

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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# $\mathcal{N}$ atural and Political <br> OBSERVATIONS, 

Mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the

## Bills of Mortality.

## By $\mathcal{F O H} G R A V X T$, Citizen of <br> LONDON.

With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Gronth, Ayr, Difeafes, and the feveral Changes of the faid C I Ty.

- Non, me ut miretur Turba, laboro,

Contentus pausis Lectoribus.
The Second Edithoñ.

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L O N D O N \text {, }
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Printed by The: Roycroft, for fobn Martin, fames Alle fry, and $T h_{0}$ : Dicas, at the Signof the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXII.

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## RIGHT HONOURABLE

 FOHN Lord ROBERTS, Baron of Truro, Lord Privie-Seal, and one of his Majeftie's moft Honourable Privie Council.My Lord,



S the favours I have received from your Lordfhip oblige me to prefent you with fome token of my gratitude: fo the efpecial Honour I have for your Lordfhip hath made me follicitous in the choice of the Prefent. For, if I could have given your Lordfhip any choice Exserptions out of the Greek, ot Latine Learning, I fhould (according to our Englifh Proverb) thereby but carry Coals to Newcaftle, and but give your Lordfhip Puddle-water, who, by your own eminent $K$ nomledge in thofe learns ed Languagues, can drink out of the very Fountains. your felf.

Moreover, to prefent your Lordfhip with tedious Narrations, were but to f peak my own lgnorance of the Value, which his Majefty, and the Publick have of your Lordfhip's Time. And in brief, to offer any thing like what is already in other Books, were but to derogate from your Lordfhip's learning, which the World knows to be univerfal, and unacquainted with few ufeful things contained in any of them.
Now having(I know not by what accident) engaged my thoughts upon the Bills of Mortality, and fo far fucceeded therein, as to have reduced feveral great confufed Volumes into a few perfpicuous Tables, and abridgA 2
362051

## The Epifle Dedicatory.

ed fuch $O$ b/eroations as naturally flowed from them, into a few fuccinet Paragrapbs, without any long Series of multiloquious Deductions, I have prefumed to facrifice thefe my fmall, but firtt publifh'd, Labours unto your Lord fhip, as unto whofe benigne acceptance of fome other of my Papers, even the Birth of thele is due s hoping (if I may without vanity fay it) they may be of as much ufe to Perfons in your Lordflip's place, as they are of little or none to me, which is no more then the faireft Diamonds are to the fourney -man femelter that works them, or the poor Labourer that firft dig'd them from the Earth. For with all humble fubmifsion to your Lordhip, I conceive, That it doth not ill-become a Peer of the Parhament, or Member of his Majeffie's Council, to confider how few ftarve of the many that beg: That the irreligious Propofals of fome, to multiply People by Polygamy, is withall irrational, and fruitlefs: That the troublefome feclufions in the Plague-time is not a remedy to be purchafed at vaft inconveniencies: That the greateft Plagues of the City are equally, and quickly repaired from the Country: That the wafting of Males by Wars, and Colonies do not prejudice the due proportion between them and Females: That the Opinions of Plagues accompanying the Entrance of Kings, is falfe, and feditious: That London, the Metropolis of England, is perhaps a Head too big for the Body, and pofsibly too ftrong: That this \&ead grows three times as faft as the Body unto which it belongs, that is, It doubjes its People in a third part of the time: That our Paribes are now grown madly difproportionable: That our Temples are not futable to our Religion: That the Trade, and very City of London removes Weftward: That the walled City is but a one fifth of the whole Pyle:

## The Epifle Dedicatory.

That the old Streets are unfic for the prefent frequencie of Coaches: That the paffage of Ludgate is a throat too ftraight for the Body: That the fighting men about London are able to make three as great Armies, as can be of ufe in this I/and: That the number of Heads is fuch, as hath certainly much deceived fome of our Senatours in their appointments of Pollmoney, \&c. Now, although your Lordfhip's moft excellent Difcourfes have well informed me, That your Lordifhip is no ftranger to all thefe Pofitions; yet becaufe I knew not, that your Lordfhip had ever deduced them from the Bills of Mortality, I hoped it might not be ungratefull to your Lordfhip, to fee unto how much profit that one Talent might be improved, befides the many curiofities concerning the waxing, and waning of Difeafes, the relation between besltbfull and fruitfull Seafons, the difference between the City and Country Air, \&c. All which, being new, to the beft of my knowledge, and the whole Pamphler, not two hours reading, I did make bold to trouble your Lordflhip with a perufal of it, and by this humble Dedication of it, let your Lordfhip and the world fee the Wifdom of our City, in appointing, and keeping thefe Accompts, and with how much affection and fuccefs, I am,

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { My Lord, } \\
& \text { Your Lordfbip's moff obedient, and } \\
& \text { moff faitbfull Servant, }
\end{aligned}
$$

Birchen-Lane, ${ }_{25}$ fanuary $166 \frac{\mathrm{~N}}{2}$.

John Graunt.

## To the Honourable

## $\operatorname{sir} R O B E R T$ MOR AY,Knight,

 One of His Majeftie's Privy Council for His Kingdom of scotland, and Prefident of the Royal Society of Philo opphers, meeting at Gre/bam-College, and to the reft of that honourable Society.

HE Obfervations which 1 bappened to make (for 1 defigned them not) upon the Bills of Mortality, bave fallen out to be botb Political, and Natural, fome conserning Trade, and Goverament, others concerning the Air, Countries, Seafons, Fruitfulnefs, Health, Difeafes, Longevety, and the proportions between the Sex, and Ages of Mankind. All which (becaufe Sr. Francis Bacon reckons bis Di/gourfes of Life and Death to be Natural Hiftory; and becaufe I underfand your felves are al/o appointing means, bon to meafure the Degrees of Heat, Wetne $\beta$, and Windine $\beta$ in the feveral Parts of His Majeftie's Dominions) 1 am bumbly bold to think Natural Hiftory alfo, and confequently, that 1 am obliged to caft in this fmall Mite into your great Treafury of tbat kinde.

His Mrajefy being not onely by antient Right fapremely coscerned in matters of Government, and Trade, but al/o by happy accident Prince of Philofophers, and of Phyfico=Mathematical Learning, not called $\rho_{0}$ by Flatterers, and Parafites, but really /o, as well by bis oron perfonal Abilities,

## The Epiftle Dedicatory.

 ties, as affection concerning thofe matters, upon wobrich Accompt I Joould bave bumbly dedicated both forts of my Obfervations unto His moft Sacred Majefty; but to be Sort, 1 knew neither my Work, nor my Perjon fit to bear $H$ is name, nor to deferve $H$ is Patronage. Neverthelefs, as $I$ have prefumed to pre/ent this Pamphlet, fo far as it relates to Government, and Trade, to one of His Majefie's Peers, and eminent Minifters of State: Jo 1 do defire your leave, to prefent the fame unto You al $/ 0$, as it relates to Na tural Fiftory, and as it depends upon the Mathematiques of my Shop-Aritbmetique. For You are not onely bis Majeftie's Privy Council for Philofophy, but alfo His Great Council Xou are the three Eftates, viz. the Mathemat ical, Mechanical, and Phyfical. You are bis Parliament of Na ture, and it is no less difparagement to the meaneft of your number, to fay there may be Commoners as well as Peers in Philofophy amongf you. For my onn part 1 count it happineß enough to my lelf, that there is fuch a Council of Nature, as your Society is, in being; and I do with as much earneftnefs enguire after your Expeditions againgt the Impediments of Science, as to knom wobat Armies, and Navies the feveral Princes of the World are fetting forth. I concern my felf as much to knom wobo are Curatours of this or the other Experiments, as to know who are Marefchals of France, or Chancellour of Sweden. I am as noell pleajed to bear you are fatisfied in a luciferous Experiment, as that a breach bath been made in the Enemy's morks:and your ingenious arguings immediately from $\int e n f e$, and fact, are as pleafant to me as the noife of victorious Guns, and Trumpets.Moreover, as 1 contend for the Decent Rights, and Ceremonies of the Church, $/ 01$ alfo contend againft the envious Schifmaticks of your Society (who think you do notbing. unle/s

## The Epiftle Dedicatory.

unlefs you prefently tran/mute Metals, make Butter and Chee (e mitbout Milk; and (as their omn Ballad hatb it, make Leather mithout Hides) by afferting the asfefulne/s of even all your preparatory, and luciferous Experiments, being not the Ceremonies, but the fubftance, and principles of ufefustl Arts. For, I inde in Trade the mant of an univer (al meas fure, and have beard Muficians mrangle about the juft and uniform keeping of time in their Conforts, and therefore cannot with patience bear, that your Labours about Vibrations, eminently conducing to both, fhould be fighted, nor your Pendula called Swing-fwangs with fcorn. Nor can 1 better endure, that your Exercitations about Air bould be termed fit employment onely for Airy Fancies, and not adequate. Tasks for the moft folid, and piercing beads. This
 your number, nor bave the leaft ambition to be fo, otbermife then to become able for your /ervice, and worthy of your Truft; yet 1 am covetous to bave the right of being reprefented by you: to which end I defire, that this little Exhibition of mine, may be looked upon as a Free-holder's Vote for the choofing of Knights and Burgeffes to fit in the Parliament of Nature, meaning thereby, that as the Parliament owns a Free-holder, though be hath but fourty Sillings'a year, to be one of them; lo in the fame manner and degree, 1 allo defire to be owned as one of you, and that no longer, then I continue a faithfull Friend, and Servant of your Defgns, and Perfons,

> J. G.

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## THE

## PREFACE.

纰Aving been born, and bred in the City of London, and having always obferved, that moft of them, who conftantly took in the weekly Bills of Mortality, made little other ufe of them, then to look at the foot, how the Burials increafed, or decreafed; and, among the Cafualties, what had happened rare, and extraordinary in the week current: fo as they might take the fame as a Text to talk upon in the next Company; and withall, in the Plague-time, how the sickne/s increafed, or decreafed, that fo the Rich might judge of the necefsity of their removal, and Trades-men might conjecture what doings they were like to have in their refpective dealings :
2. Now, I thought that the Wifdom of our City had certainly defigned the laudable practice of takeing, and diftributing thefe Accompts, for other, and greater ufes, then thofe above-mentioned, or at leaft, that fomeother ufes might be made of them: and thereupon I cafting mine Eye upon fo many of the General Bills, as next came to hand, I found encouragement from them, to look out all the Bills I could,
and ( to be fhort) to furnifh my felf with as much matter of that kind, even as the Hall of the Pari/hb.Clerks could affordme; the which when I had reduced into Tables (the Copies whereof are here inferted) fo as to have a view of the whole together, in order to the more ready comparing of one Year, Sea/on, Parifh, or other Divifon of the City, with another, in refpect of all the Burials, and Cbriftnings, and of all the Difeajes, and Cafualties, happening in each of them refpectivelys I did then begin not onely to examine the Conceits, Opinions, and Conjectures, which upon view of a few fcattered Bills I had taken up; but did alfo admit new ones, as I found reafon, and occafion from my Tables.
3. Moreover, finding fome Truths, and not com-monly-believed Opinions, to arife from my Meditations upon thefe neglected Papers, I proceeded further, to confider what benefit the knowledge of the fame would bring to the World ; that I might not engage my felf in idle, and ufelefs Speculations: but, (like thofe Noble Virtuofi of Gre/bam=College, who reduce their fubtile Difquifitions upon Nature into downright Mechanical ufes) prefent the World with fome real fruit from thofe ayrie Bloffoms.
4. How far I have fucceeded in the Premiffes, I now offer to the World's cenfure. Who, I hope, will not expect fromme, not profeffing Letters, things demonftrated with the fame certainty, wherewith Learned men determine in their Scholes; but will take it well, that I fhould offer at a new thing, and could forbear prefuming to meddle where any of the Learned Pens have ever touched before, and that I have taken the pains, and been at the charge of fet-
ting out thofe Tables, whereby all men may both correct my Pofitioms, and raife others of their own. For herein I have, like a filly Schole-boy, coming to fay my Lefson to the World (that Peevifh, and Tetchie Mafter) brought a bundle of Rods, wherewith to be whip d for every miftake I have commitred.

## CHap. I.

## Of the Bills of Mortality, their beginning, and progre $\beta$.

THe first of the continued weekly Bills of Mortality extant at the Parifb-Clerks Hall, begins the twenty ninth of December 1603 , being the firft year of King Games his Reign; fince when a weekly Accompt hath been kept there of Burials, and Chriftnings. It is true, There were Bills before, viz. for the years $1592,-93,-94$ : but fo interrupted fince, that I could not depend upon the fufficiency of them, rather relying upon thole Accompts, which have been kept fince in order, as to all the ufes If hall make of them.
2.I believe, that the rife of keeping thefeAccompts was taken from the Plague: for the faid Bills (for ought appears) firft began in the faid year 1592, being a time of great Mortality; and, after forme difufe, were refumed again in the year 1603 , after the great Plague then happening likewife.
3. There Bills were Printed, and publifhed, not B 2
onely every week on Thur/days, but alfo a general Accompt of the whole Year was given in upon the Thur day before Cbriftmas-day: which faid general Accompts have been prefented in the feveral manners following, viz, from the Year 1603 to the Year 1624 , inclufive, according to the Pattern here inferted.

$$
1623 . \quad 1624
$$

The general Bill for the whole Year of all the Burials, and Chrifnings, as well within the City of $L$ endon, and the Liberties thereof, as in the Nine outParifhes adjoyning to the City, with the Pefl-bou/e belonging to the fame : from Thur/day the 18 sh of December 1623 to Thur dday the $16^{\text {th. }}$ of December 1624. according to the Report made to the King's moft Excellent Majefty by the Company of the Parifh-Clerks of London.

4. In the Year 1625 every Parifl was particularized, as in this following Bill: where note, That this next year of Plague caufed the Augmentation, and Correction of the Bills; as the former year of Plague did the very being of them.

1624.

A general, or great Bill for this Year, of the whole number of Burials, which have been buried of all Difeafes, and alfo of the Plague in every Parifh within the City of London, and the Liberties thereof; as alfo in the nine out-Parifhes adjoyning to the faid City; with the Pef-houfe belorging to the fame: from Thur $\int d a y$ the : 6 . day of December, 1624. to Thurfdey the 15. day of Decemier, 1625 . according to the Report made to the King's moft Excellent Majefty by the Conpany of Parifh. Clerks of London.

