

An answer to Dr. William Brakenridge's letter concerning the number of inhabitants, within the London Bills of Mortality. Wherein the doctor's letter is inserted at large, his arguments proved inclusive, and the number of inhabitants increasing / by George Burrington.

Contributors

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Brakenridge, William.

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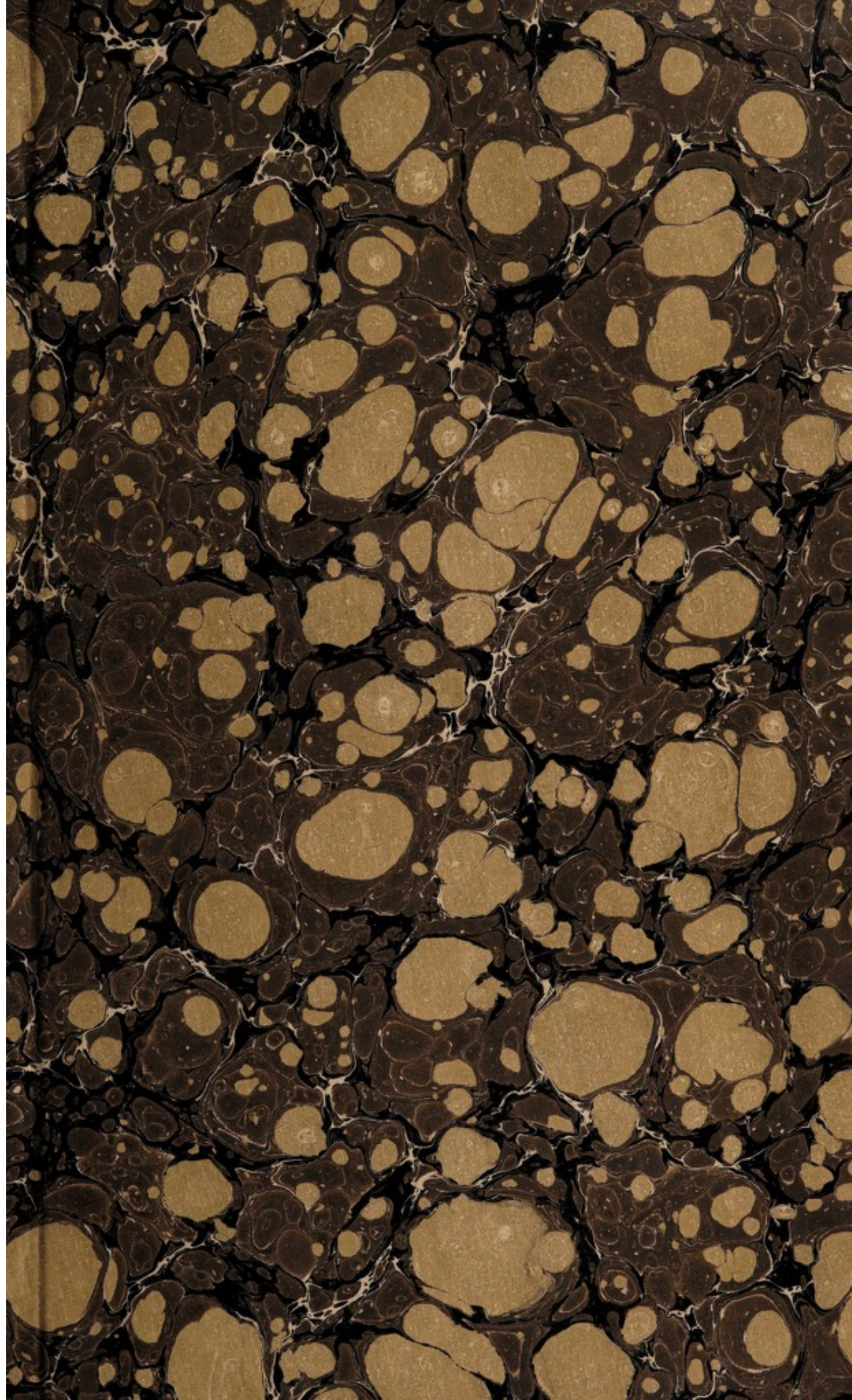
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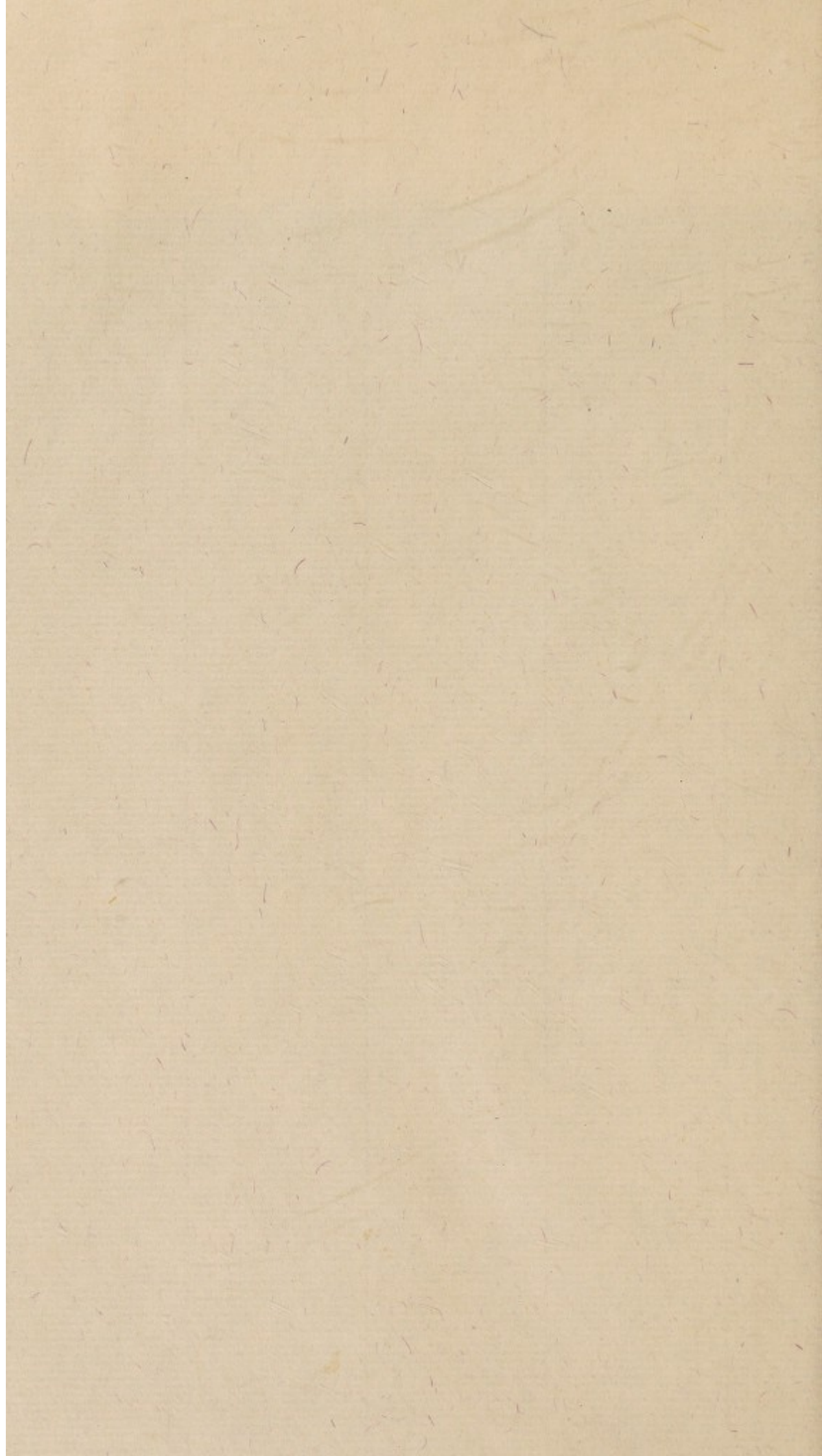
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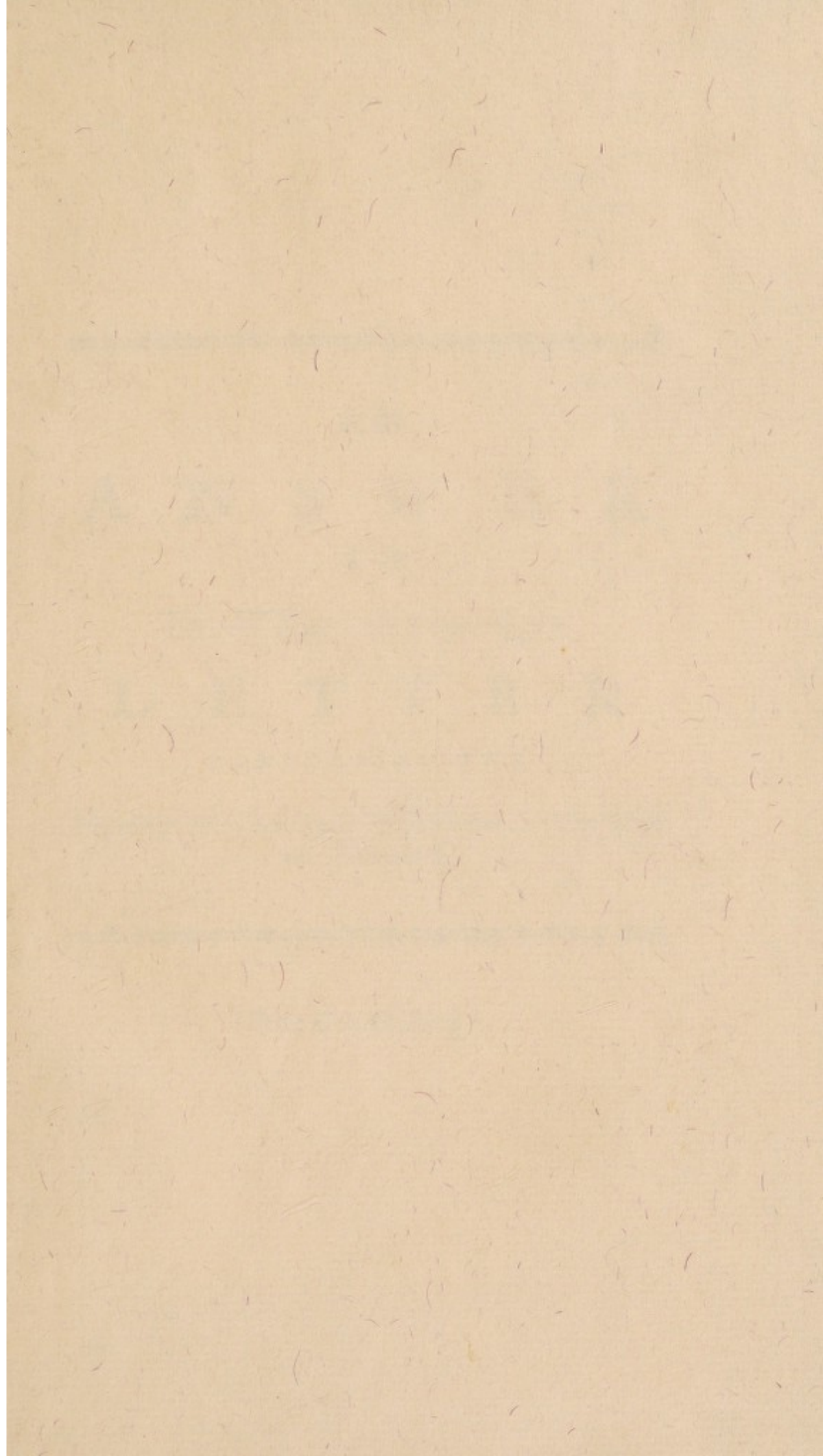


