

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Notices of the Last Great Plague, 1665-6; from the Letters of John Allin to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake. In a Letter to* SIR HENRY ELLIS, *K.H., Director, by* WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, *F.S.A.*

Read 22nd May, 1856.

81, Guildford Street, Russell Square,
London, 21st May, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

AMONG the MSS. which once belonged to Samuel Jeake, the well-known editor of the Charters of the Cinque Ports, now in the possession of Morton Frewen, Esq. are 190 letters written in the years 1664 to 1674 to Mr. Philip Fryth, a solicitor at Rye, and a few to Mr. Samuel Jeake, by Mr. John Allin, sealed with the device of a pelican and its young, or the death's head and cross bones, or the arms, a chevron between three talbot's or leopard's heads, and the crest a talbot's or leopard's head. Many of these letters relate to the last grievous visitation of London by the Plague (the history of which De Foe compiled).^a They are very interesting, and I am enabled, by the kindness of T. W. W. Smart, Esq., M.D., to lay extracts before our Society in continuation of the paper of Mr. Samuel Pegge, in the sixth volume of the Archæologia.

The writer, John Allin, was originally vicar of Rye, to which benefice he was presented in 1653, on the resignation of William Russell, and continued vicar till

^a See also the Diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. For the best scientific notices of the Plague see the works of Dr. Nathaniel Hodges' *Loimologia, sive Pestis Londinensis Historia, 1665*. Lond. 1671; an English translation was published in 1720; Dr. Thomas Sydenham's *Practical Method for the*

December 1662, when he was ejected under the Bartholomew Act.^a On leaving Rye he came to London and studied physic, for on the 2nd March, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, he writes, that he had spent three days "upon an anatomie." During this year, when the Plague again broke out, he resided at Horsleydown, and seems to have practised physic, and also to have performed duty as a minister. Whilst the disease was raging most fiercely, he wrote almost weekly, and sometimes more frequently, the particulars of its progress. At first he was desirous of secrecy, and told his correspondent not to direct any letters to him by name; but on the 7th December, 1665, he writes that he is about to get a provincial licence to practise, and he hopes to obtain it, "though of late they are loath to make any so fully universall, but for 2 or 3 dioceses only;" and on the 2nd March, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, he says, "I next week expect an universal license—ad practicum; and this week I met with an offer to go to Oxford with a friend for one year, to work in the University chemical laboratory: if my friend take the mastership of the work, I shall get his assistant." He failed, however, to obtain the licence from his scruples about the renunciation of the covenant, saying on 8th March, 1666-7, "A physitian hath nothing at all to do either with abrenunciation of y^e covenant, nor with y^e adopting of ceremonyes, and so I left them." He then went to Woolwich and practised without a licence, till December 1669, when, the world having "gone very hard" with him, he returned to London, residing near Moorfields; and I find little further trace of him.

He was son of John and Margaret Allin, of Wrentham, in Suffolk, and was born 13th October, 1623.^b It is certain, from the correspondence, that his father had emigrated to New England, and was dead before the close of the year 1673.^c

The subject of the Plague would be very interesting to Allin's former parishioners at Rye, where there was, as appears by these letters, so great a dread, that he scarcely knew to whom he could address himself. Nor was this

Cure of the Plague, 1665; Dr. Hodgson's Journal of the Plague Year; London's Remembrancer, by John Bell, Clerk to the Company of Parish Clerks, 1665; and Dr. R. Brookes's History of Pestilential Distempers, 1720.

^a Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 693, where he is called Thomas.

^b Jeake's MS. Schemes of One Hundred and Fifty Nativities.

^c Searches, endeavouring to identify his father, have been made for me in Boston by the Hon. Judge (C. H.) Warren and the zealous antiquary Mr. James Savage. John Allin, the first minister of the church of Dedham, in Massachusetts, went over to New England in 1637, after being disquieted by Bishop Wren when he preached in his diocese. According to Cotton Mather (Book iii. p. 133) he was appointed to Dedham in 1638, and continued minister till his death, 26th August, 1671. Mr. Savage states that his first wife, Margaret, died in April, 1653, and that he married in November following the young widow of old Governor T. Dudley, and had three children by her; but Mr. Savage thinks he had no son John.

dread unfounded, for the town of Rye had suffered grievously in former visitations. From the register of burials there, I find that in 1544 the disease raged mostly in the months of July, when 92 persons died ; of August, when 128 died ; and of September, when 54 died ; the whole number of burials in the year being 462. In 1563 the town was again wasted by the Plague ; in August 105 died, in September 290, and in October 168, or 536 persons in three months, and 765 during the year. Seventeen years only elapsed and there was another visitation, 592 dying in the year 1580 ; the usual number being about 80. And so lately as 1625 (only forty years before these Letters), the town had been once more visited by this scourge, though in a less virulent form, since 198 only died within the year. No wonder, therefore, that the inhabitants of Rye should have felt great dread lest the disease should again reach their town ; as indeed, according to a letter from Elizabeth Goff to her brother, Samuel Jeake, dated from London on 7th August, 1665, it was reported to have done ; and Kent had at that time been slightly affected.^a

Allin set great store by a plant, which he described under the general term of "*Materia prima*." It was to be gathered with great mystery, and preserved with much care, for the purposes of distillation ; and he intended, in September, 1665, to set up "divers chemical stills and one furnace for the main worke." He was a disciple of Paracelsus, who says that "the saline spirit unites with the earthy principle, which always exists in the liquids, but in a state of *materia prima*." The plant was the *Nostock commune* (Vauch.), *Tremella nostock* (Linn.), and formerly known under the name of *cœlifolium*, as the popular belief was that it fell from heaven in the night. Paracelsus gave to it the name of *nostock* or *cerefolium*. It appears to be like a species of jelly, sometimes clear, sometimes

^a In a letter in the State Paper Office from Sir Thomas Peyton, dated from Knowlton, 7th August, 1665, to Joseph Williamson, he says, "At Canterbury there were four houses shut up, but are all upon opening againe, there dying but one person of all diseases in that citty the last weeke. At Dover I hope the danger is ended, the family infected being removed to the hills, where the remnant is become sound agen. One parish in the countrey, being the minister's owne house, is infected, about three weekes since, which standing alone will I hope prevent the spreading, and wee have taken all the care possible wee can in it, but being harvest time wee find it difficult without good watches to keepe people in good order. God I hope will stay it here. That one parish of St. Giles at London hath done us all this mischief:" and Mr. Carew writing to Mr. Williamson from Dover on 12th August, 1665, hopes the Court as free from infection as they are there ; "only one house wee keep shutt upp, yet not one dead out of itt these three weekes, nor sickness neer us but at Sandw^{ch} ; one house shutt upp at Eastey near Sandw^{ch} ; one house at the Earle of Winchelsees Park, called East Well House ; and West Well one house ; and att Canterbury seven houses shutt up, yet but a few dead out of them."

greenish, and agitated with a tremulous motion so long as it is fresh. It generally appears between the vernal and autumnal equinoxes after rain, in dry, parched, and sandy soils, and must be gathered before sunrise, since by the heat of the sun's rays it is so dried and shrivelled up that nothing of it remains except some membranes of a brownish colour. By distillation it gives a dark fetid oil, an alkaline liquor containing acetate and carbonate of ammonia, or volatile urinous spirit; the residuum burnt gives phosphate and carbonate of lime. The alchymists took it to contain the universal spirit, and an extract to be the solvent of gold. It was also accounted excellent in cancers and fistulas. A Swiss physician reduced it to a powder, of which he exhibited two or three grains, in order to lessen and allay internal pains, and he used it externally for the cure of ulcers, which it is said to cure, however "obstinate and rebellious they may be."^a Hence, possibly, its use during the Plague. The ammonia was the chief ingredient of its utility for this purpose. Allin, however, must have been dabbling in alchymy.

