

AN  
APOLOGY  
FOR THE  
BUILDER:  
OR A  
DISCOURSE  
SHEWING THE  
**Cause and Effects**  
OF THE  
INCREASE  
OF  
**Building.**

Nicholas Barbon

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AN  
 APOLOGY  
 FOR THE  
 BUILDER.

**T**O write of Architecture and its several parts, of *Situation*, *Platforms* of Building, and the quality of *Materials*, with their *Dimensions* and *Ornaments*: To discourse of the several Orders of Columns, of the *Tuscan*, *Dorick*, *Ionick*, *Corinthian*, and *composit*, with the proper enrichments of their Capitals, *Freete* and *Cornish*, were to transcribe a Folio from *Vitruvius* and others; and but mispend the Readers and Writers time, since we live in an Age and Country, where all the Arts belonging to Architecture are so well known and practised: And yet at the same time and place to write an Apology for the Artift may seem a greater trifling. In a time when since the *Grecian* Greatness their Arts were

never better performed. In a place where Buildings are generally so well finish'd, that almost every House is a little Book of Architecture; and as the ancient Artists made *Athens* and the rest of their Cities famous by their Buildings, and still preserve the memory of the places by the ruins of their excellent Arts: so the Artists of this Age have already made the City of *London* the Metropolis of *Europe*, and if it be compared for the number of good Houses, for its many and large Piazzas, for its richness of Inhabitants, it must be allowed the largest, best built, and richest City in the world. But such is the misfortune of Greatness to be envied. The Citizens, nay the whole Nation is astonished at the flourishing condition of this Metropolis, to see every year a new Town added to the old one; and like men affrighted are troubled with misapprehensions, and easily imposed on by the false suggestions of those that envy her Grandeur, and are angry with the Builders for making her so great.

The Citizens are afraid that the Building of new Houses will lessen the Rent and Trade of the old ones, and fancy the Inhabitants will remove on a sudden like Rats that they say run away from old Houses before they tumble.

The Country Gentleman is troubled at the new Buildings for fear they should draw away their Inhabitants, and depopulate the Country, and they

they want Tenants for their Land. And both agree that the increase of Building is prejudicial to the Government, and use for Argument a *simile* from those that have the Rickets, fancying the City to be the Head of the Nation, and that it will grow too big for the Body.

This is the Charge that is laid on the Builders: Therefore the design of this Discourse is to answer these aspersions, to remove these fears and false conceptions, by confuting these Popular Errors, and shewing that the Builder ought to be encouraged in all Nations as the chief promoter of their Welfare.

This is done by shewing the Cause of the increase of Building, and the Effects; as they relate to the City, to the Country, and to the Government.

### Of the Cause.

**T**HE Cause of the Increase of Building is from the *natural increase of Mankind*, that there is more born than die. From the first blessing of the Creation, *Increase and multiply*, joined to the good Government of a Gracious King.

There are three things that man by nature is under a necessity to take care of, to provide food for himself, Clothes and a House. For the first, all the rest  
of

of Creation as well as man is under that necessity to take care of: For life cannot be maintained without food.

The *second* belongs only to man, and it is a question by some, whether it is required of him by nature, or custom, because in some Countries (and those cold) men go naked.

But as to the *last*, it is most certain, that Man is forced to build by nature, as all those Creatures are, whose young are born so weak (like the offspring of Mankind), that they require some time for strength after their birth, to follow their Parents, or feed themselves. Thus the Rabbit, the Fox and Lion make themselves Burrows, Kennels, and Dens to bring forth, and shelter their young, but the Mare, Cow, Sheep, &c. bring forth in the open field, because their young are able to follow them as soon as folded.

So that the natural cause of Building a House is to provide a shelter for their young; and if we examine man in his Natural condition without Arts, his Tenement differs little from the rest of Nature's Herd: The Fox's Kennel though not so large, being a lesser creature, may yet for its contrivance in its several apartments be compared with any of his Cottages: Earthen walls, and covering are the manner of both their Buildings, and the Furniture of both their Houses alike: Now as the  
Rabbits

Rabbits increase, new Burrows are made, and the Boundaries of the Warren are enlarged. So it is with Man, as he increaseth, new Houses are built, and his Town made bigger.

When Mankind is civilized, instructed with Arts, and under good Government, every man doth not dress his own meat, make his own Clothes, nor build his own House. He enjoys property of Land and Goods, which he or his Ancestors by their Arts and industry gained. These Possessions make the difference among men of rich and poor. The rich are fed, clothed, and housed by the labour of other men, but the poor by their own, and the Goods made by this labour are the rents of the rich mens Land (for to be well fed, well clothed, and well lodged, without labour either of body or mind, is the true definition of a rich man.)