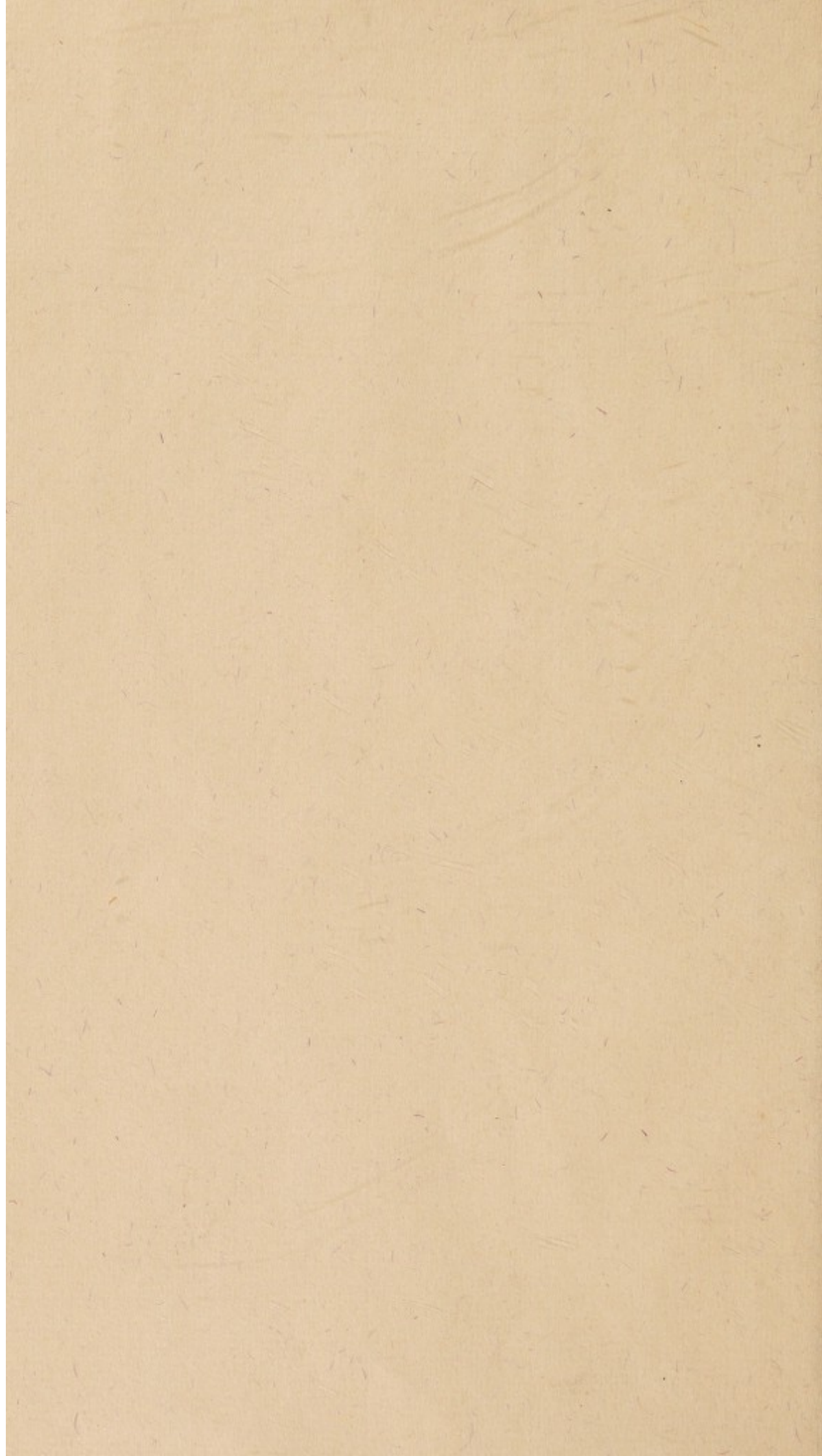


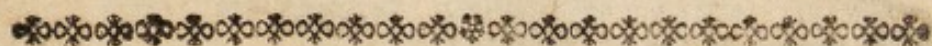
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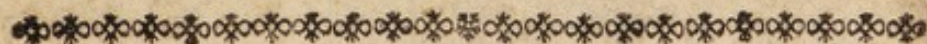
A N
A N S W E R
T O

Dr. *William Brakenridge's*

L E T T E R

C O N C E R N I N G T H E

Number of Inhabitants within the *London Bills*
of Mortality.



[Price One Shilling.]

THE

AM

W. S. W. R.

TO

DR. J. W. R.

W. S. W. R.

CONTRACT NO. 1

Number of specimens which this Bill
of Material

has been used for

[Date of Bill]

A N
A N S W E R
T O
Dr. *William Brakenridge's*
L E T T E R

CONCERNING THE
Number of Inhabitants, within the
London Bills of Mortality.

WHEREIN THE
Doctor's Letter is inserted at large, his Arguments proved inconclusive, and the
Number of Inhabitants increafing.

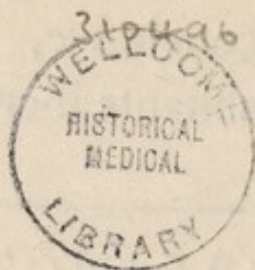
By GEORGE BURRINGTON, Esq;
Heretofore Governor of *North-Carolina.*

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. SCOTT at the *Black Swan*
in *Pater-noster-Row.*

MDCCLVII.

ERRATA.

- Page 24, Line 23, for *Revolution* read *Revocation*.
— 25, — last, dele *as*.
— 25, — 22, for *my* read *may*.
— 26, — 1, instead of *is*, read *they are*.
— 29, — 21, dele *there*.
— 30, — 8, for *frivolent* read *frivolous*.





A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E

Rev. Dr. *Brakenridge's*
L E T T E R, &c.

✱(✱)✱ A V I N G been desired by a
✱(✱)✱ H ✱ worthy Gentleman to consider an
✱(✱)✱ Essay, written by the Reverend
Doctor *Brakenridge*, Minister of *St. Michael*
Bassishaw, and Librarian of *Sion College*, tend-
ing to prove that the Number of Inhabitants
within the Bills of Mortality for *London* and
Westminster, are of late Years greatly dimi-
nished ; I have considered it accordingly, and
upon the Issue, find more Objections to offer
than Compliments to pay the learned Doctor
upon it : Curiosity which he assigns for the
Motive of his Enquiry, will hardly excuse
him for publishing it, if founded upon Truth,
more especially by the Channel of the *Royal*
Society, by which it was sure to be commu-
B hicated

nicated to all the Learned in *Europe*. If we are really in the consumptive Way he would have the World believe, the Secret ought to have been kept as much in the dark as possible, we were shrunk abundantly too much in the Opinion of our Neighbours before; and to be the Exposers of our Decays, are Wantonneſſes the moſt inexcusable. But ſhould the Doctor's whole Hypotheſis prove only a melancholy Dream, what Excuse will he make for printing and publiſhing ſuch Traſh, or what Amends can he make his Country for ſuch a Miſrepresentation of it? Not inclined to ſee Things in ſo diſcouraging a Light, I ſhall endeavour to give this learned Gentleman a categorical Answer, and ſubmit the Determination to the Public, deſiring the reſpectable Corps of Reviewers, Critical-Reviewers, Magazine, and Literary Magazine-Writers, to give their Opinion, either for the Doctor or me, as ſeemeth beſt to their profound unnerring Judgment. I place both Performances before them, giving, as I ought, the Precedency to the Doctor's, deſiring no other Favour than this, that not being a Writer by Profeſſion, nor ever gained by Writing, Defects of Method or Stile, may not be conſtrued into Defects of Matter or Argument.



A
L E T T E R

FROM THE

Rev. Dr. *Brakenridge*, F. R. S.

D A T E D,

November 20, 1754,

*Concerning the Number of Inhabitants
within the London Bills of Mortality.*

✱✱✱ S I have lately had the Curiosity to
✱ A ✱ consider the Number of Inhabitants
✱✱✱ in *London* and *Westminster*, whether
they increase or decrease

I have consulted the yearly Bills of Mortality for the last fifty Years, which I imagine will be sufficient for my Purpose; and from them I have extracted all the Numbers of the Baptisms and Burials, both within the Walls of *London*, and at large within the Bills; for I thought that within the City Walls, where the Number of Houses is nearly known, the Baptisms and Burials might be very useful to reason upon, con-

cerning the whole Inhabitants within and without. And because it may be surer to compute from a Number of Years taken at an Average, than from the Numbers in any one Year, as they stand in the Bills; I have taken the Sums of the Numbers, for each five Years of the fifty, and then the fifth Part of each of these Sums; which will, at a Medium, be the Number for any particular Year. And in like Manner, I have taken the Sums of the Numbers for each ten Years, and the tenth Part of each of the Sums will be the Number for each Year at an Average. And the Numbers so found will appear thus:

Years.	Baptisms.	Burials	Baptisms.	Burials.
1704 — 8	1870	2553	15867	22103
1709 — 13	1805	2551	15288	21701
1714 — 18	1890	2706	17586	24641
1719 — 23	1871	2719	18360	26978
1724 — 28	1829	2727	18442	27670
1729 — 33	1578	2532	17452	26267
1734 — 38	1406	2242	16762	26165
1739 — 43	1221	2397	15034	28219
1744 — 48	1062	1989	14402	23884
1749 — 53	1087	1790	14850	22006
1704 — 13	1837	2552	15577	21602
1714 — 23	1880	2712	18073	25809
1724 — 33	1703	2647	17920	27168
1734 — 43	1313	2320	15898	27192
1744 — 53	1074	1890	14626	22945

Where the Numbers are ranged in five Columns: the first denotes the Years; the second

cond and third, the Baptisms and Burials within the City Walls; and the third and fourth shew the Baptisms and Burials at large, within the Bills. Thus, for Instance, 22945 is the Number of Burials, at a Medium, for any of the ten Years within the Bills, from 1744 to 1753 inclusive. And in like Manner, 1221 is the Number of Baptisms for any Year, at an Average for five Years, from 1739 to 1743 inclusive, and so of others. The Numbers above the Line are computed for five Years, and those below for ten.

In the Burials it is always to be considered, that they are perhaps 2000 more, than what the Bills represent them. For there are Burying-Grounds belonging to the Protestant Dissenters, the *Quakers*, and the *Jews*; of which there is no Account taken, and that are very considerable. In the first of which in *Bunhill-Fields*, I have been informed, there are about 400 Burials in the Year, and in the others, together, there may be about 400 more; which Sum of 800 comes, we may suppose, from all Parts within the Bills. But I think the one half, *viz.* 400, must at least come within the City; where there are most Protestant Dissenters and *Jews*: so that

400 may always be added to the Burials, within the City. It is likewise to be remembered, that both from within and without the City, a great many Burials go into the Country, of which there is no Notice taken. But from what I have observed, if we were to suppose that there are 1200 in the Whole carried out into the Country, over and above the 800 mentioned above, in the Burying-Grounds; I should imagine that to be the utmost. And therefore in our Calculations we shall suppose 2000 Burials yearly, more than in the Bills at large. And which, whether we are exact enough or not in the Supposition, will by no means hinder us to discover the Increase or Decrease of the People.

It is next to be observed, that in the Bills, the Baptisms are always about two fifth Parts at least less than the Burials, with the Numbers added to them above-mentioned; and that this Difference within the City seems continually to increase, so that it is much greater now than it was some Years ago; which appears plainly to arise from two Causes; the Number of Dissenters of various Denominations, and the Multitude of
 People

People that live unmarried. But I think it is rather owing to the last: for in *London* and *Westminster* the one half of the People at least live single, that are above twenty-one Years of Age; which must prevent almost as many more Births, that might be reasonably expected. And this is not mere Conjecture, I have had some Proof from a particular Detail given me of one Parish within the City; where the greater Part of those that are above that Age are single. In the natural State of Mankind it seems plain, that the Number of Births should be greater than the Burials, and I believe that in many Parishes in the Country they are near double. I found it so in the Isle of *Wight*, where I lived some Time, and had an Opportunity to see the Registers; for there the Births were generally near double. And even in *London*, before the great Fire 1666, it appears from some Parish Registers, that the Baptisms were near about equal to the Burials, and never afterwards: the Reason of which I do not understand, unless it be that more People were then married, and that from that Time there was a greater Confluence of Strangers;

Strangers; for there certainly were more Dissenters at that Time, than ever after.

It is farther to be observed, that in the Bills from the Year 1704 to the Year 1728; without the City both the Number of Christenings and Burials continually increased; and that from that Time to 1743, they continued nearly the same; but after 1743 they gradually decreased till this Time; which plainly shews, that the Inhabitants were increasing till about the Year 1728; and that from thence to 1743, they remained in the same State nearly; but that afterwards during the last ten Years, till 1753, they were constantly diminishing. For it is evident that the Number of the Inhabitants must always be in Proportion to the Number of Births and Burials considered together. And hence it appears, that the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* were in the most flourishing State, with Regard to Numbers, from 1728 to 1743, and that they are now past their Height, and in the same State, they were in the Year 1708; and the first Decrease seems to have been at the Beginning of the last *French* War, which was in the Year 1744. Within the City Walls the Number of the

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Inhabitants do not seem to fluctuate in the same Periods of Time, as without; for the most numerous State of the City, appears to have been from the Year 1718 to the Year 1728, and then after that they have been continually decreasing; so that when they were most numerous within the Walls, they were not then arrived at the Height without; and when they were in the highest State without, they were diminishing in the City. Perhaps the vast Number of New Buildings within the Liberties of *Westminster*, may have in Part caused this Diminution. And as from the Year 1718, within the City, the Christenings have been so remarkably decreasing, that they are now but three fifths of what they were at that Time, and the Burials are likewise diminished above one fourth in the last five Years; this seems to shew that the Inhabitants within the City Walls must be near one fourth fewer, than they were in the Year 1718.

Now in order to calculate the Number of Inhabitants, it will be necessary to observe, that in a Year in *London* there generally dies one Person in thirty. This Sir *William Petty* has long ago observed; and I have found it to

be near the Truth, upon consulting my Parish Register. For in the Parish of *Bassishaw*, *London*, there are not above 800 People, as appears from an Account that I had lately given me: and the Burials for the last ten Years, in the whole amount to 262; which at a Medium gives 26 for one Year, which is the thirtieth Part of 800 nearly. In some Parishes in *London* there die more than in this Proportion, as in *St. Giles's Cripplegate*; and in others in the out Parts of the Town there die fewer, but, I believe in general it will hold true, in and about the City. In the Town of *Breslaw* in *Germany*, from which *Dr. Halley* formed his famous Table for the Probabilities of Life, their die about two in sixty-nine, that is, less than one in thirty-four; as is plain from an easy Computation. But there certainly die more than in that Proportion within the *London* Bills; for it appears that one third at least of the Children die under two Years of Age; whereas at *Breslaw* there die under that Age only one fifth; and therefore the Difference being two-fifteenths, or four-thirtieths, there die four in thirty more at *London* than at *Breslaw*, under two Years of Age.

In

In the Country the Case is very different ; for there does not die above one in fifty, in healthy Places. Sir *William Petty* has likewise observed this, and I have found it true. For in the Parish of *Newchurch* in the Isle of *Wight*, where I resided some Time, there are about 900 People, and there does not die at a Medium above eighteen yearly ; which is one in fifty exactly. And I believe this will be found to be nearly the same, in most of the Counties in *Britain* ; where the People do not live in great Towns ; which shews the great Difference between the Effects of the Air, in *London* and the Country.

