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# AN ANNOTATED NONCRITICAL EDITION OF DANIEL DEFOE'S THE STORM (1704) INCLUDING A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND A CRITICAL COMMENTARY PLACING IT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AUTHOR'S WORKS

by

CHRISTINA MARIA SASSI LEHNER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

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# Acknowledgments

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# Introduction

Daniel Defoe's The Storm, which chronicles the great hurricane that devastated the south of England on 27 November 1703, is the author's earliest full-length venture in reportage and represents two important milestones in his career as a writer: it was the first long, conceptually unified, and imaginatively conceived book that he published, and it was begun at a time when Defoe first tried to earn his living solely by his pen. Yet in spite of the special position of the book in Defoe's development, most critical sources on the emerging novel in eighteenth-century England refer to the work only in passing. Although it has long been singled out as an early example of Defoe's thematic predilection for speculating about the causes and consequences of natural disasters, and the role of Providence in human affairs, it is usually only alluded to in the course of illustrating some other critical concern. The work's unique literary qualities warrant further critical attention. To this end, the dissertation provides the text with annotations and supplies it with a critical and historical introduction which highlights the continuity between the work and Defoe's later novels.

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Central to my critical commentary on The Storm is the dual premise that it is an important example of what Lennard Davis has termed the news/novels discourse, which sets the literary context for the beginnings of the novel, and that for Defoe it is a seminal work in which he begins to employ some of the narrative methods that will become characteristic of his novels. Thus The Storm becomes a valuable source for discerning Defoe's narrative strategies for achieving reportorial verisimilitude as well as structural cohesion and unity. In this sense, it bears comparison with such novels as Robinson Crusoe (1719) and A Journal of the Plague Year (1722).

Defoe's preface is of particular interest because it is here that he provides a statement of narrative purpose, and discusses the moral obligations of an author to his readers in regard to the presentation of truth in a historical work. It is an early example of the many prefaces that will accompany his novels to express his intentions as author, and to recommend the spirit and manner in which the text should be read. The preface helps to explain how Defoe distinguished between the proper aims and methods of a historical chronicle and those of prose fiction. It also establishes the structural role of the narrator-as-self-justifying-editor-of-history to provide the diffuse materials of The Storm with narrative cohesion. Defoe will employ a narrator in this capacity again, albeit in a

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subtler and less self-conscious form, in his historical fiction A Journal of the Plague Year (1722), a work with which The Storm is often compared.

A survey of the book's critical reception from its publication until today shows how it has fared according to new discoveries of his biographers. The understanding or misunderstanding of the history of Defoe's life has always affected the criticism of his literary endeavors, and this work in particular magnifies this connection. For a long time critics thought that Defoe's first-hand narrative observations were entirely fictitious because he was thought to have been imprisoned when the hurricane struck. Early in the twentieth century, however, evidence came to light that Defoe had been released from Newgate almost a month before the storm, thus making his narrative observations wholly plausible (Defoe: How to Know Him 59). Twentieth-century critics such as John Richetti, James Sutherland, J. Paul Hunter, Paula Backscheider, and Laura Ann Curtis are in agreement that The Storm is a truthful and reliable work of journalism. With the exception of Arthur Secord and Robert Adams Day, few critics have questioned the authenticity of some of the published letters reporting the extent of the storm's damage and the human dramas it caused. Considering that in his own lifetime Defoe was held to be an unreliable liar--initially as an opportunistic political journalist for hire, and later as a novelist of uncertain morals who made

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conflicting claims for his fictions--it is remarkable that there is such consensus among modern critics about the narrative's veracity. However, analysis of Defoe's truth-claims, his sources, and his methods of reportage shows that the work is largely fact-based.

This study of The Storm also sheds light on Defoe's methods of composition during his extraordinarily prolific writing career. As Paula Backscheider has noted, it was while compiling The Storm that he developed what would become a practice of reworking the same material into different genres to appeal to different groups of readers (Daniel Defoe: His Life 143). Defoe's account of the great storm went through three different versions, each one aimed at a particular audience. While soliciting eye-witness accounts for The Storm, his most comprehensive and lengthy chronicle of the calamity, he published a more timely and didactic pamphlet entitled The Lay-Man's Sermon Upon the Late Storm on 24 February 1704. On 15 August 1704, he also published a satiric poem drawing parallels between the recent hurricane and the storms afflicting England's domestic affairs in An Elegy on the Author of the True-Born-Englishman. With an Essay on the Late Storm. Defoe's methods of composition, and the relationship of these three different publications, are discussed in the dissertation's critical introduction.

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A scholarly edition of The Storm has never been produced, although its text has been published in two different editions of Defoe's collected works. In 1979 Laura Ann Curtis published The Versatile Defoe, an anthology of Defoe's diverse and previously uncollected works, in which she features short excerpts from The Storm. She has modernized and regularized the text, and has provided a brief historical introduction that summarizes the 286-page book. While Curtis emphasizes the usefulness of the text as an indication of "the enormous distance Defoe travelled from his earlier historical work to the later fiction, which also deals with a great natural disaster and is structured around facts" (TVD 283), her analysis is part of only a cursory introduction, and ultimately reveals the need for a more comprehensive and detailed treatment of the work as a whole. Prior to Curtis' anthology, the most recent publication of The Storm was in Bohn's Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel Defoe (1854), where the text is modernized and regularized, with the unfortunate consequence that a number of compositorial errors have crept in, but it is unaccompanied by critical or textual notes.

The present scholarly, noncritical edition of The Storm, with its historical and critical introduction features, for the first time, the original 1704 text, photographically reproduced and furnished with annotations. The work has long been acknowledged as a document of

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historical significance: its collection of eyewitness testimonials from all over the south of the nation makes the 27 November 1703 storm one of the most exhaustively documented events of its kind in England. Its literary value, however, and its importance to Defoe's development as a writer, have not yet been fully recognized or explored in a large-scale critical study.

The Storm is fertile ground for critical work, and it is hoped that this dissertation will help clarify the connections between the narrative methods of Defoe's non-fiction and his novels. Although Defoe's intentions may be different in the two genres, the narrative techniques he employs seem to have much in common, and a better understanding of this fact will reveal a continuity of development in his writing and show how it came to be that Defoe produced his own distinct kind of novel.

Note:

All passages quoted from The Storm are reproduced exactly as they appear in the 1704 edition. The original orthography and punctuation are preserved to represent best the text that Defoe published in his lifetime.

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# Chapter 1: The Historical Background of Defoe's The Storm

## A Brief History of the Storm

The great storm of 1703 was preceded by fourteen days of strong winds and inclement weather. Shortly before midnight on November 26th, the hurricane hit and raged at full force until 7 o'clock the following morning. It continued to devastate the south of England and Wales until December 1 (The Storm 24). Holland and France were also badly damaged, but the north of England and Scotland remained unaffected. Newspaper accounts in The Daily Courant, The London Gazette, and The Post-Man; reports from contemporary diarists, such as John Evelyn and Narcissus Luttrell; and various eighteenth-century historians, acknowledged it as "the most violent storm that ever was known in England, in the Memory of any Man living, or recorded in Story" (Boyer 167). Variations of this phrase appear repeatedly in print and register the collective shock and disbelief at the extent of the national calamity. Defoe only echoes the common cry when he insists:

> that no storm since the Universal Deluge was like this, either in its Violence or its Duration, so I must also confirm it as to the particular of its prodigious Extent. (The Storm 46)

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In England the storm claimed hundreds of lives and destroyed millions of pounds' worth of property. Across the nation over 800 houses were blown down, in which most of the inhabitants were at least wounded, and even a few were killed (Stanhope 121). In Wells, for example, the Bishop of Bath and Wells and his wife were killed in their bed when a stack of chimnneys collapsed on them (The Daily Courant No. 403, December 2, 1703). In and around the City of London, Southwark, Westminster, and the Temple the strength and fury of the winds ripped the tiles off roofs, shattered windows, and blew down many thousands of chimney stacks (The Amazing Tempest 1). The Thames flooded into Westminster Hall and the lower parts of the City, and London Bridge was beset by the wreckage of barges and boats (Stanhope 119). Hundreds of trees in Gray's Inn, Hyde Park, and St. James's Park were uprooted. The winds also razed the garden walls of St. James's palace (The Amazing Tempest 3). Queen Anne and Prince George were at the palace of St. James during the hurricane and witnessed the park's destruction (Strickland 188). They narrowly escaped danger when they left one of the palace's rooms moments before a stack of chimneys collapsed through its ceiling (An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempset 6). While the Queen and her attendants remained safe, part of the palace was blown down as was the Guard Room at Whitehall, injuring a number of soldiers (An Exact Relation 6; The Amazing Tempest 2). The damage in London and

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Westminster alone was estimated at one million sterling (Boyer 167).

The Weekly Bills of Mortality recorded twenty-one people killed by debris and falling chimney stacks in London (The Storm 74). Stanhope, however, is skeptical of this number, and notes:

> There seems some reason to suspect that in Compiling the Bills of Mortality or other official accounts for London an endeavour was made to lessen the public consternation by keeping out of sight as many fatal accidents as possible. Nevertheless we find it stated that...throughout the country, one hundred and twenty-three persons were struck down and killed. (120)

In The Storm Defoe states that over two hundred people were badly injured in London (74), and that throughout the land approximately 123 people were killed (The Storm 155; The Amazing Tempest ms. 1).

Losses to trade were commensurately high. Flooding on the banks of the Severn submerged acres of land, drowned 15,000 sheep and a multitude of cattle, and resulted in over £ 200,000 worth of damage (The Amazing Tempest ms. 2). The city of Bristol was particularly hard hit. As Trevelyan has noted, "Its port was filled with wrecked shipping. Its famous underground warehouses were swamped by the inrush of

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the tide before the wind" (England Under Queen Anne: Blenheim vol. 1, 309). The high tide spoiled 1500 hogsheads of sugar and tobacco, and total losses in that city amounted to £ 150,000 (Boyer 167; The Amazing Tempest ms. 2). More than 400 windmills were overturned and destroyed across the land (Stanhope 121). In Kent, Defoe claimed that he counted over 17000 trees blown down, and noted that the large orchards of fruit trees in Devonshire, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford incurred even greater losses (The Storm 70). Commercial shipping was estimated to have lost about 1200 vessels (Avery 41).

The storm left southern England, and particularly London and Bristol, in shambles. Surveying the wreckage, John Evelyn observed that:

> The dismall Effects of the Hurecan & Tempest of Wind, raine & lightning thro all the nation, especial London, many houses demolished, many people killed...the damage to my owne dwelling, & Tennants farmes & Outhouses, is most Tragicall: not to be paralleled with any thing hapning in our age <or> in any history almost, I am not able to describe, but submitt to the Almight<y> pleasure of God, with acknowledgement of his Justice for our National sinns, & my owne, who yet have not suffered as I deserve to: Every moment like Jobs

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> Messengers, bring<s> the sad Tidings of this universal Judgement. (The Diary of John Evelyn 1102)

Evelyn was not alone in deeming the storm a sign of God's displeasure with the nation: the people regarded it as a humbling, Providential warning, although the specific reasons for God's wrath were open to debate. Contemporary writers of accounts were quick to submit to God's will and offer thanks that the winds were used only to warn the nation: after all, England had not been wholly destroyed. The storm became the inevitable topic of the day and influenced the sermons, plays, commerce, and government policy of England.

Far worse and of greater international consequence than the extraordinary destruction on land, were the tragic losses at sea. The losses to the Royal Navy were especially crucial at this time, since Queen Anne had committed England to the War of the Spanish Succession. At stake was nothing less than the safety and autonomy of England's Protestant throne. Recently, England had asserted herself as an indomitable sea-power at Vigo Bay and on the Mediterranean under the military leadership of Marlborough and the naval superintendance of admirals Shovell, Leake, Rooke, and Byng. Yet when the great storm bombarded the shores of England, "English naval supremacy was nearly broken and the war lost..." (Trevelyan 308).

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At the onset of the storm, the Channel was packed with thousands of merchant vessels and a number of English war ships. Having just returned from the Mediteranean, the battleships of Shovell and Leake were in the Downs and by the Gunfleet where they were particularly vulnerable to shipwreck on shore. Another squadron was off the coast of Holland waiting to take Charles III back to his kingdom of Spain (Trevelyan 308). The hurricane had the unfortunate consequence of speeding to port those ships that had been at sea, and reversing the path of those that were attempting to escape destruction on shore. Defoe remarked that:

> these two circumstances had fill'd our Ports with unusual Fleets of Ships, either just come home or outward-bound, and consequently the Loss among them was very terrible; and the Havock it made among them, tho' it was not so much as every body expected, was such as no Age or Circumstance can ever parallel, and we hope will never feel again. (The Storm 63)

Damaged ships without masts or moorings were scattered and swept out to sea, and many were never to return.

For weeks afterwards people at home and abroad anxiously awaited news of the royal battle ships and other vessels. At Louis XIV's court it was believed that the English had lost their fleet (Trevelyan 308). English

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newspapers show that people agonized over the fate of Shovell's squadron, and it was not until December 5th that they were found to be safe (The London Gazette No. 3973 Dec.6-9, 1703; The Daily Courant No. 411 Monday Dec. 6, 1703). In the navy, approximately 13 warships and 1519 seamen perished (Medulla Historiae Anglicae 454; Boyer 168). The total number of seamen lost was staggering: no less than 8000 men drowned, including those on ships off the coast of Holland, and those blown out to sea and never heard of again (The Storm 156; The Amazing Tempest... ms.1).

In the face of this naval disaster, the Commons resolved to present the Queen with an address on 2 December 1703 requesting that she should make plans for building new ships of war to replace those lost; consider how to promote trade and man the navy; and provide pensions for the families of the lost seamen (Luttrell 365). The nation quickly set about rebuilding its cherished navy, and on December 17th the Queen proclaimed to Parliament:

> That the Widows and families of such Commission and other Officers and Seamen as have perish'd by reason of the late Storm, in Her Majesty's service at sea, be Entituled to her Majesty's Bounty in the same manner as if they had been actually kill'd in fight. (The London Gazette No.3978 Dec.23-27)

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The decision to remunerate the bereaved naval families was not typical of the period, and contemporaries were quite proud of this magnanimous gesture (Trevelyan 309).

Newspapers continued to print accounts of the hurricane's after-effects from December to January. The storm's impact on the nation's resources and psyche was such that on 12 December 1703, Queen Anne announced that there would be an official fasting day among the general public in its remembrance:

> A Calamity of this Sort so Dreadful and Astonishing, that the like hath not been Seen or Felt, in the Memory of any Person Living in this Our Kingdom, and which loudly calls for the Deepest and most Solemn Humiliation of Us and Our People: Therefore out of a Deep and Pious Sense of what We and all Our People have Suffered by the said Dreadful Winds and Storms (Which We most Humbly acknowlege to be a Token of the Divine Displeasure, and that it was the Infinite Mercy of God that We and Our People were not thereby wholly Destroyed) and Putting Our Trust in Almighty God, that upon Our Humiliation and Repentence, He will be Gracious to Us and Our Kingdoms, and will yet Vouchsafe a Special Blessing to Us and Our People in the Just War wherein We are engaged: We have Resolved and (by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council)

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> do hereby Command, That a General and Publick Fast be Observed throughout this kingdom...on... the Nineteenth Day of January next.
> (The London Gazette No. 3975, Dec. 13 to Dec. 16)

Macaulay would later remark, "No other tempest was ever in this country the occasion of a parliamentary address or of a public fast" (Essay on Addison 261).

Contemporary accounts agree that on the day of the appointed fast the public was unusually observant and pious. Narcissus Luttrell noted that "...the fast was strictly observed here; the Archbishop of York preached before the Queen; the bishop of Oxon before the lords; Dr. Gastrill before the commons; and Dr. Blackhal before the lord mayor" (Brief Relation of State Affairs 382). While John Evelyn found "the Churches so crowded as few could get into them" (1104), and John Oldmixon concluded that the general fast "was observ'd throughout England...with more signs of Devotion and Sincerity than I ever saw anything of that kind, the Terror the Tempest left on the Peoples minds, contributing much to their affectionate Discharge of that religious Duty" (320). Clearly, the horrors of the tempest were deeply imprinted in the public's mind. As late as the 1730s, a Mr. Taylor posthumously provided the endowment for yearly sermons that would commemorate the anniversary of the great storm at a chapel on Little Wilde-Street (Daniel

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Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 154).

Commentators on the storm were divided into two groups. There were those who found the hurricane and its aftermath fascinating in itself and were intent on reporting it objectively or analyzing it scientifically, and those who invested it with profound moral, religious, and political consequence. Defoe and the authors of calamity pamphlets held in common the wish to render an objective assessment of the disaster, while members of the Royal Society assiduously collected evidence of the storm's path and searched for its causes.

Clerics and moralists, on the other hand, published numerous sermons interpreting the storm as a warning from God that called for personal repentance and national reform. While they believed that God's judgment was universal and held the entire nation to account, they differed regarding the particular source of the evil infecting society. A survey of the sermons shows that the cause could lie

> as Jeremy Collier argued, in the profaneness of the people evident most clearly in the playhouses. Or, as Bradbury emphasized, it might be the failure of the nation to cleanse one phase of its wrongdoing; he pointed to the dreadful spectacle of the Navy: "Our Fleet is the

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> very Picture of Hell; They scarce breathe any thing but Blasphemy against God...." Or the causes might lie in the long cycle of English history. John Hoadley...pointed to the execution of Charles I, the Great Fire of London, the Great Plague, and the exile of James II as examples of the sequence of punishments God had brought upon England. (Avery 47)

For all the finger pointing, it was Jeremy Collier's condemnation of the playhouses that became most popular among reformers. A week after the storm, there were two London productions that coincidentally mentioned the destructiveness of tempests. The Drury Lane presented Macbeth on Saturday, November 27, only twelve hours after the hurricane winds momentarily subsided. Collier, in his Dissuasive from the Playhouse, attacked the audience's unseasonable mirth at a line in Act II, scene iii of Macbeth in which Lenox speaks of stormy weather blowing down their chimneys. He viewed their laughter as impious disregard for the recent evidence of God's anger (Avery 48). A production of The Tempest at Lincoln's Inn Fields on December 1, only hours after a resurgence of the winds, had even greater bearing on current events and further incited moralists. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge recommended the drawing up of a formal document listing

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reasons for the suspension of all plays. It would be sent to several eminent ecclesiastics who would then present it to the Queen (Avery 48-49). The Society also resolved to circulate anti-playhouse pamphlets in front of churches on the day of the general fast. These efforts, however, had no effect at all on the actors or the choice of plays already scheduled to run, such as the three further performances of Macbeth and a production of King Lear, which presumably would also have provoked the reformers. Not long after this episode, Queen Anne reiterated an earlier command to playhouses to refrain from performing immoral or profane plays, but none of the actors suffered any penalty (Avery 49).

In terms of its impact on the literature of the day, the great storm occasioned at least three doggerel poems that are still extant: "A Poem on the Late Violent Storm of the 26th of November 1703" by S.W. Gentleman; A Poem upon the Late Storm and Hurricane. With an Hymn. Dedicated to the Queen by John Crabb; and "A Pastoral, Occasion'd by the Late Violent Storm" which Defoe included in his work (The Storm 42-45). However, Joseph Addison would make the most famous allusion to the storm of 1703 in The Campaign (1705), his poem commemorating Marlborough's victory at the Battle of Blenheim. Addison compared Marlborough to an Angel guiding a whirlwind "Such as of late o'er pale Britannia pass'd", and John Timbs has explained that it was this reference to the great storm that accounted for "The extraordinary effect

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which the simile produced when it first appeared, and which to the following generation seemed inexplicable" (159).

Given the vehement public and official response to the storm, it is not surprising that Defoe, a Dissenter with a strong interest in history and a writer with a shrewd sense for what sells, would set himself the task of recording the historical event and explaining it for posterity. He must have hit upon the idea for The Storm quite soon after the fact, since his anonymous requests for accurate reports of the calamity appeared in The London Gazette No. 3971 Nov.29 to Dec. 2, 1703 and The Daily Courant No. 409, Dec. 3 and No. 411, Dec. 6, 1703.

Defoe's commentary and use of statistics in The Storm appear to be reliable in so far as they match the official records of the time. (However, some of the letters he includes may have been tampered with for the sake of readability and timely publication.) It seems that while Defoe wished to preserve the event itself in fastidious detail, he also wanted to present its undiluted horror. This would enable people to interpret it as a sign from God. Defoe's role as historian, therefore, becomes doubly crucial, having serious secular and religious ramifications.

Among the histories of the great storm, both contemporary and modern, Defoe's book is the only one to convey the depth of the people's emotional response to such an inconceivable, large-scale tragedy. More than a mere

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repository of facts about a singular moment in England's natural history, The Storm shows how the survivors submitted to and coped with their fate. It is only from Defoe's first-person narrative that we learn the concrete, human dimension of the nation's plight. Other historical accounts merely give the facts and let the figures speak for themselves.

The day after the worst of the storm, Defoe informs us that

> [At] about Eight a Clock in the Morning...[the wind] ceased so much, that our Fears were also abated, and people began to peep out of Doors; but 'tis impossible to express the Concern that appear'd in every Place: the Distraction and Fury of the Night was visible in the Faces of the People, and every Body's first Work was to visit and enquire after Friends and Relations. (38)

It is in passages like this that Defoe is able to touch readers and make them identify with what they are reading. As narrator and fellow sufferer, he attends equally to the scene's realistic detail and emotional content, and it is this dual facility, which Defoe develops in The Storm, that will later characterize his novels.

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## The Storm in Relation to Contemporary Calamity Pamphlets and Providence Guides

As a literary work, The Storm incorporates elements of the calamity pamphlet and the providence guide. It also, however, differs from them in such ways as to create an independent genre that is not easily categorized. Modern scholars have not been in agreement about what particular genre the work falls into. Ulrich Suerbaum places it within the context of the calamity pamphlet tradition, while J. Paul Hunter and Rodney M. Baine set it firmly within the tradition of the providence guide. Literary critics such as Paula Backscheider, John Richetti, and Laura Curtis consider it an early example of Defoe's journalism, whereas the historian G.M. Trevelyan and the Defoe scholar John Robert Moore accept it as a work of history. Yet most agree that it fits into aspects of the calamity book and providence guide. An overview of some contemporary calamity books and providence guides with which Defoe would have been familiar will help to show how The Storm both resembles and expands on the two forms.

Since the early 1600s in England, it had become customary to publish memorial booklets on natural disasters, particularly storms. The destructive tempests of 1611 and 1612, for example, occasioned the publication of at least

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three memorial booklets: The Windie Yeare... (London, 1612), The Wonders of this Windie Winter... (London, 1612), and The Last Terrible Tempestious Windes (London, 1613).

In Defoe's lifetime, calamities remained eminently newsworthy. The great storm of 27 November 1703 produced at least five calamity pamphlets and broadside notices which survive today. Their sensational titles are worth noting here because they indicate how the authors intended to treat their subject: The Amazing Tempest: being a surprizing account of the great damage done...by the late and astounding tempest (1703) 2pp.; An Exact Relation of the late dreadful Tempest...Faithfully Collected by an ingenious hand (1704), 24pp.; A Wonderful History of all the Storms, Hurricanes, and Earthquakes...for above 500 years past...With a particular and large account of the dreadful storm...of November 1703 (1704), 82 pp.; England's Second Warning: being a further and more particular account of...the late amazing storm and tempest (1705), 2pp.; The Terrible Stormy Wind and Tempest, November 27th, 1703: Consider'd, improv'd, and collected...(1705), 78pp. The complete title of Defoe's text certainly echoes this tradition: The Storm: or, a Collection of the most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters which Happen'd in the Late Dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land (London, 1704). The exclamatory adjectives such as "amazing", "wonderful", "remarkable", and "dreadful" which appear in these titles

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are intended to grab the reader's attention with the promise of recounting extraordinary novelties.

The similarity of the titles, however, belies the profound differences between Defoe's book and the typical calamity pamphlet. First, the average calamity pamphlet is between 2 and 82 pages, whereas The Storm is nearly 300 pages long. Further, these memorial texts follow a standard format. The introduction acknowledges that the present storm is an indication of God's judgment, and then compares the event with earlier examples to establish that it is by far the worst and the most wide-ranging. The rest of the work provides a long list cataloging the storm's wreckage in pages of brief, anecdotal paragraphs about fatalities, narrow escapes from death, and property damage in London and the surrounding countryside. England's losses at sea are noted last. The conclusion reiterates the claim of the introduction: that the storm is a reflection of God's general displeasure with the nation and that it is only by God's mercy that the losses, although dire, were not worse. In his discussion of The Storm, Ulrich Suerbaum has noted that calamity booklets give "no indication as to what is hearsay and what is attested fact" (267). Their anonymous authors report information without commenting on, let alone naming, their sources. The emphasis is on accumulating numerous reports about local misfortunes and deliverances. Unlike these calamity pamphlets, The Storm is an in-depth

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account which, in its Preface, also reflects on the epistemology of its undertaking and the truthfulness of its reports. Defoe makes a point of establishing the reliability of his testimonials. He repeatedly asserts the sound character and dependability of his various eye-witnesses (most of whom were clergymen), and he almost always includes the names of the correspondents and their localities.

With their focus on local damage in London and the surrounding countryside, the calamity booklets fail to convey the magnitude of the storm as a national disaster. In response to this deficiency, Defoe tried to produce a more comprehensive account of this historic event. He absorbed the basic elements of the calamity pamphlet, but he also went beyond it by providing both a broader vision and an analytical methodology.

Defoe had been quick to place advertisements in the The London Gazette (No. 3973, December 6-9, 1703) and The Daily Courant (No.403, December 2, 1703; No.404, Dec. 3, 1703; No. 411, Dec. 6, 1703) requesting information about the storm for publication in a memorial book. He received a few responses in early December, but most arrived in January and continued to trickle in through February. The last letters are dated late May. Of the 71 letters ultimately included, only 14 state that they are responses to the Gazette advertisement, and 13 indicate that they are in reply to the

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editor's request for information. Replies to the newspaper notices were slow in coming, so Defoe had also to solicit reports both from friends and from clergymen whom he did not know. Because he depended on these reports for his narrative, he had to delay the publication of his book. Twice Defoe remarks on his publisher's impatience to bring the book to press (The Storm 71, 272).

One critic has noted that the complete title of at least one calamity booklet closely imitates the wording of Defoe's Gazette advertisement in what may have been an effort to pass itself off as that long-promised work (Suerbaum 267). The title reads, An Exact Relation Of the Late Dreadful TEMPEST; OR, A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT Of the Most Remarkable Disasters which hapned [sic.] on that occasion: The Places where, and Persons Names who suffered by the same in City and Countrey; The Number of Ships, Men, and Guns, that were lost, the miraculous Escapes of several Persons from the Dangers of that Calamity both by Sea and Land. Faithfully collected by an Ingenious Hand, to preserve the Memory of so Terrible a Judgement. Due to the obstacles to a more timely publication, and what seems to have been an attempted usurpation of the work, Defoe had to be resourceful and create a narrative framework that would make his material stand apart from those accounts that had already flooded the market.

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Of the literature on the great storm, Defoe's book is by far the greatest in scope, the most elaborately prepared, the most thoroughly researched, and, at 3 shillings 6 d., the most expensive. The book's narrative method is also more complex and developed than that of the typical calamity booklet. Instead of merely stringing together the by then all-too-familiar catalogs of property losses, fatalities, and miraculous deliverances, Defoe allows his correspondents, who came from different social classes and different localities throughout the south of England and Wales, to tell their own stories in their own words. Using the epistolary mode for this purpose, he successfully preserves the immediate and unmediated human response to the calamity in a way that no previous record had. But perhaps one of Defoe's most important innovations in The Storm is the active editorial presence of a narrative persona whose commentary throughout the text unifies the diverse chapters and supporting material. Defoe, styling himself as the "Age's Humble Servant", becomes the conscience both of the text, and, by extension, the historical moment. The narrator, in addition, had personally experienced the height of the storm and witnessed its effects. Thus, his equable tone and narrative omnipresence inspire the reader's trust. When he does occasionally comment on other people's observations, weigh the evidence, and offer his own view, he still leaves it to the reader to make the final judgment.

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This measured skepticism and willingness to have readers decide for themselves the relative plausibility of different cases is a feature unique to The Storm.

While calamity pamphlets were no more nor less than timely news reports, The Storm was meant to transcend the present moment:

> conveying hereby to the Ages to come the Memory of the dreadfulest and most universal Judgment that ever Almighty Power thought fit to bring upon this Part of the World. (A8r)

As this comment suggests, Defoe also read the storm as providential though his approach sets his work apart from the typical providence guide.

The providence book tradition reached the height of its popularity during the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth (Hunter, Pilgrim 65). It was during this time that science's increasingly mechanistic conception of a self-sustaining universe moved Churchmen to attempt to prove by argument and by example that God was still the first cause and that He was present in all of creation. Anglicans and Dissenters agreed that God's hand could always be discerned at work in nature, although their interpretations of His providence differed. Nevertheless, in the fight against atheism they

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labored to convince the layman of providence by revealing the workings of God's will in human affairs. Instead of employing theological or philosophical arguments, they pointed to extraordinary natural occurrences which, they felt, could only have been caused by divine intervention.

The moral of the providence guide was expected to be obvious, and consequently the authors concentrated on rendering their accounts of unusual occurrences and remarkable deliverances in clear and precise detail, the better to let the significance of the events speak for themselves (Hunter, Pilgrim 61). It follows that, "The more unusual the circumstances of the event, the more effective the illustration of God's power; the more numerous the occurrences, the more apparent God's concern or control" (Hunter, Pilgrim 57). Not surprisingly, plagues and storms were the customary scenes of providential deliverance or punishment.

Defoe was certainly familiar with the providential genre. He includes an excerpt from Mirabilis Annus, or the Year of Prodigies and Wonders (London, 1661), a Dissenter's providence book, in The Storm (50-59). He is also listed as a contributor in William Turner's A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences (London, 1697). Turner's extensive anthology, based on Matthew Poole's mid-seventeenth century manuscript to which he added contemporary material, gathered exempla of specific,

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extraordinary instances of God's direct intervention in human affairs. It also included quotations from the published works of recognized authorities. Paula Backscheider has noted these similarities between Defoe and Turner's books, and has found that the wording of Defoe's advertisement in the London Gazette was similar to the one that the publisher John Dunton had used for Turner's book (Daniel Defoe: His Life, 142-143). However, she does not remark that while Turner requests "DIVINES to impart...any such Remarkable Providences as they have recorded...either in mercy or judgment"(142), Defoe seeks to "preserve the Remembrance of the Late dreadful Tempest" through accounts from "all Gentleman of the Clergy or others, who have made any Observations of this Calamity, that they would transmit as distinct an Account as possible, of what they have observed" (The London Gazette No. 3973, Dec.6-9, 1703). The difference in intention is considerable: Turner is concerned with producing a "useful" religious guide, whereas Defoe is compiling a historical record that accepts the storm as an act of providence but does not recommend specific interpretations of its message. The farthest that Defoe will go is to say that the tempest is proof that there is a God and that therefore atheism is "one of the most Irrational Principles in the World" (The Storm A6r).

Turner's exclusive focus on otherworldly concerns is in marked contrast to The Storm. The title of Part I of

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Turner's book effectively illustrates his objective: "Containing The History of Divine Providences, to which is Prefixt... the Author's Meditations On The Being of a God, The Works of Creation and Providence, The Existence of a Separate Soul, The Ministry of Angels, and The Future State, & c." In Part II "Containing the Wonders of NATURE", Turner devotes one three-page chapter to "Strange Winds and Hurricane's" which will be useful to contrast with Defoe's working method. He paraphrases a passage in the Bible about the wind and asserts that its power and invisibility make it one of the wonders of nature (Part II, 69). He briefly considers the propulsion of atoms that causes the wind, and relates the etymology of the word "Hurrica" which in the Carribean Islands means the devil (69-70). The core of the chapter, however, is a paragraph evoking a sublime vision of the hurricane as an apocalyptic force. It sets the ominous mood for the rest of the material, which consists of brief accounts of hurricanes in Japan, Greece, America, and England, taken from sources such as Ralph Bohun's The Origins and Properties of Wind, Increase Mather's Remarks on Providence, and The Doom Warning to Judgment.

Unlike the spiritual wonder that Turner wishes to awaken in his readers, the wonder of the The Storm is of an earthbound nature. As John Richetti has noted:

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> Defoe evokes another kind of wonder, provoked not so much by divine power as by the natural plenitude of a world of unprecedented quantities in which he is a nearly indefatigable enumerator.... (Daniel Defoe 120)

Defoe's gaze is directed towards the objects of this world, the better to illuminate them and the world of mystery and divine purpose (Richetti 120). This twofold aim is readily apparent both in The Storm and in his later works.

When Defoe cites passages from the providence guide Mirabilis Annus... (London, 1661), his purpose is to compare and contrast its chronicle of the 18 February 1661 storm in England with the present calamity (The Storm 47-59). Needless to say the former hurricane was not nearly so destructive or wide-ranging as the latter. Mirabilis Annus, like the aforementioned calamity pamphlets, devotes a paragraph to recreating the scene of the storm, and then launches into a list of damage to significant landmarks and injuries to people throughout London and its countryside. The author's sole proof of the truth of his reports rests with the blanket assertion: "we have received them from Persons of most unquestionable Credit in the several Parts of the Nation" (The Storm 50). Aside from this assurance, no further details are provided. Names and sources are kept anonymous, and the damage is recounted briefly. There is no

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narrative thread unifying the different scenes. The pamphlet interprets the storm as God's judgment against those who had been persecuting the Dissenters, and in fact this is the theme that seems to link all of the "Prodigies and Wonders" alluded to in the complete title. Defoe omits this assessment of the event and reprints only the facts that are relevant to his purpose: to show that the November 1703 storm was without precedent in England.

Early in The Storm Defoe himself explicitly gives a providential interpretation of the hurricane:

> ...I draw only this Conclusion, That the Winds are a Part of the Works of God by Nature, in which he has been pleased to communicate less of Demonstration to us than in other Cases; that the Particulars more directly lead us to Speculations, and refer us to Infinite Power more than the other Parts of Nature does.
>
> ...[The wind is] more frequently made use of as the Executioner of his Judgments in the World, and extraordinary Events are brought to pass by it. (11)

This view, however, was commonplace, and no book or pamphlet about the November 1703 storm failed to acknowledge the same. But by contrast with the authors of providence

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guides, significantly, Defoe does not regard the storm as a divine form of retribution for any particular religious or political policies. He states only that there can be no other but a providential explanation for the mysterious origins of the invisible winds (The Storm 8).

While Defoe's topic is compatible with the providence guide, in fact the book probably has a greater affinity with works of natural philosophy. By his method of approach to the subject, Defoe aligns himself with experimental science. He attempts to conduct a thorough investigation into the causes and properties of the fierce winds that swept across the south of England. When no natural causes are forthcoming, however, he has no alternative but to accept that the hurricane is of divine origin. In the process of his investigation, he distinguishes between the different tasks and objectives of the philosopher and the theologian in their search for causes, and he defends the validity and the importance of scientific analysis (The Storm 4-11). None of the providence books have any comparable passage, nor indeed would they have use for one.

At that time natural philosophers, like theologians, also considered God to be complicit in the natural universe. The Storm may be understood as fulfilling, paradoxically, two distinct strains of Deistic scientific thought that were then widely held. Defoe's collection of eyewitness data and his systematic, scientific inquiry into the origins of the

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hurricane appear to have their basis in what was known as the "argument from design", which has been defined as "the notion that the more one understood the physical universe, the better one would then comprehend the wondrous planner who had brought all this universe into being" (Rousseau 199). It is only after searching in vain for the natural causes of such fierce and long-lasting, hurricane winds that he concedes to "the argument from the limitations of reason" which maintains that "no matter how much man penetrated into the physical universe, his limited reason would never permit him to penetrate the deepest mysteries, not even with God's aid" (Rousseau 199). While these views are contradictory, as one critic has noted, they "ensured a common perception that God had aggressively invited men to try to unlock the secrets of the universe", and this seems to be The Storm's implicit message as well (Rousseau 199).

A glance at the typical literature about the storm shows that Defoe was, as Suerbaum has noted, "the only writer on the subject who did not make the religious aspects his dominant theme" (270). The method of procedure for his chronicle of the hurricane shows the influence of experimental science and Baconian thought, to which Defoe had been exposed as a teenager at Charles Morton's Dissenting Academy in Newington Green (Vickers 167-169). Bacon "had called for a re-apprehension of physical reality, and had advised that personal observation and personal

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experience should replace the received authority of men and books" (Vickers 167). Those who subscribed to Bacon's agenda produced histories of all aspects of nature as well as of the arts, crafts, trade, and commerce. These histories were systematic, synchronic accounts of a set of natural phenomena (Vickers 167). In his Parasceve, or Preparative towards a Natural and Experimental History attached to Novum Organum (1620), Bacon recommended 130 specific areas of study for histories, such as "of Showers, Ordinary, Stormy, and Prodigious..., of Hail, Snow, Frost, Hoar-frost, Fog, Dew, and the like." Charles Morton's science lectures, which Defoe had preserved for more than 25 years, were similarly titled and followed the same principles (Vickers 168). The Storm participates in this tradition: it is a systematic analysis of all aspects of a single, extraordinary natural occurrence. Significantly, Defoe reprints in his chronicle four letters to the Royal Society, which had been published in that institution's periodical The Philosophical Transactions. He relies on these correspondents' scientific observations about the tempest to assess the veracity and probability of other testimonials. Such concern for scientific method and accuracy is conspicuously absent in providence guides, even though it is with this genre that The Storm is frequently grouped.

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The chapter outline of The Storm follows a systematic plan. Chapter One conducts an inquiry into the natural causes of winds, which is followed by a historical and scientific assessment of the ancient Roman claim that the isle of Britain was more prone to storms than other parts of the world. Defoe refutes the findings of the ancient Roman writers and concludes that the deficiencies of early science and navigation led to their exaggerated fears of the storms and the difficulty of sailing in Britain (The Storm 13-23). The chapters which follow are about the storm in general, its extent, and its geographical origin in the West Indies as a hurricane which affected Florida perhaps four days later before making its way to England. (Modern climatologists Hubert Lamb and Knud Frydendahl agree that Defoe's assumption was correct (64)). Throughout the book, Defoe is focused on attaining verifiable truth, and it is to this end that he collects numerous eyewitness reports of the storm's effects in different localities. As the critic G.S. Rousseau has noted, "Collective witnessing was one of the fundamental principles of the Royal Society" (172), and it was a method that Defoe would employ in his other works: The Consolidator (1705), A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-6), and The Compleat English Gentleman (1729, published for the first time in 1890).

Defoe intended his book to be authoritative. It had to be if it was to claim public attention so many months after

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the calamity. He includes excerpts from previous reports of the storm and then comments on them, suggesting that his account, by contrast, is definitive. For reliable data about Royal naval ships damaged or lost at sea, he cites reports that had been published in The Annals of Queen Anne (1704). In a scientific discussion of the origin of the hurricane and the course that it followed, he uses information from Ralph Bohun's Origins of the Winds (1671). And, finally, he uses Edmund Gibson's English translation of William Camden's Britannia (1695) for his historical assessment of England's susceptibility to bad storms. No other work could compare with the breadth of The Storm's scope, the minuteness of its detail, or the thoroughness of its research.

Ultimately, then, how are we to categorize the work? It assimilates elements of the calamity pamphlet and, more distantly, the providence guide, but in each instance it goes far beyond these forms. It seems also to participate in the tradition of natural philosophy with its emphasis on collective eye-witness testimonials. Yet there is also the moderating presence of a self-conscious historian narrating and uniting all of the strands of his chronicle. Defoe calls his book a history, albeit one in which he exercises a selectivity over his material:

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> those Towns who only had their Houses until'd, their Barns and Hovels levell'd with the Ground, and the like will find very little notice taken of them in this Account; because if these were to be the subject of a History, I presume it must be equally voluminous with Fox, Grimston, Holinshead, or Stow. (70)

He places his book in illustrious company, and implies that although it is a comparatively slender volume, it is of equal merit with these authoritative histories. We could do worse than to think of The Storm as a pseudo history in which the narrator's conscious, shaping influence over his material may be seen as a proto-novelistic device.

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## Defoe's Three Works on the Great Storm

Defoe published three works on the great storm of 1703. Of these, The Storm is the longest, providing the most complete coverage of the havoc; in it, he has also produced the most imaginative, layered narrative framework for his research, commentary, and letters. Nonetheless, Defoe continued to find literary and political use of the subject and published both a political pamphlet and a poem relating the providential lessons to be learned from the storm. All three works are linked by Defoe's re-circulation of phrases, episodes, and ideas about the storm and its secular as well as religious implications. This tendency to think continuously about a subject and address it from different perspectives and to different audiences in separate works, is characteristic of Defoe's working method as seen also in the various accounts of the plague that he later published. J.R. Moore has noted that this signal characteristic plays an important role in the attribution of Defoe's anonymous works (See "Defoe's Workshop"). This chapter will first discuss each of the two texts on the storm in its own right and then explore the intertextuality among all three works.

Not long after Defoe began collecting information for The Storm, he wrote The Lay-Man's Sermon Upon the Late Storm; Held forth at an Honest Coffee-House-Conventicle. Not

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so much a jest as it is thought to be. (24pp.), which was published on 24 February 1704. It is an anonymous political pamphlet written as a secular sermon that decries the age's tendency to political and religious zealotry. Against the ominous background of the storm, and with the guidance of his own Biblical exegesis, Defoe produces a cogent work of political propaganda. His impassioned sermon is often eloquent and rhetorically charged.

Defoe avows that his "sermon" is written by a layman and is devoted exclusively to application (Lay-Man's Sermon, 2): that is, reading the storm in the context of Biblical typology; discerning the causes for God's wrath; and, most importantly, prescribing the secular changes needed to restore harmony. Defoe begins his pamphlet in the same way that a Dissenting minister would conduct Biblical exegesis. He quotes a passage from the Bible which he then interprets and links to contemporary problems for which the storm was a punishment, but he states that most of the sermon will be devoted to civil and political affairs (Lay-Man's Sermon, 5).

The sermon begins with a quotation from the book of Nahum: "The Lord has his way in the Whirle-Wind and in the Storm, and the Clouds are the dust of his Feet" (Lay-Man's Sermon 1). The same passage will later appear in the title page of The Storm, and a rephrasing of it will occur in "The Storm. An Essay" (418). Defoe proceeds to explicate the

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passage:

> The Prophet does not seem to deliver these words, to the Ninevites, to convince them, or encline them to Consider their own Circumstances and repent, but he seems to speak, it to the Israelites inviteing them to Triumph and Insult over the Heathen adversary, by setting forth the Power of their God in the most exalted terms. (1)

He concludes that the words of Nahum are "eloquent flourishes upon the Omnipotence of God" (2) and he reminds readers that God intends meaning in all of his actions, but particularly in "storms" and "Whirl-winds." Defoe is also quick to add that "Providences are never Dumb, and if we can not discern the signals of his Anger, we must be very blind, The Voice of his Judgements is heard in the Voice of Nature" (4).

Having established that the storm was a sign of God's displeasure with England, Defoe turns to assess the grave problems with the nation's public affairs. He states that

> The design of this Discourse therefore, is to put the Nation in general upon proper Resolutions; if we pretend to believe that there is any such thing

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> as a Collateral Sympathy, a Communication of Circumstances, between a Nations Follies, and her Fate. Any harmony between Merit [a]nd Mischief, between the Crimes of Men and the Vengeance o[f] Heaven; we cannot but allow this Extra-Pulpit admonition t[o] be just. (4)

According to Defoe, "In publick Callamities, every Circumstance is a Sermon, and everything we see a Preacher" (5). As he sees it, unyielding fanaticism is "the general National crime we are all guilty of" (Lay-Man's Sermon 10), and the storm was God's punishment to a nation divided against itself (17). To reinforce this point he quotes loosely from Matthew 12:25 which states, "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand" (Lay-Man's Sermon 17). Defoe eloquently laments the unfortunate chain of events set into play by short-sighted zealots:

> 'Tis too unhappy for England, that Men of immoderate Principles are so powerfull as they are. Let the Party be which it will, 'tis Destruction even to themselves, to run up all their Niceties and all their Scruples to the Extremes. Every Dispute becomes a Feud, every Spark a Flame, every word a Blow, every Blow, a

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> Civil-War, and by this Intestine Confusion of Principles. Backt with the Passion and Fury of Men, this unhappy Nation Subdivided into an Infinite Number of Parties, Factions, Intrests and Seperate Opinions. (11)

In an ironic passage, Defoe lists 12 people and organizations who, in this incendiary time so given to extremes, could not be found guilty of the crime of "Moderation" (Lay-Man's Sermon 12). Number one on his list is Henry Sacheverell "with his Bloody Flag, and Banner of Defiance" (12). It was, after all, Sacheverell's sermon The Political Union: A Discourse Shewing the Dependance of Government on Religion in General: And of the English Monarchy on the Church of England in Particular that Defoe had exposed and parodied in The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters: Or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church (1702). As is well known, Defoe paid dearly for this exercise. He was pilloried and thrown into Newgate, from whence he had just been released when the 27 November storm occurred. In The Lay-Man's Sermon Defoe takes to task Sacheverell and other High Church extremists for instigating against the beleaguered Dissenters and denying them equality and political office (12,16,17). He holds them responsible for creating the rabid furor surrounding the Bill Against Occasional Conformity which was being put to vote for the

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third time in Parliament. If passed, the Bill would have barred Dissenters from government, since it forbade them to receive, merely as a token gesture of allegiance, the sacraments in the Anglican church which were a requirement for all those who held public office in England. Defoe, however, urges his readers to remember that although "The Grand dispute of this Quarrelsome Age, is against our Brethren who Dissent from the Church..."(22), this is not the pressing threat to national welfare. The true menace lies in France: it is the growing, "Conquering Popish Enemy" (22) that needs to be addressed. He also condemns what are in his view the most pernicious contributors to domestic strife: Jacobitism, Latitudinarianism, and the parties against the Act of Union with Scotland (8,12,16,17).

In his conclusion Defoe reiterates that the storm was God's sign "that there is something in the general practice of the Nation which does not please him" (23). He asks that his words be heeded lest the Lord inflict another hurricane on England. To make his case for a more temperate political climate at home, Defoe repeatedly points out that the storms below foretell the storms above. He plays on the public's memory of the storm's ravages and warns that lack of restraint in domestic issues will cause similar damage to the nation as a whole. Ultimately, it is moderation that Defoe advocates in religious and political affairs; only this will ensure that "Peace, Love, Charity and a General

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Union may succeed, and God may Bless us" (24).

Six months after The Lay-Man's Sermon appeared in print--and one month after the publication of The Storm--Defoe delivered the same political message in the satirical poem published in An Elegy on the Author of the True-Born-English-Man. With An Essay on the late Storm on 15 August 1704. Both the elegy and "The Storm. An Essay" were later included in A Second Volume of the Writings of The Author of The True-Born Englishman... (1705). Many of the essays in this anthology addressed timely political topics which would have had a wide appeal for the reading public, and were meant for popular consumption.

Defoe's 350-line narrative poem is composed of couplets. Its eighteen stanzas cover areas already well-traveled in his two previous publications and they are characteristic of Defoe in thought and expression. By turns, he condemns the nation's factionalism; praises King "William the glorious, great, and good, and kind"(414) for having kept the country on course despite party feuds; criticizes the people of Deal for recovering loot from ships wrecked at sea without saving the sailors (this episode is covered at length, and with greater detail, in The Storm (196-203)); challenges and denounces atheism; censures both the Jacobite plot to restore the pretender to the English throne and the attempts to disrupt the union of Scotland with England; and concludes with a refutation that this was

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"a high church storm,/ Sent out the nation to reform" (420). As ever, the plight of the Dissenters is foremost on his mind.

The poem's narrator professes to have been "in the limbus of the law" (413) when the storm struck; nevertheless, he heard its providential message plainly: "From every blast it echo'd thus, REFORM;...at every rent/ The falling timbers gave, they cry'd REPENT" (ll. 16, 21). An excerpt from the beginning of the poem conveys its general tone and thrust:

> ...heaven, that long had gentler methods try'd
> And saw those gentler methods all defy'd
> Had now resolv'd to be obey'd.
> The Queen, an emblem of the soft still voice,
> Had told the nation how to make their choice;
> Told them the only way to happiness
> Was by the blessed door of peace.
> But the unhappy genius of the land,
> Deaf to the blessing as to the command,
> Scorn the high caution, and contemn the news,
> And all the blessed thoughts of peace refuse.
> Since storms are then the nation's choice,
> Be storms their portion, said the heavenly voice:
> He said, and I could hear no more,

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So soon th' obedient troops began to roar:
  So soon the black'ning clouds drew near,
And fill'd with loudest storms the trembling air:
  I thought I felt the world's foundation shake,
And look'd when all the wond'rous frame would break.
(414)

James Sutherland has pointed to this passage on the storm's fury, and another on its First Cause, as possessing "near-Miltonic grandeur" but this is perhaps to overstate the case (Daniel Defoe 111). Most of the poem reverberates in this formidable, declamatory tone. However, it is not without moments of wry humor as, for example, when the narrator relates:

  They tell us Scotland 'scaped the blast;
No nation else have been without a taste:
  All Europe sure have felt the mighty shock,
'T has been a universal stroke.
  But heaven has other ways to plague the Scots,
As poverty and plots. (419)

Throughout the poem the narrator invokes Satire as his muse and inspiration, but the tone is not itself satirical. As Sutherland has noted, Defoe expresses himself with his "usual direct and unsparing vigor" (111). And when satire

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does arise it seems to come from the actions of the people and the events that unfolded. Satire is invoked to confirm that the storm was a sign of God's displeasure with the nation:

> Satire, thy sense of sovereign being declare,
> He made the mighty prince o' th' air,
> And devils recognize him by their fear. (418)

At one point in the satire Defoe even mocks his own recent, well-publicized misfortunes when he was in the "limbus" of the law because of his misconstrued ironic work The Shortest Way with Dissenters. Consequently, he claims that he no longer has the inclination for satire although one incident in particular warrants it:

> If I had any Satire left to write,
> Could I with suited spleen indite,
> My verse should blast that fatal town...
> The barbarous hated name of Deal shou'd die,
> Or be a term of infamy…. (416)

The people of Deal had become notorious for having plundered the wrecked ships in their harbor while ignoring the sailors' pleas for rescue (The Storm 196-203; see also Chambers 623-24).

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Later in the poem, Defoe portrays himself as the reluctant "vir bonus". He exposes the nation's sins only because the storm's message was so strong that he felt compelled to make it universally known and to guide people to the right path:

> The dangerous sound has rais'd me from my sleep,
> I can no longer silence keep;
> Here satire's thy deliverance,
> A plot in Scotland, hatch'd in France,
> And liberty the old pretence.
> Prelatic power with Popish join,
> The queen's just government to undermine;
> This enough to wake the dead,
> The call's too loud, it shall never be said
> The lazy Satire slept too long,
> When all the nation's danger claim'd his song.
> (419-420)

So it is that in every work on the storm Defoe sees and presents his role as that of "The Ages Humble Servant" (The Storm A8r).

Throughout the poem Defoe propounds objectives similar to those of The Lay-Man's Sermon; however, he now casts them in verse and shapes his arguments metaphorically. The poem exalts his subject and gives his political jabs a more

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literary and less propagandistic air. Defoe's final invocation of Satire also reads like a summary of The Lay-Man's Sermon:

Rise Satire from thy sleep of legal death,
And reassume satiric breath;
What though to seven years' sleep thou art confin'd,
Thou well may'st wake with such a wind.
Such blasts as these can seldom blow,
But they're both form'd above and heard below.
Then wake and warn us now the storm is past,
Lest heaven return with a severer blast.
Wake and inform mankind
Of storms that still remain behind.
If from this grave thou lift thy head,
They'll surely mind one risen from the dead.
Though Moses and the prophets can't prevail,
A speaking satire cannot fail.
Tell 'em while secret discontents appear,
There'll ne'er be peace and union here.
They that for trifles so contend,
Have something farther in their end;
But let those hasty people know,
The storms above reprove the storms below.
And 'tis often known;

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That storms below do storms above fore-run; (420)

All of Defoe's literature on the storm has some element of sermonizing. It seems that his early training to be a Dissenting minister was not without effect. In each of these works he points to the storm as evidence that there is a God and that atheism is both wrong and dangerous to the state of one's soul. In The Lay-Man's Sermon he notes, "'tis matter of wonder that any Man can be so senceless, as to suppose there is nothing extraordinary in so signal an Instance of a Supream Power" (7), while in "The Storm. An Essay" he asserts:

> ...storms and tempests are above our rules,
> Here our philosophers are fools.
> The Stagirite himself could never show,
> From whence, nor how they blow.
> 'Tis all sublime, 'tis all a mystery,
> They see no manner how, nor reason why;
> All Sovereign Power is our amazing theme,
> 'Tis all resolv'd to power supreme;
> From this first cause our tempest came,
> And let the Atheists 'spite of sense blaspheme,
> They can no room for banter find,
> Till they produce another father for the wind.
> (418)

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One passage in "The Storm. An Essay" (419) and several pages of The Storm's preface also put forth the argument that atheism is both foolish and spiritually bankrupt(A5v-A7r). The chapter of The Storm assessing the natural causes of the winds, in which Defoe cites no less an authority than letters from members of the Royal Academy, he notes that the winds elude our better understanding and in the end leave us to turn to God as their source (1-13). However, in The Storm Defoe's tendency to proselytize his contemporaries is channeled into occasional long digressions, whereas in his other two works he makes it quite clear throughout that he hopes to sway and moderate his readers' religious beliefs and political convictions.

Both the narrators of The Lay-Man's Sermon and The Storm explain their authorial intentions by comparing their work with a sermon. In the Lay-Man's Sermon Defoe justifies the title and the unusual method of his text, clarifies his authorial intentions, and, in a move characteristic of him, disavows responsibility for those who might willfully misinterpret or take offense at his words:

> And let not any man Object against this being call'd a Sermon, and its being introduc'd from a Text of Scripture while the remainder of this Discourse, seems wholly Civil and Political.

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If all our Measures in Civil affairs were deduc'd as Inferences from sacred Texts, I am of the Opinion the Text would be well improv'd, and Publick matters never the worse Guided.

And for this reason, 'tho the Subject be not Treated, with the Gravity of a Sermon, nor in so serious a manner, as would become a Pulpit, yet it may be not the less suitable to the occasion and for the manner, it must be placed to the Authors account.

Besides the Title I think has provided for the Method and If so he that expected it otherwise than it is tis his Fault, and not Mine.

The Term Sermon which is but Sermo, a Speech may Justify all the Novelty of my Method if those who find fault please to give themselves leave to allow it, and since it has never profain'd the Pulpit, I believe the Text will receive no Prejudice by it, I wish every Sermon equally Improv'd.

And what tho' your Humble Servant be no Man of the Text; if he be a Man of Honesty, he may have a hand in making you all Men of Application. (5)

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There are many parallels here with the preface of The Storm. Both narrators present themselves as the age's "Humble Servant", whose task is no less than interpreting the storm's providence correctly and pointing out to contemporaries its just applications (See The Storm A5v-A6r). Both works contain a comparison between their objectives and those of a sermon. In the Layman's Sermon Defoe rationalizes his political exhortation by presenting it as true to the etymology of "sermo", which he defines broadly as speech. In his hands, the genre is malleable and becomes conducive to his aims; if anyone has different expectations for his sermon, then it is he who is at fault and not Defoe.

By contrast, in The Storm Defoe is equally careful to declare his intention to write a work of history. He states that it is his duty "to set every thing in its own Light, and to convey matter of fact upon its legitimate Authority, and no other"(A3r), and he disavows responsibility for any "Mistake"(A3r) that may appear in these relations. He is acutely aware of his moral accountability as an author to tell the truth insofar as he can: which is, of course, quite different from telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. His opening paragraph establishes an analogy between the responsibility of a sermon--which he defines here as an oral medium--and a published book (1). The authors of both genres have an obligation to tell the

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truth; however, since a book has a greater audience and will survive to inform--or misinform--successive generations, its author has a "tenfold Obligation" to "be careful of his words" and let "nothing pass from him but with an especial Sanction of Truth" (The Storm A2r). In both works Defoe defines his text against the standard definition of and expectations for a sermon. He does not allow the expectations aroused by a specific genre to constrict him, and he has no compunction about establishing his own rules. So long as they are clearly defined, and he adheres to them, then as far as he is concerned, he has done his duty.

As we have seen, the great storm plays a different role in each of Defoe's works according to his aims. It is only the ostensible occasion for his political commentary in The Lay-Man's Sermon, but it is a threatening reminder which colors the whole of his discourse. The storm is also used to dramatic effect in his poem, which satirizes the political shenanigans of his day. However, when Defoe chronicles the hurricane itself, for all posterity, he writes matter-of-factly, and is loath to magnify any atmospheric aspects for fear of reducing his account to mere "romance" and fantasy (The Storm A5r). The Storm is narrated throughout in the modulated tones of cool reason. Defoe sets great store by the reliable working methods of science: everything asserted has been tested and verified; any observation or information found defective has been

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either dismissed or well qualified. While his other two works are polemical and meant to serve his Whiggish political aims, The Storm is intended to transcend its historical moment. It is to this end that Defoe's preface glorifies the author's task and legacy:

> a Book Printed is a Record, remaining in every Man's Possession, always ready to renew its Acquaintance with his Memory, and always ready to be produc'd as an Authority or Voucher to any Reports he makes out of it, and conveys its Contents for Ages to come, to the Eternity of mortal Time, when the Author is forgotten in his Grave. (A2r)

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## The Critical Reception of The Storm: Then and Now

When The Storm appeared in print, it was not followed by any reviews. This, however, was not unusual since literary reviews, in which professional critics regularly critiqued all new books, would not become a fixture of book publishing until the mid-eighteenth century (Rogers 13). The Storm is mentioned in a contemporary political pamphlet which unfairly discredits the book as a plagiarism. This accusation was not, however, taken up by other readers. Most of Defoe's contemporaries who had read the work seem to have considered it an accurate and truthful history, but were unaware that Defoe had written it. Some literary critics of the 19th and 20th centuries have been more cautious about regarding The Storm as a historical account. In more recent years, critics have focused their attention on tracing the development of Defoe's art from his earlier non-fictional works, and consequently The Storm has received more critical analysis than heretofore.

In 1704, Defoe was best known as the author of The True-Born Englishman and The Shortest Way with the Dissenters. Defoe's critics focused on these and other controversial writings and attacked him for being hypocritical and untrustworthy. Regarding his work as a reporter, "the average eighteenth century critic thought

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that Defoe was no more or less than an able but unscrupulous journalist" (Burch 181). Most of the contemporary criticism of Defoe appears to have been politically motivated personal attacks (Rogers 10). He is commonly disparaged as a bankrupt, a hose-factor, a tile producer, and a "Newgate Saint." In these sallies Defoe's prose style fares no better. Critics accuse him of wordiness and ineptitude at framing an argument (Rogers 10).

The only known contemporary mention of The Storm occurs in a pamphlet that is characteristic of the early critical attitude towards Defoe: The Republican Bullies, or a sham Battel Between Two of a Side, in a Dialogue between Mr. Review and the Observator, lately fall'n out about keeping the Queen's Peace: To which is likewise added a Letter from Chester, relating to the Election held there, for that County (1705). In this dialogue Mr. Review (Daniel Defoe) is referred to as Daniel Foe and identified as the author of The Storm. This would have been an intentional put-down of Defoe's pretension in assuming the surname "De Foe" because, as Paula Backscheider has noted, he had been using "De Foe" ever since 1695 (Daniel Defoe: His Life 102).

