A journal of the plague year, or, Memorials of the great pestilence in London, in 1665 / by Daniel De Foe.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE PLAGUE YEAR:

BEING

OBSERVATIONS OR MEMORIALS,

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE

OCCURRENCES,

AS WELL

PUBLIC AS PRIVATE,

WHICH HAPPENED IN

LONDON

DURING THE LAST

GREAT VISITATION

IN 1665.

WRITTEN BY A CITIZEN WHO CONTINUED ALL THE WHILE IN LONDON. NEVER MADE PUBLICK BEFORE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR E. NUTT, AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE; J. ROBERTS, IN WARWICK LANE; A. DODD, WITHOUT TEMPLE BAR; AND J. GRAVES, IN ST. JAMES'S STREET, 1722.











With regard to the other works mentioned above, the following extracts will probably convince every reader of De Foe's "Journal," that he drew largely from those sources for the more ample account of the ravages of the Plague which he himself composed ; and first, from Dr. Hodges's "Loimologia."

"In the months of August and September, the Contagion changed its former slow and languid pace, and having as it were, got master of all, made a most terrible slaughter, so that three, four or five thousand died in a week, and once eight thousand: who can express the calamities of such times? The whole British nation wept for the miseries of her metropolis. In some houses carcasses lay waiting for burial, and in others, persons in their last agonies; in one room might be heard dying groans, in another the ravings of a delirium, and not far off, relations and friends bewailing both their loss, and the dismal prospect of their own sudden departure; death was the sure midwife to all children, and 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? Or the marriage bed changed the first night into a sepulchre, and the unhappy pair meet with death in their first embraces ? Some of the infected run about staggering like drunken men, and fall and expire in the streets; while others lie half dead and comatose, but never to



INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

the view of London, and struck some amazement upon the spirits of many. It was in the month of May that the Plague was first taken notice of: our Bill of Mortality did let us know but of three which died of the disease in the whole year before; but in the beginning of May the Bill tells us of nine, which fell by the Plague; one in the heart of the City, the other eight in the Suburbs. This was the first arrow of warning that was shot from Heaven amongst us, and fear quickly begins to creep upon peoples' hearts: great thoughts and discourse there is in the Town about the Plague, and they cast in their minds whither they should go if the Plague should increase. Yet when the next week's Bill signifieth to them the decrease, from nine to three, their minds are something appeased; discourse of that subject cools; fears are husht, and hopes take place, that the black cloud did but threaten, and give a few drops; but the wind would drive it away. But when in the next Bill the number of the dead by the Plague is mounted from three to fourteen, and in the next to seventeen, and in the next to forty-three, and the disease begins so much to increase and disperse, Sinners begin to be startled."

The Plague "is so deadly, it kills where it comes without mercy; it kills, I had almost said *certainly*: very few do escape, especially upon its first entrance, and before its malignity be spent. Few are touched by it, but they are killed by it; and it kills *suddenly*.



they had been lined with enemies in ambush, that waited to destroy them."

" In July the Plague increaseth, and prevaileth exceedingly; the number of 470, which died in one week by the disease, ariseth to 725 the next week, to 1089 the next, to 1843 the next, and to 2010 the next. Now the Plague compasseth the walls of the City like a flood, and poureth in upon it. Now most parishes are infected, both without and within [the walls]; yea, there are not so many houses shut up by the Plague as by the owners forsaking them for fear of it, and though the inhabitants be so exceedingly decreased by the departure of so many thousands, yet the number of dying persons doth increase fearfully. Now the Countries keep guards, lest infectious persons should from the City bring the disease unto them. Most of the rich are now gone, and the middle sort will not stay behind; but the poor are forced through poverty to stay and abide the storm. The very sinking fears they have had of the Plague, hath brought the Plague and death upon many. Some, by the sight of a coffin in the streets have fallen into a shivering, and immediately the disease hath assaulted them; and Sergeant Death hath arrested them, and clapt to the doors of their houses upon them, from whence they have come forth no more, till they have been brought forth to their graves."

" It would be endless to speak of what we have











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of humility and pious reverence. " De Foe is never so much at home as when he is inviting men to repentance and reformation; yet he never goes out of his way for the purpose, but seizes upon incidents as they arise, and are calculated by their nature to give effect to his admonitions."

Were De Foe's "Journal" to be critically examined, it would be found that the vivid impression which it makes upon the reader is, in a considerable degree, dependent on the frequent recurrence of the same images. The ease, and almost colloquial familiarity of his language, is another great cause of its success in interesting the feelings. The most appalling events are related with the plainness and simplicity of conversation. There is no straining for effect, nor is the garb of a pompous phraseology ever assumed to disguise the simple matter-of-fact, and shew how the writer can shine at the expense of his subject.

In concluding these remarks, the Editor will advert to one circumstance, of an historical nature, in which De Foe's work has misled many; and that is, as to the *time* of the cessation of the Plague in this country. No reader of the "Journal" can rise from perusing it, without being impressed with the idea that the Plague entirely ceased with us, early in 1666; but such was not the fact. In the course of that year, nearly two thousand persons fell victims to its ravages in London alone; and it still continued slightly to infect the





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This last Bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding Visitation of 1636 *.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February[†], attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city [town] grew healthy, and every body began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high: from the beginning of April especially, they stood at twenty-five

* In March 1665, the importation of English Manufactures, even to Beer, was prohibited in Holland, (on account of the Plague) under a penalty of 1000 guilders, besides confiscation of the property. This, probably, was in retaliation for the Government measure of the preceding year, when the King (Charles II.) excused his prohibition of merchandise from Holland, "on account of the Plague having been introduced into that Country."

† In Evelyn's "Diary," vol. i. p. 370, is the following entry, under the date December 22. "It was now exceeding cold, and a hard long frosty season, and the *Comet* was very visible." Under January 4th, 1665, he says, "excessive sharp frost and snow." Pepys also, on the 6th of February, in the same year, made the following entry in *his* "Diary :"—" One of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England." The Comet was also noticed in a letter from Erfurt, bearing date, December 27th, 1664-5, together with other appearances, which were then regarded as indications of forthcoming calamities.—

"We have had our part here of the Comet, as well as other places, besides which here have been other terrible apparitions and noises in the ayre, as fires and sounds of cannon and musket-shot; and here has likewise appeared several times the resemblance of a Black Man, which has made our Sentinels to quit their posts; and one of them was lately thrown down by him from the top of the wall." Vide "The *Newes*, published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People: (with Privilege) Numb. 2." each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the Plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above-named.

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

But the following week it returned again, and the Distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz. St. Andrew's-Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary Wool-church, that is to say, in Bearbinder-lane, near Stocks-market *; in all there were nine of the Plague, and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry found, that this Frenchman, who died in Bearbinder-lane, was one who, having lived in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes. That which encouraged them was, that the City was healthy: the whole ninety-

* Stocks-market was then kept on the ground now occupied by the Mansion-house. Latterly, it was most known as a herb and poultry market.







I lived without Aldgate, about mid-way between Aldgate church and White-chapel-bars, on the left hand, or north side, of the street; and as the Distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy : but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town with their families and servants, in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in White-chapel; that is to say, the broad street where I lived. Indeed nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c. Coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away ; besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance. Then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning or sent from the country to fetch more people.

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

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the Lord Mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes





'effects in the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole city; and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

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

I had an elder Brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz. "Master, save thy-self." In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that " the best preparation for the Plague was to run away from it." As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me. He told me the same thing which I argued for my staying, viz. " that I would trust God with my safety and health," was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; for, says he, " is

















observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the *west* part *, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went, generally, once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe: and having the key in my pocket, I used to go over the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal, yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries were then practised in the town, as openly as ever; I will not say quite as frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

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

As they fled now out of the City, so I should observe that the Court removed early, viz. in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the Distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I can-

* Pepys says, under the date of July 18th :--- "I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster, how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle-fields, pretending want of room elsewhere."-See his "Diary," vol. ii.







peace; there was no occasion for lawyers: besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates, but that great numbers of persons followed the Court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies: and as others retired really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets. But the fright was not yet near so great in the City, abstractly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet, as I have observed, that the Distemper intermitted often at first, so they were, as it were, alarmed, and un-alarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the City, or the east and south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they

summers, and that is a very great *scarcity* of flies and insects. I know not whether it be universal, but it is here at *London* most manifest. I can hardly imagine, that there is a tenth part of what I have seen in other years."—Vide Boyle's "Works," vol. vi., p. 501: edit. 1772.