If then it be allowed, that in *London* and *Westminster* there dies one in thirty, it will be very easy to make a Calculation of the whole Number of the People nearly, that are within the Bills. For if we take the Number of the Burials at an Average for some Years, and multiply that by 30, the Product must be the Number of the People. Thus if we take the Number of the Burials at large within the Bills, for any one of the last ten Years at a Medium, from 1744 to 1753 inclusive, to be 22945, and add to this 2000 for those Burials omitted in the

Bills, as is supposed above, the Total will be 24945, all the Burials within the Limits of the Bills, for one Year at 1753, and then multiply this by 30, the Product 748350 will be the whole Number of the People nearly, at present. But if we take 27192, the Number of Burials at a Medium, for any one of the ten Years preceeding 1743, inclusive, and add to this 2000 as above, the whole of the Burials at that Time within the Bills will be 29192, which being multiplied by 30, gives 875760 for the Number of the People at the Year 1743. And therefore the Inhabitants are fewer now than they were in 1743 by 127000. I have taken the Numbers at a Medium, for ten Years, to avoid any Uncertainty that might arise about a Computation for a single Year.

If we were to try the same Calculation, by taking the Burials, at a Medium, only for five Years to 1753, and also for five Years to 1743 inclusive, the Difference will be greater. For the Numbers at these two Times will be 720180, and 906570, of which the Difference is 186390; so that the People would appear fewer at 1753 than they were in 1743, by 186000. But this is not so much
to

to be depended upon as the Numbers above; because there were two extraordinary Bills at 1740 and 1741: or if we should imagine that there might not more die at *London* than at *Breslaw*, that is, one in thirty-four, still the Difference would be greater than we found at first. For taking the Burials at an Average for ten Years, at 1753 and 1743, as above, the Numbers would at these two Times be 848130 and 992528, of which the Difference is 144398; so that it seems plain, if the Bills are to be depended upon, that there is a Decrease of the People since 1743 of above an hundred thousand, and that at present the Number is about 74000. And this Decrease has been annually continued, for if we try the Thing farther, at the Distance of five Years, and take at a Medium for five Years, the Burials for 1753 and 1748, the Numbers will come out 720180 and 776520; of which the Difference is 56340, the Number decreased for the last five Years.

There is another Way of computing from the Number of Houses; but I think this not so certain as the other. For here are two Difficulties, to ascertain the Number of Houses

Houses, and to fix on the Number of Persons for each House. As to the last, Sir *William Petty* thought we might allow eight Persons to a House; which I have found to be a Mistake. I have made an Experiment of it, and got an exact Account of the Numbers in each House in a certain Parish in *London*; and I find that they exactly come to six in a House, empty and full together, for there is seldom above one in twenty empty. And as in that Parish the People are in a middle Condition, and some of them have a Number of Servants; it may be presumed they are in a middle State with regard to Numbers between the very great Families and those in the lowest Rank. This is also confirmed, if we allow, as above, one in thirty to die yearly in *London*. For within the City Walls there were 11857 Houses in the 97 Parishes, as appears from Mr. *Smart's* Account, which was supposed to be very accurate at that Time: but since he published that in the 1741, there are not so many Houses within the City Walls; for in many Parishes there are Houses greatly enlarged, some rebuilt in Place of two or three, and Warehouses made of others. I know some
Parishes

Parishes in which there is one in twenty fewer than in his Time. In others perhaps there is no Alteration. But I think they must, at an Average, be diminished three in an hundred, at least; and consequently there are about 354 fewer, and the Number of Houses within the City Walls is about 11503, which being multiplied by 6, gives 69018, for the Number of Inhabitants; which is nearly equal to the Burials 2290 multiplied by 30, or 68700; taking the Burials at a Medium for ten Years, and adding 400 as above.

The Number of Houses within the Bills may then be nearly come at, from the Number of Burials. For if we take the Number of Burials for the last ten Years at an Average, within the City to be 1890, and add 400, which makes 2290, we may say, if 2290 comes from 11503 Houses, then the whole Number 24945 of Burials within the Bills, having allowed 2000 as above, must come from 125302 Houses. And there cannot be fewer; for there are more Burials within the City, in proportion to the Baptisms, than in the Out-parishes; and therefore more Burials in proportion to the Num-

Number of Houses; which shews that the Number of Houses cannot be less than 125302; which being multiplied by 6, will give 751812, for the Number of People for this present Time; and it is nearly equal to the Number 748350 found above. So that the Numbers produced from these two Methods being almost equal, this is some farther Proof that our Supposition of six Persons to a House, empty and full, is near to the Truth. But if we suppose, that the Number of Houses within the Walls is now the same, as in Mr. *Smart's* Time, 11857; then all the Houses within the Bills will be 129158, and the Number of People 774948 greater than 748350, found above, by 26598, which is not much in such Calculations.

Sir *William Petty* likewise says, that he was informed there were 84000 Houses, tenanted within the Bills, in the Year 1682, in which he wrote; and if so, the Number of Houses seem to be increased near one third since that Time. And according to our Way of computing, to suppose six to a House, empty and full, there could not be more than 504000 People at that Time; which

which is less than the Number we found above for the present Time, 748350, by 244350. But now instead of increasing, we are decreasing; for since the Year 1743 the Inhabitants have been annually diminished; by which it appears, that this great City is past its Height, and is rather upon the Decline with regard to Numbers. And hence we see how far Sir *William* was mistaken, who imagined that it might increase continually till the Year 1800; when the Number of People would be five Millions, that is, near seven Times as many as they are at present.

Now to account for this Decrease there may be various Conjectures: I think three Causes may be assigned, that may all operate jointly. One may be the vicious Custom that has prevailed of late Years, among the lower People, of drinking spirituous Liquors; another, the fashionable Humour of living single, that daily increases; and a third may be the great Increase of Trade in the Northern Parts of *Great Britain*, that keeps the People there employed at home, that they have no Occasion as formerly to come hither

for Business; and it were to be wished, that this Cause was the most prevailing. But whatever be the Cause, it seems plain to me, that it could not be the late *French* War, as some imagine. For by what was shewn above, there has been a Decrease of 56000 since the Year 1749, after the Peace: but if the War had been the Cause, there ought rather to have been an Increase after it. And as in the Whole, we could not have lost more than 150000, in the War by Land and Sea, of which there was not one fifth, or 30000, taken from about the City; this can never account for 64000, the Decrease before the Year 1748. In the former War, between 1702 and 1711, the City never decreased, but continually increased: from which one would imagine, that the last War could not diminish its Numbers.

Nor can this Decrease in the Bills be accounted for, from a greater Number than formerly leaving the Town in Summer; because it does not appear that there is a greater Number of such, than was ten Years ago. And if it could be allowed that the Number was greater, it can never be thought that it
can

can amount to 120000 more than in the Year 1743.

It is true this Decrease may appear surprising to some, when they see the Number of new Buildings in *Westminster* continually increasing; but then, on the other Hand, it is likewise to be considered, that there is a great Number of Houses enlarged, or rebuilt, in Place of two or three others, as mentioned above; and others falling in, and empty, about the Eastern Parts of the City: so that for the last twenty Years the Inhabitants seem only to be moving, from the Eastern to the Western Parts of the Town, and not increasing.