Now as men differ in Estates, so they differ in their manner of living. The rich have variety of Dishes, several suits of Clothes, and larger Houses; and as their riches increase, so doth their wants, as Sir William Temple hath observed, men are better distinguished by what they want, than by what they enjoy. And the chief business of Trade is the making and selling all sorts of Commodities to supply their occasions. For there are more hands employed to provide things necessary to make up the several distinctions of men. Things that promote the

the ease, pleasure and pomp of life, than to supply the first natural necessities from hunger, cold, and a house only to shelter their young. Now the Trader takes care from time to time, to provide a sufficient quantity of all sorts of Goods for mans occasions, which he finds out by the Market: That is, By the quick selling of the Commodities, that are made ready to be sold. And as there are Butchers, Brewers and Cooks, Drapers, Mercers and Taylors, and a hundred more, that furnish him with food and clothes; so there are Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plasterers, and many more Traders, that build houses for him, and they make houses of the first, second, and third rate of building in proportion to the increase of the several degrees of men, which they find out by the Market, that is by letting of Houses already built: so that if it were thoroughly believed, that Mankind doth naturally increase; this miracle of the great increase of Houses would cease, it is therefore necessary to shew that man doth naturally increase.

This may be sufficiently proved by Sacred History, That the World was first peopled by the increase from *Adam* and *Eve*, and after the deluge re-peopled by *Noah* and his Sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. That the *Jews* began from the single stock of *Abraham* by *Isaac*, and so from *Jacob*; and when *Moses* numbred them, which was not long distance of

of time (being computed to be about Two hundred and sixty years from *Jacob*) they were above Six hundred thousand fighting men, reckoning only from Twenty years old and upward, besides Women and Children. And when numbered by *David*, which was about four hundred and fifty years after, they were grown a very great Nation, being Thirteen hundred thousand fighting men of *Judah* and *Israel*.

But the late Lord Chief Justice *Hales* in his Discourse on this subject was not contented to relye wholly on Arguments from Authority of Holy Writ, and therefore takes other Topics to confirm the relation of *Moses* concerning the beginning of the world, and the peopling of it by a natural increase.

I. From the novelty of History, That no Authentick History is older than four thousand years, and none so old as *Moses* of the Beginning of the World.

II. From the Chronological Account of Times. That the *Assyrian*, *Egyptian*, and *Grecian* Accounts are to be found out in what year of the World they began.

B

III. From

III. From the beginning of the ancient Kingdoms, That Rome was built by Romulus in the Seventh Olympiad, the Assyrian Monarchy began by Cyrus in 55 Olympiad, and the Grecian by Alexander in 111.

IV. From the first invention of Arts, That the times of the first invention of Husbandry and making of Wine are as well known, as the later Inventions of Gun-powder and Printing.

V. From the beginning of Religions, That the time of the Inauguration of the Heathen Deities are known; As when that Jupiter, Bacchus, Ceres and Æsculapius, and the rest of them were but men of great renown, and for their Good Deeds after their death worshipped; As well as when Moses, our Saviour, and Mahomet were born.

VI. From the Decays of Humane Nature; but how far that may be true, I leave to further inquiry.

VII. From the beginning of the Patres familias, or the first Planters of the Continents and Islands of the World; that Helen gave denomination to the Grecians, called Hellenista, Pelasgius,

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*sigus* to the *Pelasgi*, *Latinus* to the *Latins*, and the place called *Latium*, *Italus* to the *Italians*, and *Italy* is as much to be believed, as that the *English* gave name to *New England* in *America*, and the Names of the Towns there, *London* and *New York*.

VIII. *From the gradual increase of Mankind*; That considering the time of his first Procreation, which is agreed to be about 15 or 16 years, to the time he gives over, which is about sixty: It cannot be otherwise believed but that in the space of five and forty years he must produce a numerous off-spring: And it is no wonder amongst us; For a person to live to see some hundreds descended from his loyns.

Afterwards he comes to a particular Observation of the Increase of *England* by comparing the present State of it with the Survey set down in the *Doomsday-Book*, and makes an Instance in *Gloucester-Shire*, by which it appeareth, that the Inhabitants of that County since that time are greatly increased. And last of all he argueth the Increase of *London* from the *Bills of Mortality*.