In respect to the scarcity of insects, thus noticed in the Plague year, the very reverse appears to have been the case in 1664.— "In the summer before the Plague," says Mr. Boghurst, "there was such a multitude of flies, that they lined the insides of houses, and if any thread or string did hang down in any place, it was presently thick set with flies, like a rope of onions; and such swarms of ants covered the highways, that you might have taken a handful at a time."—See Appendix, No. I. were chiefly from the west end of the town; and from that we call the heart of the City, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people, and such people as were unincumbered with trades and business: but of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst, so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

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

I often thought, that as Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, when the Jews were assembled















poor naked Creature cried, "O the Great, and the Dreadful God!" and said no more, but repeated

says the historian, 'what was more terrible than all, one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a mean rustic, four years before the commencement of the war, while the city was tranquil, and there was abundance of all things, when he came to the festival, during which it was the custom to place against the Temple tabernacles in honour of God, he began to cry aloud, 'A voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four Winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the Temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against the whole people !' Thus by night, at intervals exclaiming, he took his circuit through all the streets of the city. Some of the chiefs of the people, displeased at the ill omen, had the man seized and well punished with stripes. But he making no resistance, nor asking any mercy from his tormentors, continued his exclamations in the same words. At length the magistrates, conceiving that the man was divinely inspired, brought him before the Roman President; and his punishment being repeated till his flesh was torn from the bones, he neither shed tears, nor offered prayers; but, as well as he could, kept on crying out with a doleful and piteous voice, at each stroke of the whip, ' Woe ! woe ! to Jerusalem !' Albinus, who was then the Procurator of Judea, interrogating him-who he was?__whence he came ?__and wherefore he said such things?-he made no answer whatever. Nor did he cease to bewail the fate of the city: so at length Albinus released him, concluding that he was deranged. He thus continued to the time of the war, not consorting with any of the citizens, nor was he ever seen to speak to any one; but every day, like a herald, he went about proclaiming, ' Woe ! woe ! to Jerusalem !' He entreated nobody, on the several days when he was beaten; and he thanked not those who gave him food ; his sole response to all being the sad prognostication. He vociferated more especially at the festivals: and after he had done thus for seven years and five months, neither was his voice become hoarse, nor did he appear fatigued; until in the time of the siege, the appearance of what he had prophesied quieted him. For, walking on the walls, again, he cried with a loud voice, 'Woe to the city! and Temple, and people!' and when he came to the conclusion, he added, ' Woe, also, to Myself !' Being that instant struck by a stone discharged from a Balista, he fell, uttering the ominous words with his last breath.'-Opera Josephi, edit. a Hudson, vol. ii. B. vi. ch. 5. sect. 3.





of the figure to the life; shewed them the motion, and the form; and the poor people came into it so eagerly, and with so much readiness ;-" Yes, I see it all plainly," says one ; " there is the sword as plain as can be." Another saw the Angel. One saw his very face, and cried out, "What a glorious creature he was !" One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon, and I said, indeed, " That I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part." The Woman endeavoured to shew it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied. But the Woman turning upon me, looked in my face, and fancied I laughed; in which her imagination deceived her too; for I really did not laugh, but was very seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned from me, called me " profane fellow," and "a scoffer;" told me, "that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching ; and that despisers, such as I, should wonder and perish."

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as

hour. Next there appeared three Rainbows, with their accustomed colours, on the highest of which was the figure of an Angel, as usually represented, in the shape of a youth, with wings at the shoulders; holding the Sun in one hand and the Moon in the other. This second spectacle having continued half an hour, in the presence of all who chose to look at it, some clouds then arose, which covered these apparitions." See "Histoires Admirables et Memorables de nostre Temps, recueillies, &c. par Simon Goulart. Paris, 1603. 12mo. fol. 42." Goulart seems to have derived this portion of his miscellany of blended fact and fiction from the treatise of Conrad Lycosthenes, "De Prodigiis et Ostentis;" to which, indeed, he refers.


























operators, with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without Money. He had it seems, added to his bills, which he gave about the streets, this advertisement in capital letters, viz.—HE GIVES ADVICE TO THE POOR FOR NOTHING.

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





these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the Plague being at hand was among them; and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas, 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St. Giles's, in the beginning of December; and again, after another alarm, in February: for when the Plague evidently spread itself, they soon began to see the folly of trusting to those unperforming creatures, who had gulled them of their money ; and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take, nor what to do, either to help or relieve themselves; but they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets from one door to another, with repeated cries of, " Lord have mercy upon us, what shall we do?".

Indeed, the poor people were to be pitied in one particular thing, in which they had little or no relief, and which I desire to mention with a serious awe and reflection, which, perhaps, every one that reads this may not relish; namely, that whereas Death now began not, as we may say, to hover over every ones' Head only, but to look into their houses, and chambers, and stare in their faces ; though there might be some stupidity, and dulness of the mind; and there was so, a great deal ; yet, there was a great deal of just alarm, sounded in the very inmost soul, if I may so say, of others. Many consciences were awakened; many hard hearts melted into tears; and many a penitent confession was made of crimes long concealed. It would have wounded the soul of any Christian to have heard the dying groans of many a despairing creature ; and none durst come near to comfort them.

Many a robbery, many a murder, was then confessed aloud, and nobody surviving to record the accounts of it. People might be heard, even in the streets as we passed along, calling upon God for mercy, through Jesus Christ, and saying, "I have been a thief,-I have been an adulterer,-I have been a murderer," -and the like; and none durst stop to make the least inquiry into such things, or to administer comfort to the poor creatures, that in the anguish both of soul and body thus cried out. Some of the ministers did visit the sick at first, and for a little while, but it was not to be done ; it would have been present Death to have gone into some houses. The very buryers of the dead, who were the most hardened creatures in town, were sometimes beaten back, and so terrified, that they durst not go into the houses where whole families were swept away together, and where the circumstances were more particularly horrible, as some were ; but this was, indeed, at the first heat of the Distemper.

Time inured them to it all; and they ventured everywhere afterwards, without hesitation, as I shall have occasion to mention at large hereafter.

I am supposing now the Plague to be begun, as I have said, and that the Magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious consideration. What they did as to the regulation of inhabitants, and of infected families, I shall speak to by itself; but as to the affair of Health, it is proper to mention it here, that having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks, and mountebanks, wizards, and fortune-tellers, (which they did as above, even to madness,) the Lord Mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed Physicians and Surgeons for relief of the poor; I



defied all the application of remedies; the fireengines were broken, the buckets thrown away, and the power of man was baffled and brought to an end: so the Plague defied all medicines; the very Physicians were seized with it, with their preservatives in their mouths; and men went about prescribing to others, and telling them what to do, till the tokens were upon them, and they dropped down dead; destroyed by that very enemy they directed others to oppose. This was the case of several Physicians, even some of them the most eminent *, and of

* Dr. Hodges states, that there wanted not the help of very great and worthy persons who voluntarily contributed their assistance in the dangerous work of restraining the progress of the Infection; and he enumerates the learned Dr. Gibson, regius professor at Cambridge; Dr. Francis Glisson; Dr. Nathaniel Paget; Dr. Peter Berwick; Dr. Humphrey Brookes, &c. Of those persons, he remarks, eight or nine fell in the attempt, among whom was Dr. Wm. Conyers, to whose goodness and humanity he bears the most honourable testimony.

Among the other Physicians who suffered from the Plague, was Dr. Burnet, of Fenchurch street. His dwelling was one of the first within the walls which was visited by the Infection.' Pepys, under the date of June 10th, thus mentions it. "In the evening home to supper, and there to my great trouble, hear that the Plague is come into the City (though it hath these three or four weeks, since its beginning, been wholly out of the City); but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett's house, in Fenchurch Street, which in both points troubles me mightily." On the following day, he wrote :—"I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great goodwill among his neighbours; for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord : which was very handsome."

The goodwill here spoken of, was, unhappily, but of short continuance, for a rumour became current that the Doctor had killed his servant, and he thence found it necessary to vindicate his character by a public notice, or placard, at the Royal Exchange; a copy of which is here given from the "Intelligencer," No. 55,







healthy in proportion, than any other place, all the time of the Infection.

These Orders of my Lord Mayor's were published the latter end of June, and took place from the first of July, and were as follow, (viz.) :--

ORDERS conceived and published by the LORD MAYOR and ALDERMEN of the CITY OF LONDON, concerning the Infection of the Plague, 1665.

"Whereas in the Reign of our late Sovereign, King James, of happy memory, an Act was made for the charitable Relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague; whereby authority was given to Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other head officers, to appoint within their several limits, Examiners, Searchers, Watchmen, Keepers, and Buryers, for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices. And the same Statute did also authorise the giving of other directions, as unto them for the present necessity should seem good in their discretions. It is now upon special consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of Infection of sickness, (if it shall so please Almighty God) that these officers following be appointed, and these orders hereafter duly observed."

Examiners to be Appointed in Every Parish.

"First, it is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every parish there be one, two, or more persons of good sort and credit, chosen and appointed by the Alderman, his Deputy, and Common Council of every ward, by the name of Examiners, to continue in that office the space of two months at least; and if any fit person, so appointed, shall refuse to undertake the same, the said parties so refusing, to be committed to prison until they shall conform themselves accordingly."

The Examiner's Office.

"That these Examiners be sworn by the Aldermen, to enquire and learn from time to time what Houses in every parish be visited, and what persons be sick, and of



Chirurgeons.

- " For better assistance of the Searchers, for as much as there hath been heretofore great abuse in mis-reporting the disease, to the further spreading of the Infection; it is therefore ordered, that there be chosen and appointed able and discreet Chirurgeons, besides those that do already belong to the Pest-house; amongst whom the City and liberties to be quartered as the places lie most apt and convenient; and every of these to have one quarter for his limit; and the said Chirurgeons in every of their limits to join with the Searchers for the view of the body, to the end there may be a true report made of the disease. "And further, that the said Chirurgeons shall visit and search such like persons as shall either send for them, or be named and directed unto them, by the Examiners of every parish, and inform themselves of the disease of the said parties.
- "And, forasmuch as the said Chirurgeons are to be sequestered from all other Cures, and kept only to this disease of the Infection : it is ordered, that every of the said Chirurgeons shall have twelve-pence a body searched by them, to be paid out of the goods of the party searched, if he be able, or otherwise by the parish."

Nurse-keepers.

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

ORDERS concerning infected Houses and Persons sick of the Plague.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

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













MEMOIRS OF THE PLAGUE.