In this pamphlet, one lively, ribald exchange has Mr. Review unsuccessfully defend himself against a charge made by Mr. Observator (John Tutchin, publisher of the periodical The Observator) that he only pretends to know Latin, and has to rely on a Scottish secretary for the Latin phrases which

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he sprinkles throughout his writings. In turn, Mr. Observator also accuses him of passing off another man's writing for his own:

> [Mr. Review] But I hope you'll stay till I bring my Scotchman with me; for I understand Latin in his Company as well as your Worship, for all your haste.
>
> [Mr. Observator] You can Father it you mean, just as you did another Man's Philosophical Essay upon the Winds in your Elaborate Collection about the late Dreadful Storm, when you made bold with several Pages from the Learned Dr. Bohun, without saying so much to the Dr. for his Assistance as Kiss my A__se. But though your Scotch Amanuensis was here present, believe it, I have both Scraps of Latin, and Impudence enough to enter the lists with him at any Time. (Republican Bullies 2)

Here the designation "elaborate collection" sneers at Defoe's wordiness and his tendency to collect and record all of the minutiae concerning the storm's effects, a charge that is not without some truth. However, the claim that Defoe plagiarized Ralph Bohun's treatise A Discourse Concerning the Origine and Properties of Wind (1671) is

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without foundation. Defoe cites both the author and his work, and gives credit where it is due (The Storm 2-4; see also Payne Notes and Queries 46). At worst, Defoe may be accused of paraphrasing too freely, as he draws from passages in Bohun's book naming various scientists and the experiments that they performed to discover the causes of the wind. As a consequence, Defoe's analysis appears to represent a surprisingly wide-ranging knowledge of science, and Defoe's early biographers too hastily pointed to this first chapter, and the second, as proof of Defoe's erudition and knowledge of ancient sources. Ultimately, Republican Bullies is perhaps most notable for what it does not say. Aside from the wrongheaded personal attack on Defoe's alleged plagiarism of Bohun, The Storm is not otherwise impugned or questioned. It is accepted as a satisfactory historical record.

Although the author of Republican Bullies was aware of Defoe's authorship of The Storm, John Robert Moore has observed that in Defoe's lifetime "he was almost never suspected of having compiled the [book]" (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 154-155). For instance, the Anglican antiquary Ralph Thoresby of Yorkshire wrote two of the letters included in The Storm and, in his diary entry of 1 January 1711, mentions the work along with the book of Genesis as one of his devotional readings (Thoresby 72; Moore 154). Nonetheless, according to Moore, "it is not at

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all clear that...[he] was acquainted with Defoe, or even that he was aware of the authorship of 'The Storm'" (Notes and Queries 223). The important point, however, is that six years after its publication the book was still known to the Anglican clergy and used in their reading.

For their part, Dissenters went so far as to institute an annual remembrance of the great storm of 27 November 1703 at a chapel on Little Wilde-Street (Gifford 23-24). This was made possible by an endowment by the deceased Mr. William Taylor, a survivor of the storm and a member of the congregation (Gifford 23; Moore 154). The sermons for these occasions relied on The Storm for most of their anecdotes and illustrative examples (Moore 154). As late as 1733 Andrew Gifford delivered one such sermon, which was published the same year. Gifford's retelling of the storm's extraordinary effects was based on The Storm, which he acknowledges as a source (Gifford 16, 23-27). Thus although the book was never a favorite with the general public, it appears to have made a lasting impression on many religious and serious-minded readers (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 153).

Even serious readers, however, who seem to have accepted the work as true history, such as those who annotated the copies now found in the Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, and Rosenbach libraries, give no indication that they knew who the author was. Certainly Defoe had a

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vested interest in preserving his anonymity, since many of his correspondents were High Church clergy, some of whom had probably welcomed Defoe's proposal to rout Dissenters in The Shortest Way and subsequently celebrated his punishment at the pillory (Moore 154). Even in the nineteenth century there were literary scholars who were unaware of Defoe's authorship. In 1863 an entry in Notes and Queries requested more information about an anonymous book entitled The Storm (J.A.G. 168). This query began a sporadic correspondence, in which most of the signatories identified themselves only by their initials, that pieced together information about the work from February 1863 through April 1865. It was not until the third correspondent's letter that Defoe's authorship was ascertained, to be corroborated in a later letter by William Lee (X.A.X. Notes and Queries 319; W. Lee Notes and Queries 504).

Histories of the great storm from the eighteenth century to the present have drawn on Defoe's narrative for factual information. A modified version of The Storm appeared in the historical anthology The City Remembrancer: being Historical Narratives of the Great Plague at London, 1665...and Great Storm, 1703 (1769). In this edition, the altered chapter headings emphasize the account's scientific and factual aspects. Defoe, however, is never credited as the author of the material even though, as William Lee has noted, " A very considerable part of what is related of the

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Plague, and nearly all about the storm, is taken from Defoe's two works on those subjects" (Notes and Queries 504). Evidently the book's truthfulness was unquestioned. William Howell's history of the storm, published in 1719, also incorporates Defoe's text. Throughout the eighteenth century Defoe's book maintained its standing as a history. Later in the nineteenth century Defoe biographer William Lee could assert with confidence: "...though scores of other publications on the subject appeared, Defoe's book remains to this time as the one genuine and authentic history of the event" (vol. 1, 92). A century after this, in 1976, Laura Ann Curtis has concurred that:

> Strict fidelity to fact is what Defoe stresses in his preface to the Storm, and such fidelity he seems to have observed scrupulously in those of his works he considered formal histories, memoirs, and contemporary reports, like his 1709 History of the Union, his 1716 and 1717 Annals of King George, his 1718 Memoirs of...the Duke of Shrewsbury, and his 1724-6 Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. (The Versatile Defoe 283)

Despite these statements of confidence in Defoe as a historian, as we shall see, some literary critics have

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expressed doubts about the authenticity of some of the letters provided in Defoe's account.

The earliest critical discussions of The Storm appeared in Defoe's biographies. George Chalmers wrote the first serious biography of Defoe in 1786, and his comments on The Storm became the standard for the 19th century biographers Walter Wilson (1830) and William Lee (1869). Since Chalmers' remarks about Defoe's erudite opening to The Storm are so frequently alluded to and cited, it will be useful to present them here in full:

> In explaining the natural causes of winds, Defoe shews more science, and in delivering the opinions of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world, he displays more literature, than he has been generally supposed to possess. Our Author is moreover entitled to yet higher praise. He seized the awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion; the being of a God, the superintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell.... (Chalmers 22)

Subsequent biographers have agreed with Chalmers' appraisal of The Storm's first two chapters. Walter Wilson, for example, also sees in those chapters an indication of

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Defoe's reading habits:

> In his chapter, "Of the opinion of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world:" our author urges a variety of ingenious arguments to overthrow the notion.... Upon these subjects he displays considerable research, and brings forward a variety of particulars that are well deserving of the attention of the reader. Amidst his numerous engagements as a political writer, it is evident that our author found time to cultivate a taste for ancient literature; but he makes no affected display of his learning, and brings it forward as the occasion calls for with becoming modesty. (Wilson 270)

Wilson also cites Chalmers' "eulogium" of Defoe's learning (270-271). Yet despite these unresearched claims, what these chapters really show us is that Defoe was a shrewd reporter who knew which sources to turn to for comprehensive information on a given subject. In fact, the learning exhibited in chapter two "Of the Opinion of the Ancients, that this Island was more Subject to Storms than other Parts of the World" Defoe extracted from William Camden's Britannia in Edmund Gibson's English translation of 1695,

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from which Defoe garnered Latin and English versions of poems by Claudian, Horace, and Juvenal. While Defoe does credit Camden at the beginning of the chapter and says that the Latin poems he quotes are from his book, there are other historical references and Latin quotations later in the chapter that Defoe appropriates as his own without mentioning Camden. Although Chalmers, and those after him, assumed that Defoe had gleaned his learning from various sources in the course of his studies, it turns out that for chapter one he adapted Ralph Bohun's study of the natural causes of the winds to show the limits of modern science and the omnipotence of God's will, and for chapter two he used Camden's Britannia to make the case that the present storm was unprecedented in the nation's history. With ingenuity and skill he turned these sources of information into his own and used them to great advantage while putting forth his own arguments.

Wilson and Lee both believe that The Storm is a true history based on copious correspondence from clergy and other upstanding citizens. Wilson notes, "These [letters] are mostly presented in their documentary form, which while they give it the stamp of authenticity, prevented those excursions of genius that distinguish the other writings of the author" (271). Lee states even more strongly, "though scores of other publications on the same subject appeared, Defoe's book remains to this time as the one genuine and

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authentic history of the event" (Lee 92). The only problem that both Wilson and Lee point to is that although Defoe was believed to have been locked in Newgate during the time of the storm, he writes of it as an eye-witness. This was regarded as an early example of his "powers of invention" to create narrative realism in extraordinary circumstantial detail (Wilson 271). To their thinking, however, it did not imperil the truth or authenticity of the history.

It was not until the twentieth century that W.P. Trent, in his biography Defoe, How to Know Him (1916), established that according to newspapers and the Harley Papers Defoe was released from Newgate in late October or early November of 1703, and was not imprisoned from February of 1703 through August of 1704, as was previously thought. Defoe's personal references are not, therefore, "mere illustrations of his faculty of inventing convincing realistic details" (Trent 59). Trent thought that The Storm was a solid "journalistic account" (59), and most literary critics continue to regard it as such. Indeed, in her edition of The Storm Laura Ann Curtis only entertains the possibility that Defoe doctored some of The Storm's testimonials in a circumspect footnote (The Versatile Defoe 284).

One early twentieth-century critic, however, was not so sure that The Storm could be trusted as history. In an article on Robinson Crusoe Frank T. Bullen notes:

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> About twenty years ago I became acquainted with his account of the "Great Storm of 1704," a fair volume of nearly 300 pages, which was in the Meteorological Office Library. I read it with a great deal of curiosity, recognising on every page the amazing attention to small details so conspicuous in Robinson Crusoe, but I confess that, in spite of my admiration for that immortal yarn, I felt profound scepticism when reading what purported to be a record of historical fact by the same author, and I should have been exceedingly sorry to quote any of the statements therein made without full warning as to their source. (246)

Bullen's reservations about The Storm suggest the divided reception of the work. On the one-hand scientists and historians could find in the anonymous book a comprehensive, objective account of a freakish natural occurrence. Literary historians, however, cognizant of Defoe's uncanny ability to "lie like the truth" in narratives that blur the demarcation between fact and fiction, exercise far more caution in taking the book for what, as Bullen says, it "purports to be." It is noteworthy that Bullen came across a copy of the book in the Meteorological Office Library, where presumably it was considered an accurate charting of

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the storm's path. In fact, modern climatologists Hubert Lamb and Knud Frydenhal have used Defoe's book for this purpose. Based on the details that Defoe provided (letters from the Royal Society, and the twelve-point strength of wind scale (The Storm 21-22)), they have been able to reconstruct, with extraordinary accuracy, a meteorological chart of the storm's path (Historic Storms of the North Sea, British Isles and Northwest Europe (1991) 59-72). It seems that while Defoe's reputation as an ironist precedes him in literary circles to cast doubt on his reliability as a chronicler, scientists, perhaps unaware of the book's author and his literary reputation, have been better able to test the book's facts on their own merits.

Just because the book has been found to be factually correct, however, does not mean that all of the letters it contains are authentic. Robert Adams Day has noted that a few of them, though based on oral or written sources, were most likely invented by Defoe (Told in Letters 90). He also calls attention to the amount of space devoted to vehement protestations that all is true as due cause for suspicion that what we read is not what it seems (90).

What of The Storm as a literary work, however, apart from considerations of its truth or fictionality? Many readers have dismissed the book as an artless collage not up to Defoe's later standard, and therefore not worthy of literary consideration. Walter Wilson thought that The

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Storm's inclusion of eye-witness letters necessarily curtailed "those excursions of genius that distinguish the other writings of the author" (271). Wilson saw the work primarily as a useful gauge of Defoe's methods in future literary productions, "The circumstantiality of his details, and the excessive reality that accompanies them, will remind the reader of some of his later performances" (272). Today critics such as Paula Backscheider, Lennard Davis, and Laura Ann Curtis have focused on this area to assess to what degree Defoe's later fictions developed from his earlier work as a journalist. Consequently The Storm has become more central to Defoe studies.

Sir Walter Scott was the first writer to discuss The Storm, however briefly, for its literary importance in an article published in Miscellaneous Prose Works (1827) vol. 4. He considers the work in contrast with History of the Plague in London and Memoirs of a Cavalier, "account[s] of great national convulsions, whether by war or by the pestilence or the tempest" (Scott 167). The Storm does not fare well by the comparison:

> The Great Storm...was seized upon by De Foe as a subject for the exercise of his powers of description. But as it consists in a great measure of letters from the country, wretched pastoral poetry, (for De Foe was only a poet in

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> prose,) and similar buckram and binding used by bookmakers, it does not do the genius of the author the same credit as the works before named. (Scott 168-169)

A more detailed discussion of The Storm occurs in James Joyce's Italian lectures on Defoe. Here Joyce comments on Defoe's literary strategy in the book:

> His method is simplicity itself. The book opens with an inquiry into the causes of winds, then recapitulates the famous storms in human history, and finally the narrative, like a great snake, begins to crawl slowly through a tangle of letters and reports. These follow one another interminably....The modern reader does a good deal of groaning before he reaches the conclusion, but in the end the object of the chronicler has been achieved. By dint of repetitions, contradictions, details, figures, noises, the storm has come alive, the ruin is visible. (Joyce 15-16)

Significantly, Joyce terms The Storm one of Defoe's "life-stories" and groups it with Robinson Crusoe, Journal of the Plague Year, and Moll Flanders which he discusses later (15). All of these works, he asserts, "are literary

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documents in which the soul of the modern realistic novel is glimpsed like the soul that slumbers in an imperfect and amorphous organism" (Joyce 15).

More recently, Ulrich Suerbaum has analyzed the structure and the aims of The Storm the better to show how Defoe's novels are a natural development from the rhetorical strategies and thematic concerns of his early journalism. This view has become so widely accepted that even a general, undergraduate reader's guide to Robinson Crusoe discusses The Storm as Defoe's first full-length narrative to feature circumstantial and psychological realism within a providential context (Seidel 27-28). This critical approach, as we shall see, has made The Storm a much more prominent and central text in the development of Defoe's canon.

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# Chapter 2: The Role of *The Storm* in Defoe's Development as a Writer

*The Storm* is the first long, imaginatively conceived, historical work that Defoe published when circumstances forced him, at the age of forty-four, to earn a living solely by his pen. It is an important early book in the Defoe canon because it lays the groundwork for the development of his later novels. Within its inchoate form one can discern Defoe's initial steps towards the development of a narrative technique best suited to his thematic concerns.

During his imprisonment for *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702), Defoe's tileworks factory in Tilbury went to ruin. He had substantial debts to pay immediately, but the damage done to his reputation was such that, notwithstanding his heroic reception at the pillory, he was prevented from re-entering business. Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford and Tory speaker of the House of Commons, had been instrumental in procuring Defoe's release from Newgate, and yet he let many months pass before employing the financially hard-pressed Defoe as a government agent and political pamphleteer. Defoe's sentence to seven years of good conduct barred him from writing any more political polemics, and for their part booksellers would have been

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reluctant to publish such a work (Backscheider, Daniel Defoe: His Life 140). Defoe could not risk publishing another "seditious" tract on his own. Consequently, with no other means of livelihood open to him, he began his career as a journalist in earnest.

Of his literary production in 1704, Paula Backscheider calculates that Defoe, fueled by the need to support his family and show his gratitude and utility to the government,

> published more than 400,000 words, including pamphlets, poems, some occasional pieces, and an "instant book" on a natural disaster; he began two periodicals, an allegorical book, and a major philosophical poem. (Daniel Defoe 141)

The "instant book" referred to, The Storm, differs from the other works Defoe produced at the time in conception and intention. Defoe indicates in the book's preface that he took his new role as author seriously and had a rather exalted sense of his reading public and his legacy as a historian. He states that anyone who writes and publishes a book "is Talking to the whole World" and therefore has a responsibility to let "nothing pass from him but with an especial Sanction of Truth" (A2r). He continues:

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> a Book Printed is a Record, remaining in every man's possession, always ready to renew its Acquaintance with his Memory, and always ready to be produc'd as an authority or Voucher to any Reports he makes out of it, and conveys its Contents for Ages to come, to the Eternity of mortal Time, when the Author is forgotten in his Grave. (A2v)

This solemn appraisal of an author's responsibility shows that Defoe was consciously fashioning a new role for himself that would bring respect and even glory. By chronicling the great storm he was able to capitalize on a popular literary genre, and, at the same time, provide a form of public service by recording the workings of Providence for posterity.

John Robert Moore has remarked that Defoe's book was groundbreaking in that it, "for the first time in English literary history, attempted to give an elaborate factual account of a recent natural phenomenon--solely as recorded by reliable eyewitnesses" (Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 153). It also marks the first time that Defoe ever "attempted to organize a systematic plan of news-gathering from correspondents" (Moore 152). Yet beyond its journalistic merits, The Storm is a transitional work that has strong connections with Defoe's later novels.

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Within the context of its cultural moment, The Storm may be better understood as participating in what Lennard Davis has termed the "news/novels discourse" out of which, he postulates, the novel as we know it arose. He argues that in printed prose narratives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no distinctions were made between fact and fiction, news and novels:

> The word novel seems to have been used interchangeably with the word news --and both were applied freely to writings that were about true or fictional events, quotidian or supernatural occurrences, and incidents that may have been recent or several decades old. ("A Social History of Fact and Fiction" 126)

Novels, newsbooks, and newspapers were all a part of the same discourse.

According to Davis, if the seventeenth-century romance was "the aristocracy's re-creation of an idealized and distant past, then this new journalistic narrative seems to be linked to the middle-class's desire for a more recent and less idealised moment" ("A Social History of Fact and Fiction" 130). The news/novels discourse is defined by "its interest in recentness and immediacy, its transcription of reality, and its link with information dissemination--

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which is the aspect of this discourse that marks it as social and popular" (Davis 130). The Storm fits these criteria in much the same way as Robinson Crusoe and A Journal. However, in this earlier work Defoe declares himself expressly concerned with establishing and perpetuating the known facts about the event and defining his work in opposition to "meer Romance" ("Preface" A4r).

It has become a critical commonplace to remark that Defoe's novels introduced formal realism as an integral part of the developing genre. This element of his work first appears in The Storm, where Defoe describes, enumerates, and accounts for the hurricane's wreckage on land and at sea to create a vivid, photographic rendering of the devastation. If the details are often repetitious, that is the better to convey realistically the calamity's chaotic and multifarious consequences. To make the damage more concrete, Defoe also provides estimates of the considerable financial loss suffered by the state and the populace. In his novels, such as Robinson Crusoe (1719), Captain Singleton (1720), Moll Flanders (1722), Colonel Jack (1722), and Roxana (1724), Defoe would continue to make a point of reckoning the profits and losses which marked the dramatic vicissitudes of his main characters' lives. Similarly, the deluge of facts and seemingly needless repetition of incidents in The Storm, as with A True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal (1705) and A Journal of the Plague

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Year (1722), serve to authenticate the information related. Defoe's implicit message to the reader seems to be that these belabored redundancies could not possibly be fabricated-- what would be the point of manufacturing such tedious details? But this ostensible artlessness is, of course, disingenuous since it contributes to Defoe's narrative realism.

Additionally, as John Richetti has noted, The Storm's superabundance of circumstantial fact and detail points not only to their own significant reality but also to a world of mystery which may be "comprised of supernatural and inexplicable tokens of divine purpose...or full of events entirely natural but far beyond normal experience and expectations" (Daniel Defoe 120). Defoe makes clear that he interprets the storm as a providential sign, and even his scientific inquiry into its origins leads him to attribute its first cause to the mystery of its divine origin. He leaves it to the reader to speculate as to why England was visited by such a calamity at this time. By dwelling on the facts of the unprecedented disaster he impresses upon the reader a sense of awe about the event and its Cause. The Storm is Defoe's first book to reflect this "divided understanding of the world" which informs subsequent works such as A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs Veal, Robinson Crusoe, and A Journal of the Plague Year (Daniel Defoe 121).

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In many respects, Defoe's narrative enterprise in The Storm is similar to A Journal of the Plague Year, but the former is usually classified as non-fiction and the latter as fiction. Ulrich Suerbaum has argued that these categorizations are arbitrary, and that the books have more in common than not. He points out that:

> A comparison of the two works and their relationship to the real-life events which they chronicle shows little difference in the treatment of factual evidence. In both cases genuine historical documents are incorporated in the text, and the whole account is in keeping with the known facts. In both cases the historical panorama is shaped and presented by a persona who is a literary device--a fictional creation--, a person whose existence and whose experiences during the event and activities as an editor (selecting, rewriting, inventing) cannot be verified or checked. Both narrative accounts are beyond the categories of fiction or non-fiction. (Suerbaum 275: my emphasis)

To Suerbaum the difference between the two works is one of degree and not kind. He thinks that in The Storm Defoe was shaping a narrative that negotiated between fact and

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fiction, a genre which Suerbaum calls "editorial narration" or "mediated narrative" (275). Narratives of this type incorporate documentary materials (whether authentic or fabricated) to present the story. They also use the organizing presence of a trustworthy editor/narrator to present these extra documents, evaluate their worthiness, discuss their proper application, and guide the reader's own decision making about belief and use (Suerbaum 275). Ultimately, Suerbaum claims that The Storm's editorial persona was:

> the most original and -- in the long run -- most successful of Defoe's various attempts at finding a new role as writer after it had become clear that he would have to give up his old identity as The Author of the True-Born Englishman, a fearless satirist who was the spokesman of the common people. (265)

The narrative strategies that Defoe begins developing to unify and give shape to the different sources that comprise The Storm, he later refines to become essential features of his novels.

Suerbaum's schema is useful for showing the contiguity between Defoe's earlier historical work and his late fiction. However, by calling both works "mediated

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narratives", Suerbaum overlooks distinct differences between them. For example, the narrator of The Storm is a generalized persona whose primary characteristics are his objectivity, his belief in the working methods of science, his conviction that the storm was an act of providence, and his sense of the historian's proper duty to give credit to all of his sources. The narrator's comments and references to his own experience of the storm are framed to emphasize the soundness of his judgment. He is an empiricist, a healthy skeptic who questions the viability of those reports which may seem too incredible or far-fetched. Defoe relies on the narrator's persona to gain the reader's trust and to lead him through the assorted sources of information in his definitive history. In this way, the "Age[']s Humble Servant" is fashioned to act in a different capacity from the far more individuated character of H.F., through whose subjectivity the experience of another kind of calamity is related in A Journal.

Laura Ann Curtis has called A Journal of the Plague Year "the most impressive fiction that developed from the simple notion of truth expressed by the narrator of The Storm" (The Versatile Defoe 283). Although both works may be seen as "mediated narratives," they are not quite so alike as Suerbaum would have us think. In his record of a contemporary natural disaster Defoe stresses absolute fidelity to fact, but in a Journal he uses the

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protagonist/editor H.F. to register the complex moral repercussions and implications of providential tragedy in a fictional rendering that is, nonetheless, based on fact. The narrator of The Storm is used to organize and verify a steady onslaught of letters and facts. By contrast, in a Journal H.F. is a psychologically complex character who has no easy explanation for God's judgment or even his own course of action during the plague. In fact it is because he is searching for spiritual guidance that he begins to keep his journal, which is not only a record of how Londoners coped with calamity but of how one man tried to read and understand the times and follow the promptings of his conscience. This narrative development is what sets the two works apart and accounts for the impressiveness of the later historical fiction.

A large part of The Storm consists of letters from correspondents. This is the first time that Defoe relies on the epistolary form to such a marked degree. He would employ it again only rarely in such works as "A Continuation of Letters Written by a Turkish Spy at Paris" (1718), and his contemporary history A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724), in which a single narrator shares his observations of a thriving mercantile society in a series of 13 letters, each one covering regions he traveled on different circuits. The Storm includes no less than seventy-one letters from different correspondents to tell

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the story of the hurricane in each affected area of the nation. Whether real or made-up--as a few of them probably are--these letters would have been accepted by the readers of the time as authentic.

Writing about the tradition of epistolary fiction before Samuel Richardson, Robert Adams Day has remarked that:

> The "common reader," living in an age of (modified) belief, did not find his credulity overstrained by a series of letters which told a story and which purported to be authentic, especially when elaborate devices to stimulate his suspension of disbelief were provided. He could hardly tell it from a collection of authentic letters unless he happened to move in circles where the facts were known. (Told in Letters 87)

Certainly in The Storm those circles from which correspondents hailed were so far flung across the region of southern England and Wales that precise verification of authorship would have been difficult to obtain. Even the few instances in which letters were signed only with initials would not have aroused the reader's suspicions, but would rather lead him to speculate on whose name was being concealed (Told in Letters 87). Day concludes:

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> Such extensive use of the letter, authentic or fabricated, by the first acknowledged English expert in literary verisimilitude, can only indicate that [Defoe] considered it a sovereign device for his purposes. (Told in Letters 90)

Certainly, Defoe's reliance on the epistolary form does seem intended to make his history appear immediately credible. His use of the genre enables him to influence, transparently and effortlessly, the reader's belief in the truth of what he is being told by the correspondents and the narrator/editor. Defoe could have narrated the entire work and shaped its plot in the manner of traditional histories or of a historical fiction like a Journal, but he chose to have the people speak for themselves and in their own words. This also would have been an effective selling point for the book, setting it apart from the numerous accounts of the storm that had preceded it. For future literary productions, however, Defoe would look to other forms of verisimilitude. He would employ the mode of impersonation, having main characters tell their stories in their own words, rather than following the conventions of epistolary fiction. So that while The Storm contains the seeds for his later fiction, it is also something of an anomaly within the context of the development of his novels.

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Later in his writing career Defoe would continue to draw on The Storm for specific episodes in Robinson Crusoe and A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain. Defoe wrote so rapidly that it is not surprising that the same ideas, anecdotes, and stories recur in his writings. In his source study of Robinson Crusoe, Arthur Secord has noted that Defoe relied on his earlier work for scenes of tempest and shipwreck. A letter from on board the John and Mary, which recounts the ship's being twice blown back from Tynemouth up to Newcastle before reaching Cromer, on the north coast of Norfolk, and Yarmouth Roads, furnished the details for Crusoe's first storm at sea (Secord 80; The Storm 266-269). The correspondent of The Storm writes that at Yarmouth Roads there were "above Three Hundred Sail of Colliers,...a great fleet just come from Russia,...and about a hundred sail of Coasters, Hull-Men, and such small Craft" (267). The tempestuous wind blew from the South West, and in the midst of the storm shipmates reported seeing two ships founder together (267-268). The Russian ships and the Men of War ahead of them "fir'd their Guns for Help, but 'twas in vain to expect it; the Sea went too high for any Boat to live" (268). In preparation for the worst of the storm that night they "struck [their] Top-mast, and flung [their] Yards, made all tite and fast upon deck" (267). Eventually, however, they made their way safely to Scarborough (269).

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Crusoe's account of this storm at sea in the very beginning of the novel follows the sequence of events and the details of this letter rather closely (see Robinson Crusoe 7-13). Unlike the John and Mary, however, Crusoe's ship founders and he and the crew escape by boat to land at Yarmouth. Secord has observed that the chronology of Crusoe's first sea voyage and shipwreck parallels the events leading to the 1703 storm (82). Defoe records that terrible winds preceded the height of the storm for fourteen days (The Storm 62). Similarly, fourteen days elapse between Crusoe's departure from Hull and his unanticipated arrival and waiting time at Yarmouth. Furthermore, in a few of The Storm's letters, eyewitnesses describe the horror of watching other boats founder while they helplessly awaited their own uncertain fate. These depictions are echoed in Crusoe's vivid accounts of his own terrors at sea.

At the end of Crusoe's first shipwreck, when he lands on the shore of Yarmouth, we are told that he and the other seamen:

> were used with great Humanity as well by the Magistrates of the Town, who assign'd us good Quarters,...and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull, as we saw fit. (14)

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This passage has connections with the infamous episode at Deal which Defoe had related in The Storm as well as in newsbooks of the time. During the tempest, over 200 shipwrecked seamen found temporary respite on the shore of Goodwin Sands while the tide was out. Some boats came near them in search of booty, but none tried to save the sailors and the Custom House refused to supply boats or send men to rescue them. Mr. Thomas Powell, the Mayor of Deal, achieved some renown for his "Charity and Courage" in taking the initiative to save these men (The Storm 200). Out of his own pocket, he promised to pay 5s. for every man saved to those who would venture out to sea and rescue them. Beyond this, "at his own charge, he furnish'd them with Meat, Drink and Lodging" and gave the bereft men "money in their pockets and Passes to Graves-End" (The Storm 202,203). Defoe called Powell "an Example for all good Christians to imitate on the like Occasions" and devoted several pages to the account (The Storm 200). Fifteen years later he still thought its lessons were worth sharing in Robinson Crusoe.

Defoe also refers to the events of the great storm of 1703 at least a dozen times in A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain. For instance, he describes the structural damage sustained by Salisbury Cathedral and explains in detail how it was set right (Tour 194). He also retells the tragic story of Henry Winstanley, inventor and

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architect of the Eddystone lighthouse off of Plymouth. Winstanley was killed with five other men while attending to lighthouse repairs when the storm drove them and the building into the sea (Tour 223-224, The Storm 223). Most of the references to the storm, however, arise in connection with discussion of English and Welsh waterways and seaports. To assess the relative safety of the various harbors in seaport towns, Defoe regularly recalls how they fared during the great storm. In a description of the famous shipping harbor at Deal, known as the Downs, Defoe relates:

> The most unhappy account that can be given of any disaster in the Downs, is in the time of the terrible tempest, which we may call by way of distinction, the Great Storm, being on 27th of November 1703, unhappy in particular; for that there chanced just at that time to be a great part of the royal navy under Sir Cloudesly Shovel, just come into the Downs, in their way to Chatham to be laid up. There remained in the Downs about twelve sail when this terrible blast began, at which time England may be said to have received the greatest loss that ever happened to the royal navy at one time; either by weather, by enemies, or by any accident whatsoever.... (Tour 137; in The Storm see 65-66, 260-265)

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The annotator of the Penguin edition of the Tour wryly remarks of this passage that the great storm was "a topic of inexhaustible fascination for Defoe...[who] never ceased in later years to recall the event" (690). The truth of this evaluation is indisputable as the episodes from Robinson Crusoe and the Tour attest.

Today, of course, Defoe is renowned for his historical narratives. George Trevelyan has called him "the first prominent English writer to see national concerns with the eyes of a social historian" (Moore, "The Canon of Defoe's Writings" 157). The Storm is Defoe's first work to show his predilection and talent for seizing a topic of national interest and exploring its ramifications from the perspective of the people who were affected by it. In the process he also pioneers a new way of recording the workings of providence, and, being a prolific author who wrote at a fast and furious pace, he later found it expedient to draw on this work for both its narrative method and its scenes, phrases, and ideas. It seems inevitable that Defoe's first long, conceptually unified work of reportage would influence his later writings in form and content. The subject of The Storm fell into his hands and he fashioned it into an instant book. When one considers that in narratives such as Crusoe, Moll Flanders, and Memoirs of a Cavalier Defoe claimed to be the editor of manuscripts that had somehow found their way into his hands, The Storm can be seen as an

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archetype of his later method and works.

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# Chapter 3. Structure of The Storm

## Preface

The preface to The Storm contains one of Defoe's earliest discussions of an author's moral responsibility to the reader and to the material he is conveying. However, here, as in future prefaces to his novels, often what Defoe states and what he really means is unclear. There are a number of connections between Defoe's truth-claims and his narrative tactics for winning the reader's trust and establishing a reliable historical work. Ultimately, his purpose here is even more inconsistent, multifarious, and ambiguous than in later literary performances.

One point does seem certain, and that is that Defoe regards The Storm as a history. For this reason he is at pains

> to let the World know, that when I go about a Work in which I must tell a great many Stories, which may in their own nature seem incredible, and in which I must expect a great part of Mankind will question the Sincerity of the Relator; I did not do it without a particular sense on me of the

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> proper Duty of an Historian, and the abundant Duty laid on him to be very wary what he conveys to posterity. (A2v)

It is in the preface that Defoe involves the reader in his effort to establish the most reliable way of constructing a truthful historical record and securing the reader's belief in his "Sincerity" and trustworthiness. In particular he is preoccupied with the question of how best to record the known facts about the 1703 storm. This focus on methodology was characteristic of many 17th and 18th century historians "whose main concern was to ascertain the truth of each event by the best methods of research" (Momigliano 20). What is important in relation to Defoe, however, is that the strategies he employs in developing and defending his historical methodology feature in his later novels and their prefaces.

Defoe states that his history is grounded on "Truth" and "Matters of Fact," and he is careful to distinguish it from the suspect genres of "Fable" or "Romance". He is also at pains to distance his work from ancient histories in which "the Lives of some of our most famous men" and "the actions of whole Ages, [are] drowned in Fable" (A4r). Too frequently, he notes, these ancient historians "confounded History and Fable from the beginning of both" (A4v). By contrast, Defoe promises the reader:

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> I'll account for better Conduct in the ensuing History: and tho' some Things here related shall have equal Wonder due to them, Posterity shall not have equal Occasion to distrust the Verity of the Relation. (A5r)

A comparison between Defoe's historical propaedeutic and that of another contemporary history, Abel Boyer's The History of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals (Vol. I, 1703)--which devotes several pages to the great storm--shows that Defoe's objectives were similar to those of other historians of the period, but that his narrative method was different and innovative. Boyer published his multi-volume history anonymously, producing one volume a year recording the "most Memorable Transactions both at Home and Abroad" (t.p.) during Queen Anne's reign. For fear of reprisal from the powers that be, however, Boyer claims that he is not able to write a history that contains reflections about the character and motivations of those who make it. Nonetheless he promises that

> these ANNALS...will be the Foundation of a Good and Regular History: Since they have this Advantage, That they mention Matters of Fact, which being fresh in every Bodies Memory, and, as it were, still before our Eyes, might easily be

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> contradicted, if not faithfully related; and therefore must needs pass for more Authentic with Posterity, than the Accounts written many Years after…. (Preface 3)

Both Defoe and Boyer express their intent to record and preserve "Matters of Fact" as faithfully as possible. But by contrast, Defoe states in his preface that he will stay close to those very conditions that Boyer defines as requisite for a history. Defoe believes that his responsibility as a historian is "to set everything in its own Light, and to convey matter of fact upon its legitimate authority, and no other…"(A3v). Therefore it becomes the narrator/editor's most important task to "give the World the special Testimonial of its proper Voucher, or else he is not just to the Story: and where it comes without such sufficient Authority, he ought to say so; otherwise he is not just to himself" (A3v). In this sense, Defoe's history will be closer to the truth than others because it will record the known facts about the storm as reported by reliable eyewitnesses. It will be the narrator/editor's responsibility to assess the character of each correspondent and determine the dependability of his testimony.

Defoe states that he can be true to his correspondents and his readers only by presenting in unaltered form the letters written by eyewitnesses from different parts of the

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nation. He will not presume to change the writing of "Men of Letters, as well as Men of Principles," and has "not Arrogance enough to Attempt a Correction either of [their] Sense and Stile" (A7v). However, since some of the letters are from common country folk whose manner and writing skills are coarse and unpolished, he realizes that he must justify his rather unorthodox decision to let them write in their own words without editorial intervention:

> I thought to make some Apology for the Meanness of Stile, and the Method, which may be a little unusual, of Printing Letters from the Country in their own Stile.
>
> For the last I leave this short Reason with the Reader, the Desire I had to keep close to the Truth, and Hand my Relation with the True Authorities from whence I receiv'd it, together with some Justice to the Gentlemen concern'd, who, especially in cases of Deliverances, are willing to record the Testimonial of the Mercies they received, and to set their Hands to the Humble Acknowledgement. The Plainness and Honesty of the Story will plead for the Meanness of the Stile in many of the Letters, and the Reader cannot want Eyes to see what sort of People some of them come from. (A7r-A7v)

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This passage is striking for several reasons: first, Defoe indicates that he is most concerned with developing a new "method" for presenting historical narrative. He decides to include in his account letters from a class of people who may have been ignored in previous historical records. Moreover, he allows them to speak their truths in their own words. This is something so new and surprising that he feels the need to offer an apologia.

The idea of allowing truth to speak in its own voice, as it were, is a technique that Defoe will use in his novels for such rough-and-tumble characters as Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack, and Captain Singleton, all of whom ostensibly tell their life stories in their own words. However, in The Storm, an earlier historical work, Defoe puts forth the twofold argument that the "Plainness and Honesty" of the correspondents' stories justify their "Meanness of…Stile", and that furthermore it should be quite clear to the reader that these correspondents are less educated and hail from different backgrounds than themselves. What is perhaps most notable for the modern reader of Defoe, is that the sentiments here expressed could be straight from the preface of a much later novel such as Moll Flanders (1722). In that novel Defoe instructs the reader how to read and interpret in a responsible manner the life of a female criminal, and he blames the reader for any misinterpretation of the story that would cause one to savor the lewd, wicked parts more

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than the penitent ones:

> the best use is to be made even of the worst Story…. It is suggested that there cannot be the same Life, the same Brightness and Beauty in relating the penitent Part, as in the criminal Part…and indeed it is too true that the difference lies not in the real worth of the Subject so much as in the Gust and Palate of the Reader.
>
> But…this work is chiefly recommended to those who know how to read it, and how to make good Uses of it, which the Story all along recommends them. (3-4)

As early as The Storm Defoe had employed the tactic of urging the responsibilities of the readers and of blaming them for any misinterpretations of the author's intentions. Defoe appealed to his readers' common sense and expected them to understand these letters in their appropriate context.

Defoe argues that this new method for presenting historical narrative is more accurate and factual than those that have preceded it. In addition to this, he thinks that it will be more enjoyable to read than the traditional historical narrative, and he "doubt[s] not but Posterity

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will read [the book] with Pleasure" (A7v). Defoe always had an eye to a good story and shows this awareness in the Preface. It is Defoe's interest in the reader's "Pleasure" that opens the door to the possibility that a few of the letters in The Storm, although based on known facts, may have been written by him. So long as he adhered to the established facts, he would not be consciously misinforming the reader or creating a "Fabulous History" that had no basis in reality (A5r). If Defoe felt that a written testimonial was more enjoyable to read than a traditional narration of a story that he had heard, he perhaps would not have hesitated to write a letter impersonating a humble correspondent from the country. This likelihood is increased by the fact that responses to his London Gazette advertisement were slow in coming and that he also had to write to acquaintances in different parts of the country for news. This possibility raises the issue of truth and lying, which Defoe discusses at length in the preface.

Defoe begins with a discussion of what constitutes a lie in print, but, as we shall see, his position is not cut and dried but rather provisional and multifarious. In his opening statement he establishes the analogy that "Preaching of Sermons is Speaking to a few mankind: Printing of Books is Talking to the whole World" (A2r). Here he shows a keen awareness of his audience, and based on this he argues:

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> If a Sermon be ill grounded, if the Preacher imposes upon us, he trespasses on a few; but if a Book Printed obtrudes a Falshood, if a Man tells a Lye in Print, he abuses Mankind, and imposes upon the whole World, he causes our Children to tell Lyes after us, and their Children after them, to the End of the World. (The Storm, A2v)

From this passage we may infer that a book lies if it contains factually untrue statements which the unwitting reader accepts as true and relates to others. The untrue statements "abuse" readers only by causing them to believe in and report factually untrue statements. Since the printed word carries with it the sanction of authority, and since it is the printed record that in the end survives, its author carries a double responsibility to the truth (see Lehner 87-88).

Early in the preface, however, Defoe issues a blanket disclaimer excusing himself from any faults or untruths that might be in the work:

> Upon this score, tho' the Undertaking be very difficult among such an infinite variety of Circumstances, to keep exactly within the bounds

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> of Truth; yet I have this positive Assurance with me, that in all the subsequent Relation, if the least Mistake happen, it shall not be mine. (A3r-A3v, emphasis my own)

Defoe claims to have done everything in his power to ascertain the character of his correspondents and the dependability of their testimony, and therefore he refuses to take responsibility for any "Mistake" either reported by an eyewitness or printed in published accounts which he includes in his book. Who, then, is accountable for any mistakes in relation? Defoe seems to implicate everyone but himself. This passage is inconsistent with subsequent statements about the author's responsibility to tell the truth.

Defoe takes the position that the idea of intentionality, of intending to deceive a reader or convince him to believe something that he knows is not true, is not central to lying. As he defines it, a lie is a statement that has no basis in fact. Consequently, according to Defoe's view, even if the source of a falsehood lies elsewhere and an author mistakenly prints it as truth, the author is at fault for unknowingly relating an untruth:

> If I tell a Story in Print for a Truth which proves to be otherwise, unless I, at the same

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> time, give proper Caution to the Reader, by owning the Uncertainty of my Knowledge in the matter of fact, 'tis I impose upon the world; my Relater is innocent, and the Lye is my own. (A3v-A4r)

Here Defoe contradicts his earlier disclaimer that "in all the subsequent Relation if the least Mistake happen, it shall not be mine" (A3r-A3v). He seems to want to have it both ways: to give his narrative the stamp of authenticity and to stand behind its words, and yet to distance himself from any responsibility.

In the role of historian, Defoe will not justify an untruth in print even if the story in which it is conveyed has pretenses of being morally edifying. He states that he would be convicted of "a double Imposture" to make up a story to gain the reader's repentance, "endeavouring by a Lye to correct the Reader's Vices, and sin against Truth to bring the Reader off from sinning against sence (A3r)." He promises, "we shall no where so Trespass upon Fact, as to oblige Infinite Power to the shewing more Miracles than it intended" (A5v). Defoe seems to have met his own standards in this regard, as the figures he reports square with other contemporary records in news sheets, calamity pamphlets, and histories.

Throughout the preface Defoe reiterates that he is intent on obtaining and recording verifiable truth. To this

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end, he creates a narrative persona who inspires the reader's trust. The narrator/editor becomes the moral center of the work who guides the reader through a dense thicket of sources and detailed accounts. This persona effectively unifies the narrative and imparts to it a sense of authenticity. Defoe is well aware of the central role of the narrator/editor of such diverse and seemingly "incredible" accounts. He declares that his judicious comments throughout the work are meant for the reader's edification:

> I cannot be so ignorant of my own Intentions, as not to know, that in many Cases I shall act the Divine, and draw necessary practical Inferences from the extraordinary Remarkables of this Book, and some Digressions which I hope may not be altogether useless in this Case. (A3r)

In his narrative capacity as a "Divine," one of the first inferences Defoe draws is that the storm is "the strong Evidence God has been pleas'd to give in this terrible manner to his own being" (A5v-A6r). He engages in a digression in which he argues that it is more sensible to exercise a "few needless mortifications" as a Christian than to live as an Atheist and perhaps find out only when it is too late that all is lost. He adds that his excurses will

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have been well worth it "If one Man, in an Hundred Years, shall arrive at a Conviction of the Being of his Maker"(A7r).

Aside from Defoe's periodic reminders that the great storm was an act of providence, for the most part he keeps to his word and leaves it to "the Men of the Pulpit" to make their "Uses" and "Application" of the calamity in their sermons (A5v). Yet in a secular capacity he does instruct the reader how to interpret certain passages, and in the prefaces to his novels he refers continually to the correct "Uses" and "Application" of each story he relates.

Defoe has stated that his account will be factual and not "Fabulous", and that it will report true stories and account for the dependability of the source. He assures the reader that he takes responsibility for the truthfulness of the stories that he relates, but in the same breath he also claims not to be responsible for any possible falsehoods. What then does he mean by these conflicting statements and what are their implications for and connections to his later novels? In answer to these questions Ulrich Suerbaum has proposed that

> Applied literally, Defoe's arguments in the Preface to The Storm would mean that the author of Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, and A Journal

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> of a Plague Year is 'a man who tells lies in print, abuses mankind, and imposes upon the whole world.' But the Preface is not really a study in historical method; it is a sketch of a new mode of narrative which presents an alternative to the traditional mode of ordering the elements to be communicated by means of character configuration and plot ('fable,' 'romance'). (275)

Suerbaum concludes that the lasting importance of The Storm lies in its influence on the narrative method of Defoe's novels. Defoe's dual method of telling a story in the form of documentary materials and having a narrator/editor to present and comment on them, suggesting ways to interpret and apply the information, would take root and flourish in later novels. But Suerbaum's conclusion that Defoe was really concerned with developing a "new mode of narrative" rather than a "historical method" is precipitate and too dismissive of the work's context. When Defoe was writing the preface to The Storm he was concerned with historical method because he was producing a work about a contemporary event that he clearly intended as a history. Contrary to Suerbaum's suggestion, Defoe's discussions of history in relation to "Fable" and "Romance" focus on the different truth-claims and objectives of the genres not on their narrative structure. The narrative framework that Defoe

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develops for his history is in response to the question of how best to record the truth for posterity.

Defoe's preface becomes an integral part of his history just as later prefaces are not so much introductions to but essential parts of his novels. In later novels, however, Defoe will reason that the pleasure and instruction of the reader should take precedence over their truth in matters of fact, and so his arguments in The Storm's preface cannot and should not be applied literally to his later performances in fiction. Defoe's prefaces seem to serve different purposes according to the subject and audience of each work.

In contrast with The Storm's preface, the preface to Robinson Crusoe (1719) swiftly moves beyond making truth-claims to promise that it will contribute "as well to the Diversion, as to the Instruction of the Reader" (2). Defoe does not belabor the argument that "The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it" (2) because for his present purpose it is not necessary. Both statements are intended to work on the reader's belief system: note that the editor does not state that the story is true but that he believes it to be so and that therefore the reader should as well. In his novels Defoe is most concerned with plausibility and verisimilitude, and in this sense he keeps to his word when he says that Robinson Crusoe has no "Appearance of fiction." In The Storm, Defoe takes an extremely literal view of what

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constitutes truth in print, whereas by the time he comes to write novels such as Memoirs of a Cavalier (1720) and The Life of Colonel Jack (1722) he has developed a much more complex and sophisticated approach to truth and the author's moral accountability as he influences the readers' belief in what they are being told. In these prefaces he renounces his earlier position, expressed in The Storm, of being accountable for "proliferating Lies." Instead, he argues not that his fictions are true, but that they cannot be proved untrue--as in the case of Memoirs of a Cavalier. And in a work such as Colonel Jack, he gives up making truth-claims altogether (see Lehner 96). Defoe adjusts his truth-claims to fit the genre in which he is working.

Certain elements of The Storm's preface, however, become almost formulaic in Defoe's later prefaces. There is the proclivity for concrete sources (in the form of found manuscripts), the focus on evaluating the evidence and recommending how it should be read and applied, and finally there is the matter of convincing the reader of the editor's sincerity and good intentions. These are a few of the devices in which The Storm would have a lasting effect on Defoe's fictions. Defoe would apply the narrative methods of his history to his fictions the better to imbue them with realism and authenticity. In both cases it seems that his greatest concern was to distinguish his new brand of fiction from the genre of "Romance" which he consistently disdained.

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## Organization

The structure of The Storm may, to a great extent, be the reason for its acceptance as fact and its inclusion in both eighteenth-century histories and twentieth-century historical bibliographies of the period. Some critics have called the work a blueprint for Defoe's later masterpiece, A Journal of the Plague Year (1722)--a novel which for a long time was considered to be an authentic history. The two works share distinct similarities and yet their differences are considerable. Unlike Defoe's factual fiction, which recreates the sense of disorder that prevailed throughout the long plague year by dispensing with chapter divisions and relating events according to the protagonist's memory instead of their linear, chronological order, The Storm follows a narrative plan that provides a logical, methodical overview and analysis of the event. In this way Defoe created a narrative that would as clearly as possible lay down the facts and suggest the enormity of the devastation that occurred so quickly across the south of England and Wales during the week of the storm. However, as Paul Alkon has noted, Defoe's choice of narrative mode also deliberately prevents the kind of emotional involvement that makes the Journal such a moving and memorable work:

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> For The Storm Defoe … chose the least complicated form of narrative frequency: events that happened once are narrated once. There are some minor departures from this mode, but topics are not brought up over and over. The resulting gains in clarity are achieved at the expense of emotional force. (229)

Yet despite the fact that The Storm seems for the most part to conform to a simple plan, the arrangement of eyewitness testimonials from different parts of the nation, with its layering of countless similar incidents and its repetition of facts, shows a kinship with A Journal of the Plague Year that has never been fully explored.

The first four chapters of the book establish the context for reading and interpreting the hurricane from providential, scientific, and historical perspectives. Defoe leads the reader through a rational, scientific analysis of the origins and effects of the tempest. Chapter One is a disquisition entitled "Of the Natural Causes and Original of Winds" which features quotations from Aristotle, Francis Bacon, and contemporary members of the Royal Society in order to demonstrate that their efforts to discern the etiology of the winds have only led them to re-affirm the theory of its divine origin. In Chapter Two, "Of the Opinion of the Ancients, That this Island was more subject

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to storms than other parts of the world," Defoe dispels historical misconceptions of England's geography and climate. Having conducted a broad scientific and historical inquiry of the hurricane's possible causes and having reiterated that it was without doubt an act of Providence, Defoe begins to focus on the present calamity in Chapter Three, "Of the Storm in General." This is followed by "Of the Extent of this Storm, and from what Parts it was suppos'd to come; with some Circumstances as to the Time of it." The section entitled "Of the Effects of the Storm" presents an outline for the letters and narrative passages that will follow:

1. Of the Damage in the City of **London**, & c.
2. in the Countries.
3. **On the Water** in the Royal Navy.
4. to Shipping in general.
5. by Earthquake.
6. by High Tides.
7. Remarkable Providences and Deliverances.
8. Hardned and blasphemous Contemners both of the Storm and its Effects.
9. Some Calculations of Damage sustain'd..
10. The Conclusion (The Storm 71)

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The numerically ordered outline ensures that from the outset readers have before them a clear picture of the calamity and all of its ramifications. There are to be no surprises or uncertainty in this narrative. This is in marked contrast with A Journal of the Plague Year, which is resistant to easy analysis or overview because of its intentionally loose structure and its repetition of important themes, and which recreates, according to the narrator's shifting, episodic memories, the emotional texture of that prolonged period of fear and suffering. In The Storm Defoe uses letters and his own narrative commentary to preserve a sense of how it was to live through and witness this calamity. However, these elements are placed within a methodical narrative framework that is conducive to dispassionate analysis. Here his task is to record for posterity as accurately as he can an unprecedented contemporary disaster.

While in general Defoe follows his outline fairly closely, he does not hesitate to make certain changes when he feels that they are necessary. But in every instance, he is careful to explain why he has deviated from his original plan. When Defoe later decides against including the promised chapter about "hardned and blasphemous Contemners both of the Storm and its Effects" he explains that it is because, "'Tis a subject ungrateful to recite, and full of horror to read; and we had much rather cover

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such Actions with a general Blank in Charity to the Offenders, and in hopes of their Amendment" (271). Similarly, he begins the section "Of the Damages on the Water" with an explanation for his departure from the original order of affairs announced in the outline:

> As this might consist of several Parts, I was inclin'd to have divided it into Sections or Chapters, relating particularly to the publick Loss, and the private; to the Merchant, or the Navy, to Floods by the Tides, to the River Damage, and that of the Sea; but for brevity, I shall confine it to the following particulars.
>
> 'First, **The Damage to Trade.**
> 'Secondly, **The Damage to the Royal Navy.**
> 'Thirdly, **The Damage by High Tides.** (165-166)

Inevitably, categories become mixed because letters about shipping disasters might also include reports of damage on land and visa versa. Despite the claims of his outline, Defoe sometimes merges categories as well. At the end of his chapter "Of the Damage in the Countries", for example, Defoe also includes the estimated number of those killed at sea (156). And under losses at sea he includes information about

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damage to churches (209). As a result, there is some duplication of facts and figures which, though redundant, substantiate Defoe's consistent message that the cost of the damage to the nation was onerous and extensive. If he cannot vouch for the infallibility of his figures, he explains that it is because exact information is not readily available for a calamity of this magnitude.

Paul Alkon has pointed out that because the events of the storm transpired within a relatively brief time frame, "Defoe's narrative problem was the opposite of that which faced him in writing The Journal of the Plague Year: it was necessary to find some way of stopping time" (227). For this reason, Alkon suggests that Defoe's choice of "A more static narrative with an entirely visible plan is perhaps the most obvious way to cope with the problem of conveying simultaneity as the major temporal dimension of depicted events" (228). He notes also that from the reader's point of view the effect of Defoe's outline, and of the chapters based on it, is analogous to "viewing in succession dozens of snapshots taken in different places on the same day. There is little sense of movement through time. As the account shifts from place to place, space becomes its most important dimension" (Alkon 228-229).

Certainly, once the eyewitness accounts begin it becomes apparent that they are arranged to relate to one another in spatial terms, and that geography thenceforth

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becomes the narrative's organizational method. Interestingly, Defoe does not, as in A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, organize letters according to region so that, for example, all of the letters from Oxford are together, followed by all of those from the neighboring area of Gloucester, and so on, continuing in a methodical manner to include all of the affected areas from which correspondents had reported. This would be the sort of thorough, if plodding, coverage that previous chapters, and the outline, might lead the reader to expect. Instead, the placement of the letters seems intended to emphasize by their systematic movement the enormous range of this hurricane. The letters are arranged to replicate a storm's vortices, by moving in a contained circle and then randomly shifting far afield to cover different ground. In this way Defoe represents the storm's concurrent and wide-ranging devastation.

A pattern of movement is discernible in the 35 letters about the damage in the country. The grouping of the first three letters triangulates the area from Stowmarket, Suffolk, to Oxfordshire and Northampton indicating the breadth of the storm. Yet this was only a small portion of the entire affected area. The next three letters cover a number of places in parallel regions to the west: Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Bristol, and Cardiff. Letters 8 through 12 encircle Gloucester, Bruton in

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Somerset, Oxfordshire, again Somerset and then Wiltshire in the east. The movement tends to be circular and recurs to previously mentioned areas while also adding new ones. Letters 13 through 15 move from Worcester to Oxfordshire and then up to Warwickshire, one of the most northwestern regions affected by the storm, while letters 16 through 19 couple two reports from Hampshire in the south with two from Oxford due north. A part of the greater London area is triangulated with Gloucester and Hatfield, Hertfordshire in letters 20 through 22. Letters 24 through 27, however, zigzag across the widely dispersed regions of Kent, Somerset, Southampton, Berkshire, Surrey, and Cambridge. Suffice it to say that the remaining 7 letters are mainly from coastal areas, which anticipates the next section devoted to merchant shipping losses at sea. The last two letters from Lewes, Sussex and Delft, Holland are cited in full from the Royal Society's journal The Philosophical Transactions. Defoe includes them because their experiments confirm the speculations made by previous correspondents that the winds had carried the sea brine far inland -- in England as far as 20 miles (The Storm 160). By concluding with letters that are empirically based and that presumably carry the Royal Society's stamp of approval, Defoe reinforces the overall credibility of the previous reports.

The organization of the letters makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the reader to keep in mind all of the

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incidents that are related in different reports from numerous localities. It is this aspect of the work that has much in common with the layering of episodes and experiences in the more unconventional narrative of Journal of a Plague Year. The arrangement of the letters in The Storm is the one area in which Defoe seems to have allowed himself some artistic leeway in the name of effective journalism. When one considers that the first four chapters of the work are so clearly laid out, and that it certainly would have been possible to sort the letters in a sequence that would also facilitate a quick and easy assessment of their collective accounts of devastation, one becomes aware that in narrative reading time Defoe was trying to reproduce a sense of the storm's dizzyingly widespread and unpredictable effects. The positioning of the letters re-enacts the simultaneous and far-reaching effects of the storm. To offset and contain this, however, Defoe imposes some order on the jumble of data provided in the letters. He concludes this section with his own remarks and supplies a rough estimate of the total number of trees, windmills, church steeples, and private dwellings blown down, country seats damaged, and people killed on land and at sea. By pausing to review and sum up matters for the reader's benefit, Defoe also unifies the disparate accounts and keeps them within the bounds of his neatly laid out scheme.

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In the section devoted to England's losses at sea, Defoe states at the beginning that he has arranged the letters according to their geographic location. Since the storm blew between points from the southwest and the northwest (The Storm 37-38,79) he explains that his first letter is "plac'd so, because 'tis very Authentic and Particular, and [is from] the furthest Port Westward" (167). Subsequent letters sweep eastward from Chepstow on the Wye River to Norfolk and back west to Bristol and Somerset. Letters from Swansea, Wales precede one from Grimsby, Lincolnshire in the far north, and another from Newport on the Isle of Wight in the south. The letters hereafter are concentrated along the southern coast. While the first letters follow the storm's path, the variety of locations for the rest of the letters testify to the hurricane's breadth and power. Defoe concludes with a moving letter written on board H.M.S. Association which had been published already in the Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne (The Storm 218-222). Here too Defoe's inclusion of an official, previously published letter at the end of the chapter seems intended to make the proceedings appear authoritative.

The damage to the royal navy is recounted in one brief chapter. It is comprised of a single letter, an official list of the ships and men lost at sea, and Defoe's account of the loss of the Eddystone lighthouse off the coast of Plymouth. To the reader who may have desired further

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reports, he offers a reminder of his objectives for this history:

> 'There are infinite Stories of like nature with 'these, the Disasters at Sea are full of a vast 'variety, what we have recommended to the view of the 'World in this History, may stand as an Abridgement; 'and the Reader is only to observe that these are the 'short Representations, by which he may guess at the 'most dreadful Night, these parts of the World ever 'saw.
>
> 'To relate all Things, that report Furnishes us 'with, would be to make the story exceed common 'probability, and look like Romance.
>
> 'Tis a sad and serious Truth, and this part of it is 'preserv'd to Posterity to assist them in reflecting on 'the Judgments of God, and handing them on for the Ages 'to come. (224)

Defoe emphasizes that his work is a collection of only the most important and representative reports of the tempest. He insists that it is his selectivity -- duly weighed and considered -- that keeps events from appearing to be a "Romance." So here, as in his later fiction, Defoe is

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concerned with appearances and the reader's impressions. He argues that because his subject is inherently unbelievable and extraordinary--if it were not there would be no reason to record it for future generations--, it would appear to be entirely beyond the realm of possibility without his editorial intervention. It is an interesting turn of affairs: in an early work of reportage Defoe must fashion from an incredible reality an entirely credible, non-fiction account, while later in Robinson Crusoe he will strive to make an extraordinary fiction appear to be true to fact.

In keeping with the book's providential theme, Defoe also includes a chapter about the earthquake that shook the north of England one month after the storm. He provides two testimonials from trustworthy sources: one is from a clergyman and the other is from a member of the Royal Society. The remainder of the book, like A Journal of the Plague Year, is devoted to "Remarkable Deliverances" so as to end on a note of thanksgiving. Defoe states:

> The Sense of Extraordinary Deliverances, as it is a Mark of Generous Christianity, so I presume 'tis the best Token, that a good Use is made of the Mercies receiv'd. (236)

The letters that follow are divided between accounts on land and at sea. Most of the inland reports are from London and

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relate numerous instances of people who survived the collapse of their chimneys into their homes. The letters from the sea come from different areas along the southern coast of England and are among the most moving accounts in the book.

The testimonials and Defoe's own observations are surprisingly lacking in the kind of physical description that would create, as Alkon has suggested, a photographic rendering. One finds instead an abundance of concrete details in the form of numbers and narrative vignettes: this tendency will, of course, become characteristic of such novels as Robinson Crusoe and Moll Flanders. Virginia Woolf has commented that the reader who turns to Robinson Crusoe expecting to find sublime vistas of nature and profound reflections on the human soul, is

> rudely contradicted on every page. There are no sunsets and no sunrises; there is no solitude and no soul. There is, on the contrary, staring us full in the face nothing but a large earthenware pot.... Reality, fact, substance is going to dominate all that follows. (54)

The same could be said of The Storm. Defoe has shown in his preface, and indeed throughout the work, that he was well aware of the perils of creating a romance in which the

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sublime and terrible aspects of the storm might be heightened and exaggerated for mere effect, and therefore, to prevent this, he remains close to the unadorned facts. More than anything else, it seems that Defoe and other eyewitnesses were most fascinated by the sheer number of sailing vessels destroyed, houses untiled and sometimes leveled, churches de-steepled, chimney's caved-in, trees uprooted, and hay-ricks overturned. The task of enumerating losses and calculating the cost of repairs was understandably foremost on everyone's mind, and Defoe's running commentary often repeats these numbers and facts. Ultimately, the effect is the opposite of that in a work such as A Journal of the Plague Year. The losses in The Storm become less personal and emotionally charged and recede into abstraction.