These are the Arguments of the late Lord Chief Justice *Hales*, to prove that Mankind naturally increaseth, of which he discourseth at

large in his Book of the *Origination of Mankind*, and therein answereth all the Objections to the contrary. And because these two last Arguments from the Survey of the *Doomsday-Book*, and *Bills of Mortality* carry with them the greatest force, for they best discover the matter of Fact as to our own Nation. I have therefore made it my business to make a scrutiny into the truth of them: As to the *first*, it is easie to make it appear that there is thirty times more people in *England* than they were in *William the Conqueror's* time, when the Survey was taken. And as to the *latter*, I shall have occasion to discourse of at large hereafter.

And if it were necessary to use any further Arguments for the proof of this Matter, they would plainly appear by comparing ancient Histories with Modern in the Descriptions they give of the Countries. As to the *great Woods*, the many *little Governments*, and the manner of the Peoples living without Arts: But not to wander over many Countries, and among several Historians I will only take the short description that *Cesar* giveth of our own, to shew how it differs from what it now is.

He says, "That the inner part of *Britany* is inhabited by such as memory recordeth to be  
" born

“born in the Island : And the Maritime Coast by  
“such as came out of *Belgia*, either to make In-  
“ursions or Invasions, and after the War was  
“ended they continued in the Possessions they  
“had gained, and were called by the name of  
“the Cities from whence they came. It is true,  
he saith, “The Country is very populous and  
“well inhabited, with Houses like unto them in  
“*Gallia*. : But that must be understood as other  
Countries of *Europe* were then. It appears that  
in *England* there were many Governments  
and little Colonies of people, “for he reckons  
“four Kings in the County of *Kent*, besides some  
“little States. And he says, “Most of the Inland  
“people sow no Corn, but live on Milk and  
“Flesh, clothed with skins, and having their  
“faces painted with a blew color to the end they  
“might seem more terrible in fight. The *Britans*  
“Townes, he says, is a place ditched about to  
“make a shelter for themselves and Cattel.  
“And their manner of fighting was by making  
“sudden Excursions out of the Woods, and then  
“retiring into them for shelter. All which De-  
scriptions shew the Country was not so popu-  
lous as now.

For were there are great *Woods*, there is not  
room for Pasture or Corn, to feed Mankind :

Be-

Besides they are a shelter for beasts of prey, which man as he increaseth doth every where destroy, and suffers no Flesh-eaters to live but himself, except the Dog and Cat, which he maketh tame for his use. The Lion, Wolf, and the Bear are not to be found in a populous Country; and it is the first business of all the Planters in *America* to destroy the wild Beasts, and the Woods, to make room for themselves to plant in.

And the reason probably of those *Roman* Causeways, that we find in *England*, was to make Roads through great Woods to the several *Roman* Colonies; though at this time we find them in open Champaign Countries; for had the Country been so then, they would certainly have made them straiter than we now find them.

The many little Governments shew the infancy of a Country, for from single Family-government first began; those Governments were but so many families of great Men: Now the large Boundaries that so many little Governments take up in a Country, make one half of the Country useless: For men are afraid to plant or sow too near their enemies Country for fear they should lose their Harvest. Therefore the same Land cannot feed so many people as when it is under but one Government. Be-

Besides without Arts, a great number of People cannot live together; the earth by the arts of Husbandry produceth ten times more food than it can naturally. And neither can there be any great Cities, for the Inhabitants have nothing to exchange for their food, for it is the Arts of the City which are paid for the provisions of the Country.

To conclude, nothing is so plain from ancient History as that *Asia* was first peopled, and (according to the Description of *Moses*) began about *Babylon*: And as Mankind increased, and the Country filled with Inhabitants; Arts were invented, and they possess more ground, till they spread themselves into *Egypt*, and so over *Africa*, and from thence into *Greece*, over *Europe*, and now *Europe* being full, their swarm begins to fill *America*.

And all the ancient Descriptions of the Countries of *Europe*, in the times of the *Roman* Greatness, are just such as are now given of *America*, and differs vastly from what they are now, in the number of Cities, Towns, and Arts of Inhabitants.

For were *America* so well peopled as *Europe* is, those great Countries that are possess'd there by the *Spaniards*, *French*, *Dutch* and  
*English*

*English*, some of them bigger than their own Countries in *Europe*, could not be so quietly held, and injoyed by not a hundredth part of the people of their own Country.