Aldgate	14		34	de tratición	65
Stepney	33	the next	58	and to the	76 .
White-chapel	21	week was	48	lst of Aug.	79
St. Kath. Tower	2	thus:	4	thus:	4
Trin. Minories	« 1		1		4
	71	antan di da se	145	and the second	228

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

St. Len. Shoreditch St. Bot. Bishopsgt. St. Giles, Crippl.		the next week prodigiously in- creased, as	105	110 116 554
teneri dentri ber	342	ners than differ 1970 militers sing	610	780

This shutting up of Houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations *. Complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my Lord Mayor, of houses causelessly (and some

* The practice of shutting up Houses on account of the Plague, in 1665, had probably advocates among the Faculty, or we may suppose it would not have been adopted. But Sir Jno. Colbatch, who when the Nation was alarmed on account of the Plague of Marseilles, published "a Scheme for Proper Methods to be taken should it please God to visit us with the Plague," in 1721, proposed the division of the Metropolis into districts, and the establishment of public infirmaries; and "That families of substance who have servants and all convenience for cleanliness and every thing else, be left, [when infected], in their own Houses, and even then not shut up, only a mark to be set upon them : But that it shall be death for any well person to come out of such house without a white wand in his hand, to warn all people that he belongs to an infected family," p. 14 .---See also, Dr. Mead's "Discourse on the Plague," p. 35-37, and 56, 57 .- " A Discourse of the Plague." By Gco. Pye. Part II. 1721, chap. ii.; and a Tract intituled, "The Shutting up of Infected Houses, as it is practised in England, soberly debated :" 4to. 1665.

maliciously) shut up. I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the Pest-house, were released.

It is true, that the locking up the doors of people's Houses, and setting a watchman there night and day, to prevent their stirring out, or any coming to them; when, perhaps, the sound people in the family might have escaped, if they had been removed from the sick, looked very hard and cruel; and many people perished in these miserable confinements, which it is reasonable to believe would not have been distempered if they had had liberty, though the Plague was in the house; at which the people were very clamorous and uneasy at first, and several violences were committed, and injuries offered to the men who were set to watch the Houses so shut up: also, several people broke out by force, in many places, as I shall observe by-and-by. But it was a public good that justified the private mischief; and there was no obtaining the least mitigation, by any application to magistrates, or government, at that time, at least, that I heard of. This put the people upon all manner of stratagem, in order, if possible, to get out; and it would fill a little volume to set down the arts used by the people of such Houses to shut the eyes of the watchmen, who were employed, to deceive them, and to escape or break out from them, in which frequent scuffles, and some mischief, happened; of which, by itself.

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

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

The Watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered, a great while; but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, "What d'ye want, that ye make such a knocking?" He answered, "I am the Watchman! how do you do? what is the matter?" The person answered, "What is that to you? Stop the Deadcart." This, it seems, was about one o'clock: soon



left her to die by herself, and were every one gone, having found some way to delude the Watchman, and to get open the door, or get out at some back-door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at the bitter parting which, to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn; nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

Many such escapes were made out of infected houses, as particularly, when the Watchman was sent of some errand, for it was his business to go of any errand that the family sent him of, that is to say, for necessaries, such as food and physic; to fetch physicians, if they would come, or surgeons, or nurses, or to order the Dead-cart and the like; but with this condition too, that when he went, he was to lock up the outer door of the house, and take the key away with him. To evade this, and cheat the Watchmen, people got two or three keys made to their locks ; or they found ways to unscrew the locks, such as were screwed on, and so take off the lock, being in the inside of the house, and while they sent away the Watchman to the market, to the bake-house, or for one trifle or another, would open the door, and go out as often as they pleased. But this being found out, the officers afterwards had orders to padlock up the doors on the outside, and place bolts on them as they thought fit.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick;








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

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

And this was, in part, the reason of the general notion, or scandal rather, which went about of the temper of people infected ; namely, that they did not take the least care, nor make any scruple of infecting others ; though I cannot say but there might be some truth in it too, but not so general as was reported. What natural reason could be given for so wicked a thing, at a time when they might conclude themselves just going to appear at the bar of Divine Jus-

" It is a peculiar blessing that this town continues yet free from any contagious disease; and the Providence appears the greater in regard of so many persons that have come hither from infected places; and, in truth, the care and vigilance of our magistrates have been great in providing a Conveniency of houses and accommodation in the fields, for persons coming into these parts. Only this week, one coming from London died within a mile of this town, after four days' illness, supposed to be the Plague: but the hovel wherein he lay being boarded over and under, a pit was digged, and both hovel, and corpse were buried together."





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

This was an extraordinary case, and I am therefore the more particular in it, because I came so much to the knowledge of it; but there were innumerable such like cases; and it was seldom that the weekly Bill came in, but there were two or three

thought particularly remarkable) the next adjoining parts of the flesh, though not discoloured, yet mortified as well as the discoloured ones."—Vide "Birch's History of the Royal Society," vol. ii. p. 76.

ln 1664	-	-	1	In 1667	-	-	7
1665	-	-	23	1668	-	-	1
1666	-	-	16	1669	1		1

It may therefore be assumed that the calamities arising from the Plague and Fire in 1665 and 1666, were the main causes of the great increase of deaths from fright in those years. put in "frighted," that is, that may well be called, frighted to death. But besides those who were so frighted as to die upon the spot, there were great numbers frighted to other extremes, some frighted out of their senses, some out of their memory, and some out of their understanding: but I return to the shutting up of Houses.

As several people, I say, got out of their houses by stratagem after they were shut up, so others got out by bribing the Watchmen, and giving them money to let them go privately out in the night. I must confess, I thought it at that time the most innocent corruption, or bribery, that any man could be guilty of; and therefore could not but pity the poor men, and think it was hard when three of those Watchmen were publicly whipped through the streets for suffering people to go out of houses shut up.

But notwithstanding that severity, money prevailed with the poor men, and many families found means to make sallies out, and escape that way, after they had been shut up: but these were generally such as had some places to retire to; and though there was no easy passing the roads any whither, after the first of August, yet there were many ways of retreat, and particularly, as I hinted, some got tents, and set them up in the fields, carrying beds, or straw, to lie on, and provisions to eat, and so lived in them as hermits in a cell; for nobody would venture to come near them, and several stories were told of such; some comical, some tragical: some, who lived like wandering pilgrims in the deserts, escaped by making themselves exiles in such a manner as is scarce to be credited, and who yet enjoyed more liberty than was to be expected in such cases.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* This evidently alludes to the period at which De Foe compiled these "Memoirs," namely, about 1721, when the direful ravages of the Plague at Marseilles, had excited a general alarm.

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persons alive in the parish who can justify the fact of this, and are able to shew even in what part of the church-yard the Pit lay better than I can; the mark of it, also, was many years to be seen in the churchyard, on the surface lying in length, parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard, out of Hounds-ditch, and turns east again into White-chapel, coming out near the Three Nuns Inn.

It was about the 10th of September, that my curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this Pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the daytime, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth, by those they called the buryers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those Pits, and that was only to prevent infection: but after some time that order was more necessary, for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those Pits, wrapped in blankets, or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard, that in a great Pit in Finsbury*, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it

* The Finsbury pit is thus alluded to by Pepys, under the date of August 30th.—"I went forth and walked towards Moorfields to see (God forgive my presumption !) whether I could see any Dead corpse going to the grave ; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord ! how every body looks, and discourses in the street of Death, and nothing else, and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken."



terror, as was then upon us; and particularly scoffing and mocking at every thing which they happened to see, that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship, to implore mercy from Heaven, in such a time of distress; and this Tavern, where they held their club, being within view of the church-door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical prophane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident, which I have related, happened; for the infection increased so violently at this part of the town now, that people began to be afraid to come to the church, at least, such numbers did not resort thither as was usual; many of the Clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country; for it really required a steady courage, and a strong faith, for a man, not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of a minister to a Congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many of them were actually infected with the Plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It is true, the people shewed an extraordinary zeal in these religious exercises, and as the church doors were always open, people would go in single at all times, whether the minister was officiating or no, and locking themselves into separate pews, would be praying to God with great fervency and devotion.

Others assembled at meeting-houses, every one as their different opinions in such things guided, but all were promiscuously the subject of these men's drollery, especially at the beginning of the Visitation.

It seems they had been checked for their open

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

I went Home, indeed, grieved and afflicted in my mind, at the abominable wickedness of those men, not doubting, however, that they would be made dreadful examples of God's justice: for I looked upon this dismal time to be a particular season of divine vengeance, and that God would, on this occasion, single out the proper objects of his displeasure, in a more especial and remarkable manner than at another time; and that, though I did believe that many good people would, and did, fall in the common calamity, and that it was no certain rule to judge of the eternal state of any one, by their being distinguished in such a time of general destruction, neither one way or other; yet, I say, it could not but seem reasonable to believe, that God would not think fit to spare by his mercy such open declared Enemies, that should insult his name and being, defy his vengeance, and mock at his worship and worshippers, at such a time ;- no, not though his mercy had thought fit to bear with, and spare them at other times : that this was a day of visitation, a day of God's anger; and

those words came into my thought, - Jer. v. 9. "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, and shall not my soul be avenged of such a nation as this?"

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

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

By this, I not only did my duty, namely, to pray for those who despitefully used me, but I fully tried my own heart, to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment, as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be















some people, now the Contagion is over, talk of its being an immediate stroke from Heaven, without the agency of means, having commission to strike this and that particular person, and none other; which I look upon with contempt, as the effect of manifest ignorance and enthusiasm. So likewise of the opinion of others, who talk of infection being carried on by the air only, by carrying with it vast numbers of insects, and invisible creatures, who enter into the body with the breath, or even at the pores with the air, and there generate, or emit most acute poisons, or poisonous ova, or eggs, which mingle themselves with the blood, and so infect the body ;- a discourse full of learned simplicity, and manifested to be so by universal experience; but I shall say more to this case in its order *.