This "materia prima" was collected by one Shoesmith, who was afterwards requested by a London correspondent of Jeake the younger (Tho. Miller) to collect and send some of the "moss that grows on dead men's skulls and bones,"^b since his "father saith he has formerly seen a greate deale at Winchelsea, in or neare the church."

Allin, like his friend Jeake, was a great astrologer, and the correspondence commences with accounts of those blazing stars, which were looked upon as so ominous. On 20th December, 1664, Allin, writing to Fryth, says, "Ye cheife discourse is of a blazing starr, as famous as that in November, 1618, I thinke: y^e city was last night setting up to see it." It was looked on as propitious to England, but ominous to France and Holland, rising about east, and setting south-west, about two or three in the morning. On 27th December it is described as of a great deal higher altitude than the former, and was to be seen all the evening, about seven o'clock, south-east of about 60° altitude, whilst the former was never seen "above 12° high in our horizon." And on 31st March, 1665, it is said that a new blazing star had appeared every day since Monday morning, rising about north-east, at one or two o'clock in the morning, and so continuing till daylight hid it: "it is more famous than y^e last was seene here in the evening;"

^a James's Med. Dict. (1725), vol. ii. title, *Cœlifolium*: Merat and Lens' Dict. Mat. Med. (1835), title *Nostock*; Notes and Queries, vol. xi. pp. 219, 294.

^b This was the *Usnia barbata*.

whilst on the 6th January Allin declared that Mr. Secretary Morris's cistern of water was turned into blood in one night, and so continued for two or three days, when the next neighbours had no such accident; which ominous matter, as well as the fact that the Royal Mary was not able to swim, but sunk her lower tier guns under water, "troubled their heads at Court."^a

According to Graunt's bills of mortality, the first case of the last Plague in London occurred on 27th December, 1664: there were some cases in February and the next two monthis; but a "hard frost lasted from Christmas till the middle of April, when the Plague began to break out, a little after the breaking up of the frost."^b The disease spread in St. Giles in May: it then extended itself rapidly over London in June and July; was at its height in August and September; and continued with more or less intensity during the remainder of that year.

On 8th April, 1665, John Allin writes to Philip Fryth, "Or fleete is sickly, and y^e sicknesse increases at Yarmouth^c; about 3 or 4 died last weeke, and about 4 or 5 families in y^e pest-house." On 27th April, he says, "I heard yesterday there are 2 houses shut up in Drury Lane for the sickness;" and a month afterwards, on 26th May, he writes, "Y^e sicknesse is s^d to encrease in Holland, as it also doth here; y^e bill mentioned 3 last weeke, and 14 this weeke, but its rather beleived to bee treble the number. At y^e upper end of the towne p^sons high and low are very fearfull of it, and many removed; one house, if not two, are lately shut in Chancery Lane, and one about Cripplegate."

^a On 24th February, 1664-5, he gives an illustration of the strange stories then afloat. "Some strange appearances have beene lately in Scotland. At a greate towne within this month appeared a greate army of men, w^{ch} came to the towne and demanded free quarter. Y^e officers of y^e towne demanded of the soldjers to shew why y^ey came and what order they had for free quarter, to w^{ch} they replied, 'Yey^d neither shew y^m one nor the other,' but worded it so wth y^m that free quarter was granted them; but before morning about 2 of y^e clocke appeared a light as large as the sun (y^e reports say y^e sun itselke), and continued a greate while together, till at last both light and soldjers together at y^e same time vanished. Since y^t, at Northampton, w^{re} the walls are taken downe, y^e castle remayning, in y^e night, many being upon y^e watch, the castle-gates opened of themselves without hands; at w^{ch} they all admired and endeavoured all they could to shutt the gates agayne, but all the strength they could make was not able to prevayle for the shutting the gates;—after sometime that were thereby, as it were, p^pared for w^t might follow, there came this voice, iterated three times over, 'Warr—warr—warr, such as never was yet;' after that y^e gates were pliant to open and shutt as at other times. On Monday last was sennight, at night was seene by (some say) hundreds for about an houre together flames of fire as it were throwne from W. H. (Whitehall) to St. James, and thence backe againe to W. H. and then disappeared. Upon y^e top of this came yesterday the sudaine newes of the Dutch tyeing, as 'tis s^d, about 1,500 tyed backe to backe and throwne over board."

^b Autobiography of Dr. Symon Patrick, Oxford, 1839, p. 51.

^c See note post, p. 8.

In June the "remedies and medicaments" for preventing the spreading of contagion and disinfecting houses infected, propounded by James Angier, and stated to have been tried with success at Lyons, Paris, Toulouse, and other cities, was, by order of the Council, tried in the house of Jonas Charles, in Newton Street, St. Giles's, in the presence of the justices of Westminster; and, on their favourable report, Lord Arlington, on the 26th June, authorised advertisements to be issued naming places where these remedies could be bought.^a The number of deaths from Plague within the bills of mortality during this month was 590.

In the month of July the pestilence spread rapidly, and on 1st July Allin speaks of the state of the city for sickness, and the increasing bill, "w^{ch} makes many flee out of towne."

At a Court holden at St. James's on the 6th July, a proclamation was issued stating that the spreading of the disease into remote parts of the kingdom seemed to threaten a general and most dreadful visitation, and appointing as fast-days the 12th July and 2nd August, and the first Wednesday in every subsequent month.^b Mr. Robert Cole has also furnished me with a letter, found among the mutilated Exchequer records, from Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Exchequer, to his clerk Burgess, dated 5th July, in which, after alluding to the payment of Tom Killigrew's pension and other financial matters, he thus concludes: "I pray vse all possible care to preserve yourselves and my house. Send for things to burne, and make vse of them dayly; lett noe body stirre out, nor any suitors come into the house or office. Lett euery one take euery morning a little London treacle,^c or the kernell of a walnutt, with five leaves of rue and a grayne of salt beaten together and rosted in a figg, and soe eaten; and neuer stirre out fasting. Lett not the porter come into the house; take all course you can agaynst the ratts, and take care of the cattis; the little ones that will not stirre out may be kept, the great ones must be kiled or sent away." Allin, writing to Jeake on July 7th, 1665, says, "Y^e sicknesse increaseth dayly much about y^e city: y^e generall bill yesterday was 1,006, and of y^e Plague 470, but rather feared to be nearer 700."