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| $\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{rr} \text { LONDO N. } & \text { Bur. Pla. } \\ \text { Margarets new Fifhfreet--123 } & 82 \end{array}\right.$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
|  | Margarets Pattons --77 |
|  | Mary Ab-church - $98 \quad 58$ |
|  | Mary Aldermanbury - 12679 |
|  | Mary Aldernary - - - 92 54 |
|  | Mary le Bow - 3519 |
|  | Mary Bothaw - $\quad 2214$ |
|  | Mary Coa'-church --- 26 |
|  | Mary at the Hill-- 15284 |
|  | Mary Mounthaw - - 76 |
|  | Mary Sommerfet - - 2701 |
|  | Mary Staining |
|  | Mary Woolchurch $\quad 98$ |
|  | Mary Woolnoth -- 82 |
|  | Martins Ironmonger-lane 25 |
|  | Martins at Ludgate--25416 |
|  | Martins Org |
|  | Martins Out |
| Martins in the Vintry - 339208 |  |
|  | Matthew Friday-ftreet-24 |
|  | Maudlins in Milk-Itreet-401 |
|  | Maudins Old-filh-ftreet-225142 |
|  | Michrel Baffifhaw - 199139 |
|  | Michael Corn |

LONDON. Bkr.pla, Michael Crooked-lane - 144 9I Michacl Queen-hith - 21 1;157 Michael in the Quern - 5330 Michael in the Royal- 111 6I Michael in Wood-ftreet-189 68 Mildreds Bread-ftreet - 60144
Mildreds Poultrey - 9445
Nicholas Acons- 3313
Nicholas Coal-Abby - 8767
Nicholas Olaves - 7043
Olaves in Hart-ftreet- -266195
Olaves in the Jewry 一 一 $43 \quad 25$
Olaves in Silver-ftreet - 174103
Pancras by Soper lane- 178
Peters in Cheap-
Peters in Corn-hill- -31878
Peters at Pauls Wharf-- 9768
Peters poor in Broadftreet. 5227 Stevens in Coalmanitreet. 506350 Stevens in Walbrook- 2513 Swithins at London-ftone-99 60 Thomas Apoflles - 141107 Trinity Pariflu--148 87

> Buried within the 97 Paribes within the Walls, of all Difeafes, -14340. Where of, of the Plague,

Andrews in Holborn - 21901636 Georges Southwark- 1608912 Bartholmew the Great- 516 360 Giles Cripplegate- 39882338 Bartholmew the lefs - 111 O5 Olaves in Southwark -36892609 Brides Parifh ——I48I 1031 Saviours in Southwark- 2746 1671 Botolph Algate - 25731653 Sepulchres Parifn - 34252420 Bridewel Precint-213 152 Thomas in Southwark-335 277 Botolph Bifhopsgate - 2334714 Trinity in the Minories- 13187 Botolphs Aldersgate - 578 307 At the Peft-houfe- 194 189 Dunitanes the Weft - $860 \quad 642$

Buried in the 16 Paribes without the Walls, faanding part within the Liberties,and part without: in Middlefex, and Surrey, and 269722 at the Pep-bouse.
Whereof, of the Plague,

Buried in the nine out-Parifhes.

| Clements Temple-bar-1284 <br> Giles in the Fields - 1333 |  | tins in the Fieids-1470 973 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 947 | Mary White-chapel - 3305 | 2272 |
| James at Clarken-well-1191 | 903 | Magdalens Bermond/ey-1 127 | 889 |
| Katharins by the Tower-- 998 | 74 | Savoy Parih - - 250 | 176 |
| Leonards in Shoreditch-19981 | 14 |  |  |
| Buried in the |  | iddlefex, and Surrey, - $\mathbf{1}_{2}$ |  |

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { The Total of all the Burials of all Difeafes, within the walls, } \\ \text { without the Walls, in the Liberties, in Middlefex, and }\end{array}\right\} \$ 4265$. Surrey: with the nine Out-Pari/bes, and the Pe@-houfe. Whereof, Buried of the Plague, this prefent year, is 35417 Chrifonings this prefent year, is 6983 Paribes infected this year, is Parifhesclear this yetr, is -
5. In the Year 1626 , the City of Weftminfor, in imitation of London, was inferted. The grofs accompt of the Burials, and Cirijtenings, with diftinction of the Plague being onely taken notice of therein; the fifth, or laft Canton, or Lined-1pace, of the faid Bill, being varyed into the form following, viz.

## In Weftminfter this Year $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Buried } \\ \text { Plague } \\ \text { Chriftenings_ }\end{array}\right.$

6. In the Year 1629 , an accompt of the Difeafes, and Cafualties, whereof any dyed, together with the diftinction of Males and Females, making the fixth Canton of the Bill, was added in manner following.

The Canton of Cafualties, and of the Bill for the rear 1632, being of the fame form with that of 1629 .

## The Dijeafes，and Cafualties this year being 1632.



Chiftened $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Males } 4994 \\ \text { Females }-4590 \\ \text { In all }-9584\end{array}\right\}$ Buried $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Males }-4932 \\ \text { Females－4603 } \\ \text { In all }-9535\end{array}\right\} \begin{aligned} & \text { Whereof，} \\ & \text { of the } \\ & \text { Plague } 8\end{aligned}$
Increafed in the Burials in the 122 Parifhes，and at the Pefl－houfe this year， 993
Decreafed of the Plague in the 122 Parifhes，and at the Peft－houfe this year， 662
7．In the year 1636 ，the Accompt of the Burials， and Chriftnings，in the Parifhes of Ifington，Lambeth， Stepney，Newington，Hackney，and Redriff，were added
in the manner following, making a feventh Canton, viz.

| Marga |  | Newington | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text { Chrifned - } 99 \\ \text { Buried- } 181 \\ \text { Plague- } \end{array}\right.$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text { Chritned - } 440 \\ \text { Buried- } 890 \end{array}\right.$ |  |  |
|  | Plague - ${ }^{\circ}$ |  |  |
| Illington | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { Chriftned - }{ }^{36} \\ \text { Buried - } 113\end{array}\right.$ |  |  |
|  |  | Hackney |  |
|  | Chrittned - 132 |  | Prague- - |
| Lambeth | Buried --220 |  |  |
|  |  |  | Chrifned - 16 |
|  |  | Redrif |  |
|  | Bried |  | Plague - 0 |

The total of all the Burials in the feven lafi Parijbes this Year- 2958 Whereof of the Plague - _The total of all the Chriftnings
8. Covent-Garden being made a Parifh, the nine outParifhes were called the ten out-Parifhes, the which in former years were but eight.
9. In the year 1660 the laft-mentioned ten Parifhes, with wefminfer, Ifingion, Lambeth, Stepney, Newington, Hackney, and Redriff, are entred under two Divifions, viz the one containing the twelve Parifhes lying in Middlefex, and Surrey, and the other the five Parifhes within the City, and Liberties of weftminfter, viz.St.Clement-Dane's,St.Paul's:Covent-Garden $_{2}$ St. Martin's in the Fields, St. Mary-Savoy, and St. Margaret's weftminfer.
10. We have hitherto defcribed the feveral fteps, whereby the Bills of Mortality are come up to their prefent flate; we come next to fhew how they are made, and compofed, which is in this manner, viz. When any one dies, then, either by tolling, or ringing
of a Bell, or by befpeaking of a Grave of the Sexton, the fame is known to the Searcbers, correfponding with the faid sexton.
ir. The Searchers hereupon (who are antient Matrons, fiworn to their Office) repair to the place, where the dead Corps lies, and by view of the fame, and by other enquiries, they examine by what Difeafe, or Cafiualiy the Corps died. Hereupon they make their Report to the Parilb-Clork, and he, every Tue/-day-night, carries in an Accompt of all the Burials, and Chrifinings, happening that Week, to the Clerk of the Hall. On Wednefday the general Accompt is made up, and Printed, and on Thur/days publithed, and difperfed to the feveral Families, who will pay four fhillings per Annum for them.
12. Memorandum, That although the general yearly Bills have been fet out in the feveral varieties aforementioned, yet the Original Entries in the Hallbooks were as exact in the very firf Year as to all particulars, as now ; and the fpecifying of Cafualties, and Difeafes, was probably more.

## Снар. II.

General objervations upon the Cajualties.

IN my Difcourfes upon thefe Bills I fhall firt fpeak of the Cesualties, then give my Obfervations with reference to the Places, and Paribes comprehended in the Bills; and next of the Years, and seafons.

1. There
r. There feems to be good reafon, why the Asagiftrate fhould himfelf take notice of the numbers of Burials, and Cbrifnings, viz, to fee, whether the City encreafe, or decreafe in people; whether it encreafe proportionably with the reft of the Nation; whether it be grown big enough, or too big, $\mathcal{B}^{\circ} c$. But why the fame flould be made known to the People,otherwife then to pleafe them as with a curiofity, I fee not.
2. Nor could I ever yet learn (from the many I have asked, and thofe not of the leaft Sagacity) to what purpofe the diftinction between Males and Fe males is inferted, or at all taken notice of ? or why that of Marriages was not equally given in ? Nor is it obvious to every body, why the Accompt of Ca/ualties (whereof we are now fpeaking) is made? The reafon, which feems moft obvious for this latter, is, That the ftate of Health in the City may at all times appear.
3. Now it may be Objected, That the fame depends moft upon the Accompts of Epidemical Difoafes, and upon the chief of them all, the Plague ; wherefore the mention of the reft feems onely matter of curiofity.
4. But to this we anfwer, That the knowledg even of the numbers, which die of the Plague, is not fufficiently deduced from the meer Report of the Searchers, which onely the Bills afford; but from other Ratiocinations, and comparings of the Plague with fome other Cafualties.
5. For we fhall màke it probable, that in Years of Plague a quarter-part more dies of that Difeafe then are fet down; the fame we fhall alfo prove by the other Cafualties. Wherefore, if it be neceffary to im-

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\mathrm{C}_{2} \quad \text { part }
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part to the World a good Accompt of fome few Cafualties, which fince it cannot well be done without giving an Accompt of them all, then is our common practife of fo doing very apt, and rational.
6. Now, to make thefe Corrections upon the per: haps ignorant, and carelefs Searchers Reports, I confidered firft of what Authority they were in themfelves, that is, whether any credit at all were to be given to their Diftinguifhments : and finding that many of the Cafualties were but matter of fenfe, as whether a Childe were Abortive, or Stilborn; whether men were Aged, that is to fay, above fixty years old, or thereabouts, when they died, without any curious determination, whether fuch Aged perfons died purely of Age, as for that the Innate beat was quite extinct, or the Radical moifture quite dried up (for I have heard fome Candid Phyficians complain of the darknefs, which themfelves were in hereupon) I fay, that thefe Diftinguifhments being but matter of fenfe, I concluded the Searchers Report might be fufficient in the Cafe.
7. As for Con/umptions, if the Searchers do but truly Report (as they may) whether the dead Corps were very lean, and worn away, it matters not to many of our purpofes, whether the Difeafe were exactly the fame, as Phyficians define it in their Books. Moreover, In cafe a man of feventy five years old died of a Cough (of which had he been free, he might have poffibly lived to nirety) I efteem it little errour (as to many of our purpofes) if this Perfon be, in the Table of Ca/ualties, reckoned among the Aged, and not placed under the Title of Coughs.
8. In the matters of Infants I would defire but to
know clearly, what the Searchers mean by Infants, as whether Children that cannot (peak, as the word $1 n_{-}$ fant feems to fignifie, or Children under two or three years old, although I hould not be fatisfied, whether the Infant died of Winde, or of Teeth, or of the Convulfon, \&c. or were choaked with Phlegm, or elfe of Teeth, Convulfion, and scoarring, apart, or together, which, they fay, do often caufe one another:for, I fay, it is fomewhat to know how many die ufually before they can fpeak, or how many live paft any affigned number of years,
9. I fay, it is enough; if we know from the Searchers but the moft predominant Symptoms; as that one died of the Head-Ach, who was forely tormented with it, though the Pbyficians were of Opinion, that the Difeafe was in the Stomach. Again, if one died Juddenly, the matter is not great, whether it be reported in the Bills, Suddenly, Apoplexie, or Planetfrucken, \&c.
10. To conclude, In many of thefe Cafes the Searchers are able to report the Opinion of the Phyfician, who was with the Patient, as they receive the fame from the Friends of the Defunct : and in very many Cafes, fuch as Drovning, Soalding, Bleeding, Vomiting, making-away themjelves, Lunatiques, Sores, Small-Pox, \&c, their own fenfes are fufficient; and the generality of the World are able pretty well to diftinguifh the Gorot, stone, Dropfe, Falling-Sick$n e f s$, Palfie, Agues, Pleuri/y, Rickets, one from another.
11. But now as for thofe Cafualties, which are apteft to be confounded, and miftaken, I fhall in the enfuing Difcourfe prefume to touch upon them fo far, as the Learning of thefe Bills bath enabled me.
12. Having premifed thefe general Advertifements, our firft Obfervation upon the Ca/ualties fhall be, That in twenty Years there dying of all Difeafes, and Ca/ualties, 229250 , that 71124 dyed of the Tbru/hb, Convulfion, Rickets, Teeth, and Worms; and as Abortives, Cbryomes, Infants, Liver-gromn, and Over-laid; that is to fay, that about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole died of thofe Difeafes, which we guefs did all light upon Children u nder four or five Years old.
13. There died alfo of the Small-Pox, Smine-Pox, and Mealles, and of Worms without Convulfions, x2210. of which number we fuppofe likewife, that about $\frac{2}{2}$ might be Children under fix Years old. Now, if we confider that fixteen of the faid 229250 died of that extraordinary and grand Ca/ualty, the Plague, we fhall finde that about thirty fix per Centum of all quick conceptions died before fix Years old.
14. The fecond Obfervation is, That of the faid 229250 ,dying of all Difeafes, there died of acute Difeafes ( the Plague excepted) but about 50000 , or $\frac{2}{9}$ parts. The which proportion doth give a meafure of the State, and Difpofition of this Climate, and Air, as to health; thefe acate, and Epidemical Difeafes happening fuddenly, and vehemently upon the like corruptions, and alterations in the Air .
15. The third Obfervation is, That of the faid 229250 about feventy died of Chronical Difeafes, which fhews (as I conceive) the State, and Difpofition of the Country (including as well its Food, as Air) in reference to health, or rather to longevity: for as the proportion of asute and Epidemical Difeafes fhews the aptnefs of the Air to fudden and vehement Impreffions ; fo the Cbronical Difeafes fhew the ordinary
temper of the Place : fo that upon the proportion of Cbronical Difeafes feems to hang the judgment of the fitnefs of the Country for long life. For, I conceive, that in Countries fubject to great Epidemical fweeps men may live very long, but, where the proportion of the Chronical diftempers is great, it is not likely to be fo; becaufe men being long fick, and always fickly, cannot live to any great age, as we fee in feveral forts of Metal-men, who although they are lefs fubject to acute Difeafes then others, yet feldom live to be old, that is, not to reach unto thofe years, which David faies is the age of man.
16. The fourth Obfervation is, That of the faid 229250 not 40 co died of outward Griefs, as of Cancers, Fiffulas, Sores, vicers, broken and bruifed Limbs, Impoftumes, Itch, King's-evil, Leprofie, Scald-head, SminePox, Wens, \&c, viz. not one in 60.
17. In the next place, whereas many perfons live in great fear, and apprehenfion of fome of the more formidable and notorious Difeafes following; I fhall onely fet down how many died of each: that the refpective numbers, being compared with the Total 229250 , thofe perfons may the better underftand the hazard they are in.