* Dr. Hodges mentions Father Kircher as having adduced experiments, probably microscopical, in proof of the theory which ascribes the Plague to the presence of minute insects; but he adds "I must ingenuously confess, that notwithstanding the most careful and industrious attempts, by all means likely to promote the discovery of such matter, and that I have had as good opportunities for this purpose as any physician, it hath not yet been my happiness, (if such minute Insects caused this pest,) to discern them, neither have I hitherto, by the information of credible testimonies, received satisfaction in this point."—Letter to aPerson of Quality, p.15,16. Sir R. Blackmore very properly observes that if worms or animalculæ are found in ulcers produced by the Plague, they should be regarded " by no means as the cause, but the effect of pestilential putrefaction."—Discourse on the Plague, p. 36.

In Birch's "History of the Royal Society" (vol ii. p. 69.) it is stated from Dr. Charleton's relation, "that the notion concerning the vermination of the air as the cause of the Plague, *first* started in England by Sir George Ent, afterwards managed in Italy by father Kircher, was so much farther advanced there that, by the relation of Dr. Bacon, (who had long practised physic at Rome) it had been observed there, that there was a kind of insect in the air which being put upon a man's hand, would lay eggs hardly dis-



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in the neck or groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful, that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some, not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects of that kind; others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roaring, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful Scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

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

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservasion of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to him, with fasting, humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading books, and in writing down my Memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors. What I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and

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

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account; sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very Markets; for many people that had the Plague upon them, knew nothing of it till the inward gangreen had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments: this caused, that many died frequently in that manner in the streets suddenly, without any warning *; others, perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door, or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that when the Plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground; on the other hand it is observable, that though, at first, the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet, afterward, no notice was

* This is hardly possible to be true; for though the Infection might be sudden, and its progress rapid, yet that it should be thus mortal without the deceased knowing anything of the seizure, is contrary to all analogy.











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

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

* See the anecdote alluded to in p. 84.

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master sent me for the money which he says you know of." "Very well, child," returns the living ghost, "call, as you go by, at Cripple-gate church, and bid them ring the Bell;" and with these words he shut the door again, and went up again, and died the same day; nay, perhaps the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the Plague was not come to a height. I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month; it must be before the Deadcarts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain, in that parish, at least, before the month of July; for by the 25th of July, there died 550 and upwards, in a week, and then they could no more bury in form, rich or poor.

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

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

I was surprised that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads; and as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands,







more*. Here they went with a kind of hand-barrow, and laid the dead bodies on it, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed, and never had the Distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife, at the same time, was a nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being, for her honesty, recommended by the parish officers, yet she never was infected neither.

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

It must be confessed, that though the Plague was chiefly among the poor; yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage; I must call it so, for it was founded neither on Religion nor Prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but run into any business which they could get employment in, though it was the most hazardous: such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the Pest-house, and which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

* These passages still remain; but will probably give way to the new opening towards the Bank, now making from London Wall, and to the other improvements contemplated in that neighbourhood.









liberties of Westminster; one quarter, or part, among the inhabitants of the Southwark-side of the water; one quarter to the Liberties and parts without, of the city, exclusive of the city within the walls; and, onefourth part to the Suburbs in the county of Middlesex, and the east and north parts of the city: but this latter I only speak of as a report *.

Certain it is, the greatest part of the poor, or families who formerly lived by their labour, or by retailtrade, lived now on charity; and had there not been prodigious sums of money given by charitable wellminded Christians, for the support of such, the City could never have subsisted. There were, no question, accounts kept of their charity, and of the just distribution of it by the Magistrates : but as such multitudes of those very officers died, through whose hands it was distributed; and also that, as I have been told, most of the accounts of those things were lost in the great Fire which happened in the very next year, and which burnt even the chamberlain's office, and many of their papers; so I could never come at the particular account, which I used great endeayours to have seen.

It may, however, be a direction in case of the approach of a like Visitation, which God keep the City from ;—I say, it may be of use to observe, that

* It appears by some papers in the MS. Library at Lambeth, that the Privy Council ordered collections to be made monthly on the days of public humiliation, at all the churches throughout the kingdom; the money which was not distributed in the county where it was collected, was to be transmitted to the Bishop of London for the relief of the sick in London and Westminster. Regular accounts were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury of the collections made in the parishes within his peculiar jurisdiction, and the money was transmitted to his secretary. See Lysons's "Environs of London," vol. i. p. 418.

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was indeed a dismal time, and for about a month together, not taking any notice of the Bills of Mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1,500 or 1,700 a day, one day with another.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September, when, indeed, good people began to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the Plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above a thousand a week, for two weeks, though the Bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate, that there was not a house in twenty uninfected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over against me, I say, in those places, Death reigned in every Corner. White-chapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near 600 a week by the Bills; and in my opinion, near twice as many. Whole families, and indeed, whole streets of families were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses, and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And, indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of, that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead ; but that sometimes the bodies lay several days unburied, till the neighbouring families were offended with the stench, and consequently infected ; and this neglect of the officers was such,






SOLOMON HAGLE.

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been for fourteen days, or thereabouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go to carry a letter for my brother to the Post-house: then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the Post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, and money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropped it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big, that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so, that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it. So he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse; the train reached about two yards. After this, he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently: but he was not content with that; but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it







when this is such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?"

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

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

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

"Poor man !" said I, " and how much hast thou gotten for them?"

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

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

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had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had, but on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frighted into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things; and that he waited on two Ships, (which he shewed me,) that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit bread, and ship beer ; and that he had bought every thing else almost for them. I asked him if there were any more Ships that had separated themselves as those had done ? He told me, "Yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shore of Limehouse and Redriff, all the Ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the stream, and that some of them had several families on board." I asked him if the Distemper had not reached them? He said, " he believed it had not, except two or three Ships, whose people had not been so watchful to keep the seamen from going on shore, as others had been;" and he said, "it was a very fine sight to see how the Ships lay up the Pool."

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

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

I cannot guess at the number of Ships, but I think there must be several hundred Sail; and I could not but applaud the contrivance; for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy. I returned to my own Dwelling very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor Man; also I rejoiced to see that such little Sanctuaries were provided for so many families on board, in a time of such desolation. I observed also, that as the violence of the Plague had increased, so the Ships which had families on board, removed and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast, as they could best come at.

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

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

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange temper of the people of London at that time contributed extremely to their own destruction. The Plague began, as I have observed, at the other end





more open and more woody than any other part so near London; especially about Norwood, and the parishes of Camberwell, Dullege, [Dulwich] and Lusum, [Lewisham] where, it seems, nobody durst relieve the poor distressed people for fear of the Infection.

This Notion having, as I said, prevailed with the people in that part of the town, was in part the occasion, as I said before, that they had recourse to Ships for their retreat; and where they did this early, and with prudence, furnishing themselves so with provisions, that they had no need to go on shore for supplies, nor suffer boats to come on board to bring them; I say, where they did so, they had certainly the safest retreat of any people whatsoever. But the distress was such, that people ran on board in their fright, without bread to eat; and some into Ships, that had no men on board to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and go down the river to buy provisions, where it might be done safely; and these often suffered, and were infected on board as much as on shore.

As the richer sort got into Ships, so the lower rank got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats, and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats; but those made sad work of it, especially the latter, for, going about for provision, and perhaps, to get their subsistence, the Infection got in among them, and made a fearful havock. Many of the watermen died alone in their wherries, as they rid at their roads, as well above-bridge as below, and were not found, sometimes, till they were not in condition for anybody to touch or come near them.

Indeed the distress of the people at this sea-faring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration. But alas! this was a







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

I was not conversant in many particular families where these things happened; but the outcries of the miserable were heard afar off. As to those who were with child, we have seen some calculation made; 291 women dead in child-bed in nine weeks, out of one third part of the number, of whom there usually died in that time but forty-eight of the same disaster. Let the reader calculate the proportion.

born" in the year of the Plague, was by no means so great, comparatively, as in that of the deaths in "Child-Bed," as will be seen by the following extracts from the Bills of Mortality, which include the returns for ten years, viz., from 1661, to 1670.—The numbers given by De Foe, under the year 1664, are not correct. The actual amount exceeded the total which he has given, by 106.

Ab	ortive and Still-Born.	Child-Bed.
1661	511	224
1662	523	175
1663	550	206
1664	503	250
1665	617	625
1666	477	253
1667	488	262
1668	751	271
1669	517	277
1670	632	288





The poor man, with his heart broken, went back; assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of the midwife, and brought the child dead into the world: his wife, in about an hour, died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came, and brought the nurse, as he had promised; and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief, that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of the Infection upon him, but merely sunk under the weight of his Grief.

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

I cannot undertake to give any other than a summary of such passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the particulars, where sometimes

* It is hardly necessary to observe that this story of the man whose head sunk between his shoulders, is utterly incredible; and if it be not a fabrication of the author, the circumstances must be strangely and ridiculously exaggerated.





caution and warning from : - but I shall come to this part again.

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

Two of them are said to be Brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a Biscuit-baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a Sail-maker; the third a Joiner. Says John, the biscuit-baker, one day, to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker,—" Brother Tom, what will become of us? The Plague grows hot in the City, and increases this way: what shall we do?"

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

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

THOMAS.—"Why, the people where I lodge are good civil people, and have kindness enough for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

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

THOMAS.—" Nay, I might e'en resolve to stay



THOMAS.—" You talk your old Soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now, but this is a serious thing. The people have good reason to keep anybody off, that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a time as this, and we must not plunder them."

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

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

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

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

JOHN.—" Why, brother, our condition, at this rate, is worse than anybody's else; for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria:—" If we stay here we are sure to die." I mean especially, as you and I are situated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody's else: there is no lying in the street at such a time as this; we had as good go into the Dead-cart at once. Therefore, I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, and if we go away we can but die :—I am resolved to be gone." THOMAS.—"You will go away. Whither will you go? and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew whither: but we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die."

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

THOMAS.—"But you know every vagrant person may, by the laws of England, be taken up, and passed back to their last legal settlement."