The Court left town, and the councils were held at Syon House on 19th July, and at Hampton Court on 24th and 26th July. On the latter day a proclamation was issued for removing the receipt of the Exchequer from Westminster to

^a MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, June 1665.

^b A form of prayer was issued. The fasts were kept regularly, except on All Souls' Day, 1666, till the Plague was stayed.

^c This was a favourite preventative.

Nonsuch. On the following day the Court removed to Salisbury, and thence in September, when the Plague had broken out in Salisbury, to Oxford, from which city a proclamation was issued on 26th September, adjourning thither Michaelmas term in the law courts.

The disease continued to increase in London, and in the letter from Allin to Fryth, dated July 26th, 1665, the following account is given: "I confesse the sicknes doth encrease and spread, though none very neere mee yet; thanks bee to God. I heare y^e generall bill this weeke wilbee about 2,500, and the pticular of y^e Plague neere 2,000, but I know not the certainty till the morning. I thanke God I goe about my buisines without any slavish feare of it; yet my body too apt for such a disease, which proves very mortal where it comes: many whole families of 7, 8, 9, 10, 18 in a family totally swept away. I thinke there is no fleeing from God's hand, and truely this sicknes so highly pestilential in some places speakes it to be more a judgment than any thing else, and true repentance is the best antidote, and pardon of sin the best cordiall."

The whole number of deaths from pestilence in July was 4,119.

It appeared to be a little on the decrease, for Allin writes to Fryth on August 5th, 1665,—“Through mercy I am yet well, and the sicknes not very neere me, though in the parish (St. Olave's). This last weekes bill of mortality, through mercy, did not increase like the former weekes, beeing but 229 in all increase, and y^e sicknes in some places then decreased; though this wee feare (as wee then also did) an higher increase. Now looke for some *materia prima*.”

The holding of many fairs was prohibited.^a

Allin's fear was but too well founded, as we shall see by subsequent letters written by him to Fryth. He writes on Aug. 11th, 1665, in answer apparently to a suggestion that he should leave town,—“I shall not thinke myselfe safer there (Rye) then here, whilest my call is to stay here; yet I am troubled at the approach of the sicknesse neerer every weeke, and at a new burying place w^{ch} they have made neere us, and wth some piece of indiscretion used in not shutting up, but rather makeing greate funeralls for such as dye of the distemper; which yet I thinke God will not putt an end to till sin be left and suppressed more then

^a On 14th June a proclamation was issued not to hold Barnwell Fair on 24th, for fear of infection at Cambridge, which was then free and clear. Proclamation was likewise issued at Salisbury on 7th August, prohibiting Bartholomew Fair, London; Stourbridge Fair, Cambridge; and all other fairs within fifty miles of London; all citizens and inhabitants of London were also prohibited from attending any fairs till the infection should cease; and, to prevent a concourse to places yet free, Howden Fair, and all other fairs in the county of York, were prohibited as well; as also on 21st September was Wantage Fair, in Berks, “to which there was usually extraordinary resort;” and on 26th December Saint Paul's Fair, Bristol.

it is : but God seemes to psue a designe w^{ch} doubtlesse Hee will efect before Hee hath done. 4,030 in all; 2,817 Plague. 142 in all, 64 Plague, in our parish.” Again, Aug. 18, 1665, “Through mercy I am hitherto well, and all our next neighbours, but the sickness increaseth : 5,319 this weekes bill in generall, and 3,880 in the bill of the Plague, of which disease Mr. Symond Porter, Mr. Miller’s brother-in-law, dyed last Tuesday : I am afrayd to write to Mr. Miller of it, least hee should bee afrayd of my letter ; but pray let him know of his brother’s death.” On Aug. 24th, 1665,—“ I am, through mercy, yet well in midst of death, and that, too, approaching neerer and neerer : not many doores off, and the pitt open daily within view of my chamber window. The Lord fitt mee and all of us for our last end! Surely, if my friends be afrayd of my letters, I would not be afrayd of theirs. The sicknes yet increaseth : this bill is 249 more then y^e last, viz.—of all diseases, 5,568 ; of the Plague, 4,237 : but rather in verity 5,000, though not so many in the bill of y^e Plague. Here are many who weare amulets made of the poison of the toad, which, if there be no infection, workes nothing, but, upon any infection invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, w^{ch} a plaister heales, and so they are well : phaps I may by y^e next get the true p^rparation of it, and send you. The sickness at Yarmouth,^a Dover, and Southampton^b I heare is much increasing yet : 3 houses last weeke shutt up in Dover.^c I saw this day some ‘prima materia’ in o^r streetes.”

August 29th, 1665.—“ Y^e sicknes here is very much increased : this weeke I feare y^e bill wilbee neere double the former ; and truely I know not how to thinke it should lessen, when as the greatest thing done to stoppe it, viz^t. takeing y^e phanatickes out of their owne houses, and sometimes caught meeting and carrying them to infected prisons, of w^{ch} wee have none free, wilbee found in the end to heighten it, though its s^d one major of y^e soldjers hath threatned by that meanes

^a No less than 2,500 died in Yarmouth of the Plague in this year, including both ministers of the church.—Swinden, p. 950. One of these ministers was another John Allin, who came over from New England, having taken his bachelor’s degree in Harvard University in 1643.—Ex inf. Mr. James Savage. The disease had abated at the end of November, and on 4th December the Oxford Gazette announced that the whole bill of Yarmouth was thirteen, and only one of the Plague.

^b In consequence of the loss of the registers the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A. has not been able to give me the mortality in Southampton. Mr. John Buller’s Hist. Particulars of Southampton (1820) states that the tradition was that the disease was introduced through infected child-bed linen. The poor were nearly starving; the King on being petitioned for pecuniary and medical relief promoted a subscription to which he gave 50*l.*; the Earl of Southampton 50*l.*; Salisbury and Bristol cities also contributed; in the whole nearly 2,000*l.* were raised.

^c It was brought to Dover by a young person who had been in service in London, and 900 at least died of it.—Hasted’s Kent, iv. 97. See also note, ante, p. 3.

quickly to drive that plague away:—remember that there wilbee little ‘*prima materia*’ found after a rainy, but most in a dry night after a rainy day or weather, the wind south-west.”

On August 30th a proclamation was issued commanding Parliament to meet at Oxford on October 9th, instead of Westminster on 3rd of the latter month.

No less than 20,046 had died in August, and yet it was not the most fatal month.