Table of notorious Difeafes.
 Cut of the Stone - 0038 Lunatique-————158 Falling-Sickneß -007410 verlaid, and Starved-os 29 Dead in the Streets -0243 'Palfy -0423 Gomt -O134|Rupture -0201 Head_Ach $\longrightarrow-\infty 5 \mathrm{I} \mid$ Stone, and Strangury $-086_{3}$ Faundice - - 0908 Sciatica -CCO 5 Lethargy -0067 Sodainly $\quad 0454$

## Table of Cafualties.


18. In the foregoing Obfervations we ventured to make a Standard of the healthfulnefs of the Air from the proportion of Acute and Epidemical difeafes, and of the wholefomenefs of the Food from that of the Chronical. Yet, forasmuch as neither of them alone do fhew the longavity of the Inhabitants, we fhall in the next place come to the more abfolute Standard, and Correction of both, which is the proportion of the aged, viz. 15757 to the Total 229250. That is of about 1 to 15 , or 7 per Cent. Onely the queftion is, what number of years the Searchers call Aged, which I conceive muft be the fame, that David calls fo, viz. 70. For no man can be faid to die properly of Age , who is much lefs. It follows from hence, That if in any other Country more then feven of the 100 live bey ond 70 , fuch Country is to be efteemed more healthful then this of our City.
19. Before we fpeak of particular Cafualties, we fhall obferve, that among the feveral Cafualties fome bear a conftant proportion unto the whole number of Burials ; fuch are Chronical Difeafes, and the difeafes, whereunto the City is moft fubject; as for

Example, Confumptions, Dropfres, Faundice, Cont, Stone, Palfie, Scurvy, rifing of the Lights, or Mother, Rickets, Aged, Agues, Feavers, Bloody-Flux, and Sconring: nay fome Accidents, as Grief, Dromning, Mer's making away themfelves, and being Kil'd by jeveral Accidents, \&c. do the like, whereas Epidemical, and Malignant difeafes, as the Plague, Purples, Spotted-Feaver, Small$P o x$, and Meafles do not keep that equality, fo as in fome Years, or Moneths, there died ten times as many as in others.

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\begin{gathered}
\text { Снар. III, } \\
\text { of Particular Cafualties. }
\end{gathered}
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"MY firt Obfervation is, That few are farved. This appears, for that of the 229250 , which have died, we find not above fifty one to have been ftarved, excepting helplefs Infants at Nurfe, which being caufed rather by carlefsnefs, ignorance, and infirmity of the Milch-women, is not properly an effect, or fign of want of food in the Countrey, or of means to get it.
2. The Obfervation which I fhall add hereunto, is, That the vaft numbers of Beggars, fwarming up and down this City, do all live, and feem to be moft of them healthy, and ftrong; whereupon I make this Queftion, Whether, fince they do all live by begging, that is, without any kind of labour ; it were not better for the State to keep them, even although they earned nothing; that fo they might live regularly, and not in that Debauchery, as many Beggars do;
and that they might be cured of their bodily Impo. tencies, or taught to work, $\mathcal{B}^{6}$. each according to his condition, and capacity; or by being employed in fome work (not better undone) might be accuftomed, and fitted for labour.
3. To this fome may Object, That Beggars are now maintained by voluntary Contributions, whereas in the other way the fame muft be done by a general Tax ; and confequently, the Objects of Charity would be removed, and taken away.
4. To which we Anfwer, That in Holland, although no where fewer Beggars appear to charm up commiferation in the credulous, yet no where is there greater, or more frequent Charity: onely indeed the Magiftrate is both the Beggar, and the di/Pofer of what is gotten by begging; fo as all Givers have a Moral certainty, that their Charity fhall be well applied.
5. Moreover, I queftion; Whether what we give to a Wretch, that fhews us lamentable fores, and mutilations, be always out of the pureft Charity ? that is, purely for God's fake; for as much as when we fee fuch Objects, we then feel in our felves a kinde of pain, and paffion by confent; of which we eafe our felves, when we think we have eafed them, with whom we fympathized: or elfe we befpeak aforehand the like commiferation in others towards our felves, when we fhall (as we fear we may) fall into the like diftrefs.
6. We have faid, 'Tmere better the Publick Bould keep the Beggars, though they earned nothing, \&c. But moft men will laugh to hear us fuppofe, That any able to work (as indeed moft Beggars are, in one kind of meafure, or another) flould be kept without earning
any thing. But we Anfwer, That if there be but a certain proportion of work to be done; and that the fame be already done by the non-Beggars; then to employ the Beggars about it, will but transfer the want from one hand to another; nor can a Learner work fo cheap as a skilfull practifed Artift can. As for example, a practifed Spimer fhall fpin a pound of Wool worth two fhillings for fix pence ; but a learner, undertaking it for three pence, thall make the Woot indeed into Yarn, but not worth twelve pence.
7. This little hint is the model of the greateft work in the World, which is the making of England as confiderable for Trade as Helland; for there is but a certain proportion of Trade in the world, and Hol land is prepoffefsed of the greater part of it, and is thought to have more skill, and experience to manage it: wherefore, to bring England into Holland's condition, as to this particular, is the fame, as to fend all the Beggars about London into the $w$ ef-Countrey to Spin, where they fhall onely fpoil the Clothiers Wool, and beggar the prefent Spinners at beft; but, at worft, put the whole Trade of the Countrey to a ftand, untill the Hollander, being more ready for it, have fnapt that with the reft.
8. My next Obfervation is, That but few are Murtbered, viz. not above 86 of the 229250 , which have died of other Difeafes, and Cafualties; whereas in Paris few nights fcape without their Tragedie.
9. The Reafons of this we conceive to be Two: One is the Government, and Guard of the City by Citizens themfelves, and that alternately. No man fertling into a Trade for that employment. And the other is, The natural, and cuftomary abhorrence of

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## (20)

that inhumane Crime, and all Blood/bed by moft Engli/hmen : for of all that are Executed few are for Murther. Befides the great and frequent Revolutions, and Changes of Government fince the year 1650 , have been with little blood/bed; the $V /$ urpers themfelves having Executed few in comparifon, upon the Accompt of difturbing their Innovations.
10. In brief, when any dead Body is found in England, no Algebraif, or Unsipherer of Letters, can ufe more fubtile fuppofitions, and variety of conje= etures to finde out the Demonftration, or Cipher; then every common unconcerned Perfon doth to finde out the Murtherers, and that for ever, until it be done.
11. The Lunaticks are alfo but few, viz. 158 in 229250. though I fear many more then are fet down in our Bills, few being entred for fuch, but thofe who die at Bedlams and there all feem to dy of their Lunacy, who died Lunaticks; for there is mach difference in computing the number of Lunatickes, that die (though of Fevers, and all other Difeafes, unto which Lunacy is no Superfedeas) and thofe, that dy by reafon of their Madne/s.
12. So that, this Ca/ualty being fo uncertain, I fhall not force my felf to make any inference from the numbers, and proportions we finde in our Bills concerning it :onely dare enfure any man at this prefent, well in his Wits, for one in the thoufand, that he fhall not die a Lunatickin Bedlam, within thefe feven years, becaufe I finde not above one in about one thoufand five hundred have done fo.
13. The like ufe may be made of the Accompts of men, that made away themfelves, who are another
fort of Mad-men, that think to eafe themfelves of pain by leaping into Hell ; or elfe are yet more Mad, fo as to think there is no fuch place ; or that men may go to reft by death, though they die in felf-murther, the greateft Sin.
14. We fall fay nothing of the numbers of thole, that have been crowned, Killed by falls from Scaffolds, or by Carts running over them, \&cc. becaufe the fame depends upon the cafual Trade, and Employment of men, and upon matters which are but circumftantial to the Seafons, and Regions we live in; and affords little of that Science, and Certainty we aim at.
15. We find one Ca/ualty in our Bills, of which, though there be daily talk, there is little effect, much like our abhorrence of Toads, and Snakes, as molt poifonous Creatures, whereas few men dare fay upon their own knowledge, they ever found harm by elither; and this Casualty is the French-Pox, gotten, for the mot part, not fo much by the intemperat ufe of Venery (which rather caufeth the Govt) as of many common Women.
16. I fay, the Bills of Mortality would take off there Bars, which keep forme men within bounds, as to there extravagancies: for in the afore-mentioned 229250, we finde not above 392 to have died of the Pox. Now, forasmuch as it is not good to let the World be lulled into a fecurity, and belief of Impunity by our Bills, which we intend fall not be onely as Death's-beads to put men in mind of their Mortality, but alfo as Mercurial Statues to point out the molt dangerous ways, that lead us into it, and mifery. We fall therefore flew, that the Pox is not as the Toads, and Snakes afore-mentioned, but of a quite contrary
nature, together with the reafon, why it appears otherwife.
17. Forasmuch as by the ordinary difcourfe of the world it feems a great part of men have, at one time, or other, had fome /pecies of this Difeafe, I wondering why fo rew died of it, efpecially becaufe I could not take that to be fo harmlefs, whereof fo many complained very fiercely; upon enquiry I found that thofe, who died of it out of the Hofpitals (efpecially that of King's-Land, and the Lock in Soutbrark) were returned of Vlcers, and Sores. And in brief I found, that all mentioned to die of the Frenck-Pox were returned by the Clerks of Saint Gile's, and Saint Martin's in the Fields onely, in which place I under, ftood that moft of the vileft and moft miferable houfes of uncleannefs were: from whence I concluded, that onely hated perfons, and fuch, whofe very Nofes were eaten of, were reported by the Searchers to have died of this too frequent Maladie.
18. In the next place it thall be examined under what name, or Ca/usltie, fuch as die of thefe Difeafes are brought in: I fay, under the Con/umption; forasmuch, as all dying thereof die fo emaciated and lean (their שlcers difappearing upon Death ) that the Old-women Searchers after the mift of a Cup of Ale, and the bribe of a two-groat fee, inftead of one, given them, cannot tell whether this emaciation, or leannefs were from a Pbthifs, or from an Hectick Fever, Atropby, \&c. or from an Infection of the Spermatick parts, which in length of time; and in various difguifes hath at laft vitiated the habit of the Body, and by difabling the parts to digeft their nourifhment brought them to the condition of leannefs above-mentioned.
19. My next Obfervation is, that of the Rickets we finde no mention among the Ea/ualties; untill the year 1634 , and then but of $1_{4}$ for that whole year.
20. Now the Queftion is, Whether that Difeafe did firft appear about that time; or whether a Difcafe, which had been long before, did then firft receive its Name?
21. To clear this Difficulty out of the Bills (for I dare venture on no deeper Arguments) I enquired what other Cafualties before the year 1634 , named in the Bills, was molt like the Rickets; and found, not onely by Pretenders to know it, but alfo from other Bills, that Liver-gromn, was the neareft. For in forme years I finde Liver-gromn, Spleen, and Rickets, put all together, by reafon (as I conceive) of their likeness to each other. Hereupon I added the Livergroves of the year 1634, viz. 77, to the Rickets of the fame year, viz. 14 , making in all 91 : which Total, as alfo the Number 77 it felf, I compared with the Liver-gromn of the precedent year, 1633, viz. 82: All which fhewed me, that the Rickets was a new Difeafe over and above.
22. Now, this being but a faint Argument, I looked both forwards and backwards, and found, that in the year 1629 , when no Rickets appeared, there was but 94 Liver-gromns; and in the year 1636 there was 99 Liver-gromn, although there were alfo so of the Rickets: onely this is not to be denyed, that when the Rickets grew very numerous (as in the year 1660 vi, to be 52 I ) then there appeared not above 15 of Liver-gropn.
23. In the year 1659 were 441 Rickets, and 8 Liver-gromn. In the year 1658 were 476 Rickets, and

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¢1. Liver-gromn. Now, though it be granted that thefe Difeafes were confounded in the judgment of the Nur/es, yet it is moft certain, that the Liver-gromn did never but once, viŋ. Anno 1630, exceed 100 . whereas Anno 1660, Liver-gromn, and Rickets were 536.
24. It is alfo to be obferved, that the Rickets were never more numerous then now, and that they are ftill encreafing; for Anno 1649, there was but 190, next year 260 , next after that 329 , and fo forwards, with fome little ftarting backwards in fome years, until the year 1660 , which produced the greateft of all.
25. Now, fuch back-ftartings feem to be univerfal in all things; for we do not onely fee in the progreffive motion of the wheels of Watches, and in the rowing of Boats, that there is a little ftarting, or jerking backwards between every ftep forwards, but alfo (if I am not much deceived) there appeared the like in the motion of the Moon, which in the long Telefcopes at Gre/bam-College one may fenfibly difcern.
26. There feems alfo to be another new Difeafe, called by our Bills The ftopping of the Stomach, firft mentioned in the year, 1636 , the which Malady from that year to 1647, encreafed but from 6 to 29 ; Anne 1655 it came to be 145 . In 57 , to 277 . In 60 , to 314. Now thefe proportions far exceeding the difference of proportion generally arifing from the encreafe of Inhabitants, and from the refort of $A d$ vene to the City, fhews there is fome new Difeafe, which appeareth to the Vulgar, as Afopping of the Stomach.
27. Here-
27. Hereupon I apprehended that this Stopping might be the Green-fickneß, forasmuch as I finde few, or nots, to have been returned upon that Accompt, although many be vifibly ftained with it. Now whether the fame be forborn out of flame, I know not? For fince the world believes, that Marriage cures it, it may feem indeed a fhame, that any Maid fhould die uncured, when there are more Males then Females, that is, an overplus of Husbands to all that can be Wives.
28. In the next place I conjectured, that this fopping of the Stomaeb might be the Mother, forasmuch as I have heard of many troubled with Mother-fits (as they call them) although few returned to have died of them, which conjecture, if it be true, we may then fafely fay, That the Motber-fits have alfo encreafed.
29. But I was fomewhat taken off from thinking this ftopping of the Stomack to be the Mother, becaufe I gueffed rather the Rifing of the Lights might be it. For Iremembred that fome Women, troubled with the Mother-fits, did complain of a choaking in their Tkroats. Now as I underftand, it is more conceivable, that the Lights, or Iungs (which I have heard called The Belloms of the Body) not blowing, that is, neither venting out, nor taking in breath, might rather caufe fuch a Choaking, then that the Motber fhould rife up thither, and do it. For me-thinks, when a woman is with childe, there is a greater rifing, and yet no fuch Fits at all.
30. But what I have faid of the Rickets, and fopping of the Stomach, I do in fome meafure fay of the Rifing of the Lights alfo, viz, that thefe Rijings (be E
they

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they what they will ) have encreafed much above the general proportion; for in 1629 there was but 44. and in 1660,249 , viz alnoft fix times as mazy.
31. Now forasmuch 25 Rickets appear much in the Over-gronoing of Childrens Livers, and Spleens (as by the Bills may appear') which furely may caufe fopping of the Stomach by fqueezing, and crowding upon that part. And forasmuch as thefe choakings, or Rifings of the Lights may proceed from the fame ftuffings, as make the Liver, and spleen to over-grow their due proportion. And laftly, forasmuch as the Rickets, fopping of the Stomach, and rifing of the Lights, have all encreated together, and in fome kinde of correfpondent proportions; it feems to me, that they depend one upon another. Arid that what is the Rickets in children may be the other in more growh bodies, for furely children, which recover of the Rickets, may retain fomewhat fufficient to caufe what I have imagined; but of this let the learned Pbyficians confider, as I prefume they have.
32. I had not medled thus far, but that I have heard, the firft hints of the circulation of the Blood were taken from a common Perfon's wondering what became of all the blood which iffued out of the heart, fince the heart beats above three thoufand times an hour, although but one drop fhould be pumpt out of it, at every ftroke.
33. The Stone feemed to decreafe: for in 1632 , $33,34,35$, and 36 : there died of the Stone, and Strangury, 254. And in the Years 1655, 56, 57, 58, 59 , and 1660 , but 250 , which numbers although indeed they be almoft equal, yet confidering the Burials of the firft named five Years were but half thofe of