When Defoe relates how pitiful London appeared the day after the storm, he concentrates on setting the mood rather than creating a detailed picture:

> People began to peep out of Doors; but 'tis impossible to express the Concern that appear'd in every Place: the Distraction and Fury of the Night was visible in the faces of the People, in viewing the Havock the Storm had made, which was so universal in London, and especially in the Out-Parts, that nothing can be sufficient to describe it. (38)

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The extensive destruction is conveyed by focusing on the distress that the people felt when they at first looked out of their doors. Of the wreckage, he confesses that no words could describe it. In this one scene Defoe creates a condensed, powerfully felt, and concretely realized depiction of the storm's aftermath without providing any physical description at all. Later on he will reiterate that:

> in and about the city of London: the Houses looked like Skeletons, and a universal Air of Horror seem'd to sit on the Countenances of the People; all business seem'd to be laid aside for a Time, and people were generally intent upon getting help to repair their habitations. (81-82)

With one powerful simile Defoe conjures an image of desolation that looms large and carries a reminder of death. Throughout the work, it is the few passages like this one that provide such strong images of the storm's ruin.

The narrator's continuous interjections, digressions, and personal observations bring the reader closer to the human drama of the storm. In the role of historian-as-editor, Defoe guides the reader through pages of testimonials and unifies the different elements of the work. He comments on his own activities as an editor and judges

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the reliability of the eyewitness reports. As a survivor of the tempest who toured some of the devastated areas such as Kent, he presents himself as one who is well-qualified to corroborate or call into question reports. He personifies such admirable qualities of mind as reason, equanimity, and skepticism, and his active presence in the narrative becomes crucial to the work's credibility. He earns the reader's trust because of his thorough and even-handed approach to the material, yet he is not a fully realized character.

The narrator of The Storm functions as an objective presence whose purpose is confined to imparting structural coherence to the narrative. Like his contemporaries, he recognizes that the storm is an act of God, and this is presented as irrefutable fact throughout the work. He wastes no time speculating over its meaning or sharing his internal struggles with it. In this he differs from H.F., the narrator of A Journal of the Plague Year. Although H.F. is not nearly so fully defined a character as Crusoe or Moll, it is through his sensibility that the reader experiences the terror and suffering of the plague year. He expresses his doubts and puzzles over the right way to determine the course of action that God would wish for him to take: should he seek refuge in the countryside or stay in London? He stays, but he is never sure whether he has made the right decision. In The Storm there is no place for such soul searching or uncertainty. Rather, it presents itself

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as the product of an optimistic Enlightenment thinker who tries to understand the scientific causes for the hurricane, but, when they are not forthcoming, he accepts without further ado the mystery of its divine origin. Bathed in the bright, reassuring light of reason and certainty The Storm is not nearly so dark, disturbing, and powerful as the Journal, nor was it intended to be. This difference in tone between the two works is crucial, and it is largely attributable to the narrative persona and structural framework that Defoe fashioned for each book.

Ultimately, The Storm's claims to being authoritative and true to fact depend heavily on its methodology and structure, and this is what Defoe stresses throughout as the book's selling point. But in this regard Defoe's literary instincts misfired. The book failed to become a popular success, and literary critics from the earliest times until the present have uniformly disparaged its conventional structure for hampering the author's usual flights of genius. Yet, these critics have failed to recognize the extent to which Defoe's narrative was complex and experimental. He tried to blend too many different genres--joining the epistolary tradition with the providence guide and science book. Within an objective narrative framework he also tried to recreate the feel of the calamity, not by means of mere description but through the arrangement of eyewitness letters. In the process he was perhaps the first

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Englishman to see the potential for what have become known in our own age as oral histories, in which common people offer their knowledge of an event in their own words. If The Storm did not add up to more than the sum of its parts, it was still an important testing ground for Defoe's greater works.

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## Chapter Four: Style and Language

The language and style of The Storm is very much an outgrowth of its organization and methodology. The greater part of the work is devoted to eyewitness letters which Defoe makes use of for two purposes: to achieve greater credibility with the reading public and to make his procedure compatible with that of the scientific methods of the day. In his discussion of The Storm and the epistolary tradition before Samuel Richardson, Robert Adams Day has noted that "The use of letters afforded a writer many advantages in meeting the almost universal requirement of authenticity" (Told in Letters 86). By using letters to tell the story of the storm Defoe was setting a very specific horizon of expectations for the reader. He was also making use of collective witnessing, one of the Royal Society's fundamental principles for gathering evidence in the search for verifiable truth, because he thought that it was the best way to establish an authoritative historical record (Vickers 172). Defoe assures the reader that his letters are from persons of "credit," and he makes the case that their authenticity can be demonstrated by their use of numerous and minute detail. In effect, then, Defoe turns the issue of their authenticity into a matter of their style and language.

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The question remains, however, whether all of the letters of The Storm are indeed authentic. In addressing this issue it will be useful to keep in mind Arthur Secord's admonition:

> The amount of fictitious matter in any of Defoe's writings is not an easy thing to determine. Too much stress can not be laid upon the impossibility of telling from internal evidence alone whether a particular piece of Defoe's work is fact or fiction. (Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe 14)

In regard to external evidence, it appears that Defoe stays very close to the known facts of the storm. He incorporates information from The Philosophical Transactions, The History of the Reign of Queen Anne (1704), contemporary broadsheets, and newspapers such as The London Gazette, The Daily Courant, and The Post-Man. In addition, a number of the letters were written by Anglican clergymen, who at that time would have claimed immediate credibility among readers. Almost all of the clergymen whose letters Defoe published may be identified in the alumni directories of Oxford and Cambridge. There can be little question of their authenticity since any published forgeries would have produced a published response. The only letters for which proof of authenticity may never be ascertainable are those that were written by people from the countryside.

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In the preface Defoe had forewarned the reader that he would also include letters from country folk that display a "Meanness of the Stile" because their "Plainness and Honesty plead" for themselves (A7v). Yet despite this apologia, there are only a few such letters interspersed in the course of the work. Each is introduced by remarks that alert the reader to the correspondent's humble background and emphasize the authentic and detailed nature of the letter. The first two letters of this kind are prefaced thus:

> The following Letters, tho' in a homely stile, are written by very honest plain and observing Persons, to whom entire credit may be given. (100)

While meant to be reassuring, in fact these comments tend to produce the opposite effect on knowledgeable readers of Defoe. As Day has noted, Defoe's repeated and vociferous insistence upon the truth cannot but lead the modern reader to question the validity of those claims (Told in Letters 90). In short, Defoe often protests too much. Beyond the narrator's tactics, some of the letters written in a "plain" style use dialect spellings that seem suspiciously forced, and, as Furbank and Owens have observed, "When Defoe is homespun and garrulous we may be sure he is dramatising and impersonating" (126). In addition, the circumstances surrounding the composition of two letters in particular seem curious.

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The first of these letters is preceded by four letters from clergymen and four from gentlemen "whose Credit we cannot dispute" (87). Defoe appears to have arranged the letters to highlight contrasts in their social class, style, and content. So, for example, a rather formal report from the vicar Edward Shipton itemizing the architectural damage done to his parish church and relating the storm's effects on several homes in the area, is placed before two letters written by "very honest plain and observing Persons" (100). The first letter of this kind relates in a bluff, colloquial manner not only the damage done to homes and orchards but also the desperate situations that families and one itinerant homeless woman found themselves in. The second letter is a brief catalogue of the material damage incurred in the countryside of Oxfordshire. The forthright and down-to-earth attitude and language of both letters present a refreshing change of pace from the rest of the correspondence. However, the first "homely" letter arouses suspicion about its authenticity because of its length and its accomplished oral style.

The correspondent mentions that he is writing in response to a letter from Defoe requesting information about his region. He complies by enclosing a copy of a letter from his brother, an exciseman who is never identified by name. The claim to being a friend, or at least an acquaintance, of Defoe also implies that the writer is a man of "credit" notwithstanding his humble background. The

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letter within a letter acts as a distancing device, and places the issue of the author's identity and authenticity at a farther remove. This would be a sensible way to fabricate a letter based on oral or written accounts, and lessen the likelihood of having it discovered. The unusually long seven-page letter that follows is a collection of anecdotes about near-disastrous incidents and property losses in different areas of Somerset:

> What I know of the Winds in these Parts, are, that it broke down many Trees, and that the House of one **Richard Henden**, of **Charter House** on **Mendip**, call'd **Piney**, was almost blown down, and in saving their House, they, and the Servants and others, heard grievous Cries and Scrieches in the Air….
>
> At **Cheddar** near **Axbridge**, was much harm done in Apple-trees, Houses, and such like; but what's worth remark, tho' not the very Night of the Tempest, a Company of wicked People being at a Wedding of one **Thomas Marshall, John**, the Father of the said **Thomas**, being as most of the Company was very Drunk, after much filthy Discourse while he was eating, a strange Cat pulling something from his Trenchard, he Cursing her, stoopt to take it up, and died immediately.
>
> …At **Evercreech**, three miles from **Brewton**, there were a poor Woman beg'd for Lodging in the Barn of one

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> **Edmond Peny** that same night that the Storm was, she was wet the Day before in Travelling, so she hung up her Cloaths in the Barn and lay in the Straw; but when the Storm came it blew down the roof of the Barn where she lay, and she narrowly escaped with her life….
> (100-103)

The coarse dialect is a part of the narrative's engaging manner. Most notably, the letter contains many more detailed and disparate tableaux that are dramatized in a way that most of the other letters are not. The providential story of the drunken man whose sudden and inexplicable death is shown to be the price he paid for his wickedness has little to do with the storm except that it too is an example of the inscrutable ways in which God acts. It is something of a digression and it is the only story of this nature to be found in the book. There is also, within the letter, a variance of style. The story about the homeless woman in Evercreech is written in a more pronounced dialect than the other vignettes. This is particularly evident in its opening: "there were a poor woman…." One cannot help but wonder whether Defoe wrote this letter himself to add greater variety and novelty to the collection. These motley stories, related in a rough, homespun manner, are much livelier than the standard, fact-based letters from the clergy and the gentlemen of "credit" and add greater

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interest to the narrative as a whole.

A second letter raises a question because of the unlikely conditions under which its author purports to have composed it. It is written to the moment, as it were, by a sailor at sea in a boat with the storm raging about him whilst he, nonetheless, has both the time, leisure, and presence of mind to record the disastrous events unfolding around him. Yet it is also addressed to Defoe, which is odd considering that Defoe could not have solicited him for information about the storm before the event had occurred. The letter begins:

> SIR,
>
> These lines I hope in God will find you in good Health, we are all left here in a dismal Condition, expecting every moment to be all drowned. For here is a great Storm, and is very likely to continue; we have here the Rear Admiral of the Blew in the Ship, call'd the **Mary**, a third Rate, the very next Ship to ours, sunk, with Admiral **Beaumont**, and above 500 Men drowned: The ship call'd the **Sterling Castle**, a third Rate, all sunk and drowned above 500 Souls: And the Ship call'd the **Restoration**, a third Rate, all sunk and drowned: These ships were all close by us which we saw; these Ships fired their Guns all Night and Day long, poor Souls, for help, but the Storm being so fierce and

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raging, could have none to save them: The Ship call'd the **Shrewsberry** that we are in, broke two anchors, and did run mighty fierce backwards, within 60 or 80 Yards of the Sands, and as God Almighty would have it, we flung our sheet Anchor down, which is the biggest, and so stop: Here we all pray'd to God to forgive us our Sins, and to save us, or else to receive us into his Heavenly Kingdom. If our sheet Anchor had given way, we had all been drown'd: but I humbly thank God, it was his gracious Mercy that saved us….

…We lye here in great danger, and waiting for a North Easterly Wind to bring us to **Portsmouth**, and it is our Prayers to God for it; for we know not how soon this Storm may arise, and cut us all off, for it is a dismal place to anchor in. I have not had my Cloaths off, nor a wink of Sleep these four Nights, and have got my death with cold almost.

**Yours to Command,**

Miles Norcliffe

(The Storm 194-195)

Here we have a wonderful example of the oral style for which Defoe would become so famous, but which in fact would be quite a feat for an uneducated, "coarse" individual to carry off in writing. The letter is full of repetitions of words

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such as "all" and phrases such as "a third Rate" which tumble out one after the other with the spontaneity of unpremeditated speech. There are also several unnecessary changes in tense that are more indicative of an oral style than a written one. The letter begins grippingly in the present tense with the phrases "expecting every moment to be all drowned" and "here is a great storm." Soon, however, there is an unexpected shift to the past tense as the narrator reports "above 500 men drowned", "all sunk and drowned", "we saw", and "Ships fired their Guns all Night and Day long." Yet in the midst of this he reverts to the present tense to create a sense of immediacy and bring the reader into the thick of the action: "The Ship...we are in broke two anchors." After the worst had passed they "all pray'd to God to forgive" them and thanked God, for "it was his Gracious Mercy that saved us." The last paragraph echoes the opening lines and concludes in the present, giving greater force and urgency to his condition. Such a fluent and adept use of the oral style in print leads one to suspect that Defoe may have been the narrator of this compelling account.

Neither the Shrewsberry nor its Captain Crow is listed in records of the Royal navy, and since there were thousands of merchant ships it would be easy enough to invent these names without stretching credibility. Even the correspondent's name sounds made-up, and at this time it is not possible to verify it. All of the information about the

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naval ships mentioned would have been available to Defoe in newspapers and calamity pamphlets, with additional details perhaps furnished by oral reports. Defoe explains that he has included the letter:

> 'tho every Circumstance in…[it] is not literally True, as to the number of Ships , or Lives lost, and the stile Course, and Sailor like…, because it seems to describe the Horror and Consternation the Poor Sailors were in at that time. And because this is Written from one, who was as near an Eye Witness as any possible be, and be safe. (193)

It is shrewd of Defoe to point out that the number of ships and men lost is not literally true: if the writer were really an eyewitness writing during the event it would, of course, be impossible for him to know the precise number of men drowned. Yet the estimates are plausible and effectively convey the sailor's sense of the magnitude of the crisis in which all of the ships were embroiled. According to the Royal Navy's record, which Defoe reproduces on page 223, the Mary lost all of her 273 men but one, while there were no survivors on Sterling Castle or the Restoration who lost respectively 349 and 386 men.

In a post script to the letter, the sailor explains how he dispatched his account safely to land: "I send this, having opportunity by our Botes, that went Ashoar to carry

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some poor Men off, that were almost dead, and were taken up swimming" (196). Even though he claims to be writing this explanation in the present, the switch to the past tense makes the letter's safe arrival on land a foregone conclusion and leads the reader to doubt that it was really written to the moment. This is the only account from the sea that includes detailed information about its passage to the shore. Presumably Defoe felt that the improbable situation of the writer required a ready explanation of how the letter was composed and conveyed to him, neither of which is very convincing. Nonetheless, the letter is certainly a gripping account, remarkable for its attention to detail and its realism, qualities that Defoe extols in many of the letters as evidence of their authenticity.

Defoe introduces the very next letter with the emphatic reassurance that it "is yet more Particular and Authentic, and being better exprest, may further describe the Terror of the Night in this place" (196, emphasis my own). One normally designates a story or an item either authentic or inauthentic; for something to be "more" authentic seems to beg the question. According to Defoe, however, a report's exactness and authenticity lies in its circumstantial details which produce a wholly plausible verisimilitude and recreate for the reader the very experience of an event. Authenticity, by these standards, is gauged by a writer's particularized details and his or her ability to make the reader participate vicariously in the situation being

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related. If a letter fulfills these requirements better than other accounts, then it may indeed be considered "more...Authentic" without fear of contradiction. Thus in as early a work as The Storm, Defoe indicates his belief in the use of detailed facts and carefully constructed scenarios to create a narrative that will work effectively and, as it were, transparently, on the reader's belief system. From here Defoe was but an imaginative leap away from developing the narrative verisimilitude of Robinson Crusoe (1719) and subsequent factual fictions.

This "yet more Particular and Authentick" letter describes in detail the plight of a merchant ship laden with tin that was blown from her anchors out of Helford Haven to the Isle of Wight. Braving many perils and maneuvering away from various shoals, the crew of three finally managed to sail the vessel to a creek on the Isle of Wight, where the ship would fit between the rocks and the men might get to land. Ultimately, the ship sank on the rocks, but the men got away and the cargo was later retrieved (The Storm 196-199). Arthur Secord has noted the parallels between the events of this letter and the way in which Crusoe guided his raft into the mouth of the creek on his island (Secord 84). Secord was the first critic to have documented the extent to which Defoe drew on The Storm for different accounts of the tempest, shipwreck, and near shipwreck which collectively provide the details for the storm scene in Robinson Crusoe (Secord 80). In response to the question of whether Defoe

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wrote these letters or only edited them, Secord states, "The most superficial examination of the book reveals that it is deeply rooted in fact; and fifteen years later the distinction between those parts which are authentic and those which may have been invented would have been wholly obliterated" (85).

As this particular letter is signed under the initials "R.P." it is impossible to verify its authorship. Additionally, in this instance there are no flagrant examples of stagey dialect, nor are the conditions surrounding its composition apt to arouse immediate suspicion. Here one may well give Defoe the benefit of doubt and accept the letter on its own terms as authentic. Yet what seems more important than the issue of authenticity is the fact that Defoe recalled the episode and thought enough of it to draw on it for a later work.

Nowhere in The Storm does Defoe promise to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. What he does state is that he will relate only those facts that can be vouched upon sufficient authority. When he thought it expedient and enriching to the reader's understanding of the experience of the storm, he might not have scrupled to create a couple of letters from composite facts and stories. In this he would still be adhering to the terms of his preface since he would "no where so Trespass upon Fact, as to oblige Infinite Power to the shewing more Miracles than it intended" (A5v). As the example of the two suspect letters has shown, Defoe may

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have composed them from other accounts to provide some relief from the spare, no-frills, fact-based letters from the Royal Society and the alternately florid and laconic formal letters from clergymen and other gentlemen.

The collection of letters provides a variety of different writing styles that affect the content, tone, and pace of the book as a whole. Defoe thought that his readers had to be provided with a wide variety of anecdotal material in order to maintain their interest. Four years after the storm, in the Review of 1708, he addressed his readers thus: "You hate a long story! The palate is glutted. Novelty is the food you lust after: and if the story were of Heaven, you will be cloyed with the length of it" (Review. vol. V, 241). The Storm is a lengthy narrative that offers nothing if not a fund of anecdotal material, but here it is proffered ostensibly in the interest of historical accuracy and empirical testimony. Defoe always stresses the "Verity of the Relation"(The Storm A5r) and claims to have kept a tight reign on the assortment of letters as he is "not without a Sence of the extraordinary Variety and Novelty of the Relation" (A4r).

Defoe states that he has selected only the most thorough and reliable letters for verbatim publication, but since none of the original letters have survived, there can be no way of determining whether he did in fact exercise editorial discrimination or whether he included all of the correspondence that he received. In certain narrative

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segments he has summarized reports that were too brief or too long to be reprinted in full, but he hastens to add that he has "always kept close to the matter of fact" (The Storm 84). Despite Defoe's statements throughout the book that he has tried "to bring the Story into a Compass tolerable to the Reader" (270), the modern reader may find that the number of letters included is tiresomely excessive and repetitive. It seems likely, however, that this very repetitiousness may have been intended to imbue the work with a greater realism. James Sutherland has remarked that for Defoe "tediousness (or, at any rate, detailed particularization) was a guarantee of truth" ("The Relation of Defoe's Fiction to his Non-Fictional Writings" 46). While providing letter upon letter of minute detail along with his own interpolations may not be the most efficient method by which to recreate an event, as James Joyce has conceded, "in the end the object of the chronicler has been achieved. By dint of repetitions, contradictions, details, figures, [sic] noises, the storm has come alive, the ruin is visible" ("Daniel Defoe" 16).

Defoe himself has perhaps provided the best characterization of his narrative style in the book's opening sentence: "Preaching of Sermons is Speaking to a few of Mankind: Printing of Books is Talking to the whole World"(A2r). Books, then, are the indelible record of human speech. It is significant that Defoe shows his belief in this aspect of print so early in his writing career. John

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Robert Moore has remarked that Defoe's prose style was influenced by Puritan pulpit oratory which at that time had to be emotional and effective in order to grab the reader's attention and leave a lasting impression because these sermons could be heard only, they were not allowed to be published later (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 42-43).

James Sutherland has commented that:

> almost everything that Defoe wrote...has the accent of living human speech.... Defoe's prose is a good deal more colloquial and unpremeditated than what might be called the standard prose of his generation; he is indeed 'a plain blunt man' who only speaks 'right on'. ("Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Prose" 100)

This is certainly true of the language of Defoe's narration for most of the The Storm, although in early chapters the prose is often rather elegant. Take, for example, the passage in Chapter IV where Defoe speculates on how it was that the storm could culminate to such a furious and wide-ranging pitch:

> I confess, I have never studied the Motion of the Clouds so nicely, as to calculate how long time this Army of Terror might take up in its furious March; possibly the Velocity of its Motion might not be so

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> great at its first setting out as it was afterward, as a Horse that is to Run a Race does not immediately put himself into the height of its speed…. (The Storm 60)

By enlisting two metaphors of decidedly different quality, Defoe melds the poetic with the concrete, the high with the low, to enliven and make more immediately accessible his scientifically-minded inquiry. The phrase "Army of Terror" successfully conjures images of battalions and thunder clouds that are of a sublime nature: at once fearful and majestic. By contrast, the second metaphor, likening the gathering force of the hurricane to a race horse's increasing momentum before he has reached optimum speed, provides an apt visual analogy that is concrete and to the point. The metaphors endow the discussion of the clouds' "Motion" and "Velocity" with both atmospheric effects and concrete analogies. The sentence moves along at the rhythm of speech, and this sense is reinforced by the fact that the narrator's opening words of "I confess" are a direct address to the reader with whom he establishes a reassuring complicity. The narrator is not only elucidating a point but also confiding in the reader and earning his trust. In all, this lively passage is an elegant and practical introduction to a lengthy, and increasingly technical, analysis of the wind's trajectory, and its methods are characteristic of the narrative as a whole.

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It is the unidentified narrator, and fellow eye-witness to the storm's devatation, who sets the book's conversational tone and language. In the persona of an armchair historian, Defoe carefully but convivially presents eyewitness testimonials and guides the reader's judgments. He repeatedly interjects his own comments on and qualifications of reports, prefacing them with such phrases as "Another observation I cannot but make..." (79); "And yet I cannot but observe here..."(35); "Yet I cannot omit here to observe..."(62); or concluding an excursis with the justification that "This long Digression I could not but think needful, in order to clear up the Case" (24). The use of double negatives makes it seem as though, try as he might, he cannot restrain himself from bursting forth and sharing his own point of view to straighten the record. In this manner Defoe successfully dramatizes the role that he has created for himself as mediating historian/editor, while still remaining a generalized, omnipresent narrator who keeps the narrative moving and ensures that it stays close to the known facts. It is also in this sense that, as Bonamy Dobree has noted, Defoe's prose enables the reader to follow "the workings of his mind"("Some Aspects of Defoe's Prose" 181).

One episode in particular showcases Defoe's talent for creating a vivid, psychologically charged, and dramatically constructed scene that has its basis in previously published news books. Its narrative method is also suggestive of

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connections with the aforementioned suspicious letters. Under the chapter heading "Of the Damages in the City of **London**, and Parts adjacent" Defoe provides his own concise account of the injuries, deaths, and property losses therein incurred. The list follows the arrangement of the traditional calamity pamphlet, but, as will be shown, it also possesses significant differences. A number of these incidents related in The Storm are also documented in at least two other news books. For present purposes, however, it will suffice to focus on one passage which is notable for the way in which Defoe dramatizes and particularizes an incident that had appeared earlier in the calamity pamphlet An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempest and the broadside The Amazing Tempest. It relates the plight of one Mr. Simpson who was killed in his bed by a fallen stack of chimneys. An Exact Relation provides the following report:

> Mr.**Simpson**, a Person very rich, and a noted Scrivner in **Thredneedle-street**, near the **Royal-Exchange**, was unhappily killed in his Bed by the fall of a stack of Chimneys, which forced their way into his Chamber; where the next day he was found with his Body torn in several Places, and he a miserable spectacle to all his Neighbors. (An Exact Relation 9-10)

Here the initial remarks on the scrivener's wealth and

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position stand out in contrast with the gory details of his death and his final appearance as "a miserable spectacle." The order of information follows journalism's standard of accounting for who, where, what, and how, with the when being understood. Only the conclusion becomes more detailed, dwelling as it does on the macabre details of the man's dismemberment and death.

A report of the same incident also appears in The Amazing Tempest, but it is more laconic and less accurate as it misreports the deceased man's name:

> Mr. **Wilson** an Eminent Money Scrivener, at the corner of **Threadneedle street** near the **Royal Exchange**, was unhappily kill'd in his Bed by the fall of a stack of Chimnes, which forc'd thro into his Chamber, where he was found mortified in a sad and lamentable manner. (1)

The phrase "unhappily killed" recurs here, and the order of information is much the same as that of An Exact Relation. Although less detailed, this account also stresses the untimely and gruesome nature of the scrivener's death. Both reports imply that the storm's fury acted with impunity as a great social leveler so that even the "Eminent" were not spared from its wrath.

In Defoe's hands, however, the embellished story gains greater circumstantial detail, psychological complexity, and

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a more defined moral:

> In **Threadneedle-street**, one Mr. **Simpson**, a Scrivener being in Bed and fast a-sleep, heard nothing of the Storm; but the rest of the Family being more sensible of Danger, some of them went up, and wak'd him; and telling him their own Apprehensions, pres'd him to rise; but he too fatally sleepy, and consequently unconcern'd at the Danger, told them, he did not apprehend any Thing; and so, notwithstanding all their Persuasions, could not be prevailed with to rise: they had not been gone many Minutes out of his Chamber, before the Chimneys fell in, broke through the Roof over him, and kill'd him in his bed. (The Storm 75-76)

In Defoe's version, we learn nothing of the scrivener's wealth and public standing. Instead, Mr. Simpson is introduced to us while he is in bed "fast a-sleep"—Defoe adds this telling detail which was not remarked upon in the other reports. From this state of affairs Defoe constructs a whole tableau. The man's family is awake and alert to imminent danger, but when they plead with him to rise and go to safety he is too "fatally sleepy" to comply. With this one proleptic phrase Defoe foreshadows the fact that the scrivener would be, as earlier reports put it, "unhappily killed" in his bed. Typical of Defoe's form, the lines

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immediately thereafter emphasize the point already made by reiterating that despite their repeated entreaties Simpson ignored his family's warnings with the result that shortly after they left he was killed by the collapse of a chimney stack. Defoe makes no mention of the fact that Mr. Simpson was "torn in several places"; gory details are superfluous here since the moral is that Mr. Simpson's sloth and indifference lead to his otherwise avoidable destruction. The account is notable for bringing to light the principal characters' motivations in a concise but detailed and dramatically realized scene. It is also possessed of a strong moral and providential theme that is absent in the earlier news reports.

As this well documented incident exhibits -- and it is only one of several in this chapter -- Defoe was quite adept at imaginatively creating a vivid, lively, and realistic scene from other published reports, and presumably oral accounts that furnished the particular details of the scrivener's last moments. It is this fact that supplies the modern reader with sufficient reason to suspect that perhaps Defoe employed the same artistry in creating, or perhaps strategically doctoring, some of the plain-style letters that feature the same means of animating a scene. On many different narrative levels, Defoe's imaginative instincts as a novelist come to light in this work.

One consistent theme in Defoe's writing that he first articulates in The Storm is the frank admission that

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language is inadequate to recreate or in any way convey the overpowering impression of unimaginably horrific scenes. Many critics have remarked that Defoe's use of language is notably lacking in visualization and that it does not lend itself to word portraits or descriptive pictures. While The Storm contains more visual description than is to be found in his novels, Defoe nonetheless concedes that the horrifying experience of the tempest is beyond the power of words to convey:

> In short, Horror and Confusion seiz'd upon all, whether on Shore or at Sea: No Pen can describe it, no Tongue can express it, no Thought conceive it, unless some of those who were in extremity of it…. (The Storm 68)

Eighteen years later, in a very different sort of writing, Defoe will have Moll Flanders express the same sentiment when she is confronted with the horrors of incarceration in Newgate (see Moll Flanders 238). In The Storm Defoe repeatedly makes the point that words are not sufficient to convey the extent of the wreckage caused by the hurricane: "the Havock the Storm had made, which was so universal in London, and especially in the Out-Parts, [was such] that nothing can be said sufficient to describe it" (38); and "'Tis impossible to enumerate the Particulars of the Damage suffered..."(81). The activity of enumerating is central to

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the narrative method of The Storm, which quantifies the extent of England's damage and financial loss. Yet to quantify is not the same as to recreate or describe the horror of the storm's devastation, and Defoe urges his readers to exercise the full power of their imaginations to compensate for this deficiency:

> 'Tis impossible to describe the general Calamity, and the most we can do is, to lead our Reader to supply by his Immagination what we omit; and to believe, that as the Head of the particulars is thus collected, an infinite Variety at the same time happened in every place which cannot be expected to be found in this Relation. (The Storm 157)

Although the overall plan for The Storm was conventionally laid out, its content and form were imaginatively conceived and realized. P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens have argued in The Canonisation of Defoe that the method and logic informing Defoe's colloquial prose style is "improvisatory" and that on a syntactic level "much of the effort of the improvisatory sentence is devoted to postponing the end--and, what is more, postponing the decision as to how it shall end" (130). In this mode, it is only in retrospect that "the sentence is found to be

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beautifully organised and articulated" (130). They have argued also that Defoe constructs the characterizations and episodic plots of his novels in this improvisational and retrospective style:

> Defoe invents a destiny for Crusoe, Moll Flanders and Roxana which in retrospect has form and significance: Crusoe, Moll and Roxana are the sum of their experiences, and the sum is significant. (The Canonisation of Defoe 133)

Such a method is also apparent in the style and content of The Storm, which both collects and looks back on the sum total of many different people's simultaneous experience of the week-long hurricane. This creates for the work a structural and thematic coherence through which Defoe conveys both the enormity of the widespread natural disaster as well as a sense of its enduring providential significance.

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# Chapter Five: Textual Notes

## Attribution

The Defoe canon has long been in a state of flux. While John Robert Moore has increased the number of works attributed to Defoe to such an extent as to make him one of the most prolific authors in the English language, more recently P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens have questioned the tenuous grounds for many of these later attributions. Notwithstanding the continuing controversy over the state of the Defoe canon, The Storm has remained secure within the ranks of the author's known works from the time of its publication to the present. It was attributed to Defoe during his lifetime, and his earliest bibliographers, George Chalmers, William Lee, and Walter Wilson, included it in their catalogs of his works. Based on the weight of cumulative authority, and on external and internal evidence, the book can be identified as Defoe's.

There is at least one contemporary pamphlet, Republican Bullies (1705), that names Defoe as the author of The Storm. While this alone would not be sufficient evidence for attribution, combined with other external indicators it becomes compelling. Defoe had an established working

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relationship with the printer and bookseller John Nutt, who was responsible for selling The Storm. A few years earlier, Nutt printed and sold Defoe's The Pacificator. A Poem (dated 20 February 1700), a work which the author later would include in his official anthology A Second Volume of the Writings of the True-Born Englishman (1705). During the years 1703-4, in addition to The Storm Nutt printed and sold two other works by Defoe: An Enquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgil's General Translation: Shewing That 'tis not a nearer way to Heaven than the Grave, published 4 November 1703, in which the title page announces that it is "By the Author of the True Born Englishman" and two of its three prefaces are signed Daniel de Foe and D.F.; and A Hymn to Victory, published 29 August 1704, in which the preface to Queen Anne is signed De Foe and the text is signed D.F.. Defoe later re-printed the Hymn in A Second Volume. Such evidence shows that Defoe and Nutt had a literary connection prior to The Storm's publication, which is confirmed by the fact that Defoe acknowledged authorship of almost all of these works. In the case of The Storm, however, Nutt acted only as bookseller, while George Sawbridge printed the book. Sawbridge may have published it because he printed many scientific books, and The Storm was pitched as an empirical history of a contemporary calamity.

Further connections linking Defoe with The Storm are twofold. On its publication, Defoe advertised the book in

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the pages of his journal the Review. Additionally, he would re-use his pen-name in The Storm, "The Ages Humble Servant", for other works on similar themes. In The Lay-Man's Sermon Upon the Late Storm Defoe refers to himself as the reader's "Humble Servant" (5), and in one issue of the Review (1705) entitled "The Preface", which contains a heated defense of Defoe's journal and his intent to warn England of the seriousness of the French Monarch's threat to England's autonomy, well-being, and trade, Defoe signs himself "Their Humble Servant, D.F." When he was reporting on subjects that he felt were related to the public good, it seems that he favored this appellation.

The internal evidence also suggests Defoe's authorship. As this critical introduction has shown, the work's style, language, and ideas reflect Defoe's imprint. The fluent, colloquial prose style that tends to run-on breathlessly from one episode to the next, the loose structural organization that admits of numerous repetitions of fact, and the use of a narrator who is also an eye-witness to the events that he relates and analyzes are all characteristic of Defoe. His interest in providential themes is here readily apparent as he shows how the English coped with a national calamity. So is his lifelong preoccupation with trade, which surfaces in his evaluation of the market consequences of the loss of merchant ships and domestic crops. His discussion of the sharp increase in the price of

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pantiles as the demand to repair damaged roofs grew is particularly notable when one considers that his own tile factory recently had gone bankrupt as a consequence of his imprisonment for the Shortest Way with the Dissenters (1702). Also significant here is the fact that Defoe reworked episodes and incidents from The Storm in later works such as Robinson Crusoe (1719) and A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-6). Defoe often drew on his earlier works for material when he needed it, and this is an important indicator in the attribution of his titles.

In short, the internal and external evidence point to Defoe as the author of The Storm. It seems that Defoe's early bibliographers were correct to have included the work in the Defoe canon, and there is no reason to take issue with their judgment.

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## The Publication History of The Storm

Newspaper advertisements show that The Storm's appearance in book shops met with some delays. The publication announcement in The London Gazette Numb. 4038 Thurs. July 20 to Mon. July 24, stated that "Last Monday was published, The Storm.... Price 3s. 6d." An earlier advertisement in The Daily Courant Numb. 703 Monday, 17 July 1704, however, reported that it would be published the following Monday. Subsequent to this Defoe ran an advertisement in his journal A Review of the Affairs of France Numb. 41 Tuesday, July 25, 1704 amending the earlier date of publication: "Whereas Notice has been given in the Gazette, and other papers, of a Collection then making of all the remarkable Accidents of the late dreadfull Storm; the said book is now in the Press, and will be publish'd next week" (180). The following week it was announced as just published (Review Numb. 42 Saturday, July 29. 1704, 184). Despite its delayed appearance in print, William Lee and John Robert Moore have used the first notice of 17 July 1704 for the standard publication date. Defoe published the book anonymously, as was the case with most of his works.

Apparently The Storm was not a great seller, since its unsold sheets were reissued later by the publisher in January of 1713. The reissue was given a new and more

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detailed title, the better to recall and contextualize the events of the great storm: A Collection Of the most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters, Which happen'd in the late dreadful Tempest, Both By Sea and Land, On Friday the Twenty-sixth of November, Seventeen Hundred and Three. To which is added, Several very Surprizing Deliverances. The Natural Cause and Original of Winds. Of the Opinion of the Ancients, that this Island was more subject to Storms than other Parts of the World. With several other Curious Observations upon the Storm. The whole divided into Chapters under Proper Heads....The Second Edition. It is implied that this "new" edition contains additional accounts of extraordinary deliverances, when in fact all of the reports are the same as those in the 1704 publication. Similarly, the chapter headings referred to were also in the earlier work, but they are emphasized here as an indication of the book's comprehensiveness. Although the title page refers to the work as "The Second Edition", it was not uncommon, as R.W. Chapman has noted, to call a reissue a second edition as an advertising tactic to suggest that the first edition had sold out ("Numbering of Editions" 213). The cost of the bound book remained the same, however, and this time its price of 3s. 6d. was included on the title page.

The 1704 and 1713 octavo copies of The Storm are identical except for their pagination errors. Both the 1704 and the 1713 copies have two misnumbered pages: page 259

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appears as 249, and page 148 is transposed as 184. In addition to this, however, the 1713 copies contain 8 errors in pagination in the N signature. The compositor misnumbered one plate and apparently confused the N signature for the M, which begins at page number 161. The N signature should begin with page number 177, but instead it is given as 161 and following from that error the rest of the plate was numbered incorrectly as 164 [180], 165 [181], 168 [184], 169 [185], 172 [188], 173 [189], 176 [192]. The other side of the sheet is paginated correctly so that pages 178, 179, 182, 183, 186, 187, 190, and 191 are in the proper sequence. From this we may infer that the compositor caught this error only after a number of copies had been run off. The flawed copies were put aside and would later constitute the reissue, while the corrected sheets were bound and sold in 1704. This would account for the unusual appearance of more rather than fewer pagination mistakes in the later copies, and it might also explain why the work was late arriving at the bookseller's.

Subsequent editions tell us more about how the text was received than about Defoe's authorial intentions. A Historical Narrative of the Great and Tremendous Storm (London, 1769) is an adaptation of Defoe's book that does not include its author's name. It is a dry, attenuated version of the original. The preface, perhaps one of the most valuable and informative sections in what it tells us

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about Defoe's intentions, is conspicuously absent here, and the text begins with the first chapter. This edition is significant, however, because it shows that sixty-six years after the event the providential and empirical analysis of the topic, rather than the numerous pages of testimonials, were still of interest to readers.

1769 also saw the publication of Gideon Harvey the Elder's The City Remembrancer, 2 vols., which collects from original sources information about natural disasters and scourges in England, beginning with the London plague of 1665 and ending with the great storm of 1703. It is interesting to note that Dr. Gideon Harvey contributed one of the letters included in The Storm (246-248). Presumably, then, and according to the claims of Harvey's title-page, he thought that the book was a reliable history. Harvey includes information from Defoe's copious testimonials, but the narrative is presented in the third-person rather than the first-person for the sake of succinctness and fluidity.

Later in the 19th century, The Storm was published by George Bell and Company as a part of Bohn's Standard Library series which produced a seven-volume set of Defoe's collected works. This collection was reprinted for sales from 1854 through 1891. The text, however, loses much of its original flavor in this normalized version which also regularizes the accidentals and inadvertently creates more misprints than are to be found in the original.

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The Storm was still so little-known a work in the first part of the twentieth century, that even the National Union Catalogue made the mistake of attributing to Defoe the anonymous American pamphlet entitled The Storm; one of Old Daniel's Stories (1823) 31 pp, published in New Haven by Sidney's Press for John Babcock and Son, and S. Babcock and Co., Charleston, South Carolina. This text may be found at the Beinecke Rare Book library, where it is, however, not cataloged under Defoe's works but rather under the publisher's imprints. It is apparent from both the content and the prose style that this children's story has no connection to Defoe or The Storm. The Daniel referred to in the title is a front-porch storyteller who spins this little yarn.

In the twentieth century, The Storm has appeared in print only once, and then in excerpted form. In The Versatile Defoe, An Anthology of Uncollected Writings by Daniel Defoe (1979), Laura Ann Curtis includes a 13-page extract from The Storm to acquaint the student of Defoe with a work that is otherwise to be found only in rare book rooms of research libraries or on microfilm. She provides an excellent introduction to the work which, by consequence, points to the need for a scholarly publication of the book in its entirety.

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## Editorial Principles

The present noncritical edition of The Storm is intended to make accessible the original publication, which is rare and not easily available to readers, and to point out its historical relevance to the Defoe canon. It was prepared in accordance with Thomas Tanselle's definition of the term "noncritical" edition to mean "reproducing exactly one particular text, without alteration" ("Recent Editorial Discussion and the Central Questions of Editing" 60). Since this dissertation is reproducing an established text in order to situate it within the context of Defoe's development as a writer of novels, the editorial work has focused exclusively on the critical and historical introduction and the annotations.

As is the case with most early eighteenth-century works, there is no extant autograph manuscript or printer's copy of The Storm. In fact, only two of Defoe's manuscripts have survived: Historical Collections: or Memoirs of Passages collected from several authors (1682), a manuscript which has his written corrections for the press (Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction, 18); and the autograph manuscript of The Compleat English Gentleman, which was found and published posthumously in 1890. Consequently, the 1704 edition of The Storm serves as the copy-text for this

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dissertation because it is the only printing that was produced during Defoe's lifetime. The text consists of a photographic reproduction of the book on microfilm.

This noncritical edition preserves all inconsistencies in spelling and punctuation. In the absence of a manuscript, it is impossible to tell whether Defoe or the compositor was responsible for these variations. However, Karl Bülbring, the editor of the The Compleat English Gentleman (1890), has remarked that Defoe "scarcely puts any commas, and only very rarely puts a full stop or other mark" (xix). This leads one to conclude that the compositor of The Storm must have supplied these marks of punctuation. Apparently Defoe's spelling was also inconsistent (Bülbring xviii), but as the reader of The Storm will find, so was that of his different correspondents. Since Defoe states that he made a point of reprinting these eye-witness letters verbatim, presumably any errors that they contain are meant as a testament to their authenticity. Still, the annotations clarify variant spellings of words, and particularly of place names, wherever needed.

The Storm is presented as a clear text with no annotative apparatus on its pages so that the work may be read unimpeded as it appeared originally.

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# PART II

## The Storm; Or, A Collection Of the most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters Which happen'd in the Late Dreadful Tempest, Both by Sea and Land

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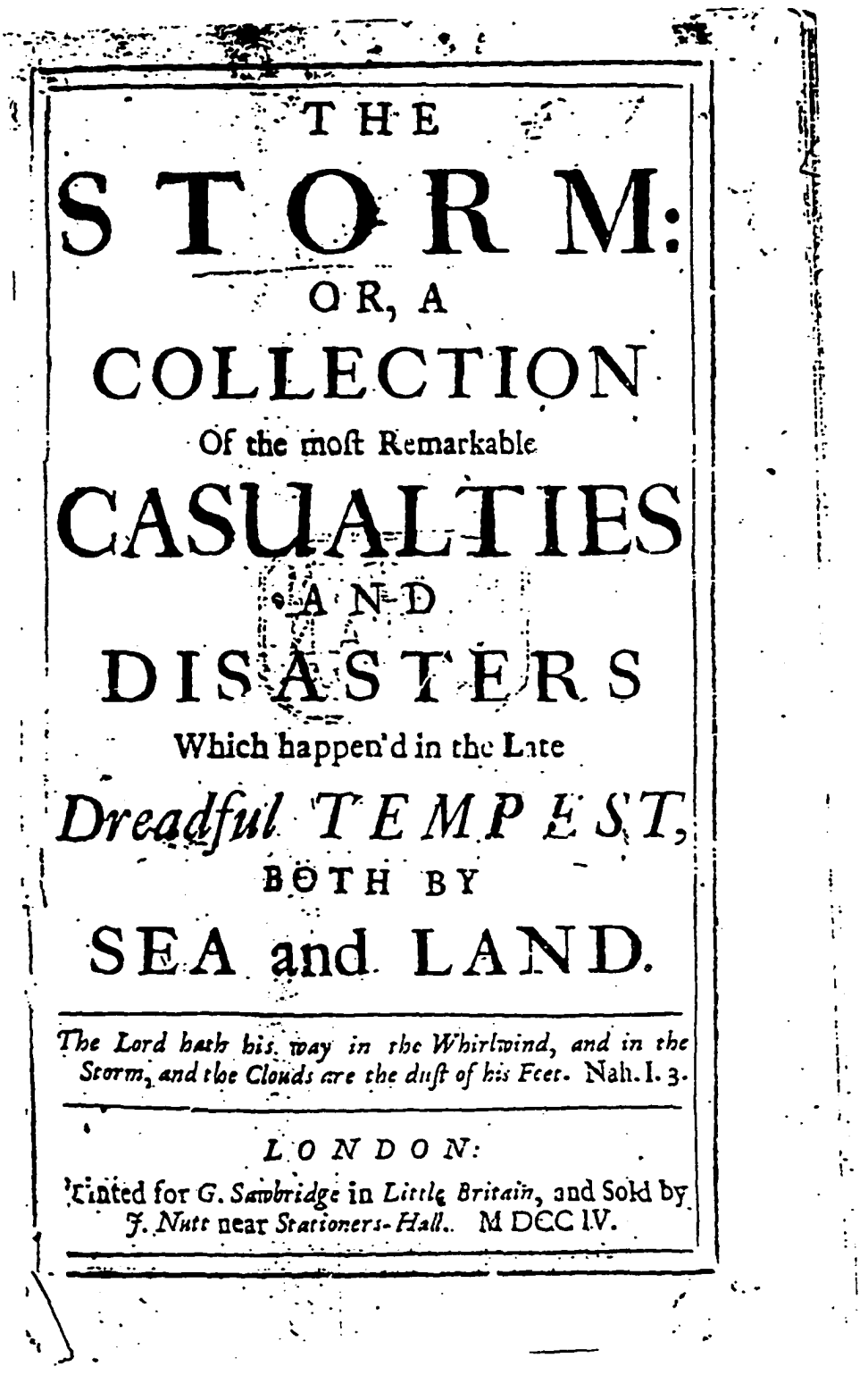

# THE STORM: OR, A COLLECTION Of the most Remarkable CASUALTIES AND DISASTERS Which happen'd in the Late *Dreadful TEMPEST*, BOTH BY SEA and LAND.

*The Lord hath his way in the Whirlwind, and in the Storm, and the Clouds are the duſt of his Feet.* Nah. I. 3.

*LONDON:*

Printed for *G. Sawbridge* in *Little Britain*, and Sold by *J. Nutt* near *Stationers-Hall*. M DCC LV.

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# THE PREFACE.

*PReaching of Sermons is Speaking to a few of Mankind: Printing of Books is Talking to the whole World. The Parſon Preſcribes himſelf, and addreſſes to the particular Auditory with the Appellation of* My Brethren; *but he that Prints a Book, ought to Preface it with a* Noverint Univerſi, *Know all Men by theſe Preſents.*

*The proper Inference drawn from this remarkable Obſervation, is, That tho' he that Preaches from the Pulpit ought to be careful of his Words, that nothing paſs from him but with an eſpecial Sanction of Truth; yet he that Prints and Publiſhes to all the World, has a tenfold Obligation.*



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# The Preface.

*The Sermon is a Sound of Words ſpoken to the Ear, and prepar'd only for preſent Meditation, and extends no farther than the ſtrength of Memory can convey it; a Book Printed is a Record, remaining in every Man's Poſſeſſion, always ready to renew its Acquaintance with his Memory, and always ready to be produc'd as an Authority or Voucher to any Reports he makes out of it, and conveys its Contents for Ages to come, to the Eternity of mortal Time, when the Author is forgotten in his Grave.*

*If a Sermon be ill grounded, if the Preacher impoſes upon us, he treſpaſſes on a few; but if a Book Printed obtrudes a Falſhood, if a Man tells a Lye in Print, he abuſes Mankind, and impoſes upon the whole World, he cauſes our Children to tell Lyes after us, and their Children after them, to the End of the World.*

*This Obſervation I thought good to make by way of Preface, to let the World know, that when I go about a Work in which I muſt tell a great many Stories, which may in their own nature ſeem incredible, and in which I muſt expect a great part of Mankind will queſtion*

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*queſtion the Sincerity of the Relator; I did not do it without a particular ſence upon me of the proper Duty of an Hiſtorian, and the abundant Duty laid on him to be very wary what he conveys to Poſterity.*

*I cannot be ſo ignorant of my own Intentions, as not to know, that in many Caſes I ſhall act the Divine, and draw neceſſary practical Inferences from the extraordinary Remarkables of this Book, and ſome Digreſſions which I hope may not be altogether uſeleſs in this Caſe.*

*And while I pretend to a thing ſo ſolemn, I cannot but premiſe I ſhould ſtand convicted of a double Impoſture, to forge a Story, and then preach Repentance to the Reader from a Crime greater than that I would have him repent of: endeavouring by a Lye to correct the Reader's Vices, and ſin againſt Truth to bring the Reader off from ſinning againſt Sence.*

*Upon this ſcore, tho' the Undertaking be very difficult among ſuch an infinite variety of Circumſtances, to keep exactly within the bounds of Truth; yet I have this poſitive Aſſurance with me, that in all the ſubſequent*



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# The Preface.

*Relation, if the leaſt Miſtake happen, it ſhall not be mine.*

*If I judge right, 'Tis the Duty of an Hiſtorian to ſet every thing in its own Light, and to convey matter of fact upon its legitimate Authority, and no other: I mean thus, (for I wou'd be as explicit as I can) That where a Story is vouch'd to him with ſufficient Authority, he ought to give the World the ſpecial Teſtimonial of its proper Voucher, or elſe he is not juſt to the Story: and where it comes without ſuch ſufficient Authority, he ought to ſay ſo; otherwiſe he is not juſt to himſelf. In the firſt Caſe he injures the Hiſtory, by leaving it doubtful where it might be confirm'd paſt all manner of queſtion; in the laſt he injures his own Reputation, by taking upon himſelf the Riſque, in caſe it proves a Miſtake, of having the World charge him with a Forgery.*

*And indeed, I cannot but own 'tis juſt, that if I tell a Story in Print for a Truth which proves otherwiſe, unleſs I, at the ſame time, give proper Caution to the Reader, by owning the Uncertainty of my Knowledge in*

*the*

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*the matter of fact, 'tis I impose upon the World; my Relater is innocent, and the Lye is my own.*

*I make all these preliminary Observations, partly to inform the Reader, that I have not undertaken this Work without the serious Consideration of what I owe to Truth, and to Posterity; nor without a Sence of the extraordinary Variety and Novelty of the Relation.*

*I am sensible, that the want of this Caution is the Foundation of that great Misfortune we have in matters of ancient History; in which the Impudence, the Ribaldry, the empty Flourishes, the little Regard to Truth, and the Fondness of telling a strange Story, has dwindled a great many valuable Pieces of ancient History into meer Romance.*

*How are the Lives of some of our most famous Men, nay the Actions of whole Ages, drowned in Fable? Not that there wanted Pen-men to write, but that their Writings were continually mixt with such Rhodomontades of the Authors that Posterity rejected them as fabulous.*



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# The Preface.

*From hence it comes to pass that Matters of Fact are handed down to Posterity with so little Certainty, that nothing is to be depended upon; from hence the uncertain Account of Things and Actions in the remoter Ages of the World, the confounding the Genealogies as well as Atchievements of* Belus, Nimrod, *and* Nimrus, *and their Successors, the Histories and Originals of* Saturn Jupiter, *and the rest of the Celestial Rabble, who Mankind would have been asham'd to have call'd* Gods, *had they had the true Account of their dissolute, exorbitant, and inhumane Lives.*

*From Men we may descend to Action: and this prodigious Looseness of the Pen has confounded History and Fable from the beginning of both. Thus the great Flood in* Deucalion's *Time is made to pass for the Universal Deluge: the Ingenuity of* Dedalus, *who by a Clue of Thread got out of the* Egyptian *Maze, which was thought impossible, is grown into a Fable of making himself a pair of Wings, and flying through the Air:— the great Drought and violent Heat of Summer, thought to be the Time when the Great*

*Famine*

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# The Preface.

*Famine was in* Samaria, *fabl'd by the Poets and Hiſtorians into the Story of* Phaeton *borrowing the Chariot of the Sun, and giving the Horſes their Heads, they run ſo near the Earth as burnt up all the neareſt Parts, and ſcorch'd the Inhabitants, ſo that they have been black in thoſe Parts ever ſince.*

*Theſe, and ſuch like ridiculous Stuff, have been the Effects of the Pageantry of Hiſtorians in former Ages: and I might deſcend nearer home, to the Legends of Fabulous Hiſtory which have ſwallow'd up the Actions of our ancient Predeceſſors,* King Arthur, *the Gyant* Gogmagog, *and the* Britain, *the Stories of* St. George *and the* Dragon, Guy *Earl of* Warwick, Bevis *of* Southampton, *and the like.*

*I'll account for better Conduct in the enſuing Hiſtory: and tho' ſome Things here related ſhall have equal Wonder due to them, Poſterity ſhall not have equal Occaſion to diſtruſt the Verity of the Relation.*

*I confeſs here is room for abundance of Romance, becauſe the Subject may be ſafer extended than in any other caſe, no Story being capable to be crowded with ſuch Circumſtances,*

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ces, but Infinite Power, which is all along concern'd with us in every Relation, is ſuppos'd capable of making true.

Yet we ſhall no where ſo Treſpaſs upon Fact, as to oblige Infinite Power to the ſhewing more Miracles than it intended.

It muſt be allow'd, That when Nature was put into ſo much Confuſion, and the Surface of the Earth and Sea felt ſuch extraordinary a Diſorder, innumerable Accidents would fall out that till the like Occaſion happen may never more be ſeen, and unleſs a like Occaſion had happen'd could never before be heard of: wherefore the particular Circumſtances being ſo wonderful, ſerve but to remember Poſterity of the more wonderful Extreme, which was the immediate Cauſe.

The Uſes and Application made from this Terrible Doctrine, I leave to the Men of the Pulpit; only take the freedom to obſerve, that when Heaven it ſelf lays down the Doctrine, all Men are ſummon'd to make Applications by themſelves.

The main Inference I ſhall pretend to make or at leaſt venture the expoſing to publick View, in this caſe, is, the ſtrong Evidence

God

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# The Preface.

*God has been pleas'd to give in this terrible manner to his own Being, which Mankind began more than ever to affront and deſpiſe: And I cannot but have ſo much Charity for the worſt of my Fellow-Creatures, that I believe no Man was ſo hard'ned againſt the Sence of his Maker, but he felt ſome Shocks of his wicked Confidence from the Convulſions of Nature at this time.*

*I cannot believe any Man ſo rooted in Atheiſtical Opinions, as not to find ſome Cauſe to doubt whether he was not in the Wrong, and a little to apprehend the Poſſibility of a Supreme Being, when he felt the terrible Blaſts of this Tempeſt. I cannot doubt but the Atheiſt's hard'ned Soul trembl'd a little as well as his Houſe, and he felt ſome Nature asking him ſome little Queſtions; as theſe* --- Am not I miſtaken? Certainly there is ſome ſuch thing as a God --- What can all this be? What is the Matter in the World?

*Certainly Atheiſm is one of the moſt Irrational Principles in the World; there is ſomething incongruous in it with the Teſt of Humane Policy, becauſe there is a Riſque in the Miſtake one way, and none another. If the Chriſtian*

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# The Preface.

*Chriſtian is miſtaken, and it ſhould at laſt appear that there is no Future State, God or Devil, Reward or Puniſhment, where is the Harm of it? All he has loſt is, that he has practis'd a few needleſs Mortifications, and took the pains to live a little more like a Man than he wou'd have done. But if the Atheiſt is miſtaken, he has brought all the Powers, whoſe Being he deny'd, upon his Back, has provok'd the Infinite in the higheſt manner, and muſt at laſt ſink under the Anger of him whoſe Nature he has always diſown'd.*

*I would recommend this Thought to any Man to conſider of, one Way he can looſe nothing, the other he may be undone. Certainly a wiſe Man would never run ſuch an unequal Riſque: a Man cannot anſwer it to Common Arguments, the Law of Numbers, and the Rules of Proportion are againſt him. No Gameſter will ſet at ſuch a Main; no Man will lay ſuch a Wager, where he may loſe, but cannot win.*

*There is another unhappy Misfortune in the Miſtake too, that it can never be diſcover'd till 'tis too late to remedy. He that reſolves to die an Atheiſt, ſhuts the Door againſt being convinc'd in time.* If

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# The Preface.

If it ſhou'd ſo fall out, as who can tell,
But that there is a God, a Heaven, and Hell,
Mankind had beſt conſider well for Fear,
't ſhould be too late when his Miſtakes appear.

*I ſhould not pretend to ſet up for an Inſtructor in this Caſe, were not the Inference ſo exceding juſt; who can but preach where there is ſuch a Text? when God himſelf ſpeaks his own Power, he expects we ſhould draw juſt Inferences from it, both for our Selves and our Friends.*

*If one Man, in an Hundred Years, ſhall arrive at a Conviction of the Being of his Maker, 'tis very well worth my While to write it, and to bear the Character of an impertinent Fellow from all the reſt.*

*I thought to make ſome Apology for the Meanneſs of Stile, and the Method, which may be a little unuſual, of Printing Letters from the Country in their own Stile.*

*For the laſt I only leave this ſhort Reaſon with the Reader, the Deſire I had to keep*

*cloſe*

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*close to the Truth, and hand my Relation with the true Authorities from whence I receiv'd it; together with some Justice to the Gentlemen concern'd, who, especially in Cases of Deliverances, are willing to record the Testimonial of the Mercies they received, and to set their Hands to the humble Acknowledgment. The Plainness and Honesty of the Story will plead for the Meanness of the Stile in many of the Letters, and the Reader cannot want Eyes to see what sort of People some of them come from.*

*Others speak for themselves, and being writ by Men of Letters, as well as Men of Principles, I have not Arrogance enough to attempt a Correction either of the Sense or Stile; and if I had gone about it, should have injur'd both Author and Reader.*

*These come dress'd in their own Words because I ought not, and those because I could not mend 'em. I am perswaded, they are all dress'd in the desirable, though unfashionable Garb of Truth, and I doubt not but Posterity will read them with Pleasure.*

*The Gentlemen, who have taken the Pains to collect and transmit the Particular Relations*

*here*

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# The Preface.

*here made publick, I hope will have their End anſwered in this Eſſay, conveying hereby to the Ages to come the Memory of the dreadfuleſt and moſt univerſal Judgment that ever Almighty Power thought fit to bring upon this Part of the World.*

*And as this was the true Native and Original Deſign of the firſt Undertaking, abſtracted from any Part of the Printer's Advantage, the Editor and Undertakers of this Work, having their Ends entirely anſwer'd, hereby give their humble Thanks to all thoſe Gentlemen who have ſo far approv'd the Sincerity of their Deſign as to contribute their Trouble, and help forward by their juſt Obſervations, the otherwiſe very difficult Undertaking.*

*If Poſterity will but make the deſired Improvement both of the Collector's Pains, as well as the ſeveral Gentlemens Care in furniſhing the Particulars, I dare ſay they will all acknowledge their End fully anſwer'd, and none more readily than*

The Ages Humble Servant.

THE

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( 1 )

# THE STORM.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the Natural Cauſes and Original of Winds.*

THOUGH a Syſtem of Exhalation, Dilation, and Extenſion, things which the Ancients founded the Doctrine of Winds upon, be not my direct Buſineſs; yet it cannot but be needful to the preſent Deſign to Note, that the Difference in the Opinions of the Ancients, about the Nature and Original of Winds, is a Leading Step to one Aſſertion which I have advanc'd in all that I have ſaid with Relation to Winds, *viz.* That there ſeems to be more of God in the whole Appearance, than in any other Part of Operating Nature.

Nor do I think I need explain my ſelf very far in this Notion: I allow the high Origi-



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nal of Nature to be the Great Author of all her Actings, and by the ſtrict Rein of his Providence, is the Continual and Exact Guide of her Executive Power; but ſtill 'tis plain that in Some of the Principal Parts of Nature ſhe is Naked to our Eye, Things appear both in their Cauſes and Conſequences. Demonſtration gives its Aſſiſtance, and finiſhes our further Enquiries: for we never enquire after God in thoſe Works of Nature which depending upon the Courſe of Things are plain and demonſtrative; but where we find Nature defective in her Diſcovery, where we ſee Effects but cannot reach their Cauſes; there 'tis moſt juſt, and Nature her ſelf ſeems to direct us to it, to end the rational Enquiry, and reſolve it into Speculation: Nature plainly refers us beyond her Self, to the Mighty Hand of Infinite Power, the Author of Nature, and Original of all Cauſes.

Among theſe Arcana of the Sovereign Oeconomy, the Winds are laid as far back as any. Thoſe Ancient Men of Genius who rifled Nature by the Torch-Light of Reaſon even to her very Nudities, have been run a-ground in this unknown Channel; the Wind has blown out the Candle of Reaſon, and left them all in the Dark.

*Ariſtotle*, in his Problems, Sect. 23. calls the Wind *Aeris Impulſum*. *Seneca* ſays, *Ventus eſt Aer Fluens*. The *Stoicks* held it, *Motum aut Fluxionem Aeris*. Mr. *Hobs*, Air mov'd in a di-

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direct or undulating Motion. Fournier, *Le Vent et un Movement Agitation de l' Air Cauſé par des Exhalations et Vapours.* The Moderns, a Hot and Dry Exhalation repuls'd by Antiperiſtaſis; *Des Cartes* defines it, *Venti Nihil ſunt niſi Moti & Dilati Vapores.* And various other Opinions are very judiciouſly collected by the Learned Mr. *Bohun* in his Treatiſe of the Origin and Properties of Wind, P. 7. and concludes, 'That no one Hypotheſis, how Compre-'henſive ſoever, has yet been able to reſolve all the 'Incident Phænomena of Winds. Bohun *of Winds*, P. 9.

This is what I quote them for, and this is all my Argument demands; the deepeſt Search into the Region of Cauſe and Conſequence, has found out juſt enough to leave the wiſeſt Philoſopher in the dark, to bewilder his Head, and drown his Underſtanding. You raiſe a Storm in Nature by the very Inquiry; and at laſt, to be rid of you, ſhe confeſſes the Truth, and tells you, *It is not in Me, you muſt go Home and ask my Father.*

Whether then it be the Motion of Air, and what that Air is, *which as yet is undefin'd*, whether it is a Dilation, a previous Contraction, and then violent Extenſion as in Gun-Powder, whether the Motion is Direct, Circular, or Oblique, whether it be an Exhalation repuls'd by the Middle Region, and the Antiperiſtaſis of that Part of the Heavens which is ſet as a Wall of Braſs to bind up the Atmoſphere,



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and keep it within its proper Compaſs for the Functions of Reſpiration Condenſing and Rarifying, without which Nature would be all in Confuſion; whatever are their efficient Cauſes, 'tis not much to the immediate Deſign.

'Tis apparent, that God Almighty, whom the Philoſophers care as little as poſſible to have any thing to do with, ſeems to have reſerv'd this, as one of thoſe Secrets in Nature which ſhould more directly guide them to himſelf.

Not but that a Philoſopher may be a Chriſtian, and ſome of the beſt of the Latter have been the beſt of the Former, as *Voſſius*, Mr. *Boyle*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Lord *Verulam*, Dr. *Harvey*, and others; and I wiſh I could ſay Mr. *Hobbs*, for 'twas Pity there ſhould lie any juſt Exceptions to the Piety of a Man, who had ſo few to his General Knowledge, and an exalted Spirit in Philoſophy.

When therefore I ſay the Philoſophers do not care to concern God himſelf in the Search after Natural Knowledge; I mean, as it concerns Natural Knowledge, *meerly as ſuch*; for 'tis a Natural Cauſe they ſeek, from a General Maxim, That all Nature has its Cauſe within it ſelf: 'tis true, 'tis the Darkeſt Part of the Search, to trace the Chain backward; to begin at the Conſequence, and from thence *hunt Counter*, as we may call it, to find out the Cauſe: 'twould be much eaſier if we could begin at the Cauſe, and trace it to all its Conſequences.

I make

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I make no Queſtion, the Search would be equally to the Advantage of Science, and the Improvement of the World; for without Doubt there are ſome Conſequences of known Cauſes which are not yet diſcover'd, and I am as ready to believe there are yet in Nature ſome *Terra Incognita* both as to Cauſe and Conſequence too.

In this Search after Cauſes, the Philoſopher, tho' he may at the ſame Time be a very good Chriſtian, cares not at all to meddle with his Maker: the Reaſon is plain; We may at any time reſolve all things into Infinite Power, and we do allow that the Finger of Infinite is the Firſt Mighty Cauſe of Nature her ſelf: but the Treaſury of Immediate Cauſe is generally committed to Nature; and if at any Time we are driven to look beyond her, 'tis becauſe we are out of the way: 'tis not becauſe it is not in her, but becauſe we cannot find it.

Two Men met in the Middle of a great Wood; One was ſearching for a Plant which grew in the Wood, the Other had loſt himſelf in the Wood, and wanted to get out: The Latter rejoyc'd when thro' the Trees he ſaw the open Country; but the Other Man's Buſineſs was not to get out, but to find what he look'd for: yet this Man no more undervalued the Pleaſantneſs of the Champion Country than the other.



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Thus in Nature the Philoſopher's Buſineſs is not to look through Nature, and come to the vaſt open Field of Infinite Power; his Buſineſs is in the Wood; there grows the Plant he looks for; and 'tis there he muſt find it. Philoſophy's a-ground if it is forc'd to any further Enquiry. The Chriſtian begins juſt where the Philoſopher ends; and when the Enquirer turns his Eyes up to Heaven, Farewel Philoſopher; 'tis a Sign he can make nothing of it here.

*David* was a good Man, the Scripture gives him that Teſtimony; but I am of the Opinion, he was a better King than a Scholar, more a Saint than a Philoſopher: and it ſeems very proper to judge that *David* was upon the Search of Natural Cauſes, and found himſelf puzzled as to the Enquiry, when he finiſhes the Enquiry with two pious Ejaculations, *When I view the Heavens the Works of thy Hands, the Moon and the Stars which thou haſt made; then I ſay, what is Man!* *David* may very rationally be ſuppos'd to be ſearching the Cauſes, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly Bodies; and finding his Phyiloſophy a-ground, and the Diſcovery not to anſwer his Search, he turns it all to a pious Uſe, recognizes Infinite Power, and applies it to the Exſtaſies and Raptures of his Soul, which were always employ'd in the Charm of exalted Praiſe.

Thus in another Place we find him diſſecting the Womb of his Mother, and deep in the

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Study of Anatomy; but having, as it may be well ſuppoſed, no Help from *Johan Remelini*, or of the Learned *Riolanus*, and other Anatomiſts, famous for the moſt exquiſite Diſcovery of human Body, and all the Veſſels of Life, with their proper Dimenſions and Uſe, all *David* could ſay to the Matter was, *Good Man*, to look up to Heaven, and admire what he could not underſtand, *Pſal.* -- -- *I was fearfully and wonderfully made*, &c.

This is very Good, and well becomes a Pulpit; but what's all this to a Philoſopher? 'Tis not enough for him to know that God has made the Heavens, the Moon, and the Stars, but muſt inform himſelf where he has plac'd them, and why there; and what their Buſineſs, what their Influences, their Functions, and the End of their Being. 'Tis not enough for an Anatomiſt to know that he is fearfully and wonderfully made in the lowermoſt Part of the Earth, but he muſt ſee thoſe lowermoſt Parts; ſearch into the Method Nature proceeds upon in the performing the Office appointed, muſt ſearch the Steps ſhe takes, the Tools ſhe works by; and in ſhort, know all that the God of Nature has permitted to be capable of Demonſtration.

And it ſeems a juſt Authority for our Search, that ſome things are ſo plac'd in Nature by a Chain of Cauſes and Effects, that upon a diligent Search we may find out what we look for: To ſearch after what God has



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in his Sovereignty thought fit to conceal, may be criminal, and doubtleſs is ſo; and the Fruitleſneſs of the Enquiry is generally Part of the Puniſhment to a vain Curioſity: but to ſearch after what our Maker has not hid, only cover'd with a thin Veil of Natural Obſcurity, and which, upon our Search is plain to be read, ſeems to be juſtified by the very Nature of the thing, and the Poſſibility of the Demonſtration is an Argument to prove the Lawfulneſs of the Enquiry.

The Deſign of this Digreſſion, is, in ſhort, That as where Nature is plain to be ſearch'd into, and Demonſtration eaſy, the Philoſopher is allow'd to ſeek for it; ſo where God has, as it were, laid his Hand upon any Place, and Nature preſents us with an univerſal Blank, we are therein led as naturally to recognize the Infinite Wiſdom and Power of the God of Nature, as *David* was in the Texts before quoted.

And this is the Caſe here; the Winds are ſome of thoſe Inſcrutables of Nature, in which humane Search has not yet been able to arrive at any Demonſtration.

'The Winds, *ſays the Learned Mr.* Bohun, 'are generated in the Intermediate Space be'tween the Earth and the Clouds, either by 'Rarefaction or Repletion, and ſometimes 'haply by preſſure of Clouds, Elaſtical Vir'tue of the Air, *&c.* from the Earth or Seas, 'as by Submarine or Subterraneal Eruption or

Deſcenſion

'Deſcenſion or Reſilition from the middle 'Region.

All this, though no Man is more capable of the Enquiry than this Gentleman, yet to the Demonſtration of the thing, amounts to no more than what we had before, and ſtill leaves it as Abſtruſe and Cloudy to our Underſtanding as ever.

Not but that I think my ſelf bound in Duty to Science in General, to pay a juſt Debt to the Excellency of Philoſophical Study, in which I am a meer Junior, and hardly any more than an Admirer; and therefore I cannot but allow that the Demonſtrations made of Rarefaction and Dilatation are extraordinary; and that by Fire and Water Wind may be rais'd in a cloſe Room, as the Lord *Verulam* made Experiment in the Caſe of his Feathers.

But that therefore all the Cauſes of Wind are from the Influences of the Sun upon vaporous Matter firſt Exhal'd, which being Dilated are oblig'd to poſſeſs themſelves of more Space than before, and conſequently make the Particles fly before them; this does not ſeem to be a ſufficient Demonſtration of Wind: for this, to my weak Apprehenſion, would rather make a Blow like Gun-Powder than a ruſhing forward; at beſt this is indeed a probable Conjecture, but admits not of Demonſtration equal to other Phænomena in Nature.

And

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And this is all I am upon, *viz.* That this Caſe has not equal Proofs of the Natural Cauſes of it that we meet with in other Caſes: The Scripture ſeems to confirm this, when it ſays in one Place, *He holds the Wind in his Hand*; as if he ſhould mean, Other things are left to the Common Diſcoveries of Natural Inquiry, but this is a thing he holds in his own Hand, and has conceal'd it from the Search of the moſt Diligent and Piercing Underſtanding: This is further confirm'd by the Words of our Saviour, *The Wind blows where it liſteth, and thou heareſt the Sound thereof, but knoweſt not whence it cometh*; 'tis plainly expreſs'd to ſignify that the Cauſes of the Wind are not equally diſcover'd by Natural Enquiry as the reſt of Nature is.

If I would carry this Matter on, and travel into the Seas, and Mountains of *America*, where the Manſones, the Trade-Winds, the Sea-Breezes, and ſuch Winds as we have little Knowledge of, are more common; it would yet more plainly appear, *That we hear the Sound, but know not from whence they come.*

Nor is the Cauſe of their Motion parallel to the Surface of the Earth, a leſs Myſtery than their real Original, or the Difficulty of their Generation: and though ſome People have been forward to prove the Gravity of the Particles muſt cauſe the Motion to be oblique; 'tis plain it muſt be very little ſo, or elſe Navigation would be impracticable, and

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in extroardinary Caſes where the Preſſure above is perpendicular, it has been fatal to Ships, Houſes, *&c.* and would have terrible Effects in the World, if it ſhould more frequently be ſo.

From this I draw only this Concluſion, That the Winds are a Part of the Works of God by Nature, in which he has been pleaſed to communicate leſs of Demonſtration to us than in other Caſes; that the Particulars more directly lead us to Speculations, and refer us to Infinite Power more than the other Parts of Nature does.

That the Wind is more expreſſive and adapted to his Immediate Power, as he is pleas'd to exert it in extraordinary Caſes in the World.

That 'tis more frequently made uſe of as the Executioner of his Judgments in the World, and extraordinary Events are brought to paſs by it.

From theſe three Heads we are brought down directly to ſpeak of the Particular Storm before us; *viz.* The Greateſt, the Longeſt in Duration, the wideſt in Extent, of all the Tempeſts and Storms that Hiſtory gives any Account of ſince the Beginning of Time.

In the further Conduct of the Story, 'twill not be foreign to the Purpoſe, nor unprofitable to the Reader, to review the Hiſtories of ancient Time and remote Countries, and examine in what Manner God has been pleas'd to

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execute his Judgments by Storms and Tempeſts; what kind of things they have been, and what the Conſequences of them; and then bring down the Parallel to the Dreadful Inſtance before us.

We read in the Scripture of Two Great Storms; One paſt, and the Other to come. Whether the laſt be not Allegorical rather than Prophetical, I ſhall not buſie my ſelf to determine.

The Firſt was when God cauſed a ſtrong Wind to blow upon the Face of the Delug'd World; to put a ſtop to the Flood, and reduce the Waters to their proper Channel.

I wiſh our Naturaliſts would explain that Wind to us, and tell us which way it blew, or how it is poſſible that any direct Wind could cauſe the Waters to ebb; for to me it ſeems, that the Deluge being univerſal, that Wind which blew the Waters from one Part muſt blow them up in another.

Whether it was not ſome perpendicular Guſts that might by their Force ſeparate the Water and the Earth, and cauſe the Water driven from off the Land to *ſubſide* by its own Preſſure.

I ſhall dive no farther into that myſterious Deluge, which has ſome things in it which recommend the Story rather to our Faith than Demonſtration.

The Other Storm I find in the Scripture is in the *God ſhall rain upon the Wicked,*

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*ed, Plagues, Fire, and a horrible Tempeſt.* What this ſhall be, we wait to know; and happy are they who ſhall be ſecured from its Effects.

Hiſtories are full of Inſtances of violent Tempeſts and Storms in ſundry particular Places. What that was, which mingled with ſuch violent Lightnings ſet the Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* on fire, remains to me yet undecided: nor am I ſatisfied the Effect it had on the Waters of the Lake, which are to this Day call'd the *Dead Sea*, are ſuch as ſome fabulous Authors have related, and as Travellers take upon them to ſay.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Opinion of the Ancients, That this Iſland was more ſubject to Storms than other Parts of the World.*

I Am not of Opinion with the early Ages of the World, when theſe Iſlands were firſt known, that they were the moſt Terrible of any Part of the World for Storms and Tempeſts.

*Cambden* tells us, The *Britains* were diſtinguiſh'd from all the World by unpaſſable Seas and terrible Northern Winds, which made the *Albion* Shores dreadful to Sailors; and this part

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part of the World was therefore reckoned the utmoſt Bounds of the Northern known Land, beyond which none had ever ſailed: and quotes a great variety of ancient Authors to this purpoſe; ſome of which I preſent as a Specimen.

*Et Penitus Toto Diviſos Orbe Britannos.*
*Britain's* disjoyn'd from all the well known World.

*Quem Litus adiuſta,*
*Horreſcit Lybiæ, ratibusq; Impervia* * Thule
*Ignotumq; Fretum.*
Claud.

* Taken frequently for *Britain.*

And if the Notions the World then had were true, it would be very abſurd for us who live here to pretend Miracles in any Extremes of Tempeſts; ſince by what the Poets of thoſe Ages flouriſh'd about ſtormy Weather, was the native and moſt proper Epithet of the Place:

*Belluoſus qui remotis*
*Obſtrepit Oceanus* Britannis. *Hor.*

Nay, ſome are for placing the Nativity of the Winds hereabouts, as if they had been all generated here, and the Confluence of Matter had made this Iſland its General Rendezvouz.

But I ſhall eaſily ſhow, that there are ſeveral Places in the World far better adapted to be the General Receptacle or Centre of Vapours, to ſupply a Fund of Tempeſtuous Matter, than *England*; as particularly the vaſt

Lakes

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Lakes of *North America:* Of which afterwards.

And yet I have two Notions, one real, one imaginary, of the Reaſons which gave the Ancients ſuch terrible Apprehenſions of this Part of the World; which of late we find as Habitable and Navigable as any of the reſt.

The real Occaſion I ſuppoſe thus: That before the Multitude and Induſtry of Inhabitants prevail'd to the managing, encloſing, and improving the Country, the vaſt Tract of Land in this Iſland which continually lay open to the Flux of the Sea, and to the Inundations of Land-Waters, were as ſo many ſtanding Lakes; from whence the Sun continually exhaling vaſt quantities of moiſt Vapours, the Air could not but be continually crowded with all thoſe Parts of neceſſary Matter to which we aſcribe the Original of Winds, Rains, Storms, and the like.

He that is acquainted with the Situation of *England*, and can reflect on the vaſt Quantities of flat Grounds, on the Banks of all our navigable Rivers, and the Shores of the Sea, which Lands at leaſt lying under Water every Spring-Tide, and being thereby continually full of moiſture, were like a ſtagnated ſtanding body of Water brooding Vapours in the Interval of the Tide, muſt own that at leaſt a fifteenth part of the whole Iſland may come into this Denomination.

Let

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Let him that doubts the Truth of this, examine a little the Particulars; let him ſtand upon *Shooters-Hill* in *Kent*, and view the Mouth of the River *Thames*, and conſider what a River it muſt be when none of the Marſhes on either ſide were wall'd in from the Sea, and when the Sea without all queſtion flow'd up to the Foot of the Hills on either Shore, and up every Creek, where he muſt allow is now dry Land on either ſide the River for two Miles in breadth at leaſt, ſometimes three or four, for above forty Miles on both ſides the River.

Let him farther reflect, how all theſe Parts lay when, as our ancient Hiſtories relate, the *Daniſh* Fleet came up almoſt to *Hartford*; ſo that all that Range of freſh Marſhes which reach for twenty five Miles in length, from *Ware* to the River *Thames*, muſt be a Sea.

In ſhort, Let any ſuch conſidering Perſon imagine the vaſt Tract of Marſh-Lands on both ſides the River *Thames*, to *Harwich* on the *Eſſex* ſide, and to *Whitſtable* on the *Kentiſh* ſide, the Levels of Marſhes up the *Stour* from *Sandwich* to *Canterbury*, the whole Extent of Low-grounds commonly call'd *Rumney-Marſh*, from *Hythe* to *Winchelſea*, and up the Banks of the *Rother*; all which put together, and being allow'd to be in one place cover'd with Water, what a Lake wou'd it be ſuppos'd to make? According to the niceſt Calculations I can make, it cou'd not amount to leſs than 500000 Acres of Land.

The

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The Iſle of *Ely*, with the *Flats* up the ſeveral Rivers from *Yarmouth* to *Norwich*, *Beccles*, &c. the continu'd Levels in the ſeveral Counties of *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, *Suffolk*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, and *Lincoln*, I believe do really contain as much Land as the whole County of *Norfolk*; and 'tis not many Ages ſince theſe Countries were univerſally one vaſt Moras or Lough, and the few ſolid parts wholly unapproachable: inſomuch that the Town of *Ely* it ſelf was a Receptacle for the Malecontents of the Nation, where no reaſonable Force cou'd come near to diſlodge them.

'Tis needleſs to reckon up twelve or fourteen like Places in *England*, as the Moores in *Somerſetſhire*, the Flat-ſhores in *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, and *Durham*, the like in *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*; and in ſhort, on the Banks of every Navigable River.

The ſum of the matter is this; That while this Nation was thus full of ſtanding Lakes, ſtagnated Waters, and moiſt Places, the multitude of Exhalations muſt furniſh the Air with a quantity of Matter for Showers and Storms infinitely more than it can be now ſupply'd withal, thoſe vaſt Tracts of Land being now fenc'd off, laid dry, and turn'd into wholſome and profitable Provinces.

This ſeems demonſtrated from *Ireland*, where the multitude of Loughs, Lakes, Bogs, and moiſt Places, ſerve the Air with Exhalations, which give themſelves back again in Showers,



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and make it be call'd, *The Piss-pot of the World.*

The imaginary Notion I have to advance on this Head, amounts only to a Reflection upon the Skill of those Ages in the Art of Navigation; which being far short of what it is since arrived to, made these vast Northern Seas too terrible for them to venture in: and accordingly, they rais'd those Apprehensions up to Fable, which began only in their want of Judgment.

The *Phœnicians*, who were our first Navigators, the *Genoese*, and after them the *Portugueſe*, who arriv'd to extraordinary Proficiency in Sea Affairs, were yet all of them, *as we say*, Fair-weather Sea-men: The chief of their Navigation was Coasting; and if they were driven out of their Knowledge, had work enough to find their way home, and sometimes never found it at all; but one Sea convey'd them directly into the last Ocean, from whence no Navigation cou'd return them.

When these, by Adventures, or Misadventures rather, had at any time extended their Voyaging as far as this Island, which, by the way, they always perform'd round the Coast of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France*; if ever such a Vessel return'd, if ever the bold Navigator arriv'd at home, he had done enough to talk on all his Days, and needed no other Diversion among his Neighbours, than to give an Account of the vast Seas, mighty Rocks, deep Gulfs,

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and prodigious Storms he met with in theſe remote Parts of the known World: and this, magnified by the Poetical Arts of the Learned Men of thoſe times, grew into a receiv'd Maxim of Navigation, That theſe Parts were ſo full of conſtant Tempeſts, Storms, and dangerous Seas, that 'twas preſent Death to come near them, and none but Madmen and Deſperadoes could have any Buſineſs there, ſince they were Places where Ships never came, and Navigation was not proper in the Place.

And *Thule*, where no Paſſage was
For Ships their Sails to bear.

*Horace* has reference to this horrid Part of the World, as a Place full of terrible Monſters, and fit only for their Habitation, in the Words before quoted.

*Belluoſus qui remotis*
*Obſtrepit Oceanus Britannis.*

*Juvenal* follows his Steps;

*Quanto Delphino Balæna Britannica major.* Juv.

Such horrid Apprehenſions thoſe Ages had of theſe Parts, which by our Experience, and the Prodigy to which Navigation in particular, and Sciential Knowledge in general, is ſince grown, appear very ridiculous.



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For we find no Danger in our Shores, no uncertain wavering in our Tides, no frightful Gulfs, no horrid Monsters, but what the bold Mariner has made familiar to him. The Gulfs which frighted those early Sons of *Neptune* are search'd out by our Seamen, and made useful Bays, Roads, and Harbours of Safety. The Promontories which running out into the Sea gave them terrible Apprehensions of Danger, are our Safety, and make the Sailors Hearts glad, as they are the first Lands they make when they are coming Home from a long Voyage, or as they are a good shelter when in a Storm our Ships get *under their Lee.*

Our Shores are sounded, the Sands and Flats are discovered, which they knew little or nothing of, and in which more real Danger lies, than in all the frightful Stories they told us; useful Sea-marks and Land-figures are plac'd on the Shore, Buoys on the Water, Light-houses on the highest Rocks; and all these dreadful Parts of the World are become the Seat of Trade, and the Centre of Navigation: Art has reconcil'd all the Difficulties, and Use made all the *Horribles* and *Terribles* of those Ages become as natural and familiar as Day-light.

The Hidden Sands, almost the only real Dread of a Sailor, and by which till the Channels between them were found out, our Eastern Coast must be really unpassable, now serve to make Harbours: and *Yarmouth* Road was made a safe Place for Shipping by them. Nay, when

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when *Portſmouth*, *Plymouth*, and other good Harbours would not defend our Ships in the Violent Tempeſt we are treating of, here was the leaſt Damage done of any Place in *England*, conſidering the Number of Ships which lay at Anchor, and the Openneſs of the Place.

So that upon the whole it ſeems plain to me, that all the diſmal things the Ancients told us of *Britain*, and her terrible Shores, aroſe from the Infancy of Marine Knowledge, and the Weakneſs of the Sailor's Courage.

Not but that I readily allow we are more ſubject to bad Weather and hard Gales of Wind than the Coaſts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Barbary*: But if this be allow'd, our Improvement in the Art of Building Ships is ſo conſiderable, our Veſſels are ſo prepar'd to ride out the moſt violent Storms, that the Fury of the Sea is the leaſt thing our Sailors fear: Keep them but from *a Lee Shore*, or touching upon a Sand, they'll venture all the reſt: and nothing is a greater ſatisfaction to them, if they have a Storm in view, than a ſound Bottom and good *Sea-room*.

From hence it comes to paſs, that ſuch Winds as in thoſe Days wou'd have paſs'd for Storms, are called only a *Freſh-gale*, or *Blowing hard*. If it blows enough to fright a South Country Sailor, we laugh at it: and if our Sailors bald Terms were ſet down in a Table of Degrees, it will explain what we mean.



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| | |
|---|---|
| *Stark Calm.* | *A Top-ſail Gale.* |
| *Calm Weather.* | *Blows freſh.* |
| *Little Wind.* | *A hard Gale of Wind.* |
| *A fine Breeze.* | *A Fret of Wind.* |
| *A ſmall Gale.* | *A Storm.* |
| *A freſh Gale.* | *A Tempeſt.* |

Juſt half theſe Tarpawlin Articles, I preſume, would have paſs'd in thoſe Days for a Storm; and that our Sailors call a Top-ſail Gale would have drove the Navigators of thoſe Ages into Harbours: when our Sailors reif a Top-ſail, they would have handed all their Sails; and when we go under a main Courſe, they would have run *afore it* for Life to the next Port they could make: when our *Hard Gale* blows, they would have cried a Tempeſt; and about the *Fret of Wind* they would be all at their Prayers.

And if we ſhould reckon by this Account we are a ſtormy Country indeed, our Seas are no more Navigable now for ſuch Sailors than they were then: If the *Japoneſes*, the *Eaſt Indians*, and ſuch like Navigators, were to come with their thin Cockle-ſhell Barks and Calico Sails; if *Cleopatra*'s Fleet, or *Cæſar*'s great Ships with which he fought the Battle of *Actium*, were to come upon our Seas, there hardly comes a *March* or a *September* in twenty Years but would blow them to Pieces, and then the poor Remnant that got Home, would go

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go and talk of a terrible Country where there's nothing but Storms and Tempests; when all the Matter is, the Weakneſs of their Shipping, and the Ignorance of their Sea-men: and I make no queſtion but our Ships ride out many a worſe Storm than that terrible Tempeſt which ſcatter'd *Julius Cæſar*'s Fleet, or the ſame that drove *Æneas* on the Coaſt of *Carthage*.

And in more modern times we have a famous Inſtance in the *Spaniſh Armada*; which, after it was rather frighted than damag'd by Sir *Francis Drake*'s Machines, not then known by the Name of Fireſhips, were ſcatter'd by a terrible Storm, and loſt upon every Shore.

The Caſe is plain, 'Twas all owing to the Accident of Navigation: They had, no doubt, a hard Gale of Wind, and perhaps a Storm; but they were alſo on an Enemy's Coaſt, their Pilots out of their Knowledge, no Harbour to run into, and an Enemy a-ſtern, that when once they ſeparated, Fear drove them from one Danger to another, and away they went to the Northward, where they had nothing but God's Mercy, and the Winds and Seas to help them. In all thoſe Storms and Diſtreſſes which ruin'd that Fleet, we do not find an Account of the Loſs of one Ship, either of the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*; the Queen's Fleet rode it out in the *Downs*, which all Men know is none of the beſt Roads in the World; and the *Dutch* rode among the Flats of the *Flemiſh* Coaſt, while



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the vaſt Galleons, not ſo well fitted for the Weather, were forc'd to keep the Sea, and were driven to and fro till they had got out of their Knowledge; and like Men deſperate, embrac'd every Danger they came near.

This long Digreſſion I could not but think needful, in order to clear up the Caſe, having never met with any thing on this Head before: At the ſame time 'tis allow'd, and Hiſtories are full of the Particulars, that we have often very high Winds, and ſometimes violent Tempeſts in theſe Northen Parts of the World; but I am ſtill of opinion, ſuch a Tempeſt never happen'd before as that which is the Subject of theſe Sheets; and I refer the Reader to the Particulars.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Storm in General.*

BEfore we come to examine the Damage ſuffer'd by this terrible Night, and give a particular Relation of its diſmal Effects; 'tis neceſſary to give a ſummary Account of the thing it ſelf, with all its affrighting Circumſtances.

It had blown exceeding hard, as I have already obſerv'd, for about fourteen Days paſt; and that ſo hard, that we thought it terrible Weather:

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Weather: Several Stacks of Chimnies were blown down, and ſeveral Ships were loſt, and the Tiles in many Places were blown off from the Houſes; and the nearer it came to the fatal *26th* of *November*, the Tempeſtuouſneſs of the Weather encreas'd.

On the *Wedneſday* Morning before, being the *24th* of *November*, it was fair Weather, and blew hard; but not ſo as to give any Apprehenſions, till about 4 a Clock in the Afternoon the Wind encreaſed, and with Squauls of Rain and terrible Guſts blew very furiouſly.

The Collector of theſe Sheets narrowly eſcap'd the Miſchief of a Part of a Houſe, which fell on the Evening of that Day by the Violence of the Wind; and abundance of Tiles were blown off the Houſes that Night: the Wind continued with unuſual Violence all the next Day and Night; and had not the Great Storm follow'd ſo ſoon, this had paſs'd for a great Wind.

On *Friday* Morning it continued to blow exceeding hard, but not ſo as that it gave any Apprehenſions of Danger within Doors; towards Night it encreaſed: and about 10 a Clock, our Barometers inform'd us that the Night would be very tempeſtuous; the *Mercury* ſunk lower than ever I had obſerv'd it on any Occaſion whatſoever, which made me ſuppoſe the Tube had been handled and diſturb'd by the Children.

But

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But as my Obſervations of this Nature are not regular enough to ſupply the Reader with a full Information, the Diſorders of that dreadful Night having found me other Imployment, expecting every Moment when the Houſe I was in would bury us all in its own Ruins; I have therefore ſubjoin'd a Letter from an Ingenious Gentleman on this very Head, directed to the *Royal Society*, and printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N°. 289. P. 1530. as follows.

*A Letter from the Reverend Mr.* William Derham, *F. R. S. Containing his Obſervations concerning the late Storm.*

*SIR,*

ACcording to my Promiſe at the general Meeting of the *R. S.* on St. *Andrews* Day, I here ſend you inclos'd the Account of my Ingenious and Inquiſitive Friend *Richard Townely*, Eſq; concerning the State of the Atmoſphere in that Part of *Lancaſhire* where he liveth, in the late diſmal Storm. And I hope it will not be unacceptable, to accompany his with my own Obſervations at *Upminſter*; eſpecially ſince I ſhall not weary you with a long Hiſtory of the Devaſtations, *&c.* but rather ſome Particulars of a more Philoſophical Conſideration.

And

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And firſt, I do not think it improper to look back to the preceding Seaſons of the Year. I ſcarce believe I ſhall go out of the way, to reflect as far back as *April*, *May*, *June* and *July*; becauſe all theſe were wet Months in our Southern Parts. In *April* there fell 12,49 *l.* of Rain through my Tunnel: And about 6, 7, 8, or 9, *l.* I eſteem a moderate quantity for *Upminſter*. *In* May *there fell more than in any Month of any Year ſince the Year* 1696, viz. 20,77 l. *June* likewiſe was a dripping Month, in which fell 14,55 *l.* And *July*, although it had conſiderable Intermiſſions, yet had 14,19 *l.* above 11 *l.* of which fell on *July* 28*th* and 29*th* in violent Showers. And I remember the News Papers gave Accounts of great Rains that Month from divers Places of *Europe*; but the *North of England* (which alſo eſcaped the Violence of the late Storm) was not ſo remarkably wet in any of thoſe Months; at leaſt not in that great proportion more than we, as uſually they are; as I gueſs from the Tables of Rain, with which Mr. *Towneley* hath favoured me. Particularly *July* was a dry Month with them, there being no more than 3,65 *l.* of Rain fell through Mr. *Towneley*'s Tunnel of the ſame Diameter with mine.

From theſe Months let us paſs to *September*, and that we ſhall find to have been a wet Month, eſpecially the latter part of it; there fell of Rain in that Month, 14,86 *l.*

*October*

*October* and *November* laſt, although not remarkably wet, yet have been open warm Months for the moſt part. My Thermometer (whoſe freezing Point is about 84) hath been very ſeldom below 100 all this Winter, and eſpecially in *November*.

Thus I have laid before you as ſhort Account as I could of the preceding Diſpoſition of the Year, particularly as to wet and warmth, becauſe I am of opinion that theſe had a great Influence in the late Storm; not only in cauſing a Repletion of Vapours in the Atmoſphere, but alſo in raiſing ſuch Nitro-ſulphureous or other heterogeneous matter, which when mix'd together might make a ſort of Exploſion (like fired Gun-powder) in the Atmoſphere. And from this Exploſion I judge thoſe Corruſcations or Flaſhes in the Storm to have proceeded, which moſt People as well as my ſelf obſerved, and which ſome took for Lightning. But theſe things I leave to better Judgments, ſuch as that very ingenious Member of our Society, who hath undertaken the Province of the late Tempeſt; to whom, if you pleaſe, you may impart theſe Papers; Mr. *Halley* you know I mean.

From Preliminaries it is time to proceed nearer to the Tempeſt it ſelf. And the foregoing Day, *viz. Thurſday, Nov.* 25. I think deſerveth regard. In the Morning of that day was a little Rain, the Winds high in the Afternoon S.b.E. and S. In the Evening there was Light-

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Lightning; and between 9 and 10 of the Clock at Night, a violent, but ſhort Storm of Wind, and much Rain at *Upminſter*; and of Hail in ſome other Places, which did ſome Damage: There fell in that Storm 1,65 *l.* of Rain. The next Morning, which was *Friday*, *Novem.* 26. the Wind was S. S. W. and high all Day, and ſo continued till I was in Bed and aſleep. About 12 that Night, the Storm awaken'd me, which gradually encreas'd till near 3 that Morning; and from thence till near 7 it continued in the greateſt exceſs: and then began ſlowly to abate, and the *Mercury* to riſe ſwiftly. The Barometer I found at 12 h. ½ P. M. at 28,72, where it continued till about 6 the next Morning, or 6½, and then haſtily roſe; ſo that it was gotten to 82 about 8 of the Clock, as in the Table.

How the Wind ſat during the late Storm I cannot poſitively ſay, it being exceſſively dark all the while, and my Vane blown down alſo, when I could have ſeen: But by Information from Millers, and others that were forc'd to venture abroad; and by my own gueſs, I imagin it to have blown about S. W. by S. or nearer to the S. in the beginning, and to veer about towards the Weſt towards the End of the Storm, as far as W. S. W.

The degrees of the Wind's Strength being not meaſurable (that I know of, though talk'd of) but by gueſs, I thus determine, with reſpect to other Storms. On *Feb.* 7. 169½. was



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a terrible Storm that did much damage. This I number 10 degrees; the Wind then W.N.W. *vid. Ph. Tr. No.* 262. Another remarkable Storm was *Feb.* 3. 170⅞. at which time was the greateſt deſcent of the ☿ ever known: This I number 9 degrees. But this laſt of *November*, I number at leaſt 15 degrees.

As to the *Stations* of the *Barometer*, you have Mr. *Townely*'s and mine in the following Table to be ſeen at one View.

As to *November* 17*th* (whereon Mr. *Townely* mentions a violent Storm in *Oxfordſhire*) it was a Stormy Afternoon here at *Upminſter*, accompanied with Rain, but not violent, nor. ☿ very low. *November* 11*th* and 12*th* had both higher Winds and more Rain; and the ☿ was thoſe Days lower than even in the laſt Storm of *November* 26*th*.

Thus, Sir, I have given you the trueſt Account I can, of what I thought moſt to deſerve Obſervation, both before, and in the late Storm. I could have added ſome other particulars, but that I fear I have already made my Letter long, and am tedious. I ſhall therefore only add, that I have Accounts of the Violence of the Storm at *Norwich*, *Beccles*, *Sudbury*; *Colcheſter*, *Rockford*, and ſeveral other intermediate places; but I need not tell Particulars, becauſe I queſtion not but you have better Informations.

A Ta-

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Table ſhewing the Height of the *Mercury* in the Barometer, at *Townely* and *Upminſter*, before, in, and after the Storm.

| *Townely.* | | | *Upminſter.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Day. | Hour. | Height of | Day. | Hour. | Height of |
| Novr. 25 | 7 | 28 98 | Novr. 25 | 8 | 29 50 |
| | 3 | 64 | | 12 | 39 |
| | 9 ½ | 61 | | 9 | 14 |
| 26 | 7 | 80 | 26 | 8 | 33 |
| | 3 | 70 | | 12 | 28 |
| | 9 ½ | 47 | | 9 | 10 |
| | | | | 12 ½ | 28 72 |
| 27 | 7 | 50 | 27 | 7 ½ | 82 |
| | 3 | 81 | | 12 | 29 31 |
| | 9 ½ | 95 | | 9 | 42 |
| 28 | 7 | 29 34 | 28 | 8 | 65 |
| | 3 | 62 | | 12 | 83 |
| | 9 | 84 | | 9 | 30 07 |
| 29 | 7 | 88 | 29 | 8 | 25 |

*Thus far Mr.* Derham's *Letter.*

It did not blow ſo hard till Twelve a Clock at Night, but that moſt Families went to Bed; though many of them not without ſome Concern at the terrible Wind, which then blew: But about One, or at leaſt by Two a Clock, 'tis ſuppos'd, few People, that were capable of any Senſe of Danger, were ſo hardy as to lie in Bed. And the Fury of the Tempeſt encreaſed to ſuch a Degree, that as the Editor of this Account being in *London*, and converſing

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ſing with the People the next Days, underſtood, moſt People expected the Fall of their Houſes.

And yet in this general Apprehenſion, no body durſt quit their tottering Habitations; for whatever the Danger was within doors, 'twas worſe without; the Bricks, Tiles, and Stones, from the Tops of the Houſes, flew with ſuch force, and ſo thick in the Streets, that no one thought fit to venture out, tho' their Houſes were near demoliſh'd within.

The Author of this Relation was in a well-built brick Houſe in the skirts of the City; and a Stack of Chimneys falling in upon the next Houſes, gave the Houſe ſuch a Shock, that they thought it was juſt coming down upon their Heads: but opening the Door to attempt an Eſcape into a Garden, the Danger was ſo apparent, that they all thought fit to ſurrender to the Diſpoſal of Almighty Providence, and expect their Graves in the Ruins of the Houſe, rather than to meet moſt certain Deſtruction in the open Garden: for unleſs they cou'd have gone above two hundred Yards from any Building, there had been no Security; for the Force of the Wind blew the Tiles point-blank, tho' their weight inclines them downward: and in ſeveral very broad Streets, we ſaw the Windows broken by the flying of Tile-ſherds from the other ſide: and where there was room for them to fly, the Author of this has ſeen Tiles blown from a Houſe above

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above thirty or forty Yards, and ſtuck from five to eight Inches into the ſolid Earth. Pieces of Timber, Iron, and Sheets of Lead, have from higher Buildings been blown much farther; as in the Particulars hereafter will appear.

It is the receiv'd Opinion of abundance of People, that they felt, during the impetuous fury of the Wind, ſeveral Movements of the Earth; and we have ſeveral Letters which affirm it: But as an Earthquake muſt have been ſo general, that every body muſt have diſcern'd it; and as the People were in their Houſes when they imagin'd they felt it, the Shaking and Terror of which might deceive their Imagination, and impoſe upon their Judgment; I ſhall not venture to affirm it was ſo: And being reſolv'd to uſe ſo much Caution in this Relation as to tranſmit nothing to Poſterity without authentick Vouchers, and ſuch Teſtimony as no reaſonable Man will diſpute; ſo if any Relation come in our way, which may afford us a Probability, tho' it may be related for the ſake of its Strangeneſs or Novelty, it ſhall nevertheleſs come in the Company of all its Uncertainties, and the Reader left to judge of its Truth: for this Account had not been undertaken, but with deſign to undeceive the World in falſe Relations, and to give an Account back'd with ſuch Authorities, as that the Credit of it ſhou'd admit of no Diſputes.



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For this reaſon I cannot venture to affirm that there was any ſuch thing as an Earthquake; but the Concern and Conſternation of all People was ſo great, that I cannot wonder at their imagining ſeveral things which were not, any more than their enlarging on things that were, ſince nothing is more frequent, than for Fear to double every Object, and impoſe upon the Underſtanding, ſtrong Apprehenſions being apt very often to perſwade us of the Reality of ſuch things which we have no other reaſons to ſhew for the probability of, than what are grounded in thoſe Fears which prevail at that juncture.

Others thought they heard it thunder. 'Tis confeſs'd, the Wind by its unuſual Violence made ſuch a noiſe in the Air as had a reſemblance to Thunder; and 'twas obſerv'd, the roaring had a Voice as much louder than uſual, as the Fury of the Wind was greater than was ever known: the Noiſe had alſo ſomething in it more formidable; it ſounded aloft, and roar'd not very much unlike remote Thunder.

And yet tho' I cannot remember to have heard it thunder, or that I ſaw any Lightning, or heard of any that did in or near *London*; yet in the Countries the Air was ſeen full of Meteors and vaporous Fires: and in ſome places both Thundrings and unuſual Flaſhes of Lightning, to the great terror of the Inhabitants.

And

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And yet I cannot but obſerve here, how fearleſs ſuch People as are addicted to Wickedneſs, are both of God's Judgments and uncommon Prodigies; which is viſible in this Particular, That a Gang of hardned Rogues aſſaulted a Family at *Poplar*, in the very Height of the Storm, broke into the Houſe, and robb'd them: it is obſervable, that the People cryed Thieves, and after that cryed Fire, in hopes to raiſe the Neighbourhood, and to get ſome Aſſiſtance; but ſuch is the Power of Self-Preſervation, and ſuch was the Fear, the Minds of the People were poſſeſs'd with, that no Body would venture out to the Aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Family, who were rifled and plundered in the middle of all the Extremity of the Tempeſt.

It would admit of a large Comment here, and perhaps not very unprofitable, to examine from what ſad Defect in Principle it muſt be that Men can be ſo deſtitute of all manner of Regard to inviſible and ſuperiour Power, to be acting one of the vileſt Parts of a Villain, while infinite Power was threatning the whole World with Diſolation, and Multitudes of People expected the Laſt-Day was at Hand.

Several Women in the City of *London* who were in Travail, or who fell into Travail by the Fright of the Storm, were oblig'd to run the riſque of being delivered with ſuch Help as they had; and Midwives found their own Lives in ſuch Danger, that few of them thought themſelves oblig'd to ſhew any Concern for the Lives of others. Fire

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Fire was the only Miſchief that did not happen to make the Night compleatly dreadful; and yet that was not ſo every where, for in *Norfolk* the Town of --- was almoſt ruin'd by a furious Fire, which burnt with ſuch Vehemence, and was ſo fann'd by the Tempeſt, that the Inhabitants had no Power to concern themſelves in the extinguiſhing it; the Wind blew the Flames, together with the Ruines, ſo about, that there was no ſtanding near it; for if the People came to Windward they were in Danger to be blown into the Flames; and if to Leward the Flames were ſo blown up in their Faces, they could not bear to come near it.

If this Diſtaſter had happen'd in *London*, it muſt have been very fatal; for as no regular Application could have been made for the extinguiſhing it, ſo the very People in Danger would have had no Opportunity to have ſav'd their Goods, and hardly their Lives: for though a Man will run any Riſque to avoid being burnt, yet it muſt have been next to a Miracle, if any Perſon ſo oblig'd to eſcape from the Flames had eſcap'd being knock'd on the Head in the Streets; for the Bricks and Tiles flew about like ſmall Shot; and 'twas a miſerable Sight, in the Morning after the Storm, to ſee the Streets covered with Tyle-ſherds, and Heaps of Rubbiſh, from the Tops of the Houſes, lying almoſt at every Door.

From Two of the Clock the Storm continued, and encreaſed till Five in the Morning; and

and from Five, to half an Hour after Six, it blew with the greateſt Violence: the Fury of it was ſo exceeding great for that particular Hour and half, that if it had not abated as it did, nothing could have ſtood its Violence much longer.

In this laſt Part of the Time the greateſt Part of the Damage was done: Several Ships that rode it out till now, gave up all; for no Anchor could hold. Even the Ships in the River of *Thames* were all blown away from their Moorings, and from *Execution-Dock* to *Lime-Houſe Hole* there was but four Ships that rid it out, the reſt were driven down into the *Bite*, as the Sailors call it, from *Bell-Wharf* to *Lime-Houſe*; where they were huddeld together and drove on Shore, Heads and Sterns, one upon another, in ſuch a manner, as any one would have thought it had been impoſſible: and the Damage done on that Account was incredible.

Together with the Violence of the Wind, the Darkneſs of the Night added to the Terror of it; and as it was juſt New Moon, the Spring Tides being then up at about Four a Clock, made the Veſſels, which were a-float in the River, drive the farther up upon the Shore: of all which, in the Proceſs of this Story, we ſhall find very ſtrange Inſtances.

The Points from whence the Wind blew, are variouſly reported from various Hands: 'Tis certain, it blew all the Day before at



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S. W. and I thought it continued ſo till about Two a Clock; when, as near as I could judge by the Impreſſions it made on the Houſe, for we durſt not look out, it veer'd to the S. S. W. then to the W. and about Six a Clock to W. by N. and ſtill the more Northward it ſhifted, the harder it blew, till it ſhifted again Southerly about Seven a Clock; and as it did ſo, it gradually abated.

About Eight a Clock in the Morning it ceaſed ſo much, that our Fears were alſo abated, and People began to peep out of Doors; but 'tis impoſſible to expreſs the Concern that appear'd in every Place: the Diſtraction and Fury of the Night was viſible in the Faces of the People, and every Body's firſt Work was to viſit and enquire after Friends and Relations. The next Day or Two was almoſt entirely ſpent in the Curioſity of the People, in viewing the Havock the Storm had made, which was ſo univerſal in *London*, and eſpecially in the Out-Parts, that nothing can be ſaid ſufficient to deſcribe it.

Another unhappy Circumſtance with which this Diſaſter was join'd, was a prodigious Tide, which happen'd the next Day but one, and was occaſion'd by the Fury of the Winds; which is alſo a Demonſtration, that the Winds veer'd for Part of the Time to the Northward: and as it is obſervable, and known by all that underſtand our Sea Affairs, that a North Weſt Wind makes the Higheſt

Tide

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Tide, ſo this blowing to the Northward, and that with ſuch unuſual Violence, brought up the Sea raging in ſuch a manner, that in ſome Parts of *England* 'twas incredible, the Water riſing Six or Eight Foot higher than it was ever known to do in the Memory of Man; by which Ships were fleeted up upon the firm Land ſeveral Rods off from the Banks, and an incredible Number of Cattle and People drown'd; as in the Purſuit of this Story will appear.

It was a ſpecial Providence that ſo directed the Waters, that in the River of *Thames*, the Tide, though it riſe higher than uſual, yet it did not ſo prodigiouſly exceed; but the Height of them as it was, prov'd very prejudicial to abundance of People whoſe Sellers and Ware-houſes were near the River; and had the Water riſen a Foot higher, all the Marſhes and Levels on both ſides the River had been over-flowed, and a great part of the Cattle drowned.

Though the Storm abated with the riſing of the Sun, it ſtill blew exceeding hard; ſo hard, that no Boats durſt ſtir out on the River, but on extraordinary Occaſions: and about Three a Clock in the Afternoon, the next Day being *Saturday*, it increas'd again, and we were in a freſh Conſternation, leſt it ſhould return with the ſame Violence. At Four it blew an extreme Storm, with ſudden Guſts as violent as any time of the Night; but as it



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came with a great black Cloud, and ſome Thunder, it brought a haſty Shower of Rain which allay'd the Storm: ſo that in a quarter of an Hour it went off, and only continued blowing as before.

This ſort of Weather held all *Sabbath-Day* and *Monday*, till on *Tueſday* Afternoon it encreaſed again; and all *Tueſday* Night it blew with ſuch Fury, that many Families were afraid to go to Bed: And had not the former terrible Night harden'd the People to all things leſs than it ſelf, this Night would have paſs'd for a Storm fit to have been noted in our Almanacks. Several Stacks of Chimneys that ſtood out the great Storm, were blown down in this; ſeveral Ships which eſcap'd in the great Storm, periſh'd this Night; and ſeveral People who had repair'd their Houſes, had them untiled again. Not but that I may allow thoſe Chimneys that fell now might have been diſabled before.

At this Rate it held blowing till *Wedneſday* about One a Clock in the Afternoon, which was that Day Seven-night on which it began; ſo that it might be called one continued Storm from *Wedneſday* Noon to *Wedneſday* Noon: in all which time, there was not one Interval of Time in which a Sailor would not have acknowledged it blew a Storm; and in that time two ſuch terrible Nights as I have deſcrib'd.

And

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And this I particularly noted as to Time, *Wedneſday, Nov.* the 24*th* was a calm fine Day as at that time of Year ſhall be ſeen; 'till above Four a Clock, when it began to be Cloudy, and the Wind roſe of a ſudden, and in half an Hours Time it blew a Storm. *Wedneſday, Dec.* the 2*d.* it was very tempeſtuous all the Morning; at One a Clock the Wind abated, the Sky clear'd, and by Four a Clock there was not a Breath of Wind.

Thus ended the Greateſt and the Longeſt Storm that ever the World ſaw. The Effects of this terrible Providence are the Subject of the enſuing Chapter; and I cloſe this with a Paſtoral Poem ſent us among the Accounts of the Storm from a very ingenious Author, and deſir'd to be publiſh'd in this Account.

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A PASTO-

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A

# PASTORAL,

Occaſion'd by the

## Late Violent Storm.

*Damon, Melibæus.*

Dam. *WAlking alone by pleaſant* Iſis *ſide*
*Where the two Streams their wanton courſe divide,*
*And gently forward in ſoft Murmurs glide;*
*Penſive and ſad I* Melibæus *meet,*
*And thus the melancholy Shepherd greet.*
*Kind Swain, what Cloud dares overcaſt your brow,*
*Bright as the Skies o're happy* Nile *till now!*
*Does* Chloe *prove unkind, or ſome new Fair?*

Mel. *No* Damon, *mine's a publick, nobler Care;*
*Such in which you and all the World muſt ſhare.*
*One Friend may molliſie another's Grief,*
*But publick Loſs admits of no relief.*

Dam. *I gueſs your Cauſe: O you that uſe to ſing*
*Of Beauty's Charms and the Delights of Spring;*
*Now*

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*Now change your Note, and let your Lute rehearſe*
*The diſmal Tale in melancholy Verſe.*

Mel. *Prepare then, lovely Swain; prepare to hear*
*The worſt Report that ever reach'd your Ear.*
*My* Bower *you know, hard by yon ſhady Grove,*
*A fit Receſs for* Damon's *penſive Love:*
*As there diſſolv'd I in ſweet Slumbers lay,*
*Tir'd with the Toils of the precedent Day,*
*The bluſt'ring Winds diſturb my kind Repoſe,*
*Till frightned with the threatning Blaſts, I roſe.*
*But O, what havock did the Day diſcloſe!*
*Thoſe charming Willows which on* Cherwel's *banks*
*Flouriſh'd, and thriv'd, and grew in evener ranks*
*Than thoſe which follow'd the Divine Command*
*Of* Orpheus *Lyre, or ſweet* Amphion's *Hand,*
*By hundreds fall, while hardly twenty ſtand.*
*The ſtately Oaks which reach'd the azure Sky,*
*And kiſs'd the very Clouds, now proſtrate lie.*
*Long a huge Pine did with the Winds contend;*
*This way, and that, his reeling Trunk they bend,*
*Till forc'd at laſt to yield, with hideous Sound*
*He falls, and all the Country feels the Wound.*
*Nor was the God of Winds content with theſe;*
*Such humble Victims can't his Wrath appeaſe:*
*The Rivers ſwell, not like the happy* Nile,
*To fatten, dew, and fructifie our* Iſle:
*But like the* Deluge, *by great* Jove *deſign'd*
*To drown the Univerſe, and ſcourge Mankind.*
*In vain the frighted Cattel climb ſo high,*
*In vain for Refuge to the Hills they fly;*
*The Waters know no Limits but the Sky.*

So

*So now the bleating Flock exchange in vain,*
*For barren Clifts, their dewy fertil Plain:*
*In vain, their fatal Deſtiny to ſhun,*
*From* Severn's *Banks to higher Grounds they run.*
*Nor has the* Navy *better Quarter found;*
*There we've receiv'd our worſt, our deepeſt Wound.*
*The Billows ſwell, and haughty* Neptune *raves,*
*The Winds inſulting o're th' impetuous Waves.*
Thetis *incens'd, riſes with angry Frown,*
*And once more threatens all the World to drown,*
*And owns no Power, but* England's *and her own.*
*Yet the* Æolian *God dares vent his Rage;*
*And ev'n the Sovereign of the Seas engage.*
*What tho' the mighty* Charles *of* Spain's *on board,*
*The Winds obey none but their bluſt'ring Lord.*
*Some Ships were ſtranded, ſome by Surges rent,*
*Down with their Cargo to the bottom went.*
*Th' abſorbent Ocean could deſire no more;*
*So well regal'd he never was before.*
*The hungry Fiſh could hardly wait the day,*
*When the Sun's beams ſhould chaſe the Storm away,*
*But quickly ſeize with greedy Jaws their Prey.*

Dam. *So the great* Trojan, *by the Hand of Fate,*
*And haughty Power of angry* Juno's *Hate,*
*While with like aim he croſs'd the Seas, was toſt,*
*From Shore to Shore, from foreign Coaſt to Coaſt:*
*Yet ſafe at laſt his mighty Point he gain'd;*
*In charming promis'd Peace and Splendor reign'd.*

Mel.

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Mel. *So may* Great Charles, *whom equal Glories move,*
*Like the great* Dardan *Prince ſucceſsful prove:*
*Like him, with Honour may he mount the Throne,*
*And long enjoy a brighter deſtin'd Crown.*

CHAP.

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## CHAP. IV.

*Of the Extent of this Storm, and from what Parts it was ſuppos'd to come; with ſome Circumſtances as to the Time of it.*

AS all our Hiſtories are full of the Relations of Tempeſts and Storms which have happened in various Parts of the World, I hope it may not be improper that ſome of them have been thus obſerv'd with their remarkable Effects.

But as I have all along inſiſted, that no Storm ſince the Univerſal Deluge was like this, either in its Violence or its Duration, ſo I muſt alſo confirm it as to the particular of its prodigious Extent.

All the Storms and Tempeſts we have heard of in the World, have been Guſts or Squauls of Wind that have been carried on in their proper Channels, and have ſpent their Force in a ſhorter ſpace.

We feel nothing here of the Hurricanes of *Barbadoes*, the North-Weſts of *New-England* and *Virginia*, the terrible Guſts of the *Levant*, or the frequent Tempeſts of the *North Cape*. When Sir *Francis Wheeler*'s Squadron periſh'd at *Gibralter*, when the City of *Stralſund* was almoſt ruin'd by a Storm, *England* felt it not, nor was the Air here diſturb'd with the Moti-

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on. Even at home we have had Storms of violent Wind in one part of *England* which have not been felt in another. And if what I have been told has any truth in it, in St. *George's* Channel there has frequently blown a Storm at Sea right up and down the Channel, which has been felt on neither Coaſt, tho it is not above 20 Leagues from the *Engliſh* to the *Iriſh* Shore.

Sir *William Temple* gives us the Particulars of two terrible Storms in *Holland* while he was there; in one of which the great Cathedral Church at *Utrecht* was utterly deſtroy'd: and after that there was a Storm ſo violent in *Holland*, that 46 Veſſels were caſt away at the *Texel*, and almoſt all the Men drowned: and yet we felt none of theſe Storms here.

And for this very reaſon I have reſerv'd an Abridgment of theſe former Caſes to this place; which as they are recited by Sir *William Temple*, I ſhall put them down in his own Words, being not capable to mend them, and not vain enough to pretend to it.

'I ſtay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which 'paſs'd with ſo great Thunders and Light-'nings, that I promis'd my ſelf a very fair 'Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the 'States Yacht, that ſtill attended me. The 'Morning prov'd ſo; but towards Evening 'the Sky grew foul, and the Sea men preſag'd 'ill Weather, and reſolved to lie at Anchor before,

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'before *Bergen ap Zoom*, the Wind being croſs
'and little. When the Night was fallen as
'black as ever I ſaw, it ſoon began to clear
'up, with the moſt violent Flaſhes of Light-
'ning as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I be-
'lieve have ever been heard in our Age and
'Climate. This continued all Night; and
'we felt ſuch a fierce Heat from every great
'Flaſh of Lightning, that the Captain appre-
'hended it would fire his Ship. But about 8
'the next Morning the Wind changed, and
'came up with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that we came
'to *Rotterdam* in about 4 Hours, and there
'found all Mouths full of the Miſchiefs and
'Accidents that the laſt Night's Tempeſt had
'occaſioned both among the Boats and the
'Houſes, by the Thunder, Lightning, Hail,
'or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came
'Stories to the *Hague* from all Parts, of ſuch
'violent Effects as were almoſt incredible: At
'*Amſterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees
'torn up by the Roots, Ships ſunk in the
'Harbour, and Boats in the Channels; Houſes
'beaten down, and ſeveral People were
'ſnatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the
'Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all
'was ſilenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*,
'where the Great and Ancient Cathedral was
'torn in pieces by the Violences of this Storm;
'and the vaſt Pillars of Stone that ſupported
'it, were wreathed like a twiſted Club, ha-
'ving been ſo ſtrongly compos'd and ciment-

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ed, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a Change of Figure than break in pieces, as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church in the Town eſcap'd the Violence of this Storm; and very few Houſes without the Marks of it; Nor were the Effects of it leſs aſtoniſhing by the Relations from *France* and *Bruſſels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, Lightning, as from Hailſtones of prodigious Bigneſs. This was in the Year 1674.

'In *November*, 1675. happen'd a Storm at *North-Weſt*, with a Spring-tide, ſo violent, as gave apprehenſions of ſome leſs irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*, and by ſeveral breaches in the great Diques near *Enchuſen*, and others between *Amſterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for ſuch Inundations as had not been ſeen before by any man then alive, and fill'd the Country with many relations of moſt deplorable Events. But the incredible Diligence and unanimous Endeavours of the People upon ſuch occaſions, gave a ſtop to the Fury of that Element, and made way for recovering next Year all the Lands, though not the People, Cattel, and Houſes that had been loſt.

*Thus far* Sir William Temple.

I am alſo credibly inform'd that the greateſt Storm that ever we had in *England* before, and which was as univerſal here as this, did no Damage in *Holland* or *France*, comparable to this



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Tempeſt: I mean the great Wind in 1661. An Abſtract of which, as it was printed in *Mirabilis Annus*, an unknown, but unqueſtion'd Author, take as follows, in his own Words.

*A dreadful Storm of Wind, accompanied with Thunder, Lightning, Hail and Rain; together with the ſad Effects of it in many Parts of the Nation.*

UPon the 18*th* of *February*, 1661. being *Tueſday*, very early in the Morning, there began a very great and dreadful Storm of Wind (accompanied with Thunder, Lightning, Hail, and Rain, which in may Places were as ſalt as Brine) which continued with a ſtrange and unuſual Violence till almoſt Night: the ſad Effects whereof throughout the Nation are ſo many, that a very great Volume is not ſufficient to contain the Narrative of them. And indeed ſome of them are ſo ſtupendious and amazing, that the Report of them, though from never ſo authentick Hands, will ſcarce gain Credit among any but thoſe that have an affectionate Senſe of the unlimited Power of the Almighty, knowing and believing that there is nothing too hard for Him to do.

Some few of which wonderful Effects we ſhall give a brief Account of, as we have received them from Perſons of moſt unqueſtionable Credit in the ſeveral Parts of the Nation.

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In the City of *London*, and in *Covent Garden* and other Parts about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, five or ſix Perſons were killed outright by the Fall of Houſes and Chimneys; eſpecially one Mr. *Luke Blith* an Attorney, that lived at or near *Stamford* in the County of *Lincoln*, was killed that Day by the fall of a Riding-Houſe not far from *Pickadilla*: and there are ſome very remarkable Circumſtances in this Man's Caſe, which do make his Death to appear at leaſt like a moſt eminent Judgment and ſevere Stroak of the Lord's Hand upon him.

From other Parts likewiſe we have received certain Information, that divers Perſons were killed by the Effects of this great Wind.

At *Chiltenham* in *Glouceſterſhire*, a Maid was killed by the Fall of a Tree, in or near the Church-Yard.

An honeſt Yeoman likewiſe of *Scaldwel* in *Northamptonſhire*, being upon a Ladder to ſave his Hovel, was blown off, and fell upon a Plough, died outright, and never ſpoke Word more.

Alſo at *Tewksbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*, a Man was blown from an Houſe, and broken to Pieces.

At *Elsbury* likewiſe in the ſame County, a Woman was killed by the Fall of Tiles or Bricks from an Houſe.

And not far from the ſame Place, a Girl was killed by the Fall of a Tree.

Near *Northampton*, a Man was killed by the Fall of a great Barn.

Near *Colcheſter*, a Young-man was killed by the Fall of a Wind-mill.



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Not far from *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, a Man was killed by the Fall of a Barn.

And about two Miles from the ſaid Town of *Ipſwich*, a Man was killed by the Fall of a Tree.

At *Langton*, or near to it, in the County of *Leiceſter*, one Mr. *Roberts* had a Wind-mill blown down, in which were three Men; and by the Fall of it, one of them was killed outright, a ſecond had his Back broken, and the other had his Arm or Leg ſtruck off; and both of them (according to our beſt Information) are ſince dead.

Several other Inſtances there are of the like Nature; but it would be too tedious to mention them: Let theſe therefore ſuffice to ſtir us up to Repentance, *leſt we likewiſe periſh.*

There are alſo many Effects of this Storm which are of another Nature, whereof we ſhall give this following brief Account.

The Wind hath very much prejudiced many Churches in ſeveral Parts of the Nation.

At *Tewksbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*, it blew down a very fair Window belonging to the Church there, both the Glaſs, and the Stone-work alſo; the Doors likewiſe of that Church were blown open, much of the Lead torn up, and ſome Part of a fair Pinnacle thrown down.

Alſo at *Red-Marly* and *Newin*, not far from *Tewksbury*, their Churches are extreamly broken and ſhatter'd, if not a conſiderable part of them blown down. The like was done to moſt, if not all the Publick Meeting-places at *Glouceſter* City

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City. And it is reported, that ſome Hundreds of Pounds will not ſuffice to repair the Damage done to the Cathedral at *Worceſter*, eſpecially in that Part that is over the Quire.

The like Fate happen'd to many more of them, as *Hereford*, and *Leighton Beau-deſart* in *Bedfordſhire*, and *Eaton-Soken* in the ſame County; where they had newly erected a very fair Croſs of Stone, which the Wind blew down: and, as ſome of the Inhabitants did obſerve, that was the firſt Damage which that Town ſuſtained by the Storm, though afterwards in other reſpects alſo they were in the ſame Condition with their Neighbours. The Steeples alſo, and other Parts of the Churches of *Shenley*, *Waddon*, and *Woolſton* in the County of *Bucks*, have been very much rent and torn by the Wind. The Spire of *Finchinfield* Steeple in the County of *Eſſex*, was blown down, and it brake through the Body of the Church, and ſpoil'd many of the Pews; ſome Hundreds of Pounds will not repair that Loſs. But that which is moſt remarkable of this kind, is, the Fall of that moſt famous Spire, or Pinnacle of the Tower-Church in *Ipſwich*: it was blown down upon the Body of the Church, and fell reverſed, the ſharp End of the Shaft ſtriking through the Leads on the South-ſide of the Church, carried much of the Timber-work down before it into the Alley juſt behind the Pulpit, and took off one Side of the Sounding-board over the Pulpit: it ſhatter'd many Pews: The Weather-Cock, and the Iron upon which it ſtood, broke off as it fell;



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but the narrowest Part of the Wood-work, upon which the Fane ſtood, fell into the Alley, broke quite through a Grave-ſtone, and ran ſhoring under two Coffins that had been placed there one on another; that Part of the Spire which was pluck'd up was about three Yards deep in the Earth, and it is believed ſome Part of it is yet behind in the Ground: ſome Hundreds of Pounds will not make good the Detriment done to the Church by the Fall of this Pinnacle.

Very great Prejudice has been done to private Houſes; many of them blown down, and others extreamly ſhattered and torn. It is thought that five thouſand Pounds will not make good the Repairs at *Audley-End Houſe*, which belongs to the Earl of *Suffolk*. A good Part alſo of the Crown-Office in the *Temple* is blown down. The Inſtances of this kind are ſo many and ſo obvious, that it would needleſly take up too much time to give the Reader an Account of the Collection of them; only there has been ſuch a wonderful Deſtruction of Barns, that (looking ſo much like a Judgment from the Lord, who the laſt Year took away our Corn; and this our Barns) we cannot but give a ſhort Account of ſome Part of that Intelligence which hath come to our Hands of that Nature.

A Gentleman, of good Account, in *Ipſwich*, affirms, that in a few Miles riding that Day, there was eleven Barns and Out-houſes blown down in the Road within his View; and with-

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in a very few Miles of *Ipſwich* round about, above thirty Barns, and many of them with Corn in them, were blown down. At *Southold* not far from the Place before-mentioned, many new Houſes and Barns (built ſince a late Fire that happened there) are blown down; as alſo a Salt-houſe is deſtroyed there: and a thouſand Pounds, as it is believed, will not make up that particular Loſs.

From *Tewksbury* it is certified, that an incredible Number of Barns have been blown down in the ſmall Towns and Villages thereabouts. At *Twyning*, at leaſt eleven Barns are blown down. In *Aſhchurch* Pariſh ſeven or eight. At *Lee*, five. At *Norton*, a very great Number, three whereof belonging to one Man. The great Abby-Barn alſo at *Tewksbury* is blown down.

It is credibly reported, that within a very few Miles Circumference in *Worceſterſhire*, about an hundred and forty Barns are blown down. At *Finchinfield* in *Eſſex*, which is but an ordinary Village, about ſixteen Barns were blown down. Alſo at a Town called *Wilshamſted* in the County of *Bedford* (a very ſmall Village) fifteen Barns at leaſt are blown down. But eſpecially the Parſonage Barns went to wrack in many Places throughout the Land: In a few Miles Compaſs in *Bedfordſhire*, and ſo in *Northamptonſhire*, and other Places, eight, ten, and twelve are blown down; and at *Yielding Parſonage* in the County of *Bedford* (out of which was thruſt by Oppreſſion and Violence the late Incumbent) all the Barns belonging to it are down. The In-



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ſtances alſo of this kind are innumerable, which we ſhall therefore forbear to make further mention of.

We have alſo a large Account of the blowing down of a very great and conſiderable Number of Fruit-Trees, and other Trees in ſeveral Parts; we ſhall only pick out two or three Paſſages which are the moſt remarkable. In the Countries of *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*, ſeveral Perſons have loſt whole Orchards of Fruit-trees; and many particular Mens Loſs hath amounted to the Value of forty or fifty Pounds at the leaſt, meerly by Deſtruction of their Fruit-Trees: and ſo in other Parts of *England* proportionably the like Damage hath been ſuſtained in this Reſpect. And as for other Trees, there has been a great Deſtruction made of them in many Places by this Storm. Several were blown down at *Hampton-Court*. And three thouſand brave Oaks at leaſt, but in one principal Part of the Foreſt of *Dean*, belonging to his Majeſty. In a little Grove at *Ipſwich*, belonging to the Lord of *Hereford* (which together with the Spire of the Steeple before-mentioned, were the moſt conſiderable Ornaments of that Town) are blown down at leaſt two hundred goodly Trees, one of which was an Aſh, which had ten Load of Wood upon it: there are now few Trees left there.

In *Bramton Bryan Park* in the County of *Hereford*, belonging to Sir *Edward Harly*, one of the late Knights of the *Bath*, above thirteen hundred Trees are blown down; and above ſix hundred

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in *Hopton Park* not far from it: and thus it is proportionably in moſt Places where this Storm was felt. And the Truth is, the Damage which the People of this Nation have ſuſtained upon all Accounts by this Storm, is not eaſily to be valued: ſome ſober and diſcreet People, who have endeavoured to compute the Loſs of the ſeveral Countries one with another, by the Deſtruction of Houſes and Barns, the blowing away of Hovels and Ricks of Corn, the falling of Trees, *&c.* do believe it can come to little leſs than two Millions of Money.

There are yet behind many Particulars of a diſtinct Nature from thoſe that have been ſpoken of; ſome whereof are very wonderful, and call for a very ſerious Obſervation of them.

In the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, eſpecially on the Bridge and near *Wallingford-houſe*, ſeveral Perſons were blown down one on the Top of another.

In *Hertfordſhire*, a Man was taken up, carried a Pole in Length, and blown over a very high Hedge; and the like in other Places.

The Water in the River of *Thames*, and other Places, was in a very ſtrange manner blown up into the Air: Yea, in the new Pond in *James's Park*, the Fiſh, to the Number of at leaſt two Hundred, where blown out and lay by the Bank-ſide, whereof many were Eye-witneſſes.

At *Moreclack* in *Surry*, the *Birds*, as they attempted to fly, were beaten down to the Ground by the Violence of the Wind.

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At *Epping* in the County of *Eſſex*, a very great Oak was blown down, which of it ſelf was raiſed again, and doth grow firmly at this Day.

At *Taunton*, a great Tree was blown down, the upper Part whereof reſted upon a Bri[illegible] or Stone-wall, and after a little time, by the [illegible] of the Wind, the lower part of the [illegible] was blown quite over the Wall.

In the City of *Hereford*, ſeve[illegible]ere, by the Violence of the Wind [illegible] the Ground; one Man (as it is credibly [illegible]orted) at leaſt ſix Yards.

The great Vane at *Whitehall* was blown down; and one of the four which were upon the *white Tower*, and two more of them ſtrangely bent; which are to be ſeen at this Day, to the Admiration of all that behold them.

The ſeveral *Triumphant Arches* in the City of *London* were much ſhattered and torn; That in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet* loſt the King's Arms, and many other rare Pieces that were affixed to it; That in *Cheapſide*, which repreſented the Church, ſuffered very much by the Fury of the Storm; and a great Part of that in *Fleetſtreet* (which repreſented Plenty) was blown down: but, bleſſed be God, none as we hear of were either killed or hurt by the Fall of it.

The Wind was ſo ſtrong, that it blew down ſeveral Carts loaded with Hay in the Road between *Barnet* and *London*; and in other Roads leading to the City of *London*.

*Norwich*

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*Norwich* Coach, with four or ſix Horſes, was not able to come towards *London*, but ſtayed by the way till the Storm was ſomewhat abated.

It is alſo credibly reported, That all, or ſome of the Heads which were ſet up upon *Weſtminſter-Hall*, were that Day blown down.

There was a very dreadful Lightning which did at firſt accompany the Storm, and by it ſome of his Majeſty's Houſhold conceive that the Fire which happened at *Whitehall* that Morning, was kindled; as alſo that at *Greenwich*, by which (as we are informed) ſeven or eight Houſes were burnt down.

*Thus far the Author of* Mirabilis Annis.

'Tis very obſervable, that this Storm blew from the ſame Quarter as the laſt, and that they had leſs of it Northward than here; in which they were much alike.

Now as theſe Storms were perhaps very furious in ſome Places, yet they neither came up to the Violence of this, nor any way to be compar'd for the Extent, and when ruinous in one Country, were hardly heard of in the next.

But this terrible Night ſhook all *Europe*; and how much farther it extended, he only knows who *has his way in the Whirlwind, and in the Storm, and the Clouds are the Duſt of his Feet.*

As this Storm was firſt felt from the Weſt, ſome have conjectur'd that the firſt Generation or rather Collection of Materials, was from the Con-

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Continent of *America*, poſſibly from that part of *Florida* and *Virginia* where, if we reſpect natural Cauſes, the Confluence of Vapours rais'd by the Sun from the vaſt and unknown Lakes and Inland Seas of Water, which as ſome relate are incredibly large as well as numerous, might afford ſufficient Matter for the Exhalation; and where time adding to the Preparation, God, who has generally confin'd his Providence to the Chain of natural Cauſes, might muſter together thoſe Troops of Combuſtion till they made a ſufficient Army duly proportion'd to the Expedition deſign'd.

I am the rather inclin'd to this Opinion, becauſe we are told, they felt upon that Coaſt an unuſual Tempeſt a few Days before the fatal 27th of *November*.

I confeſs, I have never ſtudied the Motion of the Clouds ſo nicely, as to calculate how long time this Army of Terror might take up in its furious March; poſſibly the Velocity of its Motion might not be ſo great at its firſt ſetting out as it was afterward, as a Horſe that is to run a Race does not immediately put himſelf into the height of his Speed: and tho' it may be true, that by the length of the way the force of the Wind ſpends it ſelf, and ſo by degrees ceaſes as the Vapour finds more room for Dilation; beſides, yet we may ſuppoſe a Conjunction of ſome confederate Matter which might fall in with it by the way, or which meeting it at its Arrival here, might join Forces in executing the Commiſſion receiv'd from above, all natural Cau-

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Cauſes being allow'd a Subſerviency to the Direction of the great ſupream Cauſe; yet where the vaſt Collection of Matter had its firſt Motion, as it did not all take Motion in one and the ſame moment, ſo when all the Parts had felt the Influence, as they advanc'd and preſs'd thoſe before them, the Violence muſt increaſe in proportion: and thus we may conceive that the Motion might not have arriv'd at its Meridian Violence till it reach'd our Iſland; and even then it blew ſome Days with more than common fury, yet much leſs than that laſt Night of its force; and even that Night the Violence was not at its extremity till about an hour before Sun-riſe, and then it continued declining, tho' it blew a full Storm for four Days after it.

Thus Providence, by whoſe ſpecial Direction the Quantity and Conduct of this Judgment was manag'd, ſeem'd to proportion things ſo, as that by the courſe of things the proportion of Matter being ſuited to Diſtance of Place, the Motion ſhou'd arrive at its full Force juſt at the Place where its Execution was to begin.

As then our Iſland was the firſt, this way, to receive the Impreſſions of the violent Motion, it had the terribleſt Effects here; and continuing its ſteady Courſe, we find it carried a true Line clear over the Continent of *Europe*, travers'd *England*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Baltick* Sea, and paſſing the Northern Continent of *Sweedland*, *Finland*, *Muſcovy*, and part of *Tartary*, muſt at laſt loſe it ſelf in the vaſt Northern Ocean, where Man never came, and Ship never ſail'd;

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ſail'd; and its Violence cou'd have no effect, but upon the vaſt Mountains of Ice and the huge Drifts of Snow, in which Abyſs of Moiſture and Cold it is very probable the Force of it was check'd, and the World reſtor'd to Calmneſs and Quiet: and in this Circle of Fury it might find its End not far off from where it had its Beginning, the Fierceneſs of the Motion perhaps not arriving to a Period, till having paſs'd the Pole, it reached again the Northern Parts of *America*.

The Effects of this impetuous Courſe, are the proper Subjects of this Book; and what they might be before our Iſland felt its Fury, who can tell? Thoſe unhappy Wretches who had the misfortune to meet it in its firſt Approach, can tell us little, having been hurried by its irreſiſtible Force directly into Eternity: how many they are, we cannot pretend to give an Account; we are told of about ſeventeen Ships, which having been out at Sea are never heard of: which is the common way of Diſcourſe of Ships founder'd in the Ocean: and indeed all we can ſay of them is, the fearful *Exit* they have made among the Mountains of Waters, can only be duly reflected on by thoſe who have ſeen thoſe Wonders of God in the Deep.

Yet I cannot omit here to obſerve, That this Loſs was in all probability much leſs than it would otherwiſe have been; becauſe the Winds having blown with very great Fury, at the ſame Point, for near fourteen Days before the Violence grew to its more uncommon height,

all

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all thoſe Ships which were newly gone to Sea were forc'd back, of which ſome were driven into *Plymouth* and *Falmouth* who had been above a hundred and fifty Leagues at Sea; others, which had been farther, took Sanctuary in *Ireland.*

On the other hand, All thoſe Ships which were homeward bound, and were within 500 Leagues of the *Engliſh* Shore, had been hurried ſo furiouſly on *afore it (as the Seamen ſay)* that they had reach'd their Port before the Extremity of the Storm came on; ſo that the Sea was as it were ſwept clean of all Shipping, thoſe which were coming home were blown home before their time; thoſe that had attempted to put to Sea, were driven back again inſpight of all their Skill and Courage: for the Wind had blown ſo very hard, directly into the Channel, that there was no poſſibility of their keeping the Sea whoſe Courſe was not right afore the Wind.

On the other hand, theſe two Circumſtances had fill'd all our Ports with unuſual Fleets of Ships, either juſt come home or outward-bound, and conſequently the Loſs among them was very terrible; and the Havock it made among them, tho' it was not ſo much as every body expected, was ſuch as no Age or Circumſtance can ever parallel, and we hope will never feel again.

Nay, ſo high the Winds blew even before *that we call the Storm*, that had not that intolerable Tempeſt follow'd ſo ſoon after, we ſhould have counted thoſe Winds extraordinary high:

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and any one may judge of the Truth of this from theſe few Particulars; That the *Ruſſia* Fleet, compos'd of near a hundred Sail, which happen'd to be then upon the Coaſt, was abſolutely diſpers'd and ſcatter'd, ſome got into *Newcaſtle*, ſome into *Hull*, and ſome into *Yarmouth* Roads; two founder'd in the Sea; one or two more run a-ſhore, and were loſt; and the *Reſerve* Frigat, their Convoy, founder'd in *Yarmouth* Roads, all her Men being loſt, and no Boat from the Shore durſt go off to relieve her, tho' it was in the Day-time, but all her Men periſhed.

In the ſame previous Storms the Man of War was loſt off of *Harwich*; but by the help of ſmaller Veſſels moſt of her Men were ſav'd.

And ſo high the Winds blew for near a Fortnight, that no Ship ſtirr'd out of Harbour; and all the Veſſels, great or ſmall, that were out at Sea, made for ſome Port or other for ſhelter.

In this juncture of time it happen'd, that together with the *Ruſſia* Fleet, a great Fleet of Laden Colliers, near 400 Sail, were juſt put out of the River *Tine*: and theſe being generally deep and unweildy Ships, met with hard meaſure, tho' not ſo fatal to them as was expected: ſuch of them as could run in for *Humber*, where a great many were loſt afterwards, as I ſhall relate in its courſe; ſome got ſhelter under the high Lands of *Cromer* and the Northern Shores of the County of *Norfolk*, and the greater number reach'd into *Yarmouth* Roads.

So

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So that when the Great Storm came, our Ports round the Sea-Coaſt of *England* were exceeding full of Ships of all ſorts: a brief account whereof take as follows.

At *Grinsby*, *Hull*, and the other Roads of the *Humber*, lay about 80 Sail, great and ſmall, of which about 50 were Colliers, and part of the *Ruſſia* Fleet as aforeſaid.

In *Yarmouth* Roads there rode at leaſt 400 Sail, being moſt of them Laden Colliers, *Ruſſia* Men, and Coaſters from *Lynn* and *Hull*.

In the River of *Thames*, at the *Nore*, lay about 12 Sail of the Queen's hir'd Ships and Store-ſhips, and only two Men of War.

Sir *Cloudſly Shovel* was juſt arriv'd from the *Mediterranean* with the Royal Navy: Part of them lay at *St. Helliens*, part in the *Downs*, and with 12 of the biggeſt Ships he was coming round the *Foreland* to bring them into *Chatham*; and when the Great Storm began was at an Anchor at the *Gunfleet*, from whence the *Aſſociation* was driven off from Sea as far as the Coaſt of *Norway*: What became of the reſt, I refer to a Chapter by it ſelf.

At *Graveſend* there rode five *East India* Men, and about 30 Sail of other Merchant-men, all outward bound.

In the *Downs* 160 Sail of Merchant Ships outward bound, beſides that part of the Fleet which came in with Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*, which conſiſted of about 18 Men of War, with Tenders and Victuallers.



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At *Portſmouth* and *Cowes* there lay three Fleets; firſt, a Fleet of Tranſports and Tenders, who with Admiral *Dilks* brought the Forces from *Ireland* that were to accompany the King of *Spain* to *Lisbon*; ſecondly, a great Fleet of Victuallers, Tenders, Store-ſhips, and Tranſports, which lay ready for the ſame Voyage, together with about 40 Merchant-ſhips, who lay for the benefit of their Convoy; and the third Article was, the Remainder of the Grand Fleet which came in with Sir *Cloudſly Shovel*; in all almoſt 300 Sail, great and ſmall.

In *Plymouth* Sound, *Falmouth* and *Milford* Havens, were particularly ſeveral ſmall Fleets of Merchant-ſhips, driven in for Shelter and Harbour from the Storm, moſt homeward bound from the Iſlands and Colonies of *America*.

The *Virginia* Fleet, *Barbadoes* Fleet, and ſome *East India* Men, lay ſcatter'd in all our Ports, and in *Kinſale* in *Ireland* there lay near 80 Sail, homeward bound and richly laden.

At *Briſtol* about 20 Sail of home-bound *West India* Men, not yet unladen.

In *Holland*, the Fleet of Tranſports for *Lisbon* waited for the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral *Engliſh* Men of War lay at *Helvoet Sluice*; the *Dutch* Fleet from the *Texel* lay off of *Cadſandt*, with their Forces on Board, under the Admiral *Callenberge*. Both theſe Fleets made 180 Sail.

I think I may very ſafely affirm, That hardly in the Memory of the oldeſt Man living, was a juncture of Time when an Accident of this

nature

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nature could have happen'd, that ſo much Shipping, laden out and home, ever was in Port at one time.

No Man will wonder that the Damages to this Nation were ſo great, if they conſider theſe unhappy Circumſtances: it ſhou'd rather be wonder'd at, that we have no more Diſaſters to account to Poſterity, but that the Navigation of this Country came off ſo well.

And therefore ſome People have excus'd the Extravagancies of the *Paris Gazetteer*, who affirm'd in Print, that there was 30000 Sea-men loſt in the ſeveral Ports of *England*, and 300 Sail of Ships; which they ſay was a probable Conjecture; and that conſidering the multitude of Shipping, the Openneſs of the Roads in the *Downs*, *Yarmouth*, and the *Nore*, and the prodigious Fury of the Wind, any Man would have gueſs'd the ſame as he.

'Tis certain, It is a thing wonderful to conſider, that eſpecially in the *Downs* and *Yarmouth* Roads any thing ſhou'd be ſafe: all Men that know how wild a Road the firſt is, and what Crowds of Ships there lay in the laſt; how almoſt every thing quitted the Road, and neither Anchor nor Cable would hold; muſt wonder what Shift or what Courſe the Mariners could direct themſelves to for Safety.

Some which had not a Maſt ſtanding, nor an Anchor or Cable left them, went out to Sea wherever the Winds drove them; and lying like a Trough in the Water, wallow'd about till the Winds abated; and after were driven,



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ſome into one Port, ſome into another, as Providence guided them.

In ſhort, Horror and Confuſion ſeiz'd upon all, whether on Shore or at Sea: No Pen can deſcribe it, no Tongue can expreſs it, no Thought conceive it, unleſs ſome of thoſe who were in the Extremity of it; and who, being touch'd with a due ſenſe of the ſparing Mercy of their Maker, retain the deep Impreſſions of his Goodneſs upon their Minds, tho' the Danger be paſt: and of thoſe I doubt the Number is but few.



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OF THE

# EFFECTS

OF THE

# STORM.

THE particular dreadful Effects of this Tempeſt, are the Subject of the enſuing Part of this Hiſtory: And tho' the Reader is not to expect that all the Particulars can be put into this Account, and perhaps many very remarkable Paſſages may never come to our Knowledge; yet as we have endeavour'd to furniſh our ſelves with the moſt authentick Accounts we could from all Parts of the Nation, and a great many worthy Gentlemen have contributed their Aſſiſtance in various, and ſome very exact Relations and curious Remarks; ſo we pretend, not to be meanly furniſh'd for this Work.

Some Gentlemen, whoſe Accounts are but of common and trivial Damages, we hope will not take it ill from the Author, if they are not inſerted at large; for that we are willing to put



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in nothing here common with other Accidents of like nature; or which may not be worthy of a History and a Historian to record them; nothing but what may serve to assist in convincing Posterity that this was the most violent Tempest the World ever saw.

From hence 'twill follow, that those Towns who only had their Houses until'd, their Barns and Hovels levell'd with the Ground, and the like, will find very little notice taken of them in this Account; because if these were to be the Subject of a History, I presume it must be equally voluminous with *Fox*, *Grimston*, *Holinshead* or *Stow*.

Nor shall I often trouble the Reader with the Multitude or Magnitude of Trees blown down, whole Parks ruin'd, fine Walks defac'd, and Orchards laid flat, and the like: and tho' I had, my self, the Curiosity to count the Number of Trees, in a Circuit I rode, over most part of *Kent*, in which being tired with the Number, I left off reckoning after I had gone on to 17000; and tho' I have great reason to believe I did not observe one half of the Quantity; yet in some Parts of *England*, as in *Devonshire* especially, and the Counties of *Worcester*, *Glouceſter*, and *Hereford*, which are full of very large Orchards of Fruit-Trees, they had much more mischief:

In the Pursuit of this Work, I shall divide it into the following Chapters or Sections, that I may put it into as good Order as possible.

1. Of

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1. Of the Damage in the City of *London*, &c.
2. in the Countries.
3. } *On the Water* { in the Royal Navy.
4. } { to Shipping in general.
5. by Earthquake.
6. by High Tides.
7. Remarkable Providences and Deliverances.
8. Hardned and blaſphemous Contemners both of the Storm and its Effects.
9. Some Calculations of Damage ſuſtain'd.
10. The Concluſion.

We had deſign'd a Chapter for the Damages abroad, and have been at no ſmall Charge to procure the Particulars from foreign Parts; which are now doing in a very authentick manner: but as the World has been long expecting this Work, and ſeveral Gentlemen who were not a little contributing to the Information of the Author, being unwilling to ſtay any longer for the Account, it was reſolved to put it into the Preſs without any farther Delay: and if the foreign Accounts can be obtain'd in time, they ſhall be a Supplement to the Work; if not, ſome other Method ſhall be found out to make them publick.



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## I. *Of the Damages in the City of* London, *and Parts adjacent.*

Indeed the City was a ſtrange Spectacle, the Morning after the Storm, as ſoon as the People could put their Heads out of Doors: though I believe, every Body expected the Deſtruction was bad enough; yet I queſtion very much, if any Body believed the Hundredth Part of what they ſaw.

The Streets lay ſo covered with Tiles and Slates, from the Tops of the Houſes, eſpecially in the Out-parts, that the Quantity is incredible: and the Houſes were ſo univerſally ſtript, that all the Tiles in Fifty Miles round would be able to repair but a ſmall Part of it.

Something may be gueſt at on this Head, from the ſudden Riſe of the Price of Tiles; which riſe from 21 *s. per* Thouſand to 6 *l.* for plain Tiles; and from 50 *s. per* Thouſand for Pantiles, to 10 *l.* and Bricklayers Labour to 5 *s. per* Day: And tho' after the firſt Hurry the Prices fell again, it was not that the Quantity was ſupply'd; but becauſe,

1*ſt*, The Charge was ſo extravagant, that an univerſal Neglect of themſelves, appear'd both in Landlord and Tenant; an incredible Number of Houſes remain'd all the Winter uncovered, and expos'd to all the Inconveniences of Wet and Cold; and are ſo even at the Writing of this Chapter.

2. Thoſe

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2. Thoſe People who found it abſolutely neceſſary to cover their Houſes, but were unwilling to go to the extravagant Price of Tiles; chang'd their Covering to that of Wood, as a preſent Expedient, till the Seaſon for making of Tiles ſhould come on; and the firſt Hurry being over, the Prices abate: and 'tis on this Score, that we ſee, to this Day, whole Ranks of Buildings, as in *Chriſt Church Hoſpital*, the *Temple*, *Asks-Hoſpital*, *Old-ſtreet*, *Hogſden-Squares*, and infinite other Places, covered entirely with Deal Boards; and are like to continue ſo, perhaps a Year or two longer, for Want of Tiles.

Theſe two Reaſons reduc'd the Tile-Merchants to ſell at a more moderate Price: But 'tis not an irrational Suggeſtion, that all the Tiles which ſhall be made this whole Summer, will not repair the Damage in the covering of Houſes within the Circumference of the City, and Ten Miles round.

The next Article in our Street Damage was, the Fall of Chimneys; and as the Chimneys in the City Buildings are built in large Stacks, the Houſes being ſo high, the Fall of them had the more Power, by their own Weight, to demoliſh the Houſes they fell upon.

'Tis not poſſible to give a diſtinct Account of the Number, or particular Stacks of Chimneys, which fell in this fatal Night; but the Reader may gueſs by this Particular, that in *Cambray-Houſe*, commonly ſo called, a great Houſe near *Iſlington*, belonging to the Family of the *Comptons*, Earls of *Northampton*, but now let out in-

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to Tenements; the Collector of these Remarks counted Eleven or Thirteen Stacks of Chimneys, either wholly thrown in, or the greatest Parts of them at least, what was expos'd to the Wind, blown off. I have heard Persons, who pretended to observe the Desolation of that terrible Night very nicely; and who, by what they had seen and enquired into, thought themselves capable of making some Calculations, affirm, They could give an Account of above Two Thousand Stacks of Chimneys blown down in and about *London*; besides Gable Ends of Houses, some whole Roofs, and Sixteen or Twenty whole Houses in the Out-Parts.

Under the Disaster of this Article, it seems most proper to place the Loss of the Peoples Lives, who fell in this Calamity; since most of those, who had the Misfortune to be killed, were buried, or beaten to Pieces with the Rubbish of the several Stacks of Chimneys that fell.

Of these, our Weekly Bills of Mortality gave us an Account of Twenty One; besides such as were drown'd in the River, and never found: and besides above Two Hundred People very much wounded and maim'd.

One Woman was kill'd by the Fall of a Chimney in or near the Palace of St. *James*'s, and a Stack of Chimneys falling in the new unfinish'd Building there, and carried away a Piece of the Coin of the House.

Nine Souldiers were hurt, with the Fall of the Roof of the Guard-house at *Whitehall*, but none of them died.

A Di-

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A Diſtiller in *Duke-ſtreet*, with his Wife, and Maid-ſervant, were all buried in the Rubbiſh of a Stack of Chimneys, which forced all the Floors, and broke down to the Bottom of the Houſe; the Wife was taken out alive, though very much bruiſed, but her Husband and the Maid loſt their Lives.

One Mr. *Dyer*, a Plaiſterer in *Fetter-Lane*, finding the Danger he was in by the ſhaking of the Houſe, jumpt out of Bed to ſave himſelf; and had, in all Probability, Time enough to have got out of the Houſe, but ſtaying to ſtrike a Light, a Stack of Chimneys fell in upon him, kill'd him, and wounded his Wife.

Two Boys at one Mr. *Purefoy*'s, in *Croſs-ſtreet Hatton-Garden*, were both kill'd, and buried in the Rubbiſh of a Stack of Chimneys; and a third very much wounded.

A Woman in *Jewin-ſtreet*, and Two Perſons more near *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, were kill'd; the firſt, as it is reported, by venturing to run out of the Houſe into the Street; and the other Two by the Fall of a Houſe.

In *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, one Mr. *Simpſon*, a Scrivener being in Bed and faſt a-ſleep, heard nothing of the Storm; but the reſt of the Family being more ſenſible of Danger, ſome of them went up, and wak'd him; and telling him their own Apprehenſions, preſs'd him to riſe; but he too fatally ſleepy; and conſequently unconcern'd at the Danger, told them, he did not apprehend any Thing; and ſo, notwithſtanding all their Perſuaſions, could not be prevailed with to riſe:

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they had not been gone many Minutes out of his Chamber, before the Chimneys fell in, broke through the Roof over him, and kill'd him in his Bed.

A Carpenter in *White-Croſs-ſtreet* was kill'd almoſt in the ſame Manner, by a Stack of Chimneys of the *Swan* Tavern, which fell into his Houſe: it was reported, That his Wife earneſtly deſir'd him not to go to Bed; and had prevail'd upon him to ſit up till near two a Clock, but then finding himſelf very heavy, he would go to Bed againſt all his Wife's Intreaties; after which, ſhe wak'd him, and deſir'd him to riſe, which he refus'd, being ſomething angry for being diſturb'd; and going to ſleep again, was kill'd in his Bed: and his Wife, who would not go to Bed, eſcap'd.

In this Manner, our Weekly Bills gave us an Account of Twenty One Perſons kill'd in the City of *London*, and Parts adjacent.

Some of our printed Accounts give us larger and plainer Accounts of the Loſs of Lives, than I will venture to affirm for Truth; as of ſeveral Houſes near *Moor-Fields* levell'd with the Ground: Fourteen People drowned in a Wherry going to *Graveſend*, and Five in a Wherry from *Chelſey*. Not that it is not very probable to be true; but as I reſolve not to hand any thing to Poſterity, but what comes very well atteſted, I omit ſuch Relations as I have not extraordinary Aſſurance as to the Fact.

The

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( 77 )

The Fall of Brick-Walls, by the Fury of this Tempeſt, in and about *London*, would make a little Book of it ſelf; and as this affects the Out-Parts chiefly, where the Gardens and Yards are wall'd in, ſo few ſuch have eſcap'd: at St. *James*'s a conſiderable part of the Garden Wall; at *Greenwich-Park* there are ſeveral pieces of the Wall down for an Hundred Rods in a Place; and ſome much more, at *Batterſey*, *Chelſey*, *Putney*, at *Clapham*, at *Deptford*, at *Hackney*, *Iſlington*, *Hogſden*, *Wood's Cloſe* by St. *John's Street*, and on every ſide the City, the Walls of the Gardens have generally felt the Shock, and lie flat on the Ground twenty, thirty Rod of walling in a Place.

The publick Edifices of the City come next under our Conſideration; and theſe have had their Share in the Fury of this terrible Night.

A part of her Majeſty's Palace, as is before obſerv'd, with a Stack of Chimneys in the Centre of the new Buildings, then not quite finiſhed, fell with ſuch a terrible Noiſe as very much alarm'd the whole Houſhold.

The Roof of the Guard-houſe at *Whitehall*, as is alſo obſerv'd before, was quite blown off; and the great Vane, or Weather-Cock at *Whitehall* blown down.

The Lead, on the Tops of the Churches and other Buildings, was in many Places roll'd up like a Roll of Parchment, and blown in ſome Places clear off from the Buildings; as at *Weſtminſter Abby*, St. *Andrews Holbourn*, *Chriſt-*

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*Chriſt-Church Hoſpital*, and abundance of other Places.

Two of the new built Turrets, on the Top of St. *Mary Aldermary Church*, were blown off, whereof One fell upon the Roof of the Church; of Eight Pinnacles on the Top of St. *Albans Woodſtreet*, Five of them were blown down; Part of One of the Spires of St. *Mary Overies* blown off; Four Pinnacles on the Steeple of St. *Michael Crooked Lane* blown quite off: The Vanes and Spindles of the Weather-Cocks, in many Places, bent quite down; as on St. *Michael Cornhil*, St. *Sepulchres*, the *Tower*, and divers other Places.

It was very remarkable, that the Bridge over the *Thames* received but little Damage, and not in Proportion to what in common Reaſon might be expected; ſince the Buildings there ſtand high, and are not ſheltered, as they are in the Streets, one by another.

If I may be allow'd to give this Philoſophical Account of it, I hope it may not be abſurd; that the Indraft of the Arches underneath the Houſes giving Vent to the Air, it paſt there with a more than common Current; and conſequently relieved the Buildings, by diverting the Force of the Storm: I ask Pardon of the ingenious Reader for this Opinion, if it be not regular, and only preſent it to the World for Want of a better; if thoſe better furniſhed *that Way* will ſupply us with a truer Account, I ſhall withdraw mine, and ſubmit to theirs. The

Fact

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Fact however is certain, that the Houſes on the *Bridge* did not ſuffer in Proportion to the other Places; though all muſt allow, they do not ſeem to be ſtronger built, than other Streets of the ſame ſort.

Another Obſervation I cannot but make; to which, as I have Hundreds of Inſtances, ſo I have many more Witneſſes to the Truth of Fact, and the uncommon Experiment has made it the more obſerv'd.

The Wind blew, during the whole Storm, between the Points of S. W. and N. W. not that I mean it blew at all theſe Points, but I take a Latitude of Eight Points to avoid Exceptions, and to confirm my Argument; ſince what I am inſiſting upon, could not be a natural Cauſe from the Winds blowing in any of thoſe particular Points.

If a Building ſtood North and South, it muſt be a Conſequence that the Eaſt-ſide Slope of the Roof muſt be the Lee-ſide, lie out of the Wind, be weather'd by the Ridge, and conſequently receive no Damage in a direct Line.

But againſt this rational way of arguing, we are convinced by Demonſtration and Experiment, after which Argument muſt be ſilent. It was not in one Place or Two, but in many Places; that where a Building ſtood ranging North and South, the Sides or Slopes of the Roof to the Eaſt and the Weſt, the Eaſt-ſide of the Roof would be ſtript and unſiled by the Violence of the Wind; and the Weſt Side, which

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which lay open to the Wind, be found and untouch'd.

This, I conceive, muſt happen either where the Building had ſome open Part, as Windows or Doors to receive the Wind in the Inſide, which being puſht forward by the ſucceeding Particles of the Air, muſt force its Way forward, and ſo lift off the Tiling on the Leward Side of the Building; or it muſt happen from the Poſition of ſuch Building near ſome other higher Place or Building, where the Wind being repuls'd, muſt be forc'd back again in Eddies; and conſequently taking the Tiles from the lower Side of the Roof, rip them up with the more Eaſe.

However it was, it appear'd in many Places, the Windward Side of the Roof would be whole, and the Leeward Side, or the Side from the Wind, be untiled; in other Places, a high Building next the Wind has been not much hurt, and a lower Building on the Leeward Side of the high One clean ript, and hardly a Tile left upon it: this is plain in the Building of *Chriſt Church Hoſpital* in *London*, where the Building on the Weſt and South Side of the Cloyſter was at leaſt Twenty Five Foot higher than the Eaſt Side, and yet the Roof of the lower Side on the Eaſt was quite untiled by the Storm; and remains at the Writing of This covered with Deal Boards above an Hundred Foot in Length.

The

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The blowing down of Trees may come in for another Article in this Part; of which, in Proportion to the Quantity, here was as much as in any Part of *England*: Some printed Accounts tell us of Seventy Trees in *Moorfields* blown down, which may be true; but that ſome of them were Three Yards about, as is affirmed by the Authors, I cannot allow: above a Hundred Elms in St. *James's Park*, ſome whereof were of ſuch Growth, as they tell us they were planted by Cardinal *Woolſey*; whether that Part of it be true or not, is little to the Matter, but only to imply that they were very great Trees: about *Barns*, commonly call'd *Whitmore houſe*, there were above Two Hundred Trees blown down, and ſome of them of extraordinary Size broken off in the middle.

And 'twas obſerv'd, that in the Morning after the Storm was abated, it blew ſo hard, the Women, who uſually go for Milk to the Cow-keepers in the Villages round the City, were not able to go along with their Pails on their Heads; and One, that was more hardy than the reſt, was blown away by the Fury of the Storm, and forced into a Pond, but by ſtrugling hard got out, and avoided being drowned; and ſome that ventured out with Milk the Evening after, had their Pails and Milk blown off from their Heads.

'Tis impoſſible to enumerate the Particulars of the Damage ſuffered, and of the Accidents which happened under theſe ſeveral Heads, in and about the City of *London*: The Houſes



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looked like Skeletons, and an univerſal Air of Horror ſeem'd to ſit on the Countenances of the People; all Buſineſs ſeem'd to be laid aſide for the Time, and People were generally intent upon getting Help to repair their Habitations.

It pleaſed God ſo to direct things, that there fell no Rain in any conſiderable Quantity, except what fell the ſame Night or the enſuing Day, for near Three Weeks after the Storm, though it was a Time of the Year that is generally dripping. Had a wet Rainy Seaſon followed the Storm, the Damage which would have been ſuffered in and about this City to Houſhold Goods, Furniture and Merchandiſe, would have been incredible, and might have equall'd all the the reſt of the Calamity: but the Weather prov'd fair and temperate for near a Month after the Storm, which gave People a great deal of Leiſure in providing themſelves Shelter, and fortifying their Houſes againſt the Accidents of Weather by Deal Boards, old Tiles, Pieces of Sail Cloth, Tarpaulin, and the like.

II. Of

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## II. *Of the Damages in the Country.*

As the Author of this was an Eye-witneſs and Sharer of the Particulars in the former Chapter; ſo, to furniſh the Reader with Accounts as authentick, and which he has as much cauſe to depend upon as if he had ſeen them, he has the ſeveral Particulars following from like Eye-witneſſes, and that in ſuch a manner, as I think their Teſtimony is not to be queſtion'd, moſt of the Gentlemen being of Piety and Reputation.

And as a Publication was made to deſire all Perſons who were willing to contribute to the forwarding this Work, and to tranſmit the Memory of ſo ſignal a Judgment to Poſterity, that they would be pleas'd to ſend up ſuch authentick Accounts of the Miſchiefs, Damages, and Diſaſters in their reſpective Countries that the World might rely on; it cannot, without a great breach of Charity, be ſuppos'd that Men mov'd by ſuch Principles, without any private Intereſt or Advantage, would forge any thing to impoſe upon the World, and abuſe Mankind in Ages to come.

Intereſt, Parties, Strife, Faction, and particular Malice, with all the ſcurvy Circumſtances attending ſuch things, may prompt Men to ſtrain a Tale beyond its real Extent; but, that Men ſhou'd invent a Story to amuſe Poſterity, in a caſe where they have no manner of Motive, where the only Deſign is to preſerve the Remembrance of Divine Vengeance, and put our



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Children in mind of God's Judgments upon their ſinful Fathers, this would be telling a Lye for God's ſake, and doing Evil for the ſake of it ſelf, which is a ſtep beyond the Devil.

Beſides, as moſt of our Relators have not only given us their Names, and ſign'd the Accounts they have ſent, but have alſo given us Leave to hand their Names down to Poſterity with the Record of the Relation they give, we would hope no Man will be ſo uncharitable to believe that Men would be forward to ſet their Names to a voluntary Untruth, and have themſelves recorded to Poſterity for having, without Motion, Hope, Reward, or any other reaſon, impos'd a Falſity upon the World, and diſhonour'd our Relation with the uſeleſs Banter of an Untruth.

We cannot therefore but think, that as the Author believes himſelf ſufficiently back'd by the Authority of the Vouchers he preſents, ſo after what has been here premis'd, no Man will have any room to ſuſpect us of Forgery.

The enſuing Relation therefore, as to Damages in the Country, ſhall conſiſt chiefly of Letters from the reſpective Places where ſuch things have happen'd; only that as all our Letters are not conciſe enough to be printed as they are, where it is otherwiſe the Letter is digeſted into a Relation only; in which the Reader is aſſur'd we have always kept cloſe to the matter of fact.

And firſt, I ſhall preſent ſuch Accounts as are entire, and related by Men of Letters, prin-

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principally by the Clergy; which ſhall be given you in their own Words.

The firſt is from *Stowmarket* in *Suffolk*, where, by the Violence of the Storm, the fineſt Spire in that County, and but new built, *viz.* within thirty Years, was overthrown, and fell upon the Church. The Letter is ſign'd by the reverend Miniſter of the Place, and vouched by two of the principal Inhabitants, as follows.

*SIR,*

HAving ſeen an Advertiſement of a Deſign to perpetuate the Remembrance of the late dreadful Storm, by publiſhing a Collection of all the remarkable Accidents occaſion'd by it, and ſuppoſing the Damage done to our Church to be none of the leaſt, we were willing to contribute ſomething to your Deſign, by ſending you an Account thereof as follows.

We had formerly a Spire of Timber covered with Lead, of the height of 77 Foot; which being in danger of falling, was taken down: and in the Year 1674, with the Addition of 10 Loads of new Timber, 21 thouſand and 8 hundred weight of Lead, a new one was erected, 160 Foot high from the Steeple, with a Galiery at the height of 40 Foot all open, wherein hung a Clock-Bell of between 2 and 3 hundred Weight. The Spire ſtood but 8 Yards above the Roof of the Church; and yet by the extreme Violence of the Storm, a little before 6 in the Morning the Spire was thrown down;



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and carrying with it all the Battlements on the Eaſt ſide, it fell upon the Church at the diſtance of 28 Foot; for ſo much is the diſtance between the Steeple and the firſt Breach, which is on the North-ſide of the middle Roof, of the length of 17 Foot, where it brake down 9 Spars clean, each 23 Foot long, and ſeverally ſupported with very ſtrong Braces. The Spire inclining to the North, fell croſs the middle Wall, and broke off at the Gallery, the lower part falling in at the aforeſaid Breach, and the upper upon the North Iſle, which is 24 Foot wide, with a flat Roof lately built, all new and very ſtrong: It carried all before it from ſide to ſide, making a Breach 37 Foot long, breaking in ſunder two large Beams that went a-croſs, which were 12 Inches broad and 15 deep, beſides ſeveral other ſmaller. Beſides theſe two Breaches, there is a great deal of Damage done by the Fall of great Stones upon other parts of the Roof, as well as by the Wind's riving up the Lead, and a third part of the Pews broken all in pieces, every thing falling into the Church, except the Weather-cock, which was found in the Church-yard, at a conſiderable diſtance, in the great Path that goes croſs by the Eaſt End of the Church. It will coſt above 400 *l.* to make all good as it was before. There were 3 ſingle Chimneys blown down, and a Stack of 4 more together, all about the ſame time; and ſome others ſo ſhaken, that they were forc'd to be pull'd down; but, we thank God, no body hurt, tho' one Bed was broken in pieces that

was

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was very oft lain in: no body lay in it that Night. Moſt Houſes ſuffered ſomething in their Tiling, and generally all round the Country; there is incredible Damage done to Churches, Houſes, and Barns.

*Samuel Farr*, Vicar.
*John Gaudy.*
*William Garrard.*

From *Oxfordſhire* we have an Account very authentick, and yet unaccountably ſtrange: but the reverend Author of the Story being a Gentleman whoſe Credit we cannot diſpute, in acknowledgment to his Civility, and for the Advantage of our true Deſign, we give his Letter alſo *verbatim.*

*SIR,*

MEeting with an Advertiſement of yours in the *Gazette* of *Monday* laſt, I very much approved of the Deſign, thinking it might be a great Motive towards making People, when they hear the Fate of others, return Thanks to Almighty God for his Providence in preſerving them. I accordingly was reſolved to ſend you all I knew. The Place where I have for ſome time lived is *Beſſelſleigh*, in *Barkſhire*, about four Miles S. W. of *Oxon*. The Wind began with us much about One of the Clock in the Morning, and did not do much harm, only in untiling Houſes, blowing down a Chimney or two, without any Perſon hurt, and a few Trees: but what was the only thing that was ſtrange, and



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to be obſerved, was a very tall Elm, which was found the next Morning ſtanding, but perfectly twiſted round; the Root a little looſen'd, but not torn up. But what happened the Afternoon preceding, is abundantly more ſurprizing, and is indeed the Intent of this Letter.

On *Friday* the 26th of *November*, in the Afternoon, about Four of the Clock, a Country Fellow came running to me in a great Fright, and very earneſtly entreated me to go and ſee a Pillar, as he call'd it, in the Air, in a Field hard by. I went with the Fellow; and when I came, found it to be a Spout marching directly with the Wind: and I can think of nothing I can compare it to better than the Trunk of an Elephant, which it reſembled, only much bigger. It was extended to a great Length, and ſwept the Ground as it went, leaving a Mark behind. It croſſed a Field; and what was very ſtrange (and which I ſhould ſcarce have been induced to believe had I not my ſelf ſeen it, beſides ſeveral Country-men who were aſtoniſh'd at it) meeting with an Oak that ſtood towards the middle of the Field) ſnapped the Body of it aſunder. Afterwards croſſing a Road, it ſucked up the Water that was in the Cart-ruts: then coming to an old Barn, it tumbled it down, and the Thatch that was on the Top was carried about by the Wind, which was then very high, in great confuſion. After this I followed it no farther, and therefore ſaw no more of it. But a Pariſhoner of mine going from hence to *Hinkſey*, in a Field about a quarter of a Mile off

of

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of this Place, was on the ſudden knock'd down, and lay upon the Place till ſome People came by and brought him home; and he is not yet quite recovered. Having examined him, by all I can collect both from the Time, and Place, and Manner of his being knock'd down, I muſt conclude it was done by the Spout, which, if its Force had not been much abated, had certainly kill'd him: and indeed I attribute his Illneſs more to the Fright, than the ſudden Force with which he was ſtruck down.

I will not now enter into a Diſſertation on the Cauſe of Spouts, but by what I can underſtand they are cauſed by nothing but the Circumgyration of the Clouds, made by two contrary Winds meeting in a Point, and condenſing the Cloud till it falls in the Shape we ſee it; which by the twiſting Motion ſucks up Water, and doth much Miſchief to Ships at Sea, where they happen oftner than at Land. Whichever of the two Winds prevails, as in the above-mentioned was the S. W. at laſt diſſolves and diſſipates the Cloud, and then the Spout diſappears.

This is all I have to communicate to you, wiſhing you all imaginable Succeſs in your Collection. Whether you inſert this Account, I leave wholly to your own Diſcretion; but can aſſure you, that to moſt of theſe things, tho' very ſurprizing, I was my ſelf an Eye-witneſs. I am,

SIR, *Your humble Servant,*

*Dec.* 12. 1703. Joſeph Ralton.

The

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The judicious Reader will obſerve here, that this ſtrange Spout, or Cloud, or what elſe it may be call'd, was ſeen the Evening before the great Storm: from whence is confirm'd what I have ſaid before of the violent Agitation of the Air for ſome time before the Tempeſt.

A ſhort, but very regular Account, from *Northampton*, the Reader may take in the following Letter; the Perſon being of undoubted Credit and Reputation in the Town, and the Particulars very well worth remark.

*SIR*,

HAving ſeen in the *Gazettee* an Intimation, that there would be a Memorial drawn up of the late terrible Wind, and the Effects of it, and that the Compoſer deſired Informations from credible Perſons, the better to enable him to do the ſame, I thought good to intimate what happen'd in this Town, and its Neighbourhood. 1. The Weather-cock of *All-Saints* Church being placed on a mighty Spindle of Iron, was bowed together, and made uſeleſs. Many Sheets of Lead on that Church, as alſo on St. *Giles*'s and St. *Sepulchres*, rowl'd up like a Scroll. Three Windmills belonging to the Town blown down, to the Amazement of all Beholders; the mighty upright Poſt below the Floor of the Mills being ſnapt in two like a Reed. Two entire Stacks of Chimneys in a Houſe uninhabited fell on two ſeveral Roofs, and made a moſt amazing Ruin in the Chambers, Floors, and even to the lowe[r] Win-

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Windows and Wainſcot, ſplitting and tearing it as if a Blow by Gun-powder had happen'd. The Floods at this inſtant about the South Bridge, from a violent S. W. Wind, roſe to a great and amazing height; the Wind coming over or athwart large open Meadows, did exceeding damage in that part of the Town, by blowing down ſome whole Houſes, carrying whole Roofs at once into the Streets, and very many leſſer Buildings of Tanners, Fell-mongers, Dyers, Glue-makers, *&c.* yet, through the Goodneſs of God, no Perſon killed or maimed: the mighty Doors of the Seſſions-houſe, barr'd and lock'd, forced open, whereby the Wind entring, made a miſerable Havock of the large and lofty Windows: a Pinnacle on the *Guild-hall*, with the Fane, was alſo blown down. To ſpeak of Houſes ſhatter'd, Corn-ricks and Hovels blown from their Standings, would be endleſs. In Sir *Thomas Samwell*'s Park a very great headed Elm was blown over the Park-Wall into the Road, and yet never touched the Wall, being carried ſome Yards. I have confined my ſelf to this Town. If the Compoſer finds any thing agreeable to his Deſign, he may uſe it or diſmiſs it at his Diſcretion. Such Works of Providence are worth recording. I am

*Northampton,*
Dec. 12. 1703.

*Your loving Friend,*
Ben. Bullivant.

The following Account from *Berkly* and other Places in *Glouceſterſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*, &c. are the ſad Effects of the prodigious Tide in the *Se-*

*vern.*

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*vern.* The Wind blowing directly into the Mouth of that Channel we call the *Severn* Sea, forced the Waters up in such quantity, that 'tis allovv'd the Flood vvas eight Foot higher than ever vvas knovvn in the Memory of Man; and at one Place, near *Huntspill*, it drove several Vessels a long vvay upon the Land; from vvhence, no succeeding Tide rising to near that height, they can never be gotten off: as vvill appear in the tvvo follovving Letters.

*SIR,*

THIS Parish is a very large one in the County of *Glocester*, on one Side whereof runneth the River *Severn*, which by Reason of the Violence of the late Storm beat down and tore to pieces the Sea Wall (which is made of great Stones, and Sticks which they call Rouses, a Yard and half long, about the Bigness of ones Thigh rammed into the Ground as firm as possible) in many Places, and levell'd it almost with the Ground, forcing vast Quantities of Earth a great Distance from the Shore, and Stones, many of which were above a Hundred Weight: and hereby the *Severn* was let in above a Mile over one part of the Parish, and did great Damage to the Land; it carried away one House which was by the Sea-side, and a Gentleman's Stable, wherein was a Horse, into the next Ground; and then the Stable fell to pieces, and so the Horse came out. There is one thing more remarkable in this Parish, and 'tis this: Twenty Six Sheets of



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Lead, hanging all together, were blown off from the middle Iſle of our Church, and were carried over the North Iſle, which is a very large one, without touching it; and into the Church-yard ten Yards diſtant from the Church; and they were took up all joyned together as they were on the Roof; the Plummer told me that the Sheets weighed each Three Hundred and a half one with another. This is what is moſt obſervable in our Pariſh; but I ſhall give you an Account of one thing (which perhaps you may have from other Hands) that happen'd in another, call'd *Kingſcote*, a little Village about Three Miles from *Tedbury*, and Seven from us; where *William Kingſcote* Eſq; has many Woods; among which was one Grove of very tall Trees, being each near Eighty Foot high; the which he greatly valued for the Tallneſs and Proſpect of them, and therefore reſolv'd never to cut them down: But it ſo happen'd, that Six Hundred of them, within the Compaſs of Five Acres were wholly blown down; (and ſuppos'd to be much at the ſame time) each Tree tearing up the Ground with its Root; ſo that the Roots of moſt of the Trees, with the Turf and Earth about them, ſtood up at leaſt Fifteen or Sixteen Foot high; the lying down of which Trees is an amazing Sight to all Beholders. This Account was given by the Gentleman himſelf, whom I know very well. I have no more to add, but that I am, *Your humble Servant*, wiſhing you good Succeſs in your Undertaking,

Jan. 24. *Henry Head*, Vicar of *Berkly*.

The

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The Damage of the Sea-wall may amount to about five Hundred Pounds.

*SIR*,

I Received a printed Paper ſometime ſince, wherein I was deſired to ſend you an Account of what happen'd in the late Storm: and I ſhould have anſwered it ſooner, but was willing to make ſome Enquiry firſt about this Country; and by what I can hear or learn, the diſmal Accident of our late Biſhop and Lady was moſt remarkable; who was killed by the Fall of two Chimney Stacks, which fell on the Roof, and drove it in upon my Lord's Bed, forced it quite through the next Flower down into the Hall, and buried them both in the Rubbiſh; and 'tis ſuppos'd my Lord was getting up, for he was found ſome Diſtance from my Lady, who was found in her Bed; but my Lord had his Morning Gown on, ſo that 'tis ſuppos'd he was coming from the Bed juſt as it fell. We had likewiſe two ſmall Houſes blown flat down juſt as the People were gone out to a Neighbour's Houſe; and ſeveral other Chimney Stacks fell down, and ſome through the Roof, but no other Accident as to Death in this Town or near it: abundance of Tiles are blown off, and likewiſe Thatch in and about this Town, and ſeveral Houſes uncover'd, in the Country all about us, abundance of Apple and Elm Trees are rooted up by the Ground; and alſo abundance of Wheat and Hay-mows blown down: at *Huntſpil*, about

about twelve Miles from this Town, there was Four or Five ſmall Veſſels drove a-ſhoar which remain there ſtill, and 'tis ſuppos'd cannot be got off; and in the ſame Pariſh, the Tide broke in Breaſt high; but all the People eſcap'd only one Woman, who was drowned. Theſe are all the remarkable Things that happen'd near us, as I can hear of; and is all, but my humble Service; and beg Leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

SIR,

*Your moſt humble Servant,*

*Wells* in *Somerſetſhire*,
Feb. 9. 1703.

Edith. Conyers.

*SIR,*

THE Dreadful Storm did this Church but little Damage, but our Houſes were terterribly ſhaken hereabouts, and the Tide drowned the greateſt part of the Sheep on our Common; as it likewiſe did, beſides many Cows, between this Place and *Briſtol*; on the oppoſite Shore of *Glamorganſhire*, as (I ſuppoſe you may alſo know) it brake down part of *Chepſtow* Bridge, o'er the *Wye*. In the midſt of this Church-yard grew a vaſt Tree, thought to be the moſt large and flouriſhing Elm in the Land which was torn up by the Roots, ſome of which are really bigger than ones Middle, and ſeveral than a Man's Thigh; the Compaſs of them curiouſly interwoven with the Earth, being from the Surface (or Turf) to the Baſis, full an Ell in

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in Depth, and Eighteen Foot and half in the Diameter, and yet thrown up near Perpendicular; the Trunk, together with the loaden Roots, is well judg'd to be Thirteen Tun at leaſt, and the Limbs to make Six Load of Billets with Faggots; and, about Two Years ſince, our Miniſter obſerv'd, that the circumambient Boughs dropt round above Two Hundred Yards: He hath given it for a SINGERS SEAT in our ſaid Church, with this Inſcription thereon; *Nov.* 27. *A. D.* 1703. *Miſerere*, &c.

*Slimbrige near Severn* Dec. 28. 1703. *William Frith* Church-Warden.

*SIR*,

BY the late Dreadful Storm a conſiderable Breach was made in our Town Wall, and Part of the Church Steeple blown down; beſides moſt of the Inhabitants ſuffered very much by untiling their Houſes, *&c.* and abundance of Trees unrooted: at the ſame time our River overflowed, and drowned the low Grounds of both Sides the Town, whereby ſeveral Hundreds of Sheep were loſt, and ſome Cattle; and one of our Market Boats lifted upon our Key. This is a true Account of moſt of our Damages. I am,

*Cardiff*, Jan. 10. 1703. *Your humble Servant*,

William Jones.

*SIR*,

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*Honour'd Sir,*

IN Obedience to your Requeſt I have here ſent you a particular Account of the damages ſuſtain'd in our Pariſh by the late Violent Storm; and becauſe that of our Church is the moſt material which I have to impart to you, I ſhall therefore begin with it. It is the fineneſs of our Church which magnifies our preſent loſs, for in the whole it is a large and noble ſtructure, compos'd within and without of Aſhler curiouſly wrought, and conſiſting of a ſtately Roof in the middle, and two Iſles running a conſiderable length from one end of it to the other, makes a very beautiful Figure. It is alſo adorn'd with 28 admired and Celebrated Windows, which, for the variety and fineneſs of the Painted Glaſs that was in them, do juſtly attract the Eyes of all curious Travellers to inſpect and behold them; nor is it more famous for its Glaſs, than newly renown'd for the Beauty of its Seats and Paving, both being chiefly the noble Gift of that pious and worthy Gentleman *Andrew Barker*, Eſq; the late Deceas'd Lord of the Manor. So that all things conſider'd, it does equal, at leaſt, if not exceed, any Parochial Church in *England*. Now that part of it which moſt of all felt the fury of the Winds, was, a large middle Weſt Window, in Dimenſion about 15 Foot wide, and 25 Foot high;



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it repreſents the general Judgment, and is ſo fine a piece of Art, that 1500 *l.* has formerly been bidden for it, a price, though very temp-ting, yet were the Pariſhoners ſo juſt and honeſt as to refuſe it. The upper part of this Window, juſt above the place where our Savjour's Picture is drawn ſitting on a Rainbow, and the Earth his Foot-ſtool, is entirely ruin'd, and both ſides are ſo ſhatter'd and torn, eſpecially the left, that upon a general Computation, a fourth part, at leaſt, is blown down and deſtroy'd. The like Fate has another Weſt Window on the left ſide of the former, in Dimenſion about 10 Foot broad, and 15 Foot high, ſuſtain'd; the upper half of which is totally broke, excepting one Stone Munnel. Now if this were but ordinary Glaſs, we might quickly compute what our repairs would Coſt, but we the more lament our misfortune herein, becauſe the Paint of theſe two, as of all the other Windows in our Church, is ſtain'd thro' the Body of the Glaſs; ſo that if that be true which is generaly ſaid, that this Art is loſt, than have we an irretrievable loſs. There are other damages about our Church, which, tho' not ſo great as the former, do yet as much teſtify how ſtrong and boiſterous the Winds were, for they unbedded 3 Sheets of Lead upon the uppermoſt Rooff, and roll'd them up like ſo much Paper. Over the Church-porch, a large Pinnacle and two Battlements were blown down upon the

leads

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leads of it, but reſting there, and their fall being ſhort, theſe will be repair'd with little Coſt. This is all I have to ſay concerning our Church: Our Houſes come next to be conſidered, and here I may tell you, that (thanks be to God) the effects of the Storm were not ſo great as they have been in many other places; ſeveral Chimneys, and Tiles, and Slats, were thrown down, but no body kill'd or wounded. Some of the Poor, becauſe their Houſes were Thatch'd, were the greateſt ſufferers; but to be particular herein, would be very frivolous, as well as vexatious. One Inſtance of Note ought not to omitted; on *Saturday* the 26th, being the day after the Storm, about 2-a-Clock in the Afternoon, without any previous warning, a ſudden flaſh of Lightning, with a ſhort, but violent clap of Thunder, immediately following it like the Diſcharge of Ordnance, fell upon a new and ſtrong built Houſe in the middle of our Town, and at the ſame time disjointed two Chimneys, melted ſome of the Lead of an upper Window, and ſtruck the Miſtreſs of the Houſe into a Swoon, but this, as appear'd afterwards, prov'd the effect more of fear, than of any real conſiderable hurt to be found about her. I have nothing more to add, unleſs it be the fall of ſeveral Trees and Ricks of Hay amongſt us; but theſe being ſo common every where, and not very many in number



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here, I ſhall Conclude this tedious Scrible, and Subſcribe my ſelf,

*S I R,*

Fairford, Glouceſt. *Your moſt Obedient*
*January* 170½. *and Humble Servant,*

Edw. Shipton, *&c.*

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*The following Letters, tho' in a homely ſtile, are written by very honeſt plain and obſerving Perſons, to whom entire Credit may be given.*

*BREWTON.*

*S I R,*

SOme time ſince I received a Letter from you, to give you an Account of the moſt particular Things that hapned in the late dreadful Tempeſt of Wind, and in the firſt Place is the Copy of a Letter from a Brother of mine, that was an Exciſeman of *Axbridge*, in the Weſt of our County of *Somerſet*; theſe are his Words,

What I know of the Winds in theſe Parts, are, that it broke down many Trees, and that the Houſe of one *Richard Flenden*, of *Churchhouſe* on *Mendip*, call'd *Piney*, was almoſt blown

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blown down, and in ſaving their Houſe, they, and the Servants, and others, heard grievous Cries and Scrieches in the Air. The Tower of *Compton Biſhop* was much ſhatter'd, and the Leads that cover'd it were taken clean away, and laid flat in the Church-Yard: The Houſe of *John Cray* of that place, received much and ſtrange Damages, which together with his part in the Sea-wall, amounted to 500 *l.* Near the Salt-works in the Parish of *Burnham*, was driven five trading Veſſels as Colliers and Corn-dealers, betwixt *Wales* and *Bridgwater*, at leaſt 100 Yards on Paſture Ground. In the North Marſh, on the ſides of *Briſtol* River, near *Ken*, at *Walton Woodſpring*, the Waters broke with ſuch Violence, that it came ſix Miles into the Country drowning much Cattel, carrying away ſeveral Hay-ricks and Stacks of Corn: And at a Farm at *Churchill* near *Wrington*, it blew down 150 Elms that grew moſt in Rows, and were laid as Uniform as Soldiers lodge their Arms.

At *Cheddar* near *Axbridge*, was much harm done in Apple-trees, Houſes, and ſuch like; but what's worth remark, tho' not the very Night of the Tempeſt, a Company of wicked People being at a Wedding of one *Thomas Marſhall*, *John*, the Father of the ſaid *Thomas*, being as moſt of the Company was very Drunk, after much filthy Diſcourſe while he was eating, a ſtrange Cat pulling ſomething from his



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Trenchard, he Curſing her, ſtoopt to take it up, and died immediately.

At *Brewton* what was moſt Remarkable, was this, that one *John Dicer* of that Town, lay the Night as the Tempeſt was, in the Barn of one *John Seller*, the Violence of the Wind broke down the Roof of the Barn, but fortunately for him there was a Ladder which ſtaid up a Rafter, which would have fell upon the ſaid *John Dicer*; but he narrowly eſcaping being killed, did ſlide himſelf thro' the broken Roof, and ſo got over the Wall without any great hurt. What hurt was done more about that Town is not ſo conſiderable as in other Places; Such as blowing off the Thatch from a great many back Houſes of the Town; for the Town is moſt tiled with a ſort of heavy Tile, that the Wind had no power to move; there was ſome hurt done to the Church, which was not above 40 *s.* beſides the Windows, where was a conſiderable damage, the Lady *Fitzharding*'s Houſe ſtanding by the Church, the Battlement with part of the Wall of the Houſe was blown down, which 'tis ſaid, above 20 Men with all their ſtrength could not have thrown down; beſides, a great many Trees in the Park torn up by the Roots, and laid in very good Order one after another; it was taken notice that the Wind did not come in a full Body at once, but it came in ſeveral Guſts, as my ſelf have taken Notice as I rid the Country, that in half a Miles riding I could

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not ſee a Tree down, nor much hurt to Houſes, then again I might for ſome ſpace ſee the Trees down, and all the Houſes ſhattred: and I have taken Notice that it run ſo all up the Country in ſuch a Line as the Wind ſat: about One of the Clock it turn'd to the North Weſt, but at the beginning was at South Weſt; I my ſelf was up until One and then I went to Bed, but the higheſt of the Wind was after that, ſo that my Bed did ſhake with me.

What was about *Winchinton*, was, that one Mrs. *Gapper* had 36 Elm-trees growing together in a Row, 35 of them was blown down; and one *Eagehill* of the ſame Town, and his Family being a-Bed did ariſe, hearing the Houſe begin to Crak, and got out of the Doors with his whole Family, and as ſoon as they were out the Roof of the Houſe fell in, and the Violence of the Wind took of the Children's Head-cloaths, that they never ſaw them afterwards.

At *Ewerreech*, three Miles from *Brewton*, there were a poor Woman beg'd for Lodging in the Barn of one *Edmond Fern* that ſame Night that the Storm was, ſhe was wet the Day before in Travelling, ſo ſhe hung up her Cloaths in the Barn, and lay in the Straw: but when the Storm came it blew down the Roof of the Barn where ſhe lay, and ſhe narrowly eſcaped with her Life, being much



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bruiſed, and got out almoſt naked through the Roof where it was broken moſt, and went to the dwelling Houſe of the ſaid *Edmond Peny*, and they did ariſe, and did help her to ſomething to cover her, till they could get out her Cloaths; that place of *Evercreech* received a great deal of hurt in their Houſes, which is too large to put here.

At *Batcomb* Eaſterly of *Evercreech*, they had a great deal of Damage done as I ſaid before, it lay exactly with the Wind from *Evercreech*, and both places received a great deal of Damage; there was one Widow *Walter* lived in a Houſe by it ſelf, the Wind carried away the Roof, and the Woman's pair of Bodice, that was never heard of again, and the whole Family eſcaped narrowly with their Lives; all the Battlements of the Church on that ſide of the Tower next to the Wind was blown in, and a great deal of Damage done to the Church.

At *Shipton Mallet* was great Damages done, as I was told by the Poſt that comes to *Brewton*, that the Tiles of the Meeting Houſe was blown off, and being a ſort of light Tiles they flew againſt the Neighbouring Windows, and broke them to pieces. And at *Chalton* near *Shepton Mallet* at one *Abbot*'s, the Roof was carried from the Walls of the Houſe, and the Houſe mightily ſhaken, and ſeemingly the Foundation removed; and in the Morning they found

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found a Foundation Stone of the Houſe upon the top of the Wall, where was a ſhew in the Ground of its being driven out. At *Dinder* within two Miles of *Shepton*, there was one *John Allen*, and his Son, being out of Doors in the midſt of the Tempeſt, they ſaw a great Body of Fire flying on the ſide of a Hill, call'd *Dinder-hill*, about half a Mile from them, with a Shew of black in the midſt of it, and another Body of Fire following it, ſomething ſmaller than the former.

There has been a ſtrange thing at *Batſy*, eight Miles from *Brewton*, which was thought to be Witchcraft, where a great many unuſual Things happened to one *Pope*, and his Family, eſpecially to a Boy; that was his Son, that having lain ſeveral Hours Dead, when he came to himſelf, he told his Father, and ſeveral of his Neighbours, ſtrange Stories of his being carried away by ſome of his Neighbours that have been counted wicked Perſons; the Things have been ſo ſtrangely related that Thouſands of People have gone to ſee and hear it; it laſted about a Year or more: But ſince the Storm I have inquired of the Neighbours how it was, and they tell me, that ſince the late Tempeſt of Wind the Houſe and People have been quiet; for its generally ſaid, that there was ſome Conjuration in quieting of that Houſe. If you have a deſire to hear any farther Account of it, I will make it my Buſineſs to inquire farther of it, for there were

ſuch

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ſuch Things happened in that time which is ſeldom heard of,

*Your humble Servant,*

Hu. Aſh.

*Our Town of* Butly *lyes in ſuch a place, that no Poſt-Houſe is in a great many Miles of it, or you ſhould hear oftner.*

---

*S I R,*

I Received yours, deſiring an Account of the Damage done by the late great Wind about us. At *Wilſnorton*, three Miles from *Wittney*, the Lead of the Church was rouled, and great Damage done to the Church, many great Elms were tore up by the Roots: At *Helford*, two Miles from us, a Rookery of Elms, was moſt of it tore up by the Roots: At *Cockeup*, two Miles from us, was a Barn blown down, and ſeveral Elms blown down a Croſs the High-way, ſo that there was no paſſage; a great Oak of about nine or ten Loads was blown down, having a Raven ſitting in it, his Wing-feathers got between two Bows, and held him faſt; but the Raven received no hurt: At *Duckelton*, a little thatch't Houſe was taken off the Ground-pening, and removed a diſtance from the place, the covering not damaged. Hay-recks abundance are torn to pieces: At *Wittney*, ſix Stacks of Chimneys blown

blown down, one Houſe had a ſheet of Lead taken from one ſide and blown over to the other, and many Houſes were quite torn to pieces; ſeveral Hundred Trees blown down, ſome broke in the middle, and ſome torn up by the Roots. Bleſſed be God, I hear neither Man, Woman nor Child that received any harm about us.

*Witney, Oxfordſh.* *Your Servant,*

Richard Abenell.

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## ILMISTER, Somerſet.

*Brief but exact Remarks on the late Dreadful Storms of Wind, as it affected the Town, and the Parts adjacent.*

IMPRIMIS. At *Aſhil*-Pariſh 3 Miles Weſt from this Town, the Stable belonging to the Hare and Hounds Inn was blown down, in which were three Horſes, one kill'd, another very much bruiſed.

2. At *Jardans*, a Gentleman's Seat in the ſame Pariſh, there was a Brick Stable, whoſe Roof, one Back, and one End Wall, were all thrown down, and four foot in depth of the Fore Wall; in this Stable were 4 Horſes, which by reaſon of the Hay-loft that bore up the Roof, were all preſerv'd.

3. At

3. At *Sevington* Parish, three Miles East from this Town, *John Huthens* had the Roof of a new built House heaved clean off the Walls. *Note*, the House was not glazed, and the Roof was thatch'd.

4. In *White Larkington* Park, a Mile East from this Town, besides four or five hundred tall Trees broken and blown down, (admirable to behold, what great Roots was turned up) there were three very large Beaches, two of them that were near five Foot thick in the Stem were broken off, one of them near the Root, the other was broken off twelve Foot above, and from that place down home to the Root was shattered and blown; the other that was not broken, cannot have less than forty Waggon Loads in it; a very fine Walk of Trees before the House all blown down, and broke down the Roof of a Pidgeon House, the Rookery carried away in Lanes, the Lodg-House damaged in the Roof, and one End by the fall of Trees. In the Garden belonging to the House, was a very fine Walk of tall Firrs, twenty of which were broken down.

5. The damage in the Thatch of Houses, (which is the usual Covering in these Parts) is so great and general, that the price of Reed arose from twenty Shillings to fifty or three Pounds a Hundred; insomuch that to shelter themselves from the open Air, many poor People were glad to use Bean, Helm and Furze to thatch their Houses with. Things never

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never known to be put to ſuch Uſe before.

6. At *Kingſton*, a Mile diſtance from this Town, the Church was very much ſhattered in its Roof, and Walls too, and all our Country Churches much ſhattered, ſo that Churches and Gentlemen's Houſes which were tiled, were ſo ſhatter.d in their Roofs, that at preſent, they are generally patch'd with Reed, not in Compliance with the Mode, but the Neceſſity of the Times.

7. At *Broadway*, two Miles Weſt of this Town, *Hugh Betty*, his Wife, and four Children being in his Houſe, it was by the violence of the Storm blown down, one of his Children killed, his Wife wounded, but recovered, the reſt eſcaped with their Lives. A large Alms-houſe had moſt of the Tile blown off, and other Houſes much ſhattered; a very large Brick Barn blown down, Walls and Roof to the Ground.

8. Many large Stacks of Wheat were broken, ſome of the Sheaves carried two or three Hundred Yards from the Place, many Stacks of Hay turned over, ſome Stacks of Corn heaved off the Stadle, and ſet down on the Ground, and not broken.

9. *Dowliſh Walk*, two Miles South Eaſt, the Church was very much ſhattered, ſeveral Load of Stones fell down, not as yet repair'd, therefore can't expreſs the damage. A very large Barn broken down that ſtood near the Church

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Church, much damage was done to Orchards, not only in this Place, but in all places round, ſome very fine Orchards quite deſtroyed; ſome to their great Coſt had the Trees ſet up right again, but a Storm of Wind came after, which threw down many of the Trees again; as to Timber Trees, almoſt all our high Trees were broken down in that violent Storm.

10. In this Town *Henry Dunſter*, his Wife and 2 Children, was in their Houſe when it was blown down, but they all eſcaped with their Lives, only one of them had a ſmall Bruiſe with a piece of Timber, as ſhe was going out of the Chamber when the Roof broke in.

The Church, in this Place, ſcap'd very well, as to its Roof, being cover'd with Lead only on the Chancel; the Lead was at the top of the Roof heaved up, and roll'd together, more than ten Men could turn back again, without cutting the Sheets of Lead, which was done to put it in its place again: But in general the Houſes much broken and ſhatter'd, beſides the fall of ſome.

This is a ſhort, but true Account. I have heard of ſeveral other things which I have not mentioned, becauſe I could not be poſitive in the truth of them, unleſs I had ſeen it. This is what I have been to ſee the truth of. You may enlarge on theſe ſhort Heads, and methodize 'em as you ſee good.

At *Henton St. George*, at the Lord *Pawlet's*, a new Brick Wall was broken down by the Wind

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Wind for above 100 foot, the Wall being built not above 2 years ſince, as alſo above 60 Trees near 100 foot high.

At *Barrington*, about 2 miles North of this Town, there was blown down above eight-ſcore Trees, being of an extraordinary height, at the Lady *Strouds*.

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*As we ſhall not crow'd our Relation with many Letters from the ſame places, ſo it cannot be amiſs to let the World have, at leaſt, one Authentick Account from moſt of thoſe Places where any Capital Damages have been ſuſtain'd, and to ſumm up the reſt in a general Head at the end of this Chapter.*

*From* Wiltmire *we have the following Account from the Reverend the Miniſter of Upper* Donhead *near* Shaftsbury ; *to which the Reader is referr'd as follows.*

*SIR*,

AS the Undertaking you are engag'd in, to preſerve the Remembrance of the late dreadful Tempeſt, is very commendable in it ſelf, and may in ſeveral reſpects be ſerviceable not only to the preſent Age, but alſo to Poſterity ; ſo it merits a ſuitable Encouragement, and, 'tis hop'd, it will meet with ſuch, from all that have either a true ſenſe of Religion, or have

have had any ſenſible ſhare of the care of Providence over them, or of the goodneſs of God unto them in the Land of the Living, upon that occaſion. There are doubtleſs vaſt numbers of People in all Parts (where the Tempeſt raged) that have the greateſt reaſon (as the Author of this Paper for one hath) to bleſs God for their wonderful preſervation, and to tell it to the Generation following. But to detain you no longer with Preliminaries, I ſhall give you a faithful Account of what occurr'd in my Neighbourhood (according to the Conditions mention'd in the Advertiſement in the *Gazette*) worthy, at leaſt, of my notice, if not of the Undertakers; and I can aſſure you, that the ſeveral Particulars were either ſuch as I can vouch for on my own certain Knowledge and Obſervation, or elſe ſuch as I am ſatisfy'd of the truth of by the Teſtimony of others, whoſe Integrity I have no reaſon to ſuſpect. I will ſay no more than this in general, concerning the Storm, that, at its height, it ſeem'd, for ſome hours, to be a perfect Hurrican, the Wind raging from every Quarter, eſpecially from all the Points of the Compaſs, from *N. E.* to the *N. W.* as the diſmal Effects of it in theſe Parts do evidently demonſtrate, in the demoliſhing of Buildings (or impairing 'em at beſt) and in the throwing up vaſt numbers of Trees by the Roots, or ſnapping them off in their Bodies, or larger Limbs. But as to ſome remarkable

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Particulars, you may take theſe following, *viz.*

1. The Pariſh-Church receiv'd little damage, tho' it ſtands high, the chief was in ſome of the Windows on the N. ſide, and in the fall of the Top-ſtone of one of the Pinnacles, which fell on a Houſe adjoining to the Tower with little hurt to the Roof, from which glancing it reſted on the Leads of the South-Iſle of the Church. At the fall of it an aged Woman living in the ſaid Houſe on which the Stone fell, heard horrible Scrieches (as ſhe conſtantly averrs) in the Air, but none before nor afterwards.

2. Two ſtone Chimney-tops were thrown down, and 2 broad Stones of each of them lay at even poize on the reſpective ridges of both the Houſes, and tho' the Wind ſat full againſt one of them to have thrown it off, (and then it had fallen over a Door, in and out at which ſeveral People were paſſing during the Storm) and tho' the other fell againſt the Wind, yet neither of the ſaid Stones ſtirr'd.

3. A Stone of near 400 Weight, having lain about 7 Years under a Bank, defended from the Wind as it then ſate, tho' it lay ſo long as to be fix'd in the ground, and was as much out of the Wind, as could be, being fenced by the Bank, and a low Stone-wall upon the Bank, none of which was demoliſh'd, tho' 2 ſmall Holms ſtanding in the Bank between the Wall, and the Stone, at the foot of



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the Bank were blown up by the roots; I ſay, this Stone, tho' thus fenced from the Storm, was carried from the place where it lay, into an hollow-way beneath, at leaſt ſeven Yards from the place, where it was known to have lain for 7 Years before.

4. A Widdow-woman living in one part of an Houſe by her ſelf, kept her Bed till the Houſe over her was uncover'd, and ſhe expected the fall of the Timber and Walls; but getting below Stairs in the dark, and opening the Door to fly for ſhelter, the Wind was ſo ſtrong in the Door, that ſhe could neither get out at it, tho' ſhe attempted to go out on her knees and hands, nor could ſhe ſhut the Door again with all her ſtrength, but was forced to ſit alone for ſeveral hours ('till the Storm ſlacken'd,) fearing every Guſt would have buried her in the Ruins; and yet it pleas'd God to preſerve her, for the Houſe (tho' a feeble one) ſtood over the Storm.

5. Another, who made Malt in his Barn, had been turning his Malt ſometime before the Storm was at its height, and another of the Family being deſirous to go again into the ſaid Barn ſometime after, was diſſwaded from it, and immediately thereupon the ſaid Barn was thrown down by the Storm.

6. But a much narrower Eſcape had one, for whoſe ſafety the Collector of theſe Paſſages has the greateſt reaſon to bleſs and praiſe the great Preſerver of Men, who was twice

in

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in his Bed that diſmal Night (tho' he had warning ſufficient to deter him the firſt time by the falling of ſome of the Seiling on his Back and Shoulders, as he was preparing to go to Bed) and was altogether inſenſible of the great danger he was in, 'till the next morning after the Day-light appear'd, when he found the Tiles, on the ſide of the Houſe oppoſite to the main Streſs of the Weather, blown up in two places, one of which was over his Beds-head (about 9 foot above it) in which 2 or 3 Laths being broken, let down a Square of 8 or 10 Stone Tiles upon one ſingle Lath, where they hung dropping inward a little, and bended the Lath like a Bow, but fell not: What the conſequence of their Fall had been, was obvious to as many as ſaw it, and none has more reaſon to magnify God's great Goodneſs, in this reſcue of his Providence, than the Relater.

7. A young Man of the ſame Pariſh, who was ſent abroad to look after ſome black-Cattle and Sheep that fed in an Incloſure, in, or near to which there were ſome Stacks of Corn blown down, reports, That tho' he had much difficulty to find the Incloſure in the dark, and to get thither by reaſon of the Tempeſt then raging in the height of its fury; yet being there, he ſaw a mighty Body of Fire on an high ridge of Hills, about 3 parts of a Mile from the ſaid Incloſure, which gave ſo clear a Light into the Valley below, as that



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by it the ſaid young Man could diſtinctly deſcry all the Sheep and Cattle in the ſaid Paſture, ſo as to perceive there was not one wanting.

8. At *Aſhegrove*, in the ſame Pariſh (where many tall Trees were ſtanding on the ſteep ſide of an Hill) there were two Trees of conſiderable bigneſs blown up againſt the ſide of the Hill, which ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, to ſuch as have ſeen how many are blown, at the ſame place, a quite contrary way, *i. e.* down the Hill; and to fall downwards was to fall with the Wind, as upward, was to fall againſt it.

9. One in this Neighbourhood had a Poplar in his Back-ſide of near 16 Yards high blown down, which ſtanding near a ſmall Current of Water, the Roots brought up near a Tun of Earth with them, and there the Tree lay for ſome days after the Storm; but when the Top or Head of the Tree was ſaw'd off from the Body (tho' the Boughs were nothing to the weight of the But-End, yet) the Tree mounted, and fell back into its place, and ſtood as upright without its Head, as ever it had done with it. And the ſame happen'd at the Lady *Banks* her Houſe near *Shaftsbury*, where a Wall-nut-Tree was thrown down in a place that declin'd ſomewhat, and after the greater Limbs had been cut off in the day time, went back in the Night following, of it ſelf, and now ſtands in the ſame place and poſture it ſtood in before it was blown down.

I ſaw

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I ſaw it ſtanding the 14th of this Inſtant, and could hardly perceive any Token of its having been Down, ſo very exactly it fell back into it's place. This is ſomewhat the more remarkable, becauſe the Ground (as I ſaid) was declining, and conſequently the Tree raiſed againſt the Hill. To this I ſhall only add, at preſent, that

10. This Relator lately riding thro' a neighbouring Parish, ſaw two Trees near two Houſes thrown beſides the ſaid Houſes, and very near each Houſe, which yet did little or no harm, when if they had fallen with the Wind, they muſt needs have fallen directly upon the ſaid Houſes. And

11. That this Relator had two very tall Elms thrown up by the Roots, which fell in among five young Walnut Trees, without injuring a Twig or Bud of either of them, as rais'd the admiration of ſuch as ſaw it.

12. In the ſame place, the Top of another Elm yet ſtanding, was carry'd off from the Body of the Tree, a good part of 20 Yards.

*SIR*; I ſhall trouble you no further at preſent, you may perhaps think this enough, and too much; but however that may be, you, or your ingenious Undertakers are left at liberty to publiſh ſo much, or ſo little of this Narrative, as ſhall be thought fit for the Service of the Publick. I muſt confeſs the particular Deliverances were what chiefly induced me to ſet



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Pen to Paper, tho' the other Matters are Conſiderable, but whatever regard you ſhew to the latter, in Juſtice you ſhould publiſh the former to the World, as the Glory of God is therein concern'd more immediately, to promote which, is the only aim of this Paper. And the more effectually to induce you to do me Right, for contributing a ſlender Mite towards your very laudable Undertaking) I make no manner of Scruple to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

*Upper Donhead,* *Sir, Yours,* &c.

*Decemb.* 18*th* 1703. Rice Adams.

*Rector of* Upper-Donhead Wilts near *Shaftsbury.*

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*From* Littleton *in* Worceſterſhire, *and* Middleton *in* Oxfordſhire, *the following Letters may be a Specimen of what thoſe whole Countries ſuffer, and of which we have ſeveral other particular Accounts.*

*SIR,*

PUblick notice being given of a deſigned Collection of the moſt Prodigious, as well as lamentable Effects of the laſt dreadful Tempeſt of Wind. There are many Perſons hereabouts, and I ſuppoſe in many other places, wiſh all ſpeedy furtherance and good Succeſs to that ſo uſeful and pious Undertaking, for

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for it may very well be thought to have a good Influence both upon the preſent Age, and ſucceeding Generation, to beget in them a holy admiration and fear of that tremendous Power and Majeſty, which as one Prophet tells us, *Cauſeth the Vapours to aſcend from the Ends of the Earth, and bringeth the Wind out of his Treaſures, and as the Prieſt ſaith, hath ſo done his marvellous Works, that they ought to be had in remembrance.* As to theſe Villages of *Littleton* in *Worceſterſhire*, I can only give this Information, that this violent Hurricane viſited us alſo in its paſſage, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants, who although by the gracious Providence of God all eſcaped with their Lives and Limbs, and the main Fabrick of their Houſes ſtood; tho' with much ſhaking, and ſome damage in the Roofs of many of them: Yet when the Morning Light appeared after that diſmal Night, they were ſurpris'd with freſh apprehenſions of the Dangers eſcaped, when they diſcover'd the ſad Havock that was made among the Trees of their Orchards and Cloſes, very many Fruit Trees, and many mighty Elms being torn up, and one Elm above the reſt, of very great Bulk and ancient Growth I obſerved, which might have defied the Strength of all the Men and Teams in the Pariſh, (tho' aſſaulted in every Branch with Roaps and Chains) was found torn up by the Roots, all ſound, and of vaſt Strength and Thickneſs, and with its fall (as was



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thought) by the help of the ſame impetuous Guſts, broke off in the middle of the Timber another great Elm its Fellow, and next Neighbour. And that which may exerciſe the Thoughts of the Curious, ſome little Houſes and Out-houſes that ſeemed to ſtand in the ſame Current, and without any viſible Burrough or Shelter, eſcaped in their Roofs, without any, or very little Damage: What Accidents of Note hapned in our Neighbouring Pariſhes, I ſuppoſe you may receive from other Hands. This, (I thank God) is all that I have to tranſmit unto you from this place, but that I am a Well-wiſher to your Work in Hand, *And your Humble Servant*,

*Littleton*, *Decem.* 20. *Ralph Norris.*

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*Middleton-Stony* in *Oxfordſhire*, Nov. 26. 1703.

THE Wind being SouthWeſt and by Weſt, it began to blow very hard at 12 of the Clock at Night, and about four or five in the Morning *Nov.* 27. the Hurricane was very terrible; many large Trees were torn up by the Roots in this Place; the Leads of the Church were Roll'd up, the Stone Battlements of the Tower were blown upon the Leads, ſeveral Houſes and Barns were uncover'd, part of a new built Wall of Brick, belonging to a Stable

Stable was blown down, and very much damage, of the like Nature, was done by the Wind in the Towns and Villages adjacent.

*William Offley*, Rector of *Middleton-Stony*.

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*From* Leamington Hasting, *near* Dun-*Church in* Warwickshire, *we have the following Account.*

*SIR*,

I Find in the Advertisments a Desire to have an Account of what happen'd remarkable in the late terrible Storm in the Country; the Stories every where are very many, and several of them such as will scarce gain Credit; one of them I send here an Account of being an Eye Witness, and living upon the place: The Storm here began on the 26th of *Novem.* 1703. about 12-a-clock, but the severest Blasts were between 5 and six in the Morning, and between Eight and Nine the 27th I went up to the Church, where I found all the middle Isle clearly stript of the Lead from one End to the other, and a great many of the Sheets lying on the East End upon the Church, roll'd up like a piece of Cloth: I found on the Ground six Sheets of Lead, at least 50 Hundred weight, all joyn'd together, not the least parted, but as they lay upon the Isle, which six

ſix Sheets of Lead were ſo carried in the Air by the Wind fifty Yards and a Foot, meaſured by a Workman exactly as cou'd be, from the place of the Iſle where they lay, to the place they fell; and they might have been carried a great way further, had they not happen'd in their way upon a Tree, ſtruck off an Arm of it near 17 Yards high; the End of one Sheet was twiſted round the Body of the Tree, and the reſt all joyn'd together lay at length, having broke down the Pales firſt where the Tree ſtood, and lay upon the Pales on the Ground, with one End of them, as I ſaid before, round the Body of the Tree.

At the ſame time at *Marſon*, in the County of *Warwick*, about 4 Miles from this place, a great Rick of Wheat was blown off from its Staddles, and ſet down without one Sheaf remov'd, or diſturb'd, or without ſtanding away 20 Yards from the place.

If you have a mind to be farther ſaisfied in this Matter, let me hear from you, and I will endeavour it: But I am in great haſt at this time, which forces me to be confus'd.

*I am your Friend,*

E. Kingsburgh.

*The*

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( 123 )

*The following Account we have from* Fareham *and* Chriſt Church *in* Hampſhire, *which are alſo well atteſted.*

*S I R,*

I Received yours, and in Anſwer theſe are to acquaint you; That we about us came no ways behind the reſt of our Neighbours in that mighty Storm or Hurricane. As for our own Pariſh, very few Houſes or Outhouſes eſcaped. There was in the Pariſh of *Fareham* ſix Barns blown down, with divers other Outhouſes, and many Trees blown up by the Roots, and other broken off in the middle; by the fall of a large Elm, a very large Stone Window at the Weſt End of our Church was broken down; there was but two Stacks of Chimneys thrown down in all our Pariſh that I know of, and thoſe without hurting any Perſon. There was in a *Coppice* called *Pupit Coppice*, an Oak Tree, of about a Load of Timber, that was twiſted off with the Wind, and the Body that was left ſtanding down to the very Roots ſo ſhivered, that if it were cut into Lengths, it would fall all in pieces. Notwithſtanding ſo many Trees, and ſo much Out-Houſing was blown down, I do not hear of one Beaſt that was killed or hurt. There was on the *Down* called *Portſdown*, in the Pariſh of *Southwick*, within three Miles of us, a Wind-Mill was blown down, that had not been up very

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very many Years, with great damage in the ſaid Pariſh to Mr. *Norton*, by the fall of many Chimneys and Trees. The damage ſuſtained by us in the *Healing* is ſuch, that we are obliged to make uſe of Slit Deals to ſupply the want of Slats and Tyles until Summer come to make ſome. And ſo much Thatching wanting, that it cannot be all repaired till after another Harveſt. As for Sea Affairs about us, we had but one Veſſel abroad at that time, which was one *John Watſon*, the Maſter of which was never heard of yet, and I am afraid never will; I have juſt reaſon to lament her Loſs, having a great deal of Goods aboard of her. If at any time any particular Relation that is true, come to my knowledge in any convenient time, I will not fail to give you an Account, and at all times remain

*Fareham,* *Your Servant,*

*January the 23d.* 170⅞. *Hen. Stanton.*

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*SIR,*

IN Anſwer to yours, relating to the Damages done by the late Storm in, and about our Town

Town, is, that we had great part of the Roof of our Church uncover'd, which was cover'd with very large Purbick-ſtone, and the Battlements of the Tower, and part of the Leads blown down, ſome Stones of a vaſt weight blown from the Tower, ſeveral of them between two or three hundred weight, were blown ſome Rods or Perches diſtance from the Church; and 12 Sheets of Lead rouled up together, that 20 Men could not have done the like, to the great Amaſement of thoſe that ſaw 'em: And ſeveral Houſes and Barns blown down, with many hundreds of Trees of all ſorts; ſeveral Stacks of Chimneys being blown down, and particularly of one *Thomas Spencer*'s of this Town, who had his Top of a Brick Chimney taken off by the Houſe, and blown a croſs a Cart Road, and lighting upon a Barn of *Richard Holloway*'s, broke down the end of the ſaid Barn, and fell upright upon one End, on a Mow of Corn in the Barn; but the ſaid *Spencer* and his Wife, altho' they were then ſitting by the Fire, knew nothing thereof until the Morning: And a Stack of Chimneys of one Mr. *Imber*'s fell down upon a young Gentlewoman's Bed, ſhe having but juſt before got out of the ſame, and ſeveral Out-houſes and Stables were blown down, ſome Cattel killed; and ſome Wheat-ricks entirely blown off their Stafolds, and lighted on their bottom without any other damage; this is all

the

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the Relation I can give you that is Remarkable about us,

*I remain your Friend and Servant,*

William Mitchel.

At *Ringwood* and *Fording-Bridge*, ſeveral Houſes and Trees are blown down, and many more Houſes uncovered.

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*From* Oxford *the following Account was ſent, encloſed in the other, and are confirm'd by Letters from other Hands.*

*SIR,*

THE inclos'd is a very exact, and I am ſure, faithful Account of the Damages done by the late Violent Tempeſt in *Oxford*. The particulars of my Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Ladies Misfortune are as follows, The Palace is the Relicks of a very old decay'd Caſtle, only one Corner is new built; and had the Biſhop had the good Fortune to have lain in thoſe Apartments that Night, he had ſav'd his Life. He perceiv'd the fall before it came, and accordingly jump't out of Bed, and made towards the Door, where he was found with his Brains daſh'd out; his Lady perceiving it, wrapt all the Bed-cloaths about her, and in that manner was found

found ſmother'd in Bed. This account is Authentick,

*I am, Sir, yours,*

Dec. 9. 1703.

J. Bagſhot.

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*SIR,*

I Give you many thanks for your account from *London*: We were no leſs terrified in *Oxon* with the Violence of the Storm, tho' we ſuffer'd in compariſon but little Damage. The moſt conſiderable was, a Child kill'd in St. *Giles*'s by the fall of an Houſe; two Pinnacles taken off from the Top of *Magdalen* Tower, one from *Merton*; about 12 Trees blown down in *Chriſt* Church long walk, ſome of the Battlements from the Body of the Cathedral, and two or three Ranges of Rails on the Top of the great Quadrangle: Part of the great Elm in Univerſity Garden was blown off, and a Branch of the Oak in *Magdalen* walks; the reſt of the Colleges ſcaped tolerably well, and the Schools and Theatre intirely. A very remarkable paſſage happened at Queen's College, ſeveral Sheets of Lead judged near 6000*l.* weight, were taken off from the Top of Sir *J. Williamſon*'s Buildings, and blown againſt the Weſt-end of St. *Peter*'s Church with ſuch Violence, that they broke an Iron-bar in the Window, making ſuch a

pro-

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prodigious Noiſe with the fall, that ſome who heard it, thought the Tower had been falling. The reſt of our Loſſes conſiſted for the moſt part in Pinnacles, Chimneys, Trees, Slates, Tiles, Windows, &c. amounting in all, according to Computation, to not above 1000 *l.*

*Ox. Dec. 7.* 1703.

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*From* Kingſtone-upon-Thames, *the following Letter is very particular, and the truth of it may be depended upon.*

*SIR,*

I Have inform'd my ſelf of the following Matters; here was blown down a Stack of Chimneys of Mrs. *Copper*, Widow, which fell on the Bed, on which ſhe lay; but ſhe being juſt got up, and gone down, ſhe received no harm on her Body: Likewiſe, here was a Stack of Chimnies of one Mr. *Robert Bamford's* blown down, which fell on a Bed, on which his Son and Daughter lay, he was about 14 years and the Daughter 16; but they likewiſe were juſt got down Stairs, and received no harm: A Stack of Chimnies at the *Bull-Inn* was blown down, and broke way down into the Kitchen, but hurt no Body: Here was a new Brick Malt-Houſe of one Mr. *Francis Beſt* blown

blown down, had not been built above two Years, blown off at the ſecond Floor; beſides many Barns, and out Houſes; and very few Houſes in the Town but loſt Tiling, ſome more, ſome leſs, and Multitudes of Trees, in particular. 11 Elms of one Mr. *John Bawles*, Shooe-maker: About 30 Apple-trees of one Mr. *Peirce's*: And of one *John Andrew*, a Gardiner, 100 Apple-trees blown to the Ground: One *Walter Kent*, Eſq; had about 20 Rod of new Brick-wall of his Garden blown down: One Mr. *Tiringam*, Gentleman, likewiſe about 10 Rod of new Brick-wall blown down: Mr. *George Cole*, Merchant, had alſo ſome Rods of new Brickwall blown down: Alſo Mr. *Elitha*, Merchant, had all his Walling blown down, and other extraordinary Loſſes. Theſe are the moſt conſiderable Damages done here,

*Your humble Servant,*

C. Caſtleman.

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*From* Tewxbury *in* Glouceſterſhire, *and from* Hatfield *in* Herefordſhire, *the following Letters are ſent us from the Miniſters of the reſpective Places.*

*SIR,*

OUR Church, tho' a very large one, ſuffered no great diſcernable Damage.

 The

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The Lead Roof, by the force of the Wind was ſtrangely ruffled, but was laid down without any great coſt or trouble. Two well-grown Elms, that ſtood before a ſort of Alms-houſe in the Church yard had a different Treatment; the one was broken ſhort in the Trunck, and the head turn'd Southward; the other tore up by the Roots, and caſt Northward: Divers Chimnies were blown down, to the great Damage and Conſternation of the Inhabitants: And one riſing in the middle of two Chambers fell ſo violently, that it broke thro' the Roof and Cieling of the Chamber, and fell by the Bed of Mr. *W. M.* and bruiſed ſome part of the Bed teaſter and Furniture; but himſelf, Wife and Child were ſignally preſerved: An Out-houſe of Mr. *F. M* (containing a Stable, Mill-houſe, and a ſort of Barn, judged about 40 Foot in length) ſtanding at the end of our Town, and much expos'd to the Wind, intirely fell, which was the moſt conſiderable Damage: Not one of our Town was kill'd, or notably hurt; tho' ſcarce any but were terribly alarm'd by the dreadful Violence of it, which remitted about five in the Morning: The beautiful Cathedral Church of *Gloceſter* ſuffer'd much; but of that I ſuppoſe you will have an account from ſome proper Hand: This I was willing to ſignifie to you, in anſwer to your Letter, not that I think them worthy of a publick Memorial; but the Preſervation

of

of *W. M.* his Wife and Child was remarkable,

*Your unknown Friend*

Teuxbury *Jan.* 12. 170½. *and Servant,*

John Matthews.

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*Biſhop's Hatfield*, Decem. 9. 1703.

*SIR,*

I Perceive by an Advertiſement in the *Gazette* of laſt *Monday*, that a Relation of ſome conſiderable Things which happened in the late Tempeſt is intended to be printed, which deſign I believe will be well approved of, that the Memory of it may be perpetuated. I will give you an Account of ſome of the obſervable Damages done in this Pariſh: The Church which was Til'd is ſo ſhattered, that the Body of it is entirely to be ripp'd. Two Barns, and a Stable have been blown down; in the latter were 13 Horſes, and none of them hurt, tho' there was but one to be ſeen when the Men firſt came. I have number'd about 20 large Trees blown down, which ſtood in the regular Walks in the Park here. It is ſaid, that all the Trees blown down in both the Parks will make above an hundred Stacks of Wood. A Summer-houſe



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which ſtood on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bowling-green at *Hatfield*-Houſe, was blown againſt the Wall, and broken, and a large part of it carried over the Wall, beyond a Cartway into the plowed Grounds. A great part of the South-wall belonging to one of the Gardens was levelled with the Ground; tho' it was ſo ſtrong, that great part of it continues cemented, tho' it fell upon a Gravel-walk. Several Things which happened, incline me to think that there was ſomething of an *Hurricane*. Part of the fine painted Glaſs-window in my Lord *Salisbury*'s Chapel was broken, tho' it looked towards the Eaſt. The North-ſide of an Houſe was untiled ſeveral Yards ſquare. In ſome places the Lead has been raiſed up, and over one Portal quite blown off. In *Brocket-hall* Park belonging to Sir *John Reade*, ſo many Trees are blown down, that lying as they do, they can ſcarce be numbred, but by a moderate Computation, they are ſaid to amount to above a Thouſand. The Damages which this Pariſh hath ſuſtained, undoubtedly amount to many hundred Pounds, ſome of the moſt conſiderable I have mentioned to you, of which I have been in great Meaſure an Eye-witneſs, and have had the reſt from Credible Perſons, eſpecially the matter of *Brocket-hall* Park, it being two Miles out of Town, tho' in this Pariſh. I am,

*Sir*, *Your humble Servant*, George Hemſworth, *M. A. Curate of* Biſhop's Hatfield, *in* Hartfordſhire.

*The*

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*The ſhorter Accounts which have been ſent up from almoſt all parts of* England, *eſpecially to the South of the* Trent; *tho' we do not tranſmit them at large as the aboveſaid Letters are, ſhall be faithfully abridg'd for the reader comprizing them within the due compaſs of our Volume.*

*From* Kent *we have many ſtrange Accounts of the Violence of the Storm, beſides what relate to the Sea Affairs.*

*At* Whitſtable, *a ſmall Village on the Mouth of the Eaſt Swale of the River* Medway, *we are inform'd a Boat belonging to a Hoy was taken up by the Violence of the Wind, clear off from the Water, and being bourn up in the Air, blew turning continually over and over in its progreſſive Motion, till it lodg'd againſt a riſing Ground, above 50 Rod from the Water; in the paſſage it ſtruck a Man, who was in the way, and broke his Knee to pieces.*

*We content our ſelves with relating only the Fact, and giving Aſſurances of the Truth of what we Relate, we leave the needful Remarks on ſuch Things to another place.*

*At a Town near* Chartham, *the Lead of the Church rolled up together, and blown off from the Church above 20 Rod diſtance, and being taken up afterwards, and weigh'd it, appear'd to weigh above 2600 weight.*



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*At* Brenchly *in the Weſtern Parts of* Kent, *the Spire of the Steeple which was of an extraordinary hight was overturn'd; the particulars whereof you have in the following Letter, from the Miniſter of the place.*

*SIR,*

ACcording to your requeſt, and my promiſe, for the ſervice of the publick, I have here given you an Account of the Effects of the late Tempeſtuous Winds in the Pariſh of *Brenchly*, in the County of *Kent*, as freely and impartially as can be conſiſtent with the Damages ſuſtained thereby, *viz.*

A ſtately Steeple, whoſe Altitude exceeded almoſt, if not all, in *Kent*, the height whereof, according to various Computations, it never in my knowledge being exactly meaſured, did amount at leaſt to 10 Rods, ſome ſay 12, and others more; yet this ſtrong and noble Structure by the Rage of the Winds was levelled with the Ground, and made the ſport and paſtime of Boys and Girls, who to future Ages, tho' perhaps incredibly, yet can boaſt they leaped over ſuch a Steeple, the fall thereof beatdown great part of the Church and Porch, the damage of which to repair, as before, will not amount to leſs than 800 or 1000 *l.* This is the publick loſs; neither does private and particular much leſs bemoan their Condition, for ſome Houſes, and ſome Barns, with

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with other Buildings, are quite demoliſhed; tho' Bleſſed be God, not many Lives or Limbs loſt in the fall, and not one Houſe, but what ſuffered greatly by the Tempeſt. Neither were Neighbouring Pariſhes much more favoured; but eſpecially, a place called *Great Peckham*; whoſe Steeple alſo, almoſt as high as ours, was then blown down, but not ſo much Damage to the Church, which God preſerve ſafe and ſound for ever.

*This is the neareſt account that can be given, by your unknown Servant,*

Tho. Figg.

---

*As the above Letter mentions the fall of the Spire of* Great Peckham, *we have omitted a particular Letter from the place.*

*In or near* Hawkhurſt *in* Suſſex, *a Waggon ſtanding in a Field loaden with Straw, and bound well down in order to be fetch'd away the next day, the Wind took the Waggon, drove it backward ſeveral Rods, force't it through a very thick Hedge into the Road, and the way being dirty, drove it with that force into the Mud or Clay of the Road, that ſix Horſes could not pull it out.*

*The Collector of theſe Accounts cannot but enter the Remarks he made, having occaſion to Traverſe the Country of* Kent *about a Month after the*



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*the Storm; and beſides, the general Deſolation which in every Village gave almoſt the ſame proſpect; he declares, that he reckoned* 1107 *dwelling Houſes, Out-houſes and Barns blown quite down, whole Orchards of Fruit Trees laid flat upon the Ground, and of all other ſorts of Trees ſuch a quantity, that tho' he attempted to take an account of them, he found 'twas impoſſible, and was oblig'd to give it over.*

*From* Monmouth *we have a Letter, that among a vaſt variety of Ruins, in their own Houſes and Barns; one whereof fell with a quantity of Sheep in it, of which ſeven were kill'd: The Lead of the great Church, tho' on the ſide from the Wind, was roll'd up like a roll of Cloth, and blown off from the Church.*

*I choſe to note this, becauſe the Letter ſays, it was upon the Norrh-ſide of the Church, and which ſeems to confirm what I have obſerv'd before, of the Eddies of the Wind, the Operation whereof has been very ſtrange in ſeveral Places, and more Violent than the Storm it ſelf.*

*At* Wallingford, *one* Robert Dowell, *and his Wife, being both in Bed, the Chimney of the Houſe fell in, demoliſh'd the Houſe, and the main Beam breaking fell upon the Bed, the Woman receiv'd but little Damage, but the Man had his Thigh broke by the Beam, and lay in a dangerous Condition when the Letter was wrote, which was the* 16th *of* January *after.*

*From*

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*From* Axminſter *in* Somerſetſhire *take the following plain, but honeſt Account.*

*S I R,*

THE beſt account I can give of the Storm in theſe Parts is as follows: Dr. *Towgood* had his Court Gate, with a piece of Wall blown to the other ſide of the Road, and ſtands upright againſt the Hedge, which was 12 Foot over, and it was as big as two Horſes could draw: A ſheet of Lead which lay flat was carried from Sir *William Drake*'s quite over a Wall into the Miniſter's Court, near threeſcore Yards: There was a Tree which ſtood in Mr. *John Whitty*'s Ground which broke in the middle, and the top of it blew over the Hedge, and over a Wall, and over a top of a Houſe, and did not hurt the Houſe: There was a Mow of Corn that was blown off the Poſts, and ſate upright without hurt, belonging to *William Oliver*, at an Eſtate of *Edward Seymour*'s, called *Chappel Craft*: A Maiden Oke which ſtood in the *Quille* more than a Man could fathom, was broke in the middle: Several hundred of Apple-Trees, and other Trees blown down: Moſt Houſes damnify'd in the Tilth and Thatch, but no Houſes blown down, and no Perſon hurt nor killed; neither did the Church nor Tower, nor the Trees in the Church-yard received much Damage: Our loſs in the Apple-Trees is the greateſt; becauſe we ſhall want

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want Liquor to make our Hearts merry; the Farmer's ſate them up again, but the Wind has blown them down ſince the Storm.

---

*From* Hartley *in the County of* Southampton, *an honeſt Countryman brought the following Account by way of Certificate, from the Miniſter of the Pariſh.*

*SIR,*

I The Miniſter of the aboveſaid Pariſh, in the County of *Southampton*, do hereby Certifie of the ſeveral Damages done by the late great Wind in our own, and the Pariſh adjacent; ſeveral dwelling Houſes ſtrip'd, and ſeveral Barns overturn'd, ſeveral Sign Poſts blown down, and many Trees, both Timber and Fruit; and particularly my own Dwelling Houſe very much mortify'd, a Chimney fell down, and endanger'd both my own, and Families Lives. I am,

*Sir, your humble Servant,*

Nathan Kinſey.

*From*

*From* Okingham *in* Berkſhire, *and from* Bagſhot *in* Surrey, *as follows.*

*SIR,*

GReat damage to the Houſes, ſome Barns down, the Market-houſe very much ſhattred, the Clock therein ſpoiled, ſeveral hundreds of Trees torn up by the Roots, moſt of them Elms, nothing more remarkable than what was uſual in other places. It is computed, that the damage amounts to 1000 *l.* And moſt of the Signs in the Town blown down, and ſome of the Leads on the Church torn up: Yet by the goodneſs of God, not one Perſon killed nor hurt.

*Bagſhot* in *Surry.*

The Chimneys of the Mannor Houſe, ſome of them blown down, and 400 Pannel of Pales, with ſome of the Garden Walls blown down, and in and about the Town ſeveral great Elms torn up by the Roots, moſt of the Houſes ſhatter'd, and the tops of Chimneys blown down.

*In the Pariſh*, a great many Chimneys, the tops of them blown down, and the Houſes and Barns very much ſhatter'd, *&c.* the damage in all is ſuppoſed about 300 *l.* none killed.

This

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This is all the Account I can give you concerning the damage done by the Tempeſt hereabouts. This is all at preſent from,

*Your Humble Servant,*

*Bagſhot,*

*Feb.* 1. 1704. Jo. Lewis.

---

*At* Becles *the Leads of the Church ript up, part of the Great Window blown down, and the whole Town exceedingly ſhatter'd.*

*At* Ewell *by* Epſome *in* Surry, *the Lead from the flat Roof of Mr.* Williams's *Houſe was roll'd up by the Wind, and blown from the top of the Houſe clear over a Brick Wall near* 10 *Foot high, without damnifying either the Houſe or the Wall, the Lead was carried near* 6 *Rod from the Houſe; and* as our Relator ſays, *was Computed to weigh near* 10 *Tun. This is Certified by Mr.* George Holdſworth *of* Epſome, *and ſent for the Service of the preſent Collection, to the Poſt Houſe at* London, *to whom we refer for the Truth of the Story.*

*From*

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*From* Ely *in the County of* Cambridge, *we have the following Relation ; alſo by a Letter from another Hand, and I the rather Tranſmit this Letter, becauſe by other hands we had an account, that it was expected the Cathedral or Minſter at* Ely, *being a very Antient Building, and Crazy, would not have ſtood the fury of the Wind, and ſome People that lived within the reach of it, had Terrible Apprehenſions of its falling, ſome ſhocks of the Wind gave it ſuch a Motion, that any one that felt it, would have thought it was impoſſible it ſhould have ſtood.*

*SIR,*

ACcording to your requeſt, I have made it my buſineſs to get the exacteſt and trueſt account (I am able) of the damages and loſſes ſuſtain'd on this ſide the Country, by the late Violent Storm. The Cathedral Church of *Ely* by the Providence of God did, contrary to all Men's expectations, ſtand out the ſhock ; but ſuffered very much in every part of it, eſpecially that which is called the Body of it, the Lead being torn and rent up a conſiderable way together ; about 40 lights of Glaſs blown down, and ſhatter'd to pieces, one Ornamental Pinacle belonging to the North Iſle demoliſh'd, and the Lead in divers other parts of it blown up into great heaps. Five Chimneys falling down in a place called the Colledge, the place where the Prebendaries Lodg-

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Lodgings are, did no other damage (prais'd be God) then beat down ſome part of the Houſes along with them; the loſs which the Church and College of *Ely* ſuſtain'd, being by computation near 2000 *l.* The Sufferers are the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of the ſaid Cathedral. The Wind Mills belonging both to the Town and Country, felt a worſe fate, being blown or burnt down by the Violence of the Wind, or elſe diſabled to that degree, that they were wholy unable of anſwering the deſign they were made for; three of the aforeſaid Mills belonging to one *Jeremiah Fouldſham* of *Ely*, a very Induſtrious Man of mean Subſtance, were burnt and blown down, to the almoſt Ruin and Impoveriſhment of the aforeſaid Perſon, his particular loſs being upward of a 100 *l.* theſe are the moſt remarkable diſaſters that befel this ſide of the Country. The Inhabitants both of the Town of *Ely* and Country general, receiv'd ſome ſmall damages more or leſs in their Eſtates and Subſtance, *viz.* The Houſes being ſtript of the Tiling, Barns and Out-houſes laid even with the Ground, and ſeveral Stacks of Corn and Cocks of Hay being likewiſe much damaged, the general loſs being about 20000 *l.* the eſcape of all Perſons here from Death, being generally miraculous; none as we can hear of being kill'd, tho' ſome were in more imminent danger than others. This, Sir, is as true, and

as

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as faithful an account as we are able to collect.

*I am Yours,*

Ely, Jan. 21. 1703. A. Armiger.

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*From* Sudbury *in* Suffolk, *an honest plain Countryman gives us a Letter, in which telling us of a great many Barns blown down, Trees, Chimneys and Tiles, he tells us in the Close, that their Town fared better than they expected, but that for all the neighbouring Towns they are fearfully shatter'd.*

---

*From* Tunbridge, *a Letter to the Post Master, giving the following Account.*

*SIR,*

I Cannot give you any great account of the particular damage the late great Winds has done, but at *Penchurst Park* there was above 500 Trees blown down, and the Grove at *Southborough* is almost blown down; and there is scarce a House in Town, but hath received some damage, and particularly the School-House. A Stack of Chimnies blown down, but no body, God be thanked, have lost their Lives, a great many Houses have suffered very much, and several Barns have been blown down: At *East Peckam,* hard by us, the Spire of

of the Steeple was blown down: And at Sir *Thomas Twiſden's* in the ſame Pariſh, there was a Stable blown down, and 2 Horſes killed: And at *Brenchly* the Spire of the Steeple was blown down; and at *Summer Hill Park* there were ſeveral Trees blown down; which is all at preſent from,

*Your Servant to Command,*

Elizabeth Luck.

---

*At* Laneloc *in the County of* Brecon *in* Wales, *a Poor Woman with a Child, was blown away by the Wind, and the Child being about* 10 *years old, was taken up in the Air two or three yards, and very much Wounded and Bruiſed in the fall.*

*At* Ledbury *in* Herefordſhire, *we have an Account of two Wind Mills blown down, and four Stacks of Chimneys in a new built Houſe at a Village near* Ledbury, *which Wounded a Maid Servant; and at another Gentleman's Houſe near* Ledbury, *the Coachman fearing the Stable would fall, got his Maſter's Coach Horſes out to ſave them, but leading them by a great Stack of Hay, the Wind blew down the Stack upon the Horſes, killed one, and Maimed the other.*

*From*

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*From* Medhurſt *in* Suſſex, *the following Letter is a ſhort account of the loſs of the Lord* Montacute, *in his Seat there, which is extraordinary great, tho' Abridg'd in the Letter.*

*S I R,*

I Received a Letter from you, wherein you deſire me to give you an account of what damage was done in and about our Town. I praiſe God we came off indifferent well; the greateſt damage we received, was the unroofing of Houſes, and 3 Chimneys blown down, but 4 or 5 Stacks of Chimneys are blown down at my Lord *Montacute*'s Houſe, within a quarter of a mile of us, one of them fell on part of the Great Hall, which did conſiderable damage; and the Church Steeple of *Upham*, half a mile from us, was blown down at the ſame time; and my Lord had above 500 Trees torn up by the Roots, and near us ſeveral Barns blown down, one of Sir *John Mill*'s, a very large Tithe Barn.

Medhurſt, *Your humble Servant*
*Jan.* 18. 170½. John Prince.

*From* Rigate *the particulars cannot be better related, than in the following Letter.*

*S I R,*

IN anſwer to the Letter you ſent me, relating to the late great Wind, the Calamity was univerſal about us, great numbers of tall Trees were blown down, and ſome broken

gate

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quite aſunder in the middle, tho' of a very conſiderable bigneſs. Two Wind-mills were blown down, and in one there happened a remarkable Providence, and the Story thereof may perhaps be worth your obſervation, which is, *viz.* That the Miller of *Charlewood* Mill, not far from *Rigate* hearing in the night time the Wind blew very hard, aroſe from his Bed, and went to his Mill, reſolving to turn it toward the Wind, and ſet it to work, as the only means to preſerve it ſtanding; but on the way feeling for the Key of the Mill, he found he had left it at his Dwelling Houſe, and therefore returned thither to fetch it, and coming back again to the Mill, found it blown quite down, and by his lucky forgetfulneſs ſaved his Life, which otherwiſe he moſt inevitably had loſt. Several Stacks of Corn and Hay were blown down and ſhattered a very great diſtance from the places where they ſtood. Many Barns were alſo blown down, and many Stacks of Chimnies; and in the Town and Pariſh of *Rigate*, ſcarce a Houſe but ſuffered conſiderable damage, either in the Tyling, or otherwiſe. In the Pariſh of *Capel* by *Darking* lived one *Charles Man*, who was in Bed with his Wife and two Children, and by a fall of part of his Houſe, he and one Child were killed, and his Wife, and the other Child, miraculouſly preſerved. I am

Rigate, Jan. 13. 170½. *Sir, Your humble Servant,* Tho. Foſter

*Vicar*

*From the City of* Hereford, *this short Letter is very explicit.*

*S I R,*

THE best account I can give of the Storm, is as follows; a Man and his Son was killed with the fall of his House, in the Parish of *Wormsley*, 2 miles off *Weobly* in *Herefordshire*. My Lord *Skudamoor* had several great Oaks blown down in the Parish of *How*, 4 miles from *Hereford*; there were several great Elms blown down at a place called *Hinton*, on *Wye* side, half a mile off *Hereford*, and some hundreds of Fruit Trees in other Parts of this Country, and two Stacks of Chimnies in this City, and abundance of Tiles off the old Houses,

*Hereford*, *Yours*, &c.
*Jan.* 2. 1703. Anne Watts.

---

At Hawkhurst, *on the Edge of* Sussex *and* Kent, 11 *Barns were blown down, besides the Houses Shatter'd or Uncover'd.*

*From* Basingstoke *in* Hampshire, *the following Letter is our Authority for the Particulars.*

SIR,

I Cannot pretend to give you a particular Account concerning the great Wind, but here are a great many Houses blown down, many Barns, and abundance of Trees. A little Park three Miles from *Basing Stoke*, belonging to Esq; *Wallops* has a great quantity



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of Timber blown down, there is 800 *l*'s worth of Oak sold, and 800 *l*'s worth of other Trees to be sold, and so proportionably all over the Country. Abundance of Houses unti'd, and a great many Chimneys blown down; but I do not hear of any body kill'd about us. Most of the People were in great Fears and Consternation; insomuch, that they thought the World had been at an end. Sir,

*Yours to Command* W. Nevill.

At *Shoram* the Market House, an Antient and very strong building, was blown flat to the Ground, and all the Town shatter'd. *Brighthelmston* being an old built and poor, tho' populous Town, was most miserably torn to pieces, and made the very Picture of Desolation, that it look't as if an Enemy had Sack't it.

---

*The following Letter from a small Town near Hel-ston in Cornwall is very Authentick, and may be depended on.*

SIR,

According to your Request, in a late Advertisement, in which you desir'd an Impartial Account of what Accidents happened by the late Dreadful Storm, in order to make a true and just Collection of the same, please to take the following Relation, viz. Between 8 and 9-a-Clock the Storm began, with the Wind at N. W: about 10-a-Clock it

veer'd about from W. to S. W. and back to West again, and between 11 and 12-a Clock it blew in a most violent and dreadful manner, that the Country hereabouts thought the great day of Judgment was coming.

It continued thus blowing till 5-a-Clock, and then began to abate a little, but has done a Prodigious damage to almost all sorts of People, for either their Houses are blown down, or their Corn blown out of their Back-yards, (some Furlongs distance) from the Place, that the very Fields look in a manner, as if they had strewed the Sheaves of Corn over them. Several Barns blown down, and the Corn that was in the same carried clear away.

The Churches here about have suffered very much, the Roofs of several are torn to pieces, and blown a considerable Distance off.

The small Quantity of Fruit Trees we had in the Neighbourhood about us are dismember'd, and torn in pieces, that few or none are left fit for bearing Fruit.

The large Timber Trees, as Elm, Oak, and the like, are generally blown down, especially the largest and highest Trees suffered most; for few Gentlemen that had Woods about their Houses have any left; and it is generally observ'd here, that the Trees and Houses that stood in Valleys, and not much of the Wind, have suffered most by it, for the



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Damage has been ſo general, that both Rich and Poor have ſuffered much.

In *Milford*, a ſmall Haven, not far from hence, there was a Tin Ship blown from her Anchors with only one Man, and two Boys on Board, without Anchor, Cable or Boat, and was forc'd out of the ſaid Haven about 12-a-Clock at Night; the next Morning by 8-a-Clock, the Ship miraculouſly Run in between two Rocks in the *Iſle of Wight*, where the Men and Goods were ſaved, but the Ship loſt: Such a Run, in ſo ſhort a time, is almoſt Incredible, it being near 80 Leagues in 8 hours time, I believe it to be very true, for the Maſter of the ſaid Ship I know very well, and ſome that were concern'd in her Lading, which was Tin, &c.

*From St.* Keaverne *Pariſh in* Cornwall,
*May* 26. 1704. *Yours &c.* W. T.

*Thus for our Letters.*

'IT has been impoſſible to give an exact 'relation in the matter of publick Damage, 'either as to the particulars of what is remar-'kable, or an Eſtimate of the general loſs.

'The Abſtract here given, as near as we 'could order it, is ſo well taken, that we have, '*generally ſpeaking*, ſomething remarkable from 'every quarter of the Kingdom, to the South 'of the *Trent*.

'It has been obſerv'd, that tho' it blew a 'great Storm farther Northward, yet nothing



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'ſo furious as this way. At *Hull*, indeed, 'as the Relation Expreſſes, it was Violent, 'but even that violence was moderate, com-'par'd to the Stupendious fury with which 'all the Southern part of the Nation was At-'tack'd.

'When the Reader finds an Account here 'from *Milford-haven* in *Wales*, and from *Hel-'ford* in *Cornwall* Weſt, from *Yarmouth* and '*Deal* in the Eaſt, from *Portſmouth* in the 'South, and *Hull* in the North, I am not to 'imagine him ſo weak as to ſuppoſe all the 'vaſt Interval had not the ſame, or propor-'tion'd ſuffering, when you find one Letter 'from a Town, and two from a County, it 'is not to be ſuppoſed that was the whole 'damage in that County, but, on the contra-'ry, that every Town in the County ſuffered 'the ſame thing in proportion; and it would 'have been endleſs to the Collector, and tire-'ſom to the Reader, to have Enumerated all 'the Individuals of every County; 'twould be 'endleſs to tell the the Deſolation in the 'Parks, Groves, and fine Walks of the Gen-'try, the general havock in the Orchards and 'Gardens among the Fruit Trees, eſpecially 'in the Countries of *Devon*, *Somerſet*, *Here-'ford*, *Glouceſter* and *Worceſter*, where the ma-'king great quantities of Cyder and Perry, 'is the reaſon of numerous and large Orch-'ards, among which, for ſeveral Miles toge-'ther, there would be very few Trees left.



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'In *Kent* the Editor of this Book has ſeen 'ſeveral great Orchards, the Trees lying flat 'on the Ground, and perhaps one Tree ſtand-'ing in a place by it ſelf, as a Houſe might 'ſhelter it, perhaps none at all.

'So many Trees were every where blown 'cross the Road, that till the People were 'enabled to have them off, and remove them, the 'ways were not paſſable.

'Stacks of Corn and Hay were in all places 'either blown down, or ſo torn, that they re-'ceiv'd great damage, and in this Article 'tis 'very obſervable, thoſe which were only blown 'down receiv'd the leaſt Injury; when the main 'body of a Stack of Hay ſtood faſt, the top 'being looſen'd by the Violence of the Wind, 'the Hay was driven up into the Air, and 'flew about like Feathers, that it was entirely 'loſt, and hung about in the Neighbouring 'Trees, and ſpread on the Ground for a great 'diſtance, and ſo perfectly ſeperated, that there 'was no gathering it together.

'Barly and Oats ſuffered the ſame caſualty, 'only that the weight of the Corn ſettled it 'ſooner to the Ground than the Hay.

'As to the Stacks of Wheat, the Accounts 'are very ſtrange; from many places we have 'Letters, and ſome ſo incredible, that we dare 'not venture on the Readers faith to tranſmit 'them, leaſt they ſhould ſhock their belief in 'thoſe very ſtrange Relations already ſet down, 'and better Atteſted, as of a great Stack of

Corn

'Corn taken from the Hovel on which it ſtood, 'and without Diſlocating the Sheaves, ſet up- 'on another Hovel, from whence the Wind 'had juſt before remov'd another Stack of 'equal Dimenſions; of a Stack of Wheat ta- 'ken up with the Wind, and ſet down whole 'to Rod off, and the like. But as we have 'other Relations equally ſtrange, their Truth 'conſidered, we refer the Reader to them, and 'aſſure the World we have ſeveral Accounts 'of Stacks of Wheat taken clear off from the 'Frame or Steddal, and ſet down whole, 'abundance more over-ſet, and thrown off 'from their ſtandings, and others quite diſ- 'pers'd, and in a great meaſure deſtroy'd.

'Tis true, Corn was exceeding cheap all 'the Winter after, but they who bring that as 'a reaſon to prove there was no great quan- 'tity deſtroy'd, are oblig'd to bear with me 'in telling them they are miſtaken, for the 'true reaſon was as follows,

'The Stacks of Corn in ſome Countries, 'the Weſt chiefly, where the People gener- 'ly lay up their Corn in Stacks, being ſo 'damnify'd as above, and the Barns in all parts 'being Univerſally uncovered, and a vaſt num- 'ber of them overturn'd, and blown down, 'the Country People were under a neceſſity 'of Threſhing out their Corn with all poſſible 'ſpeed, leaſt if a Rain had follow'd, as at that 'time of Year was not unlikely, it might have 'been all ſpoil'd.

And

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'And it was a ſpecial Providence to thoſe 'People alſo, as well as to us in *London*, that 'it did not Rain, at leaſt to any quantity, for 'near three Weeks after the Storm.

'Beſides this, the Country People were obli- 'ged to threſh out their Corn for the take of 'the Straw, which they wanted to repair the 'Thatch, and covering of their Barns, in orde 'to ſecure the reſt.

'All theſe Circumſtances forc'd the Corn to 'Market in unuſual quantities, and that by 'Conſequence made it Cheaper than ordina- 'ry, and not the exceeding quantity then in 'Store.

'The Seats of the Gentlemen in all places 'had an extraordinary ſhare in the Damage; 'their Parks were in many places perfectly 'diſmantled, the Trees before their Doors 'levelled, their Garden Walls blown down, and 'I could give a Liſt, I believe, of a thouſand 'Seats in *England*, within the compaſs of 'our Collected Papers, who had from 5 to '20 Stacks of Chimnies blown down, ſome 'more, ſome leſs, according to the ſeveral Di- 'mentions of the Houſes.

'I am not obliging the Reader to comply 'with the Calculations here following, and it 'would have took up too much room in this 'ſmall Tract to name particulars; but accord- 'ing to the beſt eſtimate I have been able to 'make from the general Accounts ſent up by 'Perſons forward to have this matter recorded,

'the

'the following particulars are rather under 'than over the real Truth,

25 Parks in the ſeveral Countries, who have above 1000 Trees in each Park, blown down.

'*New Foreſt* in *Hampſhire* above 4000, and 'ſome of prodigious Bigneſs; above 450 'Parks and Groves, who have from 200 large 'Trees to 1000 blown down in them.

'Above 100 Churches covered with Lead, 'the Lead roll'd up, the Churches uncover'd; 'and on ſome of them, the Lead in prodigi-'ous Quantities blown to incredible Diſtances 'from the Church.

'Above 400 Wind-mils overſet, and bro-'ken to pieces; or the Sails ſo blown round, 'that the Timbers and Wheels have heat and 'ſet the reſt on Fire, and ſo burnt them down, 'as particularly ſeveral were in the Iſle 'of *Ely*.

'Seven Steeples quite blown down, be-'ſides abundance of Pinacles and Battle-'ments from thoſe which ſtood; and the 'Churches where it happened moſt of them 'Demoliſh'd, or terribly Shattered.

Above 800 dwelling Houſes blown down, 'in moſt of which the Inhabitants received 'ſome Bruiſe or Wounds, and many loſt their 'Lives.

'We have reckoned, including the City of '*London*, about 123 People kill'd; beſides 'ſuch as we have had no account of; the Num-'ber

'ber of People drowned are not eaſily Gueſt;
'but by all the Calculations I have made and
'ſeen made, we are within compaſs, if we
'reckon 8000 Men loſt, including what were
'loſt on the Coaſt of *Holland*, what in Ships
'blown away, and never heard of, and what
'were drowned in the Flood of the *Severn*,
'and in the River of *Thames*.

'What the Loſs, how many poor Families
'ruin'd, is not to be Eſtimated, the Fire of
'*London* was an exceeding Loſs, and was by
'ſome reckon'd at four Millions ſterling,
'which, tho' it was a great Loſs, and hap-
'pened upon the ſpot, where vaſt Quantities of
'Goods being expos'd to the fury of the
'Flames, were deſtroy'd in a hurry, and 1400
'dwelling Houſes entirely conſum'd.

'Yet on the other Hand, that Deſola-
'tion was confin'd to a ſmall Space, the
'loſs fell on the wealthieſt part of the People;
'but this loſs is Univerſal, and its extent ge-
'neral, not a Houſe, not a Family that had any
'thing to loſe, but have loſt ſomething by this
'Storm, the Sea, the Land, the Houſes, the
'Churches, the Corn, the Trees, the Rivers,
'all have felt the fury of the Winds.

'I cannot therefore think I ſpeak too large,
'if I ſay, I am of the Opinion, that the Da-
'mage done by this Tempeſt far exceeded the
'Fire of *London*.

'They tell us the Damages done by the
'Tide, on the Banks of the *Severn*, amounts

'to

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'to above 200000 pounds, 15000 Sheep 'drown'd in one Level, Multitudes of Cattle 'on all the ſides, and the covering the Lands 'with Salt Water is a Damage cannot well be 'Eſtimated: The High Tide at *Briſtol* ſpoil'd 'or damnify'd 1500 Hogſheds of Sugars and 'Tobaccoes, beſides great quantities of other 'Goods.

'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe the general Ca'lamity, and the moſt we can do is, to lead 'our Reader to ſupply by his Immagination 'what we omit; and to believe, that as the 'Head of the particulars is thus collected, an 'infinite Variety at the ſame time happened in 'every place, which cannot be expected to be 'found in this Relation.

'There are ſome additional Remarks to be 'made as to this Tempeſt, which I cannot 'think improper to come in here; As,

1. 'That in ſome Parts of *England* it was 'join'd with terrible Lightnings and Flaſhes 'of Fire, and in other Places more ſo, even 'to Thunder the Noiſe the Winds made, was 'ſo Terrible, and ſo Unuſual, that I will not 'ſay, People might not miſtake it for Thun'der; but I have not met with any, who 'will be poſitive that they heard it Thunder.

2. 'Others, as in many Letters we have 'received to that purpoſe inſiſt upon it, that 'they felt an Earthquake; and this I am 'doubtful of for ſeveral Reaſons.

'We

1ſt. 'We find few People either in City 'or Country ventur'd out of their Houſes, or at 'leaſt till they were forced out, and I can- 'not find any Voucher to this opinion of an 'Earthquake, from thoſe whoſe Feet ſtood 'upon the *Terra Firma*, felt it move, and will 'affirm it to be ſo.

2d. 'As to all thoſe People who were in 'Houſes, I cannot allow them to be competent 'Judges; for as no Houſe was ſo ſtrong as not 'to move and ſhake with the force of the Wind, 'ſo it muſt be impoſſible for them to diſtin- 'guiſh whither that motion came from a- 'bove or below: As to thoſe in Ships, they will 'not pretend to be competent Judges in this 'caſe, and I think the People within doors as 'improper to decide, for what might not that 'motion they felt in their Houſes, from the 'Wind do, that an Earthquake could do. We 'found it rockt the ſtrongeſt Buildings, and in 'ſeveral places made the Bells in the Steeples 'ſtrike, 'looſen'd the Foundations of the 'Houſes, and in ſome blew them quite down, 'but ſtill if it had been an Earthquake, it muſt 'have been felt in every houſe; and every 'place; and whereas in thoſe Streets of *Lon-* 'don, where the Houſes ſtand thick and well 'Built, they could not be ſo ſhaken with the 'Wind as in opener places: yet there the other 'would have equally been felt, and better 'diſtinguiſht; and this particularly by the 'Watch, who ſtood on the Ground, under 'ſhel-

'ſhelter of publick Buildings, as in St. *Paul's* 'Church, the Exchange Gates, the Gates of 'the City, and ſuch like; wherefore, as I 'am not for handing to Poſterity any matter 'of Fact upon ill Evidence, ſo I cannot tranſ-'mit what has its Foundation only in the 'Amazements of the People.

''Tis true, that there was an Earthquake 'felt in the *North Eaſt parts of the Kingdoms*, 'about a Month afterwards, of which ſeve-'ral Letters here inſerted make mention, and 'one very particularly from *Hull*; but that 'there was any ſuch thing as an Earthquake 'during the Storm, I cannot agree.

'Another remarkable thing I have obſerv'd, 'and have ſeveral Letters to ſhow of the Wa-'ter which fell in the Storm, being brackiſh, 'and at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*, which is at leaſt '16 Miles from the Sea, and above 25 from 'any Part of the Sea to windward, from 'whence the Wind could bring any moiſture, '*for it could not be ſuppoſ'd to fly againſt the* '*Wind*; the Graſs was ſo ſalt, the Cattel 'would not eat for ſeveral Days, from whence 'the ignorant People ſuggeſted another Mira-'cle, *viz.* that it rain'd ſalt Water.

The anſwer to this, I leave to two Letters printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*; as follows,

*Part*

( 160 )

*Part of a Letter from Mr.* Denham *to the Royal Society,*

*SIR,* —

I Have juſt now, ſince my writing, receiv'd an account from a Clergy-man, an Intelligent Perſon at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, not only that the Storm made great deſolations thereabouts, but alſo an odd Phœnomenon occaſioned by it, *viz.* 'That a Phyſician travelling ſoon after the 'Storm to *Tiſehyrſt*, about 20 Miles from *Lewes*, 'and as far from the Sea, as he rode he pluckt 'ſome tops of Hedges, and chawing them 'found them Salt. Some Ladies of *Lewes* 'hearing this, taſted ſome Grapes that were 'ſtill on the Vines, and they alſo had the 'ſame reliſh. The Graſs on the Downs in 'his Pariſh was ſo ſalt, that the Sheep in the 'Morning would not feed till hunger com-'pelled them, and afterwards drank like 'Fiſhes, as the Shepherds report. This he 'attributeth to Saline Particles driven from 'the Sea. ——He heareth alſo, that People 'about *Portſmouth* were much annoyed with 'ſulphurous Fumes, complaining they were 'moſt ſuffocated therewith.

V. Part

( 161 )

## V. *Part of a Letter from Mr.* Anthony van Leuwenhoek, *F. R. S. giving his Obſervations on the late Storm.*

Delft, Jan. 8. 1704. N. S.

*SIR,*

I Affirmed in my Letter of the 3d of *November* laſt paſt, that Water may be ſo daſh'd and beaten againſt the Banks and Dikes by a ſtrong Wind, and divided into ſuch ſmall Particles, as to be carried far up into the Land.

Upon the 8th of *December*, 1703. N. S. We had a dreadful Storm from the South Weſt, inſomuch, that the Water mingled with ſmall parts of Chalk and Stone, was ſo daſht againſt the Glaſs-windows, that many of them were darkned therewith, and the lower Windows of my Houſe, which are made of very fine Glaſs, and always kept well ſcower'd, and were not open'd till 8-a-Clock that Morning, notwithſtanding that they look to the North-Eaſt, and conſequently ſtood from the Wind; and moreover, were guarded from the Rain by a kind of Shelf or Pent-houſe over them; were yet ſo cover'd with the Particles of the Water which the Whirl-wind caſt againſt them, that in leſs than half an hour they were deprived of moſt of their tranſparency, and, foraſmuch as theſe Particles of Water were not quite exhaled, I concluded that it muſt



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be Sea-water, which the ſaid Storm had not only daſht againſt our Windows, but ſpread alſo over the whole Country.

That I might be ſatisfied herein, I blew'd two ſmall Glaſſes, ſuch as I thought moſt proper to make my Obſervations with, concerning the Particles of Water that adhered to my Windows.

Preſſing theſe Glaſſes gently againſt my Windows, that were covered with the ſuppos'd Particles of Sea-water, my Glaſſes were tinged with a few of the ſaid Particles.

Theſe Glaſſes, with the Water I had thus collected on them, I placed at about half a Foot diſtance from the Candle, I view'd them by my Microſcope, reck'ning, that by the warmth of the Candle, and my Face together, the Particles of the ſaid Water would be put into ſuch a motion, that they would exhale for the moſt part, and the Salts that were in 'em would be expos'd naked to the ſight, and ſo it happened; for in a little time a great many Salt Particles did, as it were, come out of the Water, having the Figure of our common Salt, but very ſmall, becauſe the Water was little, from whence thoſe ſmall Particles proceeded; and where the Water had lain very thin upon the Glaſs, there were indeed a great number of Salt Particles, but ſo exceeding fine, that they almoſt eſcaped the Sight through a very good Microſcope.

From

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From whence I concluded, that theſe Glaſs windows could not be brought to their former Luſtre, but by waſhing them with a great deal of Water; for if the Air were very clear, and the Weather dry, the watry Particles would ſoon exhale, but the Salts would cleave faſt to the Glaſs, which ſaid Salts would be again diſſolv'd in moiſt Weather, and ſit like a Dew or Miſt upon the Windows.

And accordingly my People found it when they came to waſh the afore-mentioned lower Windows of my Houſe: but as to the upper Windows, where the Rain had beat againſt them, there was little or no Salt to be found ſticking upon that Glaſs.

Now, if we conſider, what a quantity of Sea-water is ſpread all over the Country by ſuch a terrible Storm, and conſequently, how greatly impregnated the Air is with the ſame; we ought not to wonder, that ſuch a quantity of Water, being moved with ſo great a force, ſhould do ſo much miſchief to Chimneys, tops of Houſes, &c. not to mention the Damages at Sea.

During the ſaid Storm, and about 8-a-Clock in the Morning, I caſt my Eye upon my Barometer, and obſerv'd, that I had never ſeen the Quick-ſilver ſo low; but half an hour after the Quick-ſilver began to riſe, tho' the Storm was not at all abated, at leaſt to any appearance; from whence I concluded, and ſaid it to thoſe that were about me, that the



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Storm would not laſt long; and ſo it happened.

There are ſome that affirm, that the ſcattering of this Salt-water by the Storm will do a great deal of harm to the Fruits of the Earth; but for my part I am of a quite different Opinion, for I believe that a little Salt ſpread over the ſurface of the Earth, eſpecially where it is heavy Clay-ground, does render it exceeding Fruitful; and ſo it would be, if the Sand out of the Sea were made uſe of to the ſame purpoſe.

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'Theſe Letters are too well, and too judi-
'ciouſly Written to need any comment of
'mine; 'tis plain, the watry Particles taken up
'from the Sprye of the Sea into the Air, might
'by the impetuoſity of the Winds, be carried
'a great way, and if it had been much far-
'ther, it would have been no Miracle in my
'account; and this is the reaſon, why I have
'not related theſe Things, among the extraor-
'dinary Articles of the Storm.

'That the Air was full of Meoters, and
'fiery Vapours, and that the extraordinary
'Motion occaſion'd the firing more of them
'than uſual, a ſmall ſtock of Philoſophy will
'make very rational; and of theſe we have
'various Accounts, more in ſome places than
'in others, and I am apt to believe theſe were

'the

'the Lightnings we have been told of; for I am 'of Opinion, that there was really no Light- 'ning, such as we call so in the common Ac- 'ceptation of it; for the Clouds that flew with 'so much Violence through the Air, were not, 'as to my Observation, such as usually are 'fraighted with Thunder and Lightning, the 'Harries nature was then in, do not consist 'with the System of Thunder, which is Air 'pent in between the Clouds; and as for the 'Clouds that were seen here flying in the Air, 'they were by the fury of the Winds so sepera- 'ted, and in such small Bodies, that there was 'on room for a Collection suitable, and necessa- 'ry to the Case we speak of.

'These Cautions I thought necessary to set 'down here, for the satisfaction of the Curi- 'ous; and as they are only my Opinions, I 'submit them to the judgment of the Rea- 'der.

## *Of the Damages on the Water.*

'AS this might consist of several Parts, I 'was inclin'd to have divided it into 'Sections or Chapters, relating particularly to 'the publick Loss, and the private; to the 'Merchant, or the Navy, to Floods by the 'Tides, to the River Damage, and that



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' of the Sea ; but for brevity, I ſhall confine ' it to the following particulars.

' Firſt, *The Damage to Trade.*
' Secondly, *The Damage to the Royal Navy.*
' Thirdly, *The Damage by High Tides.*

' Firſt, *Of the Damage to Trade.*

' I might call it a Damage to Trade, that ' this Seaſon was both for ſome time before ' and after the Tempeſt, ſo exceeding, and ſo ' continually Stormy, that the Seas were ' in a manner Unnavigable and Negoce ' at a kind of a general Stop, and when the ' Storm was over, and the Weather began ' to be tolerable ; almoſt all the Shipping in ' *England* was more or leſs out of Repair, for ' there was very little Shipping in the Nation ' but what had receiv'd ſome Damage or ' other.

' It is impoſſible, but a Nation ſo full of ' Shipping as this, muſt be exceeding Suffer- ' ers in ſuch a general Diſaſter, and who ever ' conſiders the Violence of this Storm by its ' other dreadful Effects, will rather wonder, ' and be thankful that we receiv'd no farther ' Damage, than we ſhall be able to give an ' Account of by Sea.

' I have already obſerv'd what Fleets were ' in the ſeveral Ports of this Nation, and from ' whence they came: As to Ships loſt of ' whom

'whom we have no other Account than that 'they were never heard of. I am not able to 'give any Particulars, other than that a- 'bout three and forty Sail of all Sorts are 'reckon'd to have periſhed in that manner. I 'mean of ſuch Ships as were at Sea, when 'the Storm began, and had no Shelter or Port to 'make for their Safety: Of theſe, ſome were 'of the *Ruſſia* Fleet, of whom we had an Ac- 'count of 20 Sail loſt the Week before the 'great Storm, but moſt of them reach'd the 'Ports of *Newcaſtle*, *Hull*, *Yarmouth*, 'and ſome of the Men ſuffered in the general 'Diſtreſs afterwards.

'But to proceed to the moſt general Diſa- 'ſters, by the ſame Method, as in the former 'Articles of Damages by Land. Several Per- 'ſons having given themſelves the Trouble to 'further this Deſign with Authentick Parti- 'culars from the reſpective Ports. I con- 'ceive we cannot give the World a clearer 'and more Satisfactory Relation than from 'their own Words.

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*The firſt Account, and plac'd ſo, becauſe the very Authentick and Particular, and the farthеſt Port* Weſtward, *and therefore proper to begin our Relation, is from on board her Majeſty's Ship the* Dolphin *in* Milford Haven, *and ſent to us by Capt* Soames, *the Commodore of a Squadron of Men of War then in that Harbour, to whom the Publick*

*is very much oblig'd for the Relation, and which we thought our ſelves bound there to acknowledge. The Account is as follows,*

*SIR,*

READing the Advertiſement in the *Gazette*, of your intending to Print the many ſad Accidents in the late dreadful Storm, induced me to let you know what this place felt, tho a very good Harbour. Her Majeſty's Ships the *Cumberland*, *Coventry*, *Leo*, *Haſtings* and *Hector*, being under my Command, with the *Rye* a Cruizer on this Station, and under our Convoy about 130 Merchant Ships bound about Land; the 26th of *November* at one in the Afternoon the Wind came at S. by E. a hard Gale, between which and N.W. by W. it came to a dreadful Storm, at three the next Morning was the Violenteſt of the Weather, when the *Cumberland* broak her Sheet Anchor, the Ship driving near *this*, and the *Rye*, both narrowly eſcap'd carrying away; ſhe drove very near the Rocks, having but one Anchor left, but in a little time they ſlung a Gun, with the broken Anchor faſt to it, which they let go, and wonderfully preſerv'd the Ship from the Shoar. Guns firing from one Ship or other all the Night for help, tho' 'twas impoſſible to aſſiſt each other, the Sea was ſo high, and the Darkneſs of the Night ſuch, that we could not ſee where any one was, but by the Flaſhes of the Guns; when day light appear'd, it was a diſmal

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dismal sight to behold the Ships driving up and down one foul of another, without Masts, some sunk, and others upon the Rocks, the Wind blowing so hard, with Thunder, Lightning and Rain, that on the Deck a Man could not stand without holding. Some drove from *Dale*, where they were sheltered under the Land, and split in pieces, the Men all drowned; two others drove out of a Creek, one on the Shoar so high up was saved, the other on the Rocks in another Creek, and Bulg'd; an *Irish* Ship that lay with a Rock thro' her, was lifted by the Sea clear away to the other side of the Creek on a safe place; one Ship forc'd 10 Miles up the River before she could be stop'd, and several strangely blown into holes, and on Banks; a Ketch of *Pembroke* was drove on the Rocks, the two Men and a Boy in her had no Boat to save their Lives; but in this great distress a Boat which broke from another Ship drove by them, without any in her, the two Men leap into her, and were sav'd, but the Boy drown'd; a Prize at *Pembroke* was lifted on the Bridge, whereon is a Mill, which the Water blew up, but the Vessel got off again; another Vessel carried almost into the Gateway which leads to the Bridge, and is a Road, the Tide flowing several Feet above its common Course. The Storm continu'd till the 27th about 3 in the Afternoon; that by Computation nigh 30 Merchant Ships and Vessels without Masts are lost, and what Men are lost

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loſt is not known; 3 Ships are miſſing, that we ſuppoſe Men and all loſt. None of her Majeſty's Ships came to any harm; but the *Cumberland* breaking her Anchor in a Storm which happen'd the 18th at Night, loſt another, which renders her uncapable of proceeding with us till ſupply'd. I ſaw ſeveral Trees and Houſes which are blown down.

*Your Humble Servant,*

Joſ. Soames.

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*The next Account we have from the Reverend Mr.* Tho. Cheſt, *Minister of* Chepſtow, *whose Ingenious account being given in his own Words, gives the beſt Acknowledgement for his regarding and approving this deſign.*

*SIR,*

UPon the Evening of *Friday, Nov.* 26. 1703. the Wind was very high; but about midnight it broke out with a more than wonted Violence, and ſo continued till near break of day. It ended a N. W. Wind, tho' about 3 in the Morning it was at S. W. The loudeſt cracks I obſerved of it, were ſomewhat before 4 of the Clock; we had here the common Calamity of Houſes ſhatter'd and Trees thrown down.

But the Wind throwing the Tyde very ſtrongly into the *Severn*, and ſo into the *Wye*, on which *Chepſtow* is ſcituated. And the Freſh in *Wye* meeting with a Rampant Tyde, over-

flowed

flowed the lower part of our Town. It came into ſeveral Houſes about 4 foot high, rather more; the greateſt damage ſuſtained in Houſes, was by the makers of Salt, perhaps their loſs might amount to near 200 *l.*

But the Bridge was a ſtrange ſight; it ſtands partly in *Monmouthſhire*, and partly in *Glouceſterſhire*, and is built moſtly of Wood, with a Stone Peer in the midſt, the Center of which divides the two Counties; there are alſo Stone Platforms in the bottom of the River to bear the Wood-work. I doubt not but thoſe Stone Platforms were covered then by the great Freſh that came down the River. But over theſe there are Wooden Standards fram'd into Peers 42 Foot high; beſides Groundſils, Cap-heads, Sleepers, Planks, and (on each ſide of the Bridge) Rails which may make about 6 foot more, the Tyde came over them all: The length of the Wooden part of the Bridge in *Monmouthſhire* is 60 yards exactly, and thereabout in *Glouceſterſhire*; the *Glouceſterſhire* ſide ſuffered but little, but in *Monmouthſhire* ſide the Planks were moſt of them carried away, the Sleepers (about a Tun by meaſure each) were many of them carried away, and ſeveral removed, and 'tis not doubted but the great Wooden Peers would have gone too; but it was ſo, that the outward Sleepers on each ſide the Bridge were Pinn'd or Bolted to the Cap-heads, and ſo kept them in their places.

All

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All the level Land on the South part of *Monmouthshire*, called the *Moors*, was overflow'd; it is a tract of Land about 20 miles long, all Level, save 2 little points of High-land, or 3; the Breadth of it is not all of one size, the broadest part is about 2 miles and ½. This Tyde came 5 Tydes before the top of the Spring, according to the usual rule, which surprized the People very much. Many of their Cattle got to shore, and some dy'd after they were landed. It is thought by a *Moderate Computation*, they might lose in Hay and Cattle between 3 and 4000 *l.* I cannot hear of any Person drowned, save only one Servant Man, that ventur'd in quest of his Master's Cattle. The People were carried off, some by Boats, some otherways, the days following; the last that came off (that I can hear of) were on *Tuesday* Evening, to be sure they were uneasy and astonished in that Interval. There are various reports about the height of this Tyde in the *Moors*, comparing it with that in *Jan.* 1606. But the account that seems likeliest to me, is, that the former Tyde ran somewhat higher than this. 'Tis thought most of their Land will be worth but little these 2 or 3 years, and 'tis known, that the repairing the Sea Walls will be very chargeable.

*Glocestershire* too, that borders upon *Severne* hath suffered deeply on the Forrest of *Dean* side, but nothing in comparison of the other shore, from about *Harlingham* down

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down to the mouth of *Briſtol* River *Avon*, particularly from *Auſt Cliffe* to the Rivers Mouth (about 8 miles) all that Flat, called the *Marſh* was drowned. They loſt many Sheep and Cattle. About 70 Seamen were drown'd out of the *Canterbury* Storeſhip, and other Ships that were Stranded or Wreck'd. The *Arundel* Man of War, *Suffolk* and *Canterbury* Storeſhips, a *French* Prize, and a *Dane*, were driven aſhore and damnified; but the *Arundel* and the *Daniſh* Ship are got off, the reſt remain on Ground. The *Richard and John* of about 500 Tun, newly come into *King-road* from *Virginia*, was Staved. The *Sherum* rode it out in *King-road*; but I ſuppoſe you may have a perfecter account of theſe things from *Briſtol*. But one thing yet is to be remembred, one *Nelms* of that Country, as I hear his Name, was carried away with his Wife and 4 Children, and Houſe and all, and were all loſt, ſave only one Girl, who caught hold of a Bough, and was preſerved.

There was another unfortunate Accident yet in theſe parts, one Mr. *Churchman*, that keeps the Inns at *Berkeley*, a paſſage over the *Severn*, and had a ſhare in the paſſing Boats, ſeeing a ſingle Man toſſed in a Wood-buſs off in the River, prevailed with ſome belonging to the Cuſtoms, to carry himſelf and one of his Sons, and 2 Servants aboard the Boat, which they did, and the Officers deſired Mr. *Churchman* to take out the Man, and come aſhore

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aſhore with them in their Pinnace. But [illegible] willing to ſave the Boat as well as the Men, carried aboard, and ſometime after hoiſting Sail, the Boat overſet, and they were all drowned, *viz.* the Man in the Boat, Mr. *Churchman*, his Son and 2 Servants, and much lamented, eſpecially Mr. *Churchman*, and his Son, who were Perſons very uſeful in their Neighbourhood. This happened on *Saturday* about 11 of the Clock.

*Your Humble Servant,*
Tho. Cheſ[illegible]

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*Mr.* Tho. Little *Miniſter of* ——— *Church in* Lyn, *in the County of* Norfolk, *being requeſted to give in the particulars of what happen'd thereabouts, gave the following, ſhort but very pertinent Account.*

*SIR,*

I Had anſwer'd yours ſooner, but that I was willing to get the beſt Information I could of the effect of the late diſmal Storm amongſt us. I have advis'd with our Merchants, and Ship Maſters, and find that we have loſt from this Port 7 Ships, the damage whereof, at a modeſt Computation, amounts to 3000*l.* the Men that periſh'd in them are reckon'd about 20 in number. There is another Ship miſſing, tho we are not without hopes that ſhe is gone Northward, the value of Ship and Cargo about 1500*l.*

The

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The Damage ſuſtain'd in the Buildings of the Town is computed at 1000 *l.* at leaſt.

*I am your faithful Friend and Servant.*

Lyn, *Jan.* 17. 1703.

Tho. Little.

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*We have had various Accounts from* Briſtol, *but as they all contain ſomething of the ſame in general, only differently Expreſt, the following, as the moſt positively aſſerted, and beſt Expreſt, is recorded for the publick Information.*

*SIR,*

OBſerving your deſire (lately ſignify'd in the *Gazette*) to be further inform'd concerning the Effects of the late dreadful Tempeſt, in order to make a Collection thereof. I have preſum'd to preſent you with the following particulars concerning *Briſtol*, and the parts near Adjacent, being an Eye-witneſs of the ſame, or the Majority of it. On *Saturday* the 27th of *Novemb.* laſt, between the hours of one and two in the Morning, aroſe a moſt prodigious Storm of Wind, which continued with very little intermiſſion for the ſpace of 6 hours, in which time it very much ſhattered the Buildings, both publick and private, by uncovering the Houſes, throwing down the Chimneys, breaking the Glaſs Windows, overthrowing the Pinnacles and Battlements of the Churches, and blowing off the Leads

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Leads: The Churches in particular felt the fury of the Storm. St. *Stephen*'s Tower had three Pinnacles blown off, which beat down the greateſt part of the Church. The Cathedral is likewiſe very much defac'd, two of its Windows, and ſeveral Battlements being blown away; and, indeed, moſt Churches in the City felt its force more or leſs; it alſo blew down abundance of great Trees in the Marſh, *College-Green*, St. *James*'s Church-yard, and other places in the City. And in the Country it blew down and ſcattered abundance of Hay and Corn Mows, beſides almoſt Levelling many Orchards and Groves of ſtout Trees. But the greateſt damage done to the City was, the violent over-flowing of the Tide, occaſion'd by the force of the Wind, which flowed an extraordinary height, and did abundance of damage to the Merchants Cellers. It broke in with great fury over the Marſh Country, forcing down the Banks or Sea Walls, drowning abundance of Sheep, and other Cattle, waſhing ſome houſes clear away, and breaking down part of others, in which many Perſons loſt their Lives. It likewiſe drove moſt of the Ships in *Kingroad* a conſiderable way upon the Land, ſome being much ſhatter'd, and one large Veſſel broke all in pieces, and near all the Men loſt, beſides ſeveral loſt out of other Veſſels. To conclude, the Damage ſuſtein'd by this City alone in Merchandiſe, Houſes, &c. is Computed to an Hundred

Thou-

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Thouſand Pounds, beſides the great Loſs in the Country, of Cattel, Corn, &c. which has utterly ruined many Farmers, whoſe ſubſtance conſiſted in their Stock aforeſaid. So having given you the moſt material Circumſtances, and fatal Effects of this great Tempeſt in theſe Parts. I conclude

*Your (unknown) Friend and Servant,*

Daniel James.

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*From* Huntſpill *in* Somerſetſhire, *we have the following Account from, as we ſuppoſe, the Miniſter of the place, tho' unknown to the Collector of this Work.*

*SIR,*

THE Pariſh of *Huntſpill* hath receiv'd great Damage by the late Inundation of the Salt Water, particularly the Weſt part thereof ſuffered moſt: For on the 27th Day of *November* laſt, about four of the Clock in the Morning, a mighty Southweſt Wind blew ſo ſtrong, as (in a little time) ſtrangely tore our Sea Walls; inſomuch, that a conſiderable part of the ſaid Walls were laid ſmooth, after which the Sea coming in with great Violence, drove in five Veſſels belonging to *Bridgewater Key* out of the Channel, upon a



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Wharf in our Pariſh, which lay ſome diſtance off from the Channel, and there they were all grounded; it is ſaid, that the Seamen there ſathom'd the depth, and found it about nine Foot, which is taken notice to be four Foot above our Walls when ſtanding; the Salt Water ſoon overflow'd all the Weſt end of the Pariſh, forcing many of the Inhabitants from their Dwellings, and to ſhift for their Lives: The Water threw down ſeveral Houſes, and in one an antient Woman was drown'd, being about fourſcore Years old: Some Families ſhelter'd themſelves in the Church, and there ſtaid till the Waters were abated: Three Window Leaves of the Tower were blown down, and the Ruſt-caſt ſeal'd off in many places: Much of the Lead of the Church was damnify'd; the Windows of the Church and Chancel much broken, and the Chancel a great part of it untiled: The Parſonage Houſe, Barn and Walls received great Damage; as alſo, did ſome of the Neighbours in their Houſes: At the Weſt end of the Parſonage Houſe ſtood a very large Elm, which was four Yards a quarter and half a quarter in the Circumference, it was broken off near the Ground by the Wind, without forcing any one of the Moars above the Surface, but remain'd as they were before: The Inhabitants (many of them) have receiv'd great Loſſes in their Sheep, and their other Cattle; in their Corn and Hay there is great ſpoil made. This is

what

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what Information I can give of the Damage this Parish hath ſuſtain'd by the late dreadful Tempeſt.

*I am, Sir,*

*Huntſpill,*
*January 6. 170¾.*

*Your humble Servant,*

Sam VVoodlinton.

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*From* Minehead *in* Somerſetſhire, *and Swansey in* Wales, *the following Accounts are to be depended upon.*

*SIR,*

I Received yours, and in anſwer to it theſe are to acquaint you, that all the Ships in our Harbour except two (which were 23 or 24 in Number, beſides Fiſhing Boats) were, through the Violence of the Storm, and the mooring Poſts giving way, drove from their Anchors, one of them was ſtav'd to pieces, and drove Aſhoar; but 'tis hoped will be all got off again, though ſome of them are very much damnified: Several of the Fiſhing Boats likewiſe, with their Nets, and other Neceſſaries were deſtroy'd. Three Seamen were drown-ed in the Storm, and one Man was ſqueez'd to Death laſt *Wedneſday*, by one of the Ships that was forc'd Aſhoar, ſuddenly coming

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ing upon him, as they were digging round her, endeavouring to get her off.

Our Peer alſo was ſomewhat damaged, and 'tis thought, if the Storm had continued till another Tide, it would have been quite waſhed away, even level to the Ground; which if ſo, would infallibly have ruined our Harbour: Our Church likewiſe was almoſt all untiled, the neighbouring Churches alſo received much Damage: The Houſes of our Town, and all the Country round about, were moſt of them damaged; ſome (as I am credibly informed) blown down, and ſeveral in a great Meaſure uncovered: Trees alſo of a very great Bigneſs were broken off in the middle, and vaſt Numbers blown down; one Gentleman, as he told me himſelf, having 2500 Trees blown down: I wiſh you good Succeſs in theſe your Undertakings, and I pray God that this late great Calamity which was ſent upon us as a puniſhment for our Sins, may be a Warning to the whole Nation in general, and engage every one of us to a hearty and ſincere Repentance; otherwiſe, I'm afraid we muſt expect greater Evils than this was to fall upon us.

*From your unknown Friend and Servant,*

Friſt. Chave.

Swanzy,

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*Swanzy, January* 24, 170½.

*SIR,*

I Receiv'd yours and accordingly have made an enquiry in our Neighbourhood what damage might be done in the late Storm, thro Mercy we eſcap'd indifferently, but you will find underwritten as much as I can learn to be certainly true.

The Storm began here about 12 at Night, but the moſt violent part of it was about 4 the next Morning, about which time the greateſt part of the Houſes in the Town were uncovered more or leſs, and one Houſe clearly blown down; the damage ſuſtain'd to the Houſes is modeſtly computed at 200 *l.* the South Iſle of the Church was wholly uncovered, and conſiderable damage done to the other Iſles, and 4 large Stones weighing about One Hundred and Fifty or Two Hundred Pound each, was blown down from the end of the Church; three of the four Iron Spears, that ſtood with Vanes on the corners of the Tower, were broke ſhort off in the middle, and the Vanes not to be found, and the Tail of the Weather Cock, which ſtood in the middle of the Tower was blown off, and found in a Court near 400 yards diſtant from the Tower. In *Cline* Wood belonging to the Duke of *Beaufort* near this Town, there is about 100 large Trees blown down; as alſo in a Wood



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on our River belonging to Mr. *Thomas Mansel* of *Brittonferry* about 80 large Oakes. The Tydes did not much damage, but two Ships were blown off our Bar, and by Providence one came aground on the Salt House point near our Harbour, else the Ship and Men had perished; the other came on shore, but was saved. I hear further, that there are several Stacks of Corn over-turn'd by the violence of the Wind, in the Parishes of *Roysity* and *Largenny* in *Gower*; most of the Thatcht Houses in this Neighbourhood was uncovered. Sir, this you may rely on to be true,

*Yours*, &c.

William Jones.

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*From* Grimsby *in* Lincolnshire, *the following Account is taken for favourable.*

SIR,

THE late dreadful Tempest did not (Blessed be God) much affect us on shore, so far was it from having any events more than common, that the usual marks of ordinary Storms are not to be met with in these parts upon the Land. I wish I could give as good an Account of the Ships then at Anchor in our Road, the whole Fleet consisted of about an hundred Sail

Sail, fifty whereof were wanting after the Storm. The Wrecks of four are to be seen in the Road at low Water their Men all lost: three more were sunk near the *Spurn*, all the Men but one saved, six or seven were driven ashore, and got off again with little or no damage. A small Hoy, not having a Man on Board, was taken at Sea, by a Merchant Ship, what became of the rest, we are yet to learn. This is all the Account I am able to give of the effects of the late Storm, which was so favourable to us. I am

*Sir, Your most Humble Servant,*

Tho. Fairweather.

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*From* Newport *and* Hasting's *the following Accounts are chiefly mentioned to compare what we have from other Inland parts, and particularly in the Letter Printed in the Philosophical Transactions, concerning the Salt being found on the Grass and Trees, at great distance from the Sea, of which there are very authentick Relations.*

*SIR,*

I Received yours, and do hereby give you the best account of what happened by the late Storm in our Island; we have had several Trees blown down, and many Houses in our Town, and all parts of the Island partly un-

 co-

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covered, but Bleſſed be God not one Perſon periſht that I know or have heard of; nor one Ship or Veſſel ſtranded on our ſhores in that dreadful Storm, but only one Veſſel laden with Tin, which was driven from her Anchors in *Cornwal*, but was not ſtranded here till the *Tueſday* after, having ſpent her Main-maſt and all her Sails. On *Sunday* night laſt we had ſeveral Ships and Veſſels ſtranded on the South and South Weſt parts of our Iſland; but reports are ſo various, that I cannot tell you how many, ſome ſay 7, others 8, 12, and ſome ſay 15; one or two laden with Cork, and two or three with *Portugal* Wine, Oranges and Lemons, one with Hides and Butter, one with Sugar, one with Pork, Beef and Oatmeal, and one with Slates. *Monday* night, *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* came on the back of our Iſland, and ſome in at the *Needles*, the Fleet that went out with the King of *Spain*, but it has been here ſuch a dreadful Storm, and ſuch dark weather till this Afternoon, that we can give no true account of them; ſome ſay that have been at the Wrecks this Afternoon, that there were ſeveral great Ships coming in then. There is one thing I had almoſt forgotten, and I think is very remarkable, that there was found on the Hedges and Twigs of Trees, knobs of Salt Congeal'd, which muſt come from the South and South Weſt parts of our Sea Coaſt, and was ſeen and taſted at the diſtance of 6 and 10 miles from

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from thoſe Seas, and this account I had my ſelf from the mouths of ſeveral Gentlemen of undeniable Reputation,

*Yours,*
Tho. Reade.

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*Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, *Jan.* 25. 1703.

*SIR,*

YOu deſire to know what effect the late dreadful Storm of Wind had upon this Town; in anſwer to your deſire, take the following Account. This Town conſiſts of at leaſt 600 Houſes, beſides two great Churches, ſome Publick Buildings, and many Shops ſtanding upon the Beach near the Sea, and yet by the ſpecial Bleſſing and Providence of God, the whole Town ſuffered not above 30 or 40 *l.* damage in their Houſes, Churches, Publick Building and Shops, and neither Man, Woman or Child ſuffered the leaſt hurt by the ſaid Terrible Storm. The Town ſtands upon the Sea ſhore, but God be thanked the Sea did us no damage; and the Tydes were not ſo great as we have ſeen upon far leſs Storms. The Wind was exceeding Boiſterous, which might drive the Froth and Sea moiſture ſix or ſeven miles up the Country, for at that diſtances from the Sea, the Leaves of the Trees and Buſhes, were as Salt as if they

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they had been dipped in the Sea, which can be imputed to nothing elſe, but the Violent Winds carrying the Froſth and Moiſture ſo far. I believe it may be eſteemed almoſt Miraculous that our Town eſcaped ſo well in the late terrible Storm, and therefore I have given you this Account. I am

*Sir, your Friend,*

Stephen Gawen.

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*The following melancholy Account from the Town of* Brighthemſtone *in* Suſſex *is ſent us.*

*SIR,*

THe late dreadful Tempeſt in *Novemb.* 27. 1703. laſt, had very terrible Effects in this Town. It began here much about One of the Clock in the Morning, the violence of the Wind ſtript a great many Houſes, turn'd up the Leads off the Church, over-threw two Windmills, and laid them flat on the ground, the Town in general ( upon the approach of Day-light ) looking as if it had been Bombarded. Several Veſſels belonging to this Town were loſt, others ſtranded, and driven aſhoar, others forced over to *Holland* and *Hamborough*, to the great Impoveriſhment of the Place. *Derick Pain*, Junior, Maſter of the *Elizabeth* Ketch of this Town loſt, with all his Com-

Company. *George Taylor*, Maſter of the Ketch call'd the *Happy Entrance*, loſt, and his Company, excepting *Walter Street*, who ſwiming three days on a Maſt between the *Downs* and *North Yarmouth*, was at laſt taken up. *Richard Webb*, Maſter of the Ketch call'd the *Richard* and *Roſe* of *Brighthelmſton*, loſt, and all his Company near St. *Hellens*. *Edward Friend*, Maſter of the Ketch call'd *Thomas and Francis*, ſtranded near *Portſmouth*: *Edward Glover*, Maſter of the Pink call'd *Richard and Benjamin*, ſtranded near *Chicheſter*, loſt one of his Men, and he, and the reſt of his Company, forced to hang in the Shrouds ſeveral hours. *George Beach*, Junior, Maſter of the Pink call'd *Mary*, driven over to *Hamborough* from the *Downs*, having loſt his Anchor, Cables and Sails. *Robert Kichener*, Maſter of the *Cholmley* Pink of *Brighton*, loſt near the *Roſeant* with nine Men, five Men and a Boy ſaved by another Veſſel. This is all out of this Town, beſides the loſs of ſeveral other able Seamen belonging to this Place, aboard of her Majeſty's Ships, Tranſports and Tenders.

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*From* Lymington *and* Lyme *we have the following Letters:*

*SIR,*

I Receiv'd your Letter, and have made Enquiry concerning what Diſaſters happen'd during the late Storm; what I can learn at pre-

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preſent, and that may be credited, are theſe, That a *Guernſey* Privateer loſt his Fore-top-maſt, and cut his main Maſt by the Board, had 12 Men waſh'd over board, and by the toſs of another immediate Sea three of them was put on board again, and did very well; this was coming within the *Needles*. That ſix Stacks of Chimnies were, by the violence of the Wind, blown from a great Houſe call'd *New Park* in the *Forreſt*, ſome that ſtood directly to Windward, were blown clear off the Houſe without injuring the Roof, or damaging the Houſe, or any miſchief to the Inhabitants, and fell ſome Yards from the Houſe. Almoſt 4000 Trees were torn up by the roots within her Majeſty's Forreſt call'd *New Forreſt*, ſome of them of very great bulk, others ſmall, &c. A Ship of about 200 Tun, from *Maryland*, laden with Tobacco, call'd the *Aſſiſtance*, was Caſt away upon *Hurſt Beach*, one of the Mates, and 4 Sailors, were loſt. By the flowing of the Sea over *Hurſt Beach*, two Salt-terns were almoſt ruin'd belonging to one Mr. *Perkins*. A new Barn, nigh this Town, was blown quite down. The Town receiv'd not much damage, only ſome Houſes being ſtript of the Healing, Windows broke, and a Chimney or two blown down. Conſiderable damages amongſt the Farmers in the adjacent Places, by over-turning Barns, Out-houſes, Stacks of Corn and Hay, and alſo amongſt poor Families, and ſmall Houſes, and

like-

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likewiſe abundance of Trees of all ſorts, eſpecially Elms and Apple-Trees, has been deſtroy'd upon the ſeveral Gentlemen's, and others Eſtates hereabouts. Theſe are the moſt remarkable Accidents that I can Collect at preſent; if any thing occur, it ſhall be ſent you by

*Your humble Servant,*

Lymington, *Feb.* 1704. *James Baker.*

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*A True and exact Account of the Damages done by the late great Wind in the Town of* Lyme Regis, *and parts adjacent in the County of* Dorſet, *as followeth,*

*SIR*

*April.* Five Boats drove out of the Cob and one Veſſel loſt, broke looſe all but one Cabel, and ſwung out of the Cob, but was got in again with little Damage; and had that Hurricane happened here at High Water, the Cob muſt without doubt have been deſtroyed, and all the Veſſels in it been loſt, moſt of the Houſes had ſome Damage: But a great many Trees blown up by the Roots in our Neighbourhood, and four Miles to the Eaſtward of this Town: A *Guernſey* Privateer of eight Guns, and 43 Men drove Aſhoar,

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ſhoar, and but three Men ſaved of the 43; the place where the ſaid Privateer run Aſhoar, is call'd *Sea Town*, half a Mile from *Chideck*, where moſt of there Houſes were uncovered, and one Man killed as he lay in Bed: This is the true Account here, but all Villages ſuffered extreamly in Houſes, Trees, both Elem and Apples without Number.

*Sir, I am your humble Servant,*

Stephen Bowdidge.

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*From* Margate, *and the Iſland of* Thanet *in* Kent, *the following is an honeſt Account.*

*SIR,*

THE following Account is what I can give you, of what Damage is done in this Iſland in the late great Storm; in this Town hardly a Houſe eſcaped without Damage, and for the moſt part of them the Tiles blown totally off from the Roof, and ſeveral Chimneys blown down, that broke through part of the Houſes to the Ground, and ſeveral Families very narrowly eſcaped being kill'd in their Beds, being by Providence juſt got up, ſo that they eſcaped, and none was kill'd; the like Damages being done in moſt little Towns and Villages upon this Iſland, as likewiſe Barns,

Barns, Stables and Out-houſing blown down to the Ground in a great many Farm-houſes and Villages within the Iſland, part of the Leads of our Church blown clear off, and a great deal of Damage to the Church it ſelf; likewiſe a great deal of Damage to the Churches of St. *Lawrance Minſter*, *Minſter* and St. *Nicholas*: In this Road was blown out one *Latchford* of *Sandwich* bound home from *London*, with divers Men and Women paſſengers all totally loſt: And another little Pink that is not heard of blown away at the ſame time, but where it belonged is not known: here rid out the Storm the Princeſs *Anne*, Captain *Charles Gye*, and the *Swan*, both Hoſpital Ships, had no Damage, only Captain *Gye* was parted from one of his Anchors, and part of a Cable which was weigh'd and carryed after him to the River, by one of our Hookers. All from

P. E.

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*From* Malden *in* Eſſex, *and from* Southampton, *the following Accounts*

SIR,

BY the late great Storm our Damages were conſiderable. A Spire of a Steeple blown down: Several Veſſels in this Harbour were

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were much ſhatter'd, particularly one Corn Veſſel laden for *London*, ſtranded, and the Corn loſt to the Value of about 500 *l.* and the Perſons narrowly eſcaped by a ſmall Boat that relieved them next Day: Many Houſes ript up, and ſome blown down: The Churches ſhatter'd, and the principal Inn of this Town thirty or forty pound Damage in Tilling: At a Gentleman's Houſe (one Mr. *Moſes Bourton*) near us, a Stack of Chimneys blown down, fell through the Roof upon a Bed, where his Children was, who were drag'd out, and they narrowly eſcaped; many other Chimney's blown down here, and much Miſchief done.

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*Southampton, February the 7th* 170½.

*SIR,*

YOurs I have receiv'd, in which you deſire me to give you an Account of what remarkable Damage the late violent Storm hath done at this place; in anſwer, We had moſt of the Ships in our River, and thoſe that laid off from our Key's blown Aſhoar, ſome partly torn to Wrecks, and three or four blown ſo far on Shoar with the Violence of the Wind, that the Owners have been at the Charges of unlading them, and dig large Channels for the Spring Tides to float them

off,

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off, and with much a do have got them off, it being on a ſoft Sand or Mud, had but little Damage; we had, God be prais'd no body drowned, tho' ſome narrowly Eſcape't: As to our Town it being moſt part old Building, we have ſuffer'd much, few or no Houſes have eſcape't: Several Stacks of Chimneys blown down, other Houſes moſt part untiled: Several People bruis'd, but none kill'd: Abundance of Trees round about us, eſpecially in the New Foreſt blown down; others with their Limbs of a great bigneſs torn; it being what we had moſt Material. I reſt,

*Sir, your humble Servant,*

Geo. Powell.

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*We have abundance of ſtrange Accounts from other Parts, and particularly the following Letter from the* Downs, *and tho' every Circumſtance in this Letter is not litterally True, as to the Number of Ships, or Lives loſt, and the ſtile Courſe, and Sailor like; yet I have inſerted this Letter, becauſe it ſeems to deſcribe the Horror and Conſternation the poor Sailors were in at that time. And tho' ſo this is Written from one, who was as near an Eye Witneſs as any could poſſibly be, and he [illegible]*



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*S I R,*

THese Lines I hope in God will find you in good Health, we are all left here in a dismal Condition, expecting every moment to be all drowned: For here is a great Storm, and is very likely to continue; we have here the Rear Admiral of the Blew in the Ship, call'd the *Mary*, a third Rate, the very next Ship to ours, sunk, with Admiral *Beaumont*, and above 500 Men drowned: The Ship call'd the *Northumberland*, a third Rate, about 500 Men all sunk and drowned: The Ship call'd the *Sterling Castle*, a third Rate, all sunk and drowned above 500 Souls: And the Ship call'd the *Restoration*, a third Rate, all sunk and drowned: These Ships were all close by us which I saw; these Ships fired their Guns all Night and Day long, poor Souls, for help, but the Storm being so fierce and raging, could have none to save them: The Ship call'd the *Shrewsberry* that we are in, broke two Anchors, and did run mighty fierce backwards, within 60 or 80 Yards of the Sands, and as God Almighty would have it, we flung our sheet Anchor down, which is the biggest, and so stopt: Here we all pray'd to God to forgive us our Sins, and to save us, or else to receive us into his Heavenly Kingdom. If our sheet Anchor had given way, we had been all drown'd: But I humbly thank God

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God, it was his gracious Mercy that saved us. There's one Captain *Hunt*'s Ship, three Hospital Ships, all split, some sunk, and most of the Men drown'd.

There are above 40 Merchant Ships cast away and sunk: To see Admiral *Beaumont*, that was next us, and all the rest of his Men, how they climed up the main Mast, hundreds at a time crying out for help, and thinking to save their Lives, and in the twinkling of an Eye were drown'd: I can give you no Account, but of these four Men of War aforesaid, which I saw with my own Eyes, and those Hospital Ships, at present, by reason the Storm hath drove us far distant from one another: Captain *Crow*, of our Ship, believes we have lost several more Ships of War, by reason we see so few; we lye here in great danger, and waiting for a North Easterly Wind to bring us to *Portsmouth*, and it is our Prayers to God for it; for we know not how soon this Storm may arise, and cut us all off, for it is a dismal Place to Anchor in. I have not had my Cloaths off, nor a wink of Sleep these four Nights, and have got my Death with cold almost.

*Yours to Command,*

Miles Norcliffe.



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I ſend this, having opportunity by our Botes, that went Aſhoar to carry ſome poor Men off, that were almoſt dead, and were taken up Swimming.

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*The following Letter is yet more Particular and Authentick, and being better expreſt, may further deſcribe the Terror of the Night in this place.*

*SIR,*

I Underſtand you are a Perſon concerned in making up a Collection of ſome remarkable accidents that happened by the Violence of the late dreadful Storm. I here preſent you with one of the like. I preſume you never heard before, nor hope may never hear again of a Ship that was blown from her Anchors out of *Helford Haven* to the *Iſle of Wight*, in leſs than eight hours, *viz.* The Ship lay in *Helford Haven* about two Leagues and a half Weſtward of *Falmouth*, being laden with Tin, which was taken on Board from *Guzga*- Wharf, about five or ſix miles up *Helford* River, the Commanders name was *Anthony Jenkins*, who lives at *Falmouth*. About eight a Clock in the Evening before the Storm begun the ſaid Commander and Mate came on Board

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and ordered the Crew that he left on Board, which was but one Man and 2 Boys; that if the Wind ſhould chance to blow hard (which he had ſome apprehenſion of) to carry out the ſmall Bower Anchor, and moor the Ship by 2 Anchors, and gave them ſome other orders, and his Mate and he went aſhoar, and left the Crew aforeſaid on Board; about nine a Clock the Wind began to blow, then they carried out the ſmall Bower (as directed) it continued blowing harder and harder at Weſt North Weſt, at laſt the Ship began to drive, then they were forced to let go the beſt Bower Anchor which brought the Ship up. The Storm increaſing more, they let go the Kedge Anchor, which was all they had to let go, ſo that the Ship rid with four Anchors a head: Between eleven and twelve a Clock the VVind came about VVeſt and by South in a moſt Terrible and Violent manner, that notwithſtanding a very high Hill juſt to VVindward of the Ship, and four Anchors ahead, ſhe was drove from all her Anchors; and about twelve a Clock drove out of the Harbour without Anchor or Cable, nor ſo much as a Boat left in caſe they could put into any Harbour. In dreadful condition the Ship drove out clear of the Rocks to Sea, where the Man with the two Boys conſulted what to do, at laſt reſolved to keep her far enough to Sea, for fear of *Deadman's Head*, being a point of Land



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between *Falmouth* and *Plimouth*, the latter of which places they deſigned to run her in, if poſſible, to ſave their Lives; the next morning in this frighted condition they ſteer'd her clear of the Land (to the beſt of their skill) ſometimes almoſt under VVater, and ſometimes a top, with only the boner of her Foreſail out, and the Fore yard almoſt lower'd to the Deck; but inſtead of getting into *Plymouth* next day as intended, they were far enough off that Port, for the next morning they ſaw Land, which proved to be *Peverel* Point, a little to the Weſtward of the *Iſle of Wight*; ſo that they were in a worſe Conſternation then before, for over-running their deſigned Port by ſeven a Clock, they found themſelves off the *Iſle of Wight*; where they conſulted again what to do to ſave their Lives, one of the Boys was for running her into the *Downs*, but that was objected againſt, by reaſon they had no Anchors nor Boat, and the Storm blowing off ſhore in the *Downs*, they ſhould be blown on the unfortunate *Goodwin Sands* and loſt. Now comes the laſt conſultation for their lives, there was one of the Boys ſaid he had been in a certain Creek in the *Iſle of Wight*, were between the Rocks he believed there was room enough to run the Ship in and ſave their Lives, and deſired to have the Helm from the Man, and he would venture to ſteer the Ship into the ſaid place, which he according did, where there

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there was only just room between Rock and Rock for the Ship to come in, where she gave one blow or two against the Rocks, and sunk immediately, but the Man and two Boys jumpt ashore, and all the Lading being Tin was saved, and for their Conduct and Risk they run they were all very well gratified, and the Merchants well satisfied.

*Your Friend and Servant,*

*May* 28. 1704. R. P.

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'And here I cannot omit that great Notice 'has been taken of the Town-people of *Deal* 'who are blam'd, and I doubt not with too 'much Reason for their great Barbarity in neg-'lecting to save the Lives of abundance of 'poor Wretches; who having hung upon the 'Masts and Rigging of the Ships, or floated 'upon the broken Pieces of Wrecks, had got-'ten a Shore upon the *Goodwin Sands* when the 'Tide was out.

'It was, without doubt, a sad Spectale to 'behold the poor Seamen walking too and fro 'upon the Sands, to view their Postures, and 'the Signals they made for help, which, by 'the Assistance of Glasses was easily seen from 'the Shore.

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'Here they had a few Hours Reprieve, 'but had neither preſent Refreſhment, nor a-'ny hopes of Life, for they were ſure to be 'all waſh'd into another World at the Reflux 'of the Tide. Some Boats are ſaid to come 'very near them in queſt of Booty, and in 'ſearch of Plunder, and to carry off what they 'could get, but no Body concern'd themſelves 'for the Lives of theſe miſerable Creatures.

'And yet I cannot but incert what I have 'receiv'd from very good Hands in behalf of 'one Perſon in that Town, whoſe Humanity 'deſerves this remembrance, and I am glad 'of the Opportunity of doing ſome Juſtice in 'this Caſe to a Man of ſo much Charity in a 'Town of ſo little.

'Mr. *Thomas Powell*, of *Deal*, a Slop-Sel-'ler by Trade, and at that time Mayor of 'the Town. The Character of his Perſon I 'need not dwell upon here, other than the 'enſuing Accounts will deſcribe, for when I 'have ſaid he is a Man of Charity and Cou-'rage, there is little I need to add to it, to 'move the Reader to value both his Perſon, 'and his Memory; and tho' I am otherwiſe 'a perfect Stranger to him, I am very well 'pleaſed to tranſmit to Poſterity the Account 'of his Behaviour, as an Example to all good 'Chriſtians to imitate on the like Occaſions.

'He

'He found himſelf mov'd with Compaſſion 'at the Diſtreſſes of the poor Creatures, whom 'he ſaw as aforeſaid in that miſerable Condi- 'tion upon the Sands, and the firſt Thing he 'did, he made Application to the Cuſtom-Houſe 'Officers for the Aſſiſtance of their Boats and 'Men, to ſave the Lives of as many as they 'could come at, the Cuſtom Houſe Men rude- 'ly refus'd, either to ſend their Men, or to 'part with their Boats.'

Provoked with the unnatural Carriage of 'the Cuſtom Houſe Officers, he calls the 'People about him; and finding ſome of 'the Common People began to be more than 'ordinarily affected with the Diſtreſſes of 'their Countrymen, and as he thought a lit- 'tle enclin'd to venture; he made a general 'Offer to all that would venture out, that he 'would pay them out of his own Pocket 5 s. '*per head* for all the Men whoſe Lives they 'could ſave, upon this Propoſal ſeveral offer- 'ed themſelves to go, if he would furniſh 'em 'with Boats.

'Finding the main Point clear, and that he 'had brought the Men to be willing, he with 'their Aſſiſtance took away the Cuſtom Houſe 'Boats by Force; and tho' he knew he could 'not juſtify it, and might be brought into 'Trouble for it, and particularly if it were

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'loſt, might be oblig'd to pay for it, yet he 'reſolv'd to venture that, rather than hazard the 'loſs of his Deſign, for the ſaving ſo many poor 'Men's Lives, and having Mann'd their Boat 'with a Crew of ſtout honeſt Fellows, he with 'them took away ſeveral other Boats from o-'ther Perſons, who made uſe of them only to 'Plunder and Rob, not regarding the Diſtreſ-'ſes of the poor Men.

'Being thus provided both with Men and 'Boats he ſent them off, and by this means 'brought on Shore above 200 Men, whoſe 'Lives a few Minutes after, muſt infallibly 'ha' been loſt.

'Nor was this the End of his Care, for 'when the Tide came in, and 'twas too late to 'go off again, for that all that were left were 'ſwallow'd up with the Raging of the Sea, his 'Care was then to relieve the poor Creatures, 'who he had ſav'd, and who almoſt dead 'with Hunger and Cold, were naked and 'ſtarving.

'And firſt he applied himſelf to the Queen's 'Agent *for Sick and Wounded Seamen*, but 'he would not relieve them with One Penny, 'whereupon, at his own Charge, he furniſh'd 'them with Meat, Drink and Lodging.

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'The next Day ſeveral of them died, the 'Extremities they had ſuffer'd, having too 'much Maſter'd their Spirits, theſe he was 'forc'd to bury alſo at his own Charge, the A-'gent ſtill refuſing to Diſburſe one Penny.

'After their Refreſhment the poor Men aſ-'ſiſted by the Mayor, made a freſh Applicati-'on to the Agent for Conduct Money to help 'them up to *London*, but he anſwer'd he had 'no Order, and would Diſburſe nothing, 'whereupon the Mayor gave them all Mo-'ney in their Pockets, and Paſſes to '*Graves-End*.

'I wiſh I could ſay with the ſame Freedom, 'that he receiv'd the Thanks of the Govern-'ment, and Reimburſement of his Money as 'he deſerv'd, but in this I have been inform'd, 'he met with great Obſtructions and Delays, 'tho' at laſt, after long Attendance, upon a 'right Application I am inform'd he obtain'd 'the repayment of his Money, and ſome 'ſmall Allowance for his Time ſpent in ſollici-'ting for it.

'Nor can the Damage ſuffered in the River 'of *Thames* be forgot. It was a ſtrange ſight to 'ſee all the Ships in the River blown away; 'the Pool was ſo clear, that, as I remember, 'not above 4 Ships were left between the Up-'per part of *Wapping*, and *Ratcliff Croſs*, for

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'the Tide being up at the Time when the 'Storm blew with the greateſt violence. No 'Anchors or Landfaſt, no Cables or Moor-'ings would hold them, the Chains which lay 'croſs the River for the mooring of Ships, all 'gave way.

'The Ships breaking looſe thus, it muſt be 'a ſtrange ſight to ſee the Hurry and Confuſion 'of it, and as ſome Ships had no Body at all 'on Board, and a great many had none but a 'Man or Boy left on Board juſt to look after 'the Veſſel, there was nothing to be done, 'but to let every Veſſel drive whither and 'how ſhe would.

'Thoſe who know the Reaches of the Ri-'ver, and how they lye, know well enough, 'that the Wind being at South-Weſt Weſter-'ly, the Veſſels would naturally drive into the 'Bite or Bay from *Ratcliff Croſs* to *Lime-houſe* '*Hole*, for that the River winding about a-'gain from thence towards the New Dock at '*Deptford*, runs almoſt due South Weſt, ſo 'that the Wind blew down one Reach, and up 'another, and the Ships muſt of neceſſity 'drive into the bottom of the Angle between 'both.

'This was the Caſe, and as the Place is not 'large, and the Number of Ships very great, 'the force of the Wind had driven them ſo in-

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'to one another, and laid them ſo upon one 'another as it were in heaps, that I think a 'Man may ſafely defy all the World to do 'the like.

'The Author of this Collection had the curi-'oſity the next day to view the place, and to ob-'ſerve the poſture they lay in, which never the-'leſs 'tis impoſſible to deſcribe; there lay, by 'the beſt Account he could take, few leſs than '700 ſail of Ships, ſome very great ones be-'tween *Shadwel* and *Limehouſe* incluſive, the 'poſture is not to be imagined, but by them 'that ſaw it, ſome Veſſels lay heeling off with 'the Bow of another Ship over her Waſte, 'and the Stem of another upon her Fore-Ca-'ſtle, the Boltſprits of ſome drove into the 'Cabbin Windows of others; ſome lay with 'their Sterns toſſed up ſo high, that the Tide 'flowed into their Fore-Caſtles before they 'cou'd come to Rights; ſome lay ſo leaning 'upon others, that the undermoſt Veſſels 'wou'd ſink before the other could float; the 'numbers of Maſts, Boltſprits and Yards ſplit 'and broke, the ſtaving the Heads, and Sterns 'and Carved Work, the tearing and deſtruc-'on of Rigging, and the ſqueezing of Boats to 'pieces between the Ships, is not to be reckon-'ed; but there was hardly a Veſſel to be 'ſeen that had not ſuffer'd ſome damage or o-'ther in one or all of theſe Articles.

'There

'There was ſeveral Veſſels ſunk in this hurry, 'but as they were generally light Ships, the 'damage was chiefly to the Veſſels; but there 'were two Ships ſunk with great quantity of 'Goods on Board, the *Ruſſel* Galley was ſunk 'at *Lime-houſe*, being a great part laden with 'Bale Goods for the *Streights*, and the *Sarah* 'Gally lading for *Leghorn*, ſunk at an Anchor 'at *Blackwall*; and though ſhe was afterwards 'weighed and brought on ſhore, yet her back 'was broke, or ſo otherwiſe diſabled, as ſhe 'was never fit for the Sea; there were ſeveral 'Men drown'd in theſe laſt two Veſſels, but 'we could never come to have the particular 'number.

'Near *Graveſend* ſeveral Ships drove on ſhoar 'below *Tilbury* Fort, and among them five 'bound for the *Weſt Indies*, but as the ſhoar 'is ouzy and ſoft, the Veſſels ſat upright and 'eaſy, and here the high Tides which follow'd, 'and which were the ruin of ſo many in other 'places, were the deliverance of all theſe Ships 'whoſe lading and value was very great, for 'the Tide riſing to an unuſual height, floated 'them all off, and the damage was not ſo great 'as was expected.

'If it be expected I ſhould give an account 'of the loſs, and the particulars relating to 'ſmall Craft, *as the Sailors call it*, in the River

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'it is to look for what is impoſſible, other than 'by generals.

'The Watermen tell us of above 500 Wher-'ries loſt, moſt of which were not ſunk only 'but daſht to pieces one againſt another, or 'againſt the Shores and Ships, where they 'lay: Ship Boats without number were driven 'about in every corner, ſunk and ſtaved, and 'about 300 of them is ſuppoſed to be loſt. 'Above 60 Barges and Lighters were found 'driven foul of the *Bridge*; ſome Printed ac-'counts tell us of ſixty more ſunk or ſtaved 'between the *Bridge* and *Hammerſmith*.

'Abundance of Lighters and Barges drove 'quite thro' the *Bridge*, and took their fate 'below, whereof many were loſt, ſo that we 'Reckon by a modeſt account above 100 'Lighters and Barges loſt and ſpoil'd in the 'whole, not reckoning ſuch as with ſmall 'damage were recovered.

'In all this confuſion it could not be, but 'that many Lives were loſt, but as the *Thames* 'often times Buries thoſe it drowns, there 'has been no account taken. Two Water-'men at *Black Fryars* were drowned, endea-'vouring to ſave their Boat; and a Boat was 'ſaid to be Overſet near *Fulham*, and five Peo-'ple drown'd: According to the beſt account 'I have ſeen, about 22 People were drown'd

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'in the River upon this ſad occaſion, which 'conſidering all circumſtances is not a great 'many, and the damage to Shipping computed 'with the vaſt number of Ships then in the Ri-'ver, the Violence of the Storm, and the 'heighth of the Tide, confirms me in the Truth 'of that Opinion, which I have heard ma-'ny skilful Men own, *viz.* that the Ri-'ver of *Thames* is the beſt Harbour of *Eu-'rope.*

'The highth of the Tide, as I have already 'obſerv'd, did no great damage in the River of '*Thames*, and I find none of the Levels or Marſhes, 'which lye on both ſides the River overflowed 'with it, it fill'd the Cellars indeed at *Graveſ-'end*, and on both ſides in *London*, and the 'Alehouſe-keepers ſuffered ſome loſs as to 'their Beer, but this damage is not worth 'mentioning with what our Accounts give 'us from the *Severn*; which, beſides the par-'ticular Letters we have already quoted, the 'Reader may obſerve in the following, what 'our general intelligence furniſhes us with.

'The Damages in the City of *Glouceſter* they 'compute at 12000 *l.* above 15000 Sheep 'drown'd in the Levels on the ſide of the '*Severne*, and the Sea Walls will coſt, as their 'Accounts tell us, 5000 *l.* to repair, all the 'Country lyes under Water for 20 or 30 'Miles together on both ſides, and the Tide

'roſe

'roſe three Foot higher then the tops of the 'Banks.

'At *Briſtol* they tell us, The Tide fill'd 'their Cellars, ſpoil'd 1000 Hogſheads of Su- 'gar, 1500 Hogſheds of Tobacco and the 'Damage they reckon at 100000 *l.* above 80 'People drown'd in the Marſhes and River, 'ſeveral whole Families periſhing together.

'The Harbour at *Plimouth*, the Caſtle at 'at *Pendennis*, the Cathederal at *Glocester*, 'the great Church at *Berkley*, the Church of 'St. *Stephen's* at *Briſtol*; the Churches at '*Blandford*, at *Bridgewater*, at *Cambridge*, and 'generally the Churches all over *England* have 'had a great ſhare of the Damage.

'In *King Road* at *Briſtol*, the Damage by 'Sea is alſo very great; the *Canterbury* ſtore 'Ship was driven on Shoar, and twenty- 'five of her Men drown'd, as by our account 'of the Navy will more particularly appear, 'the *Richard* and *John*, the *George*, and the '*Grace* ſunk, and the number of People loſt is 'variouſly reported.

'Theſe Accounts in the four laſt Para- 'graphs being abſtracted from the publick 'Prints, and what other Perſons collect, I 'deſire the Reader will obſerve, are not par-



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'ticularly vouch'd, but as they are all true 'in ſubſtance, they are ſo far to be depended 'upon, and if there is any miſtake it relates 'to Numbers, and quantity only.

'From *Yarmouth* we expected terrible 'News, nd every one was impatient till they 'ſaw the Accounts from thence, for as there 'was a very great Fleet there, both of laden 'Colliers, *Ruſſia* Men, and others, there was 'nothing to be expected but a dreadful De-'ſtruction among them.

'But it pleas'd God to order Things there, 'that the loſs was not in Proportion like 'what it was in other Places, not but that it 'was very great too.

'The *Reſerve* Man of War was come in 'but a day or two before, Convoy to the 'great Fleet from *Ruſſia*, and the Captain, Sur-'geon and Clerk, who after ſo long a Voyage 'went on Shoar with two Boats to refreſh 'themſelves, and buy Proviſions, had the 'Mortification to ſtand on Shoar, and ſee the 'Ship ſink before their Faces; ſhe foundred a-'bout 11-a-Clock, and as the Sea went too 'high for any help to go off from the Shoar 'to them, ſo their own Boats being both on 'Shoar, there was not one Man ſav'd; one '*Ruſſia* Ship driving from her Anchors, and

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'running ſoul of a laden Collier ſunk by his 'ſide, but ſome of her Men were ſav'd by 'getting on Board the Collier; three or four 'ſmall Veſſels were driven out to Sea, and 'never heard of more; as for the Colliers, 'tho' moſt of them were driven from their 'Anchors, yet going away to Sea, we have 'not an account of many loſt.

'This next to the Providence of God, I give 'this reaſon for, firſt by all Relations it ap-'pears that the Storm was not ſo violent far-'ther Northward, as it was there; and as it 'was not ſo Violent, ſo neither did it conti-'nue ſo long: Now thoſe Ships, who found 'they could not ride it out in *Yarmouth* Roads, 'but ſlipping their Cables went away to Sea, 'poſſibly as they went away to the Northward, 'found the Weather more moderate at leaſt, not 'ſo violent, but it might be borne with, to this 'may be added, that 'tis well known to ſuch 'as uſe the Coaſt, after they had run the 'length of *Flamboro*, they had the benefit of the 'Weather Shoar, and pretty high land, which 'if they took ſhelter under might help them 'very much; theſe, with other Circumſtances, 'made the Damage much leſs than every Bo-'dy expected, and yet as it was; it was bad 'enough as our Letter from *Hull* gives an 'Account. At *Grimsby* it was ſtill worſe as 'to the Ships, where almoſt all the Veſſels



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'were blown out of the Road, and a great 'many loſt.

'At *Plymouth* they felt a full Proportion of 'the Storm in its utmoſt fury, the *Edyſtone* has 'been mention'd already, but it was a dou-'ble loſs in that, the light Houſe had not 'been long down, when the *Winchelſea*, a 'homeward bound *Virginia* Man was ſplit 'upon the Rock, where that Building ſtood, 'and moſt of her Men drowned.

'Three other Merchant Ships were caſt a-'way in *Plimouth* Road, and moſt of their 'Men loſt: The *Monk* Man of War rod it 'out, but was oblig'd to cut all her Maſts by 'the Board, as ſeveral Men of War did in o-'ther places.

'At *Portſmouth* was a great Fleet, as has 'been noted already, ſeveral of the Ships 'were blown quite out to Sea, whereof ſome 'were never heard of more; the *Newcaſtle* 'was heard off upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, 'where ſhe was loſt with all their Men but '23; the *Reſolution*, the *Eagle* advice Boat, 'and the *Litchfield* Prize felt the ſame fate, 'only ſav'd their Men: From *Cows* ſeveral 'Ships were driven out to Sea, whereof one 'run on Shoar in *Stokes-Bay*, one full of Sol-'diers, and two Merchant Men have never

'been

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'been heard off, as I could ever learn, abun-
'dance of the Ships ſav'd themſelves by cut-
'ting down their Maſts, and others Stranded,
'but by the help of the enſuing Tides got off
'again.

'*Portſmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Weymouth*, and moſt
'of our Sea Port Towns look'd as if they
'had been Bombarded, and the Damage of
'them is not eaſily computed.

'Several Ships from the *Downs* were driven
'over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and ſome ſav'd
'themſelves there; but ſeveral others were
'loſt there.

'At *Falmouth* 11 Sail of Ships were ſtran-
'ded on the Shoar, but moſt of them got off
'again.

'In *Barſtable* Harbour, a Merchant Ship
'outward bound was over-ſet, and the ex-
'preſs-advice Boat very much ſhatter'd, and the
'Key of the Town almoſt deſtroy'd.

'Tis endleſs to attempt any further De-
'ſcription of Loſſes, no place was free either
'by Land or by Sea, every thing that was ca-
'pable felt the fury of the Storm; and 'tis
'hard to ſay, whether was greater the loſs by
'Sea, or by Land; the Multitude of brave



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'ſtout Sailors is a melancholy ſubject, and if 'there be any difference gives the ſad Ballance to the Account of the Damage by Sea.

'We had an Account of about 11 or 12 'Ships droven over for the Coaſt of *Holland*, 'moſt of which were loſt, but the Men ſaved, 'ſo that by the beſt Calculation I can make, 'we have not loſt leſs than 150 ſail of Veſ'ſels of all ſorts by the Storm; the number 'of Men and other damages, are Calculated 'elſewhere.

'We have ſeveral Branches of this Story 'which at firſt were too eaſily credited, and 'put in Print, but upon more ſtrict examina'on, and by the diſcoveries of Time, ap'pear'd otherwiſe, and therefore are not let 'down.

'It was in the deſign to have Collected the 'ſeveral Accounts of the fatal effects of the 'Tempeſt abroad in Foreign Parts; but as 'our Accounts came in from thence too im'perfect to be depended upon; the Collector 'of theſe Papers could not be ſatisfied to offer 'them to the World, being willing to keep 'as much as poſſible to the Terms of his Pre'face.

'We

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'We are told there is an Abſtract to the ſame 'purpoſe with this in *France*, Printed at *Paris*, 'and which contains a ſtrange variety of Ac- 'cidents in that Country.

'If a particular of this can be obtained, the 'Author Promiſes to put it into *Engliſh*, and 'adding to them the other Accounts, which 'the reſt of the World can afford, together 'with ſome other Additions of the *Engliſh* Af- 'fairs, which could not be obtain'd in time 'here ſhall make up the ſecond part of this 'Work.

'In the mean time the Reader may obſerve, '*France* felt the general ſhock the Peers, and 'Ricebank at *Dunkirk*, the Harbour at *Havre 'de Grace*, the Towns of *Calais* and *Bulloign* 'give us ſtrange Accounts.

'All the Veſſels in the Road before *Dun- 'kirk*, being 23 or 27, I am not certain, were 'daſht in pieces againſt the Peer Heads, not 'one excepted, that ſide being a Lee ſhoar, 'the reaſon is plain, there was no going off to 'Sea; and had it it been ſo with us in the 'Downs or *Yarmouth* Roads, it would have 'fared with us in the ſame manner, for had 'there been no going off to Sea, 300 ſail in 'Yarmouth Roads had inevitably periſht.



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At *Diepe* the like mischief happened, and 'in proportion *Paris* felt the effects of it, as 'bad as *London*, and as a Gentleman who came 'from thence since that time, affirmed it to 'me it was much worse.

'All the N. East Countries felt it, in *Holland* our accounts in general are very dismal, 'but the Wind not being N. W. as at former 'Storms, the Tyde did not drown them, nor 'beat so directly upon their Sea Wall.

'It is not very irrational to Judge, that had 'the Storm been more to the North-West, it 'must have driven the Sea upon them in such 'a manner, that all their Dikes and Dams 'could not have sustained it, and what the 'consequence of such an Inundation might ha' 'been they can best judge, who remember the 'last terrible Irruption of the Sea there, which 'drowned several thousand People, and Cattle 'without number.

'But as our Foreign Accounts were not sa-'tisfactory enough to put into this Collection, 'where we have promised to limit our selves 'by just Vouchers, we purposely refer it all 'to a farther description as before.

'Several of our Ships were driven over to 'those parts, and some lost there, and the 'story of our great Ships which rid it out, at

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'or near the *Ganfleet*, ſhould have come in 'here, if the Collector could have met with any 'Perſon that was in any of the ſaid Veſſels, 'but as the accounts he expected did not come 'in the time for the Impreſſion, they were of 'neceſſity left out.

'The *Aſſociation*, a Second Rate, on Board 'whereof was Sir *Stafford Fairborn*, was one 'of theſe, and was blown from the Mouth of 'the *Thames* to the Coaſt of *Norway*, a par- 'ticular whereof as Printed in the Annals of 'the Reign of Queen *Ann*'s is as follows.

An

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## *An Account of Sir* Stafford Fairborne's *Diſtreſs in the late Storm.*

*SIR,*

HER Majeſty's Ship *Aſſociation*, a ſecond Rate of 96 Guns, commanded by Sir *Stafford Fairborne*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and under him Captain *Richard Canning*, ſailed from the *Downs* the 24th of *November* laſt, in Company with ſeven other Capital Ships, under the Command of the Honourable Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Admiral of the White, in their return from *Leghorn* up the River. They anchored that Night off of the *Long-ſand-head*. The next Day ſtruck Yards and Top-Maſts. The 27th about three in the Morning, the Wind at Weſt South Weſt, encreaſed to a Hurricane, which drove the *Aſſociation* from her Anchors. The Night was exceeding dark, but what was more Dreadful, the *Galloper*, a very dangerous Sand, was under her Lee; ſo that ſhe was in Danger of ſtriking upon it, beyond the Power of Man to avoid it. Driving thus at the Mercy of the Waves, it pleaſed God, that about five a Clock ſhe paſſed over the tail of the *Galloper* in ſeven Fathom of Water. The Sea boiſterous and angry, all in a Foam, was ready to ſwal-

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ſwallow her up; and the Ship received at that time a Sea on her Starboard-ſide, which beat over all, broke and waſhed ſeveral half Ports, and forced in the entering Port. She took in ſuch a vaſt quantity of Water, that it kept her down upon her ſide, and every Body believ'd, that ſhe could not have riſen again, had not the Water been ſpeedily let down into the hold by ſcuttling the Decks. During this Conſternation two of the Lower-Gun-Deck-Ports were preſſed open by this mighty weight of Water, the moſt hazardous Accident, next to touching the Ground, that could have happened to us. But the Port, that had been forced open, being readily ſecured by the Direction and Command of the Vice-Admiral, who, though much indiſpoſed, was upon Deck all that time, prevented any farther Miſchief. As the Ship ſtill drove with the Wind, ſhe was not long in this Shoal, (where it was impoſſible for any Ship to have lived at that time) but came into deeper Water, and then ſhe had a ſmoother Sea. However the Hurricane did not abate, but rather ſeemed to gather Strength. For Words were no ſooner uttered, but they were carried away by the Wind, ſo that although thoſe upon Deck ſpoke loud and cloſe to one another, yet they could not often diſtinguiſh what was ſaid; and when they opened their Mouths, their Breath was almoſt taken away. Part

of

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of the Sprit Sail, tho' faſt furled, was blown away from the Yard. A Ten-Oar-Boat, that was laſhed on her Starboard-ſide, was often hove up by the Strength of the Wind, and over-ſet upon her Gun-Wale. We plainly ſaw the Wind skimming up the Water, as if it had been Sand, carrying it up into the Air, which was then ſo thick and gloomy, that Day light, which ſhould have been comfortable to us, did, but make it appear more ghaſtly. The Sun by intervals, peeped through the corner of a Cloud, but ſoon diſappearing, gave us a more melancholick Proſpect of the Weather. About 11 a Clock it diſperſed the Clouds, and the Hurricane abated into a more moderate Storm, which drove us over to the Bank of *Flanders*, and thence along the Coaſt of *Holland* and *Frieſland* to the entrance of the Elb, where the 4th of *December* we had almoſt as violent a Storm, as when we drove from our Anchors, the Wind at North Weſt, driving us directly upon the Shoar. So that we muſt all have inevitably periſhed, had not God mercifully favoured us about 10 a Clock at night with a South Weſt Wind, which gave us an opportunity to put to Sea. But being afterwards driven near the Coaſt of *Norway*, the Ship wanting Anchors and Cables, our Wood and Candles wholly expended; no Beer on Board, nor any thing elſe in lieu; every one reduced to one quart of Water *per* Day,

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the Men, who had been harraſſed at *Belle Iſle*, and in our *Mediterranean* Voyage, now jaded by the continual Fatigues of the Storms, falling ſick every Day, the Vice-Admiral in this exigency thought it adviſable to put into *Gottenbourgh*, the only Port where we could hope to be ſupplied. We arrived there the 11th of *December*, and having without loſt of time got Anchors and Cables from *Copenhagen*, and Proviſions from *Gottenbourgh*, we ſailed thence the Third of *January*, with twelve Merchant Men under our Convoy, all loaden with Stores for her Majeſty's Navy. The Eleventh following we prevented four *French* Privateers from taking four of our Store-Ships. At Night we anchored off the *Long-Sand-Head*. Weighed again the next Day, but ſoon came to an Anchor, becauſe it was very hazy Weather. Here we rid againſt a violent Storm, which was like to have put us to Sea. But after three Days very bad Weather, we weighed and arrived to the *Buoy of the Nore* the 23d of *January*, having run very great Risks among the Sands. For we had not only contrary Winds, but alſo very tempeſtuous Winds. We loſt 28 Men by Sickneſs, contracted by the Hardſhips which they endur'd in the bad Weather; and had not Sir *Stafford Fairborne* by his great care and diligence, got the Ship out of *Gottenbourgh*, and by that prevented her being frozen up, moſt part of the Sail-

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Sailers had periſhed afterwards by the ſeverity of the Winter, which is intolerable Cold in thoſe parts.

## *Of the Damage to the Navy.*

This is a ſhort but terrible Article, there was one Ship called the *York*, which was loſt about 3 days before the great Storm off of *Harwich*, but moſt of the Men were ſaved.

The loſs immediately ſuſtain'd in the Royal Navy during the Storm, is included in the Liſt hereunto annex'd, as appears from the Navy Books.

The damage done to the Ships that were ſav'd, is paſt our Power to compute. The Admiral, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* with the great Ships, had made ſail but the day before out of the *Downs*, and were taken with the Storm as they lay at or near the *Gunfleet*, where they being well provided with Anchors and Cables, rid it out, tho' in great extremity, expecting death every minute.

The

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# A LIST *of such of Her Majesty's Ships, with their Commanders Names, as were cast away by the Violent Storm on* Friday *Night the* 26*th of* November 1703. *the Wind having been from the* S. W. *to* W. S. W. *and the Storm continuing from about Midnight to past Six in the Morning.*

| Rates. | Ships. | Number of Men before the Storm. | Guns | Commanders. | Places where Lost | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fourth | Reserve | 258 | 54 | John Anderson | Yarmouth Roads | 11 Captain, Purser, Master, Chyrurgeon, Clerk and Sixteen Men were Ashore, the rest Drowned. |
| Third | Northumberland | 253 | 70 | James Greenway | | All their Men lost |
| | Restoration | 386 | 70 | Fleetwood Emes | | |
| | Sterling Castle | 349 | 70 | John Johnson | | Third Lieutenant, Chaplain, Clerk, Chyrurgeon's Mate, four Marine Captains, and Seventeen Men saved. |
| Fourth | Mary | 273 | 64 | Rear Admiral Beaumont, Edward Hopson | Goodwin Sands | Only one Man saved by Swimming from Wreck to Wreck, and getting to the Sterling Castle, the Captain, Lieutenant and the Master |
| | Vigo | 212 | 64 | Thomas Lowe | Holland | Her Company all except four |
| Bomb-Vessel | Mortar | 59 | 12 | Raymond Raymond | | |
| Advice Boat | Eagle | 42 | 10 | Nathan. Bullock | Scilly | Their Officers and Men saved |
| Third | Resolution | 211 | 70 | Thomas Lieth | Pamley | |
| Fourth | Newcastle | 233 | 46 | William Carter | Drove from St. Helen's head, and lost upon the Coast near Chichester. | Captain and twenty-three Men saved |
| Storeship | Canterbury | 31 | 8 | Thomas Blake | Bristol | Captain and twenty-five Men drown'd; the Ship recover'd, and ordered to be sold |
| Bomb-Vessel | Portsmouth | 44 | 4 | George Hawes | Nore | Officers and Men lost |

The Van Guard, a Second Rate, was over-set at Chatham, but no Men lost, the Ship not being fitted out

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'The loſs of ſmall Veſſels hir'd into the 'Service, and tending the Fleet, is not inclu-'ded in this, nor can well be, ſeveral ſuch 'Veſſels, and ſome with Soldiers on Board, 'being driven away to Sea, and never heard of 'more.

'The loſs of the *Light-Houſe*, call'd the '*Eddyſtone* at *Plymouth*, is another Article, of 'which we never heard any particulars other 'than this; that at Night it was ſtanding, and 'in the Morning all the upper part from 'the Gallery was blown down, and all the 'People in it periſhed, and by a particular 'Misfortune, Mr. *Winſtanly*, the Contriver 'of it, a Perſon whoſe loſs is very much 'regreted by ſuch as knew him, as a very 'uſeful Man to his Country: The loſs of that '*Light-Houſe* is alſo a conſiderable Damage, 'as 'tis very doubtful whether it will be ever 'attempted again, and as it was a great Security 'to the Sailors, many a good Ship having 'been loſt there in former Times.

'It was very remarkable, that, as we are 'inform'd, at the ſame time the *Light-Houſe* 'aboveſaid was blown down, the Model of it 'in Mr. *Windſtanly*'s Houſe at *Littlebury* in '*Eſſex*, above 200 Miles from the *Light-Houſe*, 'fell down, and was broken to pieces.

'Their

'There are infinite Stories of like nature 'with theſe, the Diſaſters at Sea are full of a 'vaſt variety, what we have recommended to 'the view of the World in this Hiſtory, may 'ſtand as an Abridgment; and the Reader is 'only to obſerve that theſe are the ſhort Re-'preſentations, by which he may gueſs at the 'moſt dreadful Night, theſe parts of the 'World ever ſaw.

'To relate all Things, that report Fur-'niſhes us with, would be to make the ſtory 'exceed common probability, and look like 'Romance.

'Tis a ſad and ſerious Truth, and this part 'of it is preſerv'd to Poſterity to aſſiſt them 'in reflecting on the Judgments of God, and 'handing them on for the Ages to come.



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## *Of the* Earthquake.

THO' this was ſome time after the Storm, yet as the Accounts of the Storm bring it with them in the following Letters, we cannot omit it.

The two following Letters are from the reſpective Miniſters of *Boſton* and *Hull*, and relate to the Account of the Earthquake, which was felt over moſt part of the County of *Lincoln* and the Eaſt Riding of *Yorkſhire*.

The Letter from *Hull*, from the Reverend Mr. *Banks*, Miniſter of the Place, is very particular, and deſerves intire Credit, both from the extraordinary Character of the worthy Gentleman who writes it, and from its exact Correſpondence with other Accounts.

*SIR*,

I Receiv'd yours, wherein you acquaint me with a Deſign that (I doubt not) will meet with that Applauſe and Acceptance from the World which it deſerves; but am in no capacity to be any way ſerviceable to it my ſelf, the late Hurricane having more frighted than hurt us in theſe Parts. I doubt not but your Intelligence in general from the Northern Parts of the Nation, ſupplies you with as little Matter as what you have from theſe hereabouts, it having been leſs violent and miſchievous that way. Some Stacks of Chimneys were over-turn'd here,



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and from one of them a little Child of my own was (thanks be to God) almoſt miraculouſly preſerv'd, with a Maid that lay in the Room with him. I hear of none elſe this way that was ſo much as in danger, the Storm beginning here later than I perceive it did in ſome other Places, its greateſt Violence being betwixt 7 and 8 in the Morning, when moſt People were ſtirring.

The Earthquake, which the Publick Accounts mention to have happen'd at *Hull* and *Lincoln* upon the 28th *ult.* was felt here by ſome People about 6 in the Evening, at the ſame time that People there, as well as at *Grantham* and other Places, perceived it. We have ſome flying Stories about it which look like fabulous, which Credit therefore I wou'd not be anſwerable for; as, that upon *Lincoln-Heath* the Ground was ſeen to open, and Flaſhes of Fire to iſſue out of the Chaſm.

I doubt this Account will hardly be thought worth the Charge of Paſſage: Had there been any thing elſe of note, you had been very readily ſerv'd by,

SIR, *Your Humble Servant,*

*Boſton*, Jan. 8. 1703. E. K.

*SIR,*

I Am afraid that you will believe me very rude, that yours, which I receiv'd the 12th of *April*, has not ſooner receiv'd ſuch an Anſwer as you expect and deſire, and truly I think deſerve

deſerve; for, a Deſign ſo generous, as to undertake to tranſmit to Poſterity, A Memorial of the dreadful Effects of the late terrible Tempeſt (that when God's Judgments are in the World, they may be made ſo publick, as to ingage the Inhabitants of the Earth to learn Righteouſneſs) ought to receive all poſſible Encouragement.

But the true Reaſon why I writ no ſooner, was, Becauſe, by the moſt diligent Enquiries I cou'd make, I cou'd not learn what Harm that dreadful Tempeſt did in the *Humber*; neither indeed can I yet give you any exact Account of it: for, the great Miſchief was done in the Night; which was ſo Pitch-dark, that of above 80 Ships that then rid in the *Humber*, about *Grimsby* Road, very few eſcap'd ſome Loſs or other, and none of 'em were able to give a Relation of any body but themſelves.

The beſt Account of the Effects of the Storm in the *Humber*, that I have yet met with, I received but Yeſterday, from Mr. *Peter Walls*, who is Maſter of that Watch-Tower, call'd the *Spurn-Light*, at the *Humber* Mouth, and was preſent there on the Night of the 26th of *November*, the fatal Night of the Storm.

He did verily believe that his Pharos (which is above 20 Yards high) wou'd have been blown down; and the Tempeſt made the Fire in it burn ſo vehemently, that it melted down the Iron-bars on which it laid, like Lead; ſo that they were forced, when the Fire was by this means almoſt extinguiſhed, to put in new



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Bars, and kindle the Fire a-freſh, which they kept in till the Morning Light appear'd: And then *Peter Walls* obſerved about ſix or ſeven and twenty Sail of Ships, all driving about the *Spurn-Head*, ſome having cut, others broke their Cables, but all diſabled, and render'd helpleſs. Theſe were a part of the two Fleets that then lay in the *Humber*, being put in there by ſtreſs of Weather a day or two before, ſome from *Ruſſia*, and the reſt of 'em *Colliers*, to and from *Newcaſtle*. Of theſe, three were driven upon an Iſland call'd the *Den*, within the *Spurn* in the Mouth of the *Humber*.

The firſt of theſe no ſooner touch'd Ground, but ſhe over-ſet, and turn'd up her Bottom; out of which, only one of ſix (the Number of that Ship's Company) was loſt, being in the Shrowds: the other five were taken up by the ſecond Ship, who had ſav'd their Boat. In this Boat were ſaved all the Men of the three Ships aforementioned (except as before excepted) and came to Mr. *Walls*'s Houſe, at the *Spurn-Head*, who got them good Fires, and all Accommodations neceſſary for them in ſuch a Diſtreſs. The ſecond Ship having no body aboard, was driven to Sea, with the Violence of the Tempeſt, and never ſeen or heard of more. The third, which was then a-ground, was (as he ſuppoſes) broken up and driven; for nothing, but ſome Coals that were in her, was to be ſeen the next Morning.

Another Ship, the Day after, *viz.* the 27th of *November*, was riding in *Grimsby* Road, and the

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the Ships Company (except two Boys) being gone a-ſhore, the Ship, with the two Lads in her, drive directly out of *Humber*, and was loſt, tho' 'tis verily believ'd the two Boys were ſaved by one of the *Ruſſia* Ships, or Conveys.

The ſame Day, in the Morning, one *John Baines*, a *Yarmouth* Maſter, was in his Ship, riding in *Grimsby* Road, and by the Violence of the Storm, ſome other Ships coming foul upon him, part of his Ship was broken down, and was driven towards Sea; whereupon he anchored under *Kilnſey-Land*, and with his Crew came ſafe a-ſhore, in his Boat, but the Ship was never ſeen more.

The remainder of the ſix or ſeven and twenty Sail aforeſaid, being (as was before obſerved) driven out of the *Humber*, very few, if any of 'em, were ever heard of; and 'tis rationally believ'd, that all, or the moſt of them, periſhed. And indeed, altho' the Storm was not ſo violent here as it was about *Portſmouth*, *Yarmouth* Roads, and the Southern Coaſt, yet the Crews of the three Ships above-mentioned declare, that they were never out in ſo diſmal a Night as that was of the 26th of *November*, in which the conſiderable Fleet aforeſaid rid in *Grimsby* Road in the *Humber*; for moſt of the 80 Sail broke from their Anchors, and run foul one upon another; but by reaſon of the Darkneſs of the Night, they cou'd ſee very little of the Miſchief that was done.

This is the beſt Account I can give you at preſent of the Effects of the Tempeſt in the



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*Humber*; whereas had the Enquiry been made immediately after the Storm was over, a great many more of remarkable Particulars might have been diſcover'd.

As to the Earthquake here, tho' I perceiv'd it not my ſelf (being then walking to viſit a ſick Pariſhoner) yet it was ſo ſenſibly felt by ſo many Hundreds, that I cannot in the leaſt queſtion the Truth and Certainty of it.

It happen'd here, and in theſe Parts, upon *Innocent*'s Day, the 28th of *December*, being *Tueſday*, about Five of the Clock in the Evening, or thereabout. Soon after I gave as particular Account as I cou'd learn of it, to that ingenious Antiquary Mr. *Thorsby* of *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, but had no time to keep a Copy of my Letter to him, nor have I leiſure to tranſcribe a Copy of this to you, having ſo conſtant a Fatigue of Parochial buſineſs to attend; nor will my Memory ſerve me to recollect all the Circumſtances of that Earthquake, as I ſent them to Mr. *Thoresby*; and poſſibly he may have communicated that Letter to you, or will upon your leaſt intimation, being a generous Perſon, who loves to communicate any thing that may be ſerviceable to the Publick.

However, leſt I ſhou'd ſeem to decline the gratifying your Requeſt, I will recollect, and here ſet down, ſuch of the Circumſtances of that Earthquake as do at preſent occur to my Memory.

It came with a Noiſe like that of a Coach in the Streets, and mightily ſhak'd both the Glaſs

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Glaſs Windows, Pewter, *China* Pots and Diſhes, and in ſome places threw them down off the Shelves on which they ſtood. It did very little Miſchief in this Town, except the throwing down a Piece of one Chimney. Several Perſons thought that a great Dog was got under the Chair they ſat upon; and others fell from their Seats, for fear of falling. It frighted ſeveral Perſons, and caus'd 'em for a while to break off their Reading, or Writing, or what they were doing.

They felt but one Shake here: but a Gentleman in *Nottinghamſhire* told me, that being then lame upon his Bed, he felt three Shakes, like the three Rocks of a Cradle, to and again.

At *Laceby* in *Lincolnſhire*, and in ſeveral other Parts of that County, as well as of the Counties of *York* and *Nottingham*, the Earthquake was felt very ſenſibly; and particularly at *Laceby* aforeſaid. There happen'd this remarkable Story.

On *Innocent*'s Day, in the Afternoon, ſeveral Morrice-Dancers came thither from *Grimsby*; and after they had Danc'd and play'd their Tricks, they went towards *Allesby*, a little Town not far off: and as they were going about Five a Clock, they felt two ſuch terrible Shocks of the Earth, that they had much ado to hold their Feet, and thought the Ground was ready to open, and ſwallow 'em up. Whereupon thinking that God was angry at 'em for playing the Fool, they return'd immediately to *Laceby* in a great Fright, and the next Day home, not daring to purſue their intended Circuit and Dancing.



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I think 'tis the Obſervation of Dr. *Willis*, that upon an Earthquake the Earth ſends forth noiſome Vapours which infect the Air, as the Air does our Bodies: and accordingly it has prov'd here, where we have ever ſince had a moſt ſickly time, and the greateſt Mortality that has been in this Place for 15 Years laſt paſt: and ſo I believe it has been over the greateſt part of *England*. This, SIR, is the beſt Account I can give you of the Earthquake, which had com'd ſooner, but that I was deſirous to get likewiſe the beſt Account I cou'd of the Effects of the Storm in the *Humber*. My humble Service to the Undertakers: and if in any thing I am capable to ſerve them or you, pleaſe freely to command,

SIR, *Your moſt humble Servant*,
Ro. Banks.

We have a farther Account of this in two Letters from Mr. *Thoresby*, F. R. S. and written to the Publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and printed in their Monthly Collection, No. 289. as follows, which is the ſame mentioned by Mr. *Banks*.

*Part of two Letters from Mr.* Thoresby, F. R. S. *to the Publiſher, concerning an Earthquake, which happen'd in ſome Places of the North of* England, *the 28th of* December 1703.

YOU have heard, no doubt, of the late *Earthquake* that affected ſome part of the North,

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North, as the dreadful Storm did the South. It being moſt obſervable at *Hull*, I was deſirous of an Account from thence that might be depended upon; and therefore writ to the very obliging Mr. *Banks*, Prebendary of *York*, who being Vicar of *Hull*, was the moſt ſuitable Perſon I knew to addreſs my ſelf unto: and he being pleaſed to favour me with a judicious Account of it, I will venture to communicate it to you, with his pious Reflection thereupon. 'As 'to the Earthquake you mention, it was felt 'here on *Tueſday* the 28th of the laſt Month, 'which was *Childermas* Day, about three or 'four Minutes after Five in the Evening. I con-'feſs I did not feel it my ſelf; for I was at that 'moment walking to viſit a ſick Gentleman, 'and the Noiſe in the Streets, and my quick 'Motion, made it impoſſible, I believe, for me 'to feel it: but it was ſo almoſt univerſally felt, 'that there can be no manner of doubt of the 'Truth of it.

'Mr. *Peers*, my Reader, (who is an ingeni-'ous good Man) was then at his Study, and 'Writing; but the heaving up of his Chair and 'his Desk, the Shake of his Chamber, and 'the rattling of his Windows, did ſo amaze 'him, that he was really affrighted, and was 'forc'd for a while to give over his Work: and 'there are twenty ſuch Inſtances amongſt 'Tradeſmen, too tedious to repeat. My Wife 'was then in her Cloſet, and thought her *China* 'would have come about her Ears, and my Fa-'mily felt the Chairs mov'd, in which they were

'ſitting

'ſitting by the Kitchen Fire-ſide, and heard ſuch 'a Rattle of the Pewter and Windows, as almoſt 'affrighted them. A Gentlewoman not far off 'ſaid, her Chair lifted ſo high, that ſhe thought 'the great Dog had got under it, and to ſave 'her ſelf from falling, ſlipt off her Chair. I 'ſent to a Houſe where part of a Chimney was 'ſhak'd down, to enquire of the particulars; 'they kept Ale, and being pretty full of Com-'pany that they were merry, they did not per-'ceive the Shock, only heard the Pewter and 'Glaſs-windows dance; but the Landlady's Mo-'ther, who was in a Chamber by her ſelf, felt 'the Shock ſo violent, that ſhe verily believed 'the Houſe to be coming down (as part of the 'Chimney afore mention'd did at the ſame Mo-'ment) and cried out in a Fright, and had fall'n, 'but that ſhe catched hold of a Table. It came 'and went ſuddenly, and was attended with a 'Noiſe like the Wind, though there was then a 'perfect Calm.

From other Hands I have an Account that it was felt in *Beverly*, and other Places; at *South Dalton* particularly, where the Parſon's Wife (my own Siſter) being alone in her Chamber, was ſadly frighted with the heaving up of the Chair ſhe ſat in, and the very ſenſible Shake of the Room, eſpecially the Widows, *&c.* A Relation of mine, who is a Miniſter near *Lincoln*, being then at a Gentleman's Houſe in the Neighbourhood, was amaz'd at the Moving of the Chairs they ſat upon, which was ſo violent, he writes every Limb of him was ſhaken; I am told

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told alſo from a true Hand, that ſo nigh us as *Selby*, where Mr. *Travers*, a Miniſter, being in his Study writing, was interrupted much as Mr. *Peers* above-mentioned; which minds me of worthy Mr. *Bank*'s ſerious Concluſion. 'And 'now I hope you will not think it unbecoming 'my Character to make this Reflection upon it, 'viz. that Famines, Peſtilences and Earthquakes, 'are joyned by our Bleſſed Saviour, as portend-'ing future Calamities, and particularly the De-'ſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the *Jewiſh* State; if 'not the End of the World, St. *Matth.* 24. 7. 'And if, as Philoſophers obſerve, thoſe gentler 'Convulſions within the Bowels of the Earth, 'which give the Inhabitants but an eaſie Jog, 'do uſually portend the Approach of ſome more 'dreadful Earthquake; then ſurely we have 'Reaſon to fear the worſt, becauſe I fear we 'ſo well deſerve it, and pray God of his infinite 'Mercy to avert his future Judgments.

SInce my former Account of the Earthquake at *Hull*, my Couſin *Cookſon* has procured to me the following Account from his Brother, who is a Clergyman near *Lincoln*, viz, That he, being about Five in the Evening, *December* the 20th paſt, ſet with a neighbouring Miniſter at his Houſe about a Mile from *Navenby*, they were ſurpriz'd with a ſudden Noiſe, as if it had been of two or three Coaches driven furiouſly down the Yard, whereupon the Servant was ſent to the Door, in Expectation of ſome Strangers; but they quickly perceived what it was, by

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by the ſhaking of the Chairs they ſat upon; they could perceive the very Stones move: the greateſt Damage was to the Gentlewoman of the Houſe, who was put into ſuch a Fright, that ſhe miſcarried two Days after. He writes, they were put into a greater Fright upon the Faſt-day; when there was ſo violent a Storm, they verily thought the Church would have fallen upon them. We had alſo at *Leedes* a much greater Storm the Night preceding the Faſt, and a ſtronger Wind that Day, than when the fatal Storm was in the South; but a good Providence timed this well, to quicken our too cold Devotions.

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## *Of remarkable* Deliverances.

AS the ſad and remarkable Diſaſters of this Terrible Night were full of a Diſmal Variety, ſo the Goodneſs of Providence, in the many remarkable Deliverances both by Sea and Land, have their Share in this Account, as they claim an equal Variety and Wonder.

The Senſe of extraordinary Deliverances, as it is a Mark of Generous Chriſtianity, ſo I preſume 'tis the beſt Token, that a good Uſe is made of the Mercies receiv'd.

The Perſons, who deſire a thankful Acknowledgment ſhould be made to their Merciful Deliverer, and the Wonders of his Providence remitted to Poſterity, ſhall never have it to ſay, that

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that the Editor of this Book refus'd to admit ſo great a Subject a Place in theſe Memoirs; and therefore, with all imaginable Freedom, he gives the World the Particulars from their own Mouths, and under their own Hands.

The firſt Account we have from the Reverend Mr. *King*, Lecturer at St. *Martins* in the Fields, as follows.

*SIR*,

THE ſhort Account I now ſend to ſhew the Providence of God in the late Dreadful Storm, (if yet it comes not too late) I had from the Mouth of the Gentleman himſelf, Mr. *Woodgate Giſſer* by Name, who is a Neighbour of mine, living in St. *Martin's-ſtreet* in the Pariſh of St. *Martins* in the Fields, and a Sufferer in the common Calamity; is as follows, *viz.*

Between Two and Three of the Clock in the Morning, my Neighbour's Stack of Chimneys fell, and broke down the Roof of my Garret into the Paſſage going up and down Stairs; upon which, I thought it convenient to retire into the Kitchen with my Family; where we had not been above a Quarter of an Hour, before my Wife ſent her Maid to fetch ſome Neceſſaries out of a Back Parlour Cloſet, and as ſhe had ſhut the Door, and was upon her Return, the very ſame Inſtant my Neighbour's Stack of Chimneys, on the other Side of the Houſe, fell upon my Stack, and beat in the Roof, and ſo drove down the ſeveral

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ſeveral Floors through the Parlour into the Kitchen, where the Maid was buried near Five Hours in the Rubbiſh, without the leaſt Damage or Hurt whatſoever: This her miraculous Preſervation was occaſion'd (as I afterwards with Surprize found) by her falling into a ſmall Cavity near the Bed, and afterwards (as ſhe declar'd) by her creeping under the Teſter that lay hollow by Reaſon of ſome Joices that lay athwart each other, which prevented her periſhing in the ſaid Rubbiſh: About Eight in the Morning, when I helped her out of the Ruins, and asked her how ſhe did, and why ſhe did not cry out for Aſſiſtance, ſince ſhe was not (as I ſuppos'd ſhe had been) dead, and ſo to let me know ſhe was alive; her Anſwer was, that truly ſhe for her Part had felt no Hurt, and was not the leaſt affrighted, but lay quiet; and which is more, even ſlumbred until then.

The Preſervation of my ſelf, and the reſt of my Family, about Eleven in Number, was, next to the Providence of God, occaſion'd by our running into a Vault almoſt level with the Kitchen upon the Noiſe and Alarm of the Falling of the Chimeys, which breaking through three Floors, and about two Minutes in paſſing, gave us the Opportunities of that Retreat. Pray accept of this ſhort Account from

Feb. 12. 1703. *Your Humble Servant, and Lecturer,*

James King, *M. A.*

An-

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Another is from a Reverend Miniſter at ..... whoſe Name is to his Letter as follows.

*SIR*,

I Thank you for your charitable Viſit not long ſince; I could have heartily wiſh'd your Buſineſs would have permitted you to have made a little longer Stay at the Parſonage, and then you might have taken a ſtricter View of the Ruins by the late terrible Wind. Seeing you are pleas'd to deſire from me a more particular Account of that ſad Diſaſter; I have for your fuller Satisfaction ſent you the beſt I am able to give; and if it be not ſo perfect, and ſo exact a one, as you may expect, you may rely upon me it is a true, and a faithful one, and that I do not impoſe upon you, or the World in the leaſt in any Part of the following Relation. I ſhall not trouble you with the Uneaſineſs the Family was under all the fore Part of the Evening, even to a Fault, as I thought, and told them, I did not then apprehend the Wind to be much higher than it had been often on other Times; but went to Bed, hoping we were more afraid than we needed to have been: when in Bed, we began to be more ſenſible of it, and lay moſt of the Night awake, dreading every Blaſt till about Four of the Clock in the Morning, when to our thinking it ſeemed a little to abate; and then we fell aſleep, and

ſlept

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ſlept till about Six of the Clock, at which Time my Wife waking, and calling one of her Maids to riſe, and come to the Children, the Maid roſe, and haſten'd to her; ſhe had not been up above Half an Hour, but all on the ſudden we heard a prodigious Noiſe, as if part of the Houſe had been fallen down; I need not tell you the Conſternation we were all in upon this Alarm; in a Minutes Time, I am ſure, I was ſurrounded with all my Infantry, that I thought I ſhould have been overlay'd; I had not even Power to ſtir one Limb of me, much leſs to riſe, though I could not tell how to lie in Bed. The Shrieks and the Cries of my dear Babes perfectly ſtun'd me; I think I hear them ſtill in my Ears, I ſhall not eaſily, I am confident, if ever, forget them. There I lay preaching Patience to thoſe little Innocent Creatures, till the Day began to appear.

*Preces & Lachrimæ*, Prayers and Tears, the Primitive Chriſtians Weapons, we had great Plenty of to defend us withal; but had the Houſe all fallen upon our Heads, we were in that Fright as we could ſcarce have had Power to riſe for the preſent, or do any thing for our Security. Upon our riſing, and ſending a Servant to view what ſhe could diſcover, we ſoon underſtood that the Chimney was fallen down, and that with its Fall it had beaten down a great part of that End of the Houſe, *viz.* the Upper Chamber, and the Room under it, which was the Room I choſe for my Study: The Chimney was thought as ſtrong, and as well built as moſt

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moſt in the Neighbourhood; and it ſurpriz'd the Maſon (whom I immediately ſent for to view it) to ſee it down: but that which was moſt ſurprizing to me, was the Manner of its Falling; had it fallen almoſt any other Way than that it did, it muſt in all Likelihood have killed the much greater part of my Family, for no leſs than Nine of us lay at that End of the Houſe, my Wife and Self, and Five Children, and Two Servants, a Maid, and a Man then in my Pay, and ſo a Servant, though not by the Year: The Bed my Eldeſt Daughter and the Maid lay in joyned as near as poſſible to the Chimney, and it was within a very few Yards of the Bed that we lay in; ſo that as *David* ſaid to *Jonathan*, there ſeem'd to be but one ſingle Step between Death and us, to all outward Appearance. One Thing I cannot omit, which was very remarkable and ſurprizing: It pleaſed God ſo to order it, that in the Fall of the Houſe two great Spars ſeem'd to fall ſo as to pitch themſelves on an End, and by that Means to ſupport that other Part of the Houſe which adjoined to the Upper Chamber; or elſe in all Likelihood, that muſt alſo have fallen too at the ſame Time. The Carpenter (whom we ſent for forthwith) when he came, ask'd who plac'd thoſe two Supporters, ſuppoſing ſomebody had been there before him; and when he was told, thoſe two Spars in the Fall ſo plac'd themſelves, he could ſcarce believe it poſſible; it was done ſo artificially, that he declar'd, they ſcarce needed to have been removed.



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In ſhort, Sir, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the Danger we were in; you your ſelf was an Eye-witneſs of ſome Part of what is here related; and I once more aſſure you, the whole Account I have here given you is true, and what can be attested by the whole Family. None of all thoſe unfortunate Perſons who are ſaid to have been killed with the Fall of a Chimney, could well be much more expos'd to Danger than we were; it is owing wholly to that watchful Providence to whom we all are indebted for every Minute of our Lives, that any of us eſcaped; none but he who never ſleeps nor ſlumbers could have ſecured us. I beſeech Almighty God to give us All that due Senſe as we ought to have of ſo great and ſo general Calamity; that we truly repent us of thoſe Sins that have ſo long provoked his Wrath againſt us, and brought down ſo heavy a Judgment as this upon us. O that we were ſo wiſe as to conſider it, and to *ſin no more leſt a worſe thing come upon us!* That it may have this happy Effect upon all the ſinful Inhabitants of this Land is, and ſhall be, the Dayly Prayer of Dear Sir,

*Your real Friend and Servant,*

John Gipps.

Another Account from a Reverend Miniſter in *Dorſetſhire*, take as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

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*SIR,*

AS you have desired an Account of the Disasters occasion'd by the late Tempest, (which I can assure you was in these Parts very Terrible) so I think my self oblig'd to let you know, that there was a great Mixture of Mercy with it: For though the Hurricane was frightful, and very mischievous, yet God's gracious Providence was therein very remarkable, in restraining its Violence from an universal Destruction: for then there was a Commotion of the Elements of Air, Earth and Water, which then seemed to outvie each other in Mischief; for (in *David*'s Expression, 2 *Sam.* 22. 8.) *The Earth trembled and quak'd, the Foundations of the Heavens mov'd and shook, because God was angry*: and yet, when all was given over for lost, we found our selves more scar'd than hurt; for our Lives was given us for a Prey, and the Tempest did us only so much Damage, as to make us sensible that it might have done us a great deal more, had it not been rebuk'd by the God of Mercy; the Care of whose Providence has been visibly seen in our wonderful Preservations. My Self and Three more of this Parish were then strangely rescued from the Grave: I narrowly escaped with my Life, where I apprehended nothing of Danger; for going out about Midnight to give Orders to my Servants to secure the House, and Reeks of Corn and Furzes from being blown all away; as soon as I



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mov'd out of the Place were I ſtood, I heard ſome-thing of a great Weight fall cloſe behind me, and a little after going out with a Light, to ſee what it was, I found it to be the great Stone which covered the Top of my Chimney to keep out the Wet; it was almoſt a Yard ſquare, and very thick, weighing about an Hundred and Fifty Pound. It was blown about a Yard off from the Chimney, and fell Edge-long, and cut the Earth, about four Inches deep, exactly be-tween my Foot-ſteps; and a little after, whilſt ſitting under the Clavel of my Kitchen Chim-ney, and reaching out my Arm for ſome Fewel to mend the Fire, I was again ſtrangely preſer-ved from being knock'd on the Head by a Stone of great Weight; it being about a Foot long, Half a Foot broad, and two Inches thick: for, as ſoon as I had drawn in my Arm, I felt ſome-thing bruſh againſt my Elbow, and preſently I heard the Stone fall cloſe by my Foot, a third Part of which was broken off by the Violence of the Fall, and skarr'd my Ancle, but did not break the Skin; it had certainly killed me, had it fallen while my Arm was extended. The Top of my Wheat Rick was blown off, and ſome of the Sheaves were carried a Stones Caſt, and with that Violence, that one of them, at that Diſtance, ſtrock down one *Daniel Fookes* late Servant of the Lady *Napier*, and ſo forci-ably, that he was taken up dead, and to all Ap-pearance remain'd ſo a great while; but at laſt was happily recover'd to Life again. His Mo-ther, poor Widow, was at the ſame time mor-tally

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fatally threatned at Home, and her Bed had certainly prov'd her Grave, had not the firſt Noiſe awaken'd and ſcar'd her out of Bed; and ſhe was ſcarce gotten to the Door, when the Houſe fell all in: The Smith's Wife likewiſe being ſcar'd at ſuch a Rate, leapt out of Bed, with the little Child in her Arms, and ran haſtily out of Doors naked, without Hoſe or Shooes, to a Neighbour's Houſe; and by that haſty Flight, both their Lives were wonderfully preſerved. The Sheets of Lead on *Lytton* Church, were rolled up like Sheets of Parchment, and blown off to a great Diſtance