On September 2nd, 1665, Allin says,—“Y^e sicknesse encreased very much last bill, viz. 1,928 increase; y^e totall, 7,496; of y^e Plague, 6,102. Since that bill I have not pticularly heard anything whither still increasing or not, but feare, by the dolefull and almost universall and continuall ringing and tolling of bells, it doth increase. I am sure it approacheth to mee, I meane my concernem^t: for it hath pleased God to take from mee the best friend I have in y^e world, and one wherein my children^a stood as much concerned as in myself wth reference to what they should have expected from the relations of my wife: it is my brother, Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lord’s day last, in the morning; towards evening a little ill, then tooke something to sweate, w^{ch} y^t night brought forth a stiffness under his eare, where he had a swelling y^t could not be brought to rise and breake, but choacked him; he dyed Thursday night last. I blesse God I am well; was not with my brother after wee see what it would bee, as little else upon every distemp^r here can be expected: it is a greate mercy now counted to dye of another disease.”

On September 7th, 1665, he tells Fryth of the remedy attempted for the purification of the streets:—“The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, and God knoweth whither I may write any more or no: it is at the next doore on both hands of mee, and under the same roofe; but I have no place of retireing, neither in the city nor country; none in heaven nor earth to go unto but God onely; the Lord lodge mee in the bosom of his love, and then I shall be safe whatever betides. . . . There is in my deske a little booke new written, I intituled it ‘*Liber Veritatis*:’ it is the true use of the elixir magnū for phisicke, pfitt, or delight, given by a true master of the arte to a friend, whence I transcribed it. I would have Mr. Jeake to have that, and you to transcribe it; but bee sure to keepe it both of you as a secrett. If I live I hope to have some *materia prima* from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it. This weekes bill is increased 756: the wholle is 8,252; of the Pl. 6,978; and in our parish 439, about 120 increase in our

^a He had three children, John, Elizabeth, and Hannah.

parish, and it is truly still increasing. These 3 dayes hath bene sea cole fires made in the streetes about every 12th doore, but that will not do y^e worke of stopping God's hand; nothing but repentance will do that, of w^{ch} no signe yett, but oppressions, &c. yet increasing."

At length, as in the recent visitations of cholera, though the number of cases increased the per-centage of recoveries was larger. Allin writes on September 14th, 1665,—“This sicknes, though more dye, because more are infected, yet, thanks bee to God, is not so mortall as at the first, for more recover of it now then formerly. It is increasing in our parish about 39, this weekes bill beeing 478. If wee knew how to trust the bills, it is decreased in the generall. The generall bill is 7,690 buried this weeke, whereof of the Plague 6,544; yet in the City it did increase, beeing 1,154, of the Plague 896; y^e last weeke 1,118, Pl. 854. Our friend Dr. Starkey is dead of this visitation, wth about 6 more of them chymicall practitioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists, and in a sorte over this visitation sicknes, which is more a judgment then a disease, because they could not resist it by their Galenical medicines, w^{ch} they were too confident y^t their chymical medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could heare of to dissect, which y^{ey} had, and opened to search the seate of this disease, &c.; upon y^e opening whereof a stinch ascended from the body, and infected them every one, and it is said they all are dead since, the most of them distractedly madd, whereof G. Starkey is one. I heare also y^t above 7 score d^{rs}, apothecarys, and surgeons are dead of this distemp in and about y^e City since this visitation. God is resolved to staine the pride of all glory; there is no boasting before Him, and much lesse agst Him.”

During this pestilence there lived as rector of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Symon Patrick, who was afterwards successively Bishop of Chichester and of Ely; he returned to town in July, and thenceforth performed in his parish all the offices of religion, visiting the sick, and burying at night those who had died of diseases other than the Plague. On 19th August, 1665, he published “A Brief Exhortation to those who are shut up from our Society, and deprived at present of Public Instruction;” and on the 1st September he printed “A Consolatory Discourse, persuading to a cheerful Trust in God in these times of Trouble and Danger.”^a He also kept up an active correspondence with Mrs. Gauden, a transcript of which is to be found among the Cole MSS. :^b it gives many details of the Plague in his

^a Both reprinted by Pickering in his *Christian Classics*, 1847.

^b Wife of Dr. J. Gauden, minister of Bocking, Essex.—Add. MS. 5810, fol. 289, &c. See also his *Autobiography*.

own parish, where his conduct procured him the esteem of all; and it also adds to Allin's particulars relating to the medical men the names of the ministers of religion who fell victims to the faithful discharge of their duties. Writing on Saturday night, September 30th, 1665, Dr. Patrick says,—“ You inquire what ministers were dead. Mr. Peachill and Mr. Mandrill, who were lecturers, dyed a good while ago: one of them lectured at St. Clement, the other at St. Benet Fink. Since, there dyed one Mr. Austin, minister, I think, of St. Mary's Stanings; the minister of Alphage, whose name I think was Mr. Stone;^a one Mr. Bastwick (son to the famous doctor of that name), who was preacher of the Counter, in the Poultrye: Mr. Welbank, one of the ministers of St. Saviour's Southwark; Mr. Throgmorton, curate of St. George's Southwark; and a gentleman who officiated for Mr. Hall, in Basishaw , whose name I think was Phillips The minister of Kentish Town hath had it, and is recovered. I think I have heard of another or two who were curates, but no more ministers.” In his letter of 7th October he says,—“ I must correct an error in my last but one; Mr. Welbank is not dead, as was reported: it is the curate, one Mr. Knightley, who they say did not die of the sickness neither. This was the occasion of the report that Mr. Stillingfleet was dead, the reader of St. Andrew Holborn dying a good while ago; but, as for Mr. Stillingfleet, he hath not been here a long time, but gets his place supplied by somebody.”

The death of a mutual friend of Allin and Fryth affords occasion for the most interesting letter of the series, giving a full description of the mode in which the Plague attacked parties, and of its varied symptoms.

“ September 20th, 1665.

“ Loveing ffriend,—Yo^r of the 16^t insñt I have rec^d, and give you hearty thanks for that particular accompt you gave me of yo^r affayres. If I can possibly gett time I thinke to write to you againe on Thursday; but I thought it not amisse, for the inclosed's sake, to write a few lines now, and to give you my thoughts of the death of Tolhurst's sister. According to yo^r description of her, there hath not one of those thousands yet dyed here with all the signall characters of this p̃sent Plague more evident than she had, w^{ch} this inclosed will in parte confirme to you; I shall onely add a little of my owne thoughts in generall as to the first seizing of this distemper upon one, and then give a word about the curative parte. For the 1st. If the infection be taken by the scent or smelling, and ariseth from the ill and more grosse savour of a foggy infected aire, or the corruption of an infected person or place, then it ordinarily seizeth onely at the first upon the meninges of

^a Tim. Long was rector.