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the latter, it feems to be decreafed by about one half. 34. Now the Stone, and Strangury, are difeafes, which moft men know, that feel them, unlefs it be in fome few cafes, where (as I have heard Phy/ficians fay) a stone is held up by the Filmes of the Bladder, and fo kept from grating or offending it.
35. The Gowt ftands much at a ftay, that is, it anfwers the general proportion of Burials; there dies not above one of 1000 of the Gonvt, although I believe that more die Gomty. The reafon is, becaufe thofe that have the Gowt, are faid to be Long-livers, and therefore, when fuch die, they are returned as Aged.
36. The Scurvy hath likewife encreafed, and that gradually from 12, Anno 1629 to 95 , Anno 1660 .
37. The Ty ffick feems to be quite worn away, but that it is probable the fame is entred as Cough, or Confumption.
38. Agues and Fevers are entred promifcuoufly, yet in the few Bills, wherein they have been diftinguifhed, it appears, that not above one in 40 , of the whole are Agues.
39. The Abortives, and stil-borsare about the twentieth part of thofe that are Chriftened, and the numbers feemed the fame thirty Years ago as now, which fhews there were more in proportion in thofe Years then now : or elfe that in thefe latter Years due Accompls have not been kept of the Abortives, as having been Buried without notice, and perhaps not in Cbirchrards.
40. For that there hath been a neglect in the Accompts of the Chriftenings is moft certain, becaufe until the Year 1642 , we finde the Burials but equal with the Chrifenings, or near thereabouts, but in 1648 ,
when the differences in Religion had changed the Government, the Cbrijnings were but two thirds of the Burials. And in the year 1659, not half, viz. the Burials were 14720 , (of the Plague but 36 ) and the Chriftnings were but $5^{6} 70$, which great difproportion could be from no other Caufe, then that above-mentioned, for as much as the fame grew as the Confufions, and Changes grew.
41. Moreover, although the Bills give us in Anno 1659 but $5^{6} 70$ Chrifinings, yet they give us 421 Abortives, and 226 dying in Child-bed, whereas in the year $16_{i 1}$, when the Abortives were 410 , that is, near the number of the year 1659 , the Cloriftnings were 8288 . Wherefore by the proportion of Abortives Anno 1659, the Cbriftnings thould have been about 8,00 , but if we fhall reckon by the women dying in Child-Bed, of whom a better Accompt is kept, then of Stil-Borns, and Abortives, we fhall finde Anno 1659 , there were 226 Child-Beds; and Anno 1631,112 , viz. not $\frac{x}{2}$. Wherefore I conceive that the true number of the Cbriftnings Anno 1659 is above double to the 5690 fet down in our Bills; that is about 11500 , and then the Cbriftnings will come near the fame proportion to the Burials, as hath been obferved in former times.
42. In regular Times, when Accompts were well kept, we finde that not above three in 200 died in Cbild:bed, and that the number of Abortives was about treble to that of the women dying in Cbild-bed: from whence we may probably collect, that not one woman of an hundred (I might fay of two hundred) dies in her labour; for as much as there be other Caufes of a woman's dying withia the Moneth, then the hardnefs of her Labour.
43. If

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43. If this be true in thefe Countries, where women hinder the facility of their Child-bearing by affected ftraightning of their Bodies; then certainly in America, where the fame is not practifed, Nature is little more to be taxed as to women, then in Brates, among whom not one in fome thoulands do die of their Deliveries: what I have heard of the Iri/b-mo$m e n$ confirms me herein.
44. Before we quite leave this matter, we fhall infert the Caufes, why the Accompt of Cbrifnings hath been neglected more then that of Burials: one,and the chief whereof, was a Religious Opinion againtt Baptizing of Infants, either as unlawful, or unneceffary. If this were the onely reafon, we might by our defects of this kinde, conclude the growth of this Opinion, and pronounce, that not half the People of England, between the years 1650 , and 1660 , were convinced of the need of Baptizing.
45. A fecond Reafon was, The fcruples, which many Publick Minifters would make of the worthinefs of Parents to have their Children Baptized, which forced fuch queftioned Parents, who did alfo not believe the neceffity of having their Children Baptized by fuch fcrapulers, to carry their Children thto fuch other Miniffers, as having performed the thing had not the Authority, or Command of the Regiffer to enter the names of the Baptized.
46. A third Reafon was, That a little Fee was to be paid for the Regiftry.
47. Upon the whole matter it is moft certain, that the number of Heterodox Believers was very great between the faid year, 1650 , and 1660 , and fo peevifh were they, as not to have the Births of their Children

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Regiftred, although thereby the time of their coming of Age might be known, in refpect of fuch Inheritances, as might belong unto them; and witial by fuch Regiftring it would have appeared unto what Paribe each Childe had belonged, in cafe any of them fhould happen to want its reliff.
4. Of Convalfions there appeared very few, viz, but 52 in the year 1629 , which in 1636 grew to $70 \%$, keeping about that ftay, till 1659 , though fometimes rifing to about rooo.
49. It is to be noted, that from $x 6_{29}$ to $\times 636$, when the Convulfons were but few, the number of Chryfoms, and Infants was greater: for in 1629 , there was of Chryfoms, and Infants 2596 , and of the Convulfion 52, $v i z$. of both, 2648. And in 1636 there was of $1 n_{\text {- }}$ fants 1895, and of the Convulfions 709. in both 2604 , by which it appears, that this difference is likely to be onely a confufion in the Accompts.
50. Moreover, we finde that for thefe later years, fince 1636, the total of Convulfions and Chryfoms added together are much lefs, viz. by about 400 or 500 , per Annum, then the like Totals from 1626 to 36, which makes me think, that Teeth alfo were thruft in under the Title of Cbry/oms, and Infants, in as much as in the faid years, from 1629 to 1639 , the number of worms, and Teetb, wants by above 400 per Annum of what we find in following years.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CAp. IV. } \\
& \text { of the Plague. }
\end{aligned}
$$

\&Efore we leave to difcourfe of the Cafualties, we fhall add fomething concerning that greateft Difeafe, or Cafualty of all, The Plague.

There have been in London, within this Age, four Times of great Mortality, that is to fay, the years 1572 , and $1593,1603,1625$, and 1636 .

There died Anno 1592 from March to December,

Whereof of the Plague Anno I593 - 17844
Whereof of the Plague ————n 10662
Chriftned in the faid year 4021 Anno 1603 within the fame face of time were Buried 37294
Whereof of the Plague~ $\quad 30561$ Anno ${ }_{1} 625$, within the fame face, $\ldots 5175^{8}$

Whereof of the Plague Anno $163^{6}$, from April to December ———23359

Whereof of the Plague - 10400
2. Now it is manifeft of it felfe, in which of thefe years moft died ; but in which of them was the greateft Mortality of all Difeafes in general, or of the Plague in particular, we difcover thus. In the year 1592 , and 1636 , we finde the proportion of thofe dying of the Plague in the whole to benear alike, that is about io to 23 . or 11 to 25 . or as about two to five.
3. In the year 1625 , we finde the Plague to bear unto the whole in proportion as 35 to 51 , or 7 to 10 , that is almoft the triplicate of the former proportion, for the Cube of 7 . being 343. and the cube of 10 being 1000 . the faid 343 . is not $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1000 .
4. In Anno $\times 603$. the proportion of the Plague to the whole was as 30. to $37 . v i z$ as 4 . to 5 . which is yet greater then the laft of 7 to 20 . For if the Year 1625 . had been as great a Plague-Year as 1603 . there
muft have died not onely 7 to 10 . but 8 to ro. which in thofe great numbers makes a vaft difference.
5. We muift therefore conclude the Year $160_{3}$ to have been the greateft Plague-Year of this age.
6. Now to know in which of thefe 4 . was the greateft Mortality at large, we reafon thus,

Anno $\left.1592 \begin{array}{ll}\text { Buried——26490 } \\ \text { Chriftned } & 4277\end{array}\right\}$ or as $\left\{\begin{array}{l}6 \\ 1\end{array}\right.$ There died in the whole $\} \quad\{8$ Anno $\left.1603 \begin{array}{l}\text { Year of all }-38244 \\ \\ \text { Chriftned }-\quad 4784\end{array}\right\}$ or $25\left\{\begin{array}{l}1 \\ 1\end{array}\right.$

Died in the whole $\quad \int 8$ 1. to 8. or Anzo 1625. Year -54265 Chriftned 6983 ( I I. $\frac{7}{4}$. to ro.

## An

 $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { There died, ut fuprà-23359 } \\ \text { Chriftned }-9522\end{array}\right\}$ or as $\left\{\begin{array}{l}5 \\ 2\end{array}\right.$ 7. From whence it appears, that Anno 1636 , the Chriftnings were about ${ }_{3}^{\beta}$ parts of the Burials. Anno $x 59.2$ but $\frac{1}{6}$. but in the Year 1603, and 1625 not above an eighth: fo that the faid two years were the years of greateft Mortality. We faid that the yéar 1603 was the greateft Plague-year. And now we fay, that the fame was not a greater year of Mortality then Anno 1625 . Now to reconcile thefe two Pofigions, we muft alledg, that Anno ${ }_{1} 625$ there was errour in the Accompts, or Diftinctions of the $\varepsilon_{a / u}$ alties; that is, more died of the Plague then were accompted for under that name. Which Allegation we alfo prove thus, viz.8. In the faid year $1\left(\begin{array}{l}2 \\ 5\end{array}\right.$ there are faid to have died of the Plague 35417 , and of all other Difeafes 18848 : whereas in the years, both before, and after the fame, the ordinary number of Burials was between 7 and 8000 , fo that if we add about 11000 (which is the difference between 7 and 18) to our 35, the whole will be 46000 , which bears to the whole 54000 , as about 4 to 5 thereby rendring the faid year 162 s to be as great a Plague-year as that of x 603 , and no greater; which anfwers to what we proved before, viz. that the Mortality of the two Years was equal.
9. From whence we may probably fufpect, that about $\frac{1}{4}$ part more died of the Plague then are returned for fuch; which we further prove by noting, that Anno 1636 there died 10400 of the Plague, the $\frac{2}{4}$ whereof is 2600 . Now there are faid to have died of all other difeafes that Year 12959, out of which number deducting 2600 there remains 10359 , more then which there died not in feveral years next before and after the faid Year 1636.
10. The next Obfervation we fhall offer is, That the Plague of 1603 lafted eight Years. In fome whereof there died above 4000, in others above 2000, and in but one lefs then 600 :whereas in the Year 1624 next preceding, and in the year 1626 next following the faid great Plague-year 1625; there died in the former but 11, and in the latter but 134 of the Plague. Moreover in the faid year 1625 the Plague decreafed from its utmoft number 446 r a week to below 1000 within fix weeks.
11. The Plague of 1636 lafted twelve Years, in eight whereof there died 2000 per annum one with an-
other, and never under 300 . The which fhews, that the Contagion of the Plague depends more upon the Difpofition of the Air, then upon the Effluvia frons the Bodies of men.
12. Which alfo we prove by the fudden jumps, which the Plague hath made, leaping in one Week from 118 to 927 : and back again from 993 to 258 : and from thence again the very next Week to 852. The which effects muft furely be rather attributed to change of the Air, then of the Conftitution of Mens Bodies, otherwife then as this depends upon that.
13. It may be alfo noted, That many times other Peftilantial Difeafes, as Purple-Fevers, Small Pox, \&c. do forerun the Plague a Year, two, or three; for in 1622 there died but 8000 : in 1623,11000 : in 1624 , about 12000 : till in 1625 there died of all Difeafes above 54000 .

Chap. V.

## Other Objervations upon the Plague, and Cafualties.

1. 

THE Decrease, and Increa/e of Pcople is to be reckoned chiefly by Chrifenings, becaufe few bear children in Londen but 1nhabitants, though others die there. The Accompts of Cbriftenings were well kept until differences in Religion occafioned tome neglect therein, although even thefe neglects we muft confefs to have been regular, and proportionable.
2. By the numbers and proportions of Chrifenings therefore we obferve as followeth, viz.

Firft,

Firf, That (when from December 1602 , to March following, there was little, or no Plague) then the Cbriftenings at a Medium were between ila and 130 per Week, few Weeks being above the one, or below the other; but when from thence to fuly the Plague encreafed, that then the Chriffenings decreafed to under 90.

Secondly, The Queftion is, Whether Teeming-women died, or fled, or mifcarried? The latter at this time feems moft probable, becaufe even in the faid fpace, between March, and fuly, there died not above twenty per Week of the Plague, which fmall number could neither caufe the death, or flight of fomany Women, as to alter the proportion $\frac{1}{4}$ part lower.
3. Moreover, We obferve from the 2 I of $\mathcal{F}_{n l y}$ to the $x=$ of october the Plague encreafing reduced the Cbrifenings to 70 at a Medium, diminifhing the above proportion down to $\frac{2}{3}$. Now the caufe of this muft be flying, and death, as well as Mifcarriages, and Abortions; for there died within that time about 25000 , whereof many were certainly Women-with-child: befides the fright of fo many dying within fo fmall a time might drive away fo many others, as to caufe this effect.
4. From December 1624, to the middle of April 1625 , there died not above five a Week of the Plague, one with another. In this time, the cbriftenings were one with another 180. The which decreafed gradu ally by the 22 of September to 75 , or from the proportion of $1_{2}$ to 5 , which evidently fquares with our former Obfervation.
5. The next Obfervation we fhall offer is, The time, wherein the City hath been Re-peopled after a
great Plague; which we affirm to be by the fecond year. For in 1627 the Cbrifenings (which are our Standard in this Cafe) were 8408 , which in 1624 next preceding the Plague-year 1625 (that had fwept away above $\varsigma 4000$ )were but 8299 , and the Chriftenings of 1626 (which were but 6701 ) mounted in one year to the faid 8408.
6. Now the Caule hereof, for as much as it cannot be a fupply by Procreations; Ergo, it muft be by new Affluxes to London out of the Countrey.
7. We might fortifie this Affertion by fhewing, that before the Plague-year, 1603 , the Chriftenings were about 6000 , which were in that very year reduced to 4789 , but crept up the next year 1604 to 5458 , recovering their former ordinary proportion in 1605 of 6504 , about which proportion it ftood till the year 1610 .
8. I fay, it followeth,that, let the Mortality be what it will, the City repairs its lofs of Inhabitants within two years, which Obfervation leffens the Objection made againft the value of houfes in London, as if they were liable to great prejudice through the lofs of Inhabitants by the Plague.

## Chap. VI.

Of the Sickline/s, Healtbfulwefs, and Frwitfuilne/s of Senfons.