And although the valor of the *Roman* Soldiers, and their affected Bravery (grown as it were a fashion, and a popular Emulation) conduced much to the greatness of the *Roman* Empire; yet nothing promoted its success so much, and gave it such large extent as the Infancy of *Europe* at that time, being thinly inhabited *with people, without Arts*, and full of little *Monarchies and States*. For had it not been so, *Cesar* could never have over-run *Gallia, Belgia, Britany*, and some part of *Germany*, and kept them in subjection with only ten Legions of Soldiers, which was but fifty thousand men; for we have seen within these late years much greater Armies in *Belgia* alone, (that is within the Seventeen Provinces, and amongst them men not inferior either in courage or skill in War, and yet have not wholly subdued one Province. And perhaps had these Forces at the same time been sent into *America*, they might have extended their conquest over as much ground and over as many people as *Cesar* did.

Nor

Nor was *England* so populous then as now it is; For had it been, *Cesar* would never at first have ventured to invade it with two Legions; and at the second time when he designed a full conquest brought over with him but five Legions, that is but five and twenty thousand men.

For although some may think from the great Armies we read of; neer two Millions of men under *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* in *Asia*; and of vast swarms of the *Goths* and *Vandals* in *Europe*, in their Invasions under King *Attila* and others, that the world was more populous than now, because we hear of no such numbers of late; yet if it be considered, it demonstrates only the manner of their fighting, and the infancy of the world; The want of people, and Arts, rather than that it was populous.

For the Gentiles Armies were made up after the manner of the *Jews*, by taking all that were able to bear Armes, reckoning from about 20 years old to sixty. For when *Cesar* had slain the Army of the *Nervi*, being about 50000 men, (a valiant people, one of the Seventeen Provinces); the old men and Women Petitioning for mercy, declared that there was not 500 men left in the whole Nation, that were able to bear Arms.

C

And

And if the King of *England* should reckon his Army after this manner; Of his eight Million of Subjects (as they are computed to be) there could not be less than three Millions that were able to bear Armes, which would be a greater Army than ever we read of; which must shew that the world was *thin of People*; since the *Assyrian* Empire the oldest, and therefore most populous did never raise so great a number.

And those great numbers shew that they *wanted Arts*; for we read that the *Athenians* a small but learned people baffled and destroyed all the great Army of *Xerxes*, reckoned by some to be Seventeen hundred thousand men; And *Alexander* with a small number of skilful and valiant *Greeks* subdued the then inhabited World.

And although the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and the Cold parts of the World made their Invasion for want of room to live in, yet that proceeded from the *want of Arts*.

For by *Arts* the Earth is made more fruitful, and by the invention of the *Compass* and *Printing*, the World is made more habitable and conversable: By the *first* the Countries Traffick and Exchange the Commodities they abound with, for those they want. The Timber, Pitch  
and

and Tarr of the cold Countries are Exchanged for the Wine, Brandy, and Spices of the hot. By the latter all Arts are easier discovered; By Traffick and Arts the Inhabitants of the cold Countries are better fed, better clothed, and better lodged; which make them indure the Extremities of their Climates better than formerly; and as they increase they build new Towns, inlarge their Cities, and improve their own Country; instead of invading and destroying their Neighbours.

But to return home: It is plain that the natural increase of Mankind is the cause of the increase of the City, and that there are no more Houses built every year in it, than are necessary for the growth of the Inhabitants: As will somewhat appear by the number of *Apprentices* made free, and *Marriages* every year in the City.

By the best computation that I can learn, there are no less than ten thousand Married every year in the City; which is no great number considering the number of Inhabitants: And if we should allow two Weddings in a Parish every week one with another, (there being a hundred and thirty Parishes in all) it will much exceed this proportion. Now in some Parishes there is seldom less than ten in a week. And in *Dukes-place*, and *St. Katharine's*, being priviledg'd

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ledg'd places, there is ordinarily twenty or thirty in a week.

As to the number of Apprentices that come every year out of their time, there are not less than Nine thousand; which will not be thought too great a number, if we reckon the Houses in the City, to be about Fourscore thousand: And if the fourth part of this number be allowed for the Gentry, or those which live without Trades or Professions; and the three other parts being Sixty thousand, for Trades or Professions; and one Aprentice to every House (though in some Houses are three or four Apprentices); and that in seven years the whole number come out of their time; then in every year a seventh part of Sixty thousand, (which is about Nine thousand a year) will come out of their time. - Now if Mr. *Grant's* Computation be right, that these Houses contain Eight persons, one with another, then there ought to be a thousand Houses at least built every year for these Nine thousand Apprentices that come out of their time, and the Ten thousand Weddings to have room to breed in. And this proportion is only sufficient to lodg them, and not for places to Trade in, for nine Traders cannot live in one House. Therefore some of their  
Masters,

Masters, or other Traders must either die, break, or being grown too rich give over their Trades to make room for some of them to have places to Trade in, besides those that are furnish'd with places by the new Houses.