Whether the Doctor's Curiosity was well founded or not, is the Question; that it is not is my Opinion, his Premises having no Solidity, the whole Hypothesis can be no more, nor better, than building a Cathedral in the Air.

The Doctor supposes but 2000 annual Buryings among the Dissenters, &c. buried within the Bills of Mortality, including the Bodies carried into the Country: Whereas

Maitland, in his Survey of *London*, has set down One Thousand more ; and in my Opinion even that latter Reckoning is not large enough. It is certain that more People of Quality and Gentry, with their Families, reside within the Bills of Mortality during the Winter Season now, than in former Times ; and of these, most that die in Town are interred in the Country. The Churchyards of *Paddington* and *Pancras* have been enlarged, one new Burying-Place has been made at *Marybon*, and there are two in *Pancras*, (these Parishes are without the Bills) where Clergymen attend in the Evenings to read the Service of Interments. The calculating by Burials is therefore so uncertain, as to render it only conjectural.

Then, why Baptisms are two fifths less than the Burials may be accounted for thus : The Children of *Papists*, *Jews*, *Greeks*, *Lutherans*, *Moravians*, *Anabaptists*, and other Dissenters, that use not Baptism according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. Persons of Quality, Gentry, and many more, seldom register the Births of their Offspring. Where the Number of lusty Batchelors is large, many are the merry-begotten

begotten Babes : On these Occasions, if the Father is an honest Fellow and a true Church of *England-Man*, the new-born Infant is baptized by an indigent Priest, and the Father provides for the Child : But the *Dissenters*, *Papists*, *Jews*, and other Sects send their Bastards to the *Foundling Hospital* ; if they are not admitted, there are Men and Women, that for a certain Sum of Money will take them, and the Fathers never hear what becomes of their Children afterwards ; these, it may be supposed, are never baptized, except such as are taken into the Hospital. Female Servants and poor Single Wenches, when pregnant, are compelled by the Parish-Officers to name and swear to the Begetters of the Children in their Bodies, who are forthwith taken up by Warrants ; if a nominated Father is poor he must run away, marry the Girl, or be sent to *Bridewell*, when apprehended. Men of known Substance are treated in another Manner ; the Parish-Officers go civilly to them, and after a Treat or two the Affair is settled, the Fornicator pays at the least Ten Pounds, and receives a Discharge ; but if the first nominated Father cannot be found, the big-bellied Woman

man must nominate another, and swear that he is the Father ; and sometimes it happens that two or three Persons pay each the usual Demand for one Child. I knew a young Woman who swore her great Belly to six Gentlemen, living in so many different Parishes. There always was, ever will, and must be, great Numbers of unmarried Men above the Age of twenty-one, in and about *London* ; because not many Apprentices are out of their Servitude at that Time of Life, and would be ruined by forfeiting Indentures, if married before free. Premature Marriages commonly ruin young Gentlemen, and others designed for the Law, or that are stationed in public or private Offices ; few Masters will keep married Servants in their Houses, &c. It is true that Marriages promote Christenings and Burials ; the two first occasion Mirth and good Cheer, the last some Mourning Perquisites, all three Surplice Fees ; therefore the Clergy have cause to promote Matrimony, and inveigh against Celibacy : But what would become of our famous Universities, the Priesthood and Church of *England*, if the Students were to have Yoke-Fellows at twenty-one. Most sober People
of

of both Sexes say, that very many couple too soon, and before they are of sufficient Ability to provide for Children, who frequently fall upon the Parishes for their Support. Certainly, the Doctor knows that in Country Parishes there are very few *Dissenters*, and that all the Children, whose Parents go to Church, have them baptized, though they live but one or two Days; whereas in and about *London* a prodigious Number of Infants are cruelly murdered unchristened, by those Infernals, called Nurses; these detestable Monsters throw a Spoonful of Gin, Spirits of Wine, or Hungary-Water down a Child's Throat, which instantly strangles the Babe; when the Searchers come to inspect the Body, and enquire what Distemper caused the Death, it is answered, Convulsions, this occasions the Article of Convulsions in the Bills of Mortality so much to exceed all others. The Price of destroying and interring a Child is but Two Guineas; and these are the Causes that near a Third die under the Age of Two Years, and not unlikely under two Months.

I have been informed by a Man now living, that the Officers of one Parish in *Westminster*, received Money for more than
Five

Five Hundred Bastards, and reared but One out of the whole Number. How surprizing and shocking must this dismal Relation appear, to all that are not hardened in Sin? Will it not strike every one, but the Cauſers and Perpetrators with Dread and Horror? Let it be conſidered what a heinous and deteſtable Crime Child-murder is, in the Sight of the Almighty, and how much it ought to be abhorred and prevented by all good People. To put an End therefore to ſuch a Courſe of Inhumanity accompanied with Perjuries and Impoſitions of all Sorts: Let the parochial Clergy within the Mortality Bills, the Veſtries, and ſuch Pariſh Officers, who have more regard for the Salvation of their Souls, than pampering and ſurfeiting their Bodies by Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, apply to the Governors of the *Foundling Hoſpital* for the Reception of all the Baſtard Children they receive Money for, ſending the Ten Pounds with each Child. Again, Foreigners rarely ſettled in *London* before the Revolution of the Ediſt of *Nantz* in the latter End of *Charles* the Second's Reign, (except the *Walloons* in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*) but then the Proteſtants of *France* firſt came
to

to fix themselves and Families in *London*, and many other Cities and Towns in *England* and *Ireland*; and since the glorious Revolution; *Germans*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, and Multitudes more of *French* settled their Habitations in *London*, the Descendants of whom are undeniably become very numerous and prosperous. Now, few of these, as I apprehend, communicate with the Church of *England*, and as I also know that many new Meeting Houses have been erected within my Memory for *Presbyterians*, I cannot conclude with the Doctor, that there were more *Dissenters* in *London*, before the great Fire in 1666, than at any Time since. The *Independants*, *Anabaptists*, *Moravians*, *Methodists*, &c. &c. together with the *Scotch*, *French*, *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, who all have their Meetings, Chapels and Churches. Besides, the *Papists*, who were then inconsiderable, are now grown very numerous; and that the same may be said of *Quakers* and *Jews*: I cannot therefore conclude with the Doctor, that there were more *Dissenters* in *London* before the great Fire in 1666, than at any Time since.

Then as to the Account of Christenings and Burials, as published in the Bills of Mortality

is too uncertain to form a true Judgment upon. I have observed in the weekly Bills, one, two, and sometimes three Parishes, of the ten, that compose the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, had only Cyphers against their Names; and in the last I looked upon, no Burials were set down for St. George's in the Liberty of *Westminster*, nor St. Bride's by *Fleet-Street*.