1. TAving fpoken of Ca/ualties, we come next to compare the ficklinefs, healthfulnefs, and fruitfulnefs
fruitfulnefs of the feveral Years, and Seafons, one with another. And firft,having in the Chapters aforegoing mentioned the feveral years of Plague, we fhall next prefent the feveral other fickly years; we meaning by a fickly Year fuch wherein the Burials exceed thofe, both of the precedent, and fubfequent years, and not above 200 dying of the Plague, for fuch we call Plague-Years; and this we do, that the World may fee, by what fpaces, and intervals we may hereafter expect fuch times again. Now, we may not call that a more fickly year, wherein more die, becaufe fuch excefs of Burials may proceed from encreafe, and accefs of People to the City onely.
2. Such fickly years were $1618,20,23,24,1632$, $33,34,1649,52,54,56,58,6 \mathrm{I}$, as may be feen by the Tables.
3. In reference to this Obfervation we fhall prefent another, namely, That the more fickly the years are, the lefs fecund, or fruittull of Children alfo they be. Which will appear, if the number of Children born in the faid fickly years be lefs, then that of the years, both next preceding, and next following; all which, upon view of the Tables, will be found true, except in a very few Cafes, where fometimes the precedent, and fometimes the fubfequent years vary a little, but never both together. Moreover, for the confirmation of this Truth, we prefent you the year 1660 , where the Burials were fewer then in either of the two next precedent years by 2000 , and fewer then in the fubfequent by above 4000 . And withall, the number of Cbrifenings in the faid year 1660 was far greater then in any of the three years next aforegoing.
4. As to this year 1660 , although we would not be thought Superfitious, yet it is not to be neglected, that in the faid year was the King's Reftauration to His Empire over thefe three Nations, as if God Almighty had caufed the healthfulnefs and fruitfulnefs thereof to repair the Bloodfbed, and Calamities, fuffered in His abfence. I fay, this conceit doth abundantly counterpoife the Opinion of thofe, who think great Plagues come in with King's reigns, becaufe it hapned fatwice, vir. Anno 1603, and 1625 , whereas as well the year $x^{648}$, wherein the prefent King commenced His right to reign, as alfo the year 1660 , whereinHe commenced the exercife of the fame, were both eminently healthful: which clears both Monarghy, and our prefent King's Eamily from what feditious men have furmifed againft them.
5. The Difeafes, which befide the Plague make years unhealthful in this City, are Spotted-Fevers, Small-P ox, Dy/entery, called by fome The Plague in the Guts, and the unhealthful Seafon is the Autumn.

## Chap. VII.

## of the difference between Burials, and Cbriftenings.

1. THE next Obfervation is, That in the faid Bills there are far more Burials, then Cbriftenings. This is plain, depending onely upon Arithmetical computation; for, in 40 years, from the year $160_{3}$, to the year 1644 , exclufivè of both years, there have been fet down(as happening w ithin the fame ground,

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fpace, or Parifhes ) although differently numbered, and divided, 363935 Burials, and but 330747 Chrifonings within the 97, 16, and 10 out-Parifhes; thofe of Weftminfter, Lambeth, Newington, Redriff, Stepney, Hackney, and 1/ington, not being included.
2. From this fingle Obfervation it will follow, That London fhould have decreafed in its People, the contrary whereof we fee by its daily encreafe of Buildings upon new foundations, and by the turning of great Palacious Houfes into fmal Tenements. It is therefore certain, that London is fupplied with People from out of the Countrey, whereby not onely to repair the overplus difference of Burials above-mentioned, but likewife to encreafe its Inbabitants according to the faid encreafe of houfing.
3. This fupplying of London feems to be the reafon, why Winchefter, Lincoln, and feveral other Cities have decreafed in their Buildings, and confequently in their Inbabitants. The fame may be fufpected of many Townis in Cornval, and other places, which probably, when they were firft allowed to fend Burgeffes to the Parliament, were more populous then now, and bore another proportion to London then now; for feveral of thofe Burroughs fend two Burgeffes, whereas London it felf fends but four, although it bears the fifteenth part of the charge of the whole Nation in all Publick Taxes, and Levies.
4. But, if we confider what I have upon exact enquiry found true, viz. That in the Country, within ninety years, there have been 6339 . Chrifninge, and but 5280 Burials, the encreafe of London will be falved without inferring the decreafe of the People in the Country; and withall, in cafe all England have but
fourteen times more People then London, it will appear, how the faid encreafe of the Country may encreafe the People, both of London, and it felf; for if there be in the $97,16,10$, and 7 Parifhes, ufually comprehended with in our Bills, but 460000 fouls, as hereafter we fhall fhew, then there are in all England, and Wales, 6440000 Perfons, out of which fubftract 460000 , for thofe in and about London, there remains 5980000 in the Country, the which encreafing about $\frac{\pi}{7}$ part in 40 years, as we fhall hereafter prove, doth happen in the Country, the whole encreafe of the Country will be about 854000 in the faid time, out of which number if but about 250000 be fent up to London in the faid 40 years, viz. about 6000 per $A n$ num, the faid Miffions will make good the alterations, which we finde to have been in, and about London, between the years 1603 and 1644 above-mentioned; But that 250000 will do the fame, I prove thus: viz. in the 8 years, from 1603 to $16 \times 2$, the Burials in all the Parifhes, and of all Difeafes, the Plague included, were at a Medium 9750 per Annum. And between 1635 and 1644 were 18000 , the difference wherof is 8250 , which is the Total of the encreafe of the Burials in 40 years, that is about 206 per Annum. Now, to make the Burials encreafe 206 per Annum, there muft be added to the City thirty times as many (according to the proportion of 3 dying out of In Families) viz. 6180 Advene, the which number multiplied again by the 40 years, makes the Product 247200 , which is lefs then the 250600 above-propounded; fo as there remains above 600000 of encreafe in the Country within the faid 40 years, either to render it more populous, or fend forth into other Colonies,
or Wars. But that England hath fourteen times more People, is not improbable, for the Reafons following.
I. London is obferved to bear about the fifteenth proportion of the whole Tax.
2. There is in England, and Wales, about 39000 fquare Miles of Land, and we have computed, that in one of the greateft Parifhes in Hantfirire, being alfo a Market-Town, and containing twelve fquare Miles, there are 220 Souls in every fquare Mile, out of which I abate $\frac{1}{4}$ for the over-plus of People more in that Parifh, then in other wilde Counties. So as the $\frac{1}{4}$ parts of the faid 220 , multiplied by the Total of fquare Miles, produces 6400000 Souls in all London included.
3. There are about $\mathbf{0 0 0 0 0}$ Parifhes in Empland, and Wales, the which, although they fhould not contain the $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the Land, nor the $\frac{1}{4}$ of the People of that Country-Parifh, which we have examined, yet may be fuppofed to contain about 600 People, one with another: according to which Accompt there will be fix Millions of People in the Nation. I might add, that there are in England, and Wales, about five and twenty Millions of Acres at $16 \frac{1}{2}$ Foot to the Perch; and if there be fix Millions of People, then there is about four Acres for every head, which how well it agrees to the Rules of Plantation, I leave unto others, not onely as a means to examine my Affertion, but as an hint to their enguiry concerning the fundamental Trade, which is Husbandry, and Plantation.
4. Upon the whole matter we may therefore conclude, That the People of the whole Nation do increafe, and confequently the decreafe of Winchefter,

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Lincoln, and other like places, muft be attributed to other Reafons, then that of refurnifhing London onely.
5. We come to fhew, why although in the Country the Cbrifenings exceed the Burials, yet in London they do not. The general Reafon of this muft be, that in London the proportion of thofe fubject to die, unto thofe capable of breeding, is greater then in the Country; That is, let there be an hundred Perfons in London, and as many in the Country; we fay; that, if there be 60 of them Breeders in London, there are more then 60 in the Conntry, or elfe we muft fay, that London is more unhealthful, or that it inclines men and women more to Barrennefs, then the Country: which by comparing the Burials, and Chriftenings of Hackney, Nemington, and the other Country-Parifhes, with the moft Smoaky, and Stinking parts of the City, is fcarce difcernable in any confiderable degree.
6. Now that the Breeders in London are proportionably fewer then thofe in the Country arifes from thefe reafons, $\boldsymbol{i z}$.
x. All, that have bufinefs to the Court of the King, or to the Courts of Juftice, and all Country-men coming up to bring Provifions to the City, or to buy Foreign Commodities, Manufactures, and Rarities, do for the moft part leave their Wives in the Country.
2. Perfons coming to live in London out of curiofity, and pleafure, as alfo fuch as would retire, and live privately, do the fame, if they have any.
3. Such, as come up to be cured of Difeafes, do fêarce ufe their Wives pro tempore.
4. That many Apprentices of London, who are bound
bound feven, or nine years from Marriage, do often ftay longer voluntarily.
5. That many Sea-men of London leave their Wives behind them, who are more fubject to dy in the abfence of their Husbands, then to breed either without men, or with the ufe of many promifcuoufly.
6.As tor unhealthinefs, it may well be fuppoled, that although feafoned Bodies may, and do live near as long in London, as elfewhere, yet new-comers, and Children do not: for the Smoaks, Stinks, and clofe Air are lefs healthful then that of the Country; otherwife why do fickly Perfons remove into thelCountryAir ? And why are there more old men in Countries then in London, per rata? And although the difference in Hackney, and Nerington, above mentioned, be not very notorious, yet the reafon may be their vicinity to London, and that the Inhabitants are moft fuch, whofe bodies have firft been impaired with the Lon-don-Air, before they withdraw thither.
7. As to the caufes of Barrennefs in London, I fay, that although there fhould be none extraordinary in the Native Air of the place; yet the intemperance in feeding, and efpecially the Adulteries, and Fornications, fuppofed more frequent in London then elfewhere, do certainly hinder breeding. For a Woman, admitting ten Men, is fo far from having ten times as many Children, that fhe hath none at all.
8. Add to this, that the minds of men in London are more thoughtful, and full of bufinefs, then in the Country, where their work is corporal Labour, and Exercifes. All which promote Breeding, whereas Anxieties of the mind hinder it.

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## Chap. VIII.

Of the difference between the numbers of Males and Femalss.

THe next Obfervation is, That there be more Males, then Females.

1. There have been Buried from the year 1628 , to the year 1662 , exclugive, 209436 Males, and but 190474 Females: but it will be objected, That in London it may indeed be fo, though otherwife elfewhere; becaufe London is the great Stage and Shop of bufinefs, wherein the Ma/culine Sex bears the greateft part. But we Anfwer, That there hath been alfo Chriftened within the fame time 139782 Males, and but 130866 Females, and that the Country-Accompts are confonaut enough to thofe of London upon this matter.
2. What the Caufes hereof are we fhall not trouble our felves to conjecture, as in other Cafes: onely we fhall.defire, that Travellers would enquire, whether it be the fame in other Countries.
3. We fhould have given an Accompt, how in every Age thefe proportions change here, but that we have Bills of diftinction but for 32 years, fo that we fhall pafs from hence to fome Inferences from this Conclufion; as firft,
I. That Cbriftian Religion, prohibiting Polygamy, is more agreeable to the Lam of Nature, that is, the Law of God, then Mahumeti/m, and others, that allow it: for one man his having many women, or wives, by Law, fignifies nothing, unlefs there were many women to one man in Nature alfo.
II. The obvious Objection hereunto is, That one Hor $\int_{e,}$ Bull, or Ram, having each of them many Females, do promote increafe. To which I Anfwer, That although perhaps there be naturally, even of thefe 乃pecies, more Males, then Females, yet artificially, that is, by making Geldengs, oxen, and Wgathers, there are fewer. From whence it will follow, That when by experience it is found how many Eess (fuppofe twenty) one Ram will ferve, we may know what proportion of male-Lambs to caftrate, or geld, viz. nineteen, or thereabouts :for it you emafculate fewer, viz, but ten, you fhall by promifcuous copulation of each of thofe ten with two Females, hinder the increafe fo far, as the admittance of two Males will do it: but, if you caftrate none at all, it is!highly probable, that, every of the twenty Males copulating with every of the twenty Females, there will be little, or no conception in any of them all.
III. And this I take to be the trueft Reafon, why Foxes, Wolves, and other Vermin Animals, that are not gelt, increafe not fafter then Sbeep, when as fo many thoufands of thefe are daily Butchered, and very few of the other die otherwife then of themfelves.
4. We have hitherto faid, There are more Males, then Females; we fay next, That the one exceed the other by about a thirteenth part. So that although more men die violent deaths, then women, that is, more are ノain in Wars, killed by Mifchance, drorned at Sea, and die by the Hand of fuffice; moreover, more men go to Colonies, and travel into foreign parts, then women; and laftly, more remain unmarried, then of women, as Felloms of Colleges, and Apprentifes, above eighteen, $\forall c$. yet the faid thir-

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teenth part difference bringeth the bufinefs but to fuch a pafs, that every woman may have an Huf. band, without the allowance of Polygamy.
5. Moreover, although a man be Prolifique fourty years, and a woman but five and twenty, which makes the Males to be as 560 to 325 Females, yer the caufes above named, and the later marriage of the men, reduce all to an equality.
6. It appearing, that there were fourteen men to thirteen women, and that they die in the fame proportion alfo, yet I have heard Pbyficians fay, that they have two women Patients to one man, which Affertion feems very likely; for that women have either the Green-fickneß, or other like Diftempers, are fick of Bresdings, Abortions, Child-bearing, Sore-breafts, Wbites, Obfructions, Fits of the Motber, and the like.
7. Now, from this it fhould follow, that more women fhould die then men, if the number of Bw rials anfwered in proportion to that of Sickneffes: but this muft be falved, either by the alledging, that the Pbyficians cure thofe Sickneffes, fo as few more die, then if none were fick; or elfe that men, being more intemperate then women, die as much by reafon of their Vices, as the women do by the Infirmitie of their Sex, and confequently, more Males being born, then Females, more alfo die.
8. In the year 1642 many Males went out of London into the Wars then beginning, info much, as I expected in the fucceeding year, 1643 , to have found the Burials of Females to have exceeded thofe of Males, but no alteration appeared; for as much, as I fuppofe, Trading continuing the fame in London, all thofe, who loft their Apprentices, had
others out of the Countrey; and if any left their Trades, and Shops, that others forthwith fucceeded them: for, if employment for hands remain the fame, no doubt but the number of them could not long continue in difproportion.
9. Another pregnant Argument to the fame purpofe (which hath already been touched on) is, That although in the very year of the Plague the Chriftnings decreafed, by the dying, and flying of Teemingwomen, yet the very next year after, they increafed fomewhat, but the fecond after, to as full a number as in the fecond year before the faid Plague: for I fay again, if there be encouragment for an huudred in London, that is, a Way how an hundred may live better then in the Countrey, and if there be void houfing there to receive them, the evacuating of a fourth, or third part of that number, mult foon be fupplied out of the Countrey; fo as, the great Plague doth not leffen the Inhabitants of the City, but of the Countrey, who in a fhort time remove themfelves from thence hither, fo long, uns till the City, for want of receit, and encouragement, regurgitates and fends them back.
10. From the difference between Males and Fomates we fee the reafon of making Eunuchs in thofe places where Polygamy is allowed, the latter being ufelefs as to maltiplication, without the former, as was faid before in cafe of Sbeep, and other Animals, ufually gelt in thefe Countries.