JOHN.—"But how shall they make me vagrant? I desire only to travel on, upon my lawful occasions."

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

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

THOMAS.—" But suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go?"

JOHN.—" Any where to save our lives : it is time enough to consider that when we are got out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go."

THOMAS.—"We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it."

JOHN .-... "Well, Tom, consider of it a little."

This was about the beginning of July; and

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

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

Here they resolved, seeing all employment was at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of

* The weekly Bill of the 4th of July, which records the above number of deaths, states also that two persons had died of the Plague in Stepney parish; and six others in St. Mary's, Whitechapel.



heat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the Infection may be in the very air. In the next place," says he, "I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the City on our backs as we go." These two cautions were approved of ; if it could be brought so to hit, that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John, the baker, who had been a Soldier, then put in his opinion —"First," says he, "we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air; though it be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp, and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this; and therefore," says he, "you, brother Tom, that are a Sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the Inns in England : if we have a good tent over our heads, we shall do well enough."

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

The Soldier and the Joiner disputed that point some time, but at last the Soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot; but the Sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in which made that easy, for his master whom he worked for having a rope-walk, as well as his sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then,
and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail that was worn out, but was sufficient and more than enough to make a very good tent: the Soldier shewed how to shape it, and they soon, by his direction, made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; viz. three men, one tent, one horse, one gun, for the Soldier would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a Biscuit-baker, but a Trooper.

The Joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as his own. What money they had, they brought all into one public Stock, and thus they began their journey. It seems, that in the morning when they set out, the Wind blew, as the Sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N.W. by W. So they directed, or rather resolved to direct their course, N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the Plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east, through Radcliff-highway, as far as Radcliff-cross, and leaving Stepney church still on their left-hand, being afraid to come up from Radcliff-cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the church-yard, and because the wind that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the City where the Plague was





village, and that they had not been at London, which, though false in the common acceptation of London in that county, yet was literally true ; Wapping or Radcliff being no part either of the City or liberties.

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

By this time they began to be weary, and so in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent, and encamp for the first night; which they did accordingly, with the addition, that, finding a barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could, to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent, with the head of it against the barn. This they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

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

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

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

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escaped thus far by the goodness of God, do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you."

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

FORD.—" And do you assure us that you are all sound men?"

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

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



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whither,—but God will guide those that look up to him."

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

It was soon day at that time of the year; and as Richard the Joiner had kept guard the first part of the night, so John the Soldier relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another .- It seems when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north, away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded-river *; and so, avoiding the town, they left Hornsey on the left-hand, and Newington on the right-hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-hill on that side, as the three Travellers had done on the other side : and now they had thoughts of going over the river [the Lea] in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least, not so poor as to be in want; they had enough to subsist them mode-

* The Boarded-river was a part of the New River so called, near Hornsey-wood House; — where, formerly, the water was conveyed over a low valley, in a sort of trough.



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

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

From the river they travelled towards the forest, but when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere. The constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them; they gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason that two or three companies had already come that way, and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the Distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, (though with justice too, as they had deserved,) that about Brentwood, or that way, several of them perished in the fields, whether of the Plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason indeed why the people of









town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you"

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

CONSTABLE.—" If you will go another way, we will send you some provisions."

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

CONSTABLE.—" If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse; I see you have tents, you want no lodging."

JOHN.—" Well, what quantity of provisions will you send us?"

CONSTABLE .- " How many are you ? "

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

CONSTABLE.—" And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance."

JOHN .--- " No, no, you may depend on it."

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

* They had but one Horse among them.



tent, lest that should discover them; on the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet, and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

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

When they came near Epping they halted, chusing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway, but not far out of it on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard trees : here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their Carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides



City, had fled out in time for their lives, and having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the Plague being come into that town, were fled further, and as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field, and in the Forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think, or be afraid, that they should receive injury by them.

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

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them—" That London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them, subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rent of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard, and they would be loath to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told, how barbarous, how unhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London, when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful through all the City, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets, whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that as he heard, Waltham was already ; that















rather for fear of the Plague, which was come into such a town, than for having any signal of Infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John inclining not to go far from home, they moved towards the marshes on the side of Waltham: but here they found a man, who it seems kept a wear or stop upon the river, made to raise the water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the Sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham-Cross, Enfield and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way; though it seems the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

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

This, in the first place, intimated to them, that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness


















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











one of these creatures in Aldersgate-street, or that way: he was going along the street, raving mad to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the Plague upon him, which, it seems, was true ; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her; she was terribly frighted, as he was only a rude fellow, and she run from him, but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her: when she saw he would overtake her, she turned, and gave him a thrust so forcibly, he being but weak, that it pushed him down backward. But very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also; and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the Plague, and why should not she have it as well as he. She was frighted enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the Plague, she screamed out, and fell down in a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the Plague or no *.

Another infected Person came, and knocked at the

* There is a tale, somewhat opposite to this, related by Fabricius, ("Misc. Cur." Ann. II. Obs. 188,) as occurring in Holland, when the Plague raged there in 1636; and which Dr. Darwin has interwoven into one of his poems. Fabricius relates that during the Pestilence, a young girl, who was seized with it and had three carbuncles, was removed to a garden where her lover, who was betrothed to her, attended her as nurse, and slept with her as his wife. He remained uninfected, and she recovered, and was married to him.

" Love round their couch effused his rosy breath,

And with his keener arrows conquered Death."

" ECONOMY OF VEGETATION," Canto IV.





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into the street directly to the Thames in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frighted at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on. Upon which he ran down to the Steel-yard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being come in, as they call it, that is running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon-stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there, naked as he was, for a good while; when it being by that time high-water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Steelyard, landed, ran up the streets again to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs, and into his bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the Plague: that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, (that is to say, under his arms and his groin), and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I have only to add, that I do not relate this any more than some of the other, as a fact within my own knowledge, so as that I can vouch the truth of them,—and especially that of the man being cured by this extravagant adventure, which I confess I do not think very possible *; but it may serve to confirm the many desperate things which the distressed

* De Foe, as he often shews himself to have been too credulous, so he is here too sceptical. There are on record several authentic relations of persons in the delirium of fever having been cured by jumping into a cold bath; and there can be no doubt but that in some cases of plague, cold bathing might be very advantageous.



But let me observe here, that when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious Despair, or a despair of their Eternal state, but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the Infection, or to outlive the Plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped ; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the two last weeks in August and in the three first weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at farthest, and many the very same day they were taken. Whether the Dog-days, or as our Astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the Dog-star had that malignant effect ; or that all those who had the seeds of Infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above 3000 people died in one night*, and they that would have us believe they more critically observed it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two hours, viz. between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people's dying at this time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood: one family without the Bars, and not far

* See before, p. 239, note.





the people made no scruple of desiring such Dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of the Act of Parliament called the *Act of Uniformity*, to preach in the churches: nor did the church Ministers in that case make any difficulty of accepting their assistance; so that many of those whom they called silenced ministers, had their Mouths opened on this occasion, and preached publicly to the people.

Here we may observe, and I hope it will not be amiss to take notice of it, that a near view of Death would soon reconcile Men of good Principles one to another; and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situation in life, and our putting these things far from us, that our breaches are fomented, ill blood continued, prejudices, and breach of charity and of christian union so kept, so far carried on among us as it is. Another Plague year would reconcile all these differences; a close conversing with Death, or with Diseases that threaten Death, would soum off the gall from our tempers, remove the animosities among us, and bring us to see with differing eyes, than those which we looked on things with before. As the people who had been used to join with the Church, were reconciled at this time with the admitting the Dissenters to preach to them; so the Dissenters, who with an uncommon prejudice, had broken off from the Communion of the Church of England, were now content to come to the parish churches, and to conform to the Worship which they did not approve of before: but as the terror of the Infection abated, those things all returned again to their less desirable channel, and to the course they were in before *.

* The Ast of Uniformity was only one of the several measures

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I mention this but historically, I have no mind to enter into arguments to move either, or both sides, to a more charitable Compliance one with another; I do not see that it is probable such a discourse would

contrived or promoted by the Episcopalians to effect the complete restoration of the Church establishment as settled in the reign of They were opposed by sectaries of various Queen Elizabeth. classes, among whom the Presbyterians were the most formidable, and probably the most numerous; and against them especially was this hostile statute directed. "Both the Presbyterians and the Cavaliers had given proofs of their attachment to the king; but their loyalty was of a different order: the first sought to limit, the latter to extend, the powers of the crown; the one looked on the constitution of the church as hostile, the other as favourable to their respective views *." Hence a conflict between these two parties became almost unavoidable; and the devoted royalists, (at the head of whom may be reckoned the Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon,) perceived it to be their interest to crush, if possible, the Presbyterian faction; and they therefore employed their whole weight and influence in aiding those who were determined to make conformity to the episcopal church a part of the law of the land.

Those bishops who were living at the time of the king's restoration were reinstated in their sees as a matter of course, and new bishops were appointed to the vacant dioceses. On the 30th of July, 1661, an act of parliament received the royal assent to repeal the law made in the 17th of Charles I. for the exclusion of the bishops from the house of peers. This must have greatly diminished the parliamentary strength of the Presbyterians ;---whose power and influence throughout the country were still further weakened by the Corporation Act, passed on the 20th of December following. By that act, " Commissioners were appointed with the power of removing at discretion every individual holding office in or under any corporation, in the kingdom; and it required that all persons permitted to retain their situations should qualify themselves by renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and by declaring, upon oath, their belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever." With respect to the admission of future

* Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. vii. p. 374. 4to.







to; neither shall I say any thing more of it, but that it remains to be lamented.