But I find Mr. *Grant* much mistaken in his account about the number of Inhabitants in each House in the out-parts; Perhaps it was from the rebuilding of the City with Houses more capacious and more in number. For in this last five and twenty years: the Inhabitants are now a third part more, as appeareth by the Bills of Mortality; For in the year 1660 and 1661 there died between Thirteen and fourteen thousand a year, and now there dies betwixt Twenty one and twenty two thousand a year. So that there ought to have been built above Twenty six thousand Houses in these twenty five years, which is above a thousand Houses a year to lodg this increase, which are much more than have been built in the out parts, for it appears by Mr. *Morgan's* Map of the City that there have not been built in this time 8000 Houses, that is not 300 Houses one year with another.

But this is certain, that there are no more Houses built every year than are occasion for; because there are Tenants for the Houses, when built, and a continuance every year to build

build more. For the Builders will do, as other Traders, who, when the Market is overstocked with their Commodities, and no occasion for those already made, forbear to make any more, or bring them to Market, till a new occasion requireth them. And when they find they cannot lett those already built, they will desist from building, and need no Act of Parliament to hinder them. So that we may as well complain that there is too much Cloth and Stuff made, too much Corn sowed, too many Sheep or Oxen bred, as that there are too many Houses built; too many Taylors, Shoo-makers, Bakers and Brewers, as there are too many Builders.

*Of the Effects of the increase of Buildings, and first as it relateth to the City.*

**N**EW Buildings are advantageous to a City, for they raise the Rents of the old Houses. For the bigger a Town is, the more of value are the Houses in it. Houses of the same conveniency and goodness are of more value in *Bristol, Exeter and Northampton*, than in the little Villages adjoining. Houses

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Houses in the middle of a Town are of more value than those at the out-ends, and when a Town happens to be increased by addition of New Buildings to the end of a Town, the old Houses which were then at the end, become nearer to the middle of the Town, and so increase in value.

Houses are of more value in Chappside, and Cornhill, than they are in Shoreditch, White-Chapel, Old Street, or any of the Out-parts; and the Rents in some of these Out-parts have been within this few years considerably advanced by the addition of New Buildings that are beyond them. As for instance, the Rents of the Houses in Bishopsgate Street, the Monoxies, &c. are raised from fifteen or sixteen pounds Per Annum, to be now worth thirty, which was by the increase of Buildings in Spittle-Fields, Shadwell and Rattiff-Highway. And at the other end of the Town those Houses in the Strand and Charing-Cross are worth now fifty and threescore pounds Per Annum, which within this thirty years were not less for above twenty pounds Per Annum, which is by the great addition of Buildings since made in St. James's, Leicester-Fields, and other adjoining parts. But in those Out-parts where no New Buil-

Buildings have been added, as in Old-Street, Grub-Street, and all that side of the City which does not increase, Houses continue much of the same value, as they were twenty years ago: And the reason of this is, because Houses are of value, as they stand in a place of Trade, and by the addition of new Buildings the place becomes to be a greater Thorough-fare, by the passing and repassing of the Inhabitants to these new Buildings.

2. They are advantageous to the City, because they increase the Trade of it: The Trade of the City is either Wholesale, or Retail. Now the New Buildings of Bloomsbury, Leicester-Fields, St. James's, Spittle-Fields, &c. are like so many new Towns for the Wholesale-Trader to Traffick in. The Inhabitants of these places do eat, wear Clothes, and furnish their Houses, and whatsoever Commodities they use, come first from the Merchants, or Wholesale-Trader. For the City is the great Mart for Goods, from whence all other places must be furnished; so that the New Buildings are beneficial to the Wholesale Trade of the City. And it appears that they are likewise advantageous to the Retail-Traders, because they can afford to give more Rent for their old Houses, than they did formerly,

merly; for otherwise none would believe that the Tenants of *Bishopsgate-street*, and the *Minorities* could subsist and pay double the Rent for their Houses within this thirty years, had they not a better Trade in those places than formerly.