the braine by y^e meanes of the pcessus mammillares or papillares, as the exterior parte of the smelling nerves are called, and so suddenly afflicts y^e party with an inveterate headache, which suddenly also creepes all over; but if the vapour or aire by the scent rec^d as afores^d be more subtill, thinn, and spirituous, y^e infection then not onely afflicts as afores^d wth headach, but is by the very rootes of the smelling neerves carryed into the substance of the braine, and immediately putts the party into a kind of frenzy, which is very difficult to reduce, especially if the vigour of the infection be pcured or heightened by a melancholy feare, sudden fright, or strong imagination. If the infection be received by the halitus, or breath, it now immediately afflicteth the heart, y^e root of the vitall spirits, and some time kills before any external and generally believed symptomes of that distemper can appeare, either spotts or tumors, but allways invades y^e party with sudden and sharpe fainteing fitts; and for that nature, which is never idle, but always buisied about its owne p̄servation, attractes all the heate (y^t nature can afford) towards the heart to resist the venom of the infection, hence ariseth that universal chillnes y^t invades the external and extreme parts of the body like an ague, and must be attended with all speedy and wary proceedings. If any one contracts the infection to himselfe by a sudden or over heateing of the blood, as by over hott or too much strong liquors, or too sudden and violent motions, or yet over chill the blood by cold or small liquors, or too fast cooling after such violent motion, one whereof exhausts the s̄pts, the other suffocates y^m by contraction, both which I may call a surfett of s̄pts rather then of humours, then the liver is first afflicted, and the natural s̄pts principally hurte, hence want of appetite to eate, and want of concoction if they eate. When it is by y^e blood over heated, then sharpe choler abounds in the gall, and that overflows; and y^t afflicting the mouth of the stomacke causeth a nauseousnesse and pvocation to vomitt; and in pcesse of time, though but in a very short time, is this acute disease; by the communication of the veines and nerves, the diaphragma comes to be afflicted, and, by its consent with the braine, a kind of furor or madness doth ensue, besides a difficulty of breathing, the diaphragma being one organ y^t assists the breath; then also, by the communication of strings from y^e diaphragma to the pericardium, that and the heart is also speedily afflicted, and hence also (as very quickly in any infection wth the Plague which way soever happening) arise greater fainting fitts. If this infection bee contracted by chilling the bloud as afores^d, then is there bread a kind of choler adust, or y^t kind of melancholy, which the spleene beeing the cheifē receptacle of and thereby swelling, there thence arise a greate difficulty of breathing, and as if it were a narrowness

of the breast by the dilation of y^e parts within; and as it were a kind of weight there pressing doune and oppressing y^t parte, and almost suppressing both the breath and the spirits at once. If the infection be bred in one through the putrefaction of tumours abounding in the body, as sometimes it is—and allways this distemp^r tends speedily to such a putrefaction, through corrupt aliments or want of digestion,—then are the stomacke and gutts primarily afflicted, whence ariseth a greate looseness, which quickly wasts and consumeth all, and carry life away too in a shorter time. Concerning y^e external effects of this internall infection, there are these 3, with one or more or all of w^{ch} this distemp^r is usually attended, botches, blaines, and carbuncles, to which I may add a fourth, spotts com^only called the tokens, and are very symptomatical, never ariseing till the full state of the disease, even when deathe stands at the doore; for very few or none live that are so markt. For the botches or pestilential bubos, they usually arise but in 3 places, whereof the principal emunctorys of the body are;—behind or under the ears when the braine is afflicted; under each arme when the heart or vitalls are inflicted; in the groynes principally when the liver is afflicted. The blaines and carbuncles may and doe arise generally in any parte of the body, necke, face, throate, backe, thighs, armes, leggs, &c., and all of them very hard and obstinate to be dealt withall, and must have severall pceedings with them; and if any of them, after once appearing, either fall or retire backe againe, it is a very bad and dangerous symptome. The botches sometimes rise to a very greate buignes, especially under the armes and in the groines; if so under the ears they quickly choake or kill with paine, there being no roome for them to bee extended: if they rise something in an oblongish forme, and red at the first, it is so much the better then if round, though as they grow to more maturity they will tend to a more round forme, as they come to ripen, especiall on the topp; if they rise white it argues coldnes and want of heate and s^pt to drive them out, and must bee y^e more carefully helpt forwards with internal drivers and externall drawers. The blaines rise first like blisters, but not puffy, as if sweld with wind or water, but hard, not yielding to the touch; but if they come forward to any maturity (w^{ch} they are very difficult to bee brought to, and many dye if they have blaines), there wilbee a very hard and knotty bunch of corrupt matter in them. The carbuncles, though y^t it may bee rise onely like a pinn's head, yet psently rise up to a pointed boile, very hard; sometimes firey red, sometimes black, and sometimes blewish in places; red the best, y^e others worst. All of these riseings, if they bee acurately observed at the first (but especially the carbuncles and blaines), have a particular symptome annexed to them, viz., they are generally circled about with red or blew circles,

sometimes with both; sometimes they are broader then a bare circle, one within another: y^e red colour argue the small blood affected or choler abounding; the blewish argue the arteriall blood from the hearte affected; the blacke choler adust or melancholy; white, the putrefactions of cold and crude humors most. For y^e spotts or tokens, w^{ch} most generally are fforerunn^{rs} of certaine death, they doe more generally this yeare then formerly appeare in divers parts of the body, formerly usually and almost onely to be found upon y^e region of the hearte and liver, or the brest, or agst it on the backe; but now on y^e necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called tokens; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrowne; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one. If they bee observed at first rising sometimes with a red circle without, and blew wthin; sometimes with a blew circle wthout and red within; sometimes one more bright red, the other blewish or darker, sometimes blacker; y^e blew from y^e arteriall, y^e red from y^e venall blood affected, the blacke from melancholy as is afores^d. Of y^e swellings, or mixt as the infection is mixed more or lesse, these usually come forth about the state of the disease, when nature hath done its utmost to expell, but cannot conquer; which endeavours to expel y^e utmost, send forth these externall symptomes of it; and generally wⁿ these come out y^e party seemes not so sicke as before, but dye p^{re}sently, wthin a day or 2 at y^e utmost after. Many times this distemper strikes y^e vitalls so immediately, y^t nature hath not time to putt forth either spotts or blotches, and then it is the highest infection, most p^{ro}p^{er}ly called the Pestilence, and not the Plague; but done by a more immediate stroake of the destroying Angell. But, if such bodyes bee kept a little length of time after death, sometimes spotts will then arise w^{ch} did not before, especially whilst any warmth remayne in the body; but how many are therefore deceived, because either they view the body onely i^{me}diately when dead, or bury them whilst warme; others, wickedly to conceal y^e hand of God, will drive them in agayne, and keepe them in wth colde and wett cloths."

The foregoing is the whole of J. Allin's account of the disease; his promise of "a word on the curative parte," if performed, does not stand on record as such among these letters, in several of which he subsequently alludes to it, and with the apology of not having time to take it in hand.

Writing on the same day to Mr. Jeake, Allin follows up the subject, and by his expressions shews how great was the fear of conveying contagion, even in letters:

" September 20, 1665.