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

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

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it. Almost all the dead part of the night the Dead-cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies, and as the Church-yard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again. It is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out to the cart, and by the number, one would have thought there had been

* In the "Intelligencer" of August the 11th, No. 63, is this passage.—" In the city, that is, in the close and filthy alleys and corners about it, the plague is very much increased, but in the broad and open streets there is but little appearance of it. The last Bill reckons 2817 of the Plague, whereof 208 within the walls of the city."






















by the multitude. Nor were the Magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger, and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding about them, yet in emergent cases, they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints. My Lord Mayor had a low gallery built on purpose in his hall, where he stood a little removed from the crowd when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise the proper officers, called my Lord Mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were *in maiting*; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were instantly employed to fill up and officiate in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner the Sheriffs and Aldermen did in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office ; and the sheriffs' officers or sergeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective Aldermen in their turn ; so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the Orders for the freedom of the markets observed; and in this part either the Lord Mayor, or one or both of the Sheriffs, were every market day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets, and going back again ; and that no nuisances nor frightful objects should be seen in the streets to terrify them, or

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how, they may have received the Infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the reason which makes so many people talk of the air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the Contagion was in the air. I have seen them in strange agitations and surprises on this account. "I have never come near any infected body !" says the disturbed person, "I have conversed with none but sound healthy people, and yet I have gotten the Distemper !"-" I am sure I am struck from Heaven," says another, and he falls to the serious part. Again, the first goes on exclaiming, "I have come near no Infection, nor any infected person; I am sure it is in the Air: we draw in Death when we breathe, and therefore 'tis the Hand of God; there is no withstanding it." And this at last made many people, being hardened to the danger, grow less concerned at it, and less cautious towards the latter end of the time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at first; then, with a kind of a Turkish predestinarianism, they would say, " If it pleased God to strike them, it was all one whether they went abroad or stayed at home, they could not escape it," and therefore they went boldly about even into infected houses, and infected company, visited sick people, and in short, lay in the beds with their wives or relations when they were infected; and what was the consequence? But the same that is the consequence in Turkey, and in those countries where they do those things : namely, that they were infected too, and died by hundreds and thousands.

I would be far from lessening the awe of the Judgments of God, and the reverence to his Providence,



to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means; excepting and reserving to himself, nevertheless, a Power to act in a supernatural way when he sees occasion. Now, it is evident, that in the case of an Infection, there is no apparent extraordinary occasion for supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appears sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that Heaven usually directs by a Contagion. Among these causes and effects, this of the *secret conveyance* of Infection imperceptible, and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute the fierceness of Divine vengeance, without putting it upon supernaturals and miracle.

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

The manner of its coming first to London, proves this also, viz. by Goods brought over from Holland, and brought thither from the Levant; the first breaking of it out in a house in Long-acre, where those Goods were carried, and first opened; its spreading from that house to other houses, by the visible unwary conversing with those who were sick, and the infecting the parish officers who were employed about the persons dead, and the like: these are known authorities for this great foundation



Tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours; for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrenous spots, or mortified flesh, in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain Death, and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till those mortal marks were upon them: but every body must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time; and consequently their breath, their sweat, their very clothes were contagious for many days before.

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

A certain Citizen who had lived safe, and untouched, till the month of September, when the weight of the Distemper lay more in the City than it had done before, was mighty cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body. Says another Citizen (a neighbour of his) to him, one day, "Do not be too confident, Mr. ----, it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see men alive and well, to outward appearance, one hour, and dead the next."--" That is true," says the first man, for he was not a man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while, and men, as I said above, especially in the City, began to be over easy upon that score. "That is true," says he, "I do not






















the question seems to lie thus :—"Where lay the seeds of the Infection all this while? How came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer?" Either the Distemper did not come immediately by contagion from body to body, or if it did, then a body may be capable to continue infected, without the disease discovering itself, many days, nay, weeks together,—even not a quarantine of days only, but a soixantine, not only forty days, but sixty days, or longer.

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

But there is another way of solving all this difficulty, which I think my own remembrance of the thing will supply; and that is, the fact is not granted, namely, that there died none [of the Plague] in those long intervals, viz. from the 20th of December to the 9th of February, and from thence to the 22nd of April. The weekly Bills are the only evidence on the other side, and those Bills were not of credit enough, at least with me, to support an hypo-

eight persons. It was only in the latter month, therefore, that the Plague began "to spread every way," and to make that rapid progress, which by the 10th of October had extended the Infection throughout every parish except one, connected with the metropolis.



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Dead of other diseases beside the Plague.

		<u> </u>	
From the 18th to the 25th	July	11	942
To the 1st of August			1004
To the 8th			1213
To the 15th .		2000	1439
To the 22nd .	きの見た	1742 8	1331
To the 29th	also be	19 . A.	1394
To the 5th of September	· · · ·	and and	1264
To the 12th .			1046
To the 19th			1132
To the 26th			927

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

From Aug. 1s	t to 8th.	to 15th.	to 22nd.	to 29th.
Fever .	. 314	353	348	383
Spotted Fever	. 1.74	190	166	165
Surfeit	. 85	. 87	74	99
Teeth .	. 90	113	111	133
	663	743	699	780

From Aug. 29. to Sept. 5th. to 12th. to 19th. to 26th.

0		And the second se			
Fever	inet	364	332	309	268
Spotted	Fever	157	97	101	65
Surfeit		68	45	49	36
Teeth		138	128	121	112
r ligit is		727	602	580	481
			and the second se	and the second second	and the second s

There were several other articles which bore a proportion to these, and which it is easy to perceive, were increased on the same account, as aged, consumptions, vomitings, imposthumes, gripes, and the 112 like: many of which were not doubted to be infected people; but as it was of the utmost consequence to families not to be known to be infected, if it was possible to avoid it, so they took all the measures they could to have it not believed; and if any died in their houses, to get them returned to the Examiners, and by the searchers, as having died of other distempers.

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

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

It might be also, that the Infection might remain in other parts of the same parcel of Goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps

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The misery of the Poor I had many occasions to be an eye-witness of, and sometimes also of the charitable assistance that some pious people daily gave to such, sending them relief and supplies both of food, physic, and other help, as they found they wanted. And indeed it is a debt of justice due to the temper of the people of that day, to take notice here, that not only great sums, very great sums of money were charitably sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for the assistance and support of the poor distempered People ; but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent people about to enquire into the condition . of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them. Nay, some pious Ladies were so transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in discharge of the great duty of charity, that they went about in person distributing alms to the Poor; and even visiting poor families, though sick and infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering apothecaries and surgeons; the first to supply them with drugs or plaisters, and such things as they wanted ; and the last to lance and dress the swellings and tumours, where such were wanting; giving their blessing to the Poor in substantial relief to them, as well as hearty prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of those charitable people were suffered to fall under the calamity itself; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of the like distress; and doubtless, if "they that give to the Poor, lend to the Lord, and he will repay them;"









merchants at Leghorn, the captains of the ships had no right, nor any orders, to dispose of the goods; so that great inconveniences followed to the merchants. But this was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required, and the merchants at Leghorn and Naples having notice given them, sent again from thence to take care of the effects, which were particularly consigned to those ports, and to bring back in other ships such as were improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater; for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report that one of our ships having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which were some bales of English cloth, cotton, kerseys, and such like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burnt, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This I believe was in part true, though I do not affirm it; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the Infection being so violent in London.

I heard likewise that the Plague was carried into those countries by some of our ships, and particularly into the port of Faro in the kingdom of Algarve, belonging to the king of Portugal; and that several persons died of it there, but it was not confirmed.

On the other hand, though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, it is most certain that the Plague, as has been said, keeping at first much at that end of the town next Westminster, the merchandising part of the town, such as the City and the water side, was perfectly sound, till at least the beginning of July; and the ships in the river till

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the beginning of August; for, to the first of July, there had died but seven within the whole City, and but sixty within the Liberties: only one in all the parishes of Stepney, Aldgate, and White-chapel; and but two in all the eight parishes of Southwark. But it was the same thing abroad, for the bad news was gone over the whole world, that the city of London was infected with the Plague; and there was no inquiring there how the Infection proceeded, nor at which part of the town it was begun, or was reached to.

Besides, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the Bills grew so high, all on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to lessen the report of it, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was, the account which the weekly Bills gave in was sufficient ; and that there died from two thousand to three or four thousand a week, was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very City itself, put the whole world, I say, upon their guard against it.

You may be sure also, that the report of these things lost nothing in the carriage: the-Plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great, as you may observe by what I have said; but the rumour was infinitely greater, and it must not be wondered that our friends abroad, as my brother's correspondents in particular were told there, namely, in Portugal and Italy, where he chiefly traded, that in London there died twenty thousand in a week; that the dead bodies lay unburied by heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, nor the sound to look after the sick; that all the Kingdom was infected likewise, so that it











fills the air with vermin, and nourishes innumerable numbers and kinds of venomous creatures, which breed in our food, in the plants, and even in our bodies, by the very stench of which, infection may be propagated; also, that heat in the air, or heat of weather, as we ordinarily call it, makes bodies relax and faint, exhausts the spirits, opens the pores, and makes us more apt to receive infection, or any evil influence, be it from noxious pestilential vapours, or any other thing in the air;-but that the heat of fire, and especially of coal fires, kept in our houses, or near us, had a quite different operation, the heat being not of the same kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish, but to consume and dissipate all those noxious fumes, which the other kind of heat rather exhaled, and stagnated, than separated, and burnt up: besides, it was alleged that the sulphurous and nitrous particles, that are often found to be in the coal, with that bituminous substance which burns, are all assistant to clear and purge the air, and render it wholesome and safe to breathe in, after the noxious particles (as above) are dispersed and burnt up.