1i. By confequence, this practife of Caftration ferves as well to promote increafe, as to meliorate the Flefh of thofe Beafts, that fuffer it. For that Opes ration is equally practifed upon Hor $/ e s$, which are not ufed for food, as upon thofe that are.
12. In Popifb Countries where Polygamy is forbidden, if a greater number of Males oblige themfelves to Calibate, then the natural over-plus, or difference between them and Females amounts unto s then multiplication is hindred: for if there be eight Men to ten Women, all of which eight men are married to eight of the ten Women, then the other two bear no Children, as either admitting no man at all, or elfe admitting Men as Whores (that is, more then ones) which commonly procreates no more, then if none at all had been ufed: or elfe fuch unlawful Copulations beget Conceptions, butto fruftrate them by procured Abortions, or fecret Murthers; all which returns to the fame reckoning. Now, if the fame proportion of women oblige themfelves to a fingle life likewife, then fuch obligation makes no change in this matter of encreafe.
13. From what hath been faid appears the reafon why the Law is, and ought to be fo ftrict againft Fornications, and Adulteries: for, if there were univerfal liberty, the Increafe of Man-kind would be but like that of Foxes at beft.
14. Now forasmuch as Princes are not onely Powerful, but Rich, according to the number of their People (Hands being the Father, as Lands are the Mother, and Womb of Wealth) it is no wonder why States by encouraging Marriage, and hindering Licentiousnefs, advance their own Intereft, as well as preferve the Laws of God from contempt, and violation.
15. It is a Bleffing to Man-kind, that by this overplus of Males there is this natural Bar to Polygamy: for in fuch a ftate women could not live in that
parity, and equality of expenfe with their Husbands; as now, and here they do.
16. The reafon whereof is, not, that the Husband cannot maintain as fplendidly three, as one; for he might, having three Wives, live himfelf upon a quarter of his Income, that is in a parity with all three, aswell as, having but one, live in the fame parity athalf with her alone: but rather, becaufe that to keep them all quiet with each other, and himfelf, he mult keep them all in greater aw, and lefs fplendour, which power he having, he will probably ufe it to keep them all as low, as he pleafes, and at no more coft then makes for his own pleafure ; the pooreft Subjects (fuch as this plurality of Wives muft be) being moft eafily governed.

## Chap. IX.

> Of the groorth of the City.

IN the year 1593 there died in the ninety feven Parifhes within the walls, and the fixteen without the walls (befides 42 x of the Plague) 3508. And the next year $347^{8}$, befides 29 of the Plague: in both years 6986 . Twenty years after, there died in the fame ninety feven, and fixteen Parifhes, 12110 , viz. Anso 1614, 5873; and Anno 1615, 6237: fo as the faid Parifhes are increafed, in the faid time,from feven to twelve, or very near thereabouts.
2. Moreover, the Burials within the like fpace of the next twenty years, viz: Anno 1634 , and 1635 , were 15625 , viz. as about twenty four to thirty one: the which laft of the three numbers, 15625 , is much
more then double to the firt 6986, viz, the faid Parifhes have in fourty years encreafed from twenty three to fifty two.
3. Where is to be noted, That although we were neceffitated to compound the faid ninety feven with the fixteen Parifhes, yet the fixteen Parifhes have encreafed fafter then the ninety feven. For, in the year $16_{2} 0$, there died within the walls 2726 , and in 1660 there died but 3098 (both years being clear of the Plague:) fo as in this fourty years the faid ninety feven Parifhes have encreafed but from nine to ten, or thereabouts, becaufe the houfing of the faid ninety feven Parifhes could be no otherwife encreafed, then by turning great Houfes into Tenements, and building upon a few Gardens.
4. In the year 1604 there died in the ninety feven Parifhes 1518 , and of the Plague 280. And in the year 1660, 3098 , and none of the Plague, fo as in fifty fix years the faid Parifhes have doubled. Where note, That forasmuch as the faid year 1604 was the very next year after the great Plague 1603 (when the City was not yet re-peopled) we fhall rather make the comparifon between 2014, which died Anno 1605, and 3431 Anno 1659: choofing rather from hence to affert, that the faid ninety feven, and fixteen Parifhes encreafed from twenty to thirty four, or from ten to feventeen in fifty four years, then from one to two in fifty fix, as in the laft aforegoing Paragraph is fet down.
5. Anno 1605 there died in the fixteen out-Parifhes 2974, and Anne 16,59, 6988: fo as in the fifty four years the faid Parifhes have encreafed from three to feven.
6. Anno 1605 there died in the eight out-Pariflies 960, Anno 1659 there died in the fame fope of Ground, although called now ten Parifhes (the Sa voy, and Covent-Garden being added) 4301; fo as the faid Parilhes have encreafed, within the faid fifty four years, more then from one to four.
7. Moreover, there was Buried in all, Anno I tos, 5948 , and Anno 1659, 14720, viz. about two to five.
8. Having fet down the proportions, whercin we find the faid three great Divifions of the whole Pyle, called London, to have encreafed; we comenext to fhew what particular Parifhes have had the moft remarkable fhare in thefe Augmentations. Viz of the ninety feven Parifhes witbin the Walls the encreafe is not very difcernable, but where great houfes formerly belonging to Noblemen, betore they built others near White-ball, have been turned into Tenements, upon which Accompt Alballons upon the Wall is encreafed by the converfion of the Marquefs of Winchefter's houie, lately the Spanifh Ambaffadour's, intoa new ftreet, the like of Alderman Freeman's, and La Motte's near the Exchange, the like of the Earl of Arundel's in Loth-bury, the like of the Bifhop of London's Palace, the Dean of Paul's, and the Lord River's houfe now in hand, as alfo of the Duke's-Place, and others heretofore.
9. Of the fixteen Parifhes nexc without the Walls Saint Gile's Cripplegate hath been moft enlarged, next to that Saint Olave's Southwark, then Saint Andren's Holborn, then White-Cbapel, the difference in the reft not being confiderable.
10. Of the out-Parifles now called ten, formerly nine, and before that eight, Saint Gile's, and Saint H 2

Martin's

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Mairtins in the fields, are moft encreafed, notwithftanding Saint Paul's Covent-Garden was taken out of them both.
i1. The general obfervation, which arifes from hence is, That the City of London gradually removes Weftward, and did not the RoyalExchange, and London-Bridg ftay the Trade, it would remove much fafter : for Leaden-Hal-ftreet, Bifbop's-Gate, and part of Fan-churchAtreet, have loft their ancient Trade; Grace-Church-Areet indeed keeping it delf yet entire, by reafon of its conjunction with, and relation to London-Bridg.
12. Again, Canning-Areet, and Watlin-freet have loft their Trade of Woollen-Drapery to Paul's Churcb-Yard, Ludgate-bill, and Fleet-ftreet: the Mercery is gone from out of L umbard-ftreet, and Cheap-Side, into Pater- NofterRom, and Fleet-fireet.
13. The reafons whereof are, That the King's Court(in old times frequently kept in the City) is now always at Wefminfler. Secondly, the ufe of Coaches, whereunto the narrow ftreets of the old City are unfir, hath caufed the building of thofe broader ftreets in Covent-Garden, \&c.
14. Thirdly, where the Confumption of Commodity is, viz. among the Gentry, the venders of the fame mult feat themfelves.
15. Fourthly, the cramming up of the void fpaces, and gardens within the Walls, with houfes, to the prejudice of Light, and Air, have made men build new ones, where they lefs fear thofe inconveniencies.
r6. Conformity in Building to other civil Nations hath difpofed us to let out old Wooden dark houfes fall to decay, and to build new, ones, whereby to anfwer all the ends above-mentioned.

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17. Where note, That, when Lud-gate was the only Weftern Gate of the City, little Building was Weftrard thereof: but, when Holborn began to encreafe, Nem-gate was made. But now both thefe Gates are not fufficient for the Communication between the Walled City, and its enlarged Weffern Suburbs, as daily appears by the intolerable ftops, and embareffes of Coaches near both thefe Gates, efpecially Lud-gate.

## Chap. X.

## of the Iuequality of Parifoes.

BEfore we pafs from hence, we fhall offer to confideration the inequality of Parifhes in, and about London, evident in the proportion of their res fpective Burials; for in the fame year were Buried in Cripple-gate-Parifh 1191. that but twelve died in Trinity-Minories, St. Saviour's Soutbrark, and Botolpb's Bibsop-gate, being of the middle fize, as burying five and 600 per Annum : fo that Cripple-gate is an hundred times as big as the Minories, and 200 times as big as St. Fobn the Euangeliff's, Mary-Coal-Church, Bennet's-Grace-Church, Matthem Friday-freet, and fome others within the City.
2. Hence may arife this Queftion, Wherefore flould this inequality be continued? If it be Anfwered, Becaufe that Pafours of all forts, and fizes of Abilities, may have Benefices, each man according to his merit: we Anfwer, That a two hundredth part of the beft Parfon's learning is fearce enough for a Sexton, But befides, there feems no reafon of any
difference at all, it being as much Science to fave one fingle foul, as one thouland.
3. We encline therefore to think the Parifhes fhould be equal, or near, becaufe, in the Reformed Religions, the principal ufe of Churches is to Preach in: now the bignefs of fuch a Church ought to be no greater, then that, unto which the voice of a Preasher of middling Lungs will eafily extend; I fay eafily, becaufe they fpeak an hour, or more together.
4. The ufe of fuch large Cburches, as Paul's, is now wholly loft,we having no need of faying perhaps fifty Maffes all at one time; nor of making thofe grand Proceffons frequent in the Romifs Church; nor is the fhape of our Cathedral proper at all for our Preaching Auditories, but rather the Figure of an Amphi-Theatre with Galleries, gradually over-looking each other: for unto this Condition the Parifh-Churches of London are driving apace, as appears by the many Galleries every day built in them.
5. Moreover, if Parifhes were brought to the fize of Coalman-ftrect, Alballows-Barking, Cbrift-Cburch,BlackFriers, \&c. in each whereof die between 100 and 150 , per Annum, then an hundred Parifhes would be a fit and equal Divifion of this great charge, and all the Minifters (fome whereof have now fcarce fourty pounds per Annum) might obtain a fubfiftence.
6. And laftly, The Cburch-Wardens, and Over-Jeers of the Poor might finde it poffible to difcharge their Duties, whereas now in the greater out-Parifhes many of the poorer Parifhioners through neglect do perifh, and many vicious perfons get liberty to live as they pleafe, for want of fome heedfull Eye to overlook them.

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## Chap. XI.

## Of the number of Inbabitants.

IHave been feveral times in company with men of great experience in this City, and have heard them talk feldom under Millions of People to be in London, all which I was apt enough to believe, untill, on a certain day, one of eminent Reputation was upon occafion afferting, that there was in the year 1661 two Millions of People more then Anno 1625 ,before the great Plague. I muft confefs, that, untill this provocation, I had been frighted, with that mif.under: ftood Example of David, from attempting any computation of the people of this populous place; but hereupon I both examined the lawfulnefs of making fuch enquiries, and being fatisfied thereof went about the work it felf in this manner: viz.
2. Firft, I imagined, That, if the Conjecture of the worthy Perfon afore-mentiosed had any truth in it, there muft needs be about fix or feven Millions of People in London now; but repairing to my Bills I found, that not above 15000 per Annum were buried; and confequently, that not above one in four hundred muft die per Annum, if the Total were but fix Millions.
3. Next confidering, That it is efteemed an even lay, whether any man lives ten years longer, I fuppofed it was the fame, that one of any ten might die within one year. But when I confidered, that of the 15000 afore-mentioned about 5000 were Abortive, and Stilborn, or died of Teeth, Convulfion, Rickets, or as Infants,
and Cbryfoms, and Aged; I concluded, that of men, and women, between ten and fixty, there fcarce died 10000 per Annum in London, which number being multiplied by 10 , there mult be but 100000 in all, that is not the ${ }_{6 \circ}$ part of what the Alderman imagined. Thefe were but fudden thoughts on both fides, and both far from truth, I thereupon endeavoured to get a little nearer, thus : viz.
4. I confidered, that the number of Child-bearing women might be about double to the Births:forasmuch as fuch women, one with another, have fcarce more then one Childe in two years. The number of Births I found, by thofe years, wherein the Regijfries were well kept, to have been fomewhat lefs then the Burials. The Burials in thefe late years at a Medium are about 13000, and confequently the Chrifenings not above 12000. I therefore efteemed the number of Teeming momen to be 24000: then I imagined, that there might be twice as many Families, as of fuch women; for that there might be twice as many women Aged between 16 and 76 , as between 16 and 40 , or between 20 and 44 ; and that there were about eight Perfons in a Family, one with another, viz, the Man, and his Wife, three Children, and three Servants, or Lodgers: now 8 times 48000 makes 384000 .
5. Secondly, I finde by telling the number of Eamilies in fome Parifhes within the walls, that 3 out of In families per an have died: wherefore, 13000 having died in the whole, it fhould follow, there were 48000 Families according to the laft-mentioned Acccompt. 6. Thirly, the Accompt, which I made of the Trained-Bands, and Auxiliary-Souldiers, doth enough juftifie this Accompt.

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7. And laftly, I took the Map of Loydon fet out in the year 1658 by Richard Nemoourt, drawn by a fcale of Yards. Now I gueffed that in 100 yards fquare there might be about 54 Families, fuppofing every houfe to be 20 foot in the front: for on two fides of the faid fquare there will be roo yards of houfing in each, and in the two other fides 80 each ; in all 260 yards: that is 54 Families in each fquare, of which there are 220 within the Walls, making in all 11880 Families within the Walls. But forasmuch as there dy within the Walls about 3200 per Annum, and in the whole about 13000 ; it follows, that the houfing within the Walls is $\frac{2}{4}$ part of the whole, and confequently, that there are 47520 Families in, and about London, which agrees well enough with all my former computations: the worft whereof doth fufficiently demonftrate, that there are two Millions of People in London, which neverthelefs moft men do believe, as they do, that there be three Women for one Man, whereas there are fourteen Men for thirteeno Wo men, as elfe where hath been faid.
8. We have ( though perhaps too much at Random ) determined the number of the inhabitants of London to be about 384000 the which being granted, we affert, that 199112 are Males, and $184886 \mathrm{Fe}-$ males.
9. Whereas we have found, that of 100 quick Conceptions about 36 of them die before they be fix years old, and that perhaps but one furviveth 76, we, having feven Decads between fix and 7 t, we fought fix mean proportional numbers between 64 , the remainder, living at fix years, and the one, which furvives 76 , and finde, that the numbers following are
practically near enough to the truth ; for men do not die in exact Proportions, nor in Fractions, from whence arifes this Table following.

Viz. of 100 there dies within the firtt fix years 36 The next ten years, or Decad - 24 The fecond Decad - 15

The fourth —— 6
The next
The next $-\square \quad 3$
The next
The next
I
The third Decad
10. From whence it follows, that of the faid 100 conceived there remain alive at fix years end 64 .