London within the Walls, it is true, is not altogether so populous as heretofore; the chief Reason of which may be, the great Number of Shopkeepers set up in *Westminster* and other Parts about the City: But if in lieu of a fourth Part, the Doctor had mentioned the fortieth, it would have been sufficient for the Decrease, besides; the lessening of Christenings by the parochial Clergy, may possibly be, though I hope not, that many Infants receive Baptism from the Non-juring Clergymen, and Popish Priests, who are not registered; and many of the Dissenting Ministers keep Registers; it is well known the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Jews*, and some other Sects, have no Christenings at all. This Subject has been a Topic for Discourse and Altercation more than fifty Years to my Knowledge;

Knowledge; though the Judgment I always formed upon it was, that as many were born in the Bills of Mortality, as died; but that one third of the Inhabitants not being of the Church of *England*, only two Thirds of the Children born were set down in the Bills; not to repeat what has been said of the Infants destroyed, and others born of Church of *England* Parents, who die before Baptism. Then in regard to Burials, let it be considered that of late Years many Hospitals and Infirmarys have been enlarged, and new erected for curing the Sick and Maimed; besides Workhouses, that cloath and feed Old and Young, who would perish for Want if not so provided for. The *Foundling Hospital* saves annually Abundance of Lives; and the Lying-in Hospitals for poor Women, these preserve both Mothers and Infants, and are as useful and necessary Charities as any in the Nation. I have heard however but of four, two in the Liberty of *Westminster*, one in *London*, and the *Middlesex Hospital*. It is to be hoped and desired, that the Rich will communicate to the Poor, and the Parts without these Hospitals will have them. The *Lock Hospitals* cure Abundance of un-

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fortunate People. Inoculation for the Small-Pox, and the Hospital for curing that Distemper both Ways ; Dr. *James's* Powder, which is a certain Remedy for Fevers, if taken in Time : the charitable Disposition of some Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, who at certain appointed Times and Places, (as appears by Advertisements) give their Advice *gratis* to all Comers ; to these may be added the great Improvements made in Chemistry, Pharmacy, and chirurgical Operations. I say all these Particulars contribute to preserve the Lives of many Thousands every Year, and consequently serve to confute the Doctor. The Doctor must be egregiously mistaken, yet again, in supposing *Westminster* was in the most flourishing State, with Regard to Numbers in 1743, because nothing is, or can be more certain, than that in every Year since, many good Houses have been erected on new Foundations, old ones pulled down, and better rebuilt to occupy the Ground they stood upon. I was lately informed that there were only fourteen Houses empty in the City of *Westminster*, and I know not why the Doctor made no Observation respecting the Buildings on the north Side of the great Street from St.

Giles's

Giles's Pound, almost home to the Barrier, on the north-east Side of *Hyde Park*; true it is they are not included in the Bills of Mortality, but deserve to be esteemed a Part of *London* or *Westminster*, more than *Islington* or *Hackney*; nor ought it to be forgot, that the *Foundling* and *Middlesex Hospitals*, are in the Parishes of *Marybone* and *Pancras*.

Sir *William Petty* was an ingenious Gentleman, but sometimes erroneous in his Calculations; I have no Objection to offer on his Observation, or rather Supposition, that one out of thirty-one, depart this Life annually. Dr. *Halley's* Tables have been admired and commended by all that have seen and were capable of understanding them; but the Reason why more Children die proportionably to Births in *London* than in *Breslaw*, is because the Mothers suckle their Babes in *Breslaw*, and that there are no Parish or other Nurses there to destroy the Innocents with Impunity.

Every Man in and near *London*, cannot avoid seeing and knowing that new Buildings are erected every Year in all the out Parts of the Mortality Bills, as also in the Parishes of *Marybone* and *Pancras*, and that in all Places when the Leases expire, the old Houses are
pulled

pulled down, and rebuilt in a better Manner, handsome without, and commodious within; that notwithstanding so many new Buildings, Tenants are not wanting for Houses, but Houses for Tenants, and the Price of Lodgings enhanced in most Streets; albeit the Doctor has insinuated, and attempted, by Arguments to me appearing frivolent, and by Calculations of no Validity, to prove the Decrease of Inhabitants in the Bills of Mortality; I do firmly believe, that taking in *Pancras* and *Marybone*, the Houses and Inhabitants, have increased as much in the last fourteen Years, as in any Term of Time that can be mentioned. And to manifest the Calculations and Mediums, the Doctor has produced, are no more to be depended upon than Salivating without Mercury. I will suppose that there are some Men in the City of *London* worth one hundred thousand Pounds a Man, and others worth Nothing; now no one will deny or contradict either of these Positions. The Medium between one hundred thousand Pounds and nothing, is fifty thousand Pounds; therefore the Citizens one with the other according to such Reasoning as his, are worth

worth fifty thousand Pounds a Piece ; but although this Calculation and Medium is clearly proved by Figures, I do not desire the gentle Readers to give their Assent and Consent, before they are satisfied of the Truth, by all the Housekeepers within the Walls of *London*, Males and Females.

Now the Doctor has made three different Calculations upon Suppositions, to prove the Diminution of People in *London* and *Westminster*, and yet all of them deserve no more Regard, nor are of more Significancy than my Calculation and Medium before-recited ; supposing however, but not allowing, that the Number of Inhabitants are so lessened as the Doctor would have us believe, what is become of one hundred and twenty thousand People ? Certainly they did not die in the Bills of Mortality, for if it had been true, the Bills must have amounted to near ten thousand more annually, than they did in the last fourteen Years ? Again, was this extravagant Calculation well founded, by the Doctor's own Account, twenty thousand Houses must have been deserted, or sunk into Ruins, and the Pavements in Abundance of Streets overspread with Grass and Weeds ;

Weeds; but the contrary is so notorious, that I cannot believe the Doctor or any other Person will pretend, that the old Streets are less frequented, that the Concourse of People, or Number of Carriages are less at this Time, than in 1743, from which Year the pretended Decay commenced in the Doctor's Dreams. But was the Fact otherwise, it might be answered, that People have more Streets to walk in, and that *Westminster-Bridge* to the *Borough*, and both Sides the River, from *London-Bridge* down to *Deptford* and *Greenwich*; the new Roads from *Bethnal-Green* to *Shoreditch*, from thence to *Old-Street*, *Islington*, and *Paddington* prevents Multitudes of Carriages, Horses, &c. from passing through the City of *London*.

My own Opinion, after repeated Inquiries, is, that seven Persons may be allowed for Houses, one with the other; Lodgers included; and if there are many empty Tenements in the City, they must stand in bad Situations, or be out of Repair; for we seldom see many Bills on the Doors in passing through the Streets.

I also think the Enlargement of Buildings may make an Addition to the Number of
Inhabi-

Inhabitants, not lessen them ; some miserable Fabricks have been demolished, and substantial Ware houses supplied their Places, and in a few Streets, one good Habitation now stands, where two or three paultry ones were before ; but then as these new Houses are larger than the old, undoubtedly each contains a greater Family than one of those demolished ; so that Alterations of that Nature will add very little to support the Doctor's Argument ; then granting the Number of Houses within the Walls, to be decreased three hundred fifty and four, and reducing the Number of Inhabitants to six Persons for every House, the Amount is no more than two thousand one hundred and twenty-four ; and in his lowest Estimate he supposes, the present Inhabitants of the ninety-six Parishes within the Walls, to be sixty-eight thousand seven hundred ; which Reckoning is so far from tallying with his former Calculation, that the said Inhabitants were decreased a fourth Part, but comes very near my own (*viz.*) a fortieth.