The latter opinion prevailed at that time, and as I must confess I think with good reason, and the experience of the citizens confirmed it, many houses which had constant fires kept in the rooms, having never been infected at all; and I must join my experience to it, for I found the keeping of good fires kept our rooms sweet and wholesome, and I do verily believe made our whole family so, more than would otherwise have been.

But I return to the coals as a trade. It was with no little difficulty that this trade was kept open, and particularly because as we were in an open war with the Dutch, at that time, the Dutch Capers at first took







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things, as there was a vast number of people fled, and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds, if above one-half, of the consumption of provisions in the City as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, but not of hay or grass; by which means bread was cheap, by reason of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass; but butter and cheese were dear for the same reason; and hay in the market, just beyond Whitechapel bars, was sold at £4 per load. But that affected not the poor: there was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes; and they were the cheaper, because of the want of people; but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the Plague.

But to come to matters of trade :- First, foreign exportation being stopped, or at least very much interrupted, and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course, which were usually bought for exportation; and though sometimes merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent: the passages being so generally stopt, that the English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

This put a stop to the manufactures, that were for exportation, in most parts of England, except in some out-ports, and even that was soon stopped; for they all had the Plague in their turn. But though this was felt all over England, yet what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the City being stopped.

All kinds of handicrafts in the City, &c., tradesmen, and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off, and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades, but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for; as also of families whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families: I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess it is for the honour of the City of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands of those as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed; so that it may be safely averred that nobody perished for want, at least, that the Magistrates had any notice given them of *.

This stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country, would have put the people there to much greater difficulties, but that the master workmen, clothiers, and others, to the uttermost of their stocks and strength, kept on making their goods to keep the Poor at work, believing that as soon as the Sickness should abate, they would have a quick demand in proportion to the decay of their trade at that time: but, as none but those masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the

* With the annexed limitation, the fact, as stated by De Foe, may possibly be admitted; yet the circumstances related in pages 136—140, include much evidence to the contrary.

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on, and another week in October it decreased 1849; so that the number dead of the Plague was but 2665; and the next week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but (as above) the malignity of the disease abated *.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people, whether it is so, or not, all over the world, that is none of my particular business to enquire,—but I saw it apparently here, that as upon the first fright of the Infection they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright; so now, upon this notion spreading, (viz) that the Distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was catched, it was not so mortal, and seeing abundance of people, who really fell sick, recover again daily; they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves, and of the Infection, that they made no more

* In the "Intelligencer," No. 80, under the date October 4th, is a passage corresponding with the above remark, viz. "The Bill of Mortality for this week has decreased 740, and we are encouraged to hope for a farther abatement-from the consideration of the Distemper itself, which is observed not to be so mortal as it was, the greater part of the infected now escaping" [Death.] On the 3rd of October, a Royal Proclamation was issued at Oxford, appointing a General Fast, on account of the Plague-to be kept November 8th, instead of All Saints' Day, which had been first fixed on :" All Saints' Day being a great festival of the church, and so not fit to be kept as a day of fasting and humiliation." Another Proclamation was issued on the 15th of October, adjourning the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery, for a part of Michaelmas Term, from Westminster to Oxford. The Exchequer Court had been removed to Nonsuch, in Surrey, about the middle of August, previously.

of the Plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much; they not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them, that were running, and consequently contagious, but ate and drink with them, nay, went into their houses to visit them, and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

This I could not see rational. My friend Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the Distemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell sick, but he alleged, that so many of those that fell sick did not die ;—but I think that while many did die, and that, at best, the Distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before ; that all those things, together with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous mixture with the sick people, and make them as anxious almost to avoid the Infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the Distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics, which the surgeons laid on the swellings to bring them to break, and to run; without which the danger of Death was very great, even to the last: also the unsufferable torment of the swellings, which though it might not make people raving and distracted, as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no














The people being thus returned, as it were, in general, it was very strange to find, that in their inquiring after their friends some whole families were so entirely swept away, that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was any body to be found to possess or shew any title to that little they had left; for in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said, such abandoned effects came to the King as the universal Heir ; upon which we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the King granted all such as Deodands to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the Poor, of whom there were very many: for it is to be observed, that though the occasion of relief, and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the Plague, than now after all was over; yet the distress of the Poor was more now a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were now shut. People supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands; whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Though the health of the City was now very much restored, yet foreign trade did not begin to stir, neither would foreigners admit our ships into their ports for a great while: as for the Dutch, the misunderstandings between our Court and them had broken out into a war the year before; so that our trade that way was wholly interrupted; but Spain and Portugal, Italy and Barbary, as also Hamburgh, and all the ports in the Baltick, these were all shy of



















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'tis certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps, that is to say, without account; and if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I, (though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had,) I say, if I may believe them, there were not many less buried those first three weeks in September than 20,000 per week. But however the others aver the truth of this, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account : seven and eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say, that every thing is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

Upon all these accounts I say I could wish, when we were recovered, our conduct had been more distinguished for charity and kindness in remembrance of the past calamity, and not so much in valuing ourselves upon our boldness in staying; as if all men were cowards that flee from the hand of God, or that those who stay, do not sometimes owe their courage to their ignorance, and despising the Hand of their Maker, which is a criminal kind of desperation, and not a true courage.

I cannot but leave it upon record, that the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, lord mayor's and sheriffs' men, as also parish officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties in general with as much courage as any; and perhaps with more, because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with he Infection; but then it must be added too, that a great number of them died, indeed it was scarce possible it should be otherwise.

I have not said one word here about the Physic or Preparations that we ordinarily made use of, on this terrible occasion; I mean we that went frequently abroad up and down street, as I did. Much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already; it may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several Preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice, and which being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

One thing I could not help observing, what befel one of the Quacks, who published that he had a most excellent Preservative against the Plague, which whoever kept about them, should never be infected, nor liable to Infection; this man, who we may reasonably suppose, did not go abroad without some of this excellent Preservative in his pocket, yet was taken by the Distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the Physic-haters, or Physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr. Heath; but yet I must acknowledge, I made use of little or nothing, except as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent to have ready, in case I met with any thing of offensive smells, or went too near any burying-place, or dead body.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the spirits always high and hot with cordials, and wine, and such things; and which, as I observed, one learned Physician used himself so much to, as that

he could not leave them off when the Infection was quite gone, and so became a Sot for all his life after.

I remember, my friend the doctor used to say, that there was a certain set of drugs and preparations, which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an Infection ; out of which, or with which, Physicians might make an infinite variety of medicines, as the ringers of bells make several hundred different rounds of music by the changing and order of sound but in six bells;-and that all these preparations shall be really very good ; "therefore," said he, "I do not wonder that so vast a throng of medicines is offered in the present calamity; and almost every physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his judgment or experience guides him ; but," says my friend, "let all the prescriptions of all the Physicians in London be examined; and it will be found, that they are all compounded of the same things, with such variations only, as the particular fancy of the doctor leads him to; so that," says he, "every man judging a little of his own constitution, and manner of his living, and circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own medicines out of the ordinary drugs and preparations. Some recommend. one thing as most sovereign, and some another; some," says he, "think that Pill. Ruffi, which is called, itself, the Anti-pestilential Pill, is the best preparation that can be made *; others think, that

* The *Pillulæ Rufi* is a composition of Aloes and Myrrh, still retained in the London Pharmacopæia, as a useful aperient medicine, under the name of *Pilulæ Aloes cum Myrrhâ*. Venice Treacle, which is a cordial confection consisting of many ingredients, including Opium, has been replaced in modern medical practice by the less complicated *Confectio Opii*.

The following passage, bearing on this subject, is derived from the Correspondence of Mr. Oldenburgh with the Hon. Robert



many of whom came within the reach of my own knowledge; but that all of them were swept off I much question: I believe rather they fled into the country, and tried their practices upon the people there, who were in apprehension of the Infection before it came among them.

This, however, is certain, not a man of them appeared for a great while in or about London. There were, indeed, several Doctors, who published bills, recommending their several physical Preparations for cleansing the body, as they call it, after the Plague, and needful, as they said, for such people to take, who had been visited and had been cured ;-whereas I must own, I believe that it was the opinion of the most eminent physicians at that time, that the Plague was itself a sufficient purge; and that those who escaped the Infection needed no physic to cleanse their bodies of any other things; the running sores, the tumours, &c., which were broken and kept open by the directions of the Physicians, having sufficiently cleansed them; and that all other distempers, and causes of distempers, were effectually carried off that way ; and as the Physicians gave this as their opinion, wherever they came, the quacks got little business.

There were, indeed, several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the Plague, and which, whether they were contrived to fright and disorder the people, as some imagined, I cannot say, but sometimes we were told the Plague would return by such a time; and the famous *Solomon Eagle*, the naked Quaker, I have mentioned, prophesied evil tidings every day; and several others told us, that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and the sorer and severer strokes were yet behind. Had



down dead, as they were buying meat, gave rise to a rumour, that the meat was all infected, which, though it might affright the people, and spoiled the market for two or three days; yet it appeared plainly afterwards, that there was nothing of truth in the suggestion: but nobody can account for the possession of fear when it takes hold of the mind.

However, it pleased God, by the continuing of the winter weather, so to restore the health of the City, that by February following, [1665-6,] we reckoned the Distemper quite ceased, and then we were not so easily frighted again *.