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*Of the Effects of New Buildings as they relate to the Country.*

**N**EW Buildings are advantageous to the Country: I. By taking off the Commodities of the Country,

The Materials of these Houses, as Stones, Bricks, Lime, Iron, Lead, Timber, &c. are all the Commodities of the Country. And whatsoever the Inhabitants of these New Houses have occasion for, either for food, Apparel, or Furniture for their Houses, are at first the growth of the Country; And the bigger the Town grows, the greater is the occasion and consumption of these Commodities, and so the greater profit to the Country.

II. New Buildings provide an habitation and livelihood for the Supernumerary and us

less Inhabitants of the Country. The younger Sons of the Gentry, the Children of the Yeomen and Peasants are by these means provided with Callings, Employments, and Habitations to exercise them in; which should they have continued in the Country, would have been burdensome, and chargeable to their Friends for want of Employments.

For there is always Inhabitants enough left in the Country for the employments of the Country. For if the Country wanted people, there would be a want of their Commodities, for want of hands to provide them.

Now there is as much Land Plowed, and all sorts of Grain sown, and reaped every year, as there is occasion for; and sometimes more: For the Crown in some years hath been at charge to Export it. And there is as much Wooll provided and made into Clothes and Stuffs, as the Market can take off, and so for all other Commodities of the Country.

Nay there are more of all the Country Commodities every year made than formerly: There are more Stuffs, more Clothes sent up to *Gerard's* and *Blackwell-Hall*, as appears by the Entries of those Halls; and more Sheep and Oxen sent to *London*, and eaten, than formerly.

ly. For there are more people in the City to be fed; so that there must be more hands in the Country to provide this greater quantity of Commodities: And the Country does increase as well as the City, as hath been already observed from the *Doomsday-Book*.

Therefore if the Rents of the Lands fall in the Country, it must not be ascrib'd to the *New-Buildings draining their Inhabitants*, but to some other occasions; Which probably may be from the great improvements that are made upon the Land in the Country, either by draining of Fens; improving of Land by *Zanfoin*; or other profitable Seeds; inclosing of grounds, or disparking and plowing of Parks, by which means the Markets are over stock'd and furnish'd at a cheaper rate than those Lands can afford, who have had no advantage from improvements: Or else the Market is removed at a greater distance, and the Lands are forced to abate in their price for the carriage; The Town perhaps is decayed, that they used to furnish, and the Trade removed to some other flourishing place at a greater distance; occasioned some times by the death or removal of some great Clothier or Trader; or some other natural obstruction of the place; as the choak-

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ing up of some Haven, and the forsaking of the Sea, which is the reason of the decay of the Cinque-Ports. These or some other occasions may make some particular mens Farms fall in value; but there is never a County in *England*, where the Land of the whole County doth not produce a third part more in value than it did within a 100 years, and whosoever will compare these present Rents, with what they were then, will find them generally increased. Therefore the New Buildings of this City cannot prejudice the Country, but are greatly advantageous to it.

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*Of the Effects of the New Buildings, as they relate to the Government.*

I. **N**EW Buildings are advantageous to the King and Government. They are instrumental to the preserving and increasing of the number of the Subjects; And numbers of Subjects is the strength of a Prince: for Houses are Hives for the People to breed and swarm in, without which they cannot increase; And unless they are provided for them from time to time in  
pro-

proportion to their increase, they would be forced to go into the Plantations and other Countries for habitations; and so many times become the Subjects of other Princes; but at the best the Country loseth the profit of feeding them; for they that live in a City are unskilful and unfit for Country-life; and this is the reason why so many Scotch Citizens are wandring Pedlers: and that every Town in *Europe* hath a Scotchman for an Inhabitant.

And that this will be the Effects will appear plainly by examining the growth of the City of *London*, since the Buildings have flourished, with its condition, when the Buildings were prohibited; And we cannot make a better discovery of it than by the Bills of Mortality, for it is reasonable among such a number of Mankind, such a number should die; and whether it be in such a proportion as one in three and thirty, as Mr. *Grant* and Sir *William Petit* have observed, is not so material to this purpose; but it is a certain demonstration, That if the Burials have increased, the number of Citizens hath increased, though the proportion may be uncertain.