"It is some refreshing to mee to thinke you are yet willing to receive a line from mee. It was an affliction to mee that I knew not to whom I might send a letter with acceptance (except Mr. Fryth onely). I am afrayd that some of my friends there are this day too much afrayd where no feare need to bee, for were my penn infectious my hand would soone let it drop. . . . Gracious Mr. Cobb (one w^m God sometimes imployed in the worke of comforteing and supporting others in this darke and gloomy day of the Lord), w^o yet fell by this sicknes, and last Lord's Day entered into his father's bosome. . . . Clouds are gathering thicker and thicker, and I thinke veryly the day of the Lord will yet prove more blacke. Whither the Lord will make good that word spoken by a child here concerning the increase of y^e Plague, till 18,317 dye in a weeke (which all indeavours are used to conceale), though still goeth on in reality to increase it: and that word too of a yeares time of greate and sad persecution, spoken by y^e same mouth after death had once cooled it in this visitation, time will show."

Two days afterwards Allin continues his communications to Fryth, and advises a charmed preventative :

" September 22, 1665.

"It is yet increasing. In our parish this bill is raised about 50: y^e whole bill is 8,297: Plague 7,165: increased in all this weeke 607. Much rageing now in the city. . . . Freind get a piece of angell gold, if you can of Eliz. coine (y^t is y^e best), w^{ch} is phylosophicall gold, and keepe it allways in yo^r mouth when you walke out or any sicke persons come to you: you will find strange effects of it for good in freedome of breathing, &c. as I have done; if you lye wth it in your mouth w^{thout} yo^r teeth, as I doe, viz. in one side betweene your cheke and gumms, and so turning it sometimes on one side, sometimes on y^e other."

On 27th September, 1665, he says, "I am where y^e Lord hath hitherto, amidst 100 dyeing weekly, p^served me, and yet through mercy am in health, the Lord be prayed. The Lord hath decreased this weekes bill 1,837; there dyeing this weeke but 6,400: Pl. 5,533; and in our parish there was 50 decreased; but it is still very hot near me: I fear it will increase with you. If you send any *prima materia* in a glasse I pray cover it over wth paper, and double seale it that nothing of it bee seene." But on 30th September, 1665, he is forced to admit that "since y^e last bill y^e sicknes is againe increaseing and very much about us;" and in truth September was the most fatal month; the number of deaths from the Plague being 26,230.

It then became less serious in London. On October 5, 1665, Allin says, "The sicknes is now still decreaseing about 740, this bill being in all but 5,720, whereof of the Plague 4,929." Nevertheless, it was spreading through the eastern and other counties. On the same day Sir Wm. Clarke, writing from the Cockpit at Westminster to the Court, says, that, though the visitation was ceasing in London, he heard that it spread much in the country, and was in twenty several parishes in Buckinghamshire.^a And Allin, writing on October 7, tells his friend "The sicknes is now very hot at the next house to us one way, but hath beene neerer, though none of our family hath been ill at all yet, through mercy. What with some employm^t on Lord's dayes, at other dayes sometimes, in this scarcity of ministers (many being dead, though more fled), I am streightened in time. At Yarmouth, Colchester,^b Ipsw^{ch},^c the sicknes is very much, and now pretty much at Norw^{ch};^d Southampton^e reported to bee almost depopulated." Matters, however, still mend in London. On 14th October, 1665, he writes, ". . . This

^a State Paper Office, Domestic, October, 1665.

^b It began to appear at Colchester 14th August, 1665, and continued till 7th December, 1666, during which time there died 4,731 persons, of whom 195 died in the week between 15th and 22nd June, 1666.—Morant's Essex, vol. i. p. 74. In the London Gazette, No. 70, 12th to 16th July, 1666, it is said that the infection was spreading extremely in Suffolk and Essex, and with such violence "as to leave many of those places fit objects for the charitable relief of other parts of the kingdom." This was liberally afforded: 59*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* had been collected by the Mayor of Exeter for the relief of Colchester, and the sum of 1,311*l.* 10*s.* was raised from weekly collections in the churches of the metropolis.—Cromwell's Colchester, p. 163. And, in consequence of the certificate of the justices of Essex that many other places besides Colchester were visited by the sickness, the assizes appointed to be holden at Brentwood on 9th August were directed not to be holden.—Gazette, No. 70.

^c In consequence of the pestilence no fair was held at Ipswich on 14th September, 1666. So many inhabitants left the town that the rates could not be collected. All public funerals were prohibited, and the bell was to toll only a quarter of an hour before any burial.—Clarke's Ipswich, p. 50.

^d From 3rd October, 1665, to 3rd October, 1666, there died in Norwich 3,012 persons; of the Plague, 2,251. In one week, 22nd to 29th August, 1666, there died 203.—Blomefield's Norwich, i. 410. The returns of deaths in 1666 appeared regularly in the London Gazette, in which (No. 81) in August it was stated that Anthony Mingaye, merchant, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, was authorised to receive subscriptions in aid of the town, which, on the 26th September (No. 91) was declared to be in a deplorable condition by reason of the continued raging of the sickness. The deaths from the Plague had decreased to fifteen on 28th November, 1666, and the last notice which appeared was on 2nd January, 1667, (No. 119,) when eight only had died from the pestilence.

^e Other parts of the south-western counties suffered considerably. At Winchester the school of the college was closed and not re-opened till 1st December, 1666, when "in all human appearance the sickness in that city and the suburbs was extinguished."—London Gazette, No. 109. It had broken out at Salisbury on 6th September, 1665, without great virulence (Additional MS. 5810, fo. 287), but it re-appeared in June,

weekes bill makes 652 decreased; in all, 5,068; Plague, 4,227. There is 104 decreased in our parish this weeke through mercy, yet many sicke about us in or end of y^e parish."

In the nine weeks, from 8th August to 10th October, 59,810 persons had died, of whom the Plague destroyed 49,605, as appcars by the bills of mortality. On October 19, 1665, Allin writes, "Wee have had this weeke, God be prayed! a very mercifull abatem^t of y^e bill of mortality, viz^t 1,849 decreased this weeke; y^e whole bill being 3,219, whereof of y^e Plague 2,665, but yet it doth creepe into fresh houses still. . . . Y^e Lord fitt mee for what his good will and pleasure is."

In the entire month of October the deaths from the pestilence fell to 14,373. The writer, however, began to feel unwell from his exertions. On November 2, 1665, he writes, "The sicknes, though decreaseing in generall, yet in our parte of our parish (Horsleydowne) I thinke it now encrease again, and proves this weeke very mortall;^a my head aketh at y^e p^rsent. Y^e Lord fitt mee for what hee intends towards mee. Remember *prima materia*."