There was still a question among the learned, and which at first perplexed the people a little,-and that was in what manner to purge the houses and goods where the Plague had been, and how to render them habitable again, which had been left empty during the time of the Plague. Abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind, and some of another, in which the people, who listened to them, put themselves to a great, and indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expence; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things in their rooms, did as well as the best; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste, and at all hazards, found little or no inconvenience in their houses, nor in their goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent cautious people did enter into some measures for airing and sweetening

^{*} The weather, [in February] says Lord Clarendon, "was as it could be wished, deep snows and terrible frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the Infection."

their houses, and burnt perfumes, incense, benjamin, resin, and sulphur, in their rooms close shut up, and then let the air carry it all out with a blast of gunpowder. Others caused large fires to be made all day and all night, for several days and nights; by the same token that two or three were pleased to set their houses on fire, and so effectually sweetened them by burning them down to the ground : as particularly one at Ratcliff, one in Holborn, and one at Westminster; besides two or three that were set on fire, but the fire was happily got out again before it went far enough to burn down the houses ; and one citizen's servant, I think it was in Thames-street, carried so much gunpowder into his master's house, for clearing it of the Infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the roof of the house. But the time was not fully come that the City was to be purged with fire, nor was it far off; for within nine months more I saw it all lying in ashes; when, as some of our quacking philosophers pretend, the seeds of the Plague were entirely destroyed, and not before ;-a Notion too ridiculous to speak of here, since, had the Seeds of the Plague remained in the houses, not to be destroyed but by fire, how has it been that they have not since broken out? Seeing, that all those buildings in the Suburbs and Liberties, all in the great parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Cripplegate, and St. Giles, where the Fire never came, and where the Plague raged with the greatest violence, remain still in the same condition they were in before.

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain that those people who were more than ordinarily cautious of their health, did take particular





their wills. We indeed had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted; but we lost a great many men, and some ships. But, as I observed, the Plague was not in the Fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad, if I could close the account of this melancholy Year with some particular Examples historically; I mean of the Thankfulness to God our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly, the circumstances of the Deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the Deliverance were indeed very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already, and particularly the dreadful condition which we were all in when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop of the Infection.

Nothing but the immediate Finger of God, nothing but Omnipotent Power, could have done it ! The Contagion despised all medicine, Death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all, and every thing that had a Soul. Men every where began to despair; every heart failed them for fear: people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls; and the terrors of Death sat in the very faces and countenances of the People.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, "Vain was the help of Man,"—I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself, and the malignity declining, as I have said,





please, it is no Enthusiasm. It was acknowledged at that time by all mankind. The disease was enervated, and its malignity spent, and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the Philosophers search for reasons in Nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the Debt they owe to their Maker; those Physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it !

If I should say, that this is a visible summons to us all to Thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history; making myself a teacher instead of giving my observations of things: and this restrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwise do;—but if ten Lepers were healed, and but one returned to give Thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself *.

Nor will I deny, but there were abundance of People, who, to all appearance, were very thankful at that time; for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinary long affected with it. But the impression was so strong at that time, that it could not be resisted, no, not by the Worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street, that were strangers, and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through

* This allusion refers to St. Luke's Gospel, chap. xvii. verses 12_19. "And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God !___And Jesus said, 'Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine?'"



whelmed in the water, viz. That "They sang his Praise, but they soon forgot his Works."

I can go no farther here :—I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasing work of reflecting, whatever Cause there was for it, upon the Unthankfulness and Return of all manner of Wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself.—I shall conclude the account of this calamitous Year, therefore, with a coarse but sincere Stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written :—

> A dreadful Plague in London was In the year sixty-five, Which swept an hundred thousand souls Away-yet I alive !

> > H. F.



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in the ensuing passages; the arrangement of which has been somewhat altered from the order in which they appear in the Manuscript, for the purpose of better connecting the subjects. The work is thus intituled :—

"Aoupoypapia: or an Experimental Relation of the Plague, of what hath happened Remarkqueable in the last Plague in the City of London: demonstrating its Generation, Progresse, fore-running and subsequent Diseases and Accidents, Common Signes, good and evill, Meanes of Preservation, Method of Cure, generall and particular, with a Collection of choice and tried Medicines for Preservation and Cure, by the practicall Experience and Observation of William Boghurst, Apothecary in St. Giles's in the Fields. London, 1666."

In an address To the Reader, Mr. Boghurst says, the Plague continued "eighteen months, viz. ffrom the ijd of November 1664, to the latter end of this May last past, 1666:" and he remarks, that he was the only person who had then written on the late Plague, from experience and observation.

Among the "Signes, fore-shewing a Plague coming," he enumerates that of "Birds, wild-fowl, and wild beasts leaving their accustomed places : few swallowes were seene in the yeares 1664 and 65."

"In the summer before the Plague, (in 1664,) there was such a multitude of flies that they lined the insides of houses; and if any threads or strings did hang down in any place, they were presently thick set with flies like ropes of onions; and swarms of ants covered the highways, that you might have taken up a handful at a time, both winged and creeping ants; and such a multitude of croaking frogs in ditches that you might have heard them before you










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dying ; eat and drank with them, especially those that had sores, sat down by their bed-sides and upon their beds, discoursing with them an hour together. If I had time, I stayed by them to see them die, and see the manner of their death, and closed up their mouth and eyes; for they died with their mouth and eyes very much open and staring. Then if people had no body to help them, (for help was scarce at such a time and place,) I helped to lay them forth out of the bed, and afterwards into the Coffin; and last of all, accompanied them to the Ground."

Speaking of the symptoms of the Plague, Mr. Boghurst notices a great thirst, with a sense of suffocation, and weight on the chest-"almost like those who are troubled with the Night Mare. I remember," he says, "but one patient that lived under any degree of it, and she lived indeed beyond expectation, for she stammered so that you could not understand what she said, with a very great stoppage and oppression at the breast, and other evill signes. I caused her to try a conclusion which came in my head: viz. I made her lay a great mastive puppy dogge upon her breast two or three hours together, and made her drink Dill, Pennyroyal, Fennel and Anniseed boyld in Posset-drink, and sometimes Anniseed-water, for she was a fat woman and would bear it: and by degrees all her stopping and lisping left her, and she crept up again, -and is very well at this day."

In the chapter on "Prophylactics, or preservative means," Mr. Boghurst, in reference to precautions used with regard to letters, says—" Some would sift them in a sieve, some wash them first in water, and then dry them at the fire, some air them at the top





Independently of the above Treatise, Mr. Boghurst was the author of an English poem, entitled "Londinologia, sive Londini Encomium : The Antiquities and Excellencyes of London,"—which is preserved in MS. in the British Museum. See Ayscough's Cat. of MSS. No. 908, fol. 72—84. From a notice appended to those verses, it appears that Mr. Boghurst was a native of Ditton, in Kent, and that he died September 2nd, 1685, aged 54; and was conveyed from London, and buried in the churchyard at Ditton, in accordance with his own directions.













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refuse to do it voluntarily, for the repayment of those that shall disburse any money. The Ministers of every Parish are desired to exhort the People to be forward in so hopeful a means, if God shall please to grant his Blessing thereupon. And that notice be given, that upon Tuesday the fifth of September, at eight of the clock at night, the Fires are to be kindled in all Streets, Courts, Lanes and Alleys, of the City and Suburbs thereof; and all Officers whatsoever of the several Wards and Parishes, as also the several Inhabitants, are to take special care for the punctual performance hereof, as they will answer their neglect at their utmost peril.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE was Lord Mayor at the time of issuing the above Proclamation; and he was succeeded in the Mayoralty, on the 30th of September, by SIR THOMAS BLUDWORTH; the memorable personage to whose incapacity and want of moral courage at the commencement of the Great Fire of 1666, the writers of the time have attributed the extensive spreading of that Conflagration.

No. V:

OPINION OF DR. HODGES ON THE VIRTUES OF SACK.

DE FOE, in the latter part of his "Memoirs," (vide p. 338, of this edition,) has noticed the case of a Physician whose constant use of remedial Cordials occasioned him to become a confirmed Sot. Most probably the person meant was Dr. Hodges, the author of "Loimologia," from whose work De Foe derived so much of his information, and who from pecuniary embarrassments, became a prisoner in Ludgate, and died in confinement. Like Sir John Falstaff, the Doctor found great virtue in Sack; and he has thus stated his high opinion of its excellence in the account of his method of practice during the Contagion.

'But before I proceed further, gratitude obliges me to do justice to the virtues of *Sack*, as it deservedly is ranked amongst the principal antidotes, whether it be drunk by itself or impregnated with wormwood, angelica, &c., for I have never yet met with anything so agreeable to the nerves and spirits in all my experience. That which is best is middleaged, neat, fine, bright, racy, and of a walnut flavour; and it is certainly true that during the late fatal times both the infected and the well found vast benefit from it, unless they who used it too intemperatively: many indeed medicated it with various alexipharmic simples.'

Again, in noticing Tobacco as a prophylactic, Dr. Hodges says,—'I must confess at uncertainties

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about it; though as to myself, I am its professed enemy, and was accustomed to supply its place as an antidote with Sack.' He next mentions Amulets as worn against Infection; and, after characterising them as *Baubles*, proceeds to give directions "more conformable to reason and the rules of Medicine," concluding his discourse with the subjoined account of his own practice.

'I think it not amiss to recite the means which I used to preserve myself from the Infection, during the continual course of my business among the sick.

'As soon as I rose in the morning early, I took the quantity of a Nutmeg of the Anti-pestilential Electuary; then after the dispatch of private concerns in my family, I ventured into a large room where crowds of Citizens used to be waiting for me; and there I 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 uncured, and others came to be advised under the first symptoms of seizure; all which I endeavoured to dispatch with all possible care to their various exigencies.

'As soon as this crowd could be discharged, I judged it not proper to go abroad, fasting and therefore got my Breakfast. After which, till dinner-time, I visited the sick at their Houses; where, upon entering their Houses, I immediately had burnt some proper thing upon coals, and also kept in my mouth some Lozenges all the while I was examining them. But they are in a mistake who report that Physicians used on such occasions very hot things; as Myrrh, Zedoary, Angelica, Ginger, &c., for many deceived thereby, raised Inflammations upon their Tonsils, and greatly endangered their Lungs.



















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