon

upon my heart, that one great cause why the Lord contends thus with his people, is, for want of their love towards them that are not of their minds. The minister replied, Truly, Sir, I think so too.

I say (says Colonel Axtell) that the surplice and common-prayer shall not stand long in England, for it is not of God.—

It is no wonder that men filled with many enthusiastic notions, should be of opinion that God was on their side; they had frequently expressed themselves to that purpose: but it is somewhat amazing, at a time when God's judgment of the sword was so terrible in the land on all parties, to find the great and ingenious Lord Clarendon so unreasonably biassed, as to bring down judgments on the rebels, whilst the royalist suffered more terrible things.

There were among the Romish clergy in Ireland some moderate men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest; so that the Marquis of Ormond entertained some hope, that the wiser would by degrees convert the weaker; and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day exercised by Ireton upon the principal and most obstinate contrivers of their most odious rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the king, as often as they fell into his power; would awaken them out of their sottish lethargy, and unite them

*Hist. Re-
bellion,
vol. 3. p.
429. 8vo.
1706.*

them in defence of their nation: for there was scarcely a man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whose barbarous violation of the peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the king's mercy, and left them only subjects of his justice, as soon as they could be apprehended; was not taken by Ireton, and hanged, with all the circumstances of severity that was due to their wickedness; of which there were innumerable examples.

Ibid. p. 430, 431. O Neile, the best soldier of the nation, after being baffled and affronted by the parliament, saw his bosom friend and sole counsellor, the bishop of Clogher (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken prisoner upon the defeat of his forces) hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor.

An officer, thought to have much credit with his soldiers, began to march, when a Franciscan friar in his habit, with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, that, upon pain of damnation, they should not march; upon which they all threw down their arms; which put the whole city into a mutiny; some were killed, and many wounded: as an instance of the judgments of heaven, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that sedition, the very next night after Ireton was possessed of the city,

was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The reason why this is wrote, and so suddenly brought forth, is, because the mortality of mankind is great in the city where these things have been done and committed.

Truth
Exalted,
printed
1665.

Edward Brush was the first Quaker ordered to be transported: God was not long before he visited the city with a rebuke that they might take notice of. Within a few doors of that faithful man's house, a house was shut up of the plague, which was the first in the city; so the precedent of your wrath was attended with an example of judgment from the Lord.

Not many days after the embarking seven faithful brethren, the Lord shewed another notable example, by cutting off that grand instrument judge Hyde by sudden death: he is gone to his place, and the fruits of his deeds are his food to eternity. About the same time the Lord began to pour out his plagues in some of the out-parts of the city, and weekly bills began to declare the judgments of God; and as they began to banish, in small numbers, so the judgments of God traced them, first in small numbers, and so with greater. They drove numbers of the brethren to the water side, in the face of the city, in whose streets the bills of mortality were the day before handed, that signified the cutting off by death 3014; and so as they have

have increased the number for banishment, the Lord hath increased the plagues among them: the hypocrites God will recompence with his just plagues.

Notwithstanding the fore calamity inflicted upon the city increased, and the week's bill declared 3014, yet for all this, and at this time, they seized our meeting in Joneses at the Peele, and took most of men friends, in number 25, who they carried to be examined before George Monck, called Duke of Albemarle, they were disposed in prisons. Some said if the Quakers were sent out of the land, it would be the only means of stopping the plague; but this week the judgment is increased, for 4030 are cut off, which this week's bill declares; and so they see a contrary effect. Those that cause our cruel and unjust sufferings may well observe the hand of a retaliating God upon you.

The Lord is retaliating into their bosoms, and is measuring unto you as you have measured unto us, and many widows and fatherless will he make for our sakes, yea, for our sakes: he is recompensing your works into your hands which you have wrought. Oh, London, London, thou mayest remember a few years since thou wast sporting thyself and making merry, thy inhabitants were even distracted with vain joy*; remember thy

* At the Restoration.

wasting God's good creatures upon thy lust and drunkenness, thy bonfires, thy wasting good meat in the street, and basting it with kennel dirt and water †; remember thy vain shows erected in the high places of thee †: By this time many thousands in thee are sensible of the provocations wherewith ye provoked the Lord in that day.

Possibly the modern Quakers are not presumptuous enough to imagine that none of their profession died of the great plague*: The pestilence has not grace to make distinction; it huddles up honest men and knaves together.

God in his infinite wisdom was pleased (in the plague) not to make a visible distinction of his love and hatred to persons, but honest men died of it as well as dishonest; those who were faithful to the marriage-bed were equally seized with those that were false to that sacred tie; he that feared an oath had God's tokens, when he that flooded out oaths went free: there was no reason for all this, but the pleasure of the Almighty.

† Burning Rumps at the dissolution, or end of the parliament.

† Triumphant arches erected for the king's public entry at his return.

* In the plague-time the Quakers had a burying-ground set apart for their use, which is applied to the same purpose to this day: they had also a particular cart to carry the dead from their houses.

The

Dryd.
Troilus.

T.
Dawks's
Postscr. to
Lond.
Rembr.

Bayle's
Dict. 1.
317.

The pestilence carries off the innocent with the guilty; while death is a punishment to the latter, God can make a sufficient recompence to the former, for all their sufferings, in another way.

Atterbury's Serm.
at the funeral of
Mr. Bennet, 10.

We ought always to take the account of a future state into our reasonings about the concerns of this life, and form our judgments according to what is to come after.

He who sojourns in a foreign country, refers what he sees and hears abroad to the state of things at home; with that view he makes all his reflections, and by that measure judges of every thing that befalls himself or others: this pattern should be our guide in our present state of pilgrimage, wherein we often misrepresent the events of providence, and make a wrong use of them, by attending to the maxims of this life only; and so thinking of the world which we are now in, and of the affairs of it, as if both that, and they, and we, had no manner of relation to another: whereas, in truth, what we see is in order only to what we do not see; and both these states, therefore, must be joined and considered together, if we intend to reflect wisely and justly on present appearances; for as no man knoweth love or hatred, so neither can he discern good or evil, purely by what is before him.

Eccl. ix.
1, 2.

When we see vice remarkably prosperous, and virtue in deep distress; when a man
who

who does good to mankind, happens to be cut off in the vigour of his strength, and in the midst of his innocent enjoyments ; Job, xxi. 7, 25. whilst the wicked grow old, yea, and are mighty in power, and come to the grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season : instances like these, make misjudging men ready to cry out of unequal management, to blame the Divine administration, because they cannot give themselves a satisfactory account of the heavenly conduct, as it appears to us at present : but when we consider there is another life after this, and draw all our arguments and reflections from a future state, and form such a scheme of things as shall at once take in time and eternity ; all seeming irregularities may be easily set to rights : this one consideration will make all our murmurs cease, all fancied difficulties vanish.

One (meaning the wicked) dieth in his full strength, being in all ease and prosperity : Job, xxi. 23, 25. and another (to wit the godly) dieth in the bitterness of his soul, and never eateth with pleasure. They shall sleep both in the dust, and the worms shall cover them. 26. old translation.

The pestilence increased in the city and suburbs of London, till eight or ten thousand died in a week. It was observed in several papers written at that time, that the appearance of a globe of fire was seen above that part of the city where the Solemn

Crook-shanks's
hist. ch. of
Scotland,
vol. 1.
p. 192.

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League and Covenant was burnt. Whether that be true or not, it is certain the PLAGUE broke out there, and very few were left alive in that street where that open affront had been put upon the oath of God.

Crooksh. hist. ch. of Scotl. 1. 192. It may perhaps appear trifling to observe, that several remarkable signs did precede and accompany the pestilence; such as the appearance of a large comet at the end of the last year, and of another in the month of March this year; together with such a violent frost and snow, that there was no plowing from December till the middle of March. How far these were prognosticks of severe judgments, let the reader determine.—

Oldmixon's hist. 1. 521. Mr. Oldmixon assures the public, that he always dreaded to make judgments; where it may be, heaven left things to second causes, though nothing is more common: but really one cannot help thinking, saith he, that the First Cause, moved in this and the former visitations since the death of Queen Elizabeth. There have been all along such dissembling with God and men; such persecution, oppression, such wickedness, impiety, superstition, and cruelty, which are the provocations of judgments, that it is hardly possible to read of these horrible pestilences, and of this in particular, without having recourse to Divine Vengeance. It is worth observing, that there were many thousands

thousands more, of men, women, and children, swept away by the plague since the house of Steuart began their reigns over England, than is recorded from the beginning of time, to that.

The greatest plague which happened since Edward the third's time in England, was in the first year of King James the first; yet there was a greater in Charles the first's reign; and a greater than either in the sixth year of Charles the second's actual reign.

Coke, in
Oldm. 1.
521.

Executions by form of law, for which there was no law, leave the blood of those sacrifices on the heads of the court, the judges, the juries; upon which the righteous vengeance of heaven has and will be poured to the third and fourth generation.

Oldm. 1.
668.

As soon as the war broke out, a most terrible plague broke out likewise in the city of London, that scattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themselves. It broke the trade of the nation, and swept away about an hundred thousand souls; the greatest havock that any plague had ever made in England. This did dishearten all people; and coming in the very time in which so unjust a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the king's enemies said, Here's a manifest character of God's heavy displeasure upon the nation; as indeed the ill life of the king, and the viciousness of

Bp. Burnet, in
Oldm. 1.
519.

the whole court, gave but a melancholy prospect.

Terrible
Voice.

The reverend Mr. Vincent has laid down twenty-five principal sins which the plague and fire were sent to punish.

Hendley,
p. 51.

The reverend Mr. Hendley enumerates only four great sins which were the procatartick causes of punishment, [in the year 1721,]; but informs us, in a general view, that iniquity at that time more than ever prevailed in this nation beyond the example of all former ages, and *not to be paralleled by future.*

Lond.
remembr:
10.

The wooden figure of a Bacchus boy set up against the corner of a house in Pye-corner, where the fire of London stopt, has an inscription on the belly to acquaint posterity, that the fire was a punishment for the sin of gluttony. And some persons who were wittier and more clear-sighted than ordinary, could read the cause of the judgment to be gluttony; for it began in Pudding-lane, and ended in Pye-corner.

Serm. bef.
Lower H.
of Convo-
cation,
Jan 30.
1702.

It was lately said by Jovius, that the English nation, above all others upon earth, was most addicted to the throat; if a true estimate could be brought in of one year's table expence in this nation, what a large bill of fare would there be? I doubt (says the reverend Mr. Reeves) whether the Spanish West-Indies would defray one year's expence.

In the late civil wars there was no pretence of freeing the country from usurpation, or unusual form of government; it was done to establish an usurper in the room of a lawful prince, to change an ancient monarchy into a commonwealth.

Scarce any of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar lived three years, or died a natural death: where justice could not reach them, providence did; some perished at sea, others fell in battle, others stabbed themselves with the same poniard by which Cæsar fell.

Well had it been, if the fate of the Jews, and the Roman story, had been well considered by these nations fifty years ago; it might have prevented plagues, and wars, and desolations, and fire, and all the dreadful judgments we have so visibly, by the particular disposal of providence, as sent from heaven, laboured under, and feel the effects of to this very day. The death of Charles the first was a thing of God more than of men.

Regicides
Sp. p. 2.

Upon occasion of the great storm, a sermon was preached before a numerous assembly, by a thundering preacher, who ascribed the judgment, out of the pulpit, in a great measure, to nocturnal revellings: his text was, *Stand in awe and sin not: commune with your own heart, and in your chamber, and be still.* Chambering and wantonness are horrid sins indeed; but how well or ill

Dyke's
Moral reflections.
English Proverbs,
p. 237.

Psalms. iv.
4.

this notion answered for the character of some of those very persons that perished in the common calamity, who is able to determine? Only, we are lost in our reason, if we either bring down a Decreeing Providence to every skip of a flea, on the one hand; or if we attribute a judicial, divine, national vengeance, to the crimes of every particular whore-master, on the other; not excepting the most public, as well as private debauchee.

Polit.
Arithm.
preface.

The destruction by the plague and the fire of London begat opinions to the prejudice of the nation, that the kingdom grew poorer and poorer: but, notwithstanding, the city of London soon grew great and glorious; materials for building (even oaken timber) were little dearer, some cheaper, for rebuilding London; the exchange was soon full of merchants as formerly; there were not more beggars in the streets, nor executed for thieves, than before those calamities; the number of coaches and splendid equipages and household furniture soon exceeded former times; the public theatres were very magnificent; the royal navy was greater, and the king's guards stronger, men ate and drank and laughed as they used to do.

The streets of London soon spoke, that
Ibid. 98. the housing was of double the value it had been, more splendid; and the number of inhabitants increased one fifth.

In four years after the fire of London, there was earned by tradesmen, relating to building only, the sum of four millions, one million per annum; without lessening any other sort of work, labour, or manufactory, which was usually done in any other four years before the said occasion.

Polit.
Arith.
197.

The use of judgments is, to bring us to a consideration of our own ways, and argue ourselves into repentance. The judgments which have fallen here and there, were intended as terrors to us; if we continue impenitent and unreformed by these providences, what can we expect, but the like, or greater calamities. Except we repent, we shall all likewise perish. This we may assuredly say, if, notwithstanding the great judgments of God, which have made so fearful desolations, we do not search and try our ways, and turn to him who hath smitten others for a warning to us, we have reason to fear some greater temporal judgments, and that God will be angry with us until he hath consumed us. We have no reason to think that God will put a stop to judgments, if we will not be reformed by the terrible things which have happened, but rather that he will punish us seven times more, if we persist in our lusts and impieties. What can we look for but greater judgments, and a more fiery indignation to consume us and our habitations! Nothing is a sadder presage of greater

Tillot.
xiv. 181.

calamities and fearful ruin, than little reformation under loud and thick vollies of judgments already thundered out. The Egyptians were hardened under ten plagues. To poison ourselves with our intended phyfic, to turn the rods of God into serpents, by our own obstinacy, is bringing upon ourselves a terrible destruction.

Luke xiii.
4, 5.

Suppose ye these were sinners above all men, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: all these things happened unto them for examples, and they are written for our admonition. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

I. Cor. x.
11, 12.

Bishop of
Glouc.
Thanksg.
Serm.

Nothing is more known, than that none have been more famous for their conquests than the very worst of men, and the greatest oppressors, the most proud and cruel tyrants.

Pfal.
lxxiii. 3,
4, 5.

The ungodly are in great prosperity: they are in no peril of death, but are lusty and strong; they come into no misfortune like other folk, neither are they plagued like other men. Every man's judgment shall be [cometh] from the Lord.

Prov.
xxix. 26.

Bp. Wake
Reform.
Serm.

2. Cor. iv.
7, 8, &c.
Acts vii.
51.
Heb. xi.
37.

Socrates was exposed with intolerable scurrility, and the most impudent slanders raised against him; and at last put to death; which of the prophets were not persecuted; they were stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword: the apostles and first preachers of the gospel saved others at the expence of their own lives; they were troubled on every side;

per-

perplexed; persecuted, cast down, and destroyed: and when the church stood in need of reformation, it cost but little less blood to restore it to its primitive purity, than it had done to plant it.

Think you that these were sinners above all men? I tell you, Nay. Luke xiii.

Lewis XIV. of France presumed himself (and great part of Europe also presumed him) to be the great favourite of heaven, in regard of the extraordinary success of his arms; that his person was so long under the special care of Providence; especially in the unexpected healing of his deadly wound, and being restored in his old age to such great health and vigour of body and mind. Bishop of Glouc.
Thanksg.
Serm.
1704.

The Protestants, on the other hand, called him the haughty and ambitious prince, whose heart was set upon raising a fifth monarchy; who was many years a lamentable plague to a great part of Europe: and that God Almighty used him as his rod and scourge.

The death of Queen Mary (says the archbishop of Canterbury) was a judgment for the immorality and sins of the nation: God ordered that affair, as he does all things, most suitable to his own justice: the Jacobites are very willing to allow of God's justice therein, and that the deaths both of the Queen and King William were signal judgments; but assign very different causes for them.— Funeral Serm. 20.

The

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The late dreadful earthquake at Lisbon (November 2, 1755) was imagined by some Protestants to be a judgment on that superstitious nation for the cruelties exercised by the execrable court of Inquisition; and that the day on which that calamity happened (the feast of All-souls, on which they annually celebrated their barbarous and horrible Auto da Fe) plainly pointed out the cause of the judgment: whilst the Portuguese bigotted priests affirmed, that the judgment was sent to scourge them for their indulgence to Hereticks; the day, they thought, sufficiently demonstrated the reason of the tremendous visitation; executions were not so numerous lately as in preceding times, therefore, in their opinion, God seemed to say, If you will not destroy and extirpate those accused Hereticks, you shall be destroyed and swallowed up alive yourselves; he that letteth one escape, his life shall be for the life of him.

2 Kings
x. 24.

Stanhope
bef. Q.
Anne,
Thanksg.
June 27,
1706.

A great deal of wicked sophistry hath been sometimes employed to possess ignorant and bigotted zealots, that success, even in the most villainous enterprizes, is a mark of divine approbation and favour: but success, and all sorts of worldly prosperity, are sometimes given to men to their hurt.

Howell's
Parley of
Beasts,
125, 129.

What a pitiful cold clime is Carboncia? It hath neither the warm sun nor God's blessing: it were a punishment for the worst people

people on earth to be removed thither; yet the clime is good enough for the inhabitants, were it worse: they brag of an hundred and odd kings, but of these kings above one half came to violent deaths; judge you then of the disposition of the people; for their two last kings, they sold and sent away, one to the fatall block, and made a sacrifice of him for a sum of mony; and for the other, before they wold crown, they proposed that he should acknowledg his father a tyrant and his mother an idolatresse. They proved the greatest monsters of ingratitude that ever were. But ther were never so many quick and appa. ant judgments fell upon any nation as have tumbled one upon the neck of another in a few yeers upon this: the unlucky kirkmen, as if they had been so many of the devill's chaplains, preached nothing but war; ther hapned an outragious plague in their chief city, which in one yeers compasse swep'd away the inhabitants by thousands; what a huge number have bin arraign'd and executed? How many thousands were bought and sold for slaves to be hurried over to furnish forrain plantations? What numbers were starv'd, and som tumbled into their graves alive? How, while they thought to get into the upper-bed, they may be now said to lye upon hard matts on the flat ground, the truckle-bed they lay in afore being taken
from

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from them ; and truly its is fit they should lie so low.

Jenks's
Contemp.
76.

The course of God's Providence, and the ways of his dealings with men in this world, are so various and different in themselves, and so abstruse and unintelligible unto us, that whatever measures the great Lord of all has to go by, and how equal soever are his ways, and he is righteous in them all, and has good reason still to do as he does, yet so much are those ways in the dark to us, and so unsearchable by us, that we must never think to find them out ; nor ever make account to be acquainted with all his ways as he is acquainted with ours. Why he distributes now so unequally to those that seem to be on equal terms ; why he spares the worst and strikes the better ; why he sends prosperity to the ungodly, and makes judgment begin at the house of God, he will not be accountable to us for any of those his matters.

Jobix. 12. Who shall say unto him, What dost thou ?

Job xiii. 7. We may come, if we will have patience, to know it hereafter, but are not likely to

Eccl. ix. 1. understand it at present. And though we

Pfal. lxxvii. 20. do not know love or hatred by all that is before us, yet must we take up with that

ignorance ; for his way is in the sea, and his paths in the great waters, and his footsteps

Pfal. xcvi. 22. are not known. Though righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne,

yet are such clouds and darkness round about him,

him, that it is not for us to discern why things are done so and so by him: no, his judgments are so great a deep, that we can only take up St. Paul's exclamation, O! the depth!

Pfal.
xxxvi. 6.
Rom. xi.
33.

And when we hear of havock and devastation made by sword, or plague, or fire, or storm, or any sweeping judgments or spreading calamities; kingdoms depopulated, cities and towns sacked, and fields overflown with blood, men scrambling and jostling, fighting and killing one another, for that world through which they are all passengers, and will so quickly have done with it for ever: though such news may give us pain and astonishment, yet in what manner his judgments are concerned, who will take upon him to determine? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid! I have not done without cause, all that I have done, saith the Lord God.

Rom. ix.
14.
Ezek. xiv.
23.

C H A P. II.

OF THE PLAGUE IN GENERAL.

S E C T. I.

What the PLAGUE is.

Staunton,
3.

PLAGUE, PESTILENCE, PESTIS : a very acute, destructive, malignant, and contagious disease ; usually proving mortal. It is commonly defined by a malignant fever ; but the two ought to be distinguished, the fever not being the essence, but only a symptom, or effect, of the plague. There are apparent signs of a fever, extreme inquietude, a most intense heat outwardly, attended with unquenchable thirst within, dryness, blackness of the tongue, intolerable heat of the precordia, &c. How suddenly soever the sickness kills some people, by seizing the brain, heart, lungs, or other principal part, with a deadly infection, or poisoning the vital spirits at once, so that no appearance can be discovered, even of a lurking fever ; yet, for the most part, some fever will shew itself ; and the fever accompanying it is of the worst kind.

Hodges,
50.

Hancock,
Feb. Mag.
81, 83.

Fever distinguished.

When we say the plague is a fever, we distinguish between the pestiferous Halitus, (either from the air, or persons that have the plague) and the distemper caused by it. If the infection be so strong and malignant, that it immediately seizes and suffocates the
spirits,

spirits, such a plague may be without a fever; or if it do the work in a few hours, the patient is dead before the fever can shew itself: but if nature has time to struggle, it will produce a fever, and the plague, generally speaking, may be said to be a fever.

The plague is a fever where there is the greatest disorder of the spirits and nervous juices, and the highest putrefaction of the blood and humours, more than in any other fever. There is great dispute among physicians whether the nature of this pestilential fever do consist in putrefaction. Fracastorius defines it to be *sordidissima putrefactio*, the foulest putrefaction, and many side with him: others think it ought to take its denomination and definition from that venomous or poisonous infection that is generally the cause of it. The plague seldom arises from any corruption or putrefaction within the body, (which may come by stagnation of the blood and humours) as its proper and principal cause, though that may make some bodies more apt to take infection than others, either from the air or infected persons, and make the fever more violent and mortal: but it is certain, if it go on, and cannot be taken off in time, it will be joined with, and produce, the highest and foulest corruption or putrefaction of the blood and humours; as appears from the malignant spots, exanthemata, carbuncles, and buboes, that usually accompany it.

And yet the plague is not such a fever as absolutely and universally requires any sort of eruptions, as the small-pox, measles, scarlet, and miliary fevers do, or else death will ensue. All the physicians that ever practised where the plague was, tell us of many that have been cured and restored to perfect health, without any of those signs and symptoms, either before, in, or after the plague.

It is the most common opinion, that there is no difference between other malignant fevers and the plague, but in degree, or the height of infection, and great contagion or aptitude to infect others: and they commonly make no other distinction between them than this, that in other malignant fevers more live than die, in the plague more die than live. The ancient and modern physicians, and the learned gentlemen who have lately written on that subject, think it no other than a malignant fever in a high degree.

Hodges,
33.

The pestilence is more active than lightning, and, in the twinkling of an eye, carries to a distance, putrefaction, mortification, and death: its approaches are so sudden, that persons seized with it seem to be fallen into an ambuscade, or a snare, of which there was no manner of suspicion.

The plague is reckoned an exotic disease, never bred in England, always imported, particularly from the Levant, the coasts of
Africa,

Africa, the Lesser Egypt, &c. where it is familiar.

The most accurate accounts bring it from Africa: travellers relate, that Egypt and Ethiopia are most infected with the plague. Mead Pest. 29.

The distinguishing properties of the plague are, its superior contagion and destructive quality: the last consists in the greatest contrariety of pestilential vapours or particles to the animal spirits and active principles of the blood; the first is founded in the extream minuteness, exhalation, and refinement of those vapours, by which they are able to pass through the air from place to place with extraordinary velocity: though these two properties arise from the highest putrefactive power, yet are the ideas of them very different: the ready conveyance of the plague by the air from place to place must depend upon the extraordinary smallness or subtilty of the pestilential matter; no other disease is communicated and conveyed in so swift a manner and to such a distance. Blackm. p. 20, 21.

When the mass of blood is generally corrupted and in a state of mortification, a fever acquires new force, and grows eminently mortal and contagious, by which it becomes the plague: since malignant fevers have all properties and symptoms with the plague, they must be allowed to be of the same species.

D

This

This is the terrible enemy of mankind, that sends its arrows abroad by day, and walks all stained with slaughter by night; that turns the vital into noxious air; that poisons the blood, and kills us by our own breath: that goes forth, through a land, collected in its strength, and, armed with vengeance, scattering destruction in its dreadful march. Before it are beautiful gardens, crowded habitations, and populous cities; behind it, unfruitful emptiness, and howling desolation. It is strengthened and fed by the famine which it makes, gathers force in its progress, and makes the dead destroy the living. It advances in triumph from place to place, despises the fences, and leaps over the lines raised to restrain it: before it the guards and armies of mighty princes are as dead men; and physicians are no protection either to the sick or themselves.—

These historical fragments are put together in order to apprise those who have not been conversant with things of this kind, with the various ways by which the most dangerous diseases, and even sudden death, may be introduced, by the agency of very minute and unheeded causes.

SECT.

SECTION II.

SYMPTOMS of the PLAGUE.

There came a † boil breaking forth with blains.

EXOD. ix. 10.

*The whole head is sick, the whole heart faint :
from the sole of the foot, even unto the head,
there is no soundness ; but wounds, and
bruises, and putrefying sores, which have not
been closed, neither bound up, nor mollified
with ointment. ISAI. i. 5, 6.*

*Thy bruise is incurable, thy wound is grievous ;
thou hast no healing medicines. ISAI. xxx.
12, 13.*

THE opinions of physicians concerning the causes and cure, could not be more various than the symptoms, of this fatal disease : Death stalked about in so many various shapes, that learning, judgment, and experience were entirely baffled.—Such was the uncertainty and disguise of the insidious enemy, that nothing could be prognosticated of its attacks or cruelty.

Hodges,
100, 101.

Its first approach is almost always accompanied with chilliness ; shivering, and shak-

† A scab breaking out into blisters. OLD TRANS. The Hebrew word Shechin, properly signifies an inflammation, which first makes a boil or tumour, and then turns into a grievous ulcer. Lightfoot observes, the word occurs Job ii. 7, 8. and signifies a burning itch, or inflamed scab. The Egyptians endured a three-fold punishment, aching boils, nauseous ulcers, and burning itch. Vide DEUT. xxviii. 27.

ing like the access of an intermitting fever ; then comes on a nausea, with vehement vomitings ; looseness, a great oppression about the stomach, and intense pain about the region of the heart, as if pressed in a press : horror, delirium, dizziness, head-ach, and stupefaction ; pains in the back ; a burning heat, and sometimes none at all extraordinary ; a very high, large, quick, and sometimes low, quick (in others slow and moderate) unequal and feeble, pulse ; so that the pulse, which in other diseases is almost a certain index, could not be at all trusted to. The urine in some very high coloured, thin, without any sediment ; in some few, pale with a dispersed sediment ; in some very few, the urine bloody : though the urine of the patients in general was not to be distinguished from that of healthful persons ; sometimes its stench was not to be endured : a physician taking a urinal too near, was infected by the stench, and died in three days. Excessive drought, though in others none at all, or very moderate : dry inflamed tongues ; in others white, foul, and slimy ; in some, moist, and well coloured. In some a burning fever, which preys continually on the patient till death, or till some eruption : Sometimes, but seldom, it attacks without any sense of a fever, purple spots appearing all at once, as they are about their business, the
certain

certain signs of present death †; but this rarely happens except at the beginning of some terrible plague, and is never when it remits, or in years in which it is not epidemical. It has also been known to make its first appearance in tumours without the fever, or other violent symptom.

The appearances after infection are, fever, watching, palpitation of the heart, bleeding at nose, and a great heat about the precordia; heaviness, pain in the stomach, head, and back; cardialgia, broken sleep, anxiety, alteration of the look, difficulty of breathing, hiccough, syncope, delirium, convulsive twitchings, diarrhœa; eyes sunk, or inflamed; tongue black and dry; vehement drought; fœtid breath, carbuncles, spots, livid, purple, green, &c. light-headedness; restlessness, want of sleep, and anguishings; commonly in the beginning with drowsiness; the patient fetches his breath too thick and short, panting, that he seemeth to be in danger of suffocation or stifling: and abundance of others, though all various in every particular subject, differing only in degree.

The pestilence puts on sometimes one, and at others, another appearance, some-
 times very contrary ones, according to the constitution of the patient, the season of the year, present or preceding distempers, a

Hodges,
87.

† The corpse of those who are so suddenly destroyed by the violence of this disease are every where disfigured with purple spots.

faulty way of living, and the different ways of communication.

Cham-
bers's
Dict.

In acute diseases prognosticks are ever fallacious: however, at the terrible plague at Nimeguen, Diemberbroek, who attended the sick through the whole progress thereof, relates, that those taken ill about the new and full moon rarely escaped; that faintings, swoonings, and palpitations of the heart, were usually deadly signs; an intermitting pulse always mortal; costiveness a good sign; a diarrhœa almost constantly fatal; bloody stools or urine always presaged ill.

Hodges,
89.

After the pestilential miasmata have seized a person, the spirits are overcome, the whole mass of blood, and the animal juices, partake of the disorder; whence proceed strugglings not to be borne, and a train of symptoms, of which quaking or shuddering is the chief, all of a sudden, without any manifest cause. The groans and unfeigned tears of the sick too plainly expressed the aggravation of their miseries.

Hodges,
106.

The most remarkable symptom was the palpitation of the heart; which complaint was very grievous. A youth of sixteen, who continued free of the infection after his mother and the rest of the family had been visited, was on a sudden seized with such a palpitation of the heart, that Doctor Hodges, and several others, heard it at a distance; and continued so till he died, which was soon after.

All

All the sick, quickly after seizure grew delirious, running wildly about the streets, if not confined by force; some, tired with rambling, on increase of the distemper, would fall down, ignorant of their condition, or where they were. Many were seized with a vertigo: the spirits were clouded, and all things done as if in sleep. Many had the head-ach so vehement, as if the parts would have flown asunder; a complaint the more intolerable because it continued without any remission or intervals; which cruel shooting pains continued to the last.

Many were seized with stupefaction, and, from the moment of seizure, slept as if dozed with opiates; and in the middle of their employ, in conversation, or engagements, would suddenly, without any reluctance, fall into profound and deep sleeps.—Some were so extremely comatous that the whole body was deprived of sense; insomuch that if any limb or part, clear of the tokens, were tried by puncture or incision, there would be no more felt than on the deadly marks themselves; notwithstanding which, some faculties of the mind would be perceived even till death. Those who were comatous seldom escaped. Though some were buried in sleep, others suffered by a very different extreme, and kept continually waking; insomuch that frequent repetitions of the most efficacious opiates would not procure the least composure.

Hodges,
53, 54.

Persons infected immediately became more light, the effluvia of their bodies breaking through on all sides with great rapidity, and very often carry with them those natural spirits which should be a preservative to the whole frame: hence follow swoonings and faintings, that are fatal indications of that waste of spirits that hath been made. The plenty that perspires shews the diffused nature of the disease, as its steam alone is sufficient to communicate the distemper; like the snuff of a candle, which not only emits a great deal of smoke, but carries a considerable stench along with it into distant parts.

Steam
communi-
cates the
disease.

Such was the delusory appearance of this pestilence, that many were lost when they were thought in a fair way of recovery; others got over it when quite given over for lost. Persons fell from a state of perfect health, after eating; and threw up their food (in other respects good and wholesome) corrupt and poisonous.

Hodges,
95, 142,
146.

It is peculiar to the plague to be preceded by its pernicious effluvia, and it seizes the sick and weakly first, by inducing opposite qualities into the whole constitution. Scarcely one that had bad lungs escaped.

Hodges,
87.

The signs more particularly peculiar to a pestilence are those pustules which the common people call blains, buboes, carbuncles, spots, and the marks called tokens.

Blains

Blains rose with an exquisite shooting pain, containing a humour, and encompassed with a circle, generally reddish. They broke out in many parts of the body; in some, few; in others, many; some, covered all over with them; some small as a pea; others, large as a nutmeg. Blains.

Buboes, sometimes large and sometimes small, with inflammation and gathering, upon the glands, behind the ears, arm-pits, or groin; also about the nose, eyes, cheeks, and other parts; that exchange into the most foul, malignant, and durable ulcers; and are such that some have lost an eye, their nose, or a joint, through them. Buboes.

In a youth there arose a parotitis †, on each side, behind the ears, which, after suppuration and incision, let out great quantities of pus: when healed up, the musculous flesh was so wasted as to discover the external jugular veins and arteries under them, the recurrent nerves, the tendons, the œsophagus, and all the vessels, quite bare and untouched: upon the patient's recovery, these filled up, as before with new flesh. Parotitis.
Hodges,
120.

A Carbuncle is somewhat differently described by Sydenham, Harvey, and Hodges. Car-
buncle.

Among the pimples, equally various in colour, those which are of a shining purple

† Parotitis, is an imposthume or sore under the ear. The parotides borrow their names from the glands affected, which grow behind the ears.

red, are called carbuncles; the carbuncle soon after turning into a black crust is called a coal, and is a perfect mortification.

A carbuncle is a small eruption, whose contents are soon discharged, after which it appears in a crusty tubercle, about the bigness of a millet-seed, gradually spreading, and encompassed with a very red and fiery circle, arising first of all from an ichorous humour, afterward, with great pain and heat, from a lixivious and caustic poison.

In the beginning is a sharp pricking pain upon the part affected, which in little time grows very hot, and then lifts up the cuticle into a blister, containing a thin ichor; but after the vesicle is by rubbing, or other accident, broke, and the contained fluid by heat dissipated, its caustic quality leaves an eschar behind, which crusts over, in some sooner, in some later; its extension is various, and colour more uncertain: in the greatest degree of inflammation it is extremely red, but most part it is dusky, very often livid, and sometimes quite black.

When the pestilential poison hath got to the surface, it exercises its virulence on all the parts it touches, generates another wherever it lodged: the number of them was indeterminate; no part of the body was free from them; they left terrible marks behind, the same as appears upon drinking poisonous draughts.

OF THE PLAGUE. 43

Carbuncles seldom mortify, unless from Coal. the mismanagement or carelessness of surgeons.

A girl aged twelve, felt a grievous pain about her breast, where, quickly after the appearance of a pimple, a carbuncle broke out; the eschar came, and the ulcer discharged matter plentifully; after twenty days she was judged very well: a surgeon rashly dressed her with red drying ointment, the pestilence appeared again and killed her in three days. Hodges, 127.

A merchant had a carbuncle a little below the elbow; through impatience of pain he applied a cooling cataplasm, which suddenly changed it into a gangreen, in the execution of a scarification the surgeon cut a large vein, which caused a flux of blood that could not be stopped; whereupon followed a sinking of spirits, and the gentleman died in three hours.

A carbuncle appeared upon the finger of a young woman, to eradicate which all imaginable care was taken, which seemed to answer wishes: the patient, with her old nurse, supping plentifully on French beans, the distemper returned; though she vomited as much as her strength would bear, and had the most cordial remedies and warm alexipharmicks, a fresh carbuncle appeared in the morning: she was delirious all day, and died at night. The bearers came to bury her, and Hodges, 130.

and talked of fetching the old nurse next, as a person dead ; the poor wretch, as awakened from sleep, cried out, She was not dead ; but died time enough to be carried away that night.

A man of advanced years had his whole thigh and hip over-run with a carbuncle, and, for want of inward strength and spirits, died : another in the same case recovered, where there was strength to carry him through.

A woman, immediately after delivery, had a carbuncle appeared upon her breasts ; the infant suckled all the time without harm ; and she, through the favour of the season, and exact care in all respects, recovered.

A boy had a buboe and carbuncle in the groin, not above two fingers breadth off each other, and got well of both.

Petechiæ.

Hodges,
131.

Petechiæ are little spots upon the skin like flea-bites ; only these spots are more uniform in colour, fixed, and difficult to be removed, whereas a flea-bite gives way with any pressure of the finger, except in the central puncture. They do not always fix in the same parts ; sometimes disappear after a short stay in one place, and rise in others. No part is exempt from them ; they come out chiefly in the neck, breast, and back. The spots were sometimes few, but commonly very numerous. A girl was all over full with them, on a sweat they all disappeared, and she

she recovered : Sometimes these spots would arise, and disappear, and come out again several times : the colour was not always the same, they were red, purple, yellow, livid, black.

Spots of a dark complexion usually called tokens, (by the Dutch they are called pepper-corns) and looked on as the pledges or forewarnings of death ; are minute and distinct blasts, which have their original from within, and rise up with a little pyramidal protuberance ; the pestilential poison chiefly collected at their bases, tainting the neighbouring parts, and reaching to the surface. These blasts were received from the injury of air, where the pestilential miasmata were pent up and condensed, and their virulence increased, to that degree, that life itself was immediately extinguished, upon coming within their reach. Some were suddenly marked with these fatal characters, that did not before find themselves in any other respect out of order.

Tokens,
or pepper-
corns.

A widow aged sixty, ate a hearty dinner of mutton and broth, she affirmed herself never to have been better in her life : the doctor found her pulse to intermit, and abundance of tokens on her breast ; which proved too true a prognostick, that she would, by evening, be in another world.

Hodges,
135.

A girl, the first day of her seizure, breathed without any difficulty ; her warmth, moderate

Hodges,
133.

derate and natural; her inwards free from glowing and pain; her pulse not unequal or irregular; all things were so genuine and well, that the physician suspected her sickness was counterfeited: but on examining her breast, the certain characters were imprinted in many places; the following night she died, before she herself, or any person about her, could discern she was otherwise out of order.

Hodges,
50.

A youth, of a good constitution, found himself of a sudden marked with the tokens; he would not believe they were genuine, because he was so well, yet was dead in less than four hours.

The only woman left alive in a family, thinking herself perfectly well, perceived upon her breast the pestilential spots, and in a very short space died, without feeling any other disorder, or fore-runner of death.

Hodges,
136.

Warts, or
Wharts.

The tokens differ in colour and hardness: they have a great affinity to warts; sometimes surgeons mistook them for warts: by pricking through them the degrees of malignity were discovered; a quick sensibility was a good sign; those which went no deeper than the skin would shove off; when deeper, and past feeling, they were dangerous.

A girl, full of sadness and consternation, ready to sink down, broke out of a house where she was shut up with a nurse, all the rest of the family being dead, ran to Dr. Hodges to shew him the tokens upon her
leg:

leg : he soon found the mistake, it was a wart, which had past unnoticed : upon encouragement she returned home chearful, to take medicines to carry off the disorders upon her ; and sweating plentifully removed all suspicions of contagion. Had not her mind been made easy, probably she would have died by the force of imagination.

The viscera, as well as external parts, were sometimes marked with the tokens ; sometimes the inwards were affected, when none appeared externally. Sometimes they were small as a pins head, others large as a silver penny : some were depressed, others protuberant ; some did not appear till the infected person was dead. Craft of nurses. Crafty nurses put the dead into wet cloaths, and restrained the eruptions, to elude the magistrate's notice, and power to shut up the houses.

Sometimes these fore-warnings of death were out four days, and remained all the while terrible admonitions to the sick and others.

A great deal depends on the circumstances of the tumours, or plague sores : as they appear and increase, the fever abates ; and as they sink and diminish, renew again. Tumours, or plague sores. When they happen about the time of the crisis, and suppurate kindly, they are good prognosticks of a happy recovery.

Hodges,
46.

Spasms [Cramps] are the constant attendants of a plague: a concurrence of symptoms perpetually molest the sick, till death, or a happy eruption discharging the morbid matter, free them from their deplorable condition. Yet frequently persons died without any preceding symptoms of horror, thirst, or fever.

Syden-
ham.

Harvey.

Pleurisies, quinsies, and other distempers that proceed from inflammations of the blood, were never more frequent than before the rise of the London plague: and that very year, so dreadful by the destruction of so many thousands, was otherwise more mild and healthy: and all who escaped the plague, were better in health; and those who recovered of it were afterward freed from other indispositions usually occasioned by the relicks of former diseases.

C H A P. III.

OF THE CAUSES OF PLAGUES.

S E C T. I. Of the PRIMARY Cause.

The LORD sent pestilence, and sent an angel to destroy.—He maketh the creature his weapon.

I CHRON. XXI. 14, 15. WISD. V. 17.

WH Y should the wind blow down the rotten fruit, and leave the sound? Why should the plague sweep away some, and leave others, in the same city, or house? there are natural reasons and causes for these things:

Bp. Ga-
shell at
Boyle's
Lect. 220.

When the profession of physic came to be founded on the knowledge of nature, Hippocrates strenuously affirmed, that no disease came more from the gods than others, all coming from them, and yet all owing to their proper natural causes: that the sun, cold, and winds, were all divine; the changes of which, and their influences on human bodies, were diligently to be considered by a physician.

Second causes must terminate in a prime agent. Physicians allowing the **FIRST CAUSE**, think it sufficient for their profession to argue upon second causes, and assign natural and obvious causes of a pestilence, and what methods may reasonably and prudently be taken for the cure, or against spreading the infection.

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It

Quincy's
Hodges,
P. 233.

It seems much more worthy of the Divine Being so to order it, that from the course of second or natural causes, punishments should pursue offenders, than to imagine the frequent exertion of his power in a way supernatural. Some, likely, out of ignorance of other causes, affected devotion, or interest, came into the notion; and pretended to do greater cures by certain religious performances and their intercession with heaven, than was in the power of medicine, of which they knew very little.

Hist.
plague.
223.

The plague is not 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 it in its course, so the same power thinks fit to let his own actings with men, whether of judgment or mercy, to go on in the ordinary course of natural causes, and he is pleased to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means; reserving to himself a power to act in a supernatural manner when he sees occasion: in the case of an infection, there is no apparent supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appear sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that heaven usually directs by a contagion. The secret conveyance of infection, imperceptible, and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute divine vengeance, without supernaturals, and miracles.—Vapours fulfil his word.—

Psalms
cxviii, 8.

The

The physician who asserts the plague to be spread by the air, by diseased persons, by goods from infected places, by insects, by bad diet, &c. which undoubtedly cause other diseases: as much acknowledges the plague to be the immediate hand of God for the punishment of sin, and may be as good a Christian, as the divine who asserts it must not be imputed to natural causes, but to the HAND, the SWORD, the ARROWS of the LORD.

Hendley,
27, 42.

What the college of physicians thought necessary to advise in the last visitation was prefaced with, "The Church orders for PRAYERS being first observed:" yet failed they not in attending on and prescribing to the sick.

Public sins call for public punishments: when pestilence rages, and consumes the inhabitants of a nation, we acknowledge the evil is of the Lord for the sins of the people: the pestilence is so peculiarly God's own judgment, that it is called the hand of God, the sword of God, the arrows of the Lord; yet, surely, that hand, that sword, those arrows, must mean his appointed methods, second, or natural causes. Such things as in scripture are ascribed to particular providence, are called, his right-hand, and his holy arm; and the wicked are called his sword.

2 Sam.
xxix. 14.
15.
2 Chron.
xxi. 12.
Psal. xci.
5.
Bp. of
Glouc.
thanksg.
ferm.
1704.
Psal. xviii.
13.

If the pestilence should almost destroy a nation, and be conveyed by no more confi-

Sir R.
Blackm.

derable an instrument than an handful of cotton, or the most minute and imperceptible insect, it must be an amazing instance of the mighty and irresistible power of God! that power is exerted in those seemingly inconsiderable second causes, as effectually and speedily as by the whole power of Babylon and Assyria, the Medes and Persians, or all the united powers of the universe. He draws forth his resistless host of pestilential atoms, which defeat and confound the pride and power of the greatest princes; and with invisible weapons overthrows the armies of the mighty.

Man wants to be instructed; and his pride is humbled when the Lord commands his avenging armies to march forth, and instead of lions and tygers, or other formidable forces, sends caterpillars, flies, and locusts in array against him. Such inconsiderable instruments as worms and flies are employed by the Almighty to humble the pride of men, who are too apt to flatter themselves that they are rich, and great, and independent. In these instances God's hand is visible.

Ezek. xiv.
13, &c.

God sent his sore judgments, the sword, the famine, and the noisome beasts, to cut off man and beasts: were not the sword, the famine and the noisome beasts, the second causes appointed to execute his will? The Lord gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to
the

the robbers, and poured upon him the strength of battle: the spoilers, the robbers, the enemies strength in battle, were God's immediate hand, yet can they not be denied to be second causes.

Men should be cautioned against depending on miraculous deliverances, so far as to neglect the use of that free reason which God hath given them, and commanded them to use for their own preservation. The holiest people that ever were, would have offended God by neglecting rational means offered of providing for their safety, and relying upon or gaping after extraordinary manifestations of providence by miracles. Thus,

Carte's
Ormond,
11, 48.

When Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel were afraid, and cried unto the Lord: and the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward: that is, tire not thyself any longer in prayer, go to thy post, lead forward the people, and in doing thy duty, rely on Providence to extricate them. This passage contains an excellent moral lesson, namely, that it is not by inactive invocations of the Deity, that we are to expect relief from heaven in our exigencies; but, by joining with our prayers to God, our most active and prudent endeavours: but to neglect to use the natural means which are in our power, and trust entirely to vows and prayers, is only to tempt Providence, and increase the evil.

Exod. xiv.
10, 15.

Stretch.

Radley's
Garden-
ing, part
III. p. 80.

To pretend to give a natural reason for plagues or pestilences that happen in the world, may by some be thought to enter too far into the secrets of the Almighty.—

Plagues, as commonly argued, proceeding from, or being the immediate finger of God, without the concurrence of nature: that they are sent down from him immediately for the punishment of sinful nations, as in several cases in holy writ.

But, however, the all-wise God, it may be said, seldom in any thing acts contrary to nature, which he has instituted, rarely working by violence what may be done by natural means: so in this case, setting aside miracles, and whatever the Almighty can do if he pleaseth by his own power, let us endeavour to find out by what natural means Providence may work to bring that terrible judgment of plague or pestilence upon any country.

New discovery of the plague, 2.

Almighty Wisdom has given us leave to trace second causes up to what may be called their proper origins or fountains, whence they derive their various powers; that so the nature of many evils being once known, and strength discovered, methods may be taken to the entire extirpation of them.

Of all the diseases to which human nature is exposed, that of the plague is, by common consent of these parts of the world, voted the greatest, the most pernicious enemy. The very

name

name of PLAGUE naturally fills the minds of men with ideas of the blackest apprehensions, arising from a consciousness of that havock and destruction which it always brings along with it wherever it comes:—therefore, how to avoid, or overcome its force, must be a knowledge very agreeable and welcome to all; and which is best attained by inspecting into its nature or being, and examining into the means of its living or subsisting:

Always remembering that excellent advice of the poet,

—put thy trust in God,

For second causes reverence his nod. POPE.

S E C T. II.

Of SECONDARY, or NATURAL CAUSES:
and first of the AIR.

The angel poured forth his phial upon the AIR.
REV. xvi. 17.

—from the vicious air, and sickly skies

A plague did on the—creation rise.

DRYD. GEOR. iii. 721.

A more general cause of pestilence is a bad and unwholesome constitution of the air: the τὸ θεῖον of Hippocrates, which some will have to be meant of somewhat divine, or the immediate hand of God, Galen, his best interpreter, understood to be nothing else but a particular constitution of

Quincy's
Hodges,
244.

Blackm.
pref.

air, arising from natural causes. The τὸ θεῖον of Hippocrates, *quid divinum*, in some distempers, is as dark and inexplicable as Aristotle's εὐτελέχεια, or occult qualities and substantial forms.

Cham-
bers,
art. At-
mosphere.

That part of the air which surrounds our earth, which receives vapours and exhalations, contains a mixture of all the active, volatile parts of the whole habitable world; a mass of various particles from wet and dry bodies of all sorts; all vegetables, minerals, and animals; whatever perspires, corrupts, or exhales, impregnates the air with variety of particles, which are always in motion.

Harvey on
small-pox,
p. 23, &c.

The air in all places inhabitable is always filled with innumerable particles, of all manner of composition, constitution, and mixture, and of all sorts of figure: In digging the ground you discover gravel, stones, marl, clay, iron-stone, brimstone, &c. some of their insensible particles are always steaming into the air, which must make a strange variety. In the ground you discover hundreds of different sorts of vegetables, each of these must emit different particles into the air from different juices of the earth: the water gives original to a thousand sorts of plants, and to innumerable little animals (discernable by the microscope); besides great ones; frogs, leeches, water-snakes, great and small fish, &c. all which do likewise emit steams into the air; the like variety may be instanced in
fire;

fire: a vast proportion of steams must be communicated to the air from all sorts of cattle, vermin, little animals engendered out of putrefaction; in fine, every animate and inanimate body upon the surface of the earth doth exhale clouds of particles into the air.—

Such a vast variety of particles must cause a change every moment, whereby they become more or less malign; at one time ready to cause a malign fever, at another time the small-pox, at another time a pestilential fever.—These particles being actuated by the sun, spring and fall, are a cause why at those seasons contagious distempers, and other diseases are more frequent.

This restless element operates, without ceasing, on all things, in a motion always changing. Iron and copper are corroded and gather rust in the air, and bodies of all sorts are dissolved, or corrupted. Nothing ferments, vegetates, or putrefies, without air; which operates with all the virtues of the bodies included in it; that is, of all nature: there being no drug, salutary, or poisonous, whose virtues are not breathed into the air, that active mass of numberless different principles, the general source of corruption and generation.

Siris, 64.

All natural corruptions and alterations depend on air: Salisbury cathedral is built of Purbeck stone; it becomes soft and moulders away in the air. The silks of Japan, if exposed.

exposed to the air, rot, even while they preserve their colour; whereas, if kept from the air, they hold their firmness and dye: and the sable taffaty worn at Brasil, becomes in a few days of an irony-grey colour in the air, but in the shops preserves its hue.

Every animal, in the course of its duration, impregnates the air with many times the quantity of its own body. Any dead animal exposed to the air, is in a little time carried off, bones and all: so that what was once a man, an ox, is now air.—What huge swarms of grosser matters must swim in the air!—At Madrid and Edinburgh they have no necessary-houses, they make a jakes of their streets over-night; the air sucks up the filth as fast as it is laid; insomuch that there is no increase of foetid smell. Air no where exists in its purity; it is a general chaos; the very off-scourings of all kind of created beings.

Siris.

The body of a man, like a sponge, imbibes and attracts the moisture and salts of the air, and whatever floats in the atmosphere, which, as it is common to all, so it affects all, more or less.

The air is of absolute necessity to animal life; but it is necessary it should be of a due temperature and consistence: not foul, that suffocateth; not too rare and thin, that sufficeth not: like water, it should have a continual motion and free currency, or it will stagnate and corrupt: pent up air, over-
charged

charged with vapours, emitted even from the animal's own body, is unfit for respiration.—

Life, so far as it respects the body, is the circulation of the blood ; on this all animal functions depend : its regulation is the most perfect life, its various irregularities are the occasion of sickness. There is air in the blood, and circulated with it ; and air is conveyed in the food. Impure and noxious air being drawn into the lungs, conveys to the blood the poisonous exhalations and putrid vapours contained in it, which, mingling in circulation, infect the whole mass. The effluvia or steams arising from stagnate ponds, marshy and uncultivated soil, which a hot sun constantly lies on, corrupt the air, and make it productive of fatal fevers : (as for instance, about thirty miles from Rome, in summer.)

Blackm.
22.

That the effluvia of animals also have their effect in varying the air, is evident in contagious diseases, plagues, murrains, and other mortalities, which are spread by the air. In pestilential distempers, contagion is transmitted through the air to a great distance, by means of steams or effluvia from the sick ; in which case the air is even said to be contagious, i. e. full of contagious particles. But the height or depth of the air make a great alteration, few exhalations being able to ascend above the tops of high mountains ; as appears from those plagues where the inhabi-

tants

60 OF THE CAUSES

tants of one side of a mountain have all perished, without the least infection on the other side.

Harvey,
55.

That the air contains venomous particles of various kinds and degrees, and those so specific that they appear to be determined against every species of bodies that have life, is little to be doubted.

Vege-
tables.

In relation to vegetables, both in cold and hot weather, showers of venomous particles entering the bodies of trees, or some of their branches, do, sometimes instantly, other times in a day, two, or three, cause them to die, in the whole, or in their branches, which look black; which can be no other than a mortification (though vulgarly called a blast) and doth as much deserve the name of a plague, as the murrain in cattle. And those venomous particles, that in some places and in some seasons, the grass that lieth on the ground is filled with, doth suddenly kill whole flocks of sheep: and what causeth the mortality among the cattle called the murrain can be imputed only to venomous effluvia of the air.

That such a disposition or texture happens to the mass of air as occasions various diseases at several times, is manifest to every one that but considers, that the same disease destroys an infinite number of men at certain seasons, and at another time seizes only here and there a man, and goes no farther: this is very ap-

parent in the small-pox, but especially in the plague.

The air in which we breathe, at certain seasons, abounds with particles that are hurtful to our well-being and repose; one of the best juices in our bodies, the spittle, is fouled with an acid that floats in our atmosphere; and by degrees becomes the basis of malignant and pestilential diseases, and epidemical infection. That there is an acid in the air is demonstrable from the natural nitre frequently observed upon old stone-walls; as also from the known experiment of vitriol, which, after distillation, if exposed to the air, will afford a stronger and more corrosive spirit from the second preparation than it did from the first. When the *saliva* is once polluted with an acid, it must be conveyed into the stomach, and, as a necessary liquor, must assist in the important business of digestion, and from thence will be transmitted into the blood, and, in the adequate proportion, to every juice separated from it: and when the fluids become offensive in quality, and are perverted from their native purity by the inordinate commotions of their integral parts, distempers of various kinds must necessarily be produced.

Infectious irradiations flowing from bodies inflamed with the pest, as they constantly issue out by transpiration, and other more open passages, diffuse their malignity accordingly,

Cheshire
on Rheu-
mat. p. 33.

Hodges's
Letter 18.

ingly, as they are more or less subtile and spiritual: If the snuff of a candle, which emits a gross and visible fume, can in few moments so taint the circumambient air in a large room, as to render it most offensive to our smell, certainly pestilential exhalations, by very many degrees more fine and subtile, can insensibly, and beyond such narrow limits, spread their poison, corrupting the air, and making it pernicious to bodies disposed to receive such impressions.—

All contagious diseases are occasioned by external adventitious particles, transmitted out of the air immediately, or mediately from other infectious bodies; which particles being admitted through the pores, and by inspiration of the lungs into the body, do, in few instances immediately, in most others, after a greater, or lesser, interval of time, exert their powers. Pestilential steams, are so subtile, they mix with all the juices in so short a time, that in twenty-four, twelve, or six hours, the whole body is infected.

The steams of the *French-pox* do in some operate after admission; in some, a few moments after; in others, after days, weeks, months; in others, many years after. Some have received pestilential particles at *Constantinople*, which, many months after, have shewn their malignity in *Italy*, in such manner that not only the transporter hath fallen into the plague, but likewise hath infected
other

other bodies, who have so filled the air with pestiferous miasms, that the whole country hath soon after fallen into the plague. Hence it is, that *Italian* princes are so careful that they will not suffer any persons coming from parts of the *Levant* to travel through their country, or remain there, without having performed a quarantine of forty days in the *Lazaretto*, before they will permit them to transact their business.

In some warm countries, as *Egypt* and part of *Turkey*, there is always a scattering plague (which sometimes is epidemical and universal) occasioned by the putrefaction and putrid steams, the overflowing of the *Nile* in the former, and morassy grounds of the latter, do emit.

Grand Cairo's Nile does not a little promote the plague's continuance with the *Egyptians*; its overflows being made, by the manners of that people, not to wash away; so that the filth it brings, ever aggravates this disease.

The several sorts of air ought not to be chiefly distinguished by grossness or clearness, but by the greater proportion of such or such particles it is endued with.

For instance, the mariners and super-cargoes of the ships of *Europe* that trade on the coast of *Guinea*, lying on board find themselves well, but passing a night or two on shore, are commonly seized with a malign

Egypt.