Now to begin the Observation from the first Bills, that were printed, which was in the year 1606, for the space of six and seven and twenty years,

years, we shall find very little increase in the City, for in 1606 and 1607, there died between six and seven thousand a year; and in the years 1632 and 1633 there died betwixt eight and nine thousand; Now the reason of this was the People of *England* were a little before that time under the same mistake, as they are generally now, and cried out against the Builders, that the City would grow too big; and therefore in the 38 of *Queen Elizabeth* they made a Law to prohibit Buildings in the City of *London*; which though it was but a probationary Act, to continue only to the next Sessions of Parliament (which was but a short time) yet its effects were long; For it frightened the Builders, and obstructed the growth of the City; and none built for thirty years after, all *King James* his Reign, without his Majesties License; But for want of Houses the increase of the People went into other parts of the world; For within this space of time were those great Plantations of *New England, Virginia, Mariland, and Bermudas* began; and that this want of Houses was the occasion is plain; For they could not build in the Country, because of the Law against Cottages. For people may get children and so increase, that had not four Acres of ground to Build on.

But

But the People of *England* at last were convinced of this popular error, and petitioned in Parliament his Majesties K. *Charles* the Martyr, that he would take his restraint from the Builders; and if the next period of seven and twenty years be examined, wherein there was a greater liberty of Building, though in this space there was a great Rebellion and Civil Wars, which is a great allay to the growth of the People, yet there appeareth a much greater increase of the City of *London*; For in the years 1656 and 1657, the Burials were twelve and thirteen thousand,

But the flourishing condition of the City of *London* raised a new clamour against the Builders, and *Oliver* the Usurper glad of any pretence to raise a Tax, made use of this clamor, and laid it upon the new Foundations; but though it was an heavy and unjust Tax upon the Builders, yet he got little by it, for the whole Summ collected was but Twenty thousand Pounds clear of all charges, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer; however it had the same ill effects to stop the Builders, and growth of the City; for the People for want of Houses in that time began that great and flourishing Plantation of *Jamaica*.

Now:

Now if the last Period since his Majesties happy Restauration be examined, wherein the Builders have had the greatest liberty, it will appear that the Inhabitants of the City have increased more than in both of the former Periods; for the yearly Bills of Mortality are now betwixt two and three and twenty thousands, so that the City is since increased one third, and as much as in sixty years before.

This is sufficient to shew that a Nation cannot increase without the Metropolis be enlarged, and how dangerous a consequence it may be to obstruct its growth, and discourage the Builders. It is to banish the People, and confine the Nation to an Infant Estate, while the Neighbouring Nations grow to the full strength of Manhood, and thereby to render it an easie conquest to its enemies.

For the Metropolis is the heart of a Nation, through which the Trade and Commodities of it circulate, like the blood through the heart, which by its motion giveth life and growth to the rest of the Body; and if that declines, or be obstructed in its growth, the whole body falls into consumption: And it is the only symptome to know the health, and thriving of a Country by the enlarging of its Metropolis;

tropolis; for the chief City of every Nation in the world that flourisheth doth increase.

And if those Gentlemen that fancy the City to be the Head of the Nation, would but fancy it like the heart, they would never be afraid of its growing too big; For I never read of such a disease, that the Heart was too big for the Body. And if we are of *Machiavel's* opinion, this simile is the best, for he saith, that Citizens make no good Counsellors, for having raised their Fortunes by Parsimony and Industry, they are usually too severe in punishing of Vice, and too niggardly in rewarding of Vertue.

2. It is the interest of the Government, to encourage the Builders; not only because they preserve and increase the Subjects, but they provide an imploy for them, by which they are fed, and get their livelihood.

There are three great ways that the People in all Governments are imployed in: In providing *Food, Clothes, and Houses*. Now those ways are most serviceable to the Government, that imploy most of the People; Those that are imployed in feeding of them, are the fewest in number: for ten men may provide food enough for a thousand: but to cloth, and build Houses for them, requireth many hands: And there is

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that peculiar advantage that ought to be ascribed to the Builder, that he provideth the place of birth for all the other Arts, as well as for man. The Cloth cannot be made without houses to work it in. Now besides the vast numbers of People that are employed in digging and making the Materials, the Bricks, Stone, Iron, Lead, &c. all those Trades that belong to the furnishing of an house, have their sole dependencies on the Builders, as the Upholsterers, Chair-makers, &c.

But that which is the greatest advantage, they do not only provide a Livelihood to those that belong to the building, and furnishing of Houses, but for the Tenants of those New Houses: For the People being collected and living together in one Street, they serve and trade one with another: For Trade is nothing else but an exchange of one mans labour for another: as for instance, supposing an hundred men which lived at great distance before; some in *Cornwall*, others in *Yorkshire*, and so dispersed over all the Countries in *England*, live together in one Street; one is a Baker, the other a Brewer, a Shoemaker, Taylor, &c. and so in one Trade or other the whole hundred are employed; The Baker gets his living by making Bread for the other ninety,  
and

and so do all the rest of them; which while they were dispersed at distances, were useless, and could not serve one another, and were ready to starve for want of a Livelihood.