At fixteen yearsend 40 At fifty fix ——— 6 At twenty fix - 25 At fixty 3 At thirty fix ——16 At feventy fix ———I At fourty fix ...- 10 At eighty -- 0
ri. It follows alfo, that of all, which have been conceived, there are now alive 40 per Cent. above fixteen years old, 25 above twenty fix years old, $\varangle f i c$ deinceps, as in the above-Table. There are therefore of Aged between 16 , and 56 , the number of 40 , lefs by fix, viz. 34 ; of between 26 , and 66 , the number of 25 , lefs by three, viz. 22 : © fic deinceps.

Wherefore, fuppofing there be 199112 Males, and the number between 16 , and 56 , being 34. It follows, there are 34 per Cent. of all thofe Males fighting Men in London, that is 67694 , viz, near 70000 : the truth whereof I leave to examination, only the $\frac{1}{5}$. of $67694, v i z .13539$, is to be added for Weftminfer, Stepney, Lambeth, and the other diftant Parifhes; making in all 81233 fighting Men.
12. The next enquiry fhall be, In how long time the City of London fhall, by the ordinary proportion of Breeding, and Dying, double its breeding People

## (59)

ple? I anfwer in about feven years, and (Plagues confidered) eight. Wherefore fince there be 24000 pair of Breeders, that is $\frac{1}{8}$. of the whole, it follows, that in eight times cight years the whole People of the City fhall double without the accefs of Foreigners: the which contradicts not our Accompt of its growing from two to fivein 56 years with fuch acceffes.
13. According to this proportion, one couple viz. Adam and Eve, doubling themfelves every 64 years of the 5610 years, which is the age of theW orld according to the Scriptures, fhall produce far more People,then are now in it. Wherefore the World is not above 100 thoufand years old, as fome vainly imagine, nor above what the Scripture makes it.

## Сhap. XII.

## Of the Country-Bills.

WE have, for the prefent, done with our Obfervations upon the Accompts of Burials, and Cbriftnings, in, and about London; we fhall next prefent the Accompts of both Burials, Chrifnings, and alfo of Weddings in the Country, havingto that purpofe inferted Tables of 90 years for a certain Parihh in Hant/bire, being a place neither famous forLongevity, and Healthfulne $\beta$; nor for the contrary. Upon which Tables we obferve,
r. That every Wedding, one with another, produces four Children, and confequently, that that is the proportion of Children, which any Marriagable man, or woman may be prefumed fhall have. For, though

## (60)

a man may be Married more then once, yet, being once Married, he may die without any Iffue at all.
2. That in this Parifh there were born 15 Females for 16 Males, whereas in London there were ${ }_{13}$ for 14 , which fhews, that London is fomewhat more apt to produce Males, then the country. And it is poffible, that in fome other places there are more Females born, then Males : which, upon this variation of proportion, I again recommend to the examination of the curious.
3. That in the faid whole 90 years the Burials of the Males and Females were exactly equal, and that in feveral Decads they differed not \%oo parts That in one of the two Decads, wherein the diffurence was very notorious, there were Buried of Males 337, and of Fe males but $284, v i z .53$ difference, and in the other there died contrariwife 338 Males, and 386 Females, differing 46.
4. There are alfo Decads, where the Birth of Males and Females differ very much, viz, about 60 .
5. That in the faid 90 years there have been born more, then buried in the faid Parifh (the which both 90 years ago, and alfo now, confifted of about 2700 Souls) but 1059, viz. not 12 per Anmam, one year with another.
6. That thefér rosg have in all probability contributed to the increafe of London; fince, as was faid even now, it neither appears by the Burials, Chrifinings, or by the built of new-houfing, that the faid Parifh is more populous now, then 90 years ago, by above two or 300 fouls. Now, if all other places fend about $\frac{2}{3}$ of their encreafe, ziz. about one out of son of their Inbabitants Annually to London, and that there be 14 times as many prople in England, as there be in London
(for which we have given fome reafons) then London encreafes by fuch Advence every year above 6000: the which will make the Accompt of Burials to fwell about 200 per Ammum, and will anfwer the encreafes. We obferve, It is clear, that the faid Parifh is encreafed about 300 , and it is probable, that three or four hundred more went to London, and it is known, That about 400 went to Nerv-England, the Caribe-I/lands, and New--found-Land, within thefe laft tourty years.
7. According to the Medium of the faid whole go years, there have been five Chriflnings for four Burials, although in fome fingle Years, and Decads, there have been three to two,although fometimes (though more rarely) the Burials have exceeded the Births, as in the cafe of Epidemical Difeafes.
8. Our former Obfervation, That healehfull years are alfo the moft fruitfull, is much confirmed by our Country Accompts; for, 70 being our Standard for Births, and 58 for Burials, you fhall finde, that where fewer then 58 died, more then 70 were born. Having given you a few inftances thereof, I fhall remit you to the Tables for the general proof of this Affertion. Viz. Anno 633 , when 10 ; were born, there died but 29. Now, in none of the whole 90 years more were born then 103 , and but in one, fewer then 29 died, viz. 28 Anno 1658 . Again Anna is 68 , when 93 were born, but 42 died. Anno 1584, when 90 were born, but 41 died. Anno 1650, when 86 were born, but 52 died. So that by how much more are born, by fo much (as it were) the fewer die. For when 103 were born, but 29 died: but when but 86 were born, then 52 died.

On the other-fide Anno 1638 , whemil 156 died per

Annum, which was the greateft year of Mortality, then lefs then the meer Standard 70, viz. but 66 , were born. Again Anno 1644, when 137 died, but 59, were born. Anno 1597, when 117 died, but 48 were born. And Anno 1583 , when 87 died, but 59 were born.

A little Irregularity may be found herein, as that Anno 1612 , when 116 died (viz. a number double to our Standard 58 , yet) 87 (viz. 17 above the Standard 70 .) were born. And that, when 89 died, 75 were born: but thefe differences are not fo great, nor fo often, as to evert our Rule, which befides the Authority of thefe Accompts is probable in it felf.
9. Of all the faid 90 years the year 1638 was the moft Mortal, I therefore enquired, whether the Plague was then in that Parifh, and having received good fatisfaction that it was not (which I the rather believe, becaufe, that the Plague was not then confiderable at London) but that it was a Malignant Fever, raging fo fiercely about Harveft, that there appeared fcarce hands enough to take in the Corn: which argues, confidering there were 2700 Parifhoners, that feven might be fick for one that died: whereas of the Plague more die then recover. Laftly, thefe People lay longer fick then is ufual in the Plague, nor was there any mention of Sores, Swellings, blew-Tokens, \&cc. among them. It follows, that the proportion between the greateft, and the leaft Mortalities in the Country are far greater then at London. Forasmuch as the greateft 156 is above quintuple unto 28 the leaft, whereas in London (the Plague excepted, as here it hath been) the number of Burials upon other Accompts within no Decad of years hath been double, whereas in the Country it hath been quistuple not only within the whole ninety
years, but alfo within the fame Decad: for Anno 1633 there dyed but 29, and Anno 1638 the above-mentioned number of 156. Moreover, as in London, in no Decad, the Burials of one year are double to thofe of another: fo in the Country they are feldom not more then fo. As by this Table appears,


Which fhews, that the opener and freer Airs are moft fubject both to the good and bad Impreffions, and that the Fumes, Steams, and Stencbes of London do fo medicate, and impregnate the Air about it, that it becomes capable of little more, as if the faid Fumes rifing out of London met with, oppofed, and juftied backwards the Influences falling from above, or refifted the Incurfion of the Country-Airs.
10. In the laft Paragraph we faid, that the Burials in the Country were fometime quintuple to one another, but of the Chriftenings we affirm, that within the fame Decad they are feldom double, as appears by this Table, viz:


Now, although the difproportions of Births be not fo great as that of Burials, yet thefe difproportions are far greater then at London: for let it be fhewn in any of the London Bills, that within two years the Chriftenings have decreafed, $\frac{1}{2}$ or encreafed double, as they did Anno 1584, when 90 were born, and Anve 1586, wherein were but 45 : or to rife from 52, as Anno 1593, to 71 , as in the next year 1594. Now thefe difproportions both in Births, and Burials, confirm what hath been before Afferted, that Healthfulne $\beta$, and Fruitfulne $\beta$ go together, as they would not, were there not difproportions in both, although proportional.
11. By the Standard of Burials in this Parifh I thought to have computed the number of Inhabitants in it, viz. by multiplying 58 by 4 , which made the Product 23 ${ }^{2}$, the number of Families. Hereupon I wondred, that a Parifh containing a large MarketTown, and I2 Miles compafs, fhould have but 232 Houfes, I then multiplied 232 by 8 , the Product whereof was 1856 , thereby hoping to have had the num-
ber of the Inhabitants, as I had for London; but when upon enquiry I found there had been $2 \times 00 \mathrm{Com}$ municants in that Parifh in the time of a Minifter, who forced too many into that Ordinance, and that 1500 was the ordinary number of Communicants in all times, I found alfo, that for as much as there were near as many under 16 years old, as there are above, viz. Communicants, I concluded, that there muft be about 2700 , or 2800 Souls in that Parifh:from whence it follows, that little more then one of 50 dies in the Country, whereas in London it feems manifeft, that about one in 32 dies, over and above what dies of the Plague.
12. It fellows therefore from hence, what I more faintly afferted in the former Chapter, that the Country is more bealtbful, then the City, that is to fay, although men dy more regularly, and lefs per faltum in London, then in the Country, yet, upon the whole matter, there die fewer per rata; fo as-the Fumes, Steams, and Stenches above-mentioned, although they make the Air of Londen more equal, yet not more Healthful.
13. When I confider, That in the Country feventy are Born for fifty eight Buried, and that before the year 1600 the like happened in London, I confidered, whether a City, as it becomes more populous, doth not, for that very caufe, become more unbealthful: and inclined to believe, that London now is more unbealthfal, then heretofore; partly for that it is more populous, but chiefly, becaufe I have heard, that fixty years ago few Sea-Coals were burnt in London, which now are univerfally ufed. For I have heard, that New-cafle is more unbealtbful then other places, and K
that
that many People cannot at all endure the fmoak of London, not onely for its unpleafantnefs, but for the fuffocations, which it caufes.
14. Suppofe, that Anno 1569 there were 2400 fouls in that Parifh, and that they increafed by the Births 70 , exceeding the Burials 58 , it will follow, that the faid 2400 cannot double under 200 . Now, if Eondon be lefs bealthfull then the Country, as certainly it is, the Plague being reckoned in, it follows, that London muft be doubling it felf by generation in much above 200: but if it hath encreafed trom 2 to 5 in 54 , as aforefaid, the fame muft be by reafon of tranfplantation out of the Country.

## The Conclufion.

IT may be now asked, to what purpofe tends all this laborious buzzling, and groping? To know, 1. The number of the People?
2. How many Males, and Females ?
3. How many Married, and Single ?
4. How many Teeming Women ?
5. How many of every Septenary, or Decad of years in age?
6. How many Figbting Men ?
7. How much London is, and by what fteps it hath increafed?
8. In what time the Houfing is replenifhed after a Plague?
2. What proportion die of each general and particular Cafualties?

10. What

10. What years are Fruitfull, and Mortal, and in what Spaces, and Intervals, they follow each other?
II. In what proportion Men neglect the Orders of the Church, and Seats have increafed ?
11. The difproportion of Parifhes?
12. Why the Burials in London exceed the Chriftenings, when the contrary is vifible in the Country ?
To this I might anfwer in general by laying, that thole, who cannot apprehend the reason of thee Enquiries, are unfit to trouble themselves to ask them.
13. I might anfwer by asking, Why fo many have pent their times, and eftates about the Art of making Gold? which, if it were much known, would onely exalt Silver into the place, which Gold now polfeffeth; and if it were known but to forme one Per. for, the fame fingle Adeptus could not, nay, durf not enjoy it, but muff be either a Prifoner to forme Prince, and Slave to forme Voluptuary, or elf skulk obfcurely up and down for his privacie, and concealmint.
14. I might answer, That there is much pleafure in deducing fo many abftrufe, and unexpected inferences out of thefe poor defpifed Bills of Mortality; and in building upon that ground, which hath lain wafte there eighty years. And there is pleafure in doing fomething new, though never fo little, without peftering the World with voluminous Tranfcriptions.
15. But I anfwer more ferioufly by complaining; That whereas the Art of Governing, and the true Politiques, is how to preferve the Subject in

Pence, and Plenty, that men ftudy onely that part of it, which teacheth how to fupplant, and over-reach one another, and how, not by far out-ruuning, but by tripping up each other's heels, to win the Prize.
Now, the Foundation, or Elements of this honeft harmlefs Policy is to underftand the Land, and the hands of the Territory to be governed, according to all their intrinfick, and accidental differences: as for example; It were good to know the Geometrical Content, Figure, and Scituation of all the Lands of a Kingdom, efpecially, according to its moft natural, permanent, and confpicuous Bounds. It were good to know, how much Hay an Acre of every fort of Meadow will bear? how many Cattle the fame weight of each fort of Hay will feed, and fatten ? what quantity of Grain, and other Commodities the fame Acre will bear in one, three, or feven years commanibus Annis? unto what ufe each foil is moft proper? Alt which particulars I call the intrinfick value : for there is alfo another value meerly accidental, or extrinfick, confifting of the Caufes, why a parcel of Land, lying near a good Market, may be worth double to another parcel, though but of the fame intrinfick goodnefs; which anfwers the Queries, why Lands in the North of England are worth but fixteen years purchafe, and thofe of the Weft above eight and twenty. It is nolefs neceflary to know how many People there be of each Sex, State, Age, Religion, Trade, Rank, or Degree, © 8 . by the knowledg whereof Trade, and Government may be made more certain, and Regular; for, if men knew the

People, as aforefaid, they might know the confumption they would make, fo as Trade might not be hoped for where it is impoffible. As for inftance, I have heard much complaint, that Trade is not fet up in fome of the Soutb-meffern, and Nowh-weftern Parts of Ireland, there being fo many excellent Harbours for that purpofe, whereas in feveral of thofe places I have alfo heard, that there are few other Inhabitants, but fuch as live ex /ponte creatis, and are unfit Subjects of Trade, as neither employing others, nor working themfelves.

Moreover, if all thefe things were clearly, and truly known (which I have but gueffed at) it would appear, how fmall a part of the People work upon neceflary Labours, and Callings, viz. how many Women, and Children do juft nothing, onely learning to fpend what others get? how many are meer Voluptuaries, and as it were meer Gamefters by Trade? how many live by puzling poor people with unintelligible Notions in Divinity, and Philofophie? how many by perfwading credulous, delicate, and litigions Perfons, that their Bodies, or Eftates are out of Tune, and in danger ? how many by fighting as Souldiers? how many by Minifteries of Vice, and Sin? how many by Trades of meer Pleafure, or Ornaments? and how many in a way of lazie attendance, $8{ }^{\circ}$. upon others? And on the other fide, how few are employed in raifing, and working neceffary food, and covering? and of the feeculative men, how few do truly ftudie Nature, and Thingr ? The more ingenious not advancing much further then to write, and fpeak wittily about thefe matters.