Turkey.

Nile.

New discovery of the plague p. 23.

Guinea. Sir W. Monson's voyages, p. 406.

lign fever that often proves mortal. No doubt but air, in point of clearness and thinness doth not differ much in a quarter of a league; or if it doth, it is probable to be clearer on shore; and, notwithstanding, it is much more insalubrious.

Barbot,
195.

The ships generally riding two or three miles from the shore, the stench of the town and the mist of the night is seldom carried so far from the land by the wind.

Guinea.
Monson,
406.

Guinea is unhealthy through extremity of heat, and infection of the air; for which there are many reasons alleged, and antidotes invented to avoid the contagion, but all in vain: the putrefaction of the air is occasioned by the huge and monstrous beasts that country abounds in, which, when they die, by reason of the excessive heat, cast such an intolerable stench that infect and putrifies both air and earth, to the destruction of mankind. The evening air, in two hours will corrupt fresh meat, so that it would swarm with maggots as soon as the sun shone on it, vermin breed in woollen clothes that lie out all night. Fish fresh out of the water will not keep sweet above four hours.

Barbot,
194.

Africa.

Chur-
chill's
voyages,
i. 490.

On the coast of *Africa* the temper of the climate is so bad, that it gives the food the country produces so pernicious a quality, that those who eat of it at their first coming, certainly die, or contract some dangerous distemper.

There

There is none who has traversed the least track of ground beyond his native soil, but can attest the strange alterations the air produces upon bodies, especially if diseased: the air of the *Alps* subjects the inhabitants to distillations in their throat, which congested, do in a short time swell into a huge mole; the *Indian* air disposes northern bodies to dysenteries; the *Spanish* air engenders the King's evil; that of *Padua*, a blindness; the air of *Rome* is very pernicious, especially all the summer, at which time no person will venture to travel to *Naples*, for fear of incurring that dangerous frenzy and burning fever, which the change of air unavoidably brings upon them, especially upon those who return from *Naples* to *Rome*, among whom scarce one in an hundred escapes, though they use the extremest remedies, actual cauteries and scarifications, for their recovery. There is no question but that the air doth evidently concur to the production of several diseases †.

Harvey on
consump-
tions, p.
142.

There must be a disposition in the body of the person to be infected by those pestiferous particles of air; though it is not a necessary consequence that every body which is subject to the plague must one time or other fall into it; very often the pestilential particles

† The manner of the operation of venomous particles in the air; how they cause the small-pox, or plague, may be seen in *A Treatise of the Small-pox and Measles*, by Gideon Harvey, M. D.

are thrown off by the strength of nature ; many have it mortally, many have it curably, many continue all the time of the visitation and never have it at all : many fall at the beginning, many more when it is at its highest rage ; many when it seems to decline ; and some, many weeks and months after it seems to be entirely extinguished : some that have left the contagious air, by removing to a far distance into the country, have dropped into the distemper in their journey ; others, weeks and months after their arrival at the place designed ; and some have escaped it wholly, at least to all visible appearance. Many have had a slight plague, attended with no other than an ebullition of the blood, and others with a simple continual fever.—This truth cannot be denied, being the experience of those who out-lived the last great plague.

Sydenh.
part II.
P. 4.

Here and there some die of the plague for some years after a notable plague, by reason the pestilential constitution of the air continues in part : also fevers that reign a year or two after a dreadful plague, are wont to be pestilential for the same reason : and though some have not the tokens of the plague, yet are they much of the same nature.

Sydenh.

When there is an epidemical constitution of the air, it begins between spring and summer ; that being a season most fit to produce a disease whose essence chiefly consists of an
inflam-

inflammation: as the year increases, it spreads; as that declines, it decreases; till winter changes the air into a disposition of body contrary to the disease.

The great plague was first taken notice of Sydenham in *May*: the funerals increased to some thousands in a week in *August*; but mightily decreased, and almost ceased at the latter end of *November*.

The plague has indeed broke out at other Sydenham seasons, but rarely, nor are such plagues very raging.

What that disposition of the air is whence Sydenham this morbidic furniture proceeds, we know ii. 4. not! But here the clemency and goodness of Almighty God is to be revered and adored, because pestilential constitutions of the air, producing the plague, (the greatest of all evils, and most destructive to mankind) seldomer happen than those that cause less deadly diseases.

Though the air is sometimes, and upon some Gard. Dict. Air accounts, injurious and pernicious, yet it is endued with many, very many serviceable properties and benign qualities: it helps to waste away or disperse those foggy or humid vapours which arise from, and would otherwise stagnate and poison the whole face of the earth. The air, by the assistance of the sun, assumes and sublimates those vapours into the upper regions; and these foggy humid vapours, by this sublimation, and the

coercive power of the air and sun, are rarefied.

SECTION III.

HEATS, DAMPS, NASTINESS, POOR-LIVING, &c.

—The raw DAMPS

*With FLAGGY wings fly heavily about,
Scattering their pestilential colds and rheums
Through all the LAZY AIR. DRYD. OEDIP.*

—Thick DAMPS and LAZY FOGS arise,
And with their sluggish treasures cloud the
skies :

*From some dark caverns far remote from day,
From each embowell'd mount, and hollow vault,
Crude exhalations, and raw vapours brought :
Some from deep quag-mires, ponds, and sedgy
moors,*

*Drive the dull reeks, and shove the haizy stores.
To their appointed station all repair,
And with their heavy wings encumber all the air.*

BLACKMORE.

*No sun e'er gilds the gloomy horrors there,
No chearful gales refresh the LAZY air.*

HOM. IL. viii. 601.

The disposition of the atmosphere with
Chambers regard to moisture, drought, heat, fog, &c.
is of immediate concernment; all living
creatures are assemblages or bundles of vessels,
whose juices are kept together by the pres-
sure

sure of the atmosphere, and by that motion maintain life; any attraction in the air must necessarily be attended with proportionable alteration in the animal creation. Were we enabled to foretel the directions, breadth and bounds of the winds, and of the weather they bring with them, we might be enabled to foretel great emergencies, heats, rains, dearths, plagues, and other epidemical diseases.

Every smoke and vapour will have its effect on bodies under the dominion of the atmosphere; which may be increased under the oppression of a foggy air, or dispersed by the wind. Chambers.

Such an alteration of the common air as increases its gravity, and lessens its elasticity, may be the cause of epidemic and malignant diseases: which is done by too much heat, and at the same time too great a proportion of watry and other particles mixt with it.

The *Arabian* physicians declare, that pestilences are brought by unseasonable moistures, heats, and want of winds. A hot air is more disposed to spread contagion than a cold one; all kinds of effluvia are furthest dispersed in warm air; and when unseasonable moisture and want of winds are added, it will doubtless promote contagion. Mead, pest. 32.
Mead, pest. 54.

The air is in a morbid state when it contains a redundancy of moisture with intense heat and gross matter, mixed in greater proportion than at other times: distempers of a Ingram 114.

malignant nature will spread among us when such air abounds, for it is incapable of performing its natural office, and unfit for the support of life.

Hippocrates observed the constitution of the air which preceded pestilential fevers to be great heats, attended with much rain, and southerly winds. [i. e. In the Levant.]

Galen takes notice, no other than a moist and hot temperature of the air brings the plague.

Ingr. Hist.
Account,
P. 59.

Hot and moist air will produce the plague; and pestilences are brought by unseasonable moistures, heats, and faint blasts of wind. The best writers have said, a hot southerly wind, with moisture, brings this disease. This constitution of the air is the mother and nurse of the plague, and wafts it to neighbouring towns.

Ingr. 60.

The sun, cold winds, &c. produce an intemperate climate; therefore all the Turkish dominions are most subject to this distemper, at particular seasons; but never through the whole year. It fallies forth in Spring as the southerly wind sets in, and continues to the latter end of July, or August, when the wind changes to the north-east, and the plague ceases.

Ingr. 61.

When these winds blow from the South, they are first warm, soon after very hot and parching; and they gather, in travelling over the vast continent of Africa, all the unwholsome

wholsome effluvia of stagnated lakes, of cadaverous animals and vegetables, which die and rot upon that track of ground; all which they waft and convey to regions subject to their blasts, as Egypt, Turkey, &c. where meeting with a disposition to putrefaction, on account of the moisture of the atmosphere, it powerfully affects those who respire in it; the active putrid salts and attenuating oils finding a way into the body through the pores, lungs, and stomach, dispose them to the same kind of putrefaction as that which destroyed the bodies from which they were exhaled: thus a morbous and distempered constitution of the air prevails, and consequently the plague.

About August its malignity disappears, Ingr. 62. because the northern gales come on, which cool and temperate the heat of the atmosphere; for which they have been long celebrated for their salubrity. These winds blow from the north-east; when these cooling winds visit them about the rising of the dog-star, and continue about forty days, those nations are not that year visited with the plague, or but very slightly: when these winds do not blow at all, or are often interrupted, the plague never fails to ravage those countries, in proportion to the defect of those winds.

In the *East-Indies*, during the dry heats the season is healthy, when the rains fall immediately upon the hot weather, untoward fevers begin.

If showers fall in *Africa* during the sultry heats, the plague and pestilential fevers ensue.

Hodges,
40.

Humidity is a great promoter of putrefaction, whence swarms of insects, which is a certain forerunner of a pestilence.

In *Guinea* the heat, with the moisture, conduce so much to putrefaction, that the purest white sugars are often full of maggots; and their drugs soon lose their virtue, and grow verminous.

Mead,
pest. 30.

It is particularly observed of *Ethiopia*, that the plague usually invades it whenever rains fall during the sultry heats of *July* and *August*.

Barbot,
539.

Between the continent of *Africa* and *Cape Verde islands* there arises a thick fog of a reddish colour, which looks like red sand, and occasions violent head-achs, fevers, and the bloody-flux.

Barbot,
172.

At *Cape Corso* on the coast of *Guinea*, the ground is covered with shrubs; whence, in the vales particularly, arises a certain fog or mist toward night, or in the morning, which may distemper the air, and procure unhealthiness.

Chambers,
Bogs.

The smell and vapour arising from the bogs in *Ireland* is unwholesome, and the fogs putrid and stinking; they corrupt the water both in colour and taste.

Mead,
pest. 56.

The plague is carried yearly to *Smyrna*, and constantly ceases about the twenty-fourth
of

of *June*, by the dry and clear weather they have always at that time; the unwholesome damps, which annoy that country in the Spring, being then dissipated. If any ship bring it in the winter months, it never spreads; but if in *April*, or after, it continues till the abovementioned time.

Dr. *Baynard* observes, that during the rage of the distemper in 1665, there was such a general calm and serenity of weather, as if the wind, and rain also, had been banished the realm; and for many weeks together, he could not discover the least breath of wind, so much as to stir a fan: The fires with great difficulty were made to burn, through the great quantity of nitre in the air; there fell abundance of mildews; and the very birds would pant for breath, especially the larger sort, and were observed to fly more heavily than at other times.

During a plague which proceeds from a corruption of the air, the sun has not a pure clear light, but is obscured by the grossness of the atmosphere, and by exhalations which ascend like clouds.

There is some quality or ingredient in the air, on which life more immediately and principally depends: what that is, though men are not agreed, yet it is agreed it must be the same thing that supports the vital and the common flame; it being found that when air, by often breathing in it, is become unfit

Echard
iii. 142.

Madame
Dacier,
Iliad
i. p. 8.

Siris, p.
67.

unfit for the one, it will no longer serve for the other. The like is observable in poisonous damps or steams, wherein flame cannot be kindled : as is evident in the *Grotto del Cane* near *Naples*. And here it occurs, to recommend the plunging them in cold water, as an experiment to be tried on persons affected by breathing a poisonous vapour in old vaults, mines, deep holes or cavities under ground. This might probably save the lives of several, being what is practised on dogs convulsed, and in all appearance dead, but which instantly revive, on being taken out of the above-mentioned grotto, and thrown into a lake adjacent.

Grotto del
Cane.

Balle's
Letter to
Mr. Bradl.
Gard.
part iii. p.
82.

This grotto is a hole dug into a bank near the lake d'Averna, whose water is warm, continually bubbling or boiling up ; this lake is covered with a green scum, and never freezes, lying not far from the famous Sulfo Terra, where much brimstone is made, and where smoke issues out of the ground in many places. The entrance of the grotto is hardly wider than a common door, and not high enough to admit a tall man without stooping, growing narrower towards a point, a few yards distant from the mouth ; at the bottom it is very wet, almost standing water, with stones lying in it, and the sides are also moist about a foot or two in a strait line above the bottom, which is as high as the steam arises, and is known by putting in a
lighted

lighted torch into the grotto, and lowering it by degrees, till the flame comes below the top of the steam, when it goes out. The torch thus extinguished, the smoke, which is then below the steam, cannot rise above it, but slowly steals out of the mouth of the grotto, and then ascending is dispersed: nothing will burn in this grotto, nor any creature either of the land or water live in it longer than it can hold its breath; not even an insect.

Mr. Balle ventured to put his mouth below the surface of this suffocating steam, and sucking in a little of it, found it of a very strong scent, somewhat like sal amoniac: it seemed after two or three trials, that it was most like sucking for breath in a vacuum; it wanted that substance which we find in common air, and is so necessary to maintain life in any creature.

The common trial shewed to strangers is to tie the legs of a dog, and lay him on the ground where this steam arises; he immediately falls into convulsions, sets his eyes, and struggles in the same manner as creatures do in the air-pump when the air is exhausted. The dog, when void of motion, is quickly taken out of the grotto, some few paces to the side of the lake, and his nose and mouth thrust in and rubbed in the mud and water; by which means he soon begins to recover, and in a little time is so well that he returns home with his master.

The man who shewed the grotto, when he saw the gentleman going to put his head into the steam, protested against it; when he could not prevail, he went away; but was desired, if any accident happened, to make use of the same remedy he had used to the dog, to recover him in the same manner.

Somewhat like this is what are called damps in mines in Britain and other places, which come only at times, and are not lasting. These damps when they rise, will not suffer any light to burn, and soon suffocate the workmen, and kill them, if they are not presently drawn up into the open air: no other means has yet been discovered to recover them after such accidents, except a fresh turf be cut and laid to their mouths; which perhaps may be for the same reason that the mud being applied to the nose of the dog recovers him after he is drawn out of the grotto.

Upon the town walls of Leghorn, and other places of Tuscany, in Sicily, Barbary, and in other hot countries, they have holes made like large ovens for the preservation of corn; these conservatories are bricked within side, and coiled round with wisps of straw: on the tops, which are level with the surface of the earth, are placed large stones, with a hole cut in each of them, big enough to admit men, and baskets. When filled with
corn,

corn, they are close stopped with stone covers, and earth flung over them : hither corn is brought that is infested with weevils, or ferments, by this method all living creatures in it are destroyed, and the most violent ferment is stopped.

One of these conservatories being empty, was left open, where some men were playing at bowls ; one of the bowls falling into it, one of the company was let down with ropes to fetch it up ; he was no sooner down, than he was suffocated to death ; one of his companions, who endeavoured to get him out, was so sensibly touched with the noisom vapour of the place, that before he could get half way he was forced to return : this was accidental, and may be supposed somewhat like the damps in mines.

The poisonous vapours here mentioned are plainly more destructive to animal life than any others that have been known, in that they act much quicker upon the spirits of animal bodies than those which are said to occasion the plague or other pestilential distempers : and there is likewise this difference between them, that a body poisoned by the first will not communicate that poison to another, as people infected by that vapour which causeth the plague are known to do.

Steams of the same qualities frequently arise from putrefactions of stagnant waters, and other bodies, which in some particular

Quin.
Hodg.
234.
Stagnant
CON- waters.

constitutions of air, are apt to corrupt, and emit very offensive effluvia. Empedocles observed a pestilential disease to arise from the putrefaction of a river; to remedy which, he contrived to have the streams of two other rivers drained into it, which, by increase of the current and an additional weight and pressure of water, brought the former to its usual sweetness, and put a stop to the plague.

Qu. Hod.
235.

Oxford.

Dr. Plot observes, Oxford is much more healthful than heretofore: the city enlarged, the inhabitants not increased proportionably, and therefore not so closely crowded. The magistrates take care to keep the streets clean from filth; formerly they used to kill all manner of cattle within the walls, and suffer their dung and offals to lie in the streets.

Qu. Hod.
236.

About those times the Isis and Charwell, through carelessness, being filled with mud, caused the ascent of malignant vapours whenever there happened a flood: in 1517, at the charge of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, those rivers were cleansed, and more trenches cut for free passage of the water; and the town has since continued in a very healthful condition.

Qu. Hod.
237.

All those countries which most abound in swamps and standing waters are most unhealthy, especially in the hottest seasons, except they have communication with the sea or some great river. Constant heat and
settled

settled calms most dispose bodies to putrefaction and corruption.

Port towns, and those that lie upon sea coasts, where ouze, mud, and rotting reeds and flags, being warmed and fermented by the active influence of a hot sun, send up from time to time into the air crude vapours and exhalations, which being improved and raised to a higher state by a sultry and scorching heat, contract a malignant quality; may themselves produce a plague, or be always ready to join and assist a foreign invader. This is found true in the air of Scanderoon, and many other sea-ports; and is no less observable in the country lying upon the Nile, where upon the ebbing of the river, the ouze and mud left behind, and heated by the burning sun, become so far animated that they produce numberless insects and vermin, convey into the air such unwholesome reeks and corrupt steams, that not only pollute the air, but make it pestilential; hence some parts of Egypt are seldom entirely free from contagion.

The impurities and filth which accompany the gallies and slaves at Marseilles, fill the air with stench and offensive smells, easily perceived by those that pass along the adjoining shore.

That the air we breathe may be wholesome, all things that may advance or add to the corruption of it should diligently be removed;

Blackm.
on the
plague.
Sea-ports
and coasts.

Scanderoon.

Nile.

Blackm.
Gallies
and slaves.

Dr. Willis.

moved ; houses and streets kept clean ; all filth, and whatever may cause noisom smells, be taken away ; amongst other things, the smell of soap-suds and lye, in the washing of clothes, ought to be avoided ; as experience has taught this to be very dangerous.

Ingr. 49.

Something of a much more mild disposition than the plague happens yearly in England, from the unsettled and inclement weather, which is called catching cold: young children and old people are the first disordered by it, and they are also very early attacked by the plague. It is not owing to a bare constipation of the pores, but to some hurtful particles imbibed with the air ; it is not to be cured but by a sensible evacuation by sweat, urine, stools, &c. This disease is so observable, that the country dame advises her treacle posset for the like evacuations : she can observe, that the lips, nose, and ears, in a day or two after, are frequently beset with eruptions, which are nothing less than the crisis of this fever, caused by an ill state of the air ; and such breakings out may be called carbuncles in the minutest state, they bearing great analogy to the plague, in respect to heat, inflammation, distention, and discolouring the parts disordered.

Ingr. 52.
See a
pamphlet
published
1643, by
command.

Contagion must not be confined to the plague only, for we have had many fevers in England that were of this nature. In particular, The New Disease (as it was called)

or

or the *Morbus Epidemicus* in 1643; yet this fever was not the plague. It was thus distinguished, *Febris putrida, continua, maligna, et contagiosa*.

Frederick Hoffman informs us from his Ingr. 64. own knowledge, that the manufacturers of nitre observe at their works, that the beds of earth prepared for that acid of the air which constitutes the very essence of the nitre, are impregnated principally, or solely, whilst the winds blow from the points of the compass between the North and East; and these winds are remarkable all over the northern hemisphere for cooling the air. By these winds the air of Egypt is cooled and replenished with an acid, (the cold not improbably the consequence of the acid) the great preservative against putrefaction, and consequently against the plague.

It is an apparent and incontestible act of Providence, that sends the Etesian winds at Ingr. 65. this season, when the moisture with which the overflowing of the Nile impregnates the entire atmosphere, renders all bodies eminently subject to putrefaction, and consequently an antidote or preservative is particularly necessary.

The qualities of the air are not always the Ingr. 88. same, it varies according to the different substances wherewith it is impregnated; and its operations with respect as well to human bodies, as to flame, sound, and light, will be

according to the bodies that form its composition. Thus we see situations of places differ, some are as remarkable for salubrity as others for distempers. This holds true in many counties in England. The Campagni di Roma is a very fine plain country with an exceeding rich soil, but neither cultivated nor drained, consequently becomes rotten and putrid, and sends forth, during the heat of summer, noxious effluvia, in such abundance, that it is accounted very dangerous to pass through it, and certain death to pass a night in it, so that it remains destitute of inhabitants. The plague in Constantinople generally breaks out in that quarter of the city which lies low and is marshy.

Ingr. 100. The plague annually visits some nations, but the time of its first appearance differs in proportion to their distance from the equator; those who are most remote have it latest, and are most free, because the cold air which abounds with nitre will always check its fury; those nearer have it longer, because the heat and moisture continue many more months. Most countries near the Equinox are subject, near eight months in the year, to very heavy night dews, proceeding from the heat of the sun in the day exhaling great quantities of moisture, which, in the night, fall again upon the earth; insomuch that in many parts of the world the leaves of the herbage and shrubs are full of water, though no rain has fallen for months.

Nothing

Nothing approaches so near to the first original of the plague as air pent up, loaded with damp, and corrupted with the filthiness which proceeds from animal bodies. Mead
Pest. 110.

It is probable that the volatile parts with which animals abound, may, in ill states of air in the sultry heats of *Africa* be converted by putrefaction into a substance which will infect others: we find animal putrefaction produce, in these northern climates, very fatal distempers, (though they do not arrive at the malignity of the plague) where a large number of people are closely confined together, as in goals, sieges, and camps. This is described by the prophets of old, Ezekiel and Amos. M. Pest.
21, 32,
&c.

All authors agree, one great cause of pestilential distempers in camps and armies to be dead bodies lying exposed and rotting in open air. Battles are usually fought in summer time; the heat acting upon the unburied carcases and fermenting the juices, draws forth those active particles which, in great quantities, filling the atmosphere, when they are inspired and let into the stomach, do affect it; the fluids of human bodies being ranker, and more abounding in active salts, than those of other creatures which are not repaired and nourished by the juices of animals.

There are abundance of instances to support the opinion of the fatal effects of steams and exhalations from putrefied bodies. Quin.
Hodg
234.

brose Parry gives a relation of a plague that laid waste almost a whole country, that had its rise from the stench of a great many human carcases that were thrown into one pit, and left rotting uncovered. Many authors take notice of plagues arising from the stench of putrefying fish left dead upon shores.

Ing. 58.

Late accounts furnish us with histories of malignant fevers raging in armies; but those distempers, though contagious, are not the plague, but diseases of the camp, and no ways epidemical: the cure consists in removing the troops, and the survivors become healthful.

Mead
Ven.
Exhal.

A body was hanged in chains; after a few months, in very hot weather, it was sport to boys to swing it up and down; one struck it with his fist on the naked belly, which being outwardly parched and dry, and stretched and swelled from the falling down of the humours, was broke by the blow; and gushed out a fiery and corrosive water, that, running down the lad's arm, fled off the skin, and it was a hard matter to preserve it from mortifying. What this liquor could do upon the outward skin, the more volatile parts of it would effect upon the stomach, if a considerable number of them were fixed there.

See small-
pox. infra.

Mead
Pest. xxi,
xxiii.

It is a common observation, that famine is often succeeded by pestilence; and that this calamity generally begins among the poor,
whose

whose food is the worst. Indeed, it has hardly been ever known when the distemper did not begin among the poor, the closeness of whose habitations are in all respects incommodious for diseased persons; as they subsist only by daily labour, if not relieved by the publick, they must be abandoned to want, and their families and neighbours exposed to the distemper.

Bad food, unwholesome meats and drinks, such as tainted and perishing flesh, stinking garbage, unripe fruits, and hurtful herbs, which in times of dearth and scarcity the starving people greedily devour to satisfy their craving hunger, often produce malignant and pestilential diseases: the juices with which those supply the blood being corrupted, must necessarily make a fluid of quite other properties than the animal œconomy requires; whereupon the small tubes are obstructed by an unequal glutinous slime; and it is therefore no wonder if pustules, inflammations, ulcers, &c. are raised in the surface of the body.

Surat in the *East Indies*, is seldom free from the plague, yet foreigners who trade there are in no danger. The inhabitants neither eat flesh nor drink wine, live very poorly, on herbs, rice, water, &c. This fare, with the heat of the climate, makes them liable to malignant distempers, from which those who feed well are more secure.

Blackm.
23.

Mead
Ven. Exh.

86 OF THE CAUSES

Ingr. 69. The poor were always the first sufferers in all countries; because their fluids are poor and weak, and consequently the solids less able to resist putrefaction. Accordingly, Mr. L'Estrange takes notice, that the plagues in 1626 and 1636, broke out in Whitechapel; a probable place, not only from the multitudes of poor in that neighbourhood, but from the slaughter-houses, since more beasts are killed there than in any other parish in London; and consequently more original filth and nastiness is there to be found,

Ingr. 68. We are told, that the king being in council, in 1665, was informed that the president of the royal college of physicians affirmed, that the plague began in St. Giles's*, by flax. It is very probable that was the place where the plague first appeared; for wherever there is a distemperature in the air, mean food and uncleanness pre-dispose the human body to receive the infection.

New disc. of plague. A great cause of the plague's raging in cities is the great number of poor people pent up together, under all the inconveniencies that can happen to poor mortals, involved in every kind of calamity, destitute of every necessary of life, condemned to a poisonous and corrupted air.

* The plague at Marseilles began in a quarter inhabited by the poorest people, who were destitute of every thing, like St. Giles's at London.

Grand Cairo is crouded with vast numbers of inhabitants, who, for the most part, live very poorly and nastily; the streets are very narrow and close; and twenty or thirty live in a small house. It is situated in a sandy plain at the foot of a mountain, which, by keeping off the winds which would refresh the air, makes the heats very stifling. Through the midst of it passes a great canal, which is filled with water at the overflowing of the *Nile*; and after the river is decreased, is gradually dried up: into this, people throw all manner of filth, carrion, &c. so that the stench which arises from this, and the mud together, is insufferably offensive. In this posture of things, the plague every year constantly preys upon the inhabitants, and is only stopped when the Nile by overflowing, washes away this load of filth; the cold winds, which set in at the same time, lending their assistance by purifying the air. It is positively affirmed, that seven thousand persons have died in one day of the plague, which they say they can make an exact computation of, from the number of biers that are left to carry out the dead.

Grand
Cairo.Mead
Pest. 29.

Gemelli.

Pococke,
26, &c.

Naples is celebrated for its fine situation, and healing air; a confluence of nature's purest materials makes that city noble and glorious; yet all is lost, all dashed to pieces, by the foul manners of the people.

New disc.
of plague.

Naples.

Convents of friars and nuns, baneful in

88 OF THE CAUSES

Naples.

their origin, and pernicious in their ends, corrupt the air, more than the slavish lives of of the people. The evil from them overbalances all the advantages of air and situation. There are more than four hundred convents interspersed through the city, where more than fourscore thousand are locked up to feed on meagre diet; the handfuls of pure air now and then blown upon them, can do no more than barely hold life; for the religious are mostly in their rooms, which are very small, and have but spike-holes of windows: most orders are prohibited the wear of linen, penance being strictly enjoined to be performed in woollen, which retains that sweat and nastiness, that the recluses cannot, if they would, be wholesome company: People not used to them, have often been ready to drop down passing through their long close galleries; the steams teeming out at the holes of the cloysters must mix with the element, and taint and putrefy the air, and consequently every thing it nourishes must partake of the corruption. No wonder then, that twenty thousand perished there by the pestilence in one day (as happened some years since): the narrowness of the streets, and height of houses, were proper ducts for conveying the corrupted mass. Wherefore we may justly conclude, had it not been for the sulphureous and bituminous particles scattered through the air, there would

would have been a loss of many thousands more.

We were informed from Naples, May 29, 1764, that great numbers of the inhabitants of that kingdom having been supported, during the famine, by unwholesome food, a great mortality had thereby been occasioned: both private houses and hospitals were filled with sick; and those who attended them were scarcely able to give them the necessary assistance.

Marseilles is a very agreeable place, and as good air as can be for man to breathe in; but of all the towns in *France* it has the greatest disadvantage possible to its air, from the number of gallies lying within the town, with their heads to the chief key, making one side of the way to the most beautiful and most frequented street in the city. Thirty gallies, filled with twelve or thirteen thousand slaves, commonly covered, lying as so many prisons, can be no other than so many puddles of bad air; the food of the men is very indifferent, and that stinted; no exercise, but what is very pernicious to human nature, hard labour by starts, and long intervals of idleness: of necessity a very unwholesome steam must come from them to the annoyance of the city, taking away that good which nature designed it in its situation. How much this contributed to the swell of
the

Mar-
seilles.

New disc.
of plague.
41.

the late mortality there, the nature of the plague will determine.

Hodges,
55.

Places close confined, and dark as prisons, and houses in vallies, are much more liable to contagion than situations upon eminencies, where the air is frequently agitated by the wind. Our common prisons afford us an instance of this, where few escape the goal distemper, which is always attended with a degree of malignity in proportion to the closeness and stench of the place.

New disc.
of plague.

The stench and infectious fumes always arising from the steams of *London*, make ineffectual (in some measure) all the advantages which nature and art have bestowed on the city, in her glorious *Thames*, and in her clean and wide streets. Throngs of poor people thrust into prisons; send forth smells very prejudicial, which *Londoners* are much less able to bear than others, because of their habitual neat and clean manner of living; the nicest being soonest offended. You will see an immediate loss of a good complexion to a person just put into prison; the daily experience of which is sufficient to demonstrate the power of prison steams over men. *London* seems to encourage nothing that may lay it open to the rage of the plague; but prisons. It were to be wished, a place down the river were built to stow those in who are designed for the plantations, till the number intended to be shipped off is made up: their close confinement in *Newgate*

gate must be prejudicial to the health of themselves and many others.

In the goal of Newgate a fever appears annually (but only in hot weather) which is contagious; and as such capable of afflicting many of those who are in the same prison; and even others, of weak constitutions, who are shut up for a short time in the same room. Ingr. 103.

The story of the black affizes at *Oxford*, 1577, will be as lasting as extraordinary; such an effect of bad air has not been heard of: Judges, gentry, and others, to the number of three hundred, were killed by a poisonous steam brought by the prisoners out of the goal: It was observed, *they alone* were not injured by it. Almost every one present died within forty hours, except women and children.

The custom of those times placed the prisons or dungeons under the place of trial; the confined coming to be tried, could not have the benefit of passing through fresh air, to be purged of their filth. It is not unreasonable to think, that a great number of poor, starved, diseased, and long-confined wretches, from such a place, immediately coming among people of wholesome and nice constitutions, may send forth a stench sufficient to suffocate them, in a room where the air could have no free passage. New disc.
of plague.
50.

July 4, 5, 6, 1579, 19 Eliz. at the affizes at *Oxford*, was arraigned and condemned Tell tale,
194.

Rowland Jenks for his seditious tongue ; at which time there arose such pestilential stench from the body of the prisoners that almost all present were infected. The jurors died presently ; shortly after died Sir Robert Bell, Lord Chief Baron ; Sir Robert De Olie ; Sir William Babington ; Mr. Wenman ; Mr. De Olie, High Sheriff ; Mr. Davers ; Mr. Harcourt ; Mr. Kirle ; Mr. Pheplace ; Mr. Greenwood ; Mr. Foster ; Serjeant Baram ; Mr. Stephens, &c. There died at Oxford three hundred persons ; sickened there, and died at other places, two hundred and odd, from July 6, to August 12, after which not one died of that sickness, for one of them infected not another ; nor did any woman or child die thereof.

Jeruf. and
Babel,
549.

Mr. Tregion at *Launston* ; Mr. Rigby, Mr. Christopher Watson, with eighteen persons more [popish priests] perished at *York*, in the year 1581, with the very infection of the prison.—

At an *Old-Baily* sessions in 1750, in the Mayoralty of Sir Samuel Pennant, there was a terrible affair of this kind : when Sir Thomas Abney, Mr. Baron Clark, the Lord Mayor, Sir Daniel Lambert, half the jury, Mr. Anthony Biggs, surgeon, and many others, lost their lives by catching the distemper from the prisoners at the bar.

Mr. Sheriff Murden caught his death by going into Newgate to quell a mutiny ; and

Mr.

Mr. Sheriff Blunt was supposed to have lost his life the same way.

If in the sultry months we examine into the diseases of Newgate, the Savoy, or any of the gaols of London, or those of other cities of Europe, we shall find a pestilential disease every year in them, though not so malignant as the pestilence in sultry climes, nor of so long continuance, yet sufficient to destroy great numbers of the prisoners. This disease is also contagious, because it takes its origin from putrid air. Mariners, especially in long voyages, have too frequently felt the experience, not so much from the coarse diet, as from the ships being crowded with such numbers of men, from whose breath and bodies arise hot steams. The breaths of people confined a short time will destroy themselves: in the prison of St. Martin's round-house, some years ago, many persons being close shut up, some died in a few hours.

This shews the necessity, in regard to health, as well as compassion to the prisoners, of taking care that all houses of confinement should be kept as airy and clean as is consistent with the use to which they are designed.

Great care should at all times be taken that streets be kept clean from filth, carrion, and all manner of nuisances; for as nastiness is a great source of infection, so cleanliness is the greatest preservative; which is the true reason

reason why the poor are most obnoxious to contagious diseases. The Persians, though their country is every year surrounded by the plague, seldom suffer any thing by it themselves; they are the most cleanly people in the world; many of them making it great part of their religion to remove filthiness and nuisances of every kind, from all places about their cities and dwellings.

Though pestilential particles are more frequently floating in or about cities and towns, it is not rare to meet with them in scattered villages, arising out of church-yards, standing pools, stinking ditches, and places where garbage, carrion and other nastiness is thrown; so that sometimes it is possible to fall into diseases in the country, as in cities or towns.

Hodges,
58, 59.

Among other causes, the eating corrupted flesh has been reckoned: the year before the pestilence, there was a great mortality among the cattle, from a very wet Autumn, whereby their carcasses were sold amongst the ordinary people at a low price, and a great deal of putrid humours in all likelihood, proceeded from them: the common people fed on such diet, even to gluttony; and many knowing persons ascribed the pestilence to this original: but Dr. *Hodges* was of opinion, such living may raise the humours to a degree of putrefaction, bring very malignant fevers, and cause epidemical diseases, but not

Hodges,
59.

a true pestilence. A corrupt diet can do no more in giving, than a good one can in removing, the pestilential impressions.

Intemperature of the year; sudden change of air; suppression of usual evacuations; diminution of perspiration; drunkenness; venery; and passions of the mind, especially anger, and fear, are justly reckoned among the remote causes. It is almost incredible how some, at the height of the distemper, would, from a very slight cause kindle into the utmost rage, and rave at one another like meer scolds, till death parted their contentions. Fear and sorrow prepared the way, by deadening the fancy and memory, suffocating the spirits, suppressing the natural heat, breaking the constitution, and promoting malignity.

Hodges,
62.

S E C T. IV.

EFFLUVIA of MINERALS.

*From hidden mines and treasures, up they come
From each, or friendly, or infectious, womb!*

REYN. PROSP. of DEATH. p. 17.

MR. Boyle attributes plagues principally to the effluvia or exhalations from noxious minerals.

Salts of every nature, sulphurs from volcanos, grottos, caverns, &c. all fume into the air. The air, in effect, is depraved in more
 † places

Chambers, and
Mr. Boyle.

places than improved, by being impregnated with subterraneous exspirations. Among the minerals known to us there are many more noxious than wholesome; and the power of the former to do mischief, is more efficacious than the latter to do good; as we guess by the small benefit mankind receive, in point of health, by the effluvia of any metal, or known fossil, in comparison of the great and sudden damage often done by the exspirations of orpiment, sandarick, and white arsenic.

Sydenham
56.

It seems probable, that particular tracks of air are filled with effluvia proceeding from mineral fermentations, which contaminating the air they pass through, with particles destructive, some times to some sort of animals, sometimes to another; they so long propagate diseases appropriated to the various affections, till the subterraneous mineral or vapours be expired; which may likewise ferment afresh from the relics of the old matter.

Blackm.
Pl. p. 34.

Plagues are often bred in the bowels of the earth, when the reeks and fumes of various kinds arising from the strife and conflicts of fermenting minerals and unripe metals, agitated by fires that rage in vaults underground, have filled their caverns. These being set on fire by their own struggle, or some neighbouring flames, and wanting room, like kindled gunpowder, to diffuse itself, burst their prisons by furious earthquakes,

quakes, and break through the chafms and disruptions of the ground in violent and contagious tempests: and these fill the regions of the air with crude pestilential seeds, and subterraneous poison; which malignant eructations gathering to themselves the hurtful particles which they meet with in their way, gain greater force, and being drawn into the lungs by the breath, infect the vitals, and execute their terrible tragedy: now these fatal vapours can be nothing else but the crude steams of nitre, vitriol, and sulphur, blended together, with which the caverns of the earth so much abound, and exhalations from other minerals and metals of like noxious quality, embodied and strictly combined with them.

Metallic vapours destroy vegetation; no rocks or mountains, pregnant with rich veins of ore, are covered with rich vegetable soil.

Spanish
sheep
walks.

Upon an earthquake the earth sends forth noisom vapours which infect the air, as the air does our bodies: so it was observed to be at Hull in Yorkshire by the reverend Mr. Banks, minister of that place, after a small earthquake there in 1703; it was a most sickly time for a considerable while afterwards; and the greatest mortality that had been known for fifteen years.

At *Fashun* in Sweden, noted for copper-mines, the mineral exhalations affect the air so sensibly, that their silver coin is frequently

discoloured in their purses; and the same effluvia changes the colour of brass. In grounds wherein there were several veins of metals and minerals, pillars of fumes have been seen arising from them, some with good, others without scent. Where there are mines of sulphur, the air at times, becomes very unwholesome, which frequently produces pestilential diseases.

Merin,
P. 757.

The mines near the *Cape of Good Hope* emit such horrible fumes from the arsenic that abounds there, that no animal can live near them; so that such as at any time have been opened, were obliged to be immediately closed again.

At the mines in *Hungary* the water is drawn up in bags made of oxes hides, because no other substances would be able to endure or resist the corrosive exhalations of the mines. The passage to them is always filled with hot and stinking vapours, without intermission, which are often so strong, that they suffocate the light of the lamps, though the cotton is generally twisted together an inch thick. The sharp vapours from the mines, often corrode the leather seat whereupon the miners sit to be let up and down, and the rope or hook that holds them together; and, lets them tumble three or four hundred fathom.

A good part of the clove-trees which grew so plentifully in the island of *Ternate*,
being

being felled at the solicitation of the *Dutch*, in order to heighten the price of that fruit, such a change ensued in the air as shewed the salutary effect of the effluvia of the clove-trees and their blossoms; the whole island, soon after they were cut down, becoming exceeding sickly. This was attributed to the noxious steams of a volcano, the ill quality whereof had been corrected by the aromatic effluvia of those spicy blossoms.

Miners are subject to distempers which arise from their employment; and most artificers have diseases peculiar to their trades. Ingr. 58.

Authors differ very much in their opinions of the effects of mineral exhalations; but very odd relations are to be met with of malignant and deadly sicknesses from those causes. Quincy's
Hodges,
241.

Two persons were employed to dig a well at North-Leigh in Oxfordshire, but, upon being taken ill, left off work, and it was undertaken by two others, who, before they could do any thing considerable, sunk down, and died: which being perceived by a miller, he came to their assistance, and fell down dead upon them: another venturing to assist, with a rope tied about him, fell from the ladder in the same manner; and though presently drawn up, he was scarcely recovered in two hours. Quin.
Hodg.
242, from
Dr. Plot.

A bucket falling into a well, a woman persuaded a strong lusty man to go down a

ladder to fetch it, who, by that time he had got half way down, fell from the ladder; the woman called another neighbour to his assistance, who much about the same place, met the same fate, without giving the least sign of change.

Damps.

The sudden and strange effects of some steams arising from mines and pits, are generally termed by our colliers, DAMPS.

Dr. Boerhaave gives account of something of the same kind at Dublin; and in the Philosophical Transactions there are the like relations of damps in the coal-mines of Lord Sinclair in Scotland.

Quin.
Hodg.
243, and
Cham.

The most surprizing effect of these subterraneous effluvia is in a relation of Dr. Bernard Connor: Persons digging in a vault or cellar at Paris, were so suddenly transfixed by subtile vapours, that they were found in postures as if at work; one with his ax advanced; another with his shovel full of earth, half lifted; a woman sitting with her arm upon her knee, her head leaning upon that hand, with manifest expectations in her countenance of what they were in search of; and a boy in the attitude of evacuation.

It is probable, peculiar kinds of exhalations may sometimes be emitted, especially after earthquakes, and occasion mortal diseases in animals of one kind, and not of another; in this or that place, and not elsewhere.

Mead
Pest. 79.

All plagues do not indifferently affect all kinds of creatures; most are confined to a par-

particular species; the disease among the black cattle neither proved infectious to other brutes, or to men. Those venomous corpuscles which destroy the life of sheep do not cause the same effect on all cattle; therefore they must be of various forms and have various motions. It is remarkable, that in the raging distemper among the cows about London (it was at its height in 1714) no oxen had the distemper, only milch cows, which were more tender than the males.

Harvey,
56.

Bradl.
Gard. part
iii. p. 94,
95, 96.

There was a plague or murrain in 1514, which invaded none but cats. *Dionysius Halicarnessius* mentions a plague which attended none but maids: and that which raged in the time of *Gentiles* killed scarcely any women, and very few but lusty men. *Boterus* mentions a plague which assaulted none but the younger sort; and we have instances of the same kind of a later standing. *Cardan* mentions a plague at *Basil*, in which the *Switzers*, and not the *Italians*, *Germans*, or *French*, were infected. In a contagious fever in *Italy*, 1505, few women, or old men, and not one Jew, died; its effect was most fatal to young men and boys. The wealthiest suffered most. *John Utenbovius* takes notice of a cruel plague at *Copenhagen*, which, though it raged among the *Danes*, spared the *Germans*, *Dutch* and *English*, who went with all freedom and without the least danger, to the houses of the infected.

Cham-
bers.

A plague which raged in the isle of Cyprus in the year 1760, is said to have carried off ten men to one woman, and to have been most fatal to the youth of both sexes.

Hodges,
142.

Mortalities among cattle frequently forego an infection among mankind: these creatures living (for the most part) both night and day in the open air, not only are more influenced by it when tainted, but are also hurt by the infectious venom which gathers upon the herbage; as likewise they are more liable, on other accounts, to feel its first approaches, because its freest progress is in open places.

— *Murrains follow*

On bleating flocks, and on the lowing herds:

At last the malady

Grew more domestic, and the faithful dog

Died at his master's feet; and next his master:

*For all those plagues which earth and air had
brooded,*

First on inferior creatures tried their force,

And last they seized on man. DRYD. Oedip.

Pope's
Hom.

Dogs and mules are said to die sooner of pestilential disorders than men; partly because they have by nature a greater quickness of smell, which makes the infection sooner perceivable; and partly by the nourishment they take; their feeding on the earth with prone heads, making the exhalation more easy to be sucked in with it.

Hodges,
p. 42.

When subterraneous animals, such as moles, mice, serpents, conies, foxes, &c.

con-

conscious of approaching mischief, leave their burrows, and lie open in the air, it is a certain sign of a pestilence at hand: hence also, a sudden death of fish; and a departure of the birds of the air, to secure their safety in that which is more wholesome.

S E C T. V.

CONCERNING WATER:

The angel poured out his vial upon the sea; upon the rivers and fountains of water:— He smote the waters of the rivers, the streams, the ponds, and all pools:—the water in vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone.
 EXOD. vii. 19, 20. REV. xvi. 4.

IN the vapours daily raised, water takes Chamb. place in the atmosphere, and composes great part of what we call air, and consequently contributes to many of the effects ascribed to air.

Water is of so constant service in drinks, Mead. in preparing bread and flesh; that it is the vehicle of all nourishment: it is next in use Quincy. to air; and the bad qualities thereof must be dangerous if not fatal.

Miners, who go deep, have recourse to an artificial wind raised by the fall of waters, to Gard. Dist. do the office of the other air.

Water is found to be the most penetrative of all bodies, after fire; it is more fluid

than air, and will pass through pores ten times smaller than air will: it enters the composition of all bodies, vegetable, animal and fossil: the component particles of water are, as to our senses, infinitely small.

There are many sorts of water differing from each other by different properties; by the various salts and minerals with which that element is impregnated.

Chamb. There is no pure water in all nature; and there is no expedient hitherto discovered to make it so. The purest water we know of is rain, and that is replete with infinite exhalations of all kinds, which it imbibes from the air, as what is in the air, necessarily mixes itself with water. Even distillation will not render it pure, since it leaves air therein, which abounds with corpuscles of all sorts: filtre it ever so often, there will remain *faeces*.

Ingr. 19. Water should have a continual motion and free current, or it will stagnate and corrupt; even the sea will stink in a calm, insomuch that the fish therein feel its effects; from the lowest depths they are seen to ascend to the surface to suck in the circumambient air, to save themselves from destruction.

Gard. Dist. Water is subject to putrefy, according to where it is kept: it will grow thick and stinking by heat and rest, as in ponds, marshes, and close vessels: the cause of putrefaction is not in the water, but in things mingled with it; unmixed water cannot putrefy.

It is insects of several kinds and colours which causes the surface of waters to appear sometimes green, red, or black; which last colour in water is observed to poison the cattle, and cause the murrain, which is the plague among the cattle, and is very infectious. No part of the earth, or water or air, is free from innumerable swarms of imperceptible living animals. At Alexandria they have been forced to empty great numbers of their reservoirs, by dint of labour; else the water would corrupt, and infallibly cause diseases by its noxious smell.—

Norden,
p. 12.

There is reason to believe that the flesh-worms called Guiney-worms are bred by drinking bad water found upon that coast; as it has been observed, that those who stuck to English water entirely had not those worms but those who drink Guiney water very seldom escape.

Water which has any smell is not pure: the most wholesome water derives a saltness from the earth*.

Rain from roofs of houses is a lixivium of tiles, slates, or the like, impregnated with the dung and fœces of animals, birds, &c. deposited thereon; and the exhalations of numerous other things.—Rain collected in cities must be saturated with the smoke of

* The best way of chusing water for drinking is by weight; the lightest being preferred as most free from heterogeneous bodies.

thousands of chimnies; the various effluvia of numbers of persons, &c.

Water is diffused every where, and is present in all space where there is matter.

Water is corrupted, by the nature of the soil, which often abounds with noisome sulphur, whereby the water is impregnated, and comes to smell in warm weather; as it does at *Amsterdam*, not only in the canals, but wherever the ground is opened for foundations of houses: it is corrupted by the nasty things which are thrown into it; or bodies of insects which die in it; by eggs of flies, which are dropped about wherever they go, and breed worms. Water in wooden vessels is corrupted by the sulphureous parts of the wood, and by uncleanly things, as flies-eggs, &c.

Mr. *Boyle* tells us, that corrosive salts abound in water.

Water flowing over strata or beds wherein there is salt, sulphur, vitriol iron, copper, or the like, become mineral.

Chamb.
Bath.

Hot baths owe their origin to the admixture of sulphureous particles, while water is passing through its subterraneous canals, or creeps through beds and mines of sulphur, &c. and to fumes and vapours exhaling through the pores of the earth where sulphur is, either pure or impure. There are likewise mixed particles of iron, nitre, alum, and other mineral bodies.

The

The waters at Bath in Somersetsshire abound with mineral sulphur: they are hot, of a bluish colour, and strong scent, and send forth thin vapours:

By drinking water too liberally at Barba- Ingr. 144.
does the sailors become unhealthy, some scor-
butic; others, wan, pale, and swell in the
face and legs.

There are waters which change the nature of bodies.

All putrefactions, both of animal and vegetable bodies, are performed by means of water.

The gross particles wherewith water is filled, will, (according to their various gravities, the capacities of the canals, and such like circumstances) when they come to circulate in animal bodies, be deposited in one part, or other.

The inhabitants of *Paris* are more subject to the stone in the bladder than most other people; that city is supplied with water from the *Seine*, the water of which river is so full of stony particles, that the pipes through which it is carried are incrusted and stopped up by them. Waters of the same petrifying quality have been observed in the baths of *Abano* near *Padua*; at *Rothwell* in *Northamptonshire*; and many other places.

In the western coasts of *Africa*, under the Equator, the very showers taint the clothes and skins of travellers, and burn upon them, as it were pestilential characters.

At *Mocha* they have no water but what is brackish, and so unwholesome, that long Syst.
Geogr.
265.

worms

worms are bred in the legs and feet of those who drink it.

Salm.
Gazet.

None of the waters of the rivers of *China* are fit to drink till they are boiled; which is supposed to be one reason of boiling and infusing tea in them.

The mineral bodies and nitrous salts which abound in the waters of the *Alps*, so stuff and enlarge the glands of the throat of those who drink them, that scarce any are exempted from humours on the throat:

Who' amidst the Alps do hanging throats surprize?

DRYD. JUV. Sat. xiii. 220.

Skippon,
496.

In these parts many men and women are troubled with great *Bronchocel's*, or swellings under their chins, called by some *Bavarian pokes*, some of which are single, others double and treble.

Between *Lyons* and *Geneva*, where the *Rhone* is suddenly straitened by two rocks very near each other, that rapid stream dashes with great impetuosity against them, breaks part of its water into minute corpuscles, and gives it such a motion, that a mist may be observed at a considerable distance arising from the place, and ascending high into the air.

Lacus Asphaltites; divers about the *A'ps*, &c. are poisonous, and immediately kill those who drink: occasioned by their creeping through arsenical, antimonial, or mercurial earths, and being impregnated by their fumes.

Water

Water is a menstrum that dissolves all sorts of salts, and draws them from their subjects. Siris, p. 6.

Acid waters arise from the admixture of vitriol, nitre, allum, and salt. These are cold and very frequent; in *Germany* they reckon not less than a thousand; some are as sour as vinegar, and used instead thereof; others vinous, serving for wine; others astringent, &c. Gard.
Diēt.
Water.

Hot waters arise from sulphureous particles and fumes.

Oily and fat waters arise from bituminous and sulphureous matter.

Bitter waters proceed from an impure sulphur, nitre, and copper.

Very cold waters have their rise from a mixture of nitre and allum; or of mercury, iron, &c.

There is a fine volatile spirit in the waters of *Geronster*, the most esteemed of all the fountains about *Spa*; the waters are stomachic, cardiac, and diuretic; will not bear transporting, and are apt to affect the head in taking. Siris, p. 30.

It has been made appear, that where the water is worst, the malady called the scurvy is most rife; and all the complicated symptoms ranged under this general name, acknowledge water to be their main and principal cause.

From the acrimony of undigested moisture proceed pains in the limbs, livid spots in the surface of the body, ulcers, &c. Mead,
Ven.
Exhal.

The following circumstantial history of the sufferings of an unhappy family at Wattingham in Suffolk, taken from the Philosophical Transactions, cannot fail of being acceptable to curious readers.

Extract of
a letter
from the
rev. James
Bones,
M. A. mi-
nister of
Watti-
sham, near
Stow-
market in
Suffolk.

On Sunday, January 10, 1762, Mary, daughter of John and Mary Downing, sixteen years old, felt a violent pain in her left-leg, which, in an hour or two, affected likewise her foot, and particularly her toes, On the next day, her toes were much swollen, and black places appeared on them. By degrees, the whole foot became swollen, and black. The pain, which was now chiefly in her toes, was, as she says, as if dogs were gnawing her. The blackness and swelling advanced upward, by slow degrees, till they reached the knee, where the flesh broke, and a great discharge followed. In a little time, the flesh of her leg putrefied, and came off at the ankle, together with the whole foot, leaving the whole leg-bones bare. Her other foot and leg were affected in a few days, and decayed, nearly by the same degrees, and in the same manner. She has now an abscess formed in one of her thighs.

Mary, the mother, was seized, within a few hours of her daughter's first seizure, with the same violent pain under her left foot, or (as she sometimes says) in her left leg. Her toes, foot, and leg, were affected in the same manner as her daughter's; and,

in a few days, her other foot and leg suffered in like manner. The flesh of one leg has separated, and come off at the knee, leaving the bones bare, which she will not, at present, suffer to be taken off. The other foot has rotted off at the ankle. Her hands, and a part of her arms, have been, from the first attack, without sensation; and her fingers have been contracted.

In four or five days after the eldest daughter and the mother were first affected, Elizabeth, aged fourteen years, Sarah, aged ten, Robert, aged six, and Edward, aged four, were all taken, on the same day, with violent pains in the feet and legs, chiefly in the left.

Elizabeth was seized only in one leg and foot, which, during three weeks she could not set on the ground; but stood all that time on the other foot, leaning against the chimney: After which being taken in the same manner in the other foot, she was obliged to lie down. One foot mortified, and came off at the ankle; the other leg near the knee.

Sarah was taken in one foot; which mortified, and came off at the ankle. The other leg suffered in the same manner, and separated at the knee.

Robert was taken in both feet. His legs have separated at the knees; and he is now in good health.

Edward

Edward was taken in both feet, which have separated at the ankle; and he seems to be doing well.

An infant, two months old, was taken from the woman's breast, as soon as she was seized with the disorder. This child was put out to a nurse, and died in two months, Immediately after death, the feet and hands were observed to turn black.

John, the father of this unfortunate family, continued well a fortnight after the wife was seized. Then he was seized with a violent pain in both his hands. In a short time, his fingers became numb, contracted, and black; the nails came off; and two of the fingers were ulcerated; but are now healing. He has all along complained, at times, of acute, darting pains, through his hands, arms, back, and legs.

The family are all thin, weakly people; but in general, have been healthy. They have lived (as far as I can learn) just as other poor people in the neighbourhood do, having eaten or drunk nothing that has disagreed with any of them, except some pork and pease, on which they dined January 19, the day when the two first were seized, and which made three of the children sick at the stomach.

The man has two sons by another wife, who are now in service, and both in good health.

I have taken all the pains I can to inform myself of every circumstance, which may be deemed a probable cause of the disease, by which the poor family in my parish has been afflicted. But, I fear, I have discovered nothing that will be satisfactory to you.

Extract of
a second
letter from
the rev.
Mr. Bones.

The following is an answer to your queries.

Water.] This they have taken out of a ditch, or pool of standing water, at their own door (as is common in this clay country.) We have no spring, or well, in the parish.

Beer.] They have generally bought their beer at a public-house. But in August last, the poor man brewed two bushels of malt, in a large brass kettle, which is very commonly let out to the poor. It is an old one, but belongs to a cleanly housewife.

Bread.] We have no rye. This family have been used to buy two bushels of clog-wheat, or rivets, or bearded wheat (as it is variously called in this country) every fortnight. Of this they have made their household bread. This wheat they have bought of the farmer, whom I lodge with, who tells me, that last year he had some wheat laid, which he gathered, and threshed separately, lest it should spoil his samples. Not that it was mildewed, or grown, but only discoloured, and smaller than the other. This damaged wheat he threshed last Christmas; and

then this poor family used no bread, but what was made of it, as likewise did the farmer's own family, and some others in the neighbourhood. We observed, that it made bad bread, and worse puddings; but I do not find, that it disagreed with any body. A labouring man of the parish, who had used this bread, was affected with a numbness in both his hands, for about four weeks from the ninth of January. His hands were continually cold, and his fingers ends peeled. One thumb, he says, still remains without any sensation.

Kitchen utensils.] They have two small iron pots, which have long been in use. In these they boiled their pork, pease, &c. They have likewise two brass skillets, rather old, in which they boiled milk, &c. The man tells me, they are in constant use, and never were cankered.

Pease.] They have now and then eaten pease and pease-broth. These they have always bought, as others do, at the shop: and they have never disagreed with any of the family, except only on Sunday, January 10. Three of the children were then sick after eating them; but became easy after they had vomited.

Pork.] This, I find, they generally bought pickled, of the farmer, whom I lodge with. The farmer's family, and several others, have constantly eaten it.