And he sets about his astrological inquiries with no little apprehension. On November 8th, 1665, he writes, "Through mercy I am yet very well, though never without dayly feares, and truly not without cause, if I either consider the

1666, and continued till December, 1666; the election of the mayor on 27th September taking place at an assembly in the close of the cathedral on account of the pestilence.—Hoare's *City of Salisbury*, p. 455. On 12th October, 1665, it had extended itself into other parts of Wiltshire. (Additional MS. 5810, fol. 291.) At the end of October, 1665, it had also broken out in four houses at Sherburn, Dorset, but it soon ceased; and in a letter dated 5th December it is said that only one person had died of the Plague during twenty days, so that on the last Saturday they had a plentiful market of corn and other provisions, and several who had left the town had come home, and others were preparing for their return.—*Oxford Gazette*, Nos. 5, 8.

^a According to the returns, the disease was very fatal in many parishes on the low sides of the Thames. At Lambeth, 537 died of Plague, mostly between July and December, 1665. At St. George the Martyr, Southwark, 1,260, or one-fourth of the population; St. Olave's, 2,785; St. Saviour's, 3,446. At Bermondsey 1,363 died, of whom there died in July 108, August 121, September 263, October 278 (of which number 185 were males), and November 111. In Stepney 8,598 died in the year, of whom the Plague destroyed 6,583, and on one day, 11th September, 1665, no less than 154 were buried. The population of the parish was so thinned that it became a difficulty to man the navy. At Deptford and Greenwich the disease raged with greater violence in 1666 than in the first year. At Deptford, 374 died of the pestilence in 1665, and 522 in the next year. In Greenwich, 416 died in the first year, and 423 in the next year of the Plague. In the upper part of the river it was not so bad. At Chelsea only 78 died of it; at Battersea only 113; at Wandsworth there were 245 in 1665, and 99 in 1666; at Putney, though the traffic was large, only 74 died of Plague; at Mortlake it was more fatal, 197 dying, of whom 122 died in September and October, 1665; at Barnes it was light, 19 only; at Brentford, 108; at Isleworth, 149; and Twickenham, only 21.

will of myne owne hearte, or yet if there bee any truth in y^e language of the starrs; for Mars is comeing to my ascendant in my nativity, w^h was there lord of the eighth; and in my revolution for this yeare Lord of the Asc.; and in his course of pgressse and regradation hee will continue within the compasse of my ascendant in my nativity till 1st July next. I had thought to send Mr. Jeake the scheames, with y^e directions and pfections for this yeare for his judgment, but I have not time now. . . . The bill enclosed will confirm my last about an increase, w^{ch} I wonder is no higher, when our pvocations are so much heightened; y^e sicknes increased at Norw^{ch}, 42 there last weeke; and at Colchester, haveing beene at neere 200 weekely, there it is this last weeke risen to neere 300. . . . Send as much *prima materia* as you can get gathered in ♍ (scorpio), by itself; if in ♊ (virgo), by itselfe.”

In Allin's letter to Jeake, of 14th November, he declares “It is yet dyeing time with us, though the bill is hoped to have decreased this weeke:” but writing again to Fryth, two days afterwards, he is a little better assured, though he gives us the important fact, that there were second attacks in the same places, November 16, 1665: “You will see a little decrease in this bill, but truly God seemes now in divers familys to visit the 2nd time, after they have beene all well 6 or 8 weekes; and fresh houses in divers places, besides some whole familys, swept away that have returned to y^e City allready.”

A change of the temperature to considerable cold no doubt aided the general decrease in the mortality of London. On November 23rd, 1665, Allin tells Fryth: “The cold pincheth soarely here, seeing that coales are above 40^s p chaldron; but ere long I must bee forced (if I live so long) to a country climate; I thinke it must bee Sussex ward, but where I doe not know. If you can learne some place for me, somewhat above five miles from you, with honest people, you may doe well to let mee know of it, where I may also practice physicke.”

On the 6th November the soldiers, who had been quartered in tents in Hyde Park, returned into the City;^a and the total number of deaths in November from Plague fell to 3,449, though considerable danger still existed.

On December 7th, 1665, Allin says, “Some fresh houses in divers parishes are still visited, besides more of them that come to towne, or are imployed in the aireing of other's houses;” and on 12th December, “Divers psons and familyes at their returne home to the City have mett with what they fled from, in so much that I feare and heare this weekes bill hath an increase. I heare there is a new blazing starr seene last weeke, 4 or 5 nights together, about north-east.” And

^a Additional MS. 5810, fol. 295.

two days afterwards, December 14, 1665 : “ Y^e sicknes is now agayne increaseing, as by y^e totalls doth appeare, but yet is increased in the sicknes 33, and wholly in the City; divers fresh houses, since the returne of fresh psons hither, visited and swept.”

On 26th December, 1665, Allin thus sums up the year : “ The totall of the generall bill this yeare is, of all diseases, 97,306; whereof the Plague, 68,596.^a The sicknesse, wee feare, is still increasing this weeke agayne.”

Nevertheless on 5th January, 1666, a proclamation was issued for the removal back of the Exchequer from Nonsuch to be opened at Westminster on the 20th; and the justices were ordered to see that all bedding and other goods in the several infected houses were well aired, the rooms all new whited, and the churchyards covered with earth two feet thick.^b The Court returned to town; but although on 6th April the pestilence “ was almost totally abated,” yet, as it might be increased again, parliament was prorogued. The number of deaths within the bills of mortality in the year fell to 12,838 : there were 1,998 who died from the Plague; and so late as 20th December three deaths from this cause were entered.^c

The disease extended itself along the sides of the Thames. On 22nd March, 1666, Allin mentions the Plague as being at Barking (where 230 persons died in 1665, and 239 in 1666); at Kingston-upon-Thames (not mentioned by Lysons), where six or seven houses were “ lately shut up in one day;” and at Woolwich,^d whither, however, Allin removed, and whence on 15th Sept. he wrote that the “ sicknes is this weeke broken out much about 4 houses in Woolw^{ch}, where wee have not had one dyed of y^t disease visibly this 12 weekes.^e” The fair at

^a Stowe gives this number, Book i. p. 226; but does not mention the total number of deaths. The whole population of the metropolis was under 600,000, and many of these had removed out of town.

^b Oxford Gazette, No. 16.

^c London Gazette, No. 114.

^d The registers of this date are lost.

^e With the exception of these river-side parishes, the disease did not appear in a very fatal form in the villages round the metropolis. In Middlesex we find at Hampstead indeed that 214, or seven times the average number of deaths, occurred in 1665, but at Hackney 225 persons only died and the pestilence was less fatal than on the former visitation. At Hornsey 43 died of Plague; at Finchley only 38 deaths occurred; at Ealing 224 died between June and December; at Enfield 176 in the year; at Heston only 48 died in 1665; and 61 at Bromley St. Leonard's. It was light at Norwood; and at Kensington only 25 died of the pestilence. In the Essex villages the mortality was not so great as might have been anticipated since the towns suffered so much. At Stratford-le-Bow 139 died in the year; at Walthamstow only 68 were buried; at Woodford only 33; and at Chigwell only 6 died of the Plague in 1666.