3. But they get not only a Livelihood, but grow rich; There ariseth an emulation among them to out-live and out-vye one another in Arts. This forceth them to be industrious, and by industry they grow rich.

4. The increasung of Buildings, and enlarging of Towns, preserveth the peace of a Nation, by rendring the People more easly governed. First it is the Builders interest of all forts of men to preserve peace; Every man that buildeth an House, gives Security to the Government for his good behaviour. For War is the Builders ruin. The Countryman may expect to enjoy his Land again, though for a time it be laid wast; the Merchant may hide his Goods, or remove them; but when the Town is besieged, the Houses are fired, the place made desolate, and nothing is left to the Builder but ruins, the sad remembrance of his condition.

Besides, all Cities are more inclined to Peace, than the Country; the Citizens Estates are in Trade, and in Goods; many of which grow useless in War, and lye in other Peoples hands,

hands, and their Debtors run away, and take Sanctuary under the Sword; And Citizens being usually rich, cannot endure the hardship of War. Next, great Cities are more easily Governed, because they are under the eye of the Prince, as generally the Metropolis is; or else under some Governour, who by his rewards from the Crown, is engaged to be very watchful in preserving the Peace; so that if they should grow factious, they are more easily corrected. Thus the *Ottoman* Power governs his Conquest by destroying Villages and lesser Towns, and driving the People into Capital Cities, which by the presence of some *Basha* are governed. Thus the King of *France* in his late Conquests in *Flanders* and *Alsatia*, burnt some hundreds of Villages; but *Luxembourg*, *Strasbourg*, and other great Towns are preserved. And the bigger the City, the more advantageous to the Government; for from thence they are on a sudden the better supplied with Men and Ammunition, to suppress any Rebellion, or oppose a Foreign Enemy.

Lastly,

Lastly, New Buildings increase his Majesties Revenues, not only by the Chimney-Money, which makes it a growing Revenue; but by the Customs paid for the Materials to build and furnish the Houses. Besides they being the cause of the increase of the City, all the increase of the Revenues from the Excise and Customs (since the Cities increase) must be ascribed to them: which are a fourth part more than they were five and twenty years ago. And the Excise is not only increased in the City, but it is so in the Country; which must not be ascribed solely to the good Management, but chiefly to the natural increase of the People. For if there be a third part more People in the City than there were five and twenty years ago, there must be a proportionable increase in the Country to provide Food and Clothes for them.

To conclude, It was upon these considerations, That by the building and enlarging of a City, the people are made great, rich, and easily governed: That those ancient and famous Governments, *Thebes, Athens, Sparta, Carthage* and *Rome*, began their Dominions, and enlarged them with their Cities; and of late the States of *Holland* have followed these Examples.

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The Citizens of *Amsterdam* have thrice flung down their Walls to inlarge it; so that from a little Fisher-Town within less than 200 years it is become the third or fourth City of *Europe*: and the rest of their Cities have followed their Pattern; and made Grafts and Streets at the charge of the Government; endeavouring to outvie one another by giving Priviledges to incourage the Builders and Inhabitants. And these States have found the effects of it; for by this means they have changed their Style from the Poor Distressed States, (as they wrote to *Queen Elizabeth*) to the High and Mighty States of the United Provinces.

And if the City of *London* hath made such a Progress within this five and twenty years, as to have grown one third bigger, and become already the Metropolis of *Europe*, notwithstanding the Popular Error the Nation have been infected with, and the ill censurés and discouragements the Builders have met with; had they been for this last hundred years encouraged by the Government, the City of *London* might probably have easily grown three times bigger than now it is.

And

And if we consider what the natural effects of so great a City must have been; To be furnished with such large Provisions for War suitable to its greatness; Such a vast number of Ships; being situate on an Island and Navigable River; filled with innumerable Inhabitants, of such natural courage as the *English* are; and to be so easily transported on a sudden with all things necessary for War, it would long before this time have been a Terror to all *Europe*; and now would have had the opportunity, under the Government of such a Martial Prince as now reigns, to be made the Metropolis of the World; to have caused *England's* Monarch to be acknowledged Lord of all the Navigable Cities and Sea-port-Towns in the World; to have made an Universal Monarchy over the Seas, an Empire no less glorious, and of much more profit, than of the Land; and of larger extent, than either *Cæsar's* or *Alexander's*.

FINIS.