In this part of the country, there is a great deal of old ewe-mutton, killed between the first of November and January, some of which is very poor, and rotten, and is usually sold at three half-pence, or perhaps one penny a pound. In December last, this family lived for three weeks, at least, upon this mutton, of which they bought a quarter at a time, weighing seven or eight pounds, for one shilling.

The man is prepossessed with notions of witchcraft, and is so obstinate in his opinion, that I cannot excite in him even a desire of attributing this disease to any other cause.

Since my last letter to you, Mary, aged sixteen, who sat for fourteen weeks in a great chair, and for seven days without any feet, or flesh on her leg-bones, has consented to have the bones taken off. She is now in bed: The abscess is healing, and she seems likely to do well.

The father's fingers are almost healed. But he every day feels severe darting pains in many parts of his body.

The mother lies in bed, with her leg-bones bare, which she will not suffer to be taken off. Her hands are still benumbed, but not black. Her fingers are contracted. The rest of the family seem to be recovering perfect health.

Wattisham, April 30, 1762.

There is, in *l'Histoire de l'Academie Royale, des Sciences*, for the year 1710, a paper, the

title of which is, *Sur le* bled cornu appelle Ergot*. Here it is said, that M. Noël, surgeon of the Hôtel-Dieu at Orleans, had sent an account to a member of the academy, that within about a year's time, he had received into the hospital more than fifty patients afflicted *d'une gangrene seche, noir et livide*, which began at the toes, and advanced more or less, being sometimes continued even to the thighs; and that he had only seen one patient, who had been first seized with it in the hand. He adds, that he observed, that this disease affected the men only; and that, in general, the females, except some very young girls, were quite free from it.

In the same paper is mentioned, as a fact well known to the academy, the case of a peasant, who lived near Blois. In this patient, a gangrene, at its first attack, destroyed all the toes of one foot, then those of the other, afterward the remaining parts of both feet; then the flesh of both his legs, and that of his thighs, rotted off successively, and left nothing but bare bones.

The gentlemen of the academy were of opinion, that the disease (of which M. Noël had sent an account) was produced by bad nourishment, particularly by bread, in which

* *Secale corniculatum nigrum*, mentioned as a poison by Hoffman.

there was a great quantity of Ergot †. This substance is described by M. Fagon, first physician to the king, and is said by him to be a kind of monster in vegetation, which a particular sort of rye, sown in March, is more apt to produce, than what is sown in the autumn, and which often abounds in most cold countries, and in wet seasons. How far it is true, that this substance was really the cause of the French epidemical gangrene described, I cannot determine. On comparison, we find, that the present disease at Wattisham, and that recorded by the French academy, do agree extremely in their effects.

However, it is now certain, that rye made no part of the nourishment of the poor family at Wattisham.

Although we undoubtedly excel the ancients in the knowledge of poisons, yet a great deal of that subject still remains unknown to us. It will, therefore, be very difficult for us to discover, to what cause, or to what combination of causes, so uncommon a malady is to be attributed.

Dear Sir,

Pall-Mall, Oct. 29, 1762.

DR. Heberden some time since communicated a letter from me, giving an account of a most remarkable mortification of the limbs, which had affected a whole family in Suffolk. As the society may be

A further account of the above case, from Charlton Woollaston, M.D. F. R. S. and physician to Guy's hospital.

† This degenerated rye is called *ergot*, from its resemblance to a cock's spur.

curious to know some farther particulars relating to this singular calamity, I thought it might not be improper to acquaint them, that most of the unhappy sufferers have survived it.

The father is perfectly recovered; except that the two fingers, which were particularly affected, remain in some degree contracted.

The mother is still alive. In my former account, dated April 13, I mentioned, that one of her feet had separated at the ankle; and that the other leg was perfectly sphacelated to within a few inches of the knee, but not then taken off. Some little time afterward the husband broke off the Tibia, which was quite decayed, about three inches below the knee: The Fibula was not decayed: so the surgeon sawed it off. The stumps of both legs still continued unhealed; and as the ends of the bones in both of them seem to be cariose, and the woman will not consent to any farther operation, they may perhaps never heal. The mortification however has not in this limb, nor indeed in any one of these cases, spread beyond the original separation. Her right arm is considerably wasted, and the fingers contracted.

The eldest girl, Mary, died within a few weeks after I saw her.

The second girl, Elizabeth, is perfectly well: The fores quite healed.

The

The third girl, Sarah, is not yet well. Her foot separated at the articulation of the Os Scaphoides with the Astragalus. The Os Calcis, and Astragalus, are both of them cariose, and probably keep the wound from healing.

The two boys are perfectly recovered; and seem in every respect as healthy as possible.

I have taken all the pains I could, to enquire into the cause of so remarkable a disorder; and Mr. Bones, the minister of the village, who knew the family before this misfortune happened to them, and has ever since been indefatigable in his attention and tenderness to them, has also made all the enquiry in his power: But we have not been able to find, that their was any thing particular either in their diet or manner of life, to which it could be attributed. The corn, with which they made their bread, was certainly very bad: It was wheat, that had been cut in a rainy season, and had lain on the ground till many of the grains were black and totally decayed: But many other poor families in the same village made use of the same corn without receiving any injury from it. One man lost the use of his arm for some time; and still imagines himself, that he was afflicted with the same disorder as Downing's family: but, by what I could learn from him, there

seemed to be no reason for this supposition.
He is long since perfectly recovered.

I am, SIR,
Your most obedient,
Most humble servant,
CHARLTON WOOLASTON.

Brad.

Gard. part
iii. p. 69.

It is not unlikely, that smut when it happens to be found upon corn, may cause sickness to such as eat of it: and it is more than probable, that the most epidemical distempers mankind is subject to, proceed from poisonous matter, eaten unregarded, or sucked into the stomach with the breath,

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

Of PLAGUES occasioned by LOCUSTS, and other INSECTS.

He spake, and the locusts came innumerable.

PSAL. cv. 34.

They gathered them together upon heaps, and the land stank. EXOD. viii. 14.

There came great and grievous swarms of flies; and a scab breaking out into blisters † —the land was corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies.* EXOD. viii. 24. ix. 9, 10.

IN Ethiopia, those prodigious swarms of locusts which at some times cause a famine by devouring the fruits of the earth, unless they happen to be carried by the wind clear off into the sea, are observed to entail a new mischief upon the country, when they die and rot, by raising a pestilence; the putrefaction being heightened by the intemperance of the climate, which is excessively great.

In the reign of Micipsa a great part of Africa was covered with locusts, which destroyed all the product of the earth, and

* The word *Acob*, here translated *Swarms*, signifies in the original, *a mixture*; the word is probably of Arabic derivation, signifying, *to devour*.

† The dog-fly and horse-fly are insects which pierce the skin with an acute proboscis, and suck the blood: there are various sorts of gnats and flies which raise blisters.

even

even devoured dry wood: but at last they were all carried by the wind into the African sea; out of which, being thrown in vast heaps on the shore, a plague ensued, which swept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In Numidia only, perished eight hundred thousand men, and in Africa Propria, two hundred thousand: among the rest, thirty thousand Roman soldiers quartered in and about Utica. At Utica in particular the mortality raged to such a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day.

Univ. hist.
xvi. 496.

In the year 395 Palestine was infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers as quite darkened the sky, and turned day into night. St. Jerome, who was then composing his comment on the prophecy of Joel, writes, that after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the Red Sea, partly into the Mediterranean, and thrown soon after on both shores, in such heaps that they infected the air, and occasioned a plague.

Astonishing, and almost incredible, are the accounts which travellers give us of this insect in the eastern countries. Thevenot tells us, that, in that part of Scythia which the Cossacks now inhabit, there are infinite numbers of them, especially in dry seasons, brought over by a north-east wind from Tartary, Circassia and Mingrelia, which are seldom

or never free from them; that they fly in the air all compact like a vast cloud, sometimes fifteen or eighteen miles long, and about ten or twelve miles broad, so that they quite darken the sky, and make the brightest day obscure; and that wherever they alight they devour all the corn in less than two hours time, and frequently make a famine in the country. They live not above six months, and when dead, the stench of them so corrupts and infects the air, that it often occasions dreadful pestilences.

Locusts, and the plague they occasioned, are very emphatically described Exod. x. 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 19. and Rev. ix. 3, 4, &c.

The locusts are very numerous in the *Ukraine*: those creatures do not only come in legions, but in whole clouds, five or six leagues in length, and two or three in breadth, and generally come from towards *Tartary*, which happens in a dry spring; for *Tartary*, and the countries east of it, as *Circassia*, *Bazza*, and *Mingrelia*, are seldom free from them. These vermin being drove by an east or south-east wind, come into *Ukraine*, where they do much mischief, eating up all sorts of grain and grass: so that wheresoever they come, in less than two hours they crop all they find, which causes great scarcity of provisions; and if the locusts remain there in autumn and the month of *October*, which is the time they die, after laying at least 300
eggs

eggs each, which hatch next spring if it be dry, then the country is three hundred times worse pestered. But if it rains when they begin to hatch, they all die, and the country escapes that year, unless they come from other parts. It is not easy to express their numbers, for all the air is full and darkened; and their flight cannot be better represented than by comparing it to fleaks of snow in cloudy weather drove away by the wind: and when they alight upon the ground to feed, the plains are all covered, and they make a murmuring noise as they eat, where in less than two hours they devour all close to the ground; then rising, they suffer themselves to be carried away by the wind*; and when they fly, though the sun shines ever so bright, it is no lighter than when most clouded.

In June 1646, at *Novogorod* it was astonishing to behold so vast a multitude! They were hatched there that spring, and being as yet scarce able to fly, the ground was all covered, and the air so full of them, that there was no eating in a chamber without a candle; all the houses were full of them, even the stables, barns, chambers, cellars, and garrets. Cannon-powder and sulphur were burnt to expel them, but all to no purpose; when a door was opened, an infinite

* PSAL. cix. 23. I am tossed up and down [driven away, Bishops translation] as the locust.

number came in and the others went out, fluttering about; and it was a troublesome thing when a man went abroad to be hit in the face by these creatures; there was no opening the mouth but some could get in. Yet all this was nothing; for when people were to eat, those creatures gave no respite; when they cut a bit of meat they cut a locust with it; and when a man opened his mouth to put in a morsel, he was sure to chew one of them. The wisest men were confounded to see such innumerable multitudes, which were such as cannot be expressed; and they that would conceive it should see it. After they had destroyed all that grew in the country for a fortnight together, and having gathered strength to fly further, the wind took them up and carried them away, to do as much mischief in some other place. At night when they sit to rest them, the roads were four inches thick of them, one upon another. So that the horses would not trample over them but as they were put on with much lashing, pricking up their ears, snorting, and treading very fearfully. The wheels of the carts and the feet of the horses bruising those creatures, there came from them such a stench as not only offended the nose, but the brain: the stink is not to be endured: Men are forced to wash their noses with vinegar, and hold handkerchiefs dipped in it continually to their nostrils. The swine
feed

feed on them as a dainty, and grow fat; but nobody will eat of them so fattened, only because they abhor that sort of vermin which doesthem so much harm. These vermin increase and multiply thus: they generate in October, and with their tails make a hole in the ground, and having laid three hundred eggs in it, and covered them with their feet, they die; for they never live above six months and a half; and though the rain should come then, it would not destroy the eggs; nor does the frost, though ever so sharp, hurt them, but they continue till spring, which is about mid-April, when the sun warming the earth, they hatch, and leap all about, (being six weeks before they can fly) without going far from the place where they received life; but when stronger, and able to fly, they go wherever the wind carries them. If it should happen that the north-east prevails when they first take their flight, it carries them all into the Black-sea; but if the wind blows from any other quarter, they go into some other country to do mischief. But if the rains fall when they begin to hatch, and continue but eight or ten days, all the eggs are lost; and so in summer eight or ten days continual rain kills all the locusts on the ground, for they cannot fly, and the people are delivered from them. But if the summer proves dry (which is most usual) they are tormented with them till they die in October.

See Exod.
x. 19.

October. These locusts are as thick as a man's finger, and three or four inches long.

In the year 1672, a plague of locusts came into the province of Aulnix in France, where they devoured all that was green to the very root; and being carried by the wind into the sea, from Rochelle towards the isle of Rhee, they lay dead in ridges above a foot deep on the strand, for several leagues in length, as they had been thrown up by the waves, and left there at low water; which, with the heat of the summer sun, caused a very offensive stench.

From the end of July to the beginning of October, the country about Astracan is frequently infested with locusts, which fly in such amazing numbers as to darken the air, and appear at a distance like a heavy cloud. When the cold weather comes on, they are seen in their flight from the North towards the South, and wherever they fall eat up every thing that is green. In this season, therefore, their gardeners look out for them, and on their first appearance endeavour to keep them off, by making as much noise and as great a smoke as possible; but, in spite of all their pains, after flying as long as they are able, they sometimes fall in their gardens, in the streets, and sometimes into the fires kindled to disperse them.

Captain Woodrofe saw a prodigious cloud of them flying across the river. The wind
blew

Barbot.

Syft.

geogr.

256, 257.

blew very fresh, and the locusts falling, the water was covered with such prodigious swarms of them, that in some places they greatly obstructed the motion of the boat for ten or twelve fathoms together. They live for some time under water: mounting on each others backs they formed clusters near three feet diameter, which are forced along by the wind and the rapidity of the current. In this manner they were driven on shore, where their wings being dried, they got upon the pasture; and very few being drowned, they lay so thick upon the plain for three days, to the extent of three miles, that it was impossible to walk without treading on them. On their beginning to fly, they disappeared in less than half an hour, leaving not a single blade of grass on the plain.

Their bodies are very large, compared with the smallness of their wings: their size is generally from two inches to two inches and an half long; about three quarters of an inch in diameter; and their shape is nearly the same as that of the larger sort of green-grasshoppers.

Bradl.
Gard.
part iii.
p. 69.

There is great reason to believe, that most epidemical distempers mankind is subject to, proceed from poisonous insects of that extraordinary smallness that they are not to be discovered by the naked eye; so light that they float in the air, and so are sucked into the stomach by the breath: such insects not being

ing

ing among us commonly, but only when they are either brought to us from some remote place by the wind, or in goods hatched or nourished by some intemperance of the air, or from poisonous vapours rising from bogs, ponds, ditches, or some such unwholesome funds of stagnated water.

These insects are various, according to the nature of the water, or air, they are bred in; their eggs being first laid by some flying animals, which are then hatched, and passing through the several changes common to insects, at length take wing; and being drawn in by the breath, may perhaps be either killed in our bodies, and cause a violent ferment in the juices, or else, finding proper nourishment, they breed in the lungs, stomach, or other parts within us, and probably may occasion those boils and breakings out in the tender parts of the body that are called plague-sores.

It was the opinion of some in 1665, that infection might be discovered by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where, the breath condensing, there might be seen by a microscope, living creatures of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, like dragons, snakes, serpents, &c. H.P. 234.

Abundance of little animals have been observed in malignant tumours which have been opened under the ears, in the arm-pits, Blackme
35.

and in the groin; and historians have related that various plagues in different countries have produced innumerable worms in the putrefied parts of the bodies. It will easily be allowed, that the small invisible seeds of worms may find a lodging capacious enough to hold and hide them in the smallest parts of the body of a man, where they lie dormant and undisturbed, till by this putrefactive heat of the blood, or corrupted members, they are awakened, animated and unfolded, and at length excluded from their little cells.

Chamb.
Dict. &c.

The small watry bladders in the itch contain a great number of minute living creatures, shaped like a tortoise, which are supposed to gnaw and irritate the fibrous parts of the flesh and skin.

See
plagues of
Egypt,
flies, lice,
locusts,
compared.

But the generality of insects are some of them so extremely small, that they are only capable of being discerned with good microscopes; and through them insects have been observed so minute that a grain of sand broken into eight millions of equal parts, one of these parts would not exceed the bigness of one of those insects: by the use of other lights and glasses they were magnified to a very considerable bigness, and among them were discovered many other sorts much smaller than those at first seen, that millions of millions of them might be contained in one drop of water.

In-

Insects which annoy trees, and harbour in crumpled leaves and twigs, increase every year about four hundred: the common butter-fly breeds twice a year, each of them laying about four hundred eggs at one time: from the second brood of a single caterpillar, a product of one hundred sixty thousand may very reasonably be expected.

Brad.
Monthly
Direct.
p. 28.

The eggs of the smaller kind of insects, which infest colliflowers, are five hundred times less than the least visible grain of sand, and many thousands of them are laid by one insect: so that from a second generation of them, they are so numerous, that if every egg which might be found upon a blighted colliflower was a globe, of an inch diameter, they would fill more space than the whole terrestrial globe.

The seeds of moss are so small, that ninety thousand of them, laid together in a strait line, did not exceed the length of a barley-corn; and one thousand three hundred eighty-two millions, four hundred thousand of them, would weigh only one grain.

Hook's
micro-
graphia.
Lewen-
hoek, in
Phil. trans.

It is easy to conceive that the most gentle air is capable of blowing these invisible beings from place to place: and through this their extraordinary lightness it is easily inferred they may be conveyed by winds from the most remote quarters of the world, but more

Bradl.
Gard.
Monthly
Dir. p. 37.

especially from the north-east parts; where there is not a sea of large extent enough to destroy them in their passage.—

It has been observed that plagues, and the most contagious distempers, have commonly happened in those years when the easterly winds have more than ordinarily prevailed in the spring and summer seasons; there the air comes to be infected, and rarely or never at other times. These winds we perceive bring caterpillars, and many differing insects and flies, which meeting with places fitly adapted to nourish them, they are there brought to their winged state, which, probably, is the same in the invisible as in the visible animals. Nor, indeed, is any part of the earth, or water, and it may be the pure air itself, free from the seeds of life: those of the productions thereof which we call bad, are what invade, by swarms, at unseasonable times, the bodies of living creatures, to whom they are destructive, and cause the murrain, rot, and such like mortal diseases.

That the plague proceeds from living creatures, brought by easterly winds, seems probable, for that such pestilences are most malignant in the summer, after the east winds of the spring have blown, which, passing over the greatest part of the continent of the earth, bring these insects with them; but the contrary effect has the west winds, which

which come to us over the vast Atlantic ocean, attended with great rains; which cure the plague, by carrying back (it may be) the remainder of those pestiferous insects, which yet survive, to the country from whence they came.

Experience shews how much insects delight in stinking places, and that they increase much faster in uncleanly cities, (such as London was formerly) than in cleaner places; but the city of London having been for the most part burnt the year after the pestilence, the streets were enlarged, many drains were made, and good laws were put in execution for keeping the city clean, and it has not had any plague since.

It is remarkable, that when the plague raged in London, Bucklers-bury, which stood in the very heart of the city, was free from that distemper; the reason given for it is, that it was chiefly inhabited by druggists and apothecaries, the scent of whose drugs kept away the infection, which were so unnatural to the pestilential insects, that they were killed or driven away by the strong smell of some sorts of them. The smell of rue and the smoke of tobacco were prescribed as remedies against the infection, but especially tar and pitch barrels, which, it was imagined, preserved Limehouse and some of the dock-yards from infection.

Eradl.
Gard.

In the time of the great plague at London, it was propounded to have large quantities of onions exposed in boats upon the Thames, which were to have been continually bruised, chopped, and moved about, which, it was imagined, would abate the infection: supposing the plague to proceed from innumerable armies of minute unwholesome insects, which were then floating in the air, and drawn in with the breath.—

The use of sea-coal has been thought one means of preventing the plague in London.

The people of Leghorn observe, that at the end of every eighteen years they are subject to an epidemical distemper hardly to be distinguished from the plague. In the year 1685 it began about the middle of summer, with frequent easterly winds (such as were not usual) continuing to blow almost without intermission till towards winter, and wanting that summer their usual north-west winds, which are the trade-winds in all the hot countries of the world, following the course of the sun. About nine or ten in the morning those winds begin to blow, and last till sun-set, when soon follow the winds from the shore, which blow till the next day about nine, and then the trade-wind retakes its course.

The first infection began in houses near the walls of the town to the landward, from whence the east-wind blew, and by degrees
crept

crept towards the sea ; but the infection did not touch such places as were inhabited by merchants and shop-keepers, who dealt in salt and pickled fish, pitch, tar, and such like commodities.

To the northward of the town, toward the sea shore lay very boggy stinking ground : these marshes commonly about autumn cause agues and fevers, which may be from vast swarms of invisible unwholesome insects, which rise from thence at that season, but of a different poison from those which cause the plague : so the like places about Civita Vecchia, Scandaroon, and the isle of Sheepy, seem to cause agues, and it is observable, that from the mouth of the river Magra, which divides Tuscany from Liguria, along the sea coast of Italy, as far as Terracina, is very unhealthy, and subject to agues and pestilential fevers, being marshy grounds.

It is observed, that when the plague rages in Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary, the Franks, English, &c. are seldom infected with it : which seems to confirm the opinion, that this sickness proceeds from insects, who have their certain natural nourishments respectively appointed them, and do not infect strangers, whose different ways of eating and living from the natives, give them a contrary nature of body. It would be well worth enquiry, if they of those nations, when in strange countries in time of pestilence, were also free from infection.

King Charles the Second, when he was told of the sickness at Leghorn, said, it must have been occasioned by the new fortifications which were then building in those marshy places: and it is very rational to believe, that turning up those unwholesome muds, and exposing them to the sun, did much increase the distemper, by infecting the air, and filling it with greater supplies of poisonous insects.

It is not against experience that insects can live and increase in animal bodies. How often do we find men, women and children troubled with worms? What varieties of those insects are often voided? How should that be, if they were not either sucked into the stomach by the breath, or taken into it with some unwholesome food? for they cannot breed from nothing, without their eggs or themselves are brought thither. If they were the natural produce of animal bodies, they would then alike be common to all, which we know they are not.

From the French mail, and the English newspapers.

We were informed from Aix in Provence in France, June 10, 1764, that an epidemical distemper reigned there, and throughout the province, which proved mortal among horses, mules, &c. Upon opening the carcase of one of those animals, in the intestines were found several worms of five or six inches length, which were strong and hairy, and alive, though the animal had been dead several hours.

Dr. Hodges, who had as good opportunities as any one, could not discern minute insects to be the cause of the pest at London, as some (says he) have rather fancied than demonstrated: though, in regard pests are of a different nature, he does not disallow of the famous and learned Kircher's experiments in the plague at Rome.

The leprosy among the Jews was supposed to be owing to animalcules which burrowed under the skin; and that the garments of the Israelites being seldom washed, they bred in them. The ceremonies used by lepers seem intended not to preserve passengers only from legal impurities, but likewise from catching the disease by infection.

The ancient leprosy which afflicted the Jews, and seemed peculiar to that people, is now imitated by those diseases which are called elephantiasis, or bastard leprosy, a scurvy itching and spreading tetter, or a scald head; these are of the same nature with the leprosy as malignant fevers are with the plague, but differ in degree of corruption, and freedom from contagion: as the pestilence is the highest degree of putrid fevers, so the leprosy of the Hebrews is the highest of the kind, distinguished by white, scaly spreading scabs, and corroding scurvy tatters; this is further evident by the different degrees of the disease mentioned by Moses, which the marks appeared in the walls of houses,

Hodges,
Let. 16.

Leprosy,
Calmet on
Lev. xiii.
47.
Lev. xiii.
45.

Blackm.,
19.

houses, as the tokens of the plague sometimes do, and did in the last visitation in London; the inhabitants were ordered to scrape the places that seemed infected, by which the houses sometimes became free and clean; but if the marks broke out again, the house was to be pronounced unclean, and demolished, and all the materials to be destroyed by fire: it is evident that the marks which were scraped off and did not return, were of a milder nature, and had not yet acquired a contagious quality; which is the distinguishing character of the leprosy, as it is of the plague.—

The raging distemper among the cows about London, was so violent and infectious, that if one had it, others that came within scent of her, or eat where she grazed, were surely infected: it seized their head, and was attended with running at the nose, and a very nauseous stinking breath, which killed them in three or four days. It began at Islington, and spread itself over many places in Middlesex and Essex, but did not reach any place twenty miles westward of London. The distemper had been for two or three years before in Lombardy, Holland, and Ham-
burgh, to the loss of almost all their cattle.

The most general opinion concerning the cause of this distemper was, that the cattle were first infected by drinking some unwholesome standing water, where it is pro-
bable

bable some poisonous insects were lodged and bred ; the summer having been extremely dry, attended almost constantly with easterly winds, the grass almost burnt up, and the herbs of the gardens almost destroyed by insects : but such greens as were unfit for table use, were given to the cattle. There was so great a want of water, that many were forced to drive their cows five or six miles to it.

When the mortality was at its height, toward the end of the summer some farmers bought in fresh cattle, and turning them into the same fields where many cows had died before, they took the infection, and died likewise ; but the following spring those fields were void of infection, and the cows that were put into them did very well ; but what were then put into the cow-houses where the sick cows had been the year before, were seized with the distemper, and died : which seems to inform us, that in was the effect of insects, which, from the warmth of those stalls, were preserved from the severity of the winter's frost ; but such as were left in the open fields were destroyed by the cold.

The states of Holland published an electuary upon the occasion, composed of the drugs used in the medicines against the plague amongst men ; most of which ingredients are known to be mortal to insects ; as strong-scented roots and herbs ; above all,
aromatic

aromatic gums and saps of plants, as rue, garlic, pitch, tar, frankincense, and olibanum: but, above all others, extractions from cedar are thought to preserve bodies best from worms. The Dutch medicine had little effect here, not curing one in seven.

These ingredients are much used in France and Italy to prevent or destroy infection, by burning them, and smoaking such bodies, letters, or any other things as are brought from infected places, after they have made quarantine; and they are not suffered to come on shore till they have undergone this operation.

The herdsmen, to preserve their cattle from infection, let them blood in the tail, and rubbed their noses and chaps with tar. When any died, they were burnt and buried deep under ground.

A woman at Camberwell cured six in seven of her cows by giving them once a week, an infusion of rue and alewort.

S E C T. VII.

Plagues attributed to the heat of the Dog-star, and the influence of Comets and Constellations.

Stars in their courses fought. JUDG. v. 20.
Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof? Canst thou bind the influences of Pleiades. JOB xxxviii. 31, 33.

The angel poured out his vial upon the sun, and men were scorched with great heat. REV. xvi. 8, 9.

FROM the most remote antiquity, not only pestilential diseases, but many others, have been ascribed to astral influences, to malign conjunctions and radiations of the heavenly bodies: but all reasonings upon this conjecture were obscure and perplexed, till Sir Isaac Newton taught men to think justly and talk intelligently about the motions and influences of those remote bodies: whereby it appears that they affect us no otherwise than as they occasion the visitations of the seasons, and different constitutions of the air.

Quincy's
Hodges,
233.

*Nature well known, no prodigies remain:
 Comets are regular, eclipses plain.*

The Syrian star is placed in the centre of the heavens, into which, when the sun hath access,

Hier
Aug. 178.

access, the heat thereof is doubled; by which men's bodies are afflicted with languishment and weakness. It is called *Syrius*, for the brightness of the flame. The Latins call it *Canicula*; whence they term the dog-days, *dies Caniculares*: for as long as the sun hath power in it, that time is thought pestiferous, and obnoxious to many diseases and infirmities.

It is well known that the ancients considered Apollo as the author of all the calamities that happened to mankind, as the plague, famine, &c. Homer in his first book, represents Apollo shooting his arrows among the Greeks, who had offended him; upon which immediately a pestilence ensues. The reason is evident, from the influence which the sun has upon the air and weather, upon which the constitution of the human body almost entirely depends. They that died suddenly, or of any violent disease, were said to be killed by Apollo; because the sun with extreme heat doth cause famine and infectious fevers.

Homer acquaints us with the opinion of the Greeks in his time.

— *Vapours blown by Auster's sultry breath,
Pregnant with plagues; and shedding seeds of
death,*

*Beneath the rage of burning Sirius rise,
Choak the parch'd earth, and blacken all the skies.*

ILIAD V. 1058.

—the

——the red star, that from his flaming hair
Shakes down diseases, pestilence and war.

ILIAD XIX. 412.

——dreadful rises to the sight,
Through the thick gloom of some tempestuous night,
Orion's dog (the year when Autumn weighs)
And o'er the feebler days exerts his rays;
Terrific glory! for his burning breath
Taints the red air with fevers, plagues and
death.

ILIAD XXII. 38.

This notion also prevailed among the
Romans:

——Sirius from on high
With pestilential heats infects the sky.

DRYD. VIRG.

——the threat'ning star
Of Sirius fills the air with dismal lights,
And anxious men with plagues and famine
frights.

LAUD. VIRG. vol. ii. p. 481.

During th' autumnal heats th' infection grew,
Tame cattle, and the beasts of nature, slew:
Pois'ning the standing lakes, and pools impure;
Nor was the foodful grass in fields secure.

DRYD. GEOR. iii. 725.

——where she steers
Her baneful course, a mighty blast appears
Mildews and blights; the meadows are defac'd,
The fields, the flowers, and the whole year's laid
waste.

On

*On mortals next, and peopled towns she falls,
And breathes a burning plague within their walls.*

OVID MET. ii. 291. from Milton vol. ii. p. 630. n.

The conceit being contrary to modern experience, is mentioned here only as an ancient opinion. See Sydenham and Hodges.

Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus.

God rules the stars, though they
O'er human things bear sway.

Chamb.
Canicula. Some authors tell us, that the day the dog-star rises, the sea boils, wine turns sour, dogs begin to grow mad, the bile increases and irritates, and all animals grow languid; and that the diseases ordinarily occasioned in men by it, are burning fevers, dysenteries, and phrenfies.

They supposed Canicula to be the occasion of the sultry weather usually felt in the dog-days; but by mistake: in five or six thousand years more, the dog-star may chance to be charged with bringing frost and snow, for it will rise in November or December.

Chamb.
Capri-
corn. The stars have advanced a whole sign to the East.

Derham. As comets move in orbs very different from those of the other heavenly bodies, their effects and influences may be different, by the appointment of Divine Providence; who might make such noxious globes to execute his justice by affrighting and chastizing sinful men by their approaches to the earth:

earth: and some have imagined them to be the place of torment after death.

But these are conjectures and surmises, built upon very superficial, if any, foundation.

Those dreadful stories you have heard of the plague have very little foundation in truth. I own I have much ado to reconcile myself to the sound of a word which has always given me such terrible ideas; though I am convinced there is little more in it than in a fever. As a proof of this, let me tell you, that we passed through two or three towns most violently infected. In the very next house where we lay (in one of those places) two persons died of it. Luckily for me, I was so well received that *I knew nothing of the matter*; and was made believe that our second cook had only a great cold. However, we left our doctor to take care of him, and they both arrived in good health; and I am now let into the secret that he has had the plague. There are many escape it, neither is the air ever infected. I am persuaded that it would be as easy a matter to root it out here as out of Italy and France; but it does so little mischief, they are not very solicitous about it; and are content to suffer this distemper instead of our variety, which they are utterly unacquainted with.—

Dr. Hodges acquaints us, that all distempers turn into the plague: This lady was luckily kept in ignorance, and *knew nothing of the matter*: her ladyship says, *Many escape*

L

it;

Lady
Montague's Letters, vol.
ii. 58.
dated from
Adriano-
nople.

Vol. ii.
p. 141.

it ; but, in another place, asking the Turkish ladies how they expected to provide for their numerous stock of children, they answered, The plague would certainly kill one half of them ; which, indeed, generally happens, without much concern to the parents. Their insensibility can only be resolved into their great faith in the doctrine of fatality. The plague cannot well be said to do little mischief, if it certainly kills half that are born, in a country where women breed very fast ; and where being respected according to the number of their children, they are apt to boast of their five-and-twenty and thirty a-piece.

If lady Mary had written after the plague of Marseilles or Naples, she would have been persuaded that it was no easy matter to root it out of Italy or France.

It is their strong attachment to the doctrine of fatality, (not disregard to their worldly substance) makes them, with such great philosophy, behold their houses on fire.

Vol. ii.
p. 142.

Most families, says the lady above cited, have had their houses burnt down once or twice, occasioned by their extraordinary way of warming themselves, which is neither by chimnies nor stoves, but by a certain machine called a tendour, the height of two feet, in the form of a table, covered with a fine carpet or embroidery. This is made only of wood, and they put into it a small quantity of hot ashes, and sit with their legs under the carpet.—At this table they work,
read,

read, and, very often, sleep; and if they chance to dream, kick down the tendour, and the hot ashes commonly set the house on fire. There were five hundred houses burnt in this manner about a fortnight ago: and I have seen several of the owners since, who seem not at all moved at so common a misfortune. They put their goods into a bark, and see their houses burn with great philosophy, their persons being very seldom endangered, having no stairs to descend.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the contagious Nature of the Plague.

THAT the plague is contagious, has been the general opinion, with very few exceptions: the prevalence of this opinion appears in the following instance. There happened great disturbances at Trent, on occasion of the reformation; and disputes rose high: Pope Paul III. to bring about his political schemes, procured a report to be spread that the plague was at Trent. The bishops were frightened and left the city; the pope's ambassador, Cardinal Monte, kept together his friends for a majority. The emperor's prelates opposed Monte, but it was too late, the cardinal had been some time invested with full power to remove the council.

Ing. p. 33.

It has been objected that every invention and stratagem formed by the counsellors and

Ingr. 32. magistrates of London and Marseilles, were with strictest observance obeyed and followed; and yet were insufficient to check the disease: from whence some have concluded, that it did not spread by contact, approach, or contagion; but by infection or insalubrity of the air. But a conclusion from the insufficiency of the means to stay the disease, seems too rash to rely much on it.

Chamb. Contagion, in some diseases, is effected by an immediate contact, or touch; as the madness of a dog, which is communicated by biting*; and the venom of the pox, which is transmitted in the act of copulation: in others it is conveyed by infected clothes, as the itch: in others, the contagion is transmitted through the air to a great distance, by means of steams or effluvia expiring from the sick, as in the plague, and other pestilential distempers: in which case, the air is even said to be contagious, i. e. full of contagious particles.

Echard
hist. Engl. Most physicians agreed, that the plague in 1665, did not arise from any real infection in the air, but from propagation from one person to another.

Sydenh. The disposition of the air, though it be pestilential or however corrupted, is not sufficient of itself to cause the plague, or con-

* In the yearly bill of mortality at London, 1757, there is mention of two persons who died by being licked by a mad dog.

vey it to any great distance; but it is either conveyed by a fomes, or by the coming of some person from an infected place; and is not epidemical there, unless also the disposition of the air incline to it: otherwise, how comes it to pass, that when some one town is grievously infected with the plague, another, not far distant, by warily prohibiting the commerce with the infected place shall keep clear of it?

Mead,
pest. 58,
70.

Thucydides makes the infection a part of his description of the plague at Athens; and Lucretius dwells much upon it: as does Livy, in his description of the plague at Syracuse. Galen says, it is unsafe to be about those who have the plague, for fear of catching it.

That this distemper is contagious, is the concurrent opinion of all mankind, a few persons only excepted. Dr. Mead has undeniable arguments to prove the infection of this disease, against some French physicians, who attributed it to a long use of bad aliment.

That this disease infects those who approach the sick, is obvious; for whenever it seizes one person in a house, it immediately attacks the greater part of the family; than which a person cannot have a stronger argument that it is infectious. The small pox and measles when they are got into a family, usually seize successively the greater part of it, who have not had the distemper before;

Mead,
pest. con-
tag. p. 14.

and for that reason are generally allowed to be contagious.

Mead,
Ven. exh.

When infection is communicated from one already diseased, it commonly happens at the latter end of the distemper, when the fermenting blood is throwing off great part of its active fermentative particles upon the surface of the body, the mouth and stomach; and thus by the perspiration and sweat of the diseased is the air filled with effluvia which insinuate themselves into the blood of a sound person through the pores of the body, or are sucked in by the breath: but the most dangerous manner of infection is by the breath of the diseased, taken in by a by-stander, especia y in the last moments. In which case, vomits, timely given, are of admirable use.

Venus un-
masked,
8.

Echard,
iii. 142.

Some authors say, the pox is a kind of plague: and as the natural causes of the terrible contagion in 1665, some physicians were of opinion, that the original was a heightened and venomous pox, which advanced to the venom of this pestilence, and so brought its natural punishment along with it, at a time when lewdness was so exorbitant and triumphant in this city.

All we know is, that whatever be the cause of the plague, it is of such a nature, that when taken into the body, it works such changes in the blood and juices, as to produce this disease, by suddenly giving some parts

parts of the humours such corrosive qualities, that they will excite inflammations and gangrenes wherever they fall. But we are acquainted too little with the laws by which the small parts of matter act upon each other, to be able to determine the qualities requisite to change animal juices into such acrimonious humours ; or to explain how the distinguishing symptoms are produced.

Contagious particles are said to be conveyed by the air into the bodies of men by infected goods or garments. We have maintained trade and commerce a long series of years with Turkey and Egypt, and yet have not imported this destructive contagion with their commodities, into our country, though their towns are never, or rarely, free from it, especially Grand Cairo.

If the plague is always produced by contagion, conveyed from one country to another by infected wares and merchandize, and afterwards by goods and garments, or, by conveyance of the air, carried from house to house, a train of successive infections must proceed *in infinitum* ; there can be no stop till we come to one person who bred that poison in himself, and conveyed it to others. If the plague arises in inland places where no ships come, it must be accounted for from inherent causes, assisted by the external before-mentioned. It is often occasioned by infection conveyed by navigation, but more

Famine.

frequently owes its generation to internal vicious humours, and pestilential air; especially, when the northern regions of Europe are visited with this dreadful calamity, it is most frequently to be ascribed to famine that follows the desolation of the sword; or dearth and scarcity by natural causes. If it always arose from infection, there has been no new plague in the world, but the same continued by uninterrupted succession, and that first must arise without infection.

When southern winds blow over the burning sands in Africa, a plague very often follows at Tunis, which obliges the better sort of inhabitants to withdraw to Old Carthage; which evidently proves, that the fatal disease may be produced at home, without importation of infected wares or garments.

These reasons however are not produced to destroy altogether the communication of pestilential infection by contagion. For as Dr. Mead observes,

Mead,
Pest.

The plague is a real poison, which being bred in the southern parts of the world, maintains itself there by circulating from infected persons to goods; which is chiefly owing to the negligence of the people in those countries, who are stupidly careless therein.

Goods have retained infection during their passage from Turkey to Marseilles; and many times persons have died there in their attendance

attendance upon goods under quarentine. Goods have retained the infection many years. A feather-bed was laid by seven years on suspicion of its being infected, which produced mischievous effects at the end of that time.

The mischief was brought to Marseilles the last time by goods from the Levant; the first who had the distemper was one of the crew of the ship; next those who attended on the goods; next the surgeon.

Mead,
pest. 24.

A galley-slave employed in burning the dead at Marseilles, escaped from thence to St. Laurent, a league from Correjae, where finding a kinsman who belonged to the former place, he presented him with a waistcoat and a pair of stockings he had brought along with him. The kinsman returns to his village, and dies in two or three days; being followed by three children and their master. His son who lived at Canourgue, went from thence in order to bury the family, and at his return gave to his brother-in-law a cloak he had brought with him, who laying it upon his bed lost a little child which lay with him, in one day, and two days after his wife; himself following in seven or eight. The parents of this unhappy family taking possession of the goods of the deceased, underwent the same fate.

The late reverend Mr. Williams, chaplain to Sir Robert Sutton when ambassador at

Mead,
Pest. 76.

Con-

Constantinople, used to relate a story told him by a Bassa; that in an expedition this Bassa made to the frontiers of Poland, one of the janizaries under his command died of the plague; whose jacket, (a very rich one) being bought by another janizary, it was no sooner put on, but he also was taken sick and died; and the same misfortune befel five janizaries more, who afterwards wore it. This the Bassa related to Mr. Williams chiefly for the sake of this further circumstance, that the incident now mentioned prevailed on him to order the burning of the garment; designing by this instance to let Mr. Williams see, there were Turks who allowed themselves in so much freedom of thought, as not to pay that strict regard to the Mahometan doctrine of fatality as the vulgar among them do.

Venus
unmask-
ed, 80,
from Fra-
castorius.

Fracastorius observes, pestilent seminaries have been preserved for many years in woollen clothes.

At Florence, 1348, two hogs finding in the streets the rags which had been thrown off a poor man dead of the disease, after snuffing upon them and tearing them with their teeth, fell into convulsions and died within an hour.

At Verona no less than twenty-five persons were successively killed by the infection of one furr cap. [one leathern garment, says Dr. Goodwin.]

Seven children died by playing upon clothes brought from an infected house.

Some clothes fouled with blood and matter from plague sores being lodged between matting and the walls of a house in Paris, gave the plague seven years after to a workman who took them out; which presently spread through the city.

In 1542, there was a plague at Breslaw; the infection from which it was derived had been concealed in linen fourteen years, which happening to be opened revived this fatal disease. Goodwin,
20.

The plague was conveyed from Rome to Naples, 1656, by clothes and other wares. Mead,
pest. 46.

The plague was carried to Poole in Dorsetshire by some goods contained in a pedlar's pack.

The distemper was at Eham in the Peak of Derbyshire, being brought thither by means of a box sent from London to a taylor in that village, containing some materials relating to his trade. A servant who first opened the box, complaining that the goods were damp, was ordered to dry them at the fire; but in doing it was seized with the plague, and died; the same misfortune extended itself to all the rest of the family, except the taylor's wife, who survived it. The distemper destroyed in that small parish between two and three hundred persons. By the care of the rector, the poor were moved into huts on the common,

mon, and well furnished with necessaries and provisions; care was taken none should go out of the parish : and by these means the neighbours were protected from infection with complete success.

Mead,
Pest. 85.

Of all goods, cotton is most dangerous; occasioned by its aptitude to imbibe and retain any sort of effluvia near it. Some cotton was placed near a piece of putrefying flesh, without touching it; the cotton imbibed so strong a taint, that being put up in a close box, it retained its offensive smell six months after.

Bermudas.

In the island of Bermudas a sack of cotton, put on shore by stealth, lay above a month without any prejudice to the people of the house where it was hid; but when it came to be distributed among the inhabitants, it carried such a contagion along with it that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Mead,
pest. 77.

The strongest perfumes are mostly animal juices, as musk, civet, &c. and it is remarkable what a long time they will hold their scent, if lodged and preserved in soft, porous bodies, pressed close together; and the greatest danger is from such goods as are apt to retain infection, as cotton, hemp, flax, paper, or book^s, silk of all sorts, linen, wool, feathers, hair, and all kinds of skins.

Ingr. 102.

Contagion is further proved by hanging a fresh joint of butcher's meat near one in a state of putrefaction, from which the sound
will

will imbibe the fermentative stinking juices, and in a short space become also putrid.

Though the air be in a right state, yet a sick person may infect those who are very near him. Eleven persons put to sea, when the plague was at Genoa, 1656, with a design to withdraw themselves from the contagion; one of them fell sick, and infected the rest: they were not suffered to land any where, and but one of them survived the return of the boat to Genoa.

Mead,
pest. 52.

A man was seized with the plague, upon burying a young woman dead of it, when none else dared to approach the body.

A young lady was seized with the plague upon the sudden sight of a pestilential tumour, just broke out upon her maid.

At Marvejols, no less than sixty persons were at once infected in a church, by one that came thither out of an infected house.

At Marseilles, the surgeon whom the magistrates appointed to examine the bodies of the dead, caught the disease, and died.

If a surgeon opens a plague tumour with his lancet, and then bleeds a sound man, he will be immediately seized with the plague.

Prookes,
521.

When the soldiers of Maximilian the second were disbanded, they distributed contagion over almost all Europe, but especially Vienna. They generally infected the families where they lodged; and died so fast themselves, that the streets and highways were

Goodwin,
24.

either

either filled with dead bodies, or with such as were ready to breathe their last.

Goodwin,
25.

In 1576, the plague was brought to Basil by a letter-carrier: he first infected his wife and family, from whence it spread by degrees over the city. In 1609, it was brought to the same city by a baker's servant; who infected his master's family, from whence it spread to his relations, neighbours, &c.

Mead,
Pest.
contag.
xxxii.

Three labouring men made their escape from Hamburgh to Fallingbottle, in Hanover, got into a barn in the night, and were found dead there next morning, with marks of the plague upon them. The progress of the infection was stopped by burning the barn.

Persons have often remained in safety in a diseased town by shutting themselves up from all communication with such as might be suspected of giving them the disease.

When the plague raged cruelly over almost all Italy, it was shut out of the confines of Tuscany, by the care and prudence of the great duke.

In the plague at Rome, 1656, 1657, the monasteries and nunneries defended themselves by the same means; the infection entered none of the prisons there, though the nastiness of those places exposes them very much.

When the plague was last in England, the colleges at Cambridge remained entirely free by this precaution.

At Naples, the religious houses, from their neglect herein, did not escape so well.

There is nothing in the universe makes so swift a progress as a pestilence, the infectious miasmata are stiled arrows that fly in the dark: and however certain are their strokes, and though, by means of their fineness, they penetrate into the very marrow, they yet by their subtilty elude our observations.

Hodges,
44. See
p. 2.
Pfal. xci.
5, 6.

Upon this account, the prudence of those states is to be justified, who enjoin all persons and merchandize from infected countries to stay a certain time upon their coasts before they are permitted to intermix with a healthful people.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Small-pox, Yellow Fever, and Sweating Sickness.

THE great analogy and resemblance among these disorders may excuse their being introduced into this treatise of the plague.

An epidemic small-pox commonly precedes the plague, and the resemblance between these diseases may justly challenge a belief that they are very near akin; and the causes much the same, no otherwise distinguishable than in degree, both being venomous and contagious.

Mead,
pest. 50.

The small-pox is frequently carried in the nature of the plague both to the *East* and *West Indies*, and once from the East Indies to the *Cape of Good-Hope*. A ship arrived in which three children had been sick of the small-pox; the foul linen used among them was put into a trunk, and locked up. At the ship's landing, this was taken out, and given to some of the natives to be washed: Upon handling the linen they were immediately seized with the small-pox, which spread many miles into the country, and almost dispeopled it.

Thoresby,
p. 617.
from Dr.
Liber.

The small-pox is an exotic disease of the Oriental people, and not known to Europe, or even Asia Minor, or Africa at all, till a spice trade was opened to the remotest parts

of

of the East Indies, whence it originally came, and where it rages more cruelly than with us.

In a passage from the island of *St. Thomas* in the *Bight of Guinea* to *Barbadoes*, there happened such a fatal sickness and mortality among the seamen, and negroes, that from the 25th of *August* to the 4th of *November*, the ship's crew buried fourteen seamen and three hundred and twenty negroes; which was not only a great detriment to the voyage, but a loss of six thousand five hundred sixty pounds sterling. The distemper they chiefly died of was the white-flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine could in the least check it; so that when any one was seized with it, he was esteemed a dead man, and generally proved so. It was surprizing what should cause the disease so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after their departure from *St. Thomas*. Next to the malignity of the climate, it was attributed to the unpurged sugar and raw unwholesome rum they bought here, of which they drank in punch to great excess.

The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships which carry them escape it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them. All the assistance usually given the diseased in this case is, as much water, as they chuse to drink, and some

See Hancock's
Febrifugum.

palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they often recover without any other helps.

One thing is very surprising in the small-pox among the Blacks, that though it immediately affects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man : In this voyage, there were several white men and boys on board the ship who had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the Blacks that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least caught it, though it be the very same malady, both in effects and symptoms as among the people in *England*, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, &c. But what the small-pox spared, the flux swept off, to our great regret (says the captain *) after all our care and pains to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodging as sweet and clean as possible, and enduring so much misery and stench so long, among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine ; and after all, our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes ; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery, but by their mortality are ruined.

The worst sort of the confluent small pox is as incurable as the plague itself.

* Thomas Philips, of the *Hannibal*.

Blackm.
on the
sm. pox,
23.

In the worst kind of the small-pox, as in the plague and high malignant fevers, the patients feel little pain or sickness, and are insensible of their danger: and wonder when they are told they have so short a time to live; which is the case of those that die of gangrenes and mortifications. Blackm.
23.

In the year 1752, the grave-digger at Chelwood in Somersetshire opened a grave, wherein a man who died of the small-pox had been interred about thirty years before. By the deceased's desire, he was buried in an oak coffin, which was so firm that it might have been taken out whole; but the grave-digger not chusing that, forced his spade through the lid, when there came forth such a stench that he never smelt the like before.—It being a person of credit who was to be buried in the grave, the whole village attended the funeral, as well as many people from the neighbouring villages; and a few days after, about fourteen persons were seized in one day with the usual symptoms of the small-pox, and in three days more every soul, but two, in the whole village, who had not had it, were seized in the like manner.—Their disorder proved to be so favourable, that no more than two persons died of the whole number, which was about thirty; and one of them was a woman who came down stairs when the pock was at the height, and died the

same night.—The same disorder was carried all round the villages, by the country people who attended the funeral, and proved very favourable every where.

The cold infusion of tar hath been used in some of our colonies as a preservative or preparative against the small-pox; which practice induced Bishop *Berkeley* to try it in his neighbourhood, when the small-pox raged there with great violence: which trial fully answered expectation. All those who took tar water either escaped the distemper, or had it very favourably. In one family there was a remarkable instance of seven children, who came all very well through the small-pox, except one young child, which could not be brought to drink tar-water, as the rest had done. Several were preserved from taking the small-pox, by the use of this liquor; others had it in the mildest manner: others, that they might be able to take the infection, were obliged to intermit drinking the tar-water. It may be drank with great safety and success for any length of time, not only before, but during the distemper.

Yellow
Fever.
Ingr. Hist.
Account
of
plagues,
p. 120.

Barbadoes was first settled by the English about 1624: ever since it was inhabited by Europeans, it has been once a-year visited with a pestilential distemper, at some times more virulent than others, but generally not much less fatal than the plague: but this distemper is not peculiar to Barbadoes, for all
the

the West-Indies, as well Spanish and French as English, are subject to this calamitous disorder.

This disease is commonly known by the name of the Yellow-fever; and is dreadful to new settlers, and particularly to European strangers: the symptoms are described thus:

This fever invades the patient in a most precipitate manner; the only notice it gives is a momentary chiliness and shivering, which is soon succeeded by a burning heat, which disperses itself universally over the body, but is felt more intensely about the præcordia. This fever is attended by a high, strong, and rapid pulse, heaviness in the eyes, a throbbing pain in the head, and violent beating of the temporal arteries; a thick and laborious perspiration, nausea, and retching to vomit, and when any thing is thrown up, it is of the bilious kind; to these we may add, great anxiety, pain in the back, loins, and an uneasy lassitude in all the limbs.

Town's
diseases of
the West
Indies.

The symptoms subsequent to these (which often discover themselves in the space of twelve hours from the invasion) are, a dry, harsh, rough, and discoloured tongue; insatiable thirst; soreness all over the body; great restlessness; and a delirium.

In the last stage, the patient labours under a deep coma, or oppression of the præcordia, heaving of the lungs, an uninterrupted respiration, tremblings of the tendons, convulsions, and cold clammy sweats.

These are the three advances to be taken notice of in this distemper, which usually terminate in a favourable crisis, or the death of the patient, about the fourth day after the first attack.

Ingram
124.

The trade-winds blow near nine months from North and North-east; about the latter end of July the wind shifts to the South, and the rainy and sickly season sets in, and continues sometimes till October, when the wind blows again from the North-east, the disease disappears, and the weather is again settled and serene. The violent heat of the sun is nearly equal all the year.

From the first settlement, this distemper has scarcely omitted at the season of the year to visit the new comers; and it has been observed for years together, that hardly three in an hundred have escaped: the disease has hitherto baffled all the arts of the physicians.

It must startle a stranger to see his friend changed in a few hours, into the complexion of an Indian, or of a deeper hue, than that of the most inveterate jaundice.

Ingr. 137.

The appearances in the bodies of those who have perished by this disease, upon dissection, are in general much the same as those that die of very ardent and putrid fevers.

From the difference of climate it is rational to conclude that the constitution of an European naturally undergoes some change; on his first arrival and for some weeks after, his face

face and hands are so bedewed with sweat, that they are with great difficulty kept dry with several handkerchiefs employed continually for that purpose. Above fifty Europeans are afflicted with the disease to one of the natives, and in less than ten months after their arrival.

The mortality among strangers may in some measure be accounted for; they are Ingr. 144 excessively fond of roots, greens, and vegetables, on which they generally feast with great eagerness; these vegetables are very unwholesome in hot and rainy weather, and even distempered in themselves at such seasons. Doubtless garden vegetables, fruit, corn, and herbage in general, at this sickly season become more or less diseased, experience shewing us that there is commonly a strict analogy between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The Europeans are voracious eaters of various fruits, which cannot fail to injure the constitution, because they are gathered before they are ripe.

It is not surprising that sailors should be Ingr. 145 particularly subject to this and other terrible disorders, when we reflect on the various hardships they undergo from the inclemency of weather, coarse diet, chiefly consisting of pickled flesh, unsound biscuit, salt fish, water half putrid, constant watching in dewy nights, filthy and scurfy skins, through neglect of washing and want of clean linen,

since they have nothing to wash their linen in but urine, without regarding what disorder any of them may labour under:—to which may be added, their enormous irregularities and want of care at their arrival in the Caribbee islands; sleeping on deck all night in open air; drinking hot and new-made rum to excess, without returning on board till hours after sun-set; which is, of all other practices, the most dangerous in this part of the world; because at this time the noxious vapours which the solar rays had extracted from the seas, lakes, and marshy grounds, being no longer rarified by the heat, are condensed, and fall down in malignant dews, pervade the pores opened by the heat, enter and are intimately mixt with the blood: in this state, the human body, like a sponge, imbibes every species of moisture that floats in the atmosphere.—Hence arise violent heat, restlessness and insatiable thirst; and the pernicious method of alleviating these painful sensations is to drink large quantities of cold water. The blood and juices being thus heated and cooled, all the animal fluids become vitiated; so that the hot and moist winds entering the pores almost instantaneously, and being drawn into the lungs, must produce the most fatal effects on bodies already so distempered.

Sweating
Sickness.
Rapin, i.
21. (a).

The sweating sickness being a distemper supposed peculiar to England, was called

Sudor

YELLOW-FEVER, &c. 169

Sudor Anglicanus, the English sweat, or sweating sickness: it did not seize foreigners that were in England; it pursued those of this country, and those only, in foreign parts. It was very surprizing, the patient mending, or ending, in twenty-four hours. But, we are assured, says Dr. Mead, this sickness was not peculiar to England, notwithstanding what is affected by Sir Richard Baker and other authors; but made great destruction, with the same symptoms, in Germany and other countries.

Thoresby
antiq.
Leeds,
617.
Mead,
pest. 65,
66.
Baker's
chron.
Edw. VI.
casualties,

The sweating sickness was properly a plague, attended with an extraordinary sweat. It is called, by some modern writers, mild, and moderate, yet was one of the most grievous plagues that ever was: nothing could be more so, than to seize, it may be, five hundred in a day, and to kill, without mercy, in twenty-four hours.

Dr. Hancock on
water, 82.

This epidemical disease was first perceived in England in the year 1485, the first year of King Henry the Seventh: it began in the army with which the king came from France, and landed in Wales. It was first felt on the twenty-first of September, and in the same day spread itself all over England: where, after a great mortality, it stopped all at once, about the latter end of October. Its ravages were so great, that in some places

Rapin's
hist. Engl.
Baker chr.
Seymour's
survey of
Lond.
Verulam's
hist. Hen.
VII.
Mead,
pest.
Goodwin
historical
account to
the plague.
it
p. 14, 15.

Cham-
bers's
Dict. &c.

it took away a third part of the people in a very little time †.

The distemper began with a sweat, which never ended but with the death of the patient, or his recovery: if he survived twenty-four hours he was safe. Few people escaped it at first: too much care, or too little, were equally destructive.

Those who were taken ill had neither buboes, carbuncles, or spots; but lost their strength all of a sudden, and fainted away; they had anxiety about the heart, a pain in the head; a quick, unequal pulse; and a very great palpitation of the heart: they fell into a constant and copious sweat, which did not terminate before the disease: those who did not encourage the sweating, nor made use of cordials, but, impatient of heat, exposed themselves to the cold, died suddenly within twenty-four hours.