The Substance of the next Paragraph, I apprehend has been already answered.

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Whether Sir *William Petty* came near Exactness, in respect to the Number of Houses in 1682, is insignificant to the Doctor's Scheme, of pretending to prove the Decrease of Inhabitants: but having compared Mr. *Morgan's* large Map made in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, with the late one by Mr. *Rocque*, it seems to me, that the Increase of Houses is more than a Third; in the Writings of some Authors of those Days, the Number of Inhabitants was computed at five hundred Thousand; I cannot, I will not assent to the Doctor's positive Declaration, that the Inhabitants are now, and have been decreasing since 1743, for the Reasons before produced, by which the Readers will see that Dr. *Brakenridge* is as much mistaken in the decreasing, as Sir *William Petty* was of increasing; Sir *William's* Calculations are destitute of Mediums, which in this Way of Writing, may deservedly be esteemed as useful as Curves in Geometry. Sir *William* must certainly be delirious, when he penned his Calculation, that *London* in the Year 1800 would contain five Millions of People. There never was, nor ever will be any Situation for a City, where
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so many Inhabitants could live: As I think it ridiculous for any Man to pretend, that he can by any Method know the exact Number of Souls in *London*, my Conjecture is, that including *Marybone* and *Pancras* there may be near nine hundred thousand, and that *London* is not arrived to its greatest State, but will increase another Century, and then may contain about a Million, the Buildings in *St. George's* between the great Western and *Oxford* Roads, are almost finished, those in *Marybone* are briskly carrying on, and will continue before a Bridge is built over the *Thames* at *Black-Fryars*, then a Cessation will ensue, to building on the north Side of the Town, and *St. George's Fields* in all Probability will be regularly laid out for Streets, and built upon.

To account for a Decrease, when no such Misfortune has come to pass, is laying down false Premises; consequently, Conclusions upon such Premises, must be absurd, and favour more of *Bethlem College* than *Sion*. The Doctor assigns for his imaginary Decrease of Inhabitants three Causes, *viz.* the vicious Custom of drinking spirituous Liquors among the lower People, living single, and the great

Increase of Trade in the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, the lower People in late Years have not drank spirituous Liquors so freely, as they did before the good Regulations, and Qualifications for selling them, were settled by Parliament, the additional Excise has raised the Price, Improvements in the Distillery have rendered the home-made Distillations as wholesome as the imported; we do not see the hundredth Part of poor Wretches drunk in the Streets since the said Regulations and Qualifications as before, Marriages at present are not so expeditiously dispatched, as when People scarcely known to one another, could be joined together, without Banns or Licence; more Men marry too soon, than defer that interesting Affair too late, the Reasons have been above given. The greater the Births are in every Part of *South Britain* is advantageous to *London*, because it is a Circumstance that furnishes the City and Suburbs with the more industrious and useful People. *London* cannot but be enlarged and increased by a Conflux of Inhabitants from all the different Parts of *Great Britain*. *Ireland* also greatly assists in filling the Capital; the Revenues of the Nobility and Gentry

try of that Kingdom, being exceedingly augmented since the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne of *Great Britain*, enables many of them to reside here, in good Houses with handsome Equipages. Merchants and Shopkeepers from the same Country, Journeymen in all Trades, Labourers at Buildings, Venders of Things in the Streets, and Villages round about, with *Irish* Servants, make a considerable Number of the present Inhabitants.

Foreigners from all Protestant Countries, and too many Papists come to *London* continually, some as Servants, others to follow the Employments they were bred to, not above one in twenty of Shop and Alehouse-keepers, Journeymen, and Labourers, living in the Bills of Mortality, were either born or served their Apprenticeships in Town; the Sugar-Refiners employ, for the most part, *Hamburgers*. It is very probable that two Thirds of the grown Persons at any Time in *London* came from distant Parts. Arguments to prove a Decrease of the Inhabitants in *London*, may be compared to the Decay of Woollen Manufactures in this Kingdom, which
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have been increased a full Third since the Revolution.

The late War with *France* affected *London* inconsiderably in the Decrease of People, not a hundredth Part of the Soldiers and Sailors, who lost their Lives in that War, being born within the Bills of Mortality. The precise Decrease of fifty - six thousand since 1749, and sixty-four thousand before, is grossly absurd and void of Truth. As new Buildings were vigorously promoted during the last War, and the Houses filled as soon as finished, there can remain no Doubt with sensible Men, of the Multiplication of Inhabitants, the Time that War lasted, faster than in all *Queen Anne's* Reign, the new Buildings then erected being more numerous, and considerable, which I am capable of demonstrating upon View.

The Paragraph before the last is too trivial and insignificant to merit Regard.

The Conclusion of the Performance appears to my Understanding weak; the learned Author's Decrease cannot be surprising, because not sudden; it commenced in 1743, or 1744, and continued to 1755. This same Decrease, if true, must inevitably
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have lessened the public Revenues in every Branch, and ruined many thousand Families, by sinking their Rents; but as no such Information has yet been given by the Host of Writers, that serve their Country with so much Zeal and Diligence, no Credit can be given to such an Account. The major Part of the Buildings in the Bills of Mortality being Leaseholds, erected for certain Years, many Leases terminate annually; when they are near expiring, the Houses commonly want repairing or rebuilding, many Landlords will not be at any Charge, before they obtain Renewals, which is the Occasion that some Houses become deserted and empty. I am very certain that *London* is flourishing at this Juncture, and see no Cause to suppose that two Parishes without the Walls, have decreased in People since 1743. I deny, that the Inhabitants move from the Eastern to the Western Parts of the Town, the Latitude West of *Temple-Bar*, is not proper for those born or bred, to the East of *Aldgate*, the Occupations and Manner of Life being very different, the one from the other. For the last twenty Years (says the Doctor) the Inhabitants seem only moving, not increasing.

creasing. I cannot conceive what could induce the very learned Gentleman, in his hard studied Letter, to inform his Readers in the very last Line, that the Inhabitants were not increasing, when he before affirmed, and attempted to prove, they had actually decreased one hundred and twenty thousand, and were daily decreasing. Nor indeed what could entice him to publish such a Letter, was he ever so much in the right; the Bent of his Arguments can only serve to increase that Despondency of the Public, which is the worst and last of all political Evils: And however ingenious the Doctor may be in discovering the Causes of the imaginary Consumption, we are to suppose ourselves wasting with from Year to Year, he has neither administered Cure, nor Consolation. My Endeavour has therefore been, to dispel the odious Gloom this Divine has thrown over the Prospect of our Circumstances, and to represent them in a better and truer Light.

F I N I S.