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I conclude, That a clear knowledge of all thefe particulars, and many more, whereat I have fhot but at rovers, is neceffary in order to good, certain, and eafie Government, and even to balance Parties, and factions both in Church and State. But whether the knowledge thereof be neceffary to many, or fit for others, then the Sovereign, and his chief Minifters, I leave to confideration.
(75)

The Table of Burials, and Chriftemings

| Anno Dom. | $\left\|\begin{array}{c} 97 \\ \text { Parifhes } \end{array}\right\|$ | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \text { Parifhes } \end{gathered}$ | Out-Parifhes | Buried in all | Befides of thePlagut | Chriftned |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1604 | 1518 | 2097 | 708 | 4323 | 896 | 5458 |
| 1605 | 2014 | 2974 | 960 | 5948 | 444 | 6504 |
| 1606 | $19+1$ | 2920 | 935 | 5795 | 2124 | 6614 |
| 1607 | 1879 | 2772 | 1019 | 5670 | 2352 | 6582 |
| 1608 | 2391 | 3218 | 1149 | 6758 | 2262 | 6845 |
| 1609 | 2494 | \%610 | 1441 | 7545 | 4240 | 6388 |
| 1610 | 2326 | 3791 | ${ }^{1} 369$ | 7486 | 1803 | 6785 |
| 1611 | 2152 | 3398 | 1166 | 6716 | 627 | 7014 |
|  | 16715 | 24780 | 8747 | 50242 | 14752 | 52190 |
| 1612 | 2473 | 3843 | 1462 | 7778 | 64 | 6986 |
| 1613 | 2406 | 3679 | 1418 | 7503 | 16 | 6846 |
| 1614 | 2369 | 3504 | 1494 | 7367 | 22 | 7208 |
| 1615 | 2446 | 3791 | 1613 | 7850 | 37 | 7682 |
| 1616 | 2490 | 3876 | 1697 | 8063 | 9 | 7985 |
| 1617 | 2397 | 4109 | 1774 | 8280 | 6 | 7747 |
| 1618 | 2815 | 4715 | 2066 | 9596 | 18 | 7735 |
| 1619 | 2339 | 3857 | 1804 | 7999 | 9 | 8127 |
|  | 19735 | 31374 | 13328 | 64436 | 171 | 60316 |
| 1620 | 2726 | 4819 | 21 | 9691 | 2 I | 7845 |
| 1621 | 2438 | 3759 | 1915 | 8112 | 11 | 8039 |
| 1522 | 2811 | 4217 | 2392 | 8943 | 16 | 7894 |
| 1623 | 3591 | 472 I | 2783 | 11095 | 17 | 7945 |
| 1624 | 3385 | 5919 | 2895 | 12199 | 11 | 8299 |
| 1625 | 5143 | 9819 | 3886 | 18848 | 35417 | 6983 |
| 1626 | 2150 | 3286 | 1965 | 7401 | 134 | 6701 |
| 1627 | 2325 | 3400 | 1988 | 771 | , | 8408 |
|  | 24569 | 39940 | 19970 | 84000 | 35631 | 62114 |
| 1628 | 2412 | 3311 | 2017 | 7740 | 3 | 8564 |
| 1629 | 2536 | 3992 | 2243 | 8771 | 0 | 9901 |
| 1630 | 2506 | 4201 | 2521 | 9237 | 1317 | 9315 |
| 1631 | 2459 | 3697 | 2132 | 8288 | 274 | 8524 |
| 1632 | 2704 | 4412 | 2411 | 9527 | 8 | 9584 |
| 1633 | 2378 | 3936 | 2078 | 8392 | 0 | 9997 |
| 1634 | 2937 | 4980 | 2982 | 10399 | 1 | 9855 |
| 1635 | 2742 | 4966 | 2943 | 10651 | $\bigcirc$ | 10034 |
|  | 20694 | 33495 | 19327 | 73505 | 1603 | 75774 |

The Table of Burials, and Cbrifenings in London.


The Table following contains the Number of Burials, and Cbrijt nin, sin the feven Parilhes here under-mentioned, from the year 1636 unto the year 1659 inchijfive; all which time the Burials, and Cbrifnings were joyntly mentioned: the two laft years the Chrijfnings were omitted in the yearly Bills. This Table confifts of feventeen Columns, the Total of all the Burials being contained in the fixteen Columns: which Number being added to the Total in the precedent Table of Burials, and Cbriftnings, makes the Total of every yearly, or general Bill.

Note, polere there folloros a fecond Number under any year, it denotes thofe, who died that year of the Plague.


The Table of Males, and Females, for London.

| An. Dom. | Buried |  | Chrift Males | Females ${ }^{\text {f }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1629 | 4668 | 4103 | 5218 | 4683 |
| 1630 | 5660 | 4894 | 4858 | 4457 |
| 1631 | 4549 | 4013 | 4422 | 4102 |
| 1632 | 4932 | 4603 | 4994 | 4590 |
| 1633 | 4369 | 4023 | 5158 | 4839 |
| 1634 | 5676 | 5224 | 5035 | 4820 |
| 1635 | 5548 | 5103 | 5106 | 4928 |
| 1636 | 12377 | 10982 | 4917 | 4605 |
|  | 47779 | 43945 | 39708 | 37024 |
| 1637 | 6392 | 5371 | 4703 | 4457 |
| 1638 | 7168 | C456 | 5359 | 4952 |
| 1639 | 5351 | 4511 | 5366 | 4784 |
| 1640 | 6761 | 6010 | 5518 | 5332 |
| Total | 73451 | 65293 | 60664 | 56549 |
| 1641 | 6872 | 6270 | 5470 | 5200 |
| 1642 | 7049 | 6224 | 5460 | 4910 |
| 1643 | 684. | 6360 | 4793 | 4617 |
| 1644 | 5659 | 5274 | 4107 | 3997 |
| 1645 | 6014 | 5465 | 4047 | 3919 |
| 1646 | 6683 | 6097 | 3768 | 3395 |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1647 \\ & 1648 \end{aligned}$ | 7313 | 6746 | 3796 | 3536 |
|  | 5145 | 4749 | 3363 | 3181 |
|  | 51577 | 47185 | 34804 | 32755 |
| 1649 | 5454 | 5112 | 3079 | 2746 |
| 1650 | 4548 | 4216 | 2890 | 2722 |
| 1651 | 5680 | 5147 | 3231 | 2840 |
| 1652 | 6543 | 6026 | 3220 | 2908 |
| 1653 | 5416 | 4671 | 3196 | 2959 |
| 1654 | 6972 | 6275 | 3441 | 3179 |
| 1655 | 6027 | 5330 | 3655 | 3349 |
| 1656 | 7365 | 6556 | 3668 | 3382 |
|  | 44005 | 41333 | 26380 | 24085 |
|  | 6578 | 5856 | 3396 | 3289 |
| 1658 | 7936 | 7057 | 3557 | 3013 |
| $1659$ | 7451 | 7305 | 9209 | 2781 |
| 1660 | 7960 | 7158 | 3724 | 3247 |
| Total | 29925 | 27376 | 13186 | 12330 |
|  | 198952 | 181187 | 135034 | 126759 |

The Table by Decads of years for the Country-Parijh +0 ?

| Decads of years | Married | Chriftened |  |  | Buried |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Males | Females | Both | Males | Females | Both |
| 15 569 | 190 | 312 | 302 | 614 | 214 | 221 | 435 |
| ${ }_{1} 15\{89$ | 185 | 328 | 309 | 637 | 287 | 302 | 589 |
| $\left\{\begin{array}{l}89 \\ 98\end{array}\right.$ | 175 | 342 | 274 | 616 | 337 | 28 | 621 |
| 5599 | 181 | 366 | 377 | 743 | 249 | 219 | 468 |
| , | 197 | 417 | 358 | 775 | 338 | 386 | 724 |
|  | 168 | 368 | 373 | 741 | 305 | 306 | 611 |
|  | 153 | 418 | 413 | 831 | 317 | 319 | 636 |
| S 39 | 137 | 351 | 357 | 708 | 375 | 383 | 758 |
| $6 \begin{array}{r}49 \\ 58\end{array}$ | 182 | 354 | 320 | 674 | 218 | 220 | 438 |
|  | 1598 | 3256 | 3083 | 6339 | $264^{\circ}$ | 2640 | 5280 |

The Table of the Gountry-Parihh.

| Communicants | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Wed- } \\ \text { dings } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Chriftned } \\ & \text { M. \| F.Both } \end{aligned}$ |  |  | Buried |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | M. |  | Both |
| 1569 | 14 | 38 | 30 | 68 | 23 | 21 | 44 |
| 1570 | 19 | 29 | 32 | 61 | 21 | 25 | 46 |
| 1571 | 18 | 28 |  |  | 23 | 27 | 50 |
| 1572 | 23 | 32 |  | 54 | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| 1573 | 21 | 34 | 36 | 70 | 24 | 13 | 37 |
| 1574 | 16 | 21 | 29 | 50 | 28 | 38 | 66 |
| 1575 | 24 | 37 | 29 | 66 | 15 | 19 | 34 |
| 1576 | 22 | 33 | 37 | 70 | 16 | 18 | 34 |
| 1577 | 13 | 29 |  | 55 | 19 | 21 | 40 |
| 1578 | 20 | 31 | 35 | 66 | 25 | 25 | 50 |
|  | $\|190\|$ | 312 | 3021 | 614 | 214 | 221 | 435 |


| 1579 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 80 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 81 | 15 | 35 | 36 | 71 | 27 | 27 | 54 |  |
| 82 |  | 21 | 43 | 31 | 74 | 38 | 41 | 79 |
| 83 |  | 29 | 29 | 33 | 62 | 34 | 24 | 58 |
| 84 | 22 | 28 | 29 | 57 | 18 | 21 | 39 |  |
| 85 | 22 | 32 | 27 | 59 | 35 | 52 | 87 |  |
| 86 | 15 | 46 | 44 | 90 | 22 | 19 | 41 |  |
| 87 | 15 | 26 | 21 | 47 | 15 | 27 | 42 |  |
| 1588 |  | 18 | 22 | 23 | 45 | 24 | 37 | 61 |
|  | 13 | 34 | 31 | 65 | 43 | 36 | 79 |  |
|  | 15 | 33 | 34 | 67 | 31 | 18 | 49 |  |

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The Table of the Country-Parijb.


## The Table of the Country-Parigh.

Chriftened
M. | F. $\mid$ Both $\mid$ M. | F. | Both

| 1609 |
| ---: |
| 10 |
| 11 |
| 12 |
| 13 |
| 14 |
| 15 |
| 16 |
| 17 |
| 1618 |


| 23 | 30 | 31 | $6 I$ | 24 | $4 I$ | 65 |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| 19 | 46 | 30 | 76 | 33 | 40 | 73 |
| 25 | 40 | 41 | $8 I$ | $4 I$ | 32 | 73 |
| 20 | 55 | 32 | 87 | 53 | 63 | 116 |
| 24 | 41 | 33 | 74 | 47 | 41 | 88 |
| 25 | 50 | 35 | 85 | 27 | 36 | 63 |
| 22 | 35 | 48 | 83 | 28 | 36 | 64 |
| 14 | 38 | 36 | 74 | 27 | 41 | 68 |
| 17 | 45 | 31 | 76 | 35 | 28 | 63 |
| 8 | 37 | 41 | 78 | 23 | 28 | 51 |

$197|417| 358|775| 338|386| 724$

| 1619 | 21 | 37 | 43 | 80 | 26 | 28 | 54 |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 20 | 20 | 34 | 51 | 85 | 18 | 30 | 48 |
| 21 | 21 | 31 | 37 | 68 | 28 | 36 | 64 |
| 22 | 23 | 45 | 38 | 83 | 20 | 26 | 64 |
| 23 | 14 | 40 | 36 | 76 | 56 | 31 | 87 |
| 24 | 19 | 30 | 33 | 63 | 29 | 35 | 64 |
| 25 | 7 | 37 | 41 | 78 | 36 | 20 | 56 |
| 26 | 9 | 30 | 35 | 65 | 21 | 29 | 50 |
| 27 | 18 | 45 | 23 | 68 | 24 | 29 | 53 |
| 1628 | 16 | 39 | 36 | 75 | 47 | 42 | 89 |

$168|368| 373|741| 305|306| 611$
L 2
The

The Table of the Country-Parifs.


## Advertifements for the better underftanding of the feveral Tables: videlicet,

Concerning the Table of Cafualties confíting of thirty Columns.

Trle firfu Column contains all the Ca/ualizs happening within the 22 fingle years mentioned in this Bill.
The 14 next Columns contain two of the laft septenaries of years, which being the lateft are firt fet down.

The 8 next Columns reprefent the 8 firft years, wherein the Cafualties were taken notice off.

Memorandum, That the 10 years betmeen 1636 and 1647 are omitted as containing nothing Extraordinary, and as not confflent with the Incapacity of a Sbect.

The 5 next Columns are the 8 years from 1629 to 1636 brought into 2 Quaternions, and the 12 of the it laft years brought into three more; that Compari'fon might be made between each 4 years taken together, as well as each fingle year apart,

## (78)

The next Column contains 3 years together, taken at 10 years diftance from each other; that the diftant years, as well as confequent, might be compared withthe whole 20, each of the $s$ Quaternions, and each of the 22 fingle years.

The laft Column contains the total of the is Quaternions, or 25 years.

The Number 229250 is the total of all the Burials in the faid 20 years, as 34190 is of the Burialsin the faid 3 diftant years. Where note that the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the latter total is 11396 , and the $\frac{1}{10}$ of the former is $114^{6} 2$; differing but 66 from each other in fo great a fum, videlicet fcarce ${ }_{20}^{20}$ part.

## Tbe Table of Burials, and Cbriftnings, confifting of 7 Columns.

IT is to be noted, that in all the feveral Columns of the Burials thofe dying of the Plague are left out, being reckoned all together in the fixth Column: whereas in the original Bills the Plague, and all other difeafes are reckoned together, with mention how many of the refpective totals are of the Plague.

Secondly, From the year 1642 forwards the accompt of the Chriftuings is not to be trufted, the neglects of the fame beginning about that year: for in 1642 there are fet down 10370, and about the fame Number feveral years before, after which time the faid Chrifnnings decreafed to between 5000 and 6000 by omiffion of the greater part.
Thirdly, The feveral Numbers are caft up into Octo-
naries, that Comparifon may be made of them as well as of fingle years.

## The Table of Males, and Females, constaining 5 Columns.

Firft, The Numbers are caff up for 12 years; videlice from 1629 , when the diftinction between Males and Females frt began, untill $\mathrm{I}^{4} 40$ inclusive, when the exactnefs in that Accompt ceafed.

Secondly, From 1640 to 1660 the Numbers are caft up into another total, which feems as good for comparing the Number of Males with Females, the neglect being in both Sexes alike, and proportionable.

The Tables concerning the Country-Parifh, the former of Decals beginning at 1569 , and continuing untill $I^{5} 5^{8}$, and the latter being for fingle years, being for the fame time, are fo plain, that they require no further Explanation then the bare reading the Chapeter relating to them, $\mho^{6} \%$.

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& 16622
\end{aligned}
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