Verulam,
Hen. VII.
p. 9.

It was a pestilent fever but not seated in the veins or humours, the mass of the body not being tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered from the predispositions of the seasons.

Stowe.
Seymour's
surv.
Rapin's
hist. Engl.
i. 651.

† At London died of the sweating sickness two Lord Mayors and four Aldermen in four days.

Three Lord Mayors and Sheriffs in the year.

Two Lord Mayors and six Aldermen in one week.

It

It made its return four times in the compass of sixty-six years, viz. 1506, 1517, 1528, and 1551: at all which times the plague raged in Italy.

Its malignity was so great, that when it invaded any city, it seized five or six hundred persons at a time, and of these scarce one in a hundred escaped.

It seldom raged above six months; sometimes terminated in three: it was always preceded by a very wet season.

In its return under Henry the Eighth in 1506, it was as general and as dangerous as before: and again disappeared all at once.

In 1517, the sweating sickness made great ravage in the kingdom, especially in London: on which account the term was adjourned to Oxford: most of those who were seized with it died within three hours, and no cure could be found. The distemper continued from July till the middle of December. Many knights, gentlemen, and officers of the king's court, died thereof: as the Lord Clinton, the Lord Grey of Wilton: and of the common sort so many, as in some towns it swept away half, in others, a third, of the inhabitants.

Rapin, i.
737.

In 1528, toward the end of May, this distemper returned again, and over-ran the whole kingdom: the terms and assizes were adjourned by reason thereof: it destroyed many persons of distinction; insomuch that the king himself retired to Tittinhanger, a place belonging to the abbot of St. Albans, where,

where, with the queen, and a very small number of other persons, he remained till the sickness was abated: yet its attack then was less fatal than at former times; insomuch that the Bishop of Bayonne, then ambassador in England, and who sweated like the rest, tells us, that of forty thousand souls seized with it in London, only two thousand died.

In 1534 it passed over into Ireland, where it killed numbers.

1550, *The fourth of Edward the Sixth*, the sweating sickness began at London, the eighth or ninth of July, and was most violent on the tenth, or twelfth of the same month. It raged exceedingly, insomuch that it is hard to compute the number that died: nine hundred and sixty died in a few days: persons in best health were suddenly seized, and died, or recovered, in nine or ten hours: if a person took cold, he died within three hours; if he slept within six hours, he died raving.

The Duke of Suffolk died of the sweating sickness; as did, two days after, his brother who had succeeded him.

What is very remarkable, this mortality raged chiefly, or rather only, among men; and those young and of a strong constitution, or of the best age, between thirty and fifty: wherefore the nation was much afraid of it; and, for the time, began to repent, and remember God: but as the disease re-

lented,

lented, devotion also in short space decayed.

— *Devotion in distress*

Is born, but vanishes in happiness.

DRYDEN.

Anno 1556, the fourth of Queen Mary, the disease began at Shrewsbury in April, and spreading towards the North, ended not till October. It raged extremely in some parts of Yorkshire.

Thoresby,
Duc.
Leod.
617.

After long observation, and many experiments of what was hurtful, or helpful, the nature of the disease came to be known: when the patients promoted sweat, and fortified themselves with cordials, the mortality was not so great.

The following method was practised with happy success: the patient was to wait, either in his cloaths, or in his bed, according to the condition nature was surprized in; without burdening him with remedies or foods: without clothing either too much or too little; and, if possible, without eating or drinking. The sweat to be kept up, without promoting it by extraordinary heat, or checking it by the least cold.

If any, says Polidore Virgil, fell into a sweat in the day-time, they immediately went to bed with their cloaths on; if they were taken in the night, they kept themselves still and quiet, never stirring out of their places till the expiration of twenty-four hours;

Goodwin,
15.
Polidore
Virgil
treats of
the cure
with great
accuracy.

hours; in the mean while they were covered with clothes, not so much to promote the sweat, as to keep it gently flowing of its own accord: they were to eat nothing, if they could possibly fast so long; nor to drink more of what they were accustomed to, made hot, than what was sufficient moderately to quench their thirst. During the course of this regimen they were not permitted to put a hand or foot out of bed for refreshment; if they did, it was certain death. Others add, they were not permitted to sleep during this time.

Those that recovered of this pestilential sweating, though they continued well a good while, were sometimes seized with it again, even to a third time.

Schenckius.

A man who would not submit to the usual method of cure, hid himself in an oven, from whence there had lately been bread drawn: it threw him into a plentiful sweat, and he crept out with the usual signs of recovery.

Those who apprehended they should be taken with the distemper, would earnestly intreat their friends not to suffer them to leave their beds sooner than they ought, upon any account whatever: these persons, when they fell sick, would beg and pray for their liberty, with the most moving arguments they could invent, struggling and crying out like persons in distress: which violent emotions the physicians did not endeavour

our to appease, believing they hastened their recovery.

When the patient did not sweat freely, they endeavoured to promote it with proper medicines.

The same kind of fever was in England about the month of September 1713, and called the Dunkirk fever; being brought by our soldiers from that place.

Mead
Pest. 68.
See p. 95.

In 1764, a distemper called the fever of Upsal raged at Stockholm, and carried off many persons.

If the disease was peculiar to England (which the English soldiers bringing from Dunkirk seems to contradict) there is much the same thing among the Polanders, who are subject to a distemper called *Plica*, unknown (as it is affirmed) to all other countries. They that are troubled with it lose the use of their limbs, as if they had a palsy, and feel great pains in their nerves, which generally continue a whole year. After that they fall into a great sweat at night; and next morning their hair is glued together, and has a nauseous smell, and continues ever after. If they cut their hair, the humour falls on their eyes, and they are blind: This distemper is infectious, and communicated by coition.

Plica Po-
lonica.
Rapin's
hist. Engl.
i. 21. (u)

The *Plica* is also by the inhabitants called *Goschest*, (the French call it *Coltons*). The persons afflicted with this disease are lame of all

Church.
voy. ii.
470.
Beaux
plan.

all their limbs for a year, as if they were struck with a dead palsy; but endure great pains in all their sinews, so that they are continually crying out. After a year is expired, their head some night falls into a great sweat, so that in the morning they find all their hair clung together, and flat, like a tail of salt-fish. Then the sick person finds much ease, and some days after, is perfectly well, nay, better in health than ever he was before, only that his hair looks scurvily, and cannot be combed: and if he should happen to cut it off within two days, the humour that purges out at the pores of the hair would fall upon his eyes, and he would be quite blind.

Among them they look upon this disease as incurable; but it has been cured after the same manner as the pox in France. Some, perceiving this disease coming upon them, go away a while to other countries, for change of air: which is another remedy, which cures them insensibly. This disease is not got by drinking out of the same glass with those that have it; but if one person lies with another that has it, the husband gives it to the wife, and the wife to the husband. The physicians make a distinction between male and female; and say, that old Babas, as they term them, poison the men, and give them the distemper, making them eat certain cakes; others giving

giving it in the steam of hot water : so that he who receives it finds his brain disturbed, and falls ill within a few days after. If these are the opinions of their physicians, no wonder need be made at the superstitious notions of the more vulgar. There are children born with their hair clotted together ; but that is a good sign, for as they grow it loosens ; and those children can never after have this distemper.

C H A P. V.

Cures for the Plague, and Preservatives
against it.

*Woe is me for my destruction, and my grievous
plague. JER. x. 19.*

*Our wounds are grievous, our bruises are in-
curable: there is none to lay a plaister, there
are no medicines nor help for thee.*

JER. xxx. 12, 13.

*There is no balm in Gilead, nor physician in our
climate. JER. viii. 22.*

*Go up into Gilead and take balm: in vain shalt
thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not
be cured. JER. xlvi. 11.*

ALTHOUGH a pestilential infection is extremely dangerous, and doubtful as to its consequences, very few being spared by it when at its greatest height, it being *opprobrium medicorum*, the disgrace of physicians; yet they are by no means to despair in so great a difficulty, and give up the whole race of mankind to destruction as soon as it comes, but be rather stimulated to greater endeavours; and, like faithful ministers of nature, study all helps against such common and grievous calamities.

But before we enter upon that part which seeks assistance from medicine, it may be necessary to exhort the infected, that they have due regard to the Almighty Power, not only

in confessing and seeking forgiveness for sin ; but imploring his blessing upon those remedies and means for recovery which the most skilful physician can prescribe.

The infected ought also to be admonished to make their wills and settle their worldly affairs, so as to prevent contention and law-suits, lest by the severity of such a distemper they should be carried off : but this is to be done before the disease affects the understanding.

The sick should be enjoined, that they quietly, submissively, and with chearful confidence, commit themselves to the care and management of their physicians. Oh the difficulty to watch over those in such imminent danger ! What variety of cares lie upon him who undertakes it ? and often falls himself by the tyrant he is endeavouring to defend others from ! But physicians are born for the public good, in relieving mankind from cruel diseases ; and by their usefulness even in a pestilence, as well as in other more common calamities of life.

The physician ought to address the patient with chearfulness, and blame those fears and melancholy apprehensions which give many over too much into the power of the distemper, by cutting off all hopes of recovery.

Any thing which greatly contributes to preserve, or recover, the health of the body, is well worth the attention of the mind : therefore, though physicians are as much di-

vided in relation to the cure, as the cause of this terrible distemper, some of their sentiments are here collected: the contrariety of their opinions is a confirmation of their general confession, that there is no specific yet found out, that will certainly take off and cure the plague.

There has no antidote, or specific medicine for the cure of the plague, been yet found out by the most inquisitive and sagacious physicians and philosophers: no plant or mineral, any single or compounded remedy, applied outwardly, or taken inwardly, that will certainly suppress and extinguish it. Great numbers of antidotes and specific medicines are recommended; but, alas! there is no credit to be given to them, no dependence to be laid on them; they avail but little when tried.

Blackm.

We shall not oppress the reader with numerous citations from the various writers on physic; nor transcribe their different and often inconsistent notions, nor their endless train of medicines, and receipts, too uncertain and precarious to be depended on: for (thanks to Divine Providence) the principal modern writers on the plague have been only those who, in a warm room, have travelled over the works of a few who wrote in the last century: they never saw the disease in its mother country, but were confined to a meer description, and could only judge of
what

what they read; from which, at best, they could have but a confused idea of malignant and infectious distempers. Hanc.
Febr. 78.
Blackm.

The cure is generally attended with alexipharmicks and cardiacs, with the assistance of sudorifics, or phlebotomy, or both: but Dr. *Mead* says, Most physicians have grossly erred, in prescribing heaps of useless and very offensive hurtful medicines, under the titles of antidotes, specifics, and alexipharmics. Pest. con.
ii.

—Many eminent physicians, both ancient and modern, highly commend blood-letting: *Diemerbroek*, on the contrary, with other very experienced writers, protest against phlebotomy, as very dangerous, and often deadly; the chief hopes they build in diaphoretics and sudorifics. Emetics and purgatives are absolutely forbid, and yet Dr. *Sayer* used the former with good success in the beginning of the disease, in the plague of *London* 1640. Hodges,
155, 157,
158, 159,
160, 161,
162, 163,
164.

In the cure of a pestilence the medicinal forms are not to be pompously contrived with a long catalogue of ingredients, but carefully adapted in every respect to the circumstances and exigencies of the infected. Some have taken a great deal of pains to no purpose in finding an universal specific against the pestilence, and have wickedly imposed many palpable falsities upon the world under such pretences: pernicious secrets have been cried up. These public cheats ought themselves,

Hodges,
154. to be deemed pestilential, as their notions and practices are abhorrent to all sound reason [and integrity]. There never, as yet, has been discovered in nature the full and absolute essence of a pestilence, that still remains a mystery to mankind: wherefore in this distemper a person must proceed, as in all others, by a serious attention to the manifest symptoms, and a rational conformity of the means of cure.

Hodges,
154, 174.

Hodges,
164, 274.

But all authors and practical physicians agree in this, to throw out the pestilential malignity as soon as possible; which is expeditiously and surprizingly done by alexipharmics; and to these, as soon as the belly is loosened, recourse must be had, as to a sacred refuge: there is such plenty of remedies of this kind, that nature seems to have more than ordinary indulgence and forecast, in providing against this destructive enemy; nor hath the medical art been wanting with supplying us with many preparations of simples that are powerful against so grievous a destroyer. But in this great choice, it behoves us to select those which are most efficacious; for this distemper, which is certainly the most tyrannical of any that infects a human body, must be conquered in its infancy, for when got to a head, it is not to be managed by the greatest efforts of human skill.

Physicians should consider upon what good grounds they do, in cases of this nature, under the notion of alexipharmics, give such medicines as raise a great heat both in the stomach and blood; and take care, lest while they are engaging the animal spirits in war with malignities, they send treacherous auxiliaries to the supposed weak part; that they either raise new tumults and disorders, of worse consequence than the original mischief, or, by clogging the wheels, and throwing dust upon the springs of the finest machine in the creation, do check and interrupt the action of nature, when it is employed upon the most nice and critical work.

Hot medicines have been used, with good success, both in the cure of the plague, and preservation from it: but it is by accident, if they produce sweat; if they do not, which very often happens, the increased flame of the blood soon proclaims openly the mischief of them. The use of hot antidotes have been every where commended; but it is rather probable, that wine drank too freely, and other strong preservatives taken daily at set hours, have cast many in this disease, who otherwise might have escaped it. The proper alexipharmic for the plague lies hid in nature's bosom: she performs her business of her own accord, nor will be violently forced out of her way, in expelling the morbid matter; but it is not yet known to what fit

and certain kind of remedies the eruption of the imposthumes may be promoted. Cordials and corroborating diet may increase the heat of the patient, already too much augmented.—Sweats signify nothing in this case; scarce one in three escaped who were treated in that manner.

Hanc.
Febr.
Mag. 73.

All hot herbs, and other things that heat and dry, and thereby spoil the natural *crasis* [constitution] of the blood, and all hot liquors, as wine, strong ale, &c. unless given in very small quantities, call them what you will, sudorifics, cardiacs, alexipharmics, are so far from being useful, that they are hurtful.

Hanc.
Febr. M.
74.

Acids are generally prescribed by all, and admired by some, not only in common fevers, but in the plague. Vinegar is both unctuous and penetrating; a powerful anti-phlogistic, and preservative against corruption and infection.

Siris, p.
28.

Juice of lemon is commended as of a singular efficacy in the plague, and pestilential fevers; *Piso* relates, that it is the principal remedy of the *Indians*, and protests he never knew any thing come up to it. The *Indians* use orpiment, corrected with lemon juice, with good success against fevers: the same is what the Turks have principal recourse to. Father *Merolla* was poisoned by the *negroes* at *Congo*, and recovered by the accidental application of a lemon,

Chamb.

Dr. Har-
ris.

Church.
voy. vol.
i. 587.

THE PLAGUE. 185

Dr. Hancock believed lemon juice the noblest acid to be given in fevers: and says, Hanc.
Febr.
Magn.
75.

“ When I had a breach in my lungs, I was
 “ for many years in that condition, that I
 “ could bear nothing acid, neither *Port*,
 “ nor *French*, nor *Mountain* wines, nor
 “ juice of *Seville* orange, but I should im-
 “ mediately feel a pain in my breast; nor
 “ could I bear any thing hot, so much as
 “ one dish of sage-tea, but it affected me;
 “ but I could bear the juice of lemon pretty
 “ well: by which, I guess, it gives less dis-
 “ turbance to the blood than most other
 “ acids, and therefore must (though more
 “ acid to the taste) be more innocent in fe-
 “ vers than most acids are.”

Camphor is much extolled: *Etmuller* as-
 sures us, this was the basis of *Heinsius's* anti-
 pestilential oil, who had a statue erected to Hanc.
Febr. M.
75.

him when dead, in the city of *Verona*, for
 the service he had done thereby.—It was
 prepared of equal quantities of camphor,
 citron-bark, and amber.

Camphor, though mightily extolled as a Hanc.
Febr. M.
87.

most powerful diaphoretic, is not prescribed
 alone, in the plague, or any other fevers. If
 it is of so piercing and seasoning a nature, as
 those that write of simples assert, that it will
 diffuse itself, even through the solid parts, as
 soon as it is warmed by the stomach, it were
 as good let alone as taken inwardly. It can-
 not be such a powerful diaphoretic as is pre-
 tended,

tended, unless seconded with great quantities of liquids, which perhaps would do the work without it. It enters into the composition of most antidotes, but when it is buried among a vast number of other simples and compounds, as in that famous and admired antidote of *Matthiolum*, where there are above six score ingredients, it can neither do good nor hurt. It seems beyond the capacity of any physician, with judgment, to compound a medicine of such a vast number of ingredients, to serve any intention in physic whatever.

Sir *Richard Blackmore* could never find any great effect of Camphor, but that it is offensive to the stomach, as most balsams and balsamic gums are.

Virginian snake-root, when fresh and fragrant, is deservedly accounted the most efficacious and generous diaphoretic and alexipharmic for expelling the pestilential poison: it is admirable, that such great virtue should reside in such minute fibres, having a taste very pungent, and a quick aromatic scent, and discovering somewhat wonderful, and almost supernatural.

Hodges,
165.
Snake-
root.

Hodges,
166.
Contra-
yerva.
Ginger.

The next place is justly given to the *contrayerva* root, from which a compound medicine is admirably contrived: but gratitude obliges me (says Dr. Hodges) to say somewhat of ginger, which I have prescribed both in the root powdered, and candied, many times with great success; for it is very
powerful,

powerful, both in raising a breathing sweat, and defending the spirits against the pestilential impression.

From these roots may be made extracts, either with spirit of wine or vinegar.

In this dreadful calamity the populace were chiefly infected, and therefore cheap and common medicines should be contrived: as troches of vipers in scordium water; volatile salts of vipers in the same vehicle: the troches made of the flesh of New England rattle-snake were found most efficacious.

Hodges,
176.
Vipers.

All physicians agree that vomiting is good in the beginning of fevers, and particularly the learned Dr. *Harris*, esteems it much in all fevers, even in the plague: as you may see in his late *Latin* book of the plague.

Hanc.
Febr. M.
76.

Compound tincture of vipers is said to be an excellent diaphoretic; and in the London sickness 1665, it was much used with success. Its dose is from ten to fifty or sixty drops, in canary, or plague water.

Quinc.
Dispens.
341.

Cauteries, and especially issues, and setons in the inguina, are found of great service in preserving from infection. A piece of myrrh held in the mouth in contagious places is commended. *Diemerbroek* assures, there is nothing better in this intention than smoking tobacco, for such to whom that practice was not familiar. The other preservatives used by that author were, the *rad. helonii*, cardomums, white-wine vinegar, and chearfulness;

Chamb.

ness; and when he found his spirits low, as if the disease were taking possession, a cup of generous wine, sometimes even to a degree of ebriety.

Viperine salt, and rob of elder-berries; and the greater celandine are much commended.

Whether any of these deserve the name of specifics is doubtful.

Hanc.
Febr.
Magn.
p. 88, 119.

If sulphur be good, either gas of sulphur, or flours of sulphur boiled in water, would be the best way of taking it. One spoonful of sulphur boiled in a quart or three pints of water, and a small glass of it taken morning and evening, is a great drier and corrector of sharp acid humours, and will cure the most obstinate itch, without any outward application, as Dr. Hancock experienced.

Chamb.
Amulet.
Amulets.

Amulets, or charms, (made of quills, of arsenic, quicksilver, &c.) are worn by some on the neck, or under the shirt, against the plague and other contagious diseases.

Toads.

A memorable thing of this kind was communicated to *Zwelfer*, by the chief physician to the states of *Moravia*, who having prepared some troches of toads after *Helmont's* manner †, not only found, that being worn as

amu-

Hanc.
Febr.
Magn.
p. 87.

† *Van Helmont* says he learned the remedy of dried toads from one *Butler*, an *Irish* physician, who pretended to have cured many with it: but he could not thoroughly learn the secret, because the man was ban-

nished

amulets, they preserved him, and his domesticks and friends from the plague ; but being put on the plague-fores of others, they were greatly relieved, and even saved thereby.

There is no doubt but the amulet prepared of arsenic, the powder of toads, &c. worn about the neck in time of pestilence, hath real force against that infection by way of preservative. *Cosmus Slotanus* had it in great esteem, after long experience on persons of all ages : this amulet Pope *Adrian* would never be without in time of pestilence.

Turner on cutaneous diseases, p. 326.

Amulets are now fallen from the great repute they were formerly in ; yet the great Mr. *Boyle* alleges them as an instance of the ingress of external effluvia into the habit, in order to shew the great porosity of the human body.—He adds, that he is persuaded some of these external medicines do answer ;

Chamb,

nished soon after. It is probable this remedy has been used so seldom, that if any that used it, either escaped the plague, or did well with it, this was presently supposed to be the cause, though it might be purely accidental : for as bad a distemper as the plague is, some will escape having it, and some would escape when they have it, though they should do nothing either to prevent or cure it. One would think, when the toad lies so near the heart, the heart should be likelier to attract the poisonous particles from the toad, than the toad from the heart.

The powder of toads was prodigiously extolled ; but more success was found in spirit of hartshorn given in plague-water : which is the most powerful diaphoretic that can be given.

Hodges, 171.

for

for that he himself having been subject to bleed at the nose, and reduced to use several remedies to check it, found the moss of a dead man's skull, though only applied so as to touch the skin till the moss was warm thereby, the most effectual of any.

Chamb.

Mr. *Boyle* shews how the effluvia, even of cold amulets, may pervade the pores of a living animal; by supposing an agreement between the pores of the skin and the figure of the corpuscles. The possibility of the thing has been demonstrated by *Bellini*, Dr. *Wainwright*, Dr. *Keil*, and others.

Chamb.

Magnes Arsenicalis, denotes a mixture of equal parts of arsenic, sulphur, and antimony melted together over the fire, and condensed in manner of a stone. It is a very gentle caustic, and was invented by *Angolus Sala*.—

It has its name, *Magnet*, because, being worn during malignant diseases, it is supposed to preserve the wearer from infection by a magnetical power.

The wearing arsenic upon the pit of the stomach as an amulet, has been often attended with very ill consequences, and is not grounded on any good authority.

The factitious white arsenic is the most violent of all the kinds, superior in force to mercury sublimate. The several histories related by *Wepfer* put this out of question: it is sufficient to mention one.

A dog having eat some fat mixt with white arsenic, died the next day; the upper part of the stomach, when opened, was red and inflamed, the coats thinner than ordinary, the bottom of it was covered with a fœtid slime, and some pieces of fat; the thin guts were so corroded as to be pervious in three places, two of the ulcers so large that they would easily admit a bean. The cavity of the abdomen contained a yellowish ichor tinged with blood.

The case being thus, one would wonder what should induce authorsto prescribe so corrosive a mineral to be worn upon the pit of the stomach as an amulet against the plague. This trick we may well believe to be dangerous, when *Leonardi di Capoa* tells us of a child killed by the violent vomiting and purging, occasioned by a slight wound made on the head by a comb wet with oil in which arsenic had been infused; for the pores of the body being opened by heat and exercise, some of the noxious effluvia may easily insinuate themselves into the part; accordingly *Crato* observed an ulcer of the breast caused by this application; *Verzascha*, violent pains and fainting fits; *Diemberbroek*, and *Dr. Hodges*, death itself.

This practice seems to owe its origin to a mistake: some of the *Arabian* physicians had commended *Darsini* worn in a bag as a preservative in plague-time; this in their language

Mead on
poison,
117.

guage signifies *cinnamon*; but the *Latin* interpreters retaining the same word in their translations, (as was frequently done) others afterwards, not understanding its meaning, and deceived by the likeness of the sound, substituted in its place *de arsenico*, as if *darfini* were all one with *zarnick*. The authority of the first author served to propagate the error: nor were those wanting who reasoned upon the matter, and found it agreeable to their philosophy, that this mineral should draw to itself the arsenical effluvia out of the air, and thus secure the body from infection; these being, as they imagined, the common cause of pestilential diseases.

Mead on
poison,
143.

Nich Fontanus knew one, who being recovered of the plague, and wanting sleep, did, with very good effect, eat hemlock for some time, till falling ill again of a fever, and having left off the use of this remedy, he immediately endeavoured to procure rest by repeated doses of opium, which (nature having been used to a stronger alterative) had no operation, till the help of *cicuta* was again called in with desired success.

Derham's
Phyfico-
Theol.
ii. 117.

In the plague year, a gentleman at the university had a large plague-fore gathered under his arm, which, when they expected it would have broken, discharged itself by a more than ordinary large and foetid stool; the fore having no other vent for it; and he immediately became sound and well thereon.

De-

Democritus in his treatise of the plague, Mead on
taught, that the music of pipes was the poisons,
medicine for most diseases; which *Thales* of ^{75.}
Crete confirmed by his practice; when sent
for by the *Lacedemonians* to remove from
them the pestilence, he did it by the help of
music.

It is observed by two or three antient *Spectator*,
authors, that *Socrates*, notwithstanding he ^{iii. 195.}
lived at *Athens* during the great and devour-
ing plague which has made so much noise
through all ages, never caught the least in-
fection; which those writers unanimously
ascribe to that uninterrupted temperance
which he always observed.

At *Grand Cairo* the plague immediately *Derh. i.*
ceases as soon as the *Nile* begins to overflow. ^{22.}
Which effect *Mr. Boyle* attributes to nitrous
corpuscles, and *Dr. Derham* to commotions
of the air.

At *Vienna* they have frequent winds,
which, if they cease long in summer, the
plague so often ensues that it is grown into a
proverb, *If Austria be not windy, it is subject*
to contagion.

Some empirics, to the vast detriment of *Bleeding.*
the sick, let them blood, upon a notion that *Hodges,*
the blood was corrupted; but none were ^{103.}
able to discover any signs of such corruption;
the blood in this distemper commonly ap-
peared more florid than at other times. Blood
could not be drawn from the infected by *Hodges,*
O phle- ^{115.}

Hodges,
116.

phlebotomy without loss of strength, if not of life. How little soever the quantity of blood drawn away was, and although done at several times, yet it proved of prejudice to the patient; and the remaining mass was not able to recruit the loss. The bad effects of repeated and immoderate bleedings are perhaps never got over.

Siris, p.
37.

Many authors of the best note have thought large bleeding, (if seasonable) proper in the plague. *Leonardus Botallus* thought it better than all other remedies; and says, he had confidently used it for fifteen years, at the siege of *Rochel*, at the mountains of *Hainault*, at *Paris*, and at *Cambray*, in all his patients, which were innumerable.

Dr. Sydenham relates the following remarkable case: "In the time of the civil war, the plague was brought to *Dunstar-castle* in *Somersetshire*; and some of the soldiers dying suddenly, with an irruption of spots, it seized many others: at which time a surgeon, that had been a great traveller, was a common soldier there; who humbly beseeched the governor of the castle to do all he could for the relief of his fellow-soldiers that were seized with this dreadful disease: having obtained leave, he took away a prodigious quantity of blood from every sick person, at the first approach of the disease, before there was any sign of a tumour; he bled them till even they were
like

like to drop down (for he bled them all standing, in the open air) neither had he porringer to measure the blood: afterwards he ordered them to lie in their tents; and though he gave them no medicine at all after bleeding, yet (which is very strange!) of those very many he treated after this manner, not one died.

This account was given to Dr. *Sydenham* by Mr. *Francis Windham*, then governor of the castle, a gentleman of most remarkable probity, who was living when the doctor published it.

How far Dr. *Sydenham* experimentally found the utility of this practice, and in what cases he approved it, may be seen in his *Acute Diseases of the Years 1665, 1666*. He tells us, though his private judgment ran that way, yet the dissipation of the pestilential venom by sweat pleased him much better, on many accounts, than the evacuation of it by bleeding.

An ancient physician had about 270 sailors under his care, sick with the plague; they had all of them the spots (called *tokens*,) and they were seized with languor, infomuch that they were not able to move; he ordered his surgeon to bleed them in both arms, and to go round to them all, with command to leave them bleeding till all were blooded, and then come and tie them up in their turns. Thus they lay bleeding and fainting

Turner
against
Dover.

so long, that the physician could not conceive they could lose less than an hundred ounces a man. There were but seven or eight lost (not by the bleeding, but) by their mess-mates procuring for them strong liquors.

Sweating.
Hodges,
108.

Some times sweat breaks out in such profusion, as if the whole constitution was dissolved, with a great loss of spirits and strength, to the imminent danger of the patient, by such a dissipation of the spirits, such a colliquation of the balsam of life, and an extinction of the natural heat. Nothing more powerfully attenuates the humours, more suddenly puts all the animal juices into fusion, so as to run them through the pores of the skin, than the pestilential poison, by whose melting quality even the fleshy parts are dissolved and exhaled into vapour. The sweats were not only profuse, but variously coloured, citron, purple, green, black, blood colour: By this means, some experienced nurses could prognosticate the event of the distemper, from the colour of the clothes or linen tinged with the sweat. The sweat of some would be so fœtid and intolerable, that no one could endure his nose within the stench. The sweat of infected persons gives extreme pungent pains; sometimes it was sharp, and in a manner caustic, from a sharp and burning *ichor*, that would excoriate the parts, and sometimes vesicate them, as if scalding water had been poured upon

Hodges,
47.

upon them. Sometimes cold sweats would break out, while the heat raged inwardly, and excited unquenchable drought. Some continued in a profusion of sweat, till life itself exhaled with it; while others had short intervals of cessation; nay some, at the same time, sweat on one side, while the other was quite parched with dryness.

The energy of the pestilential contagion not only freely discovered itself in these profusions among the living, but the carcases, when dead, would weep out the morbid ferment, both through the cutaneous pores, and the common lachrymal ducts of the eyes.

But the benefit of this evacuation (when regular) either natural, or by art, was so manifest, that all that recovered were sensible of it, and rejoiced greatly at its good effects: for those pestilential particles which eluded the power of all other means; immediately, upon a sweat, made their escape with the transpiring steam.

Sudorifics are looked upon by some of the best physicians as the safest, the quickest, and most proper, cure for the plague.

Diemerbroek is supposed to have written the largest and best of the plague. He tells us what his custom and method was. In the first, second, or third day, he gave them sudorifics; if they vomited them up, he repeated them; if they were hard to sweat, he put more covers upon them. If the fever

Hodges,
109.Hodges,
108.Hanc.
Febr.
Mag. p.
89.Lib. 3. c.
6. folio
edit. with
his Ana-
tomy.

increased, he repeated the sudorific the second or third time, nay, even sometimes to the fourth or fifth time. He found by experience, confirmed by infinite examples, that a great number were cured by sweating, and very few any other way. He had known some, that by one good lusty sweat had been so recovered that there remained no footsteps of the disease: this often happened in the plague at Nimeguen. He gave his sudorifics at the very beginning of the distemper: the disease makes such swift progress, that the patient must be helped speedily, or all remedies will be in vain. If the patients took sudorific antidotes in the very beginning of the disease, many recovered, but if they past that time, they were in great danger. He was careful not to give the very hot sudorifics; if he did, to mix them with some cooling things, as vinegar, citron water, &c.

I am altogether of opinion, says *Sennertus*, that many die of the plague who might have been saved, if they had used the medicines that are necessary, in time, and repeated them as often as was needful; for as soon as any one finds any token of infection, he ought presently, and without any delay, to take alexipharmics, and sweat, and to repeat them, even thrice in one day.

Page 817. The safest way of curing the plague is in short this: (After imploring the help of God) presently fly to alexipharmics and sudorifics;

Lib. 2. c.
8.

Lib. 1. c.
14.

Sennertus, vol.
ii. p. 808.
Lugd.
1656.

dorifics; nor is the cure by any means to be deferred. Many die, because they are too backward to use alexipharmics; many might be saved, if they took them before the poison begins to corrupt the humours. Some, when they found themselves infected, taking alexipharmics, speedily composed themselves to sweat; and after felt no hurt, but next day returned to their business: if the cure were delayed but eight or twelve hours before they took sudorifics, scarce one in an hundred recovered.

Vide Sydenham,
De Peste.

The hot sudorifics, or alexipharmics (which are all one) are dangerous in the plague, as well as other fevers, if not sparingly and discreetly administered: there is, probably, the highest inflammation in *that*, of any fever, and hot medicines must be more dangerous in *that* than any other. Some great men give the strongest cardiacs and hottest alexipharmics in malignant fevers, and consequently the strongest of all in the plague: but the generality seem rather willing to part with the alexipharmics, and venture the poison, than to use the sudorifics, and increase the fever, which is the effect of the venomous infection. Hot sudorifics, if given while nature is strong, and the blood not much corrupted, in such quantity, and with such management, as to force a plentiful sweat, may lessen, or take off, the fever; but if they fail of sweating, as

Hanc.
Febr. 92.

they often do, they put nature to too much stress, and do a great deal of harm. *Diemerbroek* durst not give the hot alexipharmics without some cooling thing.

Hanc.
Febr. 4, 5. Dr. *Sydenham* complains, of the boldness and indiscretion of nurses, and some physicians, in giving so many hot cordials in all sorts of fevers; and imputes the most dangerous symptoms to the too common use of them. Dr. *Freind* says, they are not yet sufficiently discarded; and only the more moderate sudorifics and cordials should be used. Dr. *Mead* says, We must have a care of hot things that irritate the blood. He declares*, he is not fond of hot flaming cordials and sudorifics, when he prescribes the boiling of *Virginian snakeroot* in a good quantity of common water: for though the root be very hot, yet it may be good and safe, when given in a quantity of cooling liquid.

Hanc.
Febr. 93. If there could be any thing found out that would produce a plentiful and kind sweat in the beginning of the fever, without increasing it before it produce the sweat, it would certainly ease the physician of the dilemma, either to neglect the poison, or increase the fever.

Hanc.
Febr. 22. A woman fell ill, and died, of a most malignant fever: the women about her said, it was little better than the plague: her husband fell ill with the most violent symptoms

* In his last chapter of the plague.

that use to happen in the beginning of malignant fevers; he was much worse than his wife was when she began to be bad; and was certain he should die. A clergyman persuaded him to go to bed, and said, he thought he could cure him: the man thought he bantered, but took his advice: he made him drink off a quart of water: he fell into a violent sweat in a little time, sweat all day, and next day was well.

This, Dr. *Hancock* boldly asserts, cold water will do in the beginning of any fever that is not necessarily and universally attended with eruptions; and will give as plentiful and a much more easy sweat than any of the hot sudorifics; and so far from increasing the fever before, or during the sweat, that it will calm it, and quiet the blood to that degree that one would scarce believe the patient had a fever: and the doctor really believed water would have the same effect in the plague.

Physicians have not dared to determine of what kind the malignant venom in the plague is, or what kind of poison is nearest of kin to it, whether the animal †, vegetable, or mi-

Hanc.
Febr. 94.

† Of all corrupted juices that turn to poison, animal juices are the worst: some of the juices of our bodies, by long stagnation, particularly in violent fevers, may be raised to that degree of putrefaction, to be as bad as the poison of toads and serpents. Almost any fever, by the ill disposition of the humours of the body, or by mismanagement, may be raised to an high degree of malignity; nay, sometimes to the plague itself.

neral,

neral, though the mineral seems to have the fairest pretence, because we see people suffocated with such sort of vapours, as they are sometimes in the plague when the infection is strong: this probably is the case in the infection from the air, though not when it comes from infected bodies: therefore, though experience makes some things looked on as specifics for some poisons, yet, as we know not what sort of poison causes the plague, we cannot, with any certainty, apply antidotes for the cure: any further than as they are sudorifics, and by kindly sweating, or by insensible perspiration, carry off the fever, and the malignant particles that caused it, together. Nor is it very likely, that such violent hot antidotes as we are sure increase the fever, which is the natural consequence of the infection in the plague, (whether from the air or other contagion) should do much to quell the malignity, but rather increase its virulent activity.

Hanc.

Febr. 97.

Cold water is more likely to imbibe and absorb those noxious and poisonous particles that cause the fever, than any of the common hot sudorifics; most of which can be safely given only in small quantities, and seconded with plenty of innocent liquids.

Hanc.

Febr. 98.

Dr. *Hancock* asserts, that the easiest and safest way to take off the plague, is by sweating speedily, before the violent infection, the poisonous vapour and *halitus*, the contagious particles,

particles, have too much disturbed the nervous juice, or animal spirits, or corrupted the blood and other juices of the body. It is more necessary in this than other fevers, because it makes the swiftest progress in disordering the spirits, and corrupting or putrefying the blood and humours: and something must be done speedily, or not at all. If the infection be strong and violent, the plague may seize the most healthful man in the world: many by taking an early and plentiful sweat, have been perfectly well, and the next day gone about their business.

Hanc.
Febr. 99.
100, 101.

Physicians that write on the plague prescribe only those things they have found good in malignant fevers, because they look on it as a malignant fever in an higher degree: and Dr. *H.* long experienced that a dose of cold water given in time, and in bed, will in the most malignant fevers that commonly happen, procure such a plentiful sweat as will take off the fever at once: it might be much more safely given than any of the hot alexipharmics and sudorifics. And I verily believe (says Dr. *Hancock*) if this method were taken, there seldom, if ever, would appear either spots, pustulous swellings, or carbuncles; and if the morbid matter were not thoroughly carried off, such sweat would much better promote such a kindly bubo in some glandulous part or other, as would

would carry off the relics of the contagious and pestilential fever.

We may see the power of water to carry off any feverish heat of the blood, by the effect that drinking the waters has upon many people, that it pimples or flushes their faces: when it does so, they many times leave them off, when they ought to continue drinking; for such pimples will soon be gone, when the water has cooled and cleared the blood.

Cures.
Hanc.
Febr.
Magnum,
Advert.
edit. 8.
1726.

A gentleman, (afterward a governor in the *West Indies*) travelling in *Arabia*, when he came to *Mount Sinai* fell ill, and finding himself extremely hot, and burnt up with thirst, first bathed, and then drank a great deal of water in bed; not knowing what his distemper was. It brought out no less than four or five buboes, and he was well in a little time. His physician, who belonged to the religious house on *Mount Sinai*, assured him it was the plague.

Hanc. F.
M. 101.

A gentleman very learned in *Arabic* and other *Eastern* languages, resident for the king of *England* at *Morocco*, in his younger days when he was one of the factors, fell ill of the plague. One of his brother factors took care of him, and gave him a dose of some hot spirituous liquor. He left a *Jew* to attend him, with a strict charge not to give him any thing but what he had ordered. The patient found himself in a violent heat, without any sweat. He begged the *Jew* to
give

give him some cold water ; who told him he durst not : by two or three ducats he was persuaded. Having drank the water, he soon fell into a violent sweat. He felt a pricking pain in his arm-pits, which was the beginning of a buboe. He avoided taking the prescribed draughts all the next day, but at night his friend came to him, and forced him to take another dose ; which took off his sweat, the heat returned, and the buboe went off. For another ducat the *Jew* was prevailed with to give him more water : the sweat returned : the hot doses were thrown away ; the gentleman recovered, and, with due regimen after, did very well.

The same gentleman was formerly secretary to an *English* ambassador at *Madrid*. The ambassador fell ill of one of those raging fevers called Calentures ; he took the advice of the best physicians there to be had, and was under the common regimen used by the physicians of that country. The secretary lay in the next room, and hearing a noise in the night, got up to see what was the matter : he found his excellency sitting in the coolest room in his apartments, bare foot, in his shift. The secretary begged him to go to bed ; he said he could not possibly bear lying in bed ; but if he would bring him a good draught of water, he would go to bed and try. The attendants were asleep, they let them sleep on. The secretary brought

Hanc. F.
M. 102.

brought his excellency some water ; he drank it, went to bed, slept very well the rest of the night, and did very well.

Hanc.
Febr. 101.

An old man and his wife were left in the time of the last plague in a gentleman's house who was fled into the country. The woman fell ill of the disorder. She found herself in a terrible heat: nothing would serve her but her husband must fetch her a pitcher of water from *Lamb's Conduit*. She drank plentifully of it, but exposed herself to the cold, which she should not have done, but kept herself warm to sweat; the not doing which was fatal to thousands in the beginning of our sweating sickness. However she was cured. Her husband too was seized, used the same means, and recovered likewise.

See
*Sweating
Sickness.*

Probatum est, Lamb's Conduit water will cure the PLAGUE.

Hanc.
Febr. 99.
Siris, letter to
T. P.

In the sweating sickness, at first they were dead in twenty-four hours, and hardly any recovered; but after they had found the right way of treating the patients, i. e. encouraging that sweat that the violence of the fever had forced nature into, hardly any died of it; but were well in as little time as others were dead before.

I am induced (says Bishop *Berkley*) by the nature and analogy of things, and its wonderful success in all kinds of fevers, to think, that tar-water may be useful in the plague,
both

both as a cure and preservative : It is a preservative against infection, as it gives lasting spirits, and invigorates the blood.

Some think an erysipelas and the plague differ only in degree : the bishop knew tar-water cure an erysipelas. Siris, p. 40.

The firing guns has been too rashly advised: the proper correction of the air would be to make it fresh and cool. The *Arabians*, who were best acquainted with the nature of pestilences, advise people to keep themselves as airy as possible, and to chuse habitations exposed to the wind, situate high, and refreshed with running waters : to keep their houses cool, and to strew them with cooling herbs, roses, violets, water-lillies, &c. and to wash with water and vinegar. See Blackmore on the plague.

Most modern authors advise to make fumes with benzoin, frankincense, storax, and other hot things : from which, however, Dr. *Mead* sees no reason to expect any virtue to destroy the infectious matter, or keep places from a disposition to receive it, except sulphur may promise some service : on the contrary, he advises to fume houses with vinegar, or vinegar and nitre, by throwing it on a hot iron or tile. He entirely dissuades from all fumigations with mercury, arsenic, or any poisonous mineral.

Crouding the sick into hospitals can serve to no good purpose ; it promotes and spreads the contagion, and exposes the sick to the Mead, Pest. xviii.
greatest

greatest hardships †. Those hospitals have been committed to the charge of villains, who have inhumanly suffered numbers to perish by neglect; and even who smothered those who were weak, or had ulcers difficult to cure: infomuch that the sick have chosen to lie in the fields, in the open air, under the flightest coverings, rather than fall under the barbarous management of an hospital.

Salmon's
Select
Cases, p.
367.

Dr. *Salmon* being in *London* all the plague-time, cured many hundreds of that disease: he was not absent, or out of town; from the day the plague began to the day it ended, and had several thousand patients sick of that disease under his hands: he is confident he cured above twelve hundred patients, sick of the plague, only by giving them his *London treacle*, every night going to bed; and he believed not one of an hundred he gave it to died.

Salm. Sel.
Cases, p.
368.

The same gentleman prescribes, choice canary, three ounces; *Spiritus cosmeticus*, a spoonful; mix them: with that mixture alone he cured some scores of the plague.

Dr. *Nathaniel Hodges*, who wrote the best account of the plague in *England*, stood the storm throughout the year 1665: he was not only a constant looker on, but as constant in his visits to the infected.

† Clauses in 7 Geo. I. relating to removing persons infected to lazarets, and making lines about towns, are repealed by 8 Geo. I. c. 10.

So soon as the doctor arose, which was very early, he took the quantity of a nutmeg of his anti-pestilential electuary; and after the dispatch of private business in his family, he went into a large room, where crowds of citizens were always waiting for him; and there he commonly spent two or three hours as in an hospital, examining the several conditions and circumstances of all who came thither, some of which had ulcers yet uncur-ed, others to be advised under the first symptoms of the seizure: all which he endeavoured to dispatch with all possible care.

As soon as the croud could be discharged, he judged it not proper to go out fasting, and therefore got his breakfast; after which, till dinner-time, he visited the sick at their houses, where entering, he had immediately some proper thing burnt upon coals, and always kept in his mouth a lozenge whilst he was examining the patients: he used no hot things for alexipharmics, as myrrh, zedoary, angelica, ginger, or the like, by which many deceived themselves, and raised inflammations on their tonsils, and endangered their lungs.

He took care not to go into any sick person's rooms when he sweated, or was short-breathed with walking; and kept his mind as composed as possible; being sufficiently warned by such as had grievously suffered by uneasiness in that respect: after some

hours visiting, he returned home. Before dinner he always had a glass of sack, to warm the stomach, refresh the spirits, and dissipate any lodgment of the infection.

Turner,
p. 69, 70.

An ancient apothecary very conversant with the Doctor, almost always his companion, assured Dr. *Turner*, that, in visiting the sick, they often took five or six gills a-piece of the choicest canary in taking their rounds, before they returned home to dinner; and that the Doctor when he was got *ad hilaritatem*, would enter without fear into any infected families where the apothecary durst not accompany him, but rather chose to wait at the sack-shop till the Doctor returned from his last visit for the forenoon, and brought him his orders. It was their custom to see their glasses well washed with the best white-wine vinegar; and having taken each his quarter of a pint, to drop their money into a vessel of water, placed for that purpose: so that in all likelihood they might each drink his bottle of this nectar daily, between the hours of rising and lying down to rest.

Dr. *Hodges* chose meats that gave an easy and generous nourishment, roasted rather than boiled, and pickles, not only suited to the meats, but the nature of the disease. He rarely rose from dinner without drinking more wine; after which he had persons waiting, as in the morning, for advice; and when they were dispatched, he visited again till

eight or nine at night; and then concluded the evening at home by drinking to cheerfulness of his old favourite liquor, which encouraged sleep, and an easy breathing through the pores in the night; and if in the daytime he found the appearance of infection upon him, by giddiness, loathing at stomach, or faintness, he immediately had recourse to a glass of wine, which presently drove these beginning disorders away by transpiration. In the whole course of the sickness he found himself ill but twice, and was soon cleared of its approaches, by these means, the help of an issue contributing, and of such antidotes as he always kept by him. As to issues, he says, whenever he was beset with pestilential atoms in the course of business, he could immediately perceive a shooting in his issue, and had a great deal of ill-conditioned matter discharged thence; which he always took as a warning to have recourse to alexipharmics.

Issues.

Gratitude obliges me (says the Doctor) to do justice to the virtues of sack, as it is deservedly ranked among the principal antidotes, whether drank by itself, or impregnated with wormwood, angelica, &c. for I have never yet met with any thing so agreeable to the nerves or spirits in all my experience. That which is best, is middle aged, neat, fine, bright, racy, and of a walnut flavour: and it is certainly true, that

Turner
against
Dover, p.
70.

Sack.

How to
chuse the
best Sack,

during the late fatal times, both the infected and the healthy found most benefit from it, unless they used it too intemperately.

Brookes's
Pract. of
Phys. vol.
ii. 522,
800.

As the plague is not a native of our country, but brought from remote places, the best preservative is to fly to a distant country. For the same reason, those princes best consult the welfare of their subjects, who, in the time of the plague, endeavour to prevent the spreading of the infection: and, when a family is afflicted, to separate the well from the sick, and to burn all their moveables.

Harvey,
38.

Physicians do unanimously hold, there is no other infallible preservative against the plague, than to retire with all speed, remove to a far distance, and return very slowly after the plague is ceased, lest it should not be entirely extinguished.

Siris, p.
41.

Fett. agft.
popery,
p. 15.

It may be presumed that no medicine is infallible, not even in any one disorder: nor was the plague ever so fatal as to leave no person unaffected, but always some have escaped its fury.

New discovery
of the
plague,
p. 37.

The best sanctuary in nature against pestilence, is a stout mind in a healthy body, a heart inoffensively cheerful, and a body not prejudiced by bad causes; by too little, or too much, too strong or too weak, sustenance.

Common experience of meaner people being mostly carried off, admonishes all to live upon as nutritive and generous diet as can be procured; and such things as not only
yield

yield due nourishment, but plenty of spirits, and what easily perspires: for there are many things of good nourishment that are not easily perspired, as pork, fish, and the like; which are therefore apt to go into fermentation and generate corruption; whatever is commonly supposed to breed surfeits ought to be avoided; and such means of subsistence complied with as generate a warm rich blood; and in proportion to the ways of living at other times, should every one, except those accustomed to riot and excess, indulge himself at a higher rate.

Roasted meats are by some preferred to boiled; and if pickles and high sauces are ever to be encouraged, it is on these occasions: garlick, onions, shallots, &c. are extremely serviceable, and preferable to hot, dry, spicey seasonings, because their pungent volatility seems naturally covered with a softness, or balsamic quality, more agreeable to the nature of animal spirits. In the histories of many pestilences, notice is taken of the exemption of Jews, and people who deal in such fare, from infection: and it is customary with experienced sailors to lay in great stores of such things against their arrival at infected and unwholesome countries.

The firmness and strength of the solids are greatly assisted by moderate exercise, but carefully avoid too much, and every thing that occasions too great an expence of spirits:

frequent immersions in cold water, so that the time of staying in it be as short as possible.

Q. Hodg.
277, 278.

Watermen, and others whose business engage them much on the river and in the cold, suffered least in the last sickness. Vinegar, and other acids are of great service for the like intention.

Q. Hodg.
279.

Assistance may likewise be had from antidotes, consisting of spicey volatile particles: *Sal volatile oleosum* is an elegant and useful medicine, if well loaded with essential oils of spicey ingredients; more fœtid compositions are agreeable to some constitutions: to the more robust, who have been accustomed to hard fare, spirit or oil of turpentine drank in small quantities may be a means to preserve from infection.

C H A P. VI.

Of the most memorable Plagues recorded in ancient History.

For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.
EXOD. ix. 15.

S E C T. I.

AS every one either has, or ought to have, read his bible, and to be acquainted with sacred history, it would be superfluous to enter into a detail of the plagues of Egypt, of the circumstances of which few can be supposed ignorant: those who are so, it may be sufficient to refer to the records of them. Another reason for passing over these wonderful plagues is, that being expressly declared to be extraordinary exertions of the Divine power, they are, as miraculous events, entirely beyond our plan, which is to consider contagious disorders proceeding from natural causes, in the ordinary course of Providence; and as such, yielding at length to natural precautions and remedies for their cure or stoppage of them. We proceed therefore to those remarkable plagues to be found in the histories of other countries:

The PLAGUE of ATHENS.

In the spring of the year (after the flood 1920, before Christ 430.) in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, *Athens* was wasted with a dreadful plague, which makes a remarkable figure in history, and the description of it by *Thucydides*, who was himself infected by it, is much commended.

So great a plague, and so fatal, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. At the first, neither were the physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died fastest themselves, as being the men that most approached the sick, nor any other art of man availed whatsoever. All supplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatsoever means they used of that kind, proved unprofitable; inasmuch as, subdued by the greatness of the evil, they gave them all over.

It began in that part of *Ethiopia*, that lieth upon *Egypt*, and thence fell down into *Egypt* and *Africa*, and into the greatest part of the territories of the king. It invaded *Athens* on a sudden, and touched first upon those that dwelled in *Pyræus*, insomuch as they reported that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poison into their wells. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faster. Now let any man, physician or other, speak concerning the ground of this
sick-

sickness, whence it sprung, and what † causes he thinks able to produce so great an alteration ; according to his own knowledge : for my own part (says *Thucydides*) I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only such things as one may take his mark by to discover the same, if it come again ; having been both sick of it myself, and seen others sick of the same.

This year, by the confession of all men, was of all other most free and healthful. If any man was sick before, his disease turned to this, yet suddenly, without any apparent cause preceding ; and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreme aching in their heads, redness and inflammation in their eyes ; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew presently bloody, and their breath noisome and unsavory. Upon this followed a sneezing and hoarseness, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breast ; and

† This plague made prodigious havock, cutting off this year four thousand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people. *Diodorus Siculus* says, ten thousand ; he likewise acquaints us with what he supposes to have been the cause of this distemper ; he ascribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, a very hot summer following thereupon, during which the *Etesian* gales or evening breezes were wanting. The *Athenians* ascribed it to the pollution of the isle of *Delos*, by the burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore caused to be removed, and sought to appease *Apollo* by various sacrifices.

when

when once it settled in the stomach, it caused vomiting, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that physicians ever named. Most of them had also the hiccough, which brought with it a strong convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies, outwardly to the touch, were neither hot nor pale, but reddish, livid, and beset with little pimples and wheals; but so burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lightest clothes or linen garments to be put upon them, nor any thing but meer nakedness, but rather most willingly to have cast themselves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, possessed of insatiate thirst, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being still from ease, and power to sleep as far as ever. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch as the most of them died of their inward burning in seven or nine days, whilst they had yet strength; or if they escaped that, then the disease falling down into their bellies, and causing there great ulcerations and immoderate looseness, they died many of them afterward with weakness. For the disease, which took first the head, began above, ran down, and passed through the whole body; and he that overcame the

worst

worst of it was yet marked with the loss of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many, with the loss of these, escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes; and many that, presently upon their recovery, were taken with an oblivion of all things whatever, as they neither knew themselves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of sickness which far surmounted all expression of words; and both exceeded human nature † in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwise, to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst us, and that especially by this: for all, both birds and beasts, that used to feed on human flesh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifest defect of such fowls, which were not then seen, neither about their carcasses, nor any where else; but by the dogs, because they are familiar with men, this

† The scurvy doth not only in variety of symptoms imitate most distempers, but also, when come to a height, in degree of virulence equals the most malignant. Of this we have a most remarkable proof, in that horrible description of the scorbutic patients in the hospital of *Paris*, given by *Monf. Poupart*, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences*, for the year 1699. That author thinks he saw some resemblance in it to the plague of *Athens*. It is hard to imagine any thing more dreadful than the case of those men, rotting alive by the scurvy in its supreme degree.

Siris, p.
43.

effect

effect was seen much clearer. So that this disease, to pass over many strange particulars of the accidents that some had different from others, was in general such as I have shewn; and for other usual sicknesses, at that time no man was troubled with any. Nor was there any, to say certain, medicine that applied must have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body for strength or weakness, that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, whatever physic was administered. But the greatest misery of all was the dejection of mind on such as found themselves beginning to be sick, for they grew presently desperate, and gave themselves over, without making any resistance; as also, their dying thus like sheep, infected by mutual visitation. For if men forbore to visit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of such as should have taken care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honest men: For out of shame they would not spare themselves, but went in unto their friends, especially after it was come to pass, that even their domesticks, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatness of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But those that were recovered had much compassion both on them that died, and on them
that

that lay sick; as having both known the misery themselves, and now no more subject to the like danger: for this disease never took a man a second time *, so as to be mortal. And those men were both by others counted happy; and they also themselves, through excess of present joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any sickness hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their substance into the city, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For having no houses, but dwelling at that time of the year in stifling booths, the mortality was now without all form; and dying men lay tumbled upon one another in the streets, and men half dead about every conduit, through desire of water. The temples also, where they dwelt in tents, were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careless both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws which they formerly used touching funerals were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many, for want of things necessary, after so many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral

* Some may have, and have had the plague two or three times.

pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having cast thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiousness which also in other kinds was used in the city, began at first from this disease. For that which before a man would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousness, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution of rich men dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their estates; inasmuch as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not before they atchieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike to worship or not worship; from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the latter, because no man expected that this life would last till he received punishment for his crimes by judgment. But they thought there was now over their heads some far greater judgment decreed against them; before which fell, they thought to enjoy some little part of their lives.

The

The great plague at *Athens* has made much noise through all ages; and has been celebrated at different times by several eminent hands: the late bishop of Rochester's account of it has been much esteemed.

The Plague of *Athens*, by Dr. SPRATT,
Bishop of Rochester.

O'er *Æthiopia* and the southern lands
A mortal influence came,
Kindled by heav'n's angry beam;
Which all the stores of poison sent,
Threat'ning at once a general doom,
Lavish'd out all their hate, and meant
In future ages to be innocent.

Ev'n *Africk's* desarts strait were doubly desert
grown,

The rav'nous beasts were left alone:
The rav'nous beasts, then first began
To pity their old enemy man,
And blam'd the plague for what they would
themselves have done.

Nor stay'd the evil there,
Plagues presently forsake
The wilderness which they themselves do make. }
Away the deadly breaths their journey take, }

Driven by a mighty wind;
The loaded wind went swiftly on,
And, as it pass'd, was heard to sigh and groan: }
Thence it did *Persia* over-run:
The *Persians* call'd their sun in vain,
Their God increas'd the pain;

They

They look'd up to their God no more,
 But curse the beams they worshipp'd before.
 Glutt'd with ruins of the East,
 She took her wings, and down to Athens past:
 Just plague! who dost no parties take,
 But Greece as well as Persia sack:
 Without the walls the Spartan army sate,
 The Spartan army came too late;
 For now there was no farther work for fate:
 They saw the city open lay,
 An easy and a bootless prey;
 They saw the rampiers empty stand,
 The fleet, the walls, the forts unmann'd;
 No need of cruelty or slaughters now,
 The plague had finish'd what they came to do.
 They now might unresisted enter there,
 Did they not the very air,
 More than the Athenians fear;
 The air itself to them was wall and bulwark's
 too.
 The air no more was vital now,
 But did a mortal poison grow;
 The lungs which us'd to fan the heart,
 Serv'd only now to fire each part;
 What should refresh, increas'd the smart,
 And now their very breath,
 The chiefest sign of life, became the cause of death.
 Upon the head, first the disease,
 As a bold conqueror, does seize;
 Blood started from each eye;
 The redness of that sky
 Foretold a tempest nigh.

The tongue did flow all o'er
 With clottea filth and gore ;
 Hoarseness and sores the throat did fill,
 And stopp'd the passages of speech and life :
 Too cruel and imperious ill !
 Which not content to kill,
 With tyrannous and dreadful pain,
 Dost take from men the very power to complain.
 Then down it went into the breast,
 There all the seats and shops of life possess'd :
 Such noisome smells from thence did come,
 As if the stomach were a tomb,
 No food would there abide,
 Or, if it did, turn'd to the enemy's side ;
 The very meat new poisons to the plague supply'd. }
 Next, to the heart the fires came,
 The tainted blood its course began,
 And carried death where e'er it ran ;
 That which before was nature's noblest art,
 The circulation from the heart,
 Was more destructive now ;
 And nature speedier did undo :
 The belly felt, at last, its share,
 And all the subtle labyrinths there }
 Of winding bowels did new monsters bear :
 Some cast into the pit the urn,
 And drank it dry at its return :
 Again they drew, again they drank,
 They drank and found they flam'd the more,
 And only added to the burning store.
 So strong the heat, so strong the torments were,
 They like some mighty burthen, bear

226 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

*The lightest covering of air :
 The virgins blush'd not, yet uncloath'd appear ;
 The pain and the disease did, now,
 Unwillingly reduce men to
 That nakedness once more,
 Which perfect health and innocency caus'd before.
 Their fiery eyes, like stars, wak'd all the night,
 No sleep, no peace, no rest,
 Their wand'ring and affrighted minds possess'd.
 Upon their souls and eyes,
 Hell and eternal horror lies.*

*Sometimes they curse, sometimes they pray,
 Sometimes they cruelty and fury breathe ;
 Not sleep, but waking, now, was sister unto death.
 Scatter'd in fields the bodies lay,
 The earth call'd to the fowls to take the flesh
 away :*

*In vain she call'd, they came not nigh,
 Nor would their food with their own ruin buy.
 Whom tyrant hunger press'd,
 And forc'd to taste, he prov'd a wretched
 guest ;*

*The prize was life : It was a costly feast.
 Here lies a mother and her child,
 The infant suck'd as yet, and smil'd,
 But strait by its own food was kill'd.
 There parents hugg'd their children last ;
 Here parting lovers last embrac'd,
 But yet not parting neither ;
 They both expir'd, and went away together.
 Here prisoners in the dungeon die,
 And gain a two-fold liberty :*

Here

*Here others poison'd by the scent
Which from corrupted bodies went,
Quickly return the death they did receive,
And death to others give :*

And even after death they all are murderers here.

*Up starts the soldier from his bed,
He, though death's servant, is not freed ;
The learned too, as fast as others die,
They from corruption are not free,
Are mortal, though they give an immortality.* }

*They turn'd their authors o'er to try
What help, what cure, what remedy,
All nature's stores against this plague supply :
And, though besides, they shunn'd it every where,
They search'd it in their books, and fain would
meet it there.* }

*But what, great gods ! was worst of all,
Hell forth his magazines of lust did call ;*

*Into the upper world it went ;
Such guilt, such wickedness,
Such irreligion did increase,
That the few good which did survive
Were angry with the plague for suffering
them to live :* }

More for the living than the dead did grieve. }

*Some robb'd the very dead,
Though sure to be infected e'er they fled.
Some not the shrines nor temples spar'd,
Nor gods nor heaven fear'd,
Though such examples of their power appear'd.* }

*Virtue was now esteem'd an empty name,
And honesty the foolish voice of fame:*

For having past those torturing flames before,
 They thought the punishment already o'er,
 Here having felt one hell, they thought there
 was no more.

The PLAGUE of SYRACUSE.

Univ. hist.
 vol. vii.
 p. 139.
 ante Ch.
 21.

The unfortunate *Syracusians* were now in the utmost distress for want of provisions; and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out amongst them. The infection began in the country, being occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The army was first infected with it, but soon, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead, or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were, for the most part, left without burial, to infect and poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard, night and day, but groans of dying men; and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. Those who were not inured to the climate and air of the country, and had no place to retire to, died daily in great numbers: The *Carthaginians* both officers and soldiers, were all swept off, and the *Roman* troops greatly diminished, by the plague.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

PLAGUES among the ROMANS, &c.

ABOUT the year of Rome 400, that Univ.hist. xi. 272. capital was visited with a plague, which spread itself over all the territories of the republic: neither did it stop there; the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci, fell a prey to the same contagion. It made a terrible havock among them, and swept away vast numbers of their people.

In the consulate of P. Servilius Priscus Univ.hist. xi. 452, 453. and Æbutius Elva, a dreadful plague broke out at Rome, and swept away almost all the flower of the youth who were able to bear arms; the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. History calls it [almost] a general mortality.

The two augurs, and the chief priest, died; the dead were so numerous, that they were thrown into the Tyber without burial: the calamity becoming greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts entirely to divine assistance; and made all their vows upon the altars, and the matrons swept the temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the presence of the gods; till a more wholesome season put an end to the distemper, and delivered Rome from a calamity which threatened her with utter destruction.

230 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Univ. hist.
xi. 511.

In the consulate of T. *Quinctius* and *Cornelius Cossus*, there was at Rome an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague; on which occasion, the Romans had recourse to deities unknown, and introduced new superstitions.

Univ. hist.
xii. 14,
15.

After the death of *Manlius*, the republic was threatened with new wars, and several cities revolted; and, to add to the misfortune, the plague raged in the city; insomuch that the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field.

Univ. hist.
xi. 4. 8.

When P. *Curiatius* and *Sextus Quintillius* were consuls at Rome, almost all Italy was afflicted with a plague, which swept away great numbers of citizens: amongst others were one of the consuls, the consul-elect, the high-priest of Jupiter, the augur, four tribunes of the people, and the greatest part of the senators.

Univ. hist.
xi. 60. &
xv. 217.

When L. *Verus* triumphed at Rome and took the title of *Parthicus*, his return proved fatal to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed: the infection spread through Italy, and extended to the most distant countries that were subject to, or had any communication with Rome, or Romans. *Marcus Aurelius* caused such of the common people as died to be buried at his own expence; and enacted some laws concerning burials and

sepulchres. This plague was followed by a dreadful famine; by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. It made dreadful havock in all provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for some years, especially in Italy, and at Rome, where it carried off many thousands, and, among the rest, great numbers of illustrious persons.

After a dreadful overthrow of the Samnites, the joy of the Romans was damped by the plague, which made a dreadful havock of the citizens. To appease the wrath of the gods, recourse was had to the usual remedy, superstition: the Sibylline books were consulted; and there it was read, that to put a stop to the plague, the god Esculapius should be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus, where he was worshipped under the figure of a serpent. An embassy was appointed for that purpose, and, after a whole year's expectation, the god arrived, to the great joy of the people: and the plague is said to have ceased soon after.

Another time, when a contagion broke out at Rome, and made dreadful havock both in the city and the country, recourse being had to the Sibylline books, it was supposed to be there found, that some great crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic: a vestal was found guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive.

232 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Univ. hist.
xiii. 63.

During the disputes with Marius, Rome was reduced to a most deplorable condition; a plague broke out among the troops of Pompeius with such violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thousand men: and soon after the general himself was killed by lightning.

Univ. hist.
xiii. 502,
503.

The year that Marcellus died proved very sickly, and many were carried off by reigning distempers: a dreadful plague raged at Rome, and all the other cities of Italy; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The Tyber overflowed and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the Pantheon, and there dashed to pieces several statues, &c. The populace imagined that the gods visited them with these, and threatened them with other calamities.

Univ. hist.
xv. 502.

In the beginning of the reign of the emperor Gallus, anno Christi 251, a dreadful plague breaking out in Ethiopia, on the confines of Egypt, spread in a short time over all the provinces of the empire, and swept away incredible numbers of people, especially at Rome, where it raged with great violence,

Univ. hist.
xv. 265.

Hammond on
the New
Test.
923.

When Crispinus and Ælianus were consuls at Rome, under the reign of Commodus, there broke out the most dreadful plague that had been heard of, which lasted two or three years; it raged all over Italy, but with most rage in the city of Rome, where it frequently

carried off above two thousand in a day.— Hereupon the emperor was persuaded to remove to Laurentum, a city of Latium, on the sea side; so called from a grove of bay-trees there, the smell whereof the physicians thought useful against the plague. And in like manner they prescribed sweet unguents and odours to anoint their ears and noses, to keep out, or overcome, the pestilential vapour. Nevertheless the disease daily increased, and swept away a multitude of men and beasts.

About the time of the persecution under Decius, a miserable plague much afflicted the Roman world, wherein Carthage had a very deep share; on occasion of which St. Cyprian wrote his book of mortality. Vast multitudes were swept away every day, and the fatal messengers of death called at every door. The streets were filled with the carcasses of the dead, which seemed to implore the assistance of the living, and to challenge it as a right by the laws of nature and humanity, as that which shortly themselves might stand in need of. But, alas, all in vain, every one trembled, and fled, and shifted for himself, deserting their dearest friends and nearest relations: none considering what might be his own case, nor how reasonable it was that he should do for another, what he would another should do for him; and if any staid behind, it was only to make a prey.

Lives of
Fathers,
121.

Hamd.
924.

Univ. hist.
 xv. 567.

In a rescript addressed to the inhabitants of Tyre, Maximin bragged of the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been interrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting, with fire and sword, their enemies, the Christians.

But Providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it least: for the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine, when no otherwise expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children, infinite numbers dying in the cities, more in the countries and villages; and the number of husbandmen which had formerly been very great, were almost all of them swept away. This Eusebius looks upon as a punishment from heaven upon Maximin, who sparing, out of his great mercy, (to use his own expression) the lives of several Christians, caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to distinguish them, by that mark of infamy, from his other subjects.

jects. To the famine and plague which ravaged his dominions with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war, in which Maximin and his army suffered much. The plague and famine were attended with inexpressible miseries; and the Christians conducted themselves very charitably toward their greatest enemies, during the time of their distress.

Anno Christi 261, the plague raged with great violence in Greece, Egypt, and especially at Rome, where it swept off for some time five thousand persons a day. The books of the Sibyls were consulted; public processions ordained; sacrifices offered to Jupiter the author of health, &c. but all to no purpose. Univ. hist. xv. 435.

In the reign of Constantine, Syria, Cilicia, and Thrace, were grievously afflicted by a pestilence and famine, which swept off incredible numbers of people. Univ. hist. xvi. 132.

In the same reign, a terrible plague broke out in Calabria, which soon spread all over Sicily, Greece, the islands in the Ægean sea, and at length reached Constantinople; where it raged for three years together, with such fury, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead. Univ. hist. xvii. 41.

In all ancient history there is no account of any plague so dreadful as that which broke out at Constantinople in the time of Justinian, anno 543: it is said to have spread all over the earth, and raged with great fury. Mead. Univ. hist. Hodges de Peste.

In

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In 558 it broke out afresh at Constantinople, and swept off many thousands of people. It is said to have lasted fifty-two years.

Univ. hist.
xvi. 254.

During the reign of Julian, the Roman empire was afflicted with grievous calamities: dreadful earthquakes in every province; most of the cities of Pa'æstine, Sicily, and Greece, were overturned; not one city was left standing in all Libya, and but one in Greece: Nice was utterly ruined, and Constantinople greatly damaged. The temples of Apollo at Rome and Daphne, were, about the same time, consumed by fire. The sea, in several places, broke in upon the land, and destroyed whole cities, with their inhabitants. At Alexandria, the sea, retiring, during an earthquake, returned afterward with such violence that it laid under water several towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people. To these calamities was added a general drought, which lasted till the winter was spent, and produced an universal famine; the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle. The great and populous metropolis was reduced to such miseries as can hardly be expressed.

Univ. hist.
xvii. 114.

In 1025, the fourth of Romanus's reign, a dreadful plague broke out in Cappadocia, and raged with such violence in that province, as well as in Paphlagonia and Armenia, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon

abandon their dwellings, and retire to other parts of the empire. Univ. hist. xiv. 574.

When Rome was besieged by the Goths, and defended by Belisarius, the citizens laboured under a fatal famine and plague, which made dreadful havock among them.

Under the emperor Gallus there died so many in the East, West, and South, that several countries seemed destitute of inhabitants, and for a long time remained uninhabited: which occasioned St. Cyprian to write his book *De Mortalitate*. Lond. Rembr. p. 48, 49.

The Ectenæ, a people of Bœotia, with their king, were all destroyed by a plague; so that the Hyantes and Æones came in their stead to people the land.

In Africa there died in one plague a million and an hundred thousand persons.

The total ruin of Basilica (ancient Sicyon) is attributed to a grievous pestilence, supposed to have been inflicted on the Turks, about a century ago, for having turned a church into a mosque; which they concluded from the Vaivodes (who had given the orders) falling down dead the first time the Alcoran was read in it: immediately after which that grievous distemper fell upon the inhabitants, which swept them almost all away, so that it hath never been re-peopled since. Univ. hist. vi. 150.

In the 18th year of the Hejra, the last of Abee Becr, Palestine was afflicted with a Mod. Un. Hist. i. 379.
ter-

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See p. 44. terrible earthquake, whose shocks continued, with intermissions, for thirty days; which was succeeded by a pestilence, which carried off abundance of people. About the same time a comet, in the form of a fiery beam, was seen, which stretched itself from North to South, remaining visible for thirty days, sometimes exhibiting the appearance of a flaming sword.

Mod. Un. Hist. i. 483. In the eighteenth year of the Hejra, an epidemical distemper raged at Medina, which spread itself over all the adjacent territory, and swept away abundance of people. The plague also the same year made dreadful ravages in Syria: the Moslems there had twenty-five thousand men carried off by the pestilence. The mortality occasioned by the plague in Arabia and Syria was so frightful, that the Arabs stiled that year, The Year of Destruction.

Mod. Un. Hist. i. 40. Shiruych, called by the Greeks, Sirses, king of Persia, had a very short and unhappy reign; the kingdom being afflicted with famine and pestilence at once, and his subjects generally disaffected: he abandoned himself to melancholy, which brought on him a fever, and the plague, and soon put a period to his days.

C H A P. VII.

OF MODERN PLAGUES.

THE first plague we read of in these parts of the world, since the Christian æra, was in Britain, in the years 447, 448, in the reign of Vortiger; when was such plenty, that through incontinent riotous living ensued great pestilence and mortality, which destroyed such a multitude of people, that the living scanty sufficed to bury the dead.

Summarie
of Engl.
Chron.
23. 6.
Goodw.
9.
Univ.
Hist. xix.
172.

Paris, and many other parts of France, anno 583, were afflicted with a disease called the plague in the groin, from the part in which it appeared. It seemed to burn those who were infected with it, and afflicted them with most intolerable pains, making an eschar in a short time, as if done by an actual cautery. It made dreadful havock among mankind; and the greatest part of them died with dreadful shrieks and cries.

Goodwin,
9.

Anno 978, the bloody-flux, the burning fever, with divers other maladies vexed the people throughout England.

Sum.
Eng. Chr.
36.

March 1, 1048, and February 14, 1247, were great earthquakes in several parts of England, especially at London, and on the banks of the Thames: which were followed by great pestilence and mortality of men and beasts. Lightnings set several towns and corn-fields on fire; which occasioned such

Goodw.,
9, 10.

Vide Miscel. Curios. famine that an horse-load of wheat was sold for five shillings.

Goodw. 10. Sum. Eng. Chr. 36. In 1086, the twentieth year of William the First, through unseasonable weather and great rains, there happened a famine: Eng- lande was vexed with manye plagues: great moroyne fell among the cattell; brennyng fevers; and hunger among people; greate bareynesses upon the earth; and much hurte was done in many places by the mis- fortune of fyre: and specially in London, where part of Paules was brent the viii. of July.

Sum. Eng. Chr. 44. 1093, the seventh of William the Second, the pestilence was so great that many lay unburied.

1094, The eighth of William the Second, murreyn of men grieved Englande so sharply, that tillage of the earth was layd asyde for x yere, whereby ensued gret hunger and scarcify the yeres folowing.

Sum. Eng. Chr. 46. 1112, The thirteenth of Henry the First, was a hard winter; death of men, scarcify of victuals, and murrain of beasts.

Goodw. 10. 1259, There was a great pestilence in England, occasioned by the famine of the preceding year; which was so great, that many were forced to feed upon horse-flesh and barks of trees: and twenty thousand people were said to be starved to death, for want, in London only.

In 1315, there was so great famine in Goodw. England, that horses and dogs were commonly 10. eaten; and prisoners plucked those to pieces that were newly brought in among them, and ate them half alive. The famine continued three years, and ended in a most terrible pestilence: the cattle which fed on the corrupt grass died, which made their flesh suspected of being unwholesome; for which reason horse flesh was accounted a great delicacy.

The greatest mortality that ever was known happened about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the plague seized country after country for five years together. This pestilence was universal in our hemisphere; there was neither city, town, nor house, but was invaded by it. It first began among the Turks in the kingdom of Cathay, in Asia, in the year 1346, by an intolerable stench which arose from the earth, and consumed and devoured above two hundred leagues of the country; not only trees were destroyed, but the very stones themselves were destroyed. The air was infected to such a degree, that small serpents, and other insects fell down dead from it. From Cathay it passed into other parts of Asia; it raged in Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Africa, Syria, and East Indies: at last it took its progress into Europe, where it made terrible devastations, even to the utmost extremities of the North.

Echard
Hist. Eng.
i. 365.

Goodw.
10, 11.

In 1347, some ships from the Levant carried it to Sicily, Pisa, Genoa, &c. In 1348, it got into Savoy, Provence, Dauphiny, Catalonia, Castile, Florence, &c. In 1349, it seized England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; the next year, Germany, Hungary, and Denmark: In all places where it came it made such heavy destruction, that it is said it dispeopled the earth of more than half its inhabitants. The earth was filled with graves, the air with cries and lamentations!

Boccace's
Decame-
ron, intro-
duction.

* In the year 1348 there happened at Florence (the finest city in Italy) a most terrible plague; which broke out some years before in the Levant, and after passing from place to place, and making incredible havock all the way, now reached the West; (where, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, as keeping the city clear from filth, and excluding all suspected persons; notwithstanding frequent consultations what else was to be done; not omitting prayers to God in frequent processions) in the spring of the foregoing year it began to shew itself in a sad and wonderful manner; and different from what it had been in the East (where bleeding at the nose was the fatal prognostic); here there appeared certain tumours in the groin, or under the arm-pits,

Bayle's
Dict. iii.
408.

* Boccace published his Decameron in 1348, at a time when the city of Florence was made desolate, and almost a desert, by a cruel plague,

some

some as big as a small apple, others as an egg; and afterwards purple spots in most parts of the body; in some cases large, and but few in number, in others less, and more numerous, both sorts the usual messengers of death. To the cure of this malady; neither medical knowledge, nor the power of drugs, were of any effect; whether because the disease was in its own nature mortal, or that the physicians (the number of whom, taking quacks and women pretenders into the account, was grown very great) could form no just idea of the cause, nor consequently ground a true method of cure; which ever was the reason, few or none escaped; but they generally died the third day from the first appearance of the symptoms, without a fever. And the disease, by being communicated from the sick to the well, seemed daily to get an head, and to rage the more, as fire will do by laying on combustibles. Nor was it given by conversing only, or coming near the sick, but even by touching their cloaths, or any thing that they had touched. It is wonderful what I am going to relate, which had I not seen it with my own eyes, were there not many witnesses to attest it besides myself, I should never venture to relate, however credibly I might have been informed of it: Such, I say, was the quality of the pestilential matter, as to pass not only from man to man, but what is more

strange, and has been often known, that any thing belonging to the infected, if touched by any other creature, would certainly infect, and even kill that creature in a short space of time: and one instance of this kind, I took particular notice of; namely, that the rags of a poor man just dead, being thrown into the street, and two hogs coming by at the same time, and rooting amongst them, and shaking them about in their mouths, in less than an hour turned round and died on the spot. These accidents, and others of the like sort, occasioned many fears and devices among those people that survived, all tending to the same uncharitable and cruel end; which was to avoid the sick, and every thing that had been near them, expecting by that means to save themselves. And some holding it best to live temperately, and to avoid excesses of all kinds, made parties, and shut themselves up from the rest of the world; eating and drinking moderately of the best, and diverting themselves with musick, and other such entertainments as they could have within doors; never listening to any thing without to make them uneasy. Others maintained free living to be a better preservative, and would baulk no passion or appetite they wished to gratify, drinking and revelling incessantly from tavern to tavern, or in private houses; which were frequently found deserted by the owners,

owners, and therefore common to every one ; yet avoiding, with all this irregularity, to come near the infected. And such at that time was the publick distress, that the laws, human and divine, were no more regarded ; for the officers to put them in force being either dead, sick, or in want of persons to assist them, every one did just as they pleased. A third sort of people chose a method between these two ; and not confining themselves to rules of diet like the former, and yet avoiding the intemperance of the latter ; but eating and drinking what their appetites required, they walked every where with odours and nosegays to smell to ; as holding it best to corroborate the brain : for they supposed the whole atmosphere to be tainted with the stink of dead bodies, arising partly from the distemper itself, and partly from the fermenting of the medicines within them. Others of a more cruel disposition (as perhaps the most safe to themselves) declared, that the only remedy was to avoid it : persuaded therefore of this, and taking care for themselves only, men and women in great numbers left the city, their houses, relations and effects, and fled into the country ; as if the wrath of God had been restrained to visit those only within the walls of the city ; or else concluding, that none ought to stay in a place doomed to destruction. Divided as they were, neither did all die, nor

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all escape ; but falling sick indifferently, as well those of one, as of another opinion ; they who first set the example by forsaking others, now languished themselves without mercy. I pass over the little regard that citizens and relations shewed to each other ; for terror was such, that a brother even fled from his brother, a wife from her husband, and (what is more uncommon) a parent from its own child. On which account numbers that fell sick could have no help but what the charity of friends (who were very few) or the avarice of servants supplied ; and even these were scarce, and at extravagant wages, and so little used to the business, that they were fit only to reach what was called for, and observe when they died : and their desire of getting money often cost them their lives. From the desertion of friends and scarcity of servants, an unheard-of custom prevailed ; no lady, however young and handsome, would disdain being attended by a man-servant, whether young or old it mattered not. Many lost their lives who might have escaped had they been looked after at all. So that between the scarcity of servants, and violence of the distemper, such numbers were continually dying, as made it terrible to hear as well as to behold. Whence, from their necessity, many customs were introduced different from what had before been known in the city. It had been usual, as now it is, for

for the women who were friends and neighbours to the deceased, to meet together at his house, and to lament with his relations; at the same time the men would get together at the door, with a number of clergy according to the person's circumstances; and the corps was carried by persons of his own rank, with the solemnity of tapers and singing, to that church where the person desired to be buried; which custom was now laid aside; and, so far from having a croud of women to lament over them, that great numbers passed out of the world without a single person: and few had the tears of their friends at their departure, but those friends would laugh and make themselves merry; for even the women had learned to postpone every other concern to that of their own lives. Nor was a corpse attended with more than ten or a dozen, nor those citizens of credit, but fellows hired for the purpose; who would put themselves under the bier and carry it with all possible haste to the nearest church, and the corpse was interred without any great ceremony, where they could find room. With regard to the lower sort, and many of middling rank, the scene was still more affecting; for they staying at home, either through poverty or hopes of succour in distress, fell sick daily by thousands, and (having nobody to attend them) generally died; some breathed their last in the streets, and others

shut up in their own houses; where the stench that came from them made the first discovery of their deaths to the neighbourhood. Every place was filled with the dead! A method now was taken (as well out of regard to the living as pity to the dead) for the neighbours, assisted with porters they could meet with, to clear all the houses, and lay the bodies at the doors; and every morning great numbers might be seen brought out in this manner; from whence they were carried away in biers or tables, two or three at a time; sometimes it happened that a wife and husband, two or three brothers, a father and son, have been laid in together. It has been observed also, that whilst two or three priests have walked before a corpse with their crucifix, two or three sets of porters have fallen in with them; and where they knew but of one, they have buried six, eight, or more; nor was there any to follow and shed a few tears over them; for things were come to that pass, that men's lives were no more regarded than the lives of so many beasts. Hence it plainly appeared, that what the wisest in the ordinary course of things, and by a common train of calamities could never be taught, namely, to bear them patiently, this, by the excess of those calamities, was now grown a familiar lesson to the most simple and unthinking. The consecrated ground no longer contained the numbers
which

which were continually brought thither, especially as they were desirous of laying every one in the parts allotted to their families; they were forced to dig trenches, and to put them in by hundreds, piling them up as goods are stowed in a ship, and throwing in a little earth till they were filled up to the top. Not to rake any further into the particulars of our misery, I shall observe, that it fared no better with the adjacent country; for to omit the different castles about us (which presented the same view in miniature with the city) you might see the poor distressed labourers, with their families, without either the plague of physicians or help of servants, languishing in the highways, in the fields, and in their own houses, and dying rather like cattle than human creatures; growing dissolute in their manners like the citizens, and careless of every thing, as supposing every day to be their last, their thoughts were not so much employed how to improve, as to make use of their substance for their present support. Whence it happened that the flocks, herds, &c. and the dogs themselves, ever faithful to their masters, being driven from their own homes, would wander (no regard being had to them) among the forsaken harvest; and many times, after they had filled themselves in the day, would return of their own accord like rational creatures at night. What can I say more, if I return to
the

the city? unless that such was the cruelty of heaven, and perhaps of men, that between March and July following, it is pretty certain upwards of 100,000 souls perished in the city only; whereas, before that calamity, it was not supposed to have contained so many inhabitants. What magnificent dwellings, what noble palaces, were then depopulated to the last person! What families extinct! What riches and vast possessions left, and no known heir to inherit! What numbers of both sexes, in the prime and vigour of youth, whom in the morning, neither Galen, Hippocrates, or Esculapius himself but would have declared in perfect health, after dining heartily with their friends here, have supped with their departed friends in the other world! These miseries left the city almost without inhabitants.

Rapin's
Hist. Eng.
vol. i.
426. n.
(7).

In England this plague broke out first in Dorsetshire, about the beginning of August, and in the same month was in divers places in the kingdom, and soon spread itself all over the nation. Some say there died at Norwich (others, more probably, at London) in six months, fifty-seven thousand three hundred seventy-four: in Yarmouth in one year, seven thousand fifty-two men besides women: before which time the parsonage there was worth seven hundred marks a-year, and afterwards scarcely worth forty pounds. In the sea-ports of Dorsetshire it destroyed almost all

Rapin.

the inhabitants: it passed into Devonshire, and Somersetshire as far as Bristol: and though the Gloucestershire people cut off all communication with that city, yet it reached Gloucester, Oxford, London; and spreading itself all over England, it made such havock among the people, that scarcely one in ten, of all ranks and degrees, were left alive: the church-yards being insufficient to bury the dead, certain fields were appointed for that purpose. A parliament being summoned to meet the middle of January, was prorogued to a fortnight after Easter; and then respited till a new summons.

Baker's
Chron.
Goodwin.

London especially felt the effects of its fury, where, in one year, above fifty thousand were buried in one church-yard, called Cistertians. It broke out about Alhallontide (November 1.) in 1348, and continued till 1357.

Lond.
Rembr.
49.

The charter-house at London was founded upon occasion of this great plague. When church-yards were not sufficient to receive the dead, but men were forced to chuse fields for burying-places, Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, 1348, bought a piece of ground called No Man's Land, containing three acres, lying without the walls on the north part, between the lands of the abbot of Westminster and those of the prior of St. John, which he inclosed with a brick wall, and dedicated it for the burial of the dead,
and

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and built a chapel thereon. This remained till lately, as a burying-place for such as desperately ended their lives, or were executed for felony; who were fetched there usually in a close cart, veiled over, and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarted, and at the fore-end a St. John's cross without, a bell within ringing (by the motion of the cart) whereby the same might be heard when it passed: this was called The Friars Cart. The chapel was afterwards converted into a dwelling house, and the burial plot into a garden, retaining the old name of Pardon church-yard.

About the same time Sir Walter Mayny, Lord of Mayny, born at Cambray, who served in the wars with the Duke of Lancaster, considering the great danger of burying in church-yards during the great plague, purchased a piece of ground adjoining to No Man's Land, called Spittal Croft, then belonging to St. Bartholomew's hospital, containing thirteen acres and a rood, without the bars of Smithfield, near St. John's street; which he caused to be inclosed for burials, and consecrated by Ralph Stratford, bishop of London.

In consideration of the number of christian people here buried, Sir Walter caused a chapel to be built; where, for the space of twenty-three years, offerings were made, and masses said, for the souls of so many christians

departed: for it is to be noted, that above an hundred thousand bodies of christian people had in that place been buried. The knight purchased the ground for the burial of people, travellers, and others that should die thereabouts.

Above fifty thousand persons, who died of the plague in one year, were here buried. In memory whereof lord Walter Mayny, in 1371, built a chapel on the same ground, and founded a house for Carthusian monks; and caused an account thereof to be written on a plate of brass, fastened to a cross of stone in the said church-yard, and to be recorded in the books of the charter-house.

“ The deaths in London was so very vehement and sharp, that over the bodies buried in churches and church-yardest, monasteries, and other accustomed burying places, was buried in the Charter-house yardest of London, L.M. persons. And also many persons of good credite yet liuing in the citie of London affirme that they have redde the lyke, written on a plate of laton, fastened on a crosse of stone in the same Charter-house church-yarde: and also to have seen recorded in one olde booke of the sayd Charter-house, that at that tyme the sayd mortalitie was so great that there remayned not the tenth person alyue throughout the realme.”

Stowe.

In

In the thirty-fifth year of the same king Edward the third, 1361, another pestilence raged in England, (which was called the Second Pestilence): among the rest it deprived the kingdom of Henry Duke of Lancaster, the most esteemed of all the English lords: he was commonly called The Good Duke: his death was greatly lamented.

Of this plague also died Reginald lord Cobham, and Walter Fitz-warren, two famous men; the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, and Chichester.

In France it raged seven or eight years by fits, invading all sorts of people without distinction, both in town and country. There died of it this year more than thirty thousand people at Paris: and nine cardinals and seventy prelates, at the court of Rome.

Goodwin,
13.

Anno 1368, in the forty-third of Edward the third, was a third mortality, or pestilence, whereof died much people: among others, Blanch, duchess of Lancaster.

Stowe.

1375, The fiftieth of Edward the third, many wonderful sicknesses fell among the people, as well in Italy as England, whereof died an incredible great number.

Stowe.

Stowe.
Baker's
Chron.
Goodwin.

In the year 1379, the third of king Richard the second, there was such pestilence that most people died, and the land became almost desolate. The mortality was so great in the north of England as never had been known before; which the Scots taking advantage

vantage

vantage of, ravaged those parts, and killed such as were sick of the plague, and not able to defend themselves, and drove most that remained out of the country: but the disease likewise seizing Scotland, caused a truce to be concluded between the two kingdoms.

Rapin,
vol. i.
456.

In 1390, the fourteenth of Richard the second, the duke of Lancaster conquered Galicia, and made league with the king of Portugal: but, by great mortality, he was forced to dismiss his people, and shortly after lost all he had won. And upon the ninth of July, 1391, the sun appeared red through certain dusky clouds, and gave but little light from noon till sun-set; it continued so for six weeks; and the same time was a great mortality at Norfolk and many other places, occasioned by the plague, insomuch that it resembled the great plague. In the city of York eleven thousand persons were buried.

Sum.Eng.
Chr. 23.
b.

Goodwin,
14.

In 1407, the eighth of king Henry the fourth, a terrible plague raged at London, which swept away thirty thousand inhabitants. The king not daring to stay in London whilst the pestilence made such ravages, retired to the castle of Leeds in Kent; from whence going by sea to Norfolk within sight of land he was attacked by French pirates, who took four of his ships, that wherein he was narrowly escaping.

Rapin,
vol. i.
199.

A terrible famine raged anno 1438, in the reign of Henry the sixth, both in England
and

Rapin,
vol. i.
561.

and France; the dearth was so great in England, the poor made them bread of fetches, peason, and fern roots; which famine was followed by a plague; which prevented the generals on both sides from forming any great projects.

In the seventeenth year of king Edward the fourth, so great a pestilence reigned in London, and divers other parts of England, that it swept away more people in four months than the wars had done in fifteen years: and in his nineteenth year was pestilence, which beginning at the latter end of September (1478), continued till the beginning of November twelve-month following (1479); in which space innumerable people died.

In the fifteenth of Henry the seventh, anno 1499, 1500, in the summer time the air was corrupted, and a great plague ensued, which carried off abundance of people, especially in and about London, where it was computed there died of the pestilence that year about thirty thousand persons: the like had not been for many years.

The king, after frequent changing of places, went over to Calais, to avoid the infection, where he staid till the danger was over. The mortality was so great in country villages, among farmers and husbandmen, that entire families died of it, and many houses were left desolate.

Ld. Verulam's
Hen. VII.
196.

In 1510, there was an epidemical head-Goodwin,
 ach among the Germans, attended with a 18, from
 kind of distraction and giddiness, with swel-Hollerius.
 lings behind the ears, which destroyed great
 numbers. Also the epidemical disease called
Coqueluche, because it affected the head with
 a very heavy pain: there was likewise a
 great pain in the stomach, small of the
 back, and calves of the legs, attended with
 a burning fever, a troublesome delirium, and
 loathing of all sorts of victuals: it was fatal
 to great numbers, and few people escaped it.

When Verona was in possession of the Goodwin,
 Germans, 1511, there arose a pestilence 18.
 which destroyed ten thousand persons: twen-
 ty-five Germans were infected with one
 leathern garment.

In 1513, there was another pestilence in 1d.
 England, which raged chiefly about Lon-
 don; infomuch that in one house in the
 Minories there died twenty-seven professed
 nuns, beside servants, and others of the
 house.

In the thirteenth of king Henry the
 eighth, 1521, there was a great mortality in
 London, and other parts of the realm, so as
 the term was adjourned, and the king kept
 his Christmas at Eltham, with a small num-
 ber, which was therefore called The Still
 Christmas. Many men of honour and wor-
 ship died; among others, Dr. Fitz-james,
 bishop of London.

Goodwin,
19.

At Rome was a terrible plague in 1522; in 1525 it broke out in Leyden and Vienna; and in 1527 destroyed two thirds of the army of Lautrec, governor of the Milanese; it carried off great numbers of persons of distinction, being as fatal to officers as private men.

Ingr. 2.

Goodwin,
19.

In 1531, there was a dreadful plague in France, which was preceded by another disease called *Trouffegaland*, occasioned by an universal famine. This was owing to wet weather; for in the space of five years there had not been two days frost successively; inso-much that the summer seemed to be continual. The extraordinary heat enervated nature, and rendered it unfruitful, for nothing was brought to maturity. The trees appeared to bloom immediately after the fruit; corn did not multiply as usual, because for want of frost, there was so great a quantity of vermin that they destroyed the blade as soon as it began to sprout; and the crop did not yield seed enough for the following year.

Stowe,
152.

In 1539, the thirty-first year of Henry the eighth, was great death of burning agues and fluxes; and such a drought, that welles and small rivers were dried up, and many cattell died for lacke of water: the salt water flowed above London-bridge.

Goodwin,
20.

There were many eminent persons died of the pestilence this year at Basil, where it continued till the following year, when the summer was excessively hot.

1542, The thirty-fourth of Henry the Eighth, was a gret death in London of the pestilence : and therefore Michaelmas terme was adjourned to St. Albon's, and there was kept to the ende. Stowe,
161.

At Breslaw there died of the plague this year five thousand nine hundred persons : the infection from whence it was derived had been concealed in linen fourteen years, which happening to be opened, revived this fatal disease.

In 1547, the first of Edward the sixth, in London was great mortalitie by the pestilence. Wherefore a commandment was given to all curates, and others hauing to do therewith, that no corps shoulde be buried before syxe in the morning, nor after syxe of the clock at night ; and that there should at the burying of euery corps be ronge one belle at the leaste, the space of three quarters of an houre.

In 1550, arose another plague at Basil, which infected the neighbouring places, and carried off a great number of persons, towards the end of August, when it began to remit : in the autumn of the following year it began to rage again, making great havock, not only over all Europe, but almost over the inhabited world, and continued, by fits, till 1553.

1556, The fourth of Mary and the third of Philip, about this time began the burning feuers, quartan agues, and other strange dis- Stowe,
184. b.

260 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

eases, whereof died many; especially olde persons; so that in London ther died from the last day of November in anno 1555, unto the last of December 1556, vii. aldermen, whose names were, Henry Herfdon; Sir Richard Dobbes, late major; Sir William Laxton, late major; Sir Henry Hoblethorne, late major; Sir John Champnies, late major; Sir John Oliffe, late Sheriff; and Sir John Gresham, late major.

Stowe,
186. b.

The next winter, 1557, the quarterne agues continued in lyke manner, or more vehemently than they had don the last yere; with a new sickness, or pestilence, as some called it, wher throughe dyed so many priestes, that a greate number of parishes in diuers places of this realme wer unserved: together with the fire* and the sword, the third part of the men of England are said to be consumed.

Thoresby
Ant. of
Leeds,
617.

In the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, 1562, when the Frenchmen with huge armies, assembled out of all parts of France, to recover a passage from the English at Newhaven in Normandy (the stopping whereof was a double woe to their commonwealth) there bred, through the heat of time and putrefaction of the air, a miserable and unfortunate plague among our men, which marvellously increased, with the death of divers

* Of persecution, on account of religion.

of the best captains and foldiers. Many foldiers infected therewith returning into England, the infection thereof increased, (being before that begun in divers parts of the realm) but especially in London, the which city was so infected therewith, that in one year there died in the city and liberties thereof, containing one hundred and eight parishes, seventeen thousand four hundred and four persons; and in the out-parishes adjoining to the same, being eleven parishes, two thousand seven hundred thirty-two: in all, twenty thousand one hundred thirty-six.

This yere for so muche as the pestilence was so hote in the citie of London there was no term kept a Michaelmas. To be short, the pore citifens of London were this yere plagued with a treble plague, as with the pestilence, scarfitie of money, and derth of victuals: the myserie wherof were to long here to write, no doubt the poore remember it. God be mercyfull unto us, and defend us from the like, if it be his will. The major kept no major's feast at the Guild-hall, as it had been accustomed before time: also he toke his othe at the uttermost gate of the tower of London. This yere (1563) thanks be geuen to God was a peaceable yere, and the plague of pestilence wel ceassed in London: neverthelesse for feare thereof, Hillarye term was kept at Hertford castell besyde Ware.

Stowe,
edit. ann.
1566, p.
192, 152,
b.

262 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

The plague seems to have been seven years ere it reached the northern counties.

Goodwin,
22.

In 1563, about the beginning of the summer a plague appeared at Havre de Grace in Normandy, which was besieged: it increased so prodigiously, that the streets were soon full of dead bodies. From hence it was brought into England by the soldiers, and the infection spread into several parts of the kingdom. The Earl of Warwick returned into England without any dishonour in yielding up Havre de Grace, which the pestilence rendered him no more unwilling than unable to hold; but what was more uncomfortable than the loss of the place, he brought the plague with him into England, which raged through the nation.

Echard,
Hist. Eng.
i. 802.

Goodwin,
22.

The distemper at the same time proved very fatal in many places, depopulating towns and cities; Constantinople, Alexandria, Leyden, London, Dantzick, Vienna, Cologne, and the whole track of the Upper Rhine as far as Basil, where it raged, and was called The Great Plague: it destroyed many children and servants, as well as citizens of all sorts; it was particularly fatal to women with child; but the old and decrepid did not escape. Twenty and upwards were sometimes buried in one grave. Churches and streets were like desarts.

Goodwin,
23.

In 1566 a fatal disease began at Komorno, and increased at Tawarzin, where the Christian

tian

tian powers were assembled under Maximilian the second against the Turks. When the soldiers were disbanded, they distributed the contagion over almost all Europe, but chiefly at Vienna, through which most of the army passed. They generally infected the families where they lodged; and died so fast themselves, that the streets and highways were either filled with dead bodies, or with such as were ready to breathe their last.

In the year 1582, being a year of plague in London, the lord treasurer sent an order to sir Thomas Blanke, then lord mayor, to make a catalogue of all the victualling houses that were infected, to set up publickly, that all strangers resorting to London might avoid setting up or lodging at those houses, to prevent their carrying the infection into the country; and so to do from two months to two months.

In 1592, there died of the plague at London 11,503; the year following no less than 10,662 perished.

In 1594 the plague broke out again at London, and destroyed, in the city and suburbs, seventeen thousand eight hundred ninety persons, beside the lord mayor and three aldermen. Michaelmas term was adjourned to St. Albans.

In 1596 and 1597, a disease was very rife in many parts of Germany, called a malignant fever, with convulsions: it began with

Goodwin,
27.

264 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

twitching and numbness in the hands and feet; sometimes affecting one side only, sometimes both. First it convulsed the fingers and toes, and crept gradually up their arms and legs, till at length it seized the whole body. The patient was either rolled up like a hedge-hog, or lay motionless stretched out at full length. The convulsions were attended with violent pains, which forced cries and shrieks: it invaded some unawares, while they were at dinner, and seemed to strike the knives and spoons out of their hands; it attacked others at the plough, or about their common employments, without any previous notice, though some were first taken with a vomiting. The patients remained several days, nay weeks, in the condition above mentioned. If proper remedies were given in time, it did not affect the head, otherwise the following sickness succeeded, and the patients lay six or eight hours as dead. It rendered some stupid, or foolish, some lethargic, others delirious, in which state they continued four days, or longer: even their recovery was attended with deafness, weak eyes, or the palsy. When the fit was over, they were insatiably hungry, yet the feeding was followed by a looseness, which was the greater if they happened to eat sparingly. The feet and hands of some would swell; others were affected with tumours full of a serous humour. They never sweated.

sweated. The disease was contagious, though the effect did not always appear till some time afterward. Those who were epileptic, had now and then a touch of it ever after ; those who were stupid never recovered their vigour of mind. Some lived fifteen years after, but had an annual spicc of the disease in December and January. The cause of this disease was supposed to be unwholesome food.

In the first year of King James the First, 1603, the plague in London was so great, that there died of that distemper, in the city and liberties, thirty thousand five hundred seventy-eight. The king retired to Wilton, a fine seat of the Earl of Pembroke's, near Salisbury. A proclamation was issued, expressly forbidding all persons who had any business at court to repair thither till winter, by reason of the plague, which raged exceedingly. The term was deferred, and kept at Winchester ; as were the exchequer-court, court of wards and livories, and duchy of Lancaster, at Richmond. But the plague did not prevent the royal ceremony of the coronation of the king and queen, on St. James's day, July 25. The lord mayor and twelve principal citizens were admitted to attend the solemnity ; but all other citizens were stopped from passing either by land or water ; for fear of infection. The severity of the plague did not prevent royal progresses and entertainments, sports and jollities.

King

266 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Oldm.
i. 30.

King James the first prohibited the increase of buildings in London, for fear a croud of people should bring in the plague again: This was found afterward a reason for enlarging the buildings, that by having more room, the inhabitants might not be too much crouded; and consequently the air, in time of pestilence, be less liable to be infected.

In 1607 was a pestilential distemper at London; and the time so sickly in general, that sailors did not escape at great distance from land: as may be seen in some diaries in Purchas's Pilgrim.

Ingr. 3.

At Amsterdam the plague broke out the same year as at London, viz. 1622, and raged seven years.

1622	there died	4,151.
1623	- - -	5,929.
1624	- - -	11,795.
1625	- - -	6,781.
1626	- - -	4,425.
1627	- - -	3,976.
1628	- - -	4,497.

41,554.

Ibid. id.

In 1625 Leyden was attacked, 9597 perished; in 1635 there fell 14,381 persons: it was remarked, that the burials in fifteen weeks increased to 14,381 from 96, and in ten weeks decreased again to 100.

Baker chr.
Echard,
i. 21.

The first year of King Charles the First, 1625, the plague broke out more dangerously than

than in the beginning of his father's reign. Superstition, ever watchful and suspicious, found out, that the distemper began in Whitechapel, in the same house, on the same day of the month, and the same number died thereof, as in the year 1603: but she is as false as Fame; for by the public accounts, in the city and suburbs there died of the plague,

In the year 1625 - - - 41,313.

In the year 1603 - - - 30,578.

Difference 10,735.

Those who count in round numbers would not mistake near one third of the whole.

Extraordinary preparations were made in the city of London for the reception of the new-married queen, but most of the shew and appearance was omitted, by reason of the plague, which daily increased in the city and suburbs, and soon proved one of the greatest that had been known in the nation: this gave a great damp to the joy and glory of the court. But the court, king, queen, and French attendants were prodigally kept at Salisbury. Fifty thousand died of the plague at London: so great was the mortality, that the city was almost uninhabited. In July, a man walking from Somerset-house to St. Antoline's church in the city, met but three persons in the way.

Echard,
ii. 147

The

268 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

The plague continued raging in London and Westminster, infomuch that the king was forced to adjourn the parliament to Oxford, because of the thin appearance of the members, by reason of the contagion.

The plague had raged near a year, but abated before the coronation: London was strangely abandoned; and the term adjourned to Reading.

Echard,
ii. 29.

Reign of
King
Charles,
p. 18.

The English admiral, 1625, waited for the Spanish plate-fleet, hoping to atchieve something answerable to the great expectations at home: but he was in no capacity to perform any thing considerable against an enemy, unless by communication of his own calamity; for the contagion so reigned in his navy, that there were not hale men enow to handle the sails; and to make the affliction more sociable, there being an hundred and fifty sick in the St. George, the council ordered (an odd method of cure!) that every ship should take to nurse a couple of the sick, and by lot, to supply their places with as many sound. This course so propagated the infection, that it soon swept thousands overboard. This calamity soon took away the admiral's stomach for the plate-fleet, which passed by within four days after, and inforced him to ply home with all the speed he could.

In 1628 and 1629, a plague over-ran all France: some were seized with frenzy, and ran naked in the fields; if any offered them
cloaths,

Goodwin,
30.

cloaths, they threw them away; some threw themselves into rivers; others were subject to hypocondriac melancholy, and imagined they had enemies always at their heels; others were troubled with priapisms, or *furores uterini*.

1636 proved calamitous by the plague, which broke out at London in the beginning of the year, and reigned, in some measure, the whole summer and autumn. Echard, ii. 121.

Among the calamities of the civil wars which miserably afflicted England, the plague also raged in many places. 10, 400. Ingr. 3.

In 1643, a malignant fever began in the army at the siege of Reading, which made great havock in the Earl of Essex's army; nor did it spare the army of the king in and about Oxford, nor the citizens, nor neighbouring villages. It raged most after the summer solstice; and then, those that were well were scarce sufficient to attend the sick. It destroyed many of all ages, but was most fatal to the ancient and unhealthy. Goodwin, 31, 32.

When it seemed to be gone by a sweat or looseness, it soon gathered strength again: sometimes the patient was affected with madness, but oftener with stupidity, great weakness, and convulsive motions: some died suddenly; others seemed to be under frightful agonies. Many that escaped were affected with dullness of senses, tremblings, weakness of limbs, and convulsive motions, for a long time afterward.

270 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

It chanced also to be at Dunster-castle, where was a very extraordinary case, which is related in Chap. V. of Cures, p. 194.

Thoresby,
89.

The markets were kept upon Woodhouse-moor, near Leeds, in Yorkshire, when the plague was at Leeds, 1645, during which dreadful calamity the market-place and streets in the town were covered with grass.

Thoresby,
[110].

Cabin-clofes, near Leeds, are so called from cabins there erected, in 1645, for the relief of those afflicted with the plague; which in a few monthstime swept away above thirteen hundred souls; and so infected the air that the birds fell down in their flight over the town.

Thorton's
Nottingh.
198.

Anno 1646, Newark, upon Trent, when yielded to the parliament forces, suffered more by the plague within than from the enemy without.

Journ. H.
Com-
mons.

1646, December 24, the house of commons ordered a moiety of the collections within the bills of mortality at London, on the fast day, for relief of the poor visited in the town of Stafford: and on the twenty-fourth of February they made the like order in behalf of the town of Totness.

Echard,
ii. 699.

In 1650 the plague raged all over the kingdom of Ireland: it was the most grievous sickness that for fifty years had afflicted that kingdom; there was scarcely a house free in Dublin, where there died above eight hundred persons in one week. Beside this, they
were

were visited with a dreadful famine, which was so excessive in many parts of the island, that several could not withhold from human flesh. That nation was visited with three devouring plagues at once, pestilence, famine, and the merciless sword. Lord Deputy Ireton died at Limeric of the plague; it had got into his army, which was much weakened by it.

In 1653, the distemper broke out at Cracow in Poland, at Dantzic and Koningburg: in the first place there died seventeen thousand Christians and twenty thousand Jews. Ing. p. 30

In 1654, at Copenhagen seven hundred in a week were carried off.

The English reduced Jamaica in the year 1655, under the government of Oliver Cromwell; but found the plague an enemy more severe than the Spaniards, which brought down, in a little time, their army to fewer than two thousand men. Clarendon.
Echard,
ii. 781.

At Amsterdam, thirteen thousand two hundred eighty-seven died in twenty-one weeks, from July to November. In September it was at its height, there died in one week eight hundred ninety-six. Annals of
the uni-
verse, 350

In 1656 at Naples, in May one thousand three hundred died in a day, and in three weeks in June, five thousand. The same year, at Rome, for many days successively, one hundred died. In gram
4.

272 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

In 1657, the plague attacked Genoa in mid-summer, and twelve thousand died in one week ; but though they increased to one thousand six hundred a day, in December the burials decreased to six.

In 1663 and 1664, the disease broke out afresh at Amsterdam ; in the first year there died nine thousand seven hundred fifty-two, and in the following year twenty four thousand one hundred forty-eight.

From Amsterdam, in 1665, came the memorable plague to London, being its tenth visitation ; of which a particular account follows in this collection.

The plague much increased in July, 1668, in Flanders, particularly in Bruges and Dowaay ; it raged extremely at Oudenard and Courtray ; and the sudden deaths of some persons in the streets gave apprehensions that the infection was also at Bruffels.

About July 2, 1670, the plague broke out with such violence at Aleppo, that the mortality carried off fifteen or sixteen thousand in a day ; and by September the thirtieth, destroyed an hundred and thirty thousand persons, which was above one half of the inhabitants of the city.

The same year a dreadful plague invaded all Italy : the weather was rainy and cloudy ; the air, hot and moist.

The plague raged so violently at Constantinople for some months in the year 1674,

that

Ann.
Univ.
234.

Hendley,
25.

that it swept away an hundred and thirty thousand persons ; and did not begin to decrease till December the thirtieth.

In December 1675, was an epidemical disease, profanely called The Jolly Rant ; it was a severe cold and violent cough : it affected not only York, Hull, Hallifax, Westmoreland, Durham, Northumberland, &c. but much increased the bills of mortality in London in 1676. It affected all manner of persons, the more robust, as well as tender ; men, women, and children, of all ranks and conditions ; and that so universally that it was scarcely possible to hear distinctly one entire sentence of a sermon. This is a remarkable instance how liable, at certain seasons, our bodies are to be affected with these epidemical distempers, notwithstanding their several ages, conditions, and manner of living.

Barbados is a pretty pleasant spot, and inhabited by a great many worthy hospitable gentlemen, but, November 1694, it was violently afflicted with the plague ; it proved a perfect grave to most that came there, all new comers being generally seized with the pestilence, of which very few recovered. Captain Thomas Sherman, in his majesty's ship Tyger, in two years that he lay there, buried out of her, six hundred men, though his complement was but two hundred, still pressing new out of the merchant-ships that came in, to recruit his number in the room

Thoresby,
617.

See Yellow-fever,
ante.

of those who daily died. When the captain had lost about eighteen of his men by it, and did not expect to escape it, he became so indifferent, that there was not a friend or acquaintance seized with the distemper, but he freely and frequently went to visit him; which was possibly the reason he escaped it, having accustomed himself to the town, and most infectious air, from the beginning; whilst those who kept in the country, in better air, for fear of it, were commonly infected when they came on any business to town. There died above twenty masters of ships in a very short time.

Whether the air of America is more pestiferous than of Europe, whether the Indians and negroes are more susceptible of the plague than the inhabitants of other climates, experience and learned physicians can best determine: but in the first settlements of the Spaniards in Paraguay, Tucumen, &c. they met with frequent instances of such like calamities.

In 1702 began a great plague in Poland, soon after the battle between the Saxons and Swedes; and next year after having caused great mortality near the Hungarian mountains, it appeared in some places in Cracow and Russia: it took its progress eastward toward the Upper Volhinia, and westward to Lemburgh; where, in 1704, it raged very violently; and vast numbers of the inhabitants

tants were destroyed thereby, though many fled for their lives: in autumn it spread west and south. In 1705, it went north and west of Great Poland, and continued in that part of the country all that year. In the summer 1707, it destroyed a great number of people at Warsaw. In 1708, it approached Polish Prussia; and the latter end of August it broke out at Thorn, where it continued till the beginning of the next year, and swept away a considerable number of people.

Goodwin's
38.

The magistrates of Dantzic were very apprehensive of danger, and left nothing undone that tended to the common safety: public prayers were ordered in the churches; all commerce and communication with infected or suspected persons or places forbid: notwithstanding which, the distemper insinuated itself into that city.

It commenced there in March 1709, by the end of August the disease was spread almost over the city; although all possible care was taken to prevent the communication: the streets, waters, and houses, were cleansed from all manner of filth and nastiness: the poor were provided with food and physic; the sick were separated from the sound; pest-houses were opened well provided with all necessaries; and sums of money collected for those purposes. Beside the ordinary churchyards, there were others made without the walls.

276 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

In August and September the plague raged with the greatest violence, and several eminent men lost their lives: of the chief magistrates there died two, as many judges, and about one half of the clergy: of the physicians and apothecaries none, and of the surgeons in ordinary only two, but of their assistants, a great number. The principal citizens suffered little, but the garrison much; artificers and labourers of all sorts were very much demolished. There died in that year twenty-four thousand five hundred thirty-three.

Ingram,
86, 87.

Dr. John Christopher Gottwald, in his account of the plague at Dantzic, communicated to the Royal Society, observes, that the year before the plague broke out, a hard frost, with great quantities of snow, fell there; also thick stinking mists which darkened the air, the winter before; from which he concludes the disease was from an infection in the air: which observation quadrates with the winter in England preceding the plague in 1665. The Polish, Dantzic, English, and all the northern plagues, may have succeeded hard frosts and great quantities of snow; but every Turkish plague followed southerly winds and great rains. From which it may be concluded, that the indisposition of the atmosphere is the original cause of the disease.

In

In 1701, the distemper continued afflicting many parts of Europe, and particularly Olsnizt.

In 1711, it took its progress into Denmark and Holland, destroying great numbers at Copenhagen. In the six months it continued it was computed to carry off about twenty-five thousand. Very few houses escaped the infection, in others it did not leave one person alive.

The trades which suffered most were coffin-makers, surgeons, and shoe-makers.

It was generally most fatal to the meaner sort; which might be owing to their nasty way of living; to the houses being crowded; to the foolish curiosity of seeing dead bodies; to the absurd notion of fate: for they were wont to say, If it pleases God I shall die of this distemper, I cannot escape: some made no scruple to lie in the same bed where others had died.

In 1712, there was an epidemical fever attended with a catarrh, which visited most parts of Europe. In England it was called *The Dunkirk Fever*; by some (wantonly enough) *The New Delight*.

The PLAGUE at MARSEILLES.

In 1720, on the sixteenth of August, the plague broke out at Marseilles, being brought

Goodwin,
43.

278 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

brought by a vessel from the Levant* : it destroyed eighty thousand persons. In the compass of little more than a year, the plague laid waste many large villages, and almost depopulated several flourishing cities. It was so various in its attacks, that it eluded all the arts of physic to find out proper remedies for it : it not only withstood all force employed to keep it within bounds, and methods taken to put a stop to it, but, in defiance of them all, marched in triumph through several parts of France, spreading its dreadful infection so uncontrollably, first on one side, and then on another, as if it threatened to go through the whole land.

The dismal desolation ! the strangeness and terror ! Men in the best age and vigour,

* Reasons were assigned which made some persons doubt whether this plague was brought in goods from Sidon ; a malignant infectious fever was begun in Marseilles two months before it was given out that it was brought from the Levant : at least it may be justly acknowledged that the force of the contagion was wonderfully improved and augmented, by its reception in a place where the inhabitants, by a malignant distemper, were so much prepared and disposed to entertain and spread it ; which might not have been able to have made such impresson and produced such mischief ; had not the bodies of the poor ill-nourished people been so much disposed to receive the infection.

As the distemper at first fell only on the poorer sort of people, many entertained a false notion, or remained in doubt, whether it was the plague, or proceeded from bad diet and want of necessaries.

falling

Bp. of
Norw.
bef. the
Lords,
Dec. 8,
1721.

Blackm.
23.

Joun.

falling by multitudes, dead in the streets and highways ; crouds of noisome carcasses lying unburied, and rotting above ground, for want of hands to remove them ; populous towns and cities almost quite depopulated ; rich and well inhabited provinces in a short time made destitute of inhabitants, and almost turned into a desert. If at a distance these miseries cannot but appear very moving to us ; good God ! how unspeakable would our terror and concern be, if they were our own ? What more deplorable idea can we form to ourselves, than if this contagion came to us ? To see our friends and neighbours fall by thousands at our sides, and ten thousands at our right hand ; to hear at once, on every side, the cries and groans of the dying, and the living ; our habitations converted into noisome prisons ; this great metropolis, this famous mart of nations, spew out her inhabitants ; and the like spreading desolation over-run the country !

Dr. Eras.
Saunders
bef. Com.
Dec, 8,
1721.

*Why drew Marseilles' good bishop purer breath,
When nature sicken'd, and each gale was death !*

POPE'S Essay on Man.

The following will shew why the poet thought the pious prelate was exempted from the malign influence of an air so putrid, that each gale thereof was death.

280 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

*Letter from the Bishop of Marseilles, to the
Bishop of Soissons, September 27, 1720. N. S.*

I wish, my lord, I were as eloquent as you are full of zeal and charity, to testify the grateful acknowledgment of your liberality, and the charities you have procured us; but in our present consternation, we are not in a condition to express any other sentiment than that of grief. Your alms came in a very seasonable time, for I was reduced almost to the last penny. I am labouring to get money for two bills for a thousand livres, which the bishop of Frejus was pleased to send us, and six more of Mons. Fontanieu, though just upon the decay of the bills of a thousand livres, they are not very current; yet, I hope I shall succeed. You, my lord, have prevented these difficulties, and we are doubly obliged to you for it. Might I presume to beg the favour of you to thank, in my name, Cardinal de Rohan, M. and Madame Dangeau, and the curate of St. Sulpice, for their charities.

It is just I now give you some account of a desolate town you was pleased to succour. Never was desolation greater, nor ever was any like this. There have been many cruel plagues, but none was ever more cruel; to be sick and dead was almost the same thing. As soon as the distemper gets into a house, it never leaves it till it has swept all the inhabitants one after another. The fright
and

and consternation are so extremely great, that the sick are abandoned by their own relations, and cast out of their houses into the streets, upon quilts or straw beds, amongst the dead bodies, which lie there for want of people to inter them. What a melancholy spectacle have we here on all sides! We go into the streets full of dead bodies, half rotten, through which we pass to come to a dying body to excite him to an act of contrition, and give him absolution. For above forty days together the holy sacrament was carried every where to all the sick, and the extreme unction was given them with a zeal of which we have few examples. But the churches being infected with the stench of the dead bodies flung at the doors, we were obliged to leave off, and be content with confessing the poor people. At present I have no confessors; many, without any obligation, have sacrificed themselves, and given their lives for their brethren: whilst others are flown and have secured themselves, notwithstanding the obligations their benefices imposed on them; whom nothing can recal, nor ferret them out of their houses. The two communities of the Jesuits are quite disabled, except one old man, of seventy-four, who still goes about night and day, and visits the hospitals. One more is just come from Lyons, purposely to hear the confessions of the infected, whose zeal does
not

not favour much of the pretended laxity. I have had twenty-four capuchins dead, and fourteen sick; but I am in expectation of more. Seven recollects, as many cordeliers, five or six carms, and several minims, are dead; and all the best of the clergy, both secular and regular: which grievously afflicts me.

I stand in need of prayers, to enable me to support all the crosses that oppress me. At last the plague has got into my palace; and, within seven days, I lost my steward who accompanied me in the streets, two servants, two chairmen, and my confessor; my secretary, and another, lie sick: so that they have obliged me to quit my palace, and retire to the first president, who was so kind as to lend me his house. We are destitute of all succour. We have no meat; and whatsoever I could do, going all about the town, I could not meet with any that would undertake to distribute broth to the poor that were in want. The doctors of Montpellier, who came hither three or four days ago, are frightned at the horrid stench of the streets, and refuse to visit the sick till the dead bodies are removed, and the streets cleansed. They had been much more surpris'd had they come a fortnight sooner; then nothing but frightful dead bodies were seen on all sides, and there was no stirring without vinegar at our noses, though that could not hinder our
per-

perceiving the filthy stench of them. I had two hundred dead bodies that lay rotting under my window for the space of eight days; and, but for the authority of the first president, they had remained there much longer. At present things are much changed; I made my round about the town, and found but few: but a prodigious number of quilts and blankets, and of all sorts of the richest cloaths, which people would touch no more, and are going to burn.

There are actually in the streets to the value of above two hundred thousand livres. The disorder and confusion has hitherto been extremely great; but all our hopes are in the great care of the chevalier de Longeron, governor of the town. He has already caused some shops to be opened. The change of the governor and the season, by the grace of God, will be advantageous: Had we not affected to deceive the public, by assuring that the evil which reigned was not the plague: and had we buried the dead bodies which lay a whole fortnight in the streets, I believe the mortality had ceased, and we should have nothing to do but provide against the extreme misery which necessarily must be the sequel of this calamity.

You cannot imagine the horror which we have seen, nor can any believe it that has not seen it; my little courage has often almost failed me. May it please Almighty God to
let

let us soon see an end of it. There is a great diminution of the mortality; and those that hold that the moon contributes to all this, are of opinion, that we owe this diminution to the decline of the moon; and that we shall have reason to fear when it comes to the full. For my part, I am convinced, we owe all to the mercies of God, from whom alone we must hope for relief in the deplorable condition we have been in so long a while.

I am, &c.

HENRY, Bishop of Marseilles.

Ingram,
p. 8, &c.

The visitation at Marseilles 1720, was, perhaps, as remarkable as any heard of; the inhabitants suffered great hardships through scarcity of corn, fuel, wine, and other necessaries, as the city was cut off from any communication with the neighbouring provinces, and countries adjoining: they were reduced in August to extreme famine.

Almost every one that could, removed out of the city; the magistrates of health, judges, civil governors, rectors of hospitals, commissaries, workmen of all trades, shoemakers, butchers, and even the guards who were to prevent the flight of others. The Marquis de Pille, the sheriffs, and only a few others, were left to govern, yet August 23, there died near a thousand; August 25, the plague had laid hold of all quarters of the city, and continued to the end of September, during which

which time there died more than a thousand a day. It increased infomuch that two thousand died in a day : the public markets, all along the keys of the port, the play-house, and all publick places, were filled with piles of dead bodies : there were not less than ten thousand dead dogs floating in the harbour ; the regulator of the fishermen was ordered to draw them so far out of the chain that the current of the water might not bring them in again. These animals probably died partly by famine, partly by the disease, or by eating the flesh of the dead that lay rotting in the streets.

The hospitals, convents, and houses that were employed for receiving the sick, were not sufficient to contain them. The plague followed the deserters with great precipitation, despair and confusion spread every where.

Sept. 1. an hundred slaves were granted to bury the dead, and eleven carts were employed to carry them off ; by which means twelve thousand were removed from the streets and public places ; but notwithstanding this expeditious method, some, for want of assistance, remained so long in their houses after they were dead, that their bodies rotted, so that they could not be removed but by piece-meal.

The hundred galley slaves were dead in six days, by which time, for want of help, there
were

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were two thousand dead bodies in the streets, beside numbers in the houses; the magistrates obtained an hundred more slaves, forty soldiers, four corporals, and four boatswains; when upwards of a thousand more dead bodies were found, the freshest of which had lain three weeks, and scarcely retained the least appearance of the human form; the vapours proceeding from them were offensive beyond expression, their limbs being full of worms and maggots, bowels burst out; of limbs rotten and fallen asunder, so that it was impossible to remove them far off; therefore with the assistance of a hundred more slaves, two bastions of the rampart were broken, and the bodies thrown in them; many large ditches were opened in many places, forty-four yards long and sixteen broad; but they were not capable of holding the dead, nor the hospitals of receiving the sick; the inhabitants were so weakened with fatigue, that they could scarce move; the several bodies of slaves from the galleys, and the peasants, were all destroyed; there were none able to fetch in the corn granted by other provinces.

All the apothecaries, druggists, and grocers, were either dead or run away, and no medicines to be found in the city: the notaries were gone, there was none to make the wills of the sick: women were brought to-bed without any to assist; those alive thought of nothing but death, famine, and despair, for
all

all sources of charity were stopped; almost every street was barricaded up with wearing apparel, household goods thrown out of houses, dead bodies, and dying people gasping for breath: there was no passing from one street to another.—Every night adds a thousand to the number of the dead in the streets.

The confusion was so great, that neither officers, surgeons, or servants could be persuaded to come into the city without an exorbitant price: two thousand livres a month were offered to every master surgeon, one thousand to surgeons of villages; to all apprentices and journeymen three hundred livres a month, with their freedom of the city, lodgings and provisions. This havock and consternation lasted till October 7, when it abated in the city, but raged in its territories.

New hospitals being erected, the sick were removed from the streets and publick places; which were cleansed, and the rubbish, ordure, and filth, removed: this took up a month's time, though carts were provided in great plenty, which carried the filth to large barges, to be conveyed out of the port and thrown into the sea. After which the distemper abated, the hospitals were soon sufficient; crowds of doctors, surgeons, apothecaries and druggists came from all parts, when the distemper was so abated that there was no occasion for them.

Philos.
Transf.
1763,
No. xii.

Account of the Plague at *Aleppo*, by the rev.
Mr. *Thomas Dawes*, Chaplain of the
Factory.

Letter to
the rev.
Dr. Ch.
Lyttelton,
Dean of
Exeter,
now Bi-
shop of
Carlisle.

This unhappy country for six years past has been in a terrible situation, afflicted with many of the Almighty's severest scourges. Its troubles were ushered in by a very sharp winter 1756-7, which destroyed almost all the fruits of the earth: the cold was so very intense, that the mercury in the thermometer, exposed a few minutes in the open air, sunk intirely into the ball of the tube: millions of olive-trees that had stood the severity of fifty winters were blasted, and thousands of people perished merely through cold: the failure of a crop the succeeding harvest occasioned an universal scarcity, which, in this country of indolence and oppression, (where provision is only made from hand to mouth, and where, literally speaking, no man is sure of reaping what he hath sown) soon introduced a famine, with all its attendant miseries: the shocking accounts would appear fabulous, were they not attested by numberless eye-witnesses, Europeans and natives. In many places the inhabitants were driven to such extremities, that women eat their own children, as soon as they expired in their arms, for want of nourishment:—Numbers of persons from the mountains and villages adjacent, came daily to *Aleppo*, to offer their
wives

wives and children to sale for a few dollars, to procure a temporary subsistence for themselves; and hourly might be seen in the streets dogs and human creatures scratching together on the same dunghill, and quarrelling for a bone, or piece of carrion, to allay their hunger. A pestilence followed close to the heels of the famine, which lasted the greater part of 1758, and is supposed to have swept away fifty or sixty thousand persons in the city and its environs. The very destruction of this complicated scene of misery must distress a compassionate disposition, the sight of it must have made an impression on a heart of flint.

The latter end of March 1761, the plague, which had lain dormant since autumn, made its appearance again, with considerable alarm: the infection crept gently and gradually on, confined chiefly to one quarter, till the beginning of May, when it began to spread visibly and universally: the English factory shut themselves up the 27th, and continued under confinement ninety-six days. The fury of the contagion did not last longer than the middle of June, and many of the merchants went abroad, with caution, early in August; but the consul having no urgent business to induce him to expose himself to any risk, the factory remained in close quarters till they could visit their friends with tolerable security.

The English at their release from confinement the last day of August, flattered themselves with hopes of a speedy release from danger, but God ordered it otherwise. In all the plagues with which Aleppo has been visited in this century, the contagion is said to have regularly and constantly ceased in August or September, the hottest months in the year; and it is pretty certain that it disappeared about that time in 1742, 1743, 1744, and 1760; but the year 1761 proved an instance of the fallacy of general observations on this dreadful subject: for from the end of March 1761 to the middle of September 1762, scarce a day passed without deaths, or fresh attempts from the distemper; though the violence of it ceased in autumn, on an average, it was fatal to at least thirty persons in every week from that time to the end of the winter. In February they were pretty healthy; there were few accidents, and those in the skirts of the city; the faint hopes they began to entertain of a farther exemption were of very short duration; in March the distemper spread again, and in April increased with such rapidity, that the factory were obliged to retire to their close quarters from April 26th to August 18, when the burials were reduced to about twenty a-day; the infection gradually decreased till the middle of September, after which they heard of no accidents from the
return

return of a distemper whose very name strikes terror whenever it is mentioned, and is undoubtedly one of the most lamentable misfortunes that mankind is liable to.

I wish I could, with any precision, determine our loss in the two last summers; but, in times of such horror and confusion, it is, in a manner, impossible to come at the exact truth. If you enquire of the natives, they swell the account each year from forty to sixty thousand, and some higher: but as the eastern disposition to exaggerate reigns universally, little accuracy is to be expected from them: this, however, is certain, that the mortality this year has been very considerable, perhaps not much inferior to any in this century. Some Europeans have been at no small pains and expence to procure a regular and daily list of the funerals during our confinement, and their account amounts to about twenty thousand, from April 1, to September 1, this year, and about one third less the preceding summer. This calculation seems to be pretty right, though there are some strong objections against a probability of being able to procure a just one in such circumstances; for the Turks keep no register of the dead, and have seventy two different public burial places in the seven miles circumference of the city, besides many private ones within the walls. The Christians and Jews, who are supposed to be less than a

U 2

seventh

seventh part of the inhabitants, have registers, and each nation one burial place only, their loss this year is about three thousand five hundred in five months.

I will not shock your compassionate disposition by a detail of the miseries I have been witness to, but only that during the months of June and July (in the greatest part of which the burials were from two to three hundred a day) the noise of men singing before the corps in the day, and the shrieks of the women for the dead both day and night, were seldom out of our ears. Custom soon rendered the first familiar to me, but nothing could reconcile me to the last: and as the heat obliges us to sleep upon the terraces of our houses in the summer, many of my nights rest were disturbed by these alarms of death.

All the English escaped infection in their houses, though each year four or five Europeans have been carried off, and each year the plague broke out in two houses that join to ours. In one of them this year died a Franciscan priest after two days illness, whose bed was placed about six yards from mine. I believe I was in no great danger, as a wall nine or ten feet high separated our terraces, but had I known his situation, I should have moved farther off. The year before I was thrown into a very great agitation of mind for a few days, by the death of my laundress's husband: the day he died of the plague, my
servant

servant had received my linen from his house, and I had carelessly put on some of it without airing: this accident happened many weeks after we were open, and his illness was industriously kept a secret.

The last month of my confinement this year passed very heavily indeed, for I found my health much disordered: whether it proceeded from a cold I caught in my head by sleeping in the open air in some very windy nights; from want of exercise; or from uneasiness of mind naturally attending our melancholy situation, I know not: but my nerves seemed all relaxed; my spirits in a state of dejection unknown to me before; and my head so heavy and confused that I could neither write nor read for an hour together with application or pleasure.—Since our release, I have passed a month at a garden about an hour's ride from the city, for the sake of exercise and fresh air, and find myself much relieved.

Among many particulars, the following anecdotes seem somewhat extraordinary, but are well attested: last year, as well as this, there has been more than one instance of a woman's being delivered of an infected child, with plague sores on its body, though the mother herself has been entirely free from the distemper.

A woman that suckled her own child of five months, was seized with a most severe

plague, and died after a week's illness, but the child, though it sucked her, and lay in the same bed with her during her whole disorder, escaped the infection.

A woman upward of a hundred years of age was attacked with the plague, and recovered; her two grand-children, of ten and sixteen, received the infection from her, and were both carried off by it.

While the plague was making terrible ravage in the island of *Cyprus* in the spring of 1760, a woman remarkably sanguine and corpulent, after losing her husband and two children, who died of the plague in her arms, made it her daily employment, from a principle of charity, to attend her sick neighbours that stood in need of her assistance, and yet escaped the infection. Also a Greek lad made it his business for many months to wait on the sick; to wash, dress, and bury the dead, and remained unhurt. In that contagion ten men were said to die to one woman: but it was almost universally fatal to the youth of both sexes. Many places were left so destitute of inhabitants as not to have enough to gather in the fruits of the earth. It ceased in July 1760, and has not appeared in the island since.

The plague seems this year to have been, in a manner, general, over great part of the Ottoman empire. It has made great havoc at Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonicha, Brusa,

Brusa, Adena, Antioch, Antab, Killis, Ourfah, Diarbekir, Moufol, and many other large towns and villages. Scanderoon for the first time (I believe) this century, has suffered considerably. The other Frank settlements on the sea coast of Syria have been exempted, except a few accidents at Tripoli, which drove the English consul into a close retirement for a week or two; but the storm soon blew over.

The beginning of the year 1764, a terrible famine broke out in several parts of Italy, particularly the kingdom of Naples and the ecclesiastical state, and was followed by a great mortality, particularly in the former; owing more to the use of bad corn sent them from other countries, than even the want of good corn, insomuch that, by advice of the physicians, vast quantities of it were thrown into the sea at some leagues from Naples, it being so far gone as to occasion a fatal and infectious disorder even amongst the poultry who partook of it. The corn imported into the kingdom of Naples alone upon this occasion amounted to near thirty thousand tons; notwithstanding which there perished upward of five hundred thousand persons in less than six months, and a proportionable number in the papal territories.

Doddsley's
Annual
Register
for 1764.

Of the last GREAT PLAGUE at London.

The Lord smote the people with a very great plague—there was a very great destruction throughout all the city,—the hand of God was very heavy there ;—he gave their life over unto the pestilence. NUMB. xi. 33. I SAM. v. II. PSAL. lxxviii. 51.

Vincent's
Terrible
Voice.
Echard's
Hist. of
England.

GOD was pleased in the year 1665, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, the sixth year after the restoration, to punish England, with a public calamity, which, in that degree, had not been in the kingdom some centuries past. This was a dreadful pestilence, which appeared in the vitals of the three kingdoms, the city of London, after a warning by a great plague in Holland, and a beginning of it in some remote parts of our own land; where it gradually swelled and raged, insomuch that in the city and suburbs it swept away an hundred thousand persons in less than the compass of one year.

Amster-
dam.
Annals
of the
Univ. 89.

Hist. of
Plague, 2.

In 1663, the plague raged so extremely at Amsterdam, that scarcely any person of quality staid in town; Hamburgh was also much infected; which cut off all communication with those states, as to public affairs, and from having any thing to do with their European neighbours. The government had a true account of it, and several councils were held

to

to prevent its coming over, but all was kept very private.

In 1664, King Charles excused his prohibition of importation of merchandize from Holland, on account of the plague, which had been introduced into that country.

Dutch goods prohibited. Smollet's Hist. of Engl. vol. viii. p.28.

About the close of the year 1664, two or three persons died suddenly at Westminster, attended with symptoms which manifested their original: hereupon some timorous neighbours moved into the city, and unfortunately carried the teint, which suddenly spread its fatal poison; and for want of confining the persons first seized, the whole city was in a little time irrecoverably infected. As soon as it was rumoured that the plague was in the city, it was impossible to relate what accounts were spread of its fatality; every one predicted its future devastations, and terrified each other with remembrance of a former pestilence.

Westminster. Dr. Quin. transl. of Hodges on the plague, p. 1, 2.

Hodges, 3.

The manner of its coming to London was by goods from Holland, brought thither from the Levant, it first broke out in a house in Long-acre, near the end of Drury-lane, where those goods were carried and first opened; two French men dying, the family endeavoured to conceal it; but it spread from that house to others, by the unwary conversing with those who were sick, and infected the parish officers which were employed about the dead: it went on, and proceeded from

Hist. Pl. 224.

Long-acre.

Hist. Pl. 2, 3.

from person to person, from house to house. In the first house that was infected there died four persons; a neighbour hearing the mistress of the house was ill visited her, and carried home the distemper to her family, and died, with all her household. A minister called to pray with the first sick person in the second house, was said to sicken and die immediately, with several more in his family. A Frenchman, who lived near the infected houses, removed for fear of the distemper into Bearbinder-lane, and died, to the great affliction of the city. Then the physicians began to consider, for they did not at first imagine it a general contagion: but the secretaries of state got notice of it, and ordered two physicians and a surgeon to inspect the bodies, who assured the people that it was neither more nor 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. This filled people's heads so, that few cared to go through Drury-lane.

It was a received notion among the common people that the plague visited England once in forty years; this conceit, how well soever justified by past experience, did not obtain with those of better judgment; yet it greatly

Hist. Pl.

6.

Beardbin-
der lane.

Physicians
report.

greatly contributed among the populace to propagate and inflame the contagion, by the strong impresson it made on their minds: and this happening forty years after the plague had fearfully, though not equally, prevailed in 1625, caused some to impute a fatality to that particular number, as if in this sense the land was to have rest but forty years.

Echard,
Judges,
v. 31.

The plague is never originally bred with us, but always brought accidentally from abroad; therefore its coming can have no relation to any certain period: that common error is a meer fancy, without reason or experience: people ought to be delivered from such vain fears. Now, through the mercy of the Almighty, the land, hath, in that sense, rested more than an hundred years.

Plague
exotic, not
periodical.
Mead on
pestilential
contagion,
p. 62.

The populace are apt to frame strange conceits out of their own heads, and what hath obtained among them is very difficult to erase; they imputed the plague to the influence of blazing stars, which had not long before appeared in the view of London. These frightful apprehensions were greatly increased by the predictions of astrologers, who (as a public shame and scandal to the understanding and good sense of the nation) then abounded; from conjunctions and appearances of comets: the spirits of the people were sunk by such fears, and their constitutions rendered less able to resist the contagion.

Hodges,
4.
Crook-
shank's
Hist. of
the ch. of
Scotland.
Blazing
stars.
Astrolo-
gers.

Fortune-
tellers.Hist. Pl.
516

Terror and apprehension led people into a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which there wanted not some really wicked enough to encourage them to ; this was, running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to have their nativities cast, and to know their fortunes. This folly made the town swarm with wicked pretenders to magic and the black art : it became common for them to have signs with inscriptions, Here liveth an astrologer ; — frier Bacon's head, — Mother Shipton, — a Merlin, — or the like ; the usual signs of these impostors, were in almost every street.

One great mischief was, if these deluders were asked, If there would be a plague? they all agreed to answer, Yes ; for that kept up their trade : had the people not been kept in a fright, the wizards would have been rendered useless, and their craft at an end : but they always talked of influences of stars, and conjunctions of planets, which must necessarily bring sicknesses, distempers and the plague.

Preachers.

The preachers thundered against these and other wicked practices, and exposed the folly and wickedness thereof ; and the sober and judicious despised them : but it was impossible to make any impression on the middling and labouring people : fear was the predominant passion, and they threw away their money in a most distracted manner upon those whimsies.

whimsies. Men and maid servants were the chief customers ; the first question was, Will there be a plague? the next, Oh! Sir, for the Lord's sake, what will become of me? will my master, or mistress, keep me, or turn me off? will they stay here or go into the country? will they take me with them, or leave me here, to be starved and undone*?

There was no remedy for this horrid delusion, till the plague put an end to it, by clearing the town of most of these mock-calculators.

The people were more addicted to prophecies, astronomical conjurations, dreams, and old wives tales, than ever they were before or since : whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by those who got money by printing predictions and prognostications, it is certain books frightened them much : not only almanacks and predictions, but pretended religious books, foretold, directly or covertly, the ruin of the city. Some were so enthusiastically bold as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; one, like Jonah at Nineveh, cried in the

Hist. Pl.
25, 26.

Prophets.

* The case of poor servants was very dismal ; a prodigious number of them were turned off, and abundance perished ; particularly of those who had been deceived by false hopes by the false prophets : public charity provided for great numbers of these poor creatures, who were (otherwise) in the worst condition of any in the city.

Hist. Pl.
33, 34.

streets,

streets, Yet forty [or a few] days, and London shall be destroyed : another run about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waste, crying day and night, (like a man mentioned by Josephus before the destruction of Jerufalem) Oh ! the great and the terrible God ! and said no more but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance ; nor would he enter into speech with any one.

Dreams.

Visions.

The interpretations which old women put on dreams, put abundance of people out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for there would be such a plague at London, that the living should not be able to bury the dead ; others saw apparitions in the air : 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 : here, they said, 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 ; 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.

Even

Even some ministers, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers: there were some of all opinions and persuasions, though good men, their discourses were full of terror, who spoke nothing but dismal things; prophesied nothing but evil tidings; terrifying the people with apprehensions of being utterly destroyed, and the propagation of the sickness was notoriously assisted by this means. Ministers.

People were as mad in running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman, for medicines and remedies; storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, that they spent their money and poisoned themselves before-hand, for fear of infection; and prepared their bodies for the plague, instead of preserving themselves against it. Quacks,
and
mounte-
banks.
Hist. Pl.
36. It is scarcely imaginable how the posts and corners of streets were plaistered with doctors bills, the very titles of whose infallible pills, neverfailing preservatives, sovereign cordials, exact regulations, universal remedies, only true plague-waters, royal antidotes, &c. would fill a volume: Advice was given by experienced physicians, ancient gentlewomen, Italian gentlewomen, High-Dutch physicians, &c. Confusion fitted persons to be imposed on by every pretender; their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick,

wick, or any of the most famous men of the time.

Charms,
philtres,
exorcisms,
amulets.

Another madness may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the times, the wearing charms, philtres, exorcisms, and amulets, to fortify the body against the plague: as if the plague was not the hand of God, but the possession of an evil spirit, and might be kept off with crossing signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with a certain number of knots, with certain words or figures written on them, as Abracadabra formed in a triangle; Diridon, carried through the whole alphabet; the Jesuits mark in a cross; crosses in various shapes, &c. but they soon found the insufficiency of these things; and many were carried away in the dead-carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish, with these trumpery about their neck. Then the living began to see the folly of trusting to those unperforming creatures; their fears turned to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take, or what to do, to help or relieve themselves: they ran about from house to house and door to door, with repeated cries of, Lord have mercy upon us, what shall we do!

Sydenh.
Hard
frost.

A very dry and violent frost from the beginning of winter 1664 froze up all things, and did not abate till the beginning of March; at which time, as soon as the frost went

went off, a pestilential fever, or plague, began to rage †.

It was first taken notice of in the month of May : the bills of mortality mentioned three which died of the disease in the whole year before : but, in the beginning of May, the bill tells of nine which fell by the plague, one in the heart of the city; the other eight in the suburbs. Vincent.

It broke out in the parish of St. Giles's in the Fields toward the latter end of the year 1664; and being restrained to a house or two, the seeds of it confined themselves through a hard frosty winter of near three months continuance: it lay asleep from Christmas to the middle of February, and then broke out again in the same parish; and after another long rest till April, put forth the malignant quality as soon as the warmth of spring gave sufficient force, and the distemper shewed itself again in the same place.—At the beginning it took one here, and another half a mile off; then appeared again where it was Mead, Pelt. 20, 56.

† The year 1683 the season was so extremely cold that no man living ever saw the like, as to the intense degree of cold, and the long time it held. The noble river Thames was so frozen that it easily sustained, like a solid pavement, coaches running about upon it and shops well stocked, in the manner of streets, and great crouds of people. Though the following year 1684 did not equal the preceding, either as to the extremity of cold, or obstinate duration of it, yet it did not come much behind it as to either : but, as soon as it thawed in February, a new epidemical fever began. Sydenh.

first: neither can it be proved that these ever met; especially after houses were shut up.

Fear, and
dread.

Fear quickly began to creep upon people's hearts, terrifying and confounding men of all religions and professions; great alarms and discourse began to spread about the plague, and all cast in their minds whither they should go, if the distemper should increase:—yet when the next week's bill signified to them the decrease from nine to three, their minds were something appeased; discourse of that subject ceased; fears were hushed, and hopes took place, that the black cloud did but threaten and give a few drops, but the wind would drive it away. When, in the next bill, the number of the dead by the plague amounted from three to fourteen; in the next to seventeen; in the next to forty-three; and the disease not only increased, but dispersed; a dreadful consternation fell upon all, and fearful bodings of a desolating judgment: every one began to look about, and think into what corner of the world they might fly to hide themselves.

Those who chose company, and strove by carousing and pleasures to intoxicate their spirits in the day, had dread and hideous thoughts in retirement, and in the silence of the night, through fear of death.

Nothing aggravates this distemper more than fear, dread of death, and a consternation

tion of the mind. When the plague is fatal, some die of a fainting the first or second day; doubtless of a panic dread. The mind is to be particularly supported; and fear, dread, and pusillanimity are to be banished: for more die of terror than of the plague itself.

Brookes's
Practice of
Physic,
vol. ii.
520, 522.
edit. 1.

It has been alleged, with reason and good authority, that terror and dread disposes the body to the reception of every species of malignity; its influence lessens, if not destroys, the vital motions, weakens the constitution, sinks the spirits, and renders the œconomy less liable to resist putrefaction.—This is confirmed by people who through dread and conceit have received the small-pox.

Ingram,
iii.

As soon as the first terror could be said to terminate, a nauseousness and reaching succeeded; such an excessive loathing of food, that the mention of it was irksome; and some were followed by grievous vomitings: some endured such vehement and continual irritation that could not be assuaged by any remedies, how often soever repeated; the reaching continuing after the strength of the patient was too far spent to throw any thing up. After the principal load was thrown up, a very frothy bile, fermenting like yeast, followed, greenish, and so foetid that a person could not endure the room, without holding the nose.

When medicines proved ineffectual, there followed a great thirst and heat, which were

Hodges,
93.

Emetics.
Vomiting.

signs of immediate death; and the infected, as it were, seemed to vomit up their souls. Yet it was a pernicious practice of some empirics to administer emetics; and many were destroyed thereby, the convulsive reachings to vomit being beyond a possibility to bear it. After such exigencies, and the administration of the best medicines, things grew worse, and it was impossible to rectify a rash and fatal error in so violent a disease. What was thrown up by hard vomiting discovered a rancid brackishness that vellicated the stomach into convulsions.

When the plague makes its first appearance, though the number of the sick is exceeding small, yet the disease usually operates upon them in the most violent manner, and is attended with its worst symptoms.

Plague
complicates with
most ma-
ladies.
Hodges's
Letter,
P. 15.
Hist. Pl.
17.
Scurvy.

The plague doth complicate with most maladies, especially such as are contagious; every little disorder turning to the plague; other infectious diseases nearly combining and symbolizing with it. It was a very ill time to be sick, if any complained, it was immediately said he had the plague. The scurvy being popular and epidemical in Holland, the pest, when it fell in with it, did very much partake of its nature; which afterward invading this nation, gave ample testimony of this association.

Venereal
Disease.

The pestilential venom does in a very familiar manner unite itself with the venereal disease.

disease. At the first breaking out of the sickness, it was given out by common fame, that those who were previously infected with any foul distemper, the pox in particular, would be secured against any pestilential teint: but wicked and impious was the consequence; for many were hereby encouraged to seek the most lascivious and filthy prostitutions, on purpose to be secured by one previous infection against another: but, beside the poisonous quality peculiar to this nasty disease, beside the expence of spirits in procuring it, and a lost force of the constitution thereby, the greatest aggravation to the misfortune was, the very teint which was to defend against another, had it, in its nature, to be more forcibly attracted by it; so that the rash adventurer was soon brought to a bitter repentance for his experiment, by sinking immediately under the pestilential contagion at its first stroke: and it was common to find, by a very easy transition, the venereal Pox, buboes changed into pestilential carbuncles. The pestilence and the pox are naturally joined together by their known malignity and destruction to human nature.—But now,

The great orbs begin to move first. The lords and gentry retire into their countries; their remote houses are prepared, goods removed, and London was quickly behind them: the richer sort of people from the western parts of the city, with their families

Hist. P.

8, 9, 10.

Vincent.

and servants, thronged out of town in an unusual manner ; in the broad streets leading toward the country there was nothing to be seen but waggons and carts with goods, women, children, and servants, &c. coaches filled with the better sort, horsemen attending them, all hurrying away ; empty waggons and carts from the countries, to fetch more people : men on horseback innumerable, with and without servants, all loaded with baggage, and fitted for travelling.

It was a terrible and melancholy sight ; and there was nothing else to be seen from morning to night : the hurry was so great for some weeks, that there was no getting to the lord mayor's door without exceeding difficulty ; there was such pressing and crouding to get passes and certificates of health, without which none were admitted to pass through towns on the road, or to lodge in any inn. None having as yet died in the city, my lord mayor gave certificates, without difficulty, to all who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those in the liberties too for a while. The hurry was much increased by false rumours that the government had ordered turnpikes and barriers on the roads to prevent people's travelling ; and that the towns on the roads would not suffer any from London to pass.

Lord
Mayor.

Hist. Pl.
211, 212.

It looked as if the whole city was running away : had any regulations been published

lished that had been terrifying, especially such as would pretend to dispose of the people otherwise than they would dispose of themselves, it would have put city and suburbs into the utmost confusion.

But the magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged: made very good laws for regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making every thing as eligible as possible to all sorts of people. Magi-
strates.

The lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, (or their deputies) and a certain number of the common-council, published their resolution not to quit the city themselves, but that they would be always ready at hand for observing good order in every place, and doing justice on all occasions; as also for distributing the public charities to the poor: for doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens, to the utmost of their power.

The lord mayor held councils every day, for making necessary dispositions for preserving the public peace: the people were used with all possible gentleness, tenderness, and clemency; but presumptuous rogues, thieves, house-breakers, plunderers of the sick or dead, were duly punished, and severe declarations were continually published against them.

All constables and church-wardens were enjoined to stay in the city under severe penalties, or find sufficient deputies.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much in their first fright, when an universal desertion was apprehended; when the city was in danger of being intirely deserted (except of the poor); and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitudes that fled.

Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their duty as boldly as they promised: the lord mayor and sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger; and though they did not care to have too great a resort of people crouding about them, yet in emergent cases they never denied the people access, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints: the lord mayor had a low gallery erected on purpose in his hall, where he stood a little removed from the croud, when any complaint came to be heard; that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

The aldermen and sheriffs constantly attended in their wards and stations: the lord mayor's officers were always in waiting; the sheriff's officers, and serjeants, received orders from the aldermen; so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption.

Dogs and cats, being domestic animals, apt to run from house to house, and were capable of carrying the effluvia or infectious steams in their fur or hair; wherefore, in the beginning of the infection, an order was published

Aldermen
and she-
riffs,
Lord
mayor's
officers,
sheriff's
officers,
serjeants.

Hist. Pl.

140.

Dogs and
cats,

published

published by the lord mayor and magistrates, by advice of the physicians, that they should all be immediately killed, and an officer was appointed for that purpose. A prodigious number of those creatures were destroyed: forty thousand dogs, and five times as many cats; which is not in the least incredible, few houses being without a cat, some having five or six. All possible endeavours were used to destroy mice and rats: multitudes of them were destroyed by ratbane and other poisons.

It was one of their principal cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed: for this purpose, either the lord mayor or sheriffs were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed; and that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets, and returning back; and that no nuisances or frightful objects should be seen in the streets, to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come: which precaution made them come freely and boldly, insomuch that provisions were never wanting in the markets, but plentiful, even to a degree to be wondered at.

Hist. Pl.
213, 214.
Markets.

It was an admirable piece of conduct, that the streets were kept clear and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant, unless where any died suddenly in the streets; and these were generally covered
with

with some cloth or blanket, or removed to next church-yard till night: if any diseased were removed, or dead buried, or infected cloaths burned, it was in the night; all bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several church-yards and burying-grounds, were removed in the night, and every thing was covered and closed before day: so that in the day-time there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, sometimes passionate outcries from the windows, and the number of houses and shops shut up.

Hist. Pl.
19, 20.
Vincent.

The face of London was indeed strangely altered, the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, all together! Sorrow and sadness sat in every face; every one looked on himself and family as in the utmost distress,---few gallants walk the streets; instead of spotted ladies, the shrieks of women and children filled the doors and windows, where their dearest relations were just dead, or dying. A great forsaking there was of the adjacent places where the plague did first rage: and when the city within the walls began to be more visited, the number of people there were extremely lessened by the multitudes gone into the country; in July they continued flying; but in August they fled in such a manner that it was apprehended there would
be

be none left in the city but magistrates and servants.

Death now rode triumphant; and with a melancholy and formal aspect began to look into houses and chambers, and stare in every face. Were it possible to represent those times exactly to those who did not see them, and give true ideas of the horror that every where presented itself, it must make just impressions on their minds, and fill them with surprize. 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 mourning, for their nearest friends: but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets, frequent enough to pierce the stoutest heart to hear them: tears and lamentations were in every house. It was certainly a dismal thing to be entertained continually with the daily cries from the windows, *Pray for us!* and the nightly calls, *Bring out your dead!* To see the great emporium of the world desolate, and scarce any thing vendible but coffins! and those but for a while!

What increased the desolation, and made Hist. Pl. it more visible, the city and suburbs were pro-^{23.} digiously full of people at the beginning of the visitation: the numbers of people which (the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and monarchy restored) had flocked to London, to settle in business,
or

or to depend upon and attend the court, for rewards of service, preferments, and such like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above an hundred thousand inhabitants more than it ever entertained before; some took upon them to say, it had twice as many: all the ruined families of the royal party flocked thither; all the old soldiers set up trades here; the court brought with them a great flux of pride and new fashions, all people were grown gay and luxurious; and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London. The plague entered London when an incredible increase of people had happened by these circumstances: as this conflux of people to a youthful and gay court made a great trade in the city, especially in every thing that belonged to fashion and finery, so it drew, by consequence, a great number of workmen, manufacturers, and the like, mostly poor people who depended upon their labour. In representation to the lord mayor of the condition of the poor, it was estimated that there were not less than an hundred thousand ribband-weavers in and about the city, mostly about Spital-fields. It was wonderful, that after the prodigious numbers that went away, and died, that there was so great a multitude left.

Through May the infection reigned with more or less severity; sometimes raging in
one

one place, then in another: when funerals decreased, there were great hopes; their increase threw all in dejection; which uncertainty gave advantage to the distemper, for many persons were remiss in provisions against it during such fluctuations: but in June the number increased from forty-three to one hundred and twelve; the next week, to an hundred and sixty eight; the next, two hundred sixty-eight; the next, to four hundred seventy: most of which increase was in the remote parts, few within, or near the walls of, the city. Southwark and Whitechapel were entirely free. The second week in June the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried one hundred twenty, though the bills mentioned only sixty-eight of the plague.

About June 24, above twenty parishes were infected: and their majesties removed from Whitehall to Hampton-court.

After the nobility and gentry, rich tradesmen provide themselves to depart; if they have not country-houses, they seek lodgings abroad for themselves and families: and the poorer tradesmen imitate the rich in their fear, and stretch themselves to take a country journey, though they have scarce wherewithal to bring them back again. Divines, magistrates, physicians, surgeons, lawyers, and tradesmen, were all put to flight.

With

With what precipitation the trembling inhabitants left the city! how they flocked in crouds out of town! as if London had quite removed! like the hurry of a sudden conflagration, all doors and passages are thronged for escape. After the chief of the people were fled, and the nourishment of this cruel enemy in a great measure taken away, it raged still: though it seemed once to stay, it soon returned with double fury; killed not by slow paces, but almost immediately: the contagion at first only scattered its arrows, but at last covered the whole city with death.

Oldmix.
hist. of the
Stuarts, i.
522.

In two months the bills of mortality in the plague-time were but little more than double the number of those of the common deaths, which gave opportunity to thousands of families to remove, and leave the city desolate and helpless.

Hist. Pl.
11, 12.

Though all the people did not go out of London, yet in a manner all the horses did; there was hardly one to be bought or hired in the whole city, for some weeks.

Many travelled on foot; and to prevent lying at inns, carried soldiers tents with them and lay in the fields; the weather being warm there was no danger of taking cold; carrying beds or straw to lie upon, and provisions to eat, so living as hermits in cells, for none would venture to come near them; some lived like wandering pilgrims in a de-

fert, and escaped by making themselves voluntarily exiles, in such a manner as is scarce credible; who yet enjoyed more liberty than was expected, and had most of the people that travelled done the same, the plague had not (humanly speaking) been carried into so many country towns and houses, to the great damage and ruin of multitudes.

Those who went out walked in the middle of the great street, lest they should mingle with any that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses infected, and it became a custom for none to go out after sun-set.

Hist. Pl.

15, 21.

Vincent.

Now the citizens of London are put to a stop in the career of their trade; they begin to fear whom they converse and deal withal, lest they should have come out of infected places: roses and other flowers wither in the gardens, are disregarded in the markets, and people dare not offer them to their noses, lest, with their sweet favour, that which is infectious should be attracted: rue and wormwood is taken in the hand, myrrh and zedoary into the mouth, and without some antidote few stir abroad in the morning.

The citizens were not blameable for retiring when there was so little trading, and the presence of all would have helped forward the increase and spreading of the infection. At such times all inhabitants who are well, and can be spared, should be encour-

Vincent.

aged

Mead
Pest. 99.

raged to leave the town, which the thinner it is will be the more healthful : but fear and guilt drove many away, whom duty should have obliged to stay in the place. London doth empty itself into the country ; great was the stirs and hurries by the removals of so many families ; and those think themselves safest that can fly farthest from the city.---*A prudent man seeth the plague, and hideth himself.*

Prov.
xxii. 3.
Old transf.

Hodges,
23.

Physicians could not be blamed for retiring ; the disease was not subject to their art : many learned physicians retired, not so much for their own preservation, as the service of those they attended : those who staid, the plague put to their non-plus ; in such strange and changeable shapes, did the camelion-like sickness appear ! There were empirics (when all art failed) pretended to perform wonders : but were supposed to send numbers to heaven who were wished to tarry longer on earth, to be useful in time of such inexpres- sible distress.

The inns of court were all shut up ; few lawyers to be seen in the Temple, Lincoln's inn, or Gray's inn : every body was at peace, and no occasion for lawyers.

It was a time of very unhappy breaches in matters of religion : innumerable sects, divisions, and separate opinions prevailed among the people : the church was restored with the monarchy, but the ministers and preachers of the presbyterians, independents, and

and all other professions, began to gather separate societies, and erect altar against altar; as yet those congregations were but few, and those the government endeavoured to suppress, and shut up their meeting-houses.

The visitation reconciled them for a while, and many of the best and valuable ministers of the dissenters were suffered to go into the churches, and the people flocked to hear them, without enquiring what opinions they held.

Several ministers in the sad time of trouble deserted their flocks; yet some ministers did visit the sick for a little, but it was not to be done; it would have been present death to have gone into some houses. A great number of learned, able, and pious divines of the establishment maintained their stations, with primitive zeal and fervor, piety and charity: among whom the names of Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton, Dr. Symon Patrick (afterward bishop of Ely) will be respected and revered.

Among the presbyterians who distinguished themselves in this dangerous and important service were Mr. Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Janaway, Mr. Turner, Mr. Grimes.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was no more hope but that the whole city would be visited, when all that had estates or friends in the country retired with

their families ; indeed, when one would have thought there would be nobody left behind ; from that moment all trade, except such as related to immediate subsistence, was at a full stop ; and the workmen dependent on them left in the utmost distress.

All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that staid ; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving-men, shopkeepers, journeymen, merchants - bookkeepers, and such sorts of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless, without employment, and without habitation. This was a very dismal article.

To avoid particulars, let it suffice to say in general, all trades being at a stand, employment ceased ; the labour, and thereby the bread, of the poor was cut off. At first the cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear, but by the distribution of charity their misery was greatly abated : many fled into the countries, but thousands of them having staid in London till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road ; and they served for no other than the messengers of death : others carrying the infection along with them, spread it unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

Many of these were the miserable objects of despair we shall have occasion to mention, and

and who were removed by the destruction that followed: these might be said to perish not by the infection itself, but the consequences of it, namely, hunger and distress, and the want of all things; being without lodging, without money, without friends, without means to get their bread, without any one to give it them: many were without legal settlements, and could not claim of the parishes; all the support they had was from the magistrates, who carefully and chearfully administered relief as they found it necessary: those that stayed behind never felt the want and distress which they did that went away.

Had not the sums of money contributed been prodigious, it had not been in the power of authority to have kept the public peace; nor were they without apprehensions, as it was, that desperation should push the people upon tumults, and cause them to rifle the houses of the rich, and plunder the markets; in which case, the country people, who brought provisions very freely and boldly, would have been terrified from coming any more, and the town must have sunk under an unavoidable famine.

But the prudence of the lord mayor and such magistrates as remained alive and in town, prevented tumults, by the most kind and gentle methods, relieving the most desperate with money, putting others into business, particularly as watchmen, more than

Hist. Pl.
90, 92,
93.

twenty thousand being wanted ; and a great number of women and servants were employed as nurses. Thirty or forty thousand of these unhappy people were carried off by the plague.

The infection generally came into the houses of the citizens by means of their servants, who were sent out for necessaries ; who going through the streets, into shops and markets, it was impossible but that they should meet with distempered persons, who conveyed the fatal breath into them, and they brought it home to the families to which they belonged.

The necessity of going to market to buy provisions was, in a great measure, the ruin of the whole city, for the people caught the distemper of one another : some suspected that even the provisions were sometimes tainted. The butchers of Whitechapel (where greatest part of the flesh-meat was killed) were dreadfully visited, to such a degree that few shops were kept open ; and those who remained killed their meat about Mile-end, and brought it to town upon horses.

The poor could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity for them to go to market, others sent servants and children : as the necessity daily renewed, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets ; and many brought

brought home death along with the provisions for the sustenance of life.

The butchers used all possible precaution ; when any one bought a joint of meat, they would not take it out of the butcher's hand, but took it off the hook themselves ; the butchers would not take the money, but have it put into a pot of vinegar ; the buyer always carried small money to make up odd sums, that they might take no change. They carried bottles with scents and perfumes in their hands, and tried all other means that could be invented : but the poor went all hazards.

Sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very streets and markets ; many had the plague upon them, and knew nothing of it, till the inward gangreen had infected their vitals, and they died in a few moments, without any warning ; others had only time to go to the next bulk, door, or porch, just sit down, and die.

These objects were so frequent when the plague became raging, that there was scarcely any passing the streets but several dead bodies would be lying on the ground : at first, people would stop, and call to the neighbours on such occasions, afterward no notice was taken of them ; if a corps was found, passengers would cross the street ; if in a narrow passage, go back again, and seek some other way. The bodies were left till the officers

came to fetch them away, or till the drivers of the dead-carts took them up at night ; and those undaunted officers failed not to search their pockets, and strip the well-dressed.

In the markets, the butchers had always men at hand to take them upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next church-yard.

In the fury of the distemper the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before. The lord mayor caused the country folks who brought provisions to be stopt in the streets leading to the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away: this encouraged the country people greatly, for they sold their provisions at the very entrance into the town, and even in the fields ; particularly in the fields beyond Whitechapel-church, Spital-fields *, St. George's fields in Southwark, Bunhill-fields, and a great field called Wood's close, near Islington : to these places the lord mayor and magistrates sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, keeping themselves within doors as much as was consistent with their duty and offices ; and the like did many other people. After this method was taken, the country folks came

* These streets now called Spital-fields, were then open fields.

with great chearfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm by it. A report was spread (politically enough if it was designed) that they were miraculously preserved.

The justices of peace for Middlesex, by directions of the secretaries of state, had begun to shut up houses in St. Giles's, and other parishes where the plague had broke out; which seemed to be attended with some success: in June the lord mayor and aldermen made use of the power granted by act of parliament, of shutting up people in their own houses. Houses shut up.

Now many houses are shut up where the plague comes, and the inhabitants shut in, lest coming abroad they should spread the infection. It was very dismal to behold the RED CROSSES, of a foot long, and read in great letters over them, Vincent.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US, painted on the doors and windows; watchmen standing before them with halberts; and such a solitude about those places, people passing by them so cautiously, and with such fearful looks, as if they had been lined with enemies in ambush that waited to destroy them.

Every house was shut up as soon as infected, that neither relations nor acquaintance might unwarily receive it, and carry it about with them; a guard was ordered to attend Mead Pest. 91.

Watch-
men ap-
pointed.

continually, both to hand the sick necessaries of food and medicines, and restrain them from coming abroad, till forty days after recovery; watchmen were appointed to attend night and day, to prevent any inhabitant of the house going out, or any person going in, except such physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, nurses, searchers, &c. as were appointed by authority: this was to continue at least a month after all the persons who lived in that house were dead or recovered. The houses of those who had visited any infected person, or entered infected houses were ordered to be shut up: if any person removed out of a house of inmates where any one was infected, the house he removed to was shut up as if visited.

Searchers, surgeons, keepers, [nurses,] and buriers, were to carry red wands in their hands three feet long.

These and several other very necessary and salutary orders, were effectually put into execution by the lord mayor; but the plague more and more increased.

New discovery of the plague 63.
Miseries of the plague described.

'Tis inexpressible! imagination is lost when one would attempt conceiving an image of the pain and anguish which a person is in, seized by the first degree of the plague; the sight is shocking, and not to be endured! the face distorted, the eyes staring, all the body working, and every faculty of the soul lost; nothing remaining with the man but a sense of
of

of pain: miserable spectacle! enough to make the most unrelenting shudder with horror! What increase of distress it must be to be shut up with, and obliged to behold the tenderest and most beloved objects in this anguish, without power to assist or relieve them, mortified with the certainty of their deaths, and aggravated with the reflection that the distemper and death will likely extend to all in the house.

Is there any thing more terrible than the plague? No; it is the noisom pestilence: and if this stench come into your nostrils, ye are gone: it is a weapon so sharp that it is able to leave a nation without an heir; for I, saith the Lord, will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them. If this pale horse come to neigh in our streets, he'll dash many thousands into their graves. If the pestilence do once discharge, how many will he slay at one shot? It will chase men out of their dwellings, as if there were some fierce enemy pursuing them; and shut up shop doors, as if execution after judgment were served on merchants: there will then be no other music than doleful knells; nor any other wares carried up and down but dead corps; it will change mansion-houses for pest-houses; and rather gather congregations into church-yards than churches: the markets will be so empty that scarcely necessaries will be brought in; a new set of brewers will

Plague described.
Reeves's
Lond.
Rembr.
p. 48, 49.
Numb.
xiv. 12.

will set up, even apothecaries to make diet-drinks: people afraid to eat meat, lest they should eat it out of infected shambles: or to wear raiment, lest it should be stitched up with the plague: they shall lie down without the least spot upon them, and rise up with God's tokens upon them, yea, with the carbuncle burning in their flesh like a fire-coal. They shall walk well out of their houses, and drop down before they come home again. Every disease turns into the plague. Come not nigh thy foundest friend within the compass of two cubits, nor within the space of six cubits of infected persons: beware lest the wind blow upon him to thee, or lest there be any sun, fire, or odours between him and thee: if thou beest well, eschew thy dearest acquaintance, if thou beest sick, thy dearest acquaintance will flee thee: a lord shall scarce have a page, a lady a chambermaid, to wait on them: a brother will scarce look down on a sister, a husband on his wife, or a tender mother on her darling infant: a beggar will not wear thy marriage-suit, if given him; nor a porter be hired to carry thine errand, though thou shouldst give him a lease for life for his journey. Thy gold is left to the justice of a steward, thy breath to the mercy of a nurse: thou art dead, whilst left unburied, and buried without any but bearers to go along with thine hearse. Of all miseries the plague is the fray; of all dreadful

dreadful things which can happen upon the earth, this is the horror! Oh! cleanse the streets with repentance, purge the air with obedience; above all, feel the plague of your hearts, that you may not feel the plague in your sides. If the arrow that flyeth by noon-day shall glide among you, how many wounded breasts would there be? If *Hippocrates* were among you with his sweet odours and sweet ointments to perfume places; if *Mindererus* were shooting guns off in every street to dissipate the air; if *Quercitan* and *Avicen* were prescribing the strictest rules of diet; if *Galen*, and the whole tribe of the most expert physicians that ever lived, were teaching you to make pills, electuaries, pomanders, cordials, &c. to make new fires and fumigations, of storax, calamint, labdanum, and an hundred other materials to expel ill scents; yet they may be all ineffectual to prevent that irresistible stroke.

The distemper was very horrible in itself, but in some more than others; the swellings, which were generally in the neck, or groin, when they grew hard and would not break, grew painful with the most exquisite torment: some, not able to bear it, threw themselves out at a window, or otherwise made away with themselves; others vented their pain by incessant roarings; loud and lamentable cries were heard in the streets, sufficient to pierce the very heart.

Swellings
intolerably
painful.
Hist. Pl.
90.

Hist. Pl.
57.

Shutting up houses was counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor confined made bitter lamentations: complaints of the severity of it were daily made to the lord mayor, of houses causelessly, and even maliciously shut up. Locking up houses, and setting a watch night and day, to prevent the inhabitants from stirring out, or any coming to them, looked very hard and cruel.

Hodges,
7, 9.

The consternation of those thus separated from all society, unless of the infected, was inexpressible; and the dismal apprehensions it laid them under, made them an easier prey to the devouring enemy. This seclusion was the more intolerable, for if a fresh person was seized in the same house but a day before another had performed quarantine, it was to be performed over again; which occasioned such tedious confinement of sick and well together, that frequently caused the loss of the whole. Shutting up houses made neighbours fly, who might have been useful on many accounts; many might have been alive, had not the tragical mark on their door drove away proper assistance.

Mead
Pest. 93.

If fear, despair, and dejection of spirits dispose the body to receive contagion, and give it a greater power where it is received (as all physicians agree) how can the disease be more enforced than by such treatment.

The

The usage of imprisoning every family ^{Mead} the plague seizes on, without allowing any to ^{Pest. 16.} pass in or out, but such as are appointed by authority †, is the severest treatment imaginable. It exposes the whole family to suffer by the disease, and is little less than assigning them over to the cruellest death. One who is so unfortunate to bring the disease into a house, must have the insupportable anxiety and dejection of spirit, (which so remarkably attends the distemper) further heightened by the melancholy reflection of involving his dearest relations and friends in the same destruction. The disease, for every single person it would carry off, is, by this management, made to sweep away entire families.

Directions of magistrates ought to make it the interest of families to discover their misfortunes, when afflicted; for when such orders have the appearance of strict discipline and punishment, rather than compassionate care, the infected must naturally conceal the disease as long as possible. When men are in imminent danger of their lives, if not allowed to escape, they will hazard every thing to do it privately, and some attempts must succeed. It has unfortunately

† By the statute 1 Jac. 1. c. 31. infected persons going abroad after command to keep house, may be resisted by watchmen, and punished as vagrants, if they have no sores on them; if they have infectious sores, it is felony.

happened that the common steps taken to prevent spreading the plague, have had a direct contrary tendency: one that gets off clandestinely will be more liable to carry the disease than an hundred others.

Nothing can justify such cruelty, but that it prevents the spreading infection; but confining people, and shutting them up together in great numbers, will make the distemper rage with augmented force, even to the increasing it above what can easily be imagined: it is only keeping so many seminaries of infection, sooner or later to be dispersed abroad; for while contagion is kept in a house, and continually increased, it is impossible but the air must become tainted in such a degree as to spread the infection upon the first outlet. These methods, practised through ignorance of the nature of the contagion, contributed much to the continuance of the plague.

Many perished in those miserable confinements, which there was reason to believe would not have been distempered if at liberty; which made many clamorous and uneasy, and many violences were committed and injuries offered to the watchmen, and many broke out by violence: no applications to magistrates or government, could obtain the least mitigation; which put people upon all manner of stratagems to get their liberty,

There

There being as many prisons in town as houses shut up, where people were imprisoned only because they were miserable, it became really intolerable to them, no wonder therefore if they sometimes used violence, as well as stratagem, in order to their escape: many watchmen were killed, and others wounded and left for dead, where the people in infected houses were opposed in their attempts to escape.

These prisons having but one jailor, and many houses several ways out, some into other streets, it was impossible for one man to guard all the passages so as to prevent the escape of people made desperate by the fright of their circumstances, by resentment of their usage; or by the raging of the distemper itself: so that they would talk to the watchmen on one side of the house, while the family made their escape at another.

In Coleman-street there were abundance of alleys; a house was shut up in White's alley, which had a window into another court which had a passage into Bell-alley; watchmen stood at the door of the house night and day, while the family went away, in the evening, out at the window, and left the poor fellows watching and warding for near a fortnight.

Near the same place a watchman was blown up with gunpowder, and burnt dreadfully: while he made hideous cries, and

Watchmen ill-treated.

and no one would venture to come near him to help him ; those of the family who were able to stir got out of the one-pair-of stairs window, leaving two sick in the house, to whom nurses were sent.

A watchman had kept his post two nights at a shut-up house; and the day watch one day ; the day watch was come again to his duty: all this while no noise was heard, no light was seen, nothing was called for, nor the watchman sent on any errands (which was their principal business): one night the dead-cart was stopped there, and a maid-servant put into it, wrapt only in a green rug; next day the watch heard a great crying and screaming, occasioned, as was supposed, by some of the family just dying ; the watchman knocked at the door, but none answered a great while ; when one looked out, and said, (with an angry quick tone, yet with a voice that was crying), What d'ye want, that ye make such a noise ? He answered, I am the watchman, how do ye do ? what is the matter ? The person answered, What is that to you ; stop the dead-cart. The cart was stopt, and they knocked again ; but nobody answered, and the cart-man would not tarry.

When the day-watchman came they knocked again a great while ; none answered : the casement being open at which the person had looked out, they procured a ladder, and found a dead woman on the floor,
covered

covered only with her shift. A magistrate ordered the house to be broke open, wherein were none found but the dead sister to the mistress of the family: the master, his wife, several children, and servants, escaped at some back door, or over the tops of houses; whether sick or sound was not known.

Many such escapes were made out of infected houses; especially when the watchmen were sent for necessaries, food, physic, physicians, surgeons, nurses, order to dead-carts, and the like: on these occasions the watchman locked the outer door, and took the key with him; to evade which, the people got two or three keys to their locks; or unscrewed and took off the locks on the inside in the absence of the watchman, and went out as often as they pleased: which being discovered, padlocks and bolts were placed on outward doors.

A maid-servant was taken sick, and the whole family was shut up; the master consented to let the maid be carried to the pest-house, but was refused. The master finding no remedy, he, his wife, and children, padlocked up with this distempered maid, told the watchman that he must fetch a nurse, whom he brought that evening; in the interim the master took the opportunity to break a large hole through his shop, into a stall which had been occupied by a cobbler, of which he had the key: the next night,

Z

send-

338 THE LAST PLAGUE

sending the watch for a plaister which he must stay the making up, he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house; and left the nurse and watchman to throw the poor wench into the cart, and take care of the house.

These prisons being without bars, the imprisoned let themselves down from their windows in sight of the watchman, bringing swords or pistols in their hands, threatening to kill him if he stirred, or called out.

Some had gardens and walls or pales between them and their neighbours, or yards, or back-houses; by friendship and entreaties, some would get leave to go over those inclosures, and out at their neighbours doors; others, by giving money to the servants got through in the night: others by bribing the watchmen got out privately; (for which several were publickly whipt through the streets): but notwithstanding that severity, money still prevailed, and many families escaped after they had been shut up; for though there was no easy way of passing the roads after the first of August, yet were there many ways of retreat.

So that shutting up houses was in no wise to be depended upon; nor did it any way answer the end; serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities that they would break out at all adventures. What was still worse, those who
thus

thus broke out, spread the infection by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, more than they would otherwise have done.

A citizen broke out of his house in Aldersgate-street, attempted, but was refused, going into the Angel, or the White-horse, at Islington: at the Pyed-horse he pretended going into Lincoln-shire, that he was entirely free from infection, and required only lodging for one night. They had but a garret bed empty, and that but one night, expecting drovers with cattle next day. A servant shewed him the room, which he gladly accepted: he was well dressed, and with a sigh said, he had seldom lain in such a lodging: but would make shift; it was but for one night, and in a dreadful time: he sat down on the bed, desiring a pint of warm ale; which was forgot.

Next morning one asked what was become of the gentleman? The maid starting, said, I never thought more of him; he bespoke warm ale, but I forgot it: a person going up, found him dead, cross the bed, his cloaths were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open, in a most frightful posture; the rug of the bed clasped hard in one hand.

The alarm was great, they having been free from the distemper, which spread immediately to the houses round about; fourteen died of the plague that week in Islington.

The families that fled, generally left some friend to take charge of their houses and goods; though some few houses were entirely padlocked up, windows and doors with boards nailed over them, committed only to the common watchmen and parish officers. It was a rule with those who had thus two houses in their keeping, if any one was taken sick in the family, the master sent all the rest, children and servants, to the house he had in charge, and then gave notice to the examiners or other officers, have nurses appointed, and have another person shut up with them (which many for money would do) to take charge of the house.

This removal was consistent with the lord mayor's public orders, and in many cases was the saving of whole families, who, if they had been shut up with the sick, would inevitably have perished; but on the other hand, the apprehensions and terror of being shut up, made many run away with the family, who had the distemper upon them; and having liberty to go abroad, and obliged to conceal their circumstances, or perhaps not knowing it themselves, spread the distemper in a dreadful manner.

No doubt but the severity of those confinements made many desperate and run out of their houses at all hazards, with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, or what they did; many
of

of them were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets and fields for want, or dropt down by the raging violence of the fever upon them: others wandered into the country, went forward any way, as desperation guided them, till faint and tired, getting no relief, (not being permitted to lodge in houses or villages on the road, infected or not) they perished by the road side, or died in barns; none daring to relieve them, though not infected, for none would believe them.

When any one had caught the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known to the family before it could be known to the officers appointed to examine the circumstances of sick persons: in this interval, the master of the house had leisure and liberty to remove himself, or all his family, if he knew where to go: but many did thus after they were really infected, and thereby carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them; which partly occasioned a scandal concerning the temper of the infected, that they did not take the least care, or make the least scruple of infecting others. But these were people made desperate by apprehensions of being shut up, or who broke out by force or stratagem, and whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased: being driven to extremities for provision or entertainment,

tainment, they endeavoured to conceal their condition; and thereby became instrumental involuntarily to infect others who were ignorant and unwary.

Families
shut them-
selves up.

Many that escaped had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and hid till the plague was over; and some laid up stores of provisions for their families, and shut up themselves so intirely that they were neither seen nor heard of till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad safe and well: among these several Dutch merchants were remarkable, who kept their houses like garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them: one of these families lived in a court in Throgmorton-street, the back part of the house coming to Draper's gardens.

Dutch
mer-
chants.

Deaths by
fright.

A lady of considerable fortune had an only daughter about nineteen; the young lady complained, vomited, and had a violent pain in her head, which increasing, they prepared her bed, and a sweat; as she was laid in bed her mother discovered the fatal tokens; and not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle, and screamed out in such a frightful manner that it was enough to place horror on the stoutest heart; nor was it one scream or cry, but the fright having seized her spirits, she fainted, recovered, ran all over the house, up stairs, down stairs, quite distracted, void of all government of her

senses:

senses: the daughter died in two hours, the mother continuing her shocking cries several hours after, insensible of any thing concerning her daughter; and died shortly after.

There were innumerable such like cases; it was seldom the weekly bill was without two or three *frighted*: beside those frightened so as to die upon the spot, there were others frightened to other extremes, out of their senses, their memory, and understanding.

Great complaints were made against this unseasonable and ineffectual usage, which procured some release to the sick; on which there was a considerable abatement of the disease. Mead
Pest. 95.

Experience testified that in 1625 there was a remarkable decrease upon the discontinuing to shut up houses.

The plague was so terrible at Digne in Provence 1629, that out of ten thousand inhabitants it left but fifteen hundred, and out of them, all but five or six had gone through the disease. The principal cause assigned was, that the citizens were too closely confined, and not suffered to go to their country houses. In another pestilence at the same place a year and a half after, more liberty being allowed, there did not die above one hundred persons. Mead
Pest. 130.

In 1636 the plague began with great violence, but the king giving leave to the people to quit their houses, not one in twenty of the Mead
Pest.
95, 110.

well persons removed fell sick, nor one in ten of the sick died.

Dr. Mead thinks, removing the persons from the sick is the best method to prevent spreading the infection; and where that cannot be practised, to remove the diseased; to whom no manner of compassion and care should be wanting, to supply them with proper provisions and necessaries, and provide them with cleanly, sweet, and airy habitations.

Preface to
Hodges.

Dr. Quincy is of opinion, no human means seems more absolutely necessary than to remove the infected, immediately upon their seizure, out of all great towns, and provide for their due support in all things, in open country places; for the distemper becomes not infectious till some time after seizure.

Poole in
Dorset-
shire.

No good work carries its own reward with it so much as this sort of charity. Dr. Mead produces instances of extraordinary success which has attended these measures, at Terrara in Italy, 1630; at Rome, 1657; at Marseilles; and at Poole in Dorsetshire; at which last place, a very remarkable occurrence has greatly contributed towards preserving this transaction in memory. They found some difficulty in procuring any person to attend on the sick after their removal, which obliged the town to procure a young woman then under sentence of death, on a promise

promise to use their interest to procure her pardon. The young woman escaped the disease; but neglecting to solicit the corporation for the accomplishment of their engagement, three or four months after she was barbarously hanged by the mayor, upon a quarrel between them.

Beside the houses shut up by the magistrates whole rows were deserted by the inhabitants, all fled but a watchman or two: great numbers followed the court, by necessity of their employments and dependencies, and others retiring through fear, it was a meer desolating some streets: but chiefly at the west end of the town, and the heart of the city inhabited by the wealthiest people, unincumbered with business; the rest, for the generality, staid to abide the worst; as the inhabitants of the liberties and suburbs, and the east parts, Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe.

Hist. Pl.
22.

In July the plague prevailed and increased exceedingly, the bill rose the first week to seven hundred twenty-five; the next week to one thousand eighty-nine, of which number eight hundred sixty-seven in ten of the out-parishes, and the rest within the walls: the third week to one thousand eight hundred forty-three; the next week to two thousand and ten.

Vincent.

About the middle of July the distemper, which had chiefly raged in St. Giles's, Holborn,

born, and toward Westminster, began to travel eastward, and to stretch over the water to Southwark and Lambeth; but the infection kept mostly in the out-parishes, which being very populous and fuller of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city: when the infection abated in the western parishes, it spread its utmost rage and violence at Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney.

Gazette.
Salisbury.

July 29, the king and queen removed from Hampton-court to reside sometime at Salisbury; but that city being soon infected, the king chose his residence at Oxford.

Profane-
ness.

It was amazing to see the prodigious mixture of piety and prophaneness at the same time; which, according to the description of a good eye-witness and observer, was thus: in one house you might hear them roaring under the pangs of death; in the next, tippling, whoring, and belching forth blasphemies against God; one house shut up, with a red cross and Lord have mercy upon us! the next, open to all uncleanness and impiety, as altogether insensible of the indignation of heaven. Many persons who were shut up, entertained vain and evil communication at their windows with idle and loose people, that were not at all affected with the judgments.

It

It is somewhat wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised as openly as ever; not quite so frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

The wicked practices of nurses greatly contributed to the loss of people shut up; these wretches (not to be mentioned but in the most bitter terms) out of greediness to plunder the dead, would strangle their patients, and charge it upon the distemper in their throats; others secretly conveyed the pestilential taint from sores of the infected to those who were well: nothing deterred these abandoned miscreants from prosecuting their avaricious purposes by all the methods that wickedness could invent: they had no witnesses to accuse them; but Divine Vengeance will overtake such wicked barbarities with due punishment: some were remarkably struck from heaven in the perpetration of their crimes; one among many, as she was leaving a family (all dead) loaded with her robberies, fell down dead under her burden in the street. The nurse of a worthy citizen, supposing he was dying, stripped him; but recovering, he came a second time into the world naked. So many were the artifices
of

Nurses.

Hodges,
8, &c.

of these barbarous wretches, that it may be a warning to posterity how to trust nurses.

Watch-
men.
Hist. Pl.
89.

There were many frightful stories of nurses, who barbarously starved, smothered, or by other wicked means murdered their patients: and of watchmen who broke into houses they were appointed to guard, murdered the sick, and sent them in a dead-cart, scarce cold, to the grave. There were murders, and persons committed, who died before trial; but the crime was not so common as report made it.

There were many robberies and wicked practices committed in this dreadful time: the power of avarice was in some so strong, that that they would run any hazard to steal and plunder; especially, in houses where all the inhabitants were dead, they would break in without regard to the danger of infection, take the cloaths off the bodies of the dead, and the bed-cloaths where they lay dead. A man and his daughter were found dead in Houndsditch, lying (in different chambers) stark naked on the floor, and the bed-cloaths stolen and carried away.

Women were in this calamity the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures: there were vast numbers that went as nurses, and committed a great many thieveries where they were employed: some of them were publickly whipped. At length, parish officers recommended nurses whom they could
call

call to account if abuses were committed. But those robberies extended chiefly to wearing apparel, rings, or what money they could get at, not to a general plunder of the houses. Several years after, a nurse on her death-bed confessed with the utmost horror, the robberies she had committed at that time, by which she had enriched herself to a very great degree.

When things came to extremity, all helps were called in : the magistrates made it their business to the utmost of their power, to put a stop to the cruel devastation, and save some part of the city from the grave. General remedies.

Several general remedies were undertaken, by the public for the cure of this uncommon distemper : the first healing method was a proclamation for a general fast, to be religiously observed throughout the kingdom of England, that prayers and supplications might be every where made for the removal of so heavy a judgment ; in a form drawn up by the bishops ; and appointed by the king to be likewise used in all churches and chapels within the bills of mortality on every Wednesday during the contagion. This, with the real reformation of many wicked persons, was believed to have extraordinary effects : though, the infection increasing so violently, people began to fear going to church, at least such numbers did not resort thither as usual ; yet their supplications Echard, iii. 142.
Hist. Pl. 81.
proved

proved not vain and fruitless, for the summer was refreshed by moderate breezes, sufficient to prevent the stagnation and corruption of the air, and carry off pestilential steams; the heat was too mild to encourage such corruption and fermentation as tends to taint the animal fluids, and pervert them from their natural state.

Nonconformists.
Vincent.

Nor must the nonconformists be forgotten here, who did not fail to join with the church, in this salutary measure, nor were their prayers unheard or unanswered; for we are acquainted, “About the time of these
“ ministers preaching, especially after their
“ first fast together, the Lord began to remit
“ and turn his hand, and cause some abate-
“ ment of the disease.”

Echard.

To divine helps were called in all that were human.

As an office of piety and charity, continual collections were made, both public and private, for relief of the sick and needy in this miserable distress.

Disbanded soldiers.

A means of stopping the plague, or hindering tumults and distractions that might arise upon it, was to publish a proclamation, requiring all disbanded officers and soldiers who had served in the armies of any of the late powers, to depart the cities of London and Westminster, and not to return within twenty miles of the same till November following.

His

His majesty commanded the college of physicians to write somewhat in English, to be a general directory in this calamitous exigence: that learned and honourable society were not satisfied with that, but also appointed some of their own number to attend the infected upon all occasions: two aldermen were also required to see this hazardous task executed.

The lord mayor (sir John Lawrence), a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for relief of the diseased poor; and particularly requested the college of physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor in all circumstances of the distemper: this was done by a consultation of the whole college; and as it was calculated for the use of the poor and for cheap medicines, it was made so public that every body might see it, and copies given gratis to all who desired it. This was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done; for it drove the people from haunting the doors of every dispenser of bills, and from taking down blindly, without consideration, poison for physic, death instead of life.

The physicians found this task too hard, and despaired of putting an entire stop to the infection, it defied all medicines; the very physicians were seized with it with preservatives in their mouths; they went about till

†

the

the tokens were upon them, and they dropt down dead. This was the case of several of the most eminent physicians and skilful surgeons. The physicians assisted many by their skill, and by their prudence and applications saved many lives, and restored many to health; but they themselves fell in the common calamity: they endeavoured to do good, and to save the lives of others, and ventured their lives so far as even to lose them in the service of mankind*.

When all endeavours to restrain the plague were ineffectual, they applied themselves to the cure of the diseased, wherein they avoided no hazard to themselves.

There wanted not the help of very great and worthy persons, who voluntarily † contributed their assistance in this dangerous work: the learned Dr. Gibson, regius professor at Cambridge; Dr. Nathanael Paget;

Quin.
Hodges.

Ham-
mond on
John xv.
13.

* Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend: no man can express greater love to his dearest friends than to adventure to die for them.

Bayle's
Diét. iii.
318.

† Father Garasse taught, that a man who died in the service of those infected with the plague, is a martyr: he was so persuaded one might thus obtain the crown of martyrdom, that he exposed himself to the peril of the plague, by shutting himself up with the infected, and in this manner died.

Bayle's
Diét. iii.
947.

Martin Bucer's first wife died of the plague; which she would have escaped could she have been prevailed upon to have left her husband. Her life was exemplary for chastity, modesty, and piety.

Dr.

Dr. Wharton ; Dr. Berwick ; Dr. Brookes, &c. but eight or nine of them fell in the work ; amongst whom was Dr. Conyers ; whose goodness and humanity claim an honourable remembrance with all who survive him.

Nor should we omit to mention, with due honour, those skilful and faithful surgeons, whose task in the raging calamity was very hard and dangerous ; they had the care of all pestilential tumours, ulcers, &c. Though some of these fell themselves in the discharge of their duty to others, yet the survivors went on chearfully in their business: but they who lived through the whole, owed a great deal to a constancy of mind, as well as to the conservatory power of providence.

The misery of the time lay upon the poor ; it is incredible to think how it raged among them ; the infected had neither food nor physic ; neither physician or apothecary to assist, or nurse to attend them: many died calling for help, and even sustenance at their windows, in a most miserable and deplorable manner. Some were profane and foolish enough to call it *The Poores Plague*.

But whenever the cases of poor persons or families were represented to the lord mayor, they were always relieved.

Though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were they most venturous and

fearless of it, and went about their employments with uncommon courage; scarcely did they use any caution, but run into any business they could get, the most hazardous; as tending the sick, watching shut up houses, carrying infected persons to the pest-house; and, what was still worse, carrying away the dead to their graves.

Gazette.

August 9, the duke and duchess of York, withdrawing from London to avoid the contagion, arrived at York, which city was clear of infection.

Gazette.

August 16, the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, was by proclamation removed from Westminster to Nonsuch in Surry, the plague still raging in the city and suburbs of London.

Plague described.
Hodges,
16.

In August how dreadful is the increase! from two thousand and ten the number mounts up to three thousand eight hundred and seventeen in one week; thence, to three thousand eight hundred eighty, the next to four thousand two hundred thirty-seven; the next week to six thousand one hundred and two, all of the plague, beside other diseases.

In August and September the contagion changed its languid pace, and made most terrible slaughter; three, four, five thousand in a week; once, eight thousand: who can express the calamities of those times! The whole British nation wept for the miseries of her metropolis. In some houses carcases

lay waiting for burial ; in others, persons in their last agonies : in one room might be heard dying groans ; in another, the ravings of a delirium ; not far off, relations and friends bewailing both their loss, and the dismal prospect of their own sudden departure. Death was the sure midwife of all children ; infants passed immediately from the womb to the grave. Who would not burst with grief, to see the stock for a future generation hang upon the breasts of a dead mother ! To see the marriage bed changed in one night into a sepulchre, and the unhappy pair meet with death in their first embraces ! Some of the infected ran about staggering like drunken men, and fall and expire in the streets ; others lie half-dead, and lethargic, but never more to be waked but by the last trumpet ; some lie vomiting as if they had drank poison ; others fall dead in the market while buying the necessaries of life. The plague spared no order, age, or sex : the divine was taken in the exercise of his priestly office ; the physician in administering his antidotes ; the soldier retreated, and encamped out of the city, the contagion followed, and vanquished him : many in their old age, others in their prime sunk under its cruelties ; of the female sex most died ; and hardly any children escaped : it was not uncommon to see an inheritance pass to three or four generations in as many

days. The sextons were not sufficient to bury the dead ; the bells were continually tolling, till at last they quite ceased ; the burying-places would not hold the dead, but they were thrown into large pits dug in waste grounds, in heaps : it often happened that those who attended the funerals of their friends one evening, were carried the next to their own long-homes. Though the city seemed drained by funerals, the disease had no relaxation.

Vincent.

Now the cloud is very black, and the storm comes down very sharp : Death rides triumphant on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into almost every house, where the inhabitants are to be found : people fall as thick as leaves from the trees in autumn, when shaken by a mighty wind. There is a dismal solitude in London streets : every day looks with the face of a sabbath, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Shops are shut up ; people rare ; and few that walk about, inso-much that grass begins to grow in some places, and a deep silence in almost every place, especially within the city walls.

— *Within the walls,*

*The most frequented once, and noisy parts
Of town, now midnight silence reigns e'en there!
A midnight silence, at the noon of day!
And grass, untrodden, springs beneath the feet!*

DRYDEN,
The

The great street in Whitechapel is one of the broadest and most public streets in London; ^{Grafs growing in the streets.} all the side where the butchers lived was more like a green field than a paved street; toward Whitechapel church the street was not all paved, but the part that was paved was full of grafs; the grafs grew in Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and even in the Royal Exchange: neither cart nor coach was seen from morning to evening, except country carts with roots, beans, pease, hay and straw to the market, and those very few: coaches were scarcely used, but to carry people to the pest-house or hospitals; or some few to carry physicians: coaches were dangerous, sick infected persons sometimes dying in them.

Several physicians represented to the lord mayor, that the fury of the contagion was such, people sickened so fast, and died so soon, that it was impossible, and to no purpose, to enquire who was sick, or to shut up with such exactness as the thing required; almost every house in whole streets being infected, and in many places every person in some of the houses; and that which was still worse, by the time the houses were known to be infected, most of the persons were dead, and the rest run away for fear of being shut up; so that it was to very little purpose to call them infected and shut-up houses; the infection having ravaged, and taken its leave of

the house, before it was really known that the family was any ways touched.

In so great and populous a city as London, it was impossible to discover every house that was infected so soon as it was: (especially when the infected used all arts to conceal their misfortune through the dread of being shut up; and oftentimes did not themselves know that they were infected) so that people had liberty of going about where they pleased, unless they were known to belong to infected houses.

Masters of families were ordered to give notice to the examiner within two hours after he discovered any in his house to have signs of infection; but many ways were found to evade this, and excuse their negligence, till they had taken measures to have every one escape who had a mind to escape, whether sick or sound.

The examiners scarcely came to any house where the plague had visibly appeared, but some of the family were fled and gone; the magistrates would charge the examiners with remissness in their inspection; but by that means houses were long infected before it was known. There was no way of coming at the knowledge of a family but by enquiring 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 citizens would undertake;

take; it would have been exposing them to certain infection and death, to the ruin of themselves and families.

Nothing could redound more to the honour of the magistracy than the moderation used in the difficult work of shutting up houses; which was a great, and indeed the only subject of discontent. The complaints of the confined were very grievous, and such as sometimes called for resentment, but oftener for compassion: they had no way to converse with their friends but at their windows, where they made such hideous lamentations as moved the hearts of those they conversed with, and others who heard them. Their complaints sometimes reproached the severity and insolence of the watchmen, to which they would answer saucily enough, and were apt to affront the people talking to the family; for which, or their ill treatment of the confined, many of them were killed: the watchmen had so much the hearty curses of the people, whether they deserved it or not, that whatever befel them nobody pitied them, and every one was apt to say they deserved it, whatever it was: nor were any punished, to any considerable degree, for whatever was done to them.

The magistrates did moderate and ease families upon many occasions; in taking away, or suffering the sick that were willing, to be removed to a pest-house, or other place;

sometimes giving leave to the well persons to remove, if they would confine themselves in the houses where they went, as long as should be required.

The concern of the magistrates in supplying food and physic to poor infected families was very great; they did not content themselves with giving necessary orders to the officers; but the aldermen in person, on horseback, frequently rid to such houses, and enquired at the windows whether they were duly attended; whether they wanted any necessaries; if the officers had constantly carried their messages, and fetched such things as they wanted? If they complained that they were ill served, or uncivilly treated, the officer was removed. Sometimes the watchmen were absent, drunk, or asleep, when the people wanted them, such never failed being severely punished.

A house was shut up for the sake of an infected maid, who had only spots, not tokens, upon her, and recovered; yet the people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air nor exercise, forty days; want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such injurious treatment, cast the mistress of the family into a fever; the visitors said it was the plague, though the physicians said it was not: however, the family were obliged to begin their quarentine anew, though their quarentine was near expired: this

this oppressed them so with anger and grief, straitened them so much for room, and want of breathing and fresh air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments, only one of a violent cholic, till after several prolongings of their confinement, some or other of those that came in with the examiners to inspect the persons that were ill in hopes of relieving them, brought the distemper, and all, or most of them died. This frequently happened; and was one of the worst consequences of shutting up houses.

Thus it was not in the power of the magistrates, or any human means or policy to prevent the spreading of the infection: shutting up houses was perfectly insufficient for the end, and seemed to have no manner of public good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous burden it was to particular families. The infection was propagated insensibly, by such persons as were not visibly infected; who neither knew who they infected, or who they were infected by.

Some thought, even physicians, for a time, that those who died in the streets, were seized in the moment they fell, as men are killed by lightning; but upon examining the bodies, they always had either tokens upon them, or other evident proofs of the distemper having been longer upon them than they had expected.

Hist. Pl.
182.

People
shut up
them-
selves, and
die.

In some houses where the people were not very poor, yet having sent away their wives and children, and servants, to save expences, many shut themselves in, and, not having help, died alone.

A youth, went to a shop-keeper for money; after much knocking at the door, the poor man came down, displeas'd at being disturb'd: but instead of giving him the money, desired the young man to call at Cripplegate church, and bid them ring the bell; then shut his door, went up again, and died.

A man having his family infected, but being not willing to be shut up; when he could conceal it no longer, shut it up himself; he set up the red cross over his door, and deceived the examiner; by which means he had egress and regress as he pleas'd: when his stratagem was discovered, he and the sound part of his family and servants escaped, and were not shut up at all.

Two houses together were infected, but the examiner got no knowledge of it, till notice was sent him that the people were all dead, and that the carts should fetch them away.—The two head of the families appeared generally together, when the examiners were in the neighbourhood, answered for one another, and got some of the neighbours to say they were all in health, and perhaps knew no otherwise, till death made it impos-
sible

fible to keep the secret longer, and the dead-carts being called in the night made it public: there were found in the two houses three persons just dying; the houses had been infected nine or ten days; they had buried five, and the rest, which were many, were gone, some sick, some well.

Many merchants, ship-owners, and the like, locked themselves up, and lived close shut up on ship-board, supplied with provisions from Greenwich, Woolwich, and single farm-houses on the Kentish side. It was surprizing to see several hundred sail of ships which lay in rows two and two, and some places three such lines in the breadth of the Thames, from Ratcliff and Rotherhithe, as far as Gravesend, and some beyond, even in every place where they could ride with safety as to wind and weather; nor was it heard that the plague reached any of the ships below Deptford, though the people went frequently on shore to the country towns, villages, and farm-houses, to buy fresh provisions.

More than ten thousand people who attended ship affairs were sheltered here from the contagion. As the violence of the plague increased, the ships which had families on board, removed, and went farther off; some went quite out to sea, and put into such harbours and roads as they could best get at.

But

Ship-board.
Hist. Pl.
123, 133,
174.

But all the people who thus left the land and lived on shipboard were not entirely free from infection, many died and were thrown into the river, some in coffins, some without, whose bodies were sometimes seen floating up and down with the tide. The infection happened where they fled to the ships too late, when they had the distemper upon them, though they might not perceive it; or it was in those ships where they had not furnished themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore, or suffer boats to come to them: or, they were not watchful to keep the seamen from going on shore: and so the distemper got insensibly among them.

Where they had recourse to ships early, and with prudence furnished themselves with provisions, that they had no need to go on shore for supplies, or suffer boats to come on board to bring them, they certainly had the safest retreat of any: but the distress was such, that people run on board in their fright, without bread, into ships that had no men on board to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and buy provisions where it might be safely done: these often suffered, and were infected on board as well as on shore.

As the richer sort got into ships, the lower ranks got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats, and many, especially watermen,

men, lay in their boats: but those going about for provisions, and to get their subsistence, the infection got among them, and made a fearful havock; many watermen died alone in their wherries as they rid at their roads, and were not found sometimes till they were not in a condition for any body to touch them, or come near them.

The watermen on the river above bridge, found means to convey themselves up the river as far as they could, and many had their families with them in their boats, covered with tilts and bales, furnished with straw for lodging; thus they lay along by the shore on the marshes; some setting up little tents with their sails, lying under them on shore in the day, and going into their boats at night, the river sides were lined with boats and people as long as they had any thing to subsist on, and could get any thing out of the country; and the country people, as well as gentlemen, were very forward to relieve them upon all occasions; but were by no means willing to receive them into their towns and houses. Self-preservation obliged them to severities they would not otherwise have been concerned in.

The inhabitants of Rotherhithe, Radcliff, Wapping, Limehouse, both sides the river, and almost all Southwark side, had a notion that they should not be visited, or that it would not be violent among them; imagining, that
the

the smell of pitch, tar, oil, rosin, brimstone, and other things much used by all trades relating to shipping, would preserve them: they were so secure, and flattered themselves so much with the plague's going off without reaching them, that they took no care to fly, or shut themselves up; they rather invited their friends and relations from the city into their houses; and several from other parts took shelter in that part of the town, as a place of safety which they thought God would pass over.

This was the reason that when it came upon them they were more surprized and unprovided, more at a loss what to do than they were at other places: when it came upon them there was then no stirring into the country, none would suffer a stranger to come near them nor the towns where they dwelt: several who wandered over the Surry side were found starved to death in woods and commons, especially about Norwood, Camberwell, Dulwich and Lushum; where nobody durst relieve the poor distressed fugitives, for fear of the infection.

The distresses of the people at the seafaring end of the town was truly deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration: but, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near, there was no room to pity the distresses of others; every one had death at his own door, or in his family, and
knew

knew not what to do, or whither to fly: this took away all compassion; self-preservation was the first of laws: children ran away from their parents, leaving them languishing in the utmost distress; and (though not so frequent) parents did the same by their children: some dreadful examples there were of distressed, distracted, raving mothers killing their children; the poor lunatics not living long enough to be sensible of the sin, much less to be punished for it. Though the fear and danger of death took away all bowels of love, all concern for others, in general, yet were there many instances of immoveable affection, pity, and duty: But,

It is no small part of the misery that attends this terrible enemy, that whereas moderate calamities open the hearts of men to compassion and tenderness, this greatest evil is found to have the contrary effect. When it should be expected that all men should unite in one common endeavour to moderate public misery, they grow regardless of each other, blot out all sentiments of humanity, and barbarities are practised unknown at other times.—Whether wicked men, through hopes of impunity in these times of disorder and confusion, gave their evil disposition full scope, which ordinarily is restrained by fear of punishment; or whether a constant view of calamity and distress does pervert the minds men:

Mead,
Pest.
xvii.

—pity

— *pity on fresh objects stays,
But with the tedious sight of woes decays.*

DRYDEN.

Country
cruel.
Hist. Pl.
175, 176.

The inhabitants of the towns adjacent to London were much blamed for their cruelty to the poor that run from the contagion in their distress; and very many severe things were done: yet there was charity and assistance afforded where there was no apparent danger to themselves. But as every town were judges in their own case, the poor people who ran abroad in their extremities, were often ill used, and driven back again into the town; which caused infinite exclamations and outcries against the country towns, and made the clamour very popular. And yet maugre all the caution, there was not a town within twenty miles of London but was more or less infected, and had some died among them.

Let us visit those who are fled into the country :---but, alas! they are visited!---The broad arrow of death, flying swiftly up and down, hath overtaken many of them, and over-turned them. Those who thought they stood far enough from the mark, have sickened in the highway; would have been glad of a bed in an hospital; who dying in the open fields, have been buried like dogs. How much better had it been to be fuller of boils and plague-sores than Job was, in such extremity

extremity to have received bodily and spiritual comfort, which were both denied. The country people were afraid, and scared; when Londoners came near, they wrung their hands, and fled; the name of a merchant had power to cast a whole family into a cold sweat. A suit of cloaths from London was almost enough to make a market-town give up the ghost. Places within ten miles were afraid even of the birds of the air.

The country could not be prevailed on, by the fear of God, the knowledge of his word, the grateful remembrance of London's kind entertainment, nor leasing, nor lending, nor trading; to the kind welcome of those dispersed through infirmity, nor to the burying of them, without inhumanity. Country justices kept back the people, as much as in them lay, from bringing provisions to market; they warned them that none should dare to come and bring relief to London, upon pain of being shut up fourteen days. This was signed by justices, and published as a proclamation. The country people were shy of the untouched, and hard-hearted to the afflicted; some who were whole were locked up in houses, debarred of things necessary, and the liberty of the air, walks, and the church; some were imprisoned. Those who were visited were not suffered to have attendants, but were left comfortless, to die

destitute of all help in this world: those smitten by the way were left to die in ditches or drawn to a hole like dogs, for fear their carcasses should infect the air. Inn-keepers kept Londoners off with bills, though they had no disease, lest they should infect their rooms; or if the afflicted asked relief or repose, they might lie with the swine. The calamity was greatly aggravated by unnatural cruelties. It was difficult to withdraw from London, while the country was every where afraid of strangers: and the inns on the road were unsafe to lodge in for those who travelled from the city, where it could not be known but infection might be received in them by others come from the same place.

Mead,
Pest. xvii.

Gazette,
No. 9.

Wigan in Lancashire was startled at the death of a woman who was found early in a morning before the door of a poor cottage in the highway, within the limits of that corporation. The mayor was very industrious to find the cause of it; and upon due examination of three persons who came into the town with her from Ireland, and many notorious circumstances, it appeared that she was clear of all infection; and that, being with child, to avoid shame among her friends, who were of good fashion near the place, had destroyed herself by poison.

Vincent.

In September a decrease was hoped for, because of the season of the year, the number
already

already dead, and the number retired; yet it was not come to its height; but from six thousand one hundred and two, which died by the plague the last week in August, the number was augmented to six thousand nine hundred eighty-eight, the first week in September.

That nothing might go untried to divert the contagion, a new and likely expedient was put in practice. By the lord mayor's order, September 6, fires were made through all the streets and open places of London and the liberties thereof; which were continued three whole nights and days, to purge and purify the air; which had been used in other places in times of pestilence, (as was imagined) with good effect. Fires in the streets.

Fire has been almost universally recommended for this purpose, both by ancients and moderns, who have advised to make frequent and numerous fires in the towns infected; and no doubt but such evil dispositions of the air as proceed from damps, exhalations, and the like, may be corrected by fires: but when the plague rages, it is known to spread and increase by heat, and is checked by cold; whatever increases heat, will so far add to the force of the disease. Smiths, and those who worked at the fire, were most severely used in the plague at Venice. Mead, Pest. xvii.

The physicians were diffident of the success, as the air was uninfected. But, alas! Hodges, 19.

Hist. Pl.
198.

the controversy was soon decided, and the project appeared showy, superfluous, expensive, and of none effect.---The fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days by a very smart hasty rain: but that was not all, some physicians insisted, that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of the people: this they made a great clamour about, and complained thereof to the lord mayor.

Others of the faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were and must be useful to assuage the violence of the distemper: some were for fires, but they must be made of wood, not of coals, and of the particular sorts of wood, such as fir and cedar, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal, and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were for neither. Upon the whole, the lord mayor ordered no more fires; especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce, that they saw evidently that it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease upon any application to check or abate it: amazement arose in the magistrates from want of ability to apply any means successfully; they shewed no unwillingness to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of business; they spared neither their pains nor their persons: but nothing answered; the infection
 raged,

raged, and the people were frightened and terrified to the last degree of despair.

The best opinion seems to be, that what fires common occasions require, at such melancholy and critical times, are rather to be made of substances that abound with nitrous salt; such as our common coals: wood fires are suffocating, and give a languor and flatness to the spirits. Wood-land countries are subject to epidemical fevers.

Among preservative fumigations, tar, pitch, &c. are inferior to none, where the scent is not particularly offensive. They should be burnt at such distances of time that the air may be sensibly impregnated with them.

The making so many fires did consume an unusual quantity of coals: upon one or two stops of the ships coming up, (contrary winds, or interruption by the enemy) the coals were at four pounds a chaldron: upon the ships having a freer passage the price was very reasonable all the year.

The public fires which were made on these occasions must necessarily cost the city after the rate of two hundred chaldron of coals a-week; but, as it was thought necessary, no expence was spared: however, as some physicians disapproved of them, they were kept alight but three or four days. They were thus ordered, one at each of the following places: Custom-house; Billingsgate; Bridge-foot, near St. Magnus church; three Cranes;

Quin.
Hodg.
281.

Quin.
Hodg.
283.

Hist. Pl.

Queenhithe; Blackfriars; Bridewell-gate; corner of Leadenhall-street and Gracechurch-street; at the north and south gates of the Royal Exchange; at Guildhall; Blackwell-hall; at the lord mayor's door in St. Helen's; the west-end of St. Paul's; at the entrance into Bow-church.

The fatal success of the trials made at London, is more than sufficient to discourage any further attempts of this nature: for fires being ordered in all the streets for three days together, there died in one night following no less than four thousand; whereas in any single week, before or after, never twice that number were carried off. The same experiment was tried since at Marseilles in 1721, without any good effect.

Some little hopes were conceived by the next week's abatement to six thousand five hundred forty-four: those hopes were quite dashed again by the bill rising the next week to seven thousand one hundred sixty-five; and a dreadful bill it was! Of the hundred parishes in and about the city, there were but four which were not infected †; and in those, few people remained that were not

† The year bill mentions but one parish which was not, or had not been infected, St. John the Evangelist in Watling-street; but it reports, there were only one hundred twenty-six parishes infected out of one hundred and thirty: therefore we must suppose, three parishes were not infected at the time of the report, which before had been infected.

gone into the country, or dead. The distemper came to its height about the tenth of September, at which time (says Dr. Hodges) more than twelve thousand died of it in the space of a week; though two thirds of the citizens were removed out of the town.

One of the worst days in the whole time was in the beginning of September, when people began to think God was resolved to make a full end of the miserable city. The parish of Aldgate buried above one thousand a-week for two weeks; there was not one house in twenty uninfected: death reigned in every quarter. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition: whole families, whole streets, were swept away together. It was frequent for neighbours to call to the bell-man to go to such and such houses, and fetch out the bodies, for they were all dead.

When the disease came to its greatest height, there were very few physicians cared to visit in sick houses; many of the most eminent of the faculty, and surgeons also, were dead. Now was a dismal time! It was computed that there died not less than from fifteen to seventeen hundred a-day for a month together.

After the funerals became so many that people could not toll the bell, mourn, weep, or wear black for one another as before, nor so much as make coffins for those that died,

the distemper so increased that they shut up no houses at all: it seemed enough that all remedies of that kind had been used till they grew fruitless; and that the plague spread itself with irresistible fury: it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, abandoned to despair; whole streets desolate, not shut up only, but destitute of inhabitants: doors left open, windows shattering in empty houses, for want of some to shut them. People gave themselves up to their fears, and thought all regulations and methods vain, and nothing was expected but universal destruction.

The aspect of the city was frightful! the usual concourse was abated; the exchange was not shut, but no more frequented: shops shut; streets desolate; in the high streets necessity made some few stir abroad in the middle of the day, but in the mornings and evenings scarcely any to be seen; no, not even in Cornhill or Cheapside.

The month of September was the most dreadful of its kind that ever London saw; preceding visitations were nothing to it: almost forty thousand in five weeks! a prodigious number in itself, but those who knew the deficiency of the public accounts made no scruple to believe that there died above ten thousand a-week for those weeks, and one week more, and proportionably for several weeks before and after.

The confusion, especially in the city, was inexpressible : the terror at last was so great that even the courage of those appointed to bury the dead began to fail ; several of them died, though they had the distemper before and recovered : some of them dropped down as they were carrying the bodies, even at the pit-side, when they were just ready to throw them in. This confusion was greatest in the city, because they flattered themselves the bitterness of death was past. A cart going up Shoreditch, the driver died in the street, the horses going on overthrew the cart, and left the bodies dispersed in a dismal manner. Another cart was found in the great pit in Finsbury-field (the driver being dead), the horses running too near, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and the cart fell upon him, his whip being seen in the pit among the dead bodies.

The vigilance of the magistrates was now put to the utmost trial : whatever trouble or expence they were at, two things were never neglected ; provisions were always in full plenty, and the price not much raised : no dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered ; no funeral or sign of it was to be seen in the day-time, except at the beginning of September.

The price of bread, in particular, was not Bread, much raised : in the first week in March the
penny

penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and an half; in the height of the distemper it was never dearer than at nine ounces and an half. The like was scarcely ever heard of in any city under so dreadful a visitation.

Bakers.

Neither was there any want of bakers, or ovens kept open, to supply the people with bread. The bakers were taken under particular order, and the master and court of assistants of the bakers company were directed to see the orders of the lord mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the assize of bread (which was weekly appointed) duly observed: all bakers were obliged to keep their ovens constantly going, on pain of losing their freedom of the city.

Every thing was managed with so much care, and such excellent order observed in the whole city, and suburbs, that London may be a pattern and example to all the cities of the world, for the good government, and excellent order that was every where kept; even in the most violent infection, and when the people were in the utmost consternation and distress.

It was a merciful disposition of providence, that as the plague began at one end of the town, it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not go eastward till it had spent its fury in the west; and as it came on one way, it abated another.

As to the manner of people's affecting one another, it was not the sick only from whom the plague was immediately received; those every body was aware of: they were either in their beds, or in such a condition as could not be concealed: the contagion was mostly communicated by those who had it really upon them and in their blood, yet were not sensible of it: these breathed death in every place, and upon every one who came near them; their very cloaths retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they were warm and sweated, and they were generally apt to sweat.

Manner of
infecting.

It was impossible to know these people; they often dropt down in the streets, for they went about to the last; on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door, and die; they would struggle to get home to their own doors, which sometimes they accomplished, and died instantly: others went abroad till they had the very tokens upon them, and would continue apparently well whilst abroad, and die an hour or two after they came home.

It is impossible, therefore, in such a visitation, to prevent the spreading of the plague by the utmost human vigilance; because it was impossible to distinguish the infected from the sound; or that the infected should perfectly know themselves.

A man

A man who conversed freely all the time of the plague, had a wound in his leg, and whenever he came among any that were not found, and the infection began to affect him, his wound would smart, and look pale and white; as soon as he found it smart, he withdrew, or took an antidote or cordial which he always carried about him. When he found his wound smart (in company who thought themselves, and appeared to be, all found) he would presently rise up, and publicly say, Friends, there is somebody in the room that has the plague: which immediately broke up the company.

The physicians agreed that the danger spread insensibly: the sick could infect none but those who came within reach of them; but one man that has received infection, and knows it not, may give the plague to thousands, by going abroad as a sound person, and each of them to greater numbers; and neither the person giving or receiving the infection know any thing of it, nor perhaps feel the effects for several days after.

Many persons never perceived they were infected till they found, to their unspeakable astonishment, the tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours. The tokens were really gangreen spots, or mortified flesh, in small knobs as broad as a silver penny, hard as a piece of horn; when the disease came to the height, there

Tokens.

there was nothing could follow but certain death, and yet they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till the mortal marks were found upon them. But it must be allowed that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time; consequently their breath, their sweat, their very cloaths, were contagious for many days before.

A citizen who had lived safe and untouched till September, was mighty chearful, and bold in talking of his security, how cautious he had been, that he had never come near any sick body: says a neighbour to him, Do not be too confident; it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; we see men alive and well, to outward appearance, one hour, and dead the next. That's true, says he, I do not think myself secure; but hope I have not been in company with any person in whom there was danger.—No! says the neighbour, was you not at the tavern with Mr. — the night before last? Yes, I was, but there was nobody there we had any reason to think dangerous. His neighbour said no more, unwilling to surprize him: this made him more inquisitive; as the other appeared backward, he was more impatient, and in a kind of warmth said, Why, he is not dead! his neighbour was silent, but cast up his eyes, and said something to himself:

at which the citizen turned pale, and only said, Then I am a dead man too; went home immediately, sent for an apothecary to give something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill: opening his breast, the apothecary fetched a deep sigh, and only said, Look up to God! the man died in a few hours.

It was sad to reflect, that a person might be a walking destroyer for a week or fortnight; that he had ruined those he would have hazarded his life to save; and had been breathing death in the tender kisses and embraces of his children. If the blow is so insensibly struck, if the arrow flies thus unseen, and cannot be discovered, to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick, which can only take place upon those who appear to be infected?

Fathers and mothers have gone about and believed themselves well, till they were insensibly infected, and been the destruction of their whole families. A family were thus infected by the father, and the distemper began to appear upon some of them 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 on himself: he was prevented, but died in a few days.

Many people have been well to the best of their judgment and observation, only finding a decay of appetite, or slight sickness at stomach; some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, only a light pain in the head, have sent for physicians, and have been found, to their very great surprize, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague at an uncurable height.

Great were the confusions when people began to be convinced that the infection was received in this unexpected manner, from persons apparently well; and began to be exceedingly jealous of every one that came near them. All mouths were filled with one preparation or other, as physicians, or even old women, prescribed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others: vast numbers locked themselves up, not coming abroad at all, nor suffering any who had been in promiscuous company, to come near them, within reach of their breath, or of any smell from them: when they were obliged to converse with strangers, it was at a distance, with preservatives in their mouths and about their cloaths, to repel and keep out infection: those who used these cautions were less exposed; nor did the infection break into their houses so furiously as into others: and thousands of families were (under God) preserved by that means.

Dur-

Churches
and meet-
ings open.

During the whole time of the pestilence the churches and meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline the public worship, except only in those parishes where the violence of the distemper was more particular; and then no longer than it continued so:—On the contrary, nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to divine service, at a time when they were afraid to stir out of their houses upon any other occasion; to see the crouds and throngs of people which appeared at the churches, especially where the plague was not come to its height; or was abated; notwithstanding the great multitudes fled into the countries, and hid in forests and woods.

But after the assurance that the infection was carried on by persons apparently in good health, churches and meeting-houses were much thinner.—Entering a church, there was a mixture of smells; perfumes, aromatics, balsamics; variety of drugs, herbs, salts, spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation.

A family, being ten in number, were all seemingly well on Monday; that evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died next morning; when the other apprentice and two children were touched, one died the same evening, the other two on Wednesday morning; by Saturday noon, the master, mistress,

mistress, four children and four servants, were all gone, and the house left empty!

One lying on his sick-bed, and seeing the black-and-blue stripes of the plague on his flesh, which he received as tokens from heaven, most earnestly requested and conjured his friend (who came to exchange a last farewell) to bestow a coffin upon him; who instantly bespoke one, gave directions for making and framing it, and paid for it.— What slippery ground life goes on! Little did he think to sleep in that room he had taken for his friend; but he was called into the cold grave an hour before his infected friend; and took a long lease in the lodging which, in the strength of health, he went to prepare for another.

The plague had broken in much upon my acquaintance (says a reverend divine †); of about sixteen or more, whose faces I used to see every day at our house, in a little time I could find but four or five of them alive; scarce a day passed over my head for a month, or more, but I heard of the death of some one or more that I knew; the first day that they were smitten; the next some hopes of recovery; the third day that they were dead.—

Mr. Vincent gives the following account of the state of his own house:—We were

Mr. Vincent's
state of his
house.

† Mr. T. Vincent, some time minister of Maudlin's, Milkstreet.

eight in family, three men, three youths, an old woman and a maid, all which came to me, hearing of my stay in town; some to accompany me, others to help me. It was September before any of us were touched; but at last we were visited, and the plague came in dreadfully upon us: the cup was put into our hands to drink, after a neighbouring family had tasted it, with whom we had much sweet society in the time of sorrow. First the maid was smitten; it began with a shivering and trembling of the flesh, and quickly seized on her spirits; it was a day which I believe I shall never forget. I had been abroad to see a friend in the city whose husband was newly dead of the plague, and she herself visited with it; I came back to see another, whose wife was dead of the plague, and he under apprehensions that he should die in a few hours: I came home, and the maid was on her death-bed, and another crying out for help, being left alone in a sweating-fainting fit. It was Monday when the maid was smitten, Thursday she died, full of tokens: Friday one of the youths had a swelling in his groin, on the Lord's day he died, with the marks of the distemper upon him; on the same day another youth sickened, on Wednesday following he died: on Thursday his master fell sick of the distemper, and within a day or two was full of spots; but strangely,
beyond

beyond his own and others expectation, recovered.

Thus did the plague follow us, and come upon us one by one: as Job's messengers came one upon the heels of another, so the messengers of death came so close as if we must all immediately follow one after another into the pit: yet the Lord in mercy put a stop to it, and the rest were preserved.—

It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them in the extremity of the distemper! or what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day!—People in the rage of the distemper, or torment of their swellings (which was intolerable) running out of their own government, raving and distracted, oftentimes laying violent hands on themselves; mothers murdering their children; some dying of meer grief, as a passion; some of fright and surprize, without any infection at all; others frightened into idiotism and foolish distractions; some into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness.

Swel-
lings.

The pain of the swelling was, in particular, very violent and intolerable: the physicians and surgeons may be said (in some sense) to have tortured poor creatures even to death. The swelling in many grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plaisters and poultices to draw them; if they succeeded not, 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; those were burnt 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 look to them, destroyed themselves; some broke into the streets, frequently naked, ran directly to the river if not stopt, and plunged themselves into the water wherever they found it.

The cries and groans of those thus tormented were enough to pierce the very soul! yet, 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 break, and run, the patient generally recovered; whereas those who had the tokens come out upon them often went about indifferent easy till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropt down, as in apoplexies and epilepsies. This kind of dying was much the same as those in common mortifications, who die swooning, and going away as it were in a dream: such as died thus, had very little notice of their being infected, till the gangreen was spread over their whole body; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with
them,

them, till they opened their breasts or other parts of their bodies, and saw the tokens.

A man almost naked got into the street, where he ran dancing and singing, and making a thousand antic gestures, with five or six women and children after him, calling upon him for the Lord's sake to return, and intreating the help of others to bring him back, but in vain, none daring to lay hand on him or come near him: all the while the poor afflicted man was in the utmost agony of pain, having two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break, or suppurate; but by laying strong caustics on them the surgeons thought to break them; which caustics were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron: he continued roving about in that manner till he dropt down and died.

A rude fellow raving mad was singing in the street, the people said he was drunk, but he answered, he had the plague: meeting a gentlewoman he would kiss her; she gave him a push, which, he being weak, threw him backward; unhappily she being so near, he pulled her down also, and kissed her, telling her he had the plague; she screamed out, and fell in a fit; she recovered a little, though with child, but died in a few days.

If the sick had not been confined, multitudes, delirious and distracted in the height of the fever, would have been continually

running about the streets, as a great many did, offering all kinds of violence to those they met; just as a mad dog runs on and bites every thing he meets. They were obliged to be tied in their beds or chairs, to prevent doing mischief to themselves. It was never known how many in their delirium drowned themselves in the Thames, and in Hackney river.

The magistrates did their utmost to prevent the distempered from running about the streets: but it was generally in the night, and always sudden, when such attempts were made, therefore the officers could not be at hand to prevent it: when they escaped in the day, the officers cared not to meddle with them; as they were grievously infected when they came to that height, it was a most dangerous thing to touch them. They generally run on, not knowing what they did, till they dropt down dead; or till they had so exhausted their spirits that they fell down, and died in an hour, or less: they were sure to come to themselves intirely in that short space, and make most piercing cries and lamentations in the deep afflicting sense of their condition.

There was no walking in the streets, in the height of the distemper (notwithstanding the care of the magistrates) without beholding many dismal scenes arising from sudden
 acci-

accidents : persons falling dead in the streets ; terrible shrieks of women, who in their agonies would throw open their windows, and cry out in a dismal surprizing manner : it is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

A man at the corner of the Artillery-wall, who through the dizziness of his head with the disease, which seized upon him there, had dashed his head against the wall, stood hanging with his bloody face over the rails, and bleeding upon the ground, whence he was removed under a tree in Moorfields ; when he was spoken to, he made no answer, but rattled in the throat, and within half an hour, died in the place.

A citizen passing through Tokenhouse-yard, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over his head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried out, *Oh ! Death ! Death ! Death !* in a most inimitable tone, which struck him with horror, and chilled his very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open : people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could any one help another : so he passed on to Bell-alley, where was a cry more shocking than the former, a whole family in a terrible fright, women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted ; when from an

Vincent.

opposite garret-window one asked, What is the matter? and was answered, Oh! Lord! my old master has hanged himself, and is quite dead and cold.

Among other sad spectacles was a woman going alone, weeping, through a part of the city which was most infected, with a little coffin under her arm, carrying it to the church-yard: it was the mother of the child; all the family beside were dead, and she forced to coffin up and bury with her own hands this her last dead child.

It was piteous to hear the miserable lamentations of poor dying creatures calling out for ministers to comfort them and pray with them, to counsel and direct them; crying to God for pardon and mercy, confessing aloud their past offences. It would make the stoutest heart to bleed to hear how many warnings were then given by dying penitents to others, not to put off and delay their repentance to the day of distress; that such a day of calamity as this, was no day of repentance, no time to call upon God. I wish (says Mr. H. F.) I could repeat the very sound of those groans, and of those exclamations that I heard from some poor dying creatures, when in the height of their agonies and distress; and that I could make him that reads this, hear, as I imagine now I hear them, for the sound seems still in mine ears. If I could but tell this part in such moving ac-

cents

cents as should alarm the very soul of the reader, I should rejoice that I had recorded these things, however short and imperfect.

There was no walking in the fields without seeing a great number of poor wanderers at a distance; little of their cases could be known, it being a general method to walk away and avoid all persons, either in fields or streets.

To draw forth an account of the many poor wretches that in fields, in ditches, in common cages, and under stalls, being either thrust out of doors by cruel masters, or wanting all worldly succour but the common benefit of earth and air, have most miserably perished, the barbarous catalogue would shock the human soul!

A poor boy, a servant, being struck to the heart by sickness, was carried away by water, to be left any where; but landing being denied by armed men, who kept the shore, he was brought back again, and left in an out cellar, groaning and grovelling among faggots all night, and died miserably for want of succour.

A poor wretch at St. Mary Overy's being in a morning thrown into a grave, upon a heap of carcasses, was found in the afternoon gasping for life. By these barbarities many thousands were destroyed.

Strange things have been spoken and done Vincent.
when the disease was upon them: but it was
sad

fad to hear of one who being sick alone burnt himself in his bed.

As the desolation was greater, the amazement increased; and a thousand unaccountable things would they do in the violence of their fright, as others did in the agonies of the distemper; and this also was very affecting: some went roaring and crying, and wringing their hands, about the streets; others praying, lifting up their hands to heaven, and calling for mercy; others making the most frightful cryings and yellings every day, especially in the evenings. Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast, though not infected by the distemper, went about denouncing judgment against the city in a frightful manner; sometimes quite naked, with a pan of charcoal upon his head. A clergyman (whether distracted, or animated with pure zeal) went about every evening through the streets with his hands lifted up, repeating part of the litany continually, *Spare thy people, good Lord; spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood!*

Solomon
Eagle.

One thing was taken notice of as extraordinary, that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, cunning-men, conjurers, calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, were gone and vanished, not one of them to be found: a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; their

Astrolo-
gers.

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 calculate their own nativities: none of them ever appeared or were heard-of after the calamity.

One of the most deplorable cases in the calamity was that of women with child, whom, when their pains came on, could neither have help of one kind or another; neither midwife nor neighbouring women to come near them; most of the midwives, especially those who served the poor, were dead, all those of note were fled; so that a woman who could not pay an immoderate price could get no midwife; those who were to be had were generally unskilful, ignorant pretenders; the consequence of which was, that a most unusual and incredible number of women were reduced to the utmost distress. Some were delivered and spoiled by rashness and ignorance: children without number were murdered, by pretending to save the mother, when frequently both were lost. Where the mother had the distemper, nobody would come near them, and both most commonly perished: sometimes the mother died of the plague, and the infant half born, or born, but not parted from the mother; some died in the pangs of travail, not delivered at all. *The cries of the*

Women
with
child,

Mid-
wives.

Matth.
xxiv. 13.

miserable

miserable were heard afar off: there was great woe to those that were with child and to those that gave suck in those days.

The unusual number in the weekly bill (though far from exact) under the articles of childbed, abortive, and still-born, will evidence the distress:

In the year 1664, there were buried,

Abortive and still-born - 458.

Childbed - - - - - 189.

647.

In the year 1665, there were buried,

Abortive and still-born - 617.

Childbed - - - - - 625.

1242.

The inequality is exceedingly augmented when the disparity of the numbers of the people are considered.

Infants.

The miseries of those who gave suck was great likewise; there were more than usual starved at nurse, but this was nothing: the misery was where they were starved for want of a nurse, the mother dying, and all the family, and the infants found dead by them merely for want; many hundreds of poor helpless infants were supposed to perish in that manner: Not starved only, but poisoned by the mothers, who having received the infection, infected the infants with their milk, before they knew they were visited; the infant has in some cases died before the mother.

mother. Infants have been found sucking the breasts of mothers and nurses already dead of the plague.

A mother having a child not well, sent for an apothecary; when he came, she was suckling the child, to all appearance she was herself very well; but when the apothecary came near, he saw the tokens on her breast: not willing to frighten the woman too much, he took the child and laid it in the cradle, and opening its cloaths found the tokens on the child also; and both died before he could get home to prepare a preservative for the husband.

A child was brought home from a nurse who died of the plague; the tender mother would not refuse to take her child and lay it in her bosom, by which she was infected, and died, with the child in her arms dead also.

There were frequent instances of mothers tending and watching with their children, taking the infection from them, and dying, when the children have survived.

A tradesman's wife fell in labour with the plague upon her; he could obtain neither midwife nor nurse, and his two servants fled: he ran from house to house almost distracted, but could get no help; he was forced himself to do the office of a midwife, and brought the child dead into the world; about an hour after, his wife died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the watchman
in

398 THE LAST PLAGUE

in the morning brought a nurse: he was so overwhelmed with grief that he died in a few hours.

Moses-
and-Aa-
ron alley.

Many houses were left desolate, all the people being carried away dead: in Moses-and-Aaron-alley in Whitechapel, there were several houses together which had not one person left alive in them; and some that died last in several houses were left too long before they were fetched out to be buried; some of the bodies being so much corrupted and rotten, that it was with difficulty they were removed: as the carts could not go nearer than the alley-gate in the high-street, it was so much more difficult. The reason of which was not, as some have written, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality in that place was so great, that there was no one left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies in that place.

The work of removing dead bodies in carts was grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear the houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but sometimes the bodies lay several days unburied, till neighbouring families were offended with the stench, and infected: the church-wardens and constables were summoned to look after it; and even the justices were obliged to venture their lives to quicken and encourage them;

them ; innumerable of the bearers died, infected by the bodies they removed.

The magistrates, as far as lay in their power and knowledge, kept due and commendable order for burying the dead : as fast as any died whom they had employed, they immediately supplied the place with others ; so that, notwithstanding the amazing numbers of people which died, and were sick, almost all together, yet were they generally cleared away, and carried off every night : so that it was never to be said of London, what fear had prognosticated, that the living were not able to bury the dead. But in the height of the plague, they were obliged to break through this excellent order of the magistrates, that no dead bodies should be seen in the streets, or burials in the day-time ; there was a necessity, in this extremity, to bear with its being otherwise for a little while ; the nights not being long enough to carry off the multitudes that died.

The poor, however, went on with their usual impetuosity of temper ; full of outcries when visited, madly careless, foolhardy, and obstinate, while they were well : they pushed into any kind of business, the most hazardous and liable to infection.— The number of poor wanting bread was so great that necessity forced to undertake and venture any thing. If admonished to be more cautious, they would answer, I must trust

trust to God for that ; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me : what must I do ? I can't 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. Burying the dead, attending the sick, watching infected houses were all very terrible ! Necessity was a very warrantable plea.

The courage and willingness of the poor to go through such dangerous and hazardous employments was a remarkable piece of providence, otherwise the dead must have lain above ground, and the sick have wanted nurses.

The adventurous conduct of the poor brought the plague among them in a most furious manner, which, joined to their distressful circumstances when taken, was the reason they died by heaps : when they were taken sick, their maintenance being but from hand to mouth, they were in the utmost distress, as well for want of food as want of health.—But the God who gave the poor courage to undertake and execute dangerous works at the hazard and expence of their lives, moved the hearts of the rich and pious to supply and relieve their daily wants and necessities when they were afflicted, with food, physic, and other necessary helps : not only incredible great sums were charitably sent to the lord mayor and aldermen for the assistance

assistance and support of the distempered poor, but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent persons about to enquire into the condition of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them. Some pious ladies were so transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of providence in their 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 surgeons, apothecaries, and nurses, to attend those who wanted them; giving their blessing in substantial relief as well as in hearty prayers.

His majesty having removed from Salis- Gazette
bury, arrived at Oxford Sept. 28.

Now the grave doth open its mouth with- Hist. Pl.
72, 74.
out measure! Multitudes! Multitudes! in the valley of the shadow of death, thronging into eternity; the church-yards are stuffed so full with dead corpses, that they are swelled in some places two or three feet higher than they were before, and new ground is broken up to bury the dead; especially when the dead-carts began to go about: a specimen of which gulphs, rather than pits, may be taken from the parish of Aldgate; at first they dug pits which might be sufficient to receive fifty or sixty bodies each;

Dead-carts.
Aldgate church-yard.

Pits or gulphs.

then larger holes, to bury all that the cart brought in a week, which in August came from two hundred to four hundred: but in September, they dug a terrible pit in the church-yard, forty feet in length, fifteen in breadth, and twenty in depth; they could dig no deeper for the water: they supposed this pit would have been sufficient for a month or two; and some blamed the church-wardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish; but it appeared that the church-wardens full well knew the deplorable state of the parish, for in two weeks they buried in that pit one thousand one hundred and fourteen bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface*.

New burying-grounds.

The distemper sweeping away such multitudes, many, if not all, the out-parishes were obliged to make new burying-grounds, beside that in Bunhill-fields, some of which remain in use to this day; others were converted to various purposes, and built upon, the dead bodies disturbed, abused, dug up before the flesh was perished from the bones, and removed like dung and rubbish to other places.

In a piece of ground beyond Goswell-street, near Mount-mill, being remains of the

* The order of the magistrates confined them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface.

old lines, and fortifications of the city, abundance were promiscuously buried from Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and the city. This ground was afterward a phyfic-garden, and has since been built upon.

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

At the end of Holywell-lane in Shore-ditch was a burying-place: which was afterwards made a yard for keeping hogs, and for other ordinary uses.

The upper end of Hand-alley in Bishopsgate-street was then an open field, and taken in for Bishopsgate parish, though many carts from the city brought their dead there, particularly from Alhallows on the Wall. About two or three years after the plague, Sir Robert Clayton came possessed of the ground, and it was built upon: the bodies, on opening the ground for foundations, were dug up, some remaining so plain that women's skulls were distinguished by their long hair; of others the flesh was not quite perished: the bones and bodies, as they came to them were removed to a deep pit in another part of the ground; where lie the bones and remains

of near two thousand bodies carried thither in dead-carts in that dreadful year.

A piece of ground in Moorfields, going into Old-Bedlam, was much enlarged.

Stepney parish †, extending from the east to the north part of London, to the very edge of Shoreditch church-yard, had a piece of ground to bury their dead, close to the said church-yard, and which has since been taken in to enlarge it: they had two other burying-places in Spital-fields; one where a tabernacle was afterward built, and another in Petticoat-lane. There were five other grounds made use of for Stepney parish, one where Shadwell, and another where Wapping church now stands.

The quakers had a burying ground set apart for their use, which they continue to make use of, and a particular cart to carry the dead from their houses. The remarkable Solomon Eagle, who predicted the plague as a judgment, and run naked through the streets, telling the people it was come upon them for their sins, had his own wife dead the next day of the plague, and she was carried one of the first in the quakers dead-cart to their new burying-ground.

† Since the act of parliament for building fifty new churches, the parishes of Spital-fields, Bethnal-green, Limehouse, St. George in the East, have been taken out of that of Stepney.

There

There were strict orders to prevent people coming to those pits for fear of infection; but after some time that order was more necessary, for infected persons near their end, and delirious, would run to those pits, wrapt up in blankets or rags, throw themselves in, as they said, to bury themselves. In a great pit in Finsbury-fields, not then walled in, the officers, who came to bury others, have found bodies dead, though not cold.

Hist. Pl.
73.
Distracted
persons
bury
them-
selves
alive.

The buriers going to the great pit in Aldgate church-yard, saw a man go to-and-fro, muffled in a cloak, making motions with his hands as if he was in great agony; they gathered about him, supposing him to be one of those poor, delirious, desperate creatures, that used to bury themselves: he said nothing, but groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as if his heart would break.

When the buriers came to him, they found he was neither infected, desperate, or distempered in mind, but oppressed with a dreadful load of grief, having his wife and several children in the cart, which he had followed in an agony and excess of sorrow: he mourned heartily, but with a masculine grief that could not vent itself in tears; and calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, as he would only see the bodies thrown in and go away, they left importuning him: no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, (which was a surprize

to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though, indeed, he was afterwards convinced it was impracticable) but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself, went two or three steps backward and fell into a swoon: the buriers ran to him, took him up, and in a little while he came to himself; they led him to a tavern where he was known and taken care of. He looked into the pit as he went away, but they had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that though there was light enough placed round the pit all night, nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful and affecting scene, but the pit and cart were awful and terrifying: the cart had in it about sixteen or seventeen bodies, some 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: they were all huddled together into the common grave of mankind: here was no difference, rich and poor went together, there was no other way of burial, nor was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in this calamity.

There was a dreadful set of fellows used the tavern the unfortunate gentleman was led to, who, in the midst of all this horror

met

met every night, behaving with all revelling and roaring extravagancies as at other times, to an offensive degree: they sat generally in a room next the street, always kept late hours, and when they heard the bell with the dead-carts, would frequently open the windows to look at them, and make impudent mocks and jeers of the sad lamentations of those in the streets.

These sparks being somewhat disturbed with the bringing the poor gentleman into the house, were first angry with the master of the tavern for suffering such a fellow to be brought out of the grave into their house; but being told he was found, and a neighbour overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, they turned their anger into ridicule on the man, for his sorrow for the loss of his wife and children; taunting him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to heaven along with them: adding other profane and blasphemous expressions.

A person reproving them for the indecency of their behaviour at such an awful time, they fell upon him with ill language and oaths; asking him, what he did out of his grave at a time when so many honest men were carried into the church-yard? and, why he was not at prayers against the dead-cart came for him? The indecency of behaviour in these gentlemen was the more remarkable,

because even the worst and most ordinary people in the streets, the most wicked wretches that could be found, had at that time some terror upon their minds.

Hist. Pl.
20.

Three or four days after one of these gentlemen was struck with the plague, and died in a deplorable manner; and they were every one carried into the abovementioned great pit before it was filled up, which was within a fortnight.

John
Hayward
and his
wife.

John Hayward went with the dead-cart to fetch dead bodies in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; the parish is very large, and remarkable for a great number of very long alleys and thoroughfares where no carts could come, and they were obliged to fetch the bodies from their houses and chambers a very long way; they went with a kind of hand-barrow, and laying the dead bodies on it, carried them to the carts: this work he performed, and never had the distemper, but lived sexton of that parish for twenty years after. He never used any preservative other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoaking tobacco. His wife at the same time was a nurse to infected persons, and tended many that died in the parish; being recommended for her honesty by the parish officers; she never was infected, and used no other remedy than washing her head-cloaths in vinegar, so as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any she waited on

Vinegar.

was

was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose, sprinkled vinegar upon her head-cloaths, and held a handkerchief dipped in vinegar to her mouth.

In all this dreadful visitation there were ^{Pest-} but two pest-houses made use of, one beyond ^{houses.} Old-street, and the other at Westminster: there was no need of compulsion in carrying people thither; there were thousands of poor distressed people, who having no help, conveniencies, or supplies, but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither and taken care of: (which was the only thing wanting in the whole management of the city) seeing nobody was allowed to be brought to the pest-house, but for whom money or security was given. Very skilful physicians were appointed, so that a great number of patients were sent out again whole. The principal persons sent there were servants, who got the distemper by fetching necessaries for the families where they lived, and were removed to preserve the rest of the house. They were so well looked after, that in the whole visitation there were but one hundred fifty-six buried from the London pest-house, and one hundred fifty-nine from that at Westminster.

Great was the reproach thrown upon the church clergy, to whom some people were very abusive, writing verses and scandalous reflections for deserting their flocks in this sad
time

time of trouble; setting on church doors, *Here is a pulpit to lett*; sometimes, *To be sold*; which was worse.

Many ministers were driven from town, and several churches shut up, when people were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons; they crowded fast into the grave, and eternity, seeming to cry as they went for spiritual physicians.

It is certain a great many of the clergy who were in circumstances withdrew, and fled for their lives; but it is also true, that a great many staid, and many fell in the calamity, and in the discharge of their duty. It really required a steady courage and strong faith, for a man not only to venture to be in town at such a time, but venture coming 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: and sometimes there were sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, as long as any would come to hear them; and the dissenters did the like. All the church clergy that went away did not go without substituting curates and others in their places, to do the offices necessary and needful, and to visit the sick as far as it was practicable.

The people shewed an extraordinary zeal for religious exercises; and as the church doors were always open, would go in at all times, whether the ministers were officiating or not, and locking themselves into separate pews, would pray to God with great fervency and devotion. Others assembled at meeting-houses, as their different opinions guided.

It is also as true, some of the dissenting turned-out ministers staid, and their courage and zeal is to be commended and highly valued; but these were not abundance: it cannot be said they all staid, any more than it can be said of the church clergy that they all went away. The unlicensed ministers had their fears and dreads, their horrors and astonishments, as well as others; they were men, not angels: such of them as had fortunes and friends to support them in the country, were freed from censure, an act of parliament prohibiting them coming within five miles of any incorporated town after the twenty-fourth of March 1665: whereby, in point of character, beside their popularity, they had vastly the advantage of the established clergy. Though, to be sure, the non-conformists would have been reduced to a deplorable situation had not the charity of their friends increased in proportion to the severity of the government.

Smollet's
Hist. Eng.
viii. 35.

So that an allowance of charity might easily have been made on both sides.

Very satirical pamphlets were flung about the streets, "Pulpits to be lett," &c. whereupon some ministers of different persuasions, finding churches open and pulpits empty, charitably supplied the vacancies; judging, that the law of God and nature did dispense with, nay command them, to preach in public places, though the law of man did forbid them to do it: they preached with great freedom, reflecting on the vices of the court, and the severities which they themselves had been made to suffer.—Which gave offence, where there could be no hopes or intention of amendment and reformation.

Burnet
abridged,
116.

Echard.
Oldm.
i. 519.

The seasonable fervor of these gentlemen is said to have had good effects upon a wicked people.—But in the life of Mr. Baxter, p. 448. we have a different information, "After
" all the breaches on the churches, the
" ejection of the ministers, and impeniten-
" cies under all, wars, plagues, and dangers
" of famine, begun all at once; yet under all
" these desolations the wicked were hardened."

Oldm. i.
122.
See the
state of his
family,
ante.

The motives for, and manner of, preaching of these pious and zealous ministers may be guessed by consulting God's Terrible Voice in the City, written by Thomas Vincent, M. A. of Christ-church, Oxon: he was ejected from his living of St. Mary Magdalen in Old Fish-street; he continued preaching
and

and visiting the sick during the greatest violence of the plague.

By the earnest zeal and assiduous labour of these divines, sermons were preached, and the sick visited, to the great comfort of the sick and well, both in body and mind. Oldm.

Nothing contributed more to aggravate the common destruction than the practice of chymists and quacks, who were indefatigable in spreading antidotes; the most ignorant strangers to all learning and practice, thrust into every hand some trash under a pompous title: but all events contradicted their pretensions, and hardly a person escaped who trusted to their delusions †; their medicines were more fatal than the plague; but these blowers of the pestilential flames were caught themselves in the common calamity. Chymists,
and
quacks.
Hodges,
21.

A person of distinction being at France upon affairs of state, heard of an anti-pestilential remedy; the government here ordered the physicians to try it; but the mountain brought forth death: it was a mineral preparation, which threw the patients into their last sleep. Hodges,
22.

The physicians employed, used all solicitations with the magistrates to restrain such practices: but many common medicines were sold, which by their extraordinary heat and disposition to inflame the blood, could Hodges,
23.

† The number of physicians is the increasing of diseases. Wit's Commonwealth, 175.

never

never be fit for every age, sex, and condition; and therefore must in many cases do harm.

The contagion spread its cruelties into the neighbouring countries; the citizens which crouded in multitudes into the adjacent towns, carried the infection along with them, where it raged with equal fury; so that the plague which at first crept from one street to another, now reigned over whole counties, leaving hardly a place free from its insults: the towns upon the Thames were more severely handled, not, perhaps, from a greater moisture in the air from thence, but from the tainted goods, rather, that were carried upon it. Some cities and towns of the most advantageous situation for wholesome air, did notwithstanding feel the common ruin.— Such was the progress of this cruel distemper which began at London!

Hodges,
58.

Many went into the country after intercourse with the infected, and kept well for a month or two, when the fury of the distemper compensated for its former delay.

Hist. Pl.
229.

Hundreds and thousands fled away, but many of them too late, who not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went, and infected them whom they went among for safety; and made that a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it. Men were apparently well many days after they had the teint of the disease in
their

their vitals, and their spirits so seized that they could never escape: such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as families they went among; and it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper.

At the beginning of the disease a Dutchman, to avoid it, went over to the Low Countries; soon after he arrived there, his little daughter died of the disease; he immediately returned to England, where he was no sooner arrived than the plague seized him and he died.

But though the infection at length expanded itself into many cities and towns in the country, yet (after an equal mortality) it expired in the following year.

The plague now increased exceedingly, and fears were among the people, that there would be none left alive; that London would now be quite depopulated.

The parliament met on the ninth of October, not at Westminster as usual, but at Oxford, where the university schools were fitted up for the conveniency of both houses; when the king in his speech says, The contagion had spread itself over many parts of the kingdom.

Though the whole city was abandoned by almost all the rich, who left the poor to die by thousands in a week; yet there were many noble instances of true courage, piety, and charity, who ventured all for the service of

Echard.

the poor and miserable. The king himself manifested a paternal regard to his subjects; and though he retired to Hampton-court, then to Salisbury, and afterward to Oxford, he left the city to the affectionate care of the brave duke of Albemarle, who at the height of the contagion continued at Whitehall, and gave orders and relief to the distressed with such an unshaken courage, as if he had been born to triumph over diseases and death. Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, continued at Lambeth all the time of the greatest danger, and with his diffusive charity preserved great numbers alive, that would have perished in their necessities; and, by his affecting letters to the bishops, procured great sums to be returned from all parts of his province. Nor ought the behaviour of William Earl Craven to be forgotten, who freely chose to venture his life upon a thousand occasions, in the midst of the infected; providing nurses and physicians for the sick; and, out of his own purse, expending vast sums to supply the necessities of many that were ready to perish: an honour beyond all his gallant and noble exploits performed in Germany and elsewhere.

We ought not to pass by the beneficent assistances of the rich (much more necessary and useful than their presence), nor the care of the magistrates: the markets were kept open as usual, and a greater plenty of all

pro-

Duke of
Albe-
marle.

Dr. Shel-
don, arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

Earl Cra-
ven.

Charity.
Hodges.

provisions was a great help to all the sick ; so that there was the reverse of a famine, which hath been observed to be so fatal to pestilential contagions : the goodness of heaven alleviated the common misery by a profusion of good things.

The absent citizens, though fled for safety, yet were greatly interested in the welfare of those whom they had left behind, and forgot not to contribute liberally to the relief of the poor ; large sums were collected among the trading towns in the remotest parts of England : the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom, took the deplorable condition of the city into their consideration, and sent up large sums of money to the lord mayor and magistrates.

Certain it is, the greatest part of the poor, or families who usually lived by their labour, or by retail trade, lived now on charity ; and had there not been prodigious sums given for their support, the city could never have subsisted.

Doubtless there were accounts kept of these charities, and the just distribution thereof by the magistrates ; but multitudes of those officers died by whose hands it was distributed, and also most of the accounts were lost in the great fire, which burnt the chamberlain's office, and many of the papers therein : had the accounts been preserved, the charities might, probably, have appeared almost as extraordinary as the visitation.

A person affirmed, that he could reckon up above an hundred thousand pounds a-week which was distributed by the lord mayor and aldermen, by particular direction of courts, by justices in the parts where they resided, and by church-wardens at their respective parish vestries; over and above the private charities distributed by pious hands: this continued many weeks together.

It is an amazing great sum! but it was said the king himself ordered one thousand pounds a-week; and in the parish of Cripplegate alone, seventeen thousand eight hundred pounds were distributed to the poor in one week: these add to the probability of the immense and amazing sums mentioned.

Cripple-
gate pa-
rish.

Hist. Pl.
282.

The contagion despised all medicines; death raged in every corner; had it gone on as it did, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of every inhabitant: men began every where to despair, every heart failed for fear; people were desperate through anguish of soul, and the terrors of death sat in every face and countenance:

In that very moment, when every one began to say, with great truth and justice, Vain is the help of man! in that instant God was pleased to cause the fury of it to abate, of itself; and the malignity declining, though prodigious numbers were sick, yet fewer died: the very first week the bill decreased one thousand eight hundred thirty-four!

It

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in every countenance the morning the weekly bill came out; a secret surprize and smile of joy sat on every face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go the same side of the way with each other before: where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows, and call from one house to another, ask how they did, and if they had heard the good news, that the plague was abated: when they heard the bill was decreased almost two thousand, they would cry out, God be praised, and weep aloud for joy: it was like life from the grave; and they did almost as many extravagant things in the excess of joy, as before from grief.

Every one was much dejected just before this happened: the prodigious numbers that were taken sick the week or two before, beside those who died, was such, and the lamentations were so great every where, that a man must have acted against his reason, if he had expected to escape; there was hardly a house in any neighbourhood but what was infected; it is incredible what havock the last three weeks had made; there were hardly less than thirty thousand dead, and a hundred thousand sick in that time; the number that sickened was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before, sunk under it now.

Hist. Pl.
283.

In the midst of the distress, when the condition of London was so truly calamitous, then was the enemy disarmed, the poison was taken out of the sting: it was wonderful! the physicians were surprised; wherever they visited, their patients were better; either they had sweated kindly, the tumours were broken, the carbuncles gone down, the inflammations round them changed colour, the fever gone, the violent head-ach assuaged, or some good symptom appeared: so that in few days every body was recovering; whole families that were down with the infection, who had ministers praying with them, expecting death every hour, were revived, and none died out of them: nor was this by any new medicine found out, or new method of cure discovered, or any experiment in operation which physicians and surgeons attained to: those who had the least share of religion in them were obliged to acknowledge, that it was all supernatural, extraordinary, and not to be accounted for.

Hist. Pl.
285.

There were abundance of people who to all appearance were very thankful: for the mouths were stopped even of those whose hearts were not extraordinarily long affected with it: but the impression was too strong, at that time, to be resisted by the worst of people.

When the Lord was pleased to turn again from his fierce wrath; then were we like
unto

unto them that dream ; our mouth was filled Hist. Pl.
 with laughter, and our tongues with joy. ^{285.}
 Then said the nations round about, The Lord
 hath done great things for them : yea, the
 Lord hath done great things for us already,
 whereof we rejoice. Thou, Lord, who
 caused us to sow in tears, hast caused us to
 reap in joy.

It was a common thing to meet people in
 the streets, that were strangers, expressing their
 surprize. Many people passing and repassing
 by Aldgate, a man coming out of the Minories,
 looking up the street and down the street,
 threw his hands abroad, Lord, what an
 alteration is this ! why, last week I came
 along here, and hardly any body was to be
 seen : Another adds to his words, 'Tis all
 wonderful, 'tis all a dream : Blessed be God,
 says a third, and let us give thanks to him,
 for it is all his doing ; human help and hu-
 man skill was at an end.—Such salutations
 were frequent in the streets every day ; and
 in spite of loose behaviour, the very common
 people went along the streets giving God
 thanks for their deliverance.

But the people cast off all apprehensions
 too fast, and were no more afraid to pass by a
 man with a white cap upon his head, or a
 cloth wrapt about his neck, or his leg limp-
 ing (occasioned by the sores in his groin) all
 which were frightful to the last degree the
 week before : now the streets were full of

them. These poor recovering creatures appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance, and many of them were truly thankful: but the generality of the people were too much like the Israelites when they had passed the Red Sea, they sang the Lord's praises, but they soon forgot his works:

Let us proceed no farther, lest it should be accounted censorious: but may we of the present generation be truly thankful and give unfeigned thanks (in our lives as well as with our lips) to the Supreme Disposer of all events, that he hath not delivered our lives over to the noisom pestilence.—

It was the last week in September the Lord began to remit and turn his hand: the plague being come to its crisis, its malignity abated: from seven thousand one hundred fifty-five which died of the plague in one week, there is a decrease to five thousand five hundred thirty-eight the next; the next there was a farther decrease to four thousand nine hundred twenty-nine; the next week four thousand three hundred twenty-seven; the next to two thousand six hundred sixty-five; the next to one thousand four hundred twenty-one; the next to one thousand thirty-one.

Though a vast multitude were every where infected, and as many every day fell sick, there did not many die: in the height of the disease it ordinarily killed in two or three days, and not above one in five recovered;

now

now it killed not under eight or ten days, and not above two in five miscarry. It was calculated by an eminent physician then in practice, that in September there were not fewer than sixty thousand people infected, of which near forty thousand recovered. The whole mass began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape: the decrease went on, yet it was plainly seen that there were abundance of people sick more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but the disease became milder.

Upon the first fright of the infection people shunned one another, and fled from each others houses and from the city unaccountably: upon the notion that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, nor so mortal, seeing abundance of the sick recover daily, they took to such a precipitate courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves and the infection, that they made not so much of the plague as of a common fever; they not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them that were running, and consequently infectious, but ate and drank with them, went into their houses, and into the chambers of the sick to visit them.

But the meer catching of the distemper was frightful, upon account of the terrible burning caustics which the surgeons laid on Hist. Pl.
201. to bring the swellings to break and run, with-

out which the danger of death was very great, even to the last; also the unsufferable torment of the swellings, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted, as before, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment, and those who fell into it, though they escaped with life, made bitter complaints of those that 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 end here; a great many that thus cast off their caution, suffered more deeply still; though many escaped, yet many died; it made the decrease of burials slower than it would have been: as this notion run like lightning, and people's heads were possessed with it as soon as the first great decrease of the bills was heard of, it was found that the two next bills did not decrease in proportion: people running easily into danger, giving up all former caution, care, and shyness; depending that the sickness would not reach them, or, if it should, they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour with all their might, spreading printed directions over city and suburbs, advising the inhabitants to continue reserved, and use the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper; terrifying them with the danger
of

of bringing a relapse which might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation had been ; with many arguments and reasons to prove and explain their assertion. All was to no purpose, folks were so possessed with the first joy, and surprized with the satisfaction of a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and not to be persuaded ; it was no more to purpose talking to them than to the east-wind : they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with any body that came in their way to converse with, with business or without ; neither enquiring of their health, or being apprehensive of any danger, even from those they knew were unsound.

This imprudent rash conduct cost many their lives, who with great care and caution had shut themselves up retired from all mankind.

The folly and danger of this behaviour was exposed by the ministers, which a little checked it ; but it had another effect they could not check : the first rumour had spread itself not only over the city, but into the country ; people were 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 shew themselves in the streets as if all the danger was over.—It was surprizing, for though there died from a
thousand

thousand to eighteen hundred a-week, people flocked to town as if there had been no danger: the consequence of which was, that the first week in November there died one thousand four hundred fourteen; which was an increase of four hundred: and physicians reported, that above three thousand fell sick that week, mostly new comers.

A barber in St. Martin's le Grand was a remarkable example of the hasty return of people when the plague abated: he had left the town, with his whole family, locked up his house, and went into the country: finding the plague so much decreased that there died but nine hundred and five in a week of all diseases, he ventured home again: he had ten persons in family, himself, wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid: he had not been returned above a week, and began to open shop and carry on trade, but the distemper broke out in his family, and in five days they all died, except the maid.

Hodges,
27.

In the beginning of November people grew more healthy: it is to be wondered at, that as at the rise of the contagion all other diseases went into that, at its declension that degenerated into others, as inflammations, head-achs, quinsseys, dysenteries, small-pox, measles, fevers, and hectics. A dawn of health appeared, as sudden and unexpected as the cessation of the following conflagration; wherein, after blowing up houses, and using
all

all means for its extinction, to little purpose, the flames stopped as it were of themselves. Such a different face was put upon the public, that although funerals were frequent, yet many who had made haste in retiring, made most to return, and came into the city without fear. The dread upon the minds of the people wore off; the sick cheerfully used all means tried for their recovery; even nurses grew either more faithful, or more cautious.

When a raging plague of the most violent nature has, by degrees, spent its fury, it grows less destructive, and multitudes escape now more than before: when the plague is weakened, it throws itself out in boils and inflammatory tumours, which nature, assisted with the surgeons art, often ripens, and brings to suppuration; and this seasonable discharge frequently delivers the patient, and sets him out of danger.

Blackm.
small-
pox, 107,
108.

The second week in November there was a decrease in the bill of mortality to one thousand and fifty; and the week after to six hundred fifty-two; and the week after that to three hundred thirty-three, and so lessened more and more to the end of the year.

November 18, the several courts sat in the schools at Oxon, according to adjournment made at Westminster pursuant to proclamation.

Gazette.

The height of the disease being over, it declined by leisurely degrees, as it had gradually

Hodges.

dually made its advances: before the number of the infected decreased, the malignity began to relax, insomuch that few died, and those chiefly such as were ill managed.

Blackm.
small-
pox, 107.
Const: n.
tinople.
See lady
Mary W.
Monta-
gue's tra-
vels.

There are many intermediate degrees between the most malignant and the mildest or least dangerous kinds of the plague. At Constantinople the disease is not so virulent and destructive as it usually is in this country, and as it lately was in a neighbouring kingdom: in these parts it often cuts off in a summer vast numbers, more than it does in Turkey: those who have resided many years at Constantinople report, that the plague there is not attended with those tokens of putrefaction and malignancy, as carbuncles, tumours, blue spots, and blains, which are the symptoms that accompany the distemper here; and therefore, though it happens often in Turkey, yet it does not make such havoc and devastation among their people as among us.

Hodges,
26.

The pestilence did not stop for want of subjects to act upon (as then commonly rumoured) but from the nature of the disease; the decrease was like the increase, moderate: a pestilence that is fierce and deadly in its first attack, soon ceases: the times of its decrease are always in proportion to its increase: the poison does not act precariously, but in a regular and uniform manner.

Sometimes

Sometimes the sparks of the plague will lie, as it were, smothered in their ruins, and after a certain interval break out again into its first fury. Some have been led into an error, that the plague is co-æval with the world; and continually subsists in one place or other, as external circumstances favour its propagation or hindrance: but the increase of the pestilential semina after every interval of recess, plainly shews it to take fresh root. Upon the total extirpation, how can the same appear again?

There were some returns of the distemper in December, and the bills increased near an hundred; but it went off again, and in a short time things began to return to their old channel. The malignity was spent, the contagion was exhausted: winter came on apace, the air was clear and cold, with sharp frosts; which increasing, most of the sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return.

In December the nature of the disease was changed, and the air was condensed by cold, the resistor of putrefaction; the people grew healthy, and the inhabitants crowded back as thick as they had fled: the houses which before were full of the dead, were now again inhabited by the living; the shops which had been most part of the year shut up, were again opened, and the people again went cheerfully about their wonted affairs of trade and employ. What is almost beyond belief, those citizens who before were afraid even

Hodges,
27.

Ingram,
23.

of

430 THE LAST PLAGUE

of their friends and relations, would, even without fear, enter into the houses and rooms where infected persons had but a little before breathed their last: such comfort did inspire the languishing people, and such confidence, that many went into the beds where persons had died, before they were cold, or cleansed from the stench of the diseased: they had courage to marry again, and betake to the means of repairing the last mortality; women deemed barren, were said to prove prolific; so that though the contagion had carried off an hundred thousand, after a few months the loss was hardly discernable.

Oldm. i.
252.

The pestilence did not rage above six months; though some died of it before May and after November.

Wonderful it was to see how populous the city was on a sudden: a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, nor was there any failure of the inhabitants as to their dwellings; few or no empty houses were to be seen, and there was no want of tenants for those few.

Oldm. i.
522.

A man and his wife near Spital-fields were in so mean a condition that they could not procure help; the man was taken first, and so near death that his wife expected she must deliver up his corps at the next call,---Bring out your dead!---He mended before the hour came, and recovered. His wife being seized immediately after, he assisted her in the same

manner, till she was in the same danger, and had the same unexpected recovery. They grew wealthy as they grew in years, and gave this account to Mr. Oldmixon forty years afterwards.

Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places, were violently visited: it was impossible to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible they should be known: all the lord mayor could do, after many consultations, was to warn and caution not to entertain or converse with persons who were known to come from infected places. It would have been to the same purpose to have talked to the air: 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, like a man who has had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived the notion that the infection was all in the air, that there was no such thing as contagion from the sick to the sound: and so strongly did this opinion prevail, that they run all together promiscuously, sick and well; nothing could be more obstinate: those who came out of the country perfectly sound, made nothing of going into the houses, chambers, nay beds, with those who had the distemper upon them: but some paid for their boldness with their lives.

An

An infinite number fell sick, and the physicians had more work than ever; with this difference, that their patients generally recovered: but there were more persons infected and fell sick when they did not bury more than a thousand or twelve hundred in a week, than when there died five or six thousand: so entirely negligent was every one in the great and dangerous case of health and infection; nor would any accept the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

People being, as it were, in general returned, it was very strange to find, that in enquiring after their friends, whole families were so entirely swept away that there was no remembrance of them left; nor any body to be found to possess or shew any title to what they left: in such cases, what was found was generally imbezzled and purloined.

It was said such abandoned goods coming to the king as universal heir, his majesty gave them as deodands to the lord mayor and aldermen to the use of the numerous poor. It is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief and objects of distress were very many more in the time of violence of the plague, than when all was over; yet the distress of the poor was more now 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

whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of the poor was very great indeed.

There were several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the plague, which seemed almost contrived to fright and disorder people: sometimes they were told, the plague would return by such a time, and Solomon Eagle the quaker prophesied evil tidings every day; telling, that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and the sorer and severer strokes were yet behind. By these frequent clamours, the people were kept with some sort of apprehension always upon them; and if any died suddenly, or if the spotted fevers at any time increased, they were presently alarmed; for to the end of the year there were always between two and three hundred a-week died of the plague. Two people dropt down dead as they were buying meat in the market, presently was a rumour spread that the meat was all infected; which frightened the people, and spoiled the market for two or three days, though there was no truth in the suggestion; but nobody can account for the passion of fear when it seizes and possesses the mind. On any of these occasions folks were alarmed anew.

Solomon
Eagle.

But by the continuance of winter weather, by February health was restored to the city; they reckoned the distemper quite ceased, and were not then so easily frightened.

F f

During

Civil
officers.

During the time of the distemper, the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, lord mayor's officers, sheriff's officers, and the 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, that a great many of them died; indeed it was scarcely possible it should be otherwise. Six and forty constables and headboroughs died in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel.

Great was the reproach thrown upon those physicians who left their patients during the sickness: when they came to town nobody cared to employ them; they were called Deserters, and frequently bills were set upon their doors, Here is a doctor to be lett! Several of those physicians were obliged for a while to sit still and look about them, or remove their dwellings, and set up in new places among new acquaintance.

Quacks.

The college of physicians were daily publishing several preparations which they had considered of in the course of their practice: but a certain quack published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which whosoever kept about them, should

never

never be infected, or liable to infection: this man, who, we may reasonably suppose, did not go abroad without some of his infallible preservatives in his pocket, was taken by the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

It was often observed with wonder, that for two years after the plague, a quack or mountebank was scarcely seen or heard of about town. Some fancied they were all swept away in the infection; that abundance of them died was well known; and the rest probably fled into the countries to try practices upon those who were in apprehension of the infection.

There were several doctors published bills recommending preparations for cleansing the body after the plague; but the physicians giving it as their opinion that the plague itself was a sufficient purge; that those who recovered needed no physic; the running sores, tumours, &c. having sufficiently cleansed them; the quacks got little business.

There was a question among the learned which perplexed the people, viz. in what manner to purge houses and goods where the plague had been? and how to render those habitable which had been left empty: abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed, in which people put themselves to a great expence: the poor, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt

Cleansing
and airing
of houses.

brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things, in their rooms, did as well as the best: nay, the eager people, who came home in haste and at all hazards, found little or no convenience in their houses or goods, and did little or nothing to them.

Gazette.
Earl Cra-
ven.

By the care and diligence of Earl Craven, and the rest of the justices of Westminster, all bedding and other goods in infected houses, were well dried and aired; the rooms all new whited; and the church-yards all covered with earth two feet high.

In general, the prudent and cautious entered into measures for airing and sweetening their houses; burnt perfumes, incense, benjamin, rosin, 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 for several days and nights together; by which means some fires were occasioned, and several houses burnt down: a servant in Thames-street managed the gunpowder so as to blow up the roof of the house.

Those who were more than ordinary careful and cautious of their health, took particular directions for seasoning their houses; and abundance of costly things were consumed, which not only answered the particular purposes, but filled the air with very grateful and wholesome smells, which others had
had

had the benefit of, as well as those who were at expences for them.

The poor came to town very precipitately : the men of business came up, but many of them did not bring their families till the spring came on, and they saw reason to depend that the plague would not return : but the rich came more leisurely.

The court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas, but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon and had employments in the court and administration, did not come up so soon.

Notwithstanding the violence of the plague The fleet. in London and many other places, it never was on board the fleet, and yet there was a strong press in the river, and even in the streets, for seamen : a war with the Dutch was not very grateful to the people, the seamen went with reluctance, and many complained of being dragged away by force ; yet it proved a happy violence to many, who would probably have increased the general calamity, many of their families having fallen in the common and dreadful desolation.

Though the health of the city was very Foreign trade. much repaired, foreign trade did not begin to stir ; foreigners would not admit of our ships into their ports for a great while : our trade with the Dutch was wholly interrupted by the war ; Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, Hamburgh, all the ports in the Baltic,

were very shy, and would not restore trade with us for many months.

Vincent.
Bill of
mortality.

At the end of the year the bill of mortality reported ninety-seven thousand three hundred and six which died of all diseases, which was an increase of more than seventy-nine thousand over what it was the year before; and the number of them which died of the plague was reckoned to be sixty-eight thousand five hundred ninety-six this year: when there were but six, which the bill speaks of, who died of that disease the year before.

Hist. Pl.
7.

There was great knavery and collusion in the reports in the weekly bills of mortality; in St. Giles's, they buried forty, mostly of the plague, but were set down spotted fever, and other distempers; till people would be no more deceived; they searched the houses, and found the plague in them, and many died of it every where: all extenuations abated, it was no more to be concealed; it quickly appeared the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement. May 30, the burials of St. Giles's were fifty-three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague; but on strict examination by justices of peace, at the request of the lord mayor, there were found twenty more really dead of the plague in that parish, beside others concealed.

But these were trifling things to what immediately followed: the weather set in
hot,

ot, the infection spread in a dreadful manner; the bills rose high; fever, spotted fever, teeth, began to swell therein: for all that could conceal their distempers, did it, to prevent their neighbours shunning, and refusing to converse or deal with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, at the thoughts of which people were extremely terrified.

It was asserted, but the fact not granted, that there died none of the plague from Christmas to February 9, and from thence to April 22. The weekly bills are not evidence of credit enough to support or determine the question. It was a received opinion, 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 loth at first to have neighbours believe their houses were infected, by money, or other means, they procured the dead to be returned as dying of other distempers: this was afterwards practised in other places where the distemper came; as may easily be discovered by the vast increase of numbers placed under other articles during the time of infection. Great numbers of families obtained the favour to have their dead returned of other distempers, to prevent shutting up their houses.

This will account for the long interval between the dying of the first persons return-

ed dead of the plague, and the time when the distemper spread greatly and could not be concealed.

Hist. Pl.

115, 116,
117.

There is great reason to be assured that the weekly bills never gave a true 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 numbers the carts had carried. How could men be exact in such dreadful distress, when many of them were taken sick themselves, and died before their accounts were delivered in. Parish clerks, and other inferior officers, ventured all hazards, but they, poor men, were far from being exempt from the general calamity. In the parish of Stepney, it was said, they buried, within the year, one hundred sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants.

In Aldgate parish, the dead-cart was several times found standing at the church-yard gate, full of dead bodies, neither bellman, driver, or any one else with it. In these, and many like cases, they did not know what bodies were in the carts; sometimes the dead were let down with ropes from balconies and windows; sometimes the bearers brought them to the carts, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they
trouble

trouble themselves to keep any account of them: the bodies were thrown like dung into carts, and tumbled into pits without numbering.

It is more probable the dead were not numbered than that the bill of mortality should be any thing near exact, which makes only sixty-eight thousand five hundred ninety-six; to which must be added, Quakers, Jews*, and others who had separate burying-places, and therefore not mentioned in the weekly bills. Mr. Echard and several other English historians reckon by a round number of one hundred thousand; Mr. Vincent, p. 132, says, The plague destroyed one sixth part of the inhabitants. The last week in December, being after the yearly report, the bill returns one hundred fifty-two.

The work was not of a nature to allow them leisure to take an exact account of the dead, which were all huddled together in the dark into a pit, or trench, which no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. In the parishes of Aldgate, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, there were often five, six, seven and eight hundred in a week in the bills, whereas it was the opinion of those who lived on the spot all the time, that

* An inscription on the north-wall of the Jews burying-ground at Mile-end informs, that they first buried there in 1660.

there died sometimes two thousand a-week in those parishes.

It was the opinion of eye-witnesses that that there died an hundred thousand at least, of the plague only, beside other distempers, and beside those which died in the fields and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the weekly bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was generally known to 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 in the fields, woods, and other remote places, where they died. Nor was any account taken of those who died of the infection, on board vessels of all sorts in the river.

The inhabitants of the adjacent villages would, in pity, carry these refugees food, and set it at a distance, that they might fetch it if they were able, and sometimes they were not able; next time they went they would find the poor wretches dead, and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects was many, who went out of the world unknown. The country people would dig a hole at a distance, and with long poles with hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into those pits, and throw earth as far as they could cast it, to cover them;

them; taking care to stand on the windward side, that the scent might blow from them.

The receipt of his majesty's exchequer having been for some time held at Nonsuch in Surry, during the height of the contagion; his majesty ordered, by proclamation, Jan. 5, that the receipt should be removed from thence to Westminster, and be opened Jan. 20.

Exche-
quer re-
turns.
Gazette.

It was ordered by his majesty in council, Jan. 13, that the two last returns of the next term should be held at the castle of Windsor; for preventing the too early resort of people to London and Westminster; who coming fresh out of the country, and with their fears about them, might be obnoxious to infection.

January 27, the king removed from Oxford to Hampton-court; and finding the sickness still decreasing (only fifty dying of it the week before) his majesty, for the greater convenience of his affairs in this critical conjuncture, removed himself and his court to Whitehall on the first of February, to the infinite joy of the city; which they endeavoured to manifest by bells and bonfires, and other expressions of public joy; for the return of a blessing they had so long wished.

February 2, the lord mayor and sheriffs waited upon his majesty at Whitehall, with the compliments of the city, in an humble welcome to his happy return, after so long and melancholy absence; and were very gra-

graciously received. His majesty conferred the honour of knighthood upon alderman Robert Hanson, and alderman William Hooker, sheriffs.

Gazette,
No. 24.

Writs were issued under the great seal for re-adjourning the term the sixth from Windsor, to be held the ninth at Westminster.

Next spring appeared some remains of the contagion, which was easily conquered by the physicians, and ended in a healthy recovery: whereupon the malignity ceasing, the city returned to perfect health.

Most now began to sit down at rest in their houses, when the summer was come, and the plague did not return with any violence; they bring back all the goods they had carried into the country because of the sickness; little did they imagine they should be obliged to remove them again so soon from the fire.

It must not be forgotten to take some notice of the state of trade during this grievous and common calamity.

As to foreign trade; the trading nations of Europe were so terrified that no port of France, Holland, Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships, or correspond with us: indeed, we were engaged in a furious war with the Dutch, though in bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Our merchants, accordingly, were at a full stop, their ships could go no where, their
manu-

manufactures and merchandize of home growth, would not be touched abroad; they were as much afraid of our goods as of our people; and not without 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 touch as an infected man. When any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they took the goods on shore, they always opened and aired the bales in proper places; but from London they would not suffer them to come into port, upon any terms whatever: this strictness was especially used in Spain and Italy; in Turkey, and the islands belonging to the Venetians as well as the Turks, they were not so very rigid: in the first there was no objection at all; four ships which were in the river loading for Leghorn and Naples, being denied admittance at those places, went on to Turkey, and were freely admitted to unlade 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 orders to dispose of the goods; so that great loss and inconveniencies happened to the merchants. This was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required; and the merchants of Leghorn and Naples having notice,

notice, sent orders to bring back in other ships, the goods improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniencies in Spain and Portugal were still greater; they would by no means suffer our ships, especially 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: which is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was very great.

Hist. Pl.
247.

Though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, the plague keeping much at the Westminster end of the town, the merchandizing part of the city and water-side, were perfectly sound till the beginning of July, and the ships in the river till August, but it was the same thing abroad; the bad news was gone over the whole world, that the city of London was infected with the plague, and there was no enquiring there how the infection proceeded, or which part of the town it began, or had reached to.

Beside, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the bills grew so high on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to
lessen

lessen the report, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was, the account in the weekly bill was sufficient; and that there died two, three, or four thousand a-week, was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and put them on their guard.

The report lost nothing in carriage: the plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great; but the rumour was infinitely greater; and it must not be wondered, that our friends abroad were told, that at London there died twenty thousand a-week; that the dead bodies lay unburied in heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, or the found to look after the sick; that all the kingdom was likewise infected, it was an universal malady, such as was never before heard of in those parts of the world: and they could hardly believe us, when we gave an account how things really were; that 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 had fled returned, there was no miss of the usual throng of people in the streets, excepting that every family missed their relations and acquaintance: they could not believe these things. If enquiry were now made in Naples, or other cities on the coast of Italy, they

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they would tell, that there was a dreadful infection in London so many years ago, in which there died twenty thousand in a week; just as we have had it reported that there was a plague in Naples in 1656 in which there died twenty thousand people in a day; of which very good satisfaction has been had that it was false.

It was a long time after the plague was over, before our trade could recover itself in those parts of the world: and the Flemings and Dutch (especially the last) made very great advantages of it, having all the market to themselves, and even buying our manufactures in several parts of England where the plague was not, and carrying them to Holland and Flanders, and from thence transporting them to Spain and Italy, as of their own making.

But they were sometimes detected and punished, their goods and ships confiscated: and if our manufactures were infected, their clandestine trade was what none would suffer them to be concerned in.

Hist. Pl.
249.

Either by the people of London, or by their commerce, (which made their conversing with all sorts of people in every county and of every considerable town, necessary) the plague was spread all over the kingdom, in all the cities and great towns, especially the trading manufacturing towns and sea-ports; some parts of Ireland were infected, but not so universally as England.

While the plague was so violent at London, the out-ports enjoyed a very great trade, especially to the neighbouring countries, and our own plantations: Colchester, Yarmouth, and Hull, 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; Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, had the like advantages to Spain, the Canaries, Guinea, and the West-Indies, and particularly to Ireland: but as the plague spread itself, all or most of those cities and towns were infected, and then trade was under a general embargo, or at a full stop.

Many ships came in from abroad, some of Hist. Pl. 250. which were out in all parts of the world, a considerable while before, 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; except in August and September, when the weight of the infection lying below bridge, nobody durst appear in business for a while: this continuing but a few weeks, the homeward-bound ships, especially such whose cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an anchor short of the Poole, or fresh-water part of the river, even as low as the river Medway, where several run in, 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 to

come up, as the like had not been known for many years.

Hist. Pl.
251.

Two particular trades were carried on by water-carriage all the time of the infection, with little or no interruption, very much to the comfort and advantage of the poor distressed people; those were, the coasting trade for corn, and the Newcastle trade for coals.

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 still known by the name of Bear-key, where they supplied the city plentifully when land-carriage began to fail, and people began to be sick of coming from many places in the country.

This was much 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 when 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 into a pail of vinegar before it was carried.

It was with no little difficulty that the coal trade was kept open, particularly as we were at open war with the Dutch; who at first
took

took a great many of our collier-ships, which made the rest more cautious, and stay to come in fleets: but after some time, either they were afraid to take them, or the states forbid them, lest the plague should be among them.

For the security of those northern traders, the lord mayor ordered the coal-ships not to come up into the Poole above a certain number at a time, and ordered lighters and other vessels to go down and take out the coals, as low as Deptford and Greenwich, and some farther down. Others delivered great quantities of coal in particular places where the ships could come to the shore as Greenwich, Blackwall, and other places, in vast heaps, as if to be kept for sale; but these were fetched away after the ships 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, by which a great many seamen died; and what was worse, they carried it to Ipswich, Yarmouth, Newcastle, and other places of the coast: at Newcastle and Sunderland it carried off a great number of people.

At the first breaking out of the infection there was a great fright among the people, and consequently a great stop of our home trade, except in provisions and necessaries of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled, a great many always

sick, beside the multitudes which died, there could not be above one third of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It was a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, but not of grass or hay: bread was cheap, because of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass, butter and cheese were dear for the same reason: hay was sold in Whitechapel market for 4l. a load; this affected not the poor; there was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, and they were cheaper for the want of people; this made the poor eat them to excess, and brought on fluxes, surfeits and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

Foreign exportation being stopped, or very much interrupted and rendered difficult, a general stop of 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 stopt that English ships could not be admitted into their ports.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation which was felt severely all over the kingdom, except in some out-ports, and that was soon at an end, for they all had the plague in their turn: all intercourse of trade and manufactures, for home consumption, especially those which circulated through
the

the hands of Londoners, stopt at once with the trade of the city.

All handicrafts, tradesmen, and mechanics, in the city were out of employ, which occasioned the dismissing an incredible number of journey-men, and workmen of all sorts; nothing was done relating to trade but what was absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitudes whose living depended upon labour, to be reduced to great misery. It will redound to the honour of the city of London for as many ages as this shall be spoken of, that they were able and willing to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands who afterward fell sick, and distressed: it may safely be averred, that no one perished for want, of whom the magistrates had notice.

The stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country would have put the people there to much greater difficulty, but that the master-workmen, clothiers, and others, kept on, to the utmost of their stocks and strength, 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 present decay of trade: but as none but the rich could do this, and many of the masters were not able, the manufacturing trade suffered greatly, and the poor were pinched, all over England, by the calamity of London only.

The

The next year, however, made them full amends by another terrible calamity upon the city: so the city by one calamity impoverished and weakened the country, and by another, terrible too in its kind, enriched the country and made them amends again: for an infinite quantity of household stuff, wearing apparel, and other things, beside ware-houses filled with merchandize and manufactures, which came from all parts of England, being consumed in the fire the next year; it is almost beyond belief what a trade this made all over the kingdom, to supply the loss: 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 were also empty of our goods, by the stop occasioned by the plague, 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 the kingdom, for the time, as in the first seven years after the plague and the fire of London.

Mead
Pest.

Though the plague abated at *London*, in this and the following year it spread itself over a great part of *England*, getting into *Kent* as far as *Dover*; into *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, *Darbyshire*, and even to *Newcastle*.

Newcastle, Nov. 11, 1665, it had pleased God to put a stop to the sickness.

Sherborn, Nov. 18, they were in great hopes the town was freed from infection.

December 15, the plague was at *Calais* and all intercourse with the *English* interdicted.

The *Dutch* fleet in the *Texel* was miserably wasted with a pestilential distemper; above ninety died in the admiral ship. *De Ruyter* anchored in the road of *St. John*, near *Bologne*, where he was taken ill of a contagious distemper, which had made terrible havock among the seamen. Smollet, viii. 38.

Dover, Dec. 1. the sickness was much abated.

In 1666, *Bartholomew* fair at *London*, and *Stourbridge* fair, were put off for that year, by order of councils to prevent spreading the infection. Gazette.

The plague continuing very dangerous at *Cambridge*, *Peterborough*, and other places near *Ely*, the bishop thereof thought proper to prohibit the fairs of *St. Luke* and *St. Audrey* at *Ely* the tenth of *October* 1666.

The infection was much spread about *Battle* in *Suffex*, whereupon the fair of *November* 11, was not held that year.

The plague was at *Norwich*, *November* 7, and *December* 26.

At *Petworth* in *Surry* the fair of *November* 20, was not held.

Tuesday, Nov. 20, 1666, was observed at *London* and *Westminster* and bills of mortality,

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as a day of thanksgiving to God for assuaging the late contagion and pestilence.

December 1, the school at the college near *Winchester* was opened; the sickness being in appearance extinguished.

December 26, a proclamation passed prohibiting the fair of *St. Paul* at *Bristol*.

January, 27, 1666-7, notice was given that the scholars might return to *Oxford*.

In *April 1667*, the king commanded notice to be given that he should not touch for the evil till the heats were over: after which no farther notice is taken of the plague in the *London gazette*: but the *general yearly bill* mentions a scattered plague of a few in every year till 1680, (except 1670); since which time the Lord hath not sent the destroying angel into the land to consume the inhabitants thereof with the pestilence.

END of the PLAGUE.