The Surrey villages were comparatively free. At Newington the pestilence was very fatal; the registers

Gravesend usually holden on 13th October was in 1666 prohibited, in order to prevent a concourse, till it should "please Almighty God to cease the violence of the contagion, which was very far dispersed into many parts of this kingdom."

Whilst the disease had abated in London at the commencement of 1666, it reappeared in many places, and extended itself to others throughout parts of the midland,^a and the eastern, southern, and south-western counties.^b General rules and orders to be observed by all justices of the peace, mayors, &c. for the prevention of the spreading of the infection were therefore issued by Government, and the College of Physicians circulated freely their remedies.

In addition to the places already mentioned in which it raged a second time, we have records of the visitation in other towns.

In King's Lynn, in 1665, on account of this visitation, the gates were shut, and even the mackerel carts were not allowed to enter; and, as it raged in 1666, no mart was held, and the markets were also discontinued.^c

At Cambridge it first broke out about 12 September, 1665, ceased about the close of February, and broke out again in the summer.^d Allin writes to Fryth on 14th July, 1666, "Y^e Plague very hott at Cambridge, their 3rd bill of mortality

are now lost, but the returns give 1,004 deaths of Plague; beyond that place the disease was not virulent. At Camberwell 100 died in the year, and 33 at its hamlet Dulwich, being less than in 1603: at Croydon, between 27th July, 1665, and 22nd March, 1666, there were 141 deaths: but Clapham, Streatham, West Wickham, Carshalton, and Cheam wholly escaped.

In the Kent villages nearly the same exemption occurred. Lewisham was visited slightly, there being only 56 burials in 1665 and 52 in 1666; at Charlton only three or four deaths from the Plague; at Beckenham only 18 deaths in the year; at Chiselhurst only 21; at Eltham only 32 deaths from the pestilence; and at Bromley only 7.—Lysons.

^a The town of Derby so severely suffered that it was almost forsaken, and to procure the necessaries of life the inhabitants erected at Nun's Green, outside the town, a market-stone or headless cross, where the market people, having their mouths primed with tobacco, left the provisions. The stone, with an inscription from Hutton, is now in the Derby Arboretum. In the villages of Derbyshire the disease appeared at one place, Eylam, from whence it did not spread. *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 82. But according to Bailey it was exceedingly bad at Newark, where one-third of the inhabitants died, and the grass grew in the streets.

^b The northern and western counties almost escaped. The disease did not reach Lancashire (Baines), nor Sheffield (Hunter, p. 6). The last outbreak at Leeds was in 1645 (Whitaker), and at York in 1604 (Drake). The towns, however, on the Tyne were slightly infected. It appeared at Gateshead on 30th July, 1665 (Surtees, ii. p. 122); and on 11th November, 1665, it is stated from Newcastle, "When the sickness appeared first here (which is but of young date) we were not without the apprehension of a severe mortality, but it hath pleased God already to put a stop to its progress, there being not one person sick in the whole town, and those that were sent in the fields well recovered."—*Oxford Gazette*, No. 2.

^c Richards, Lynn, p. 1203.

^d C. H. Cooper's *Annals*, iii 517, 20.

to the 10th instant gives 55 in their 14 parishes, whereof there was 44 of y^e Plague, and 13 more of y^e Plague in y^e pest-house." A few days afterwards the Vice-Chancellor deputed Mr. Thomas Warren, apothecary, at the Golden Hart and Anchor, in Basing Lane, London, to receive such moneys as should be contributed for the relief of the sufferers.^a The number of burials in the town, including St. Giles', during the year was 797; and it was not till the Gazette from 21st to 24th January,^b 1667, that the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses notified that the scholars might return to their respective colleges.

In September, 1666, the Bishop of Ely prohibited the holding of the fair usually holden in October at Ely, on account of the Plague at Cambridge, Peterborough, and other places near Ely;^c and on a recent search of the Peterborough Registers I found that the affliction there was sore. It had been raging at Yardly Hastings, in Northamptonshire, where sixty persons died of the Plague between 5th June, 1665, and 5th January following;^d and it broke out in Peterborough in the month of September, 1665, having been brought, as was supposed, by a travelling woman from London: two persons died of it in that month, and forty more between September and March, 1666. It re-appeared in May, when two died of it, and increased, killing in June 57, July 121, August 96, September 58, and October 49; it then abated, but in the course of the year 500 persons died in the town, of whom 417 died of the Plague,^e many being buried in their gardens. In the first three months of 1667 eight more died of the pestilence; after March it ceased. Yet it did not spread seriously even to the neighbouring town of Boston.

Of the extension of the disease into Sussex we have no details: but in the London Gazette there is a proclamation in Oct. 1666, stating that the infection being much spread about the town of Battel, though the inhabitants were free, yet, to prevent its further spreading, the fair usually kept on 11th November was directed not to be holden:^f and the pestilence must have lingered in the western division of the same county, since, "in regard that the said county in several towns and parishes was still infected with the Plague," it was ordered^g that the fair usually kept at Petworth on the 20th November during the space of nine days should not be held in the year 1666.

^a London Gazette, No. 72.

^b Ib. No. 124.

^c Ib. No. 91, Annals of Camb. iii. 520.

^d Bridges' North. i. p. 399. He does not mention the Plague at Peterborough.

^e The population is only 5,000 at the present day.

^f London Gazette, No. 98.

^g Ib. No. 103.

The town of Nottingham was about the last place visited. It was free from the disease in 1665, when there were only 149 burials; and in 1666, when there were 180 burials in the town. According to Deering and Furby, it was visited by the Plague in 1667, the greatest ravages being in the higher part of the town, whilst the lower part was more free, a circumstance attributed to the "effluvia from the tan-pits." But the visitation was not heavy, for no particular notice is taken of it in the registers; and the whole number of burials in the year was only 219, most deaths occurring in the month of August.^a

The year 1667 saw the last outbreak of the Plague in this country; for, although its return in the years 1720 and 1780 was much dreaded, it did not reach our shores.

How much more violent it was in the metropolis than the more recent visitations of the Cholera will be seen by the following tabular results:—

Metropolis.	Years.	Duration.	Estimated Population.	Highest number of Deaths from Epidemic. In week ending	Total Deaths from Epidemic.	Per cent. of Deaths to Population.
Plague .	1664-5	13 months	600,000	19th Sept. 1665 7,165	68,596	11·42
Cholera .	1832-3	17 months with an interval of 8 months	1,682,641	27th July, 1832 445	6,729	·39
„	1848-9	15 months	2,206,076	8th Sept. 1848 . 2,026	14,601	·61
„	1853-4	17 months	2,372,728	9th Sept. 1854 . 2,050	10,696	·45

It will be seen that in each of the years 1665, 1848, and 1854 the month of September was the period of the greatest mortality: and a strict investigation of the mortality in the different parishes and districts of London would shew a close affinity between the visitations of the older and of the more recent form of pestilence.

I remain, my dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful Servant,

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. Director S.A.
&c. &c.

^a Ex inf. Mr. Thomas Close, F.S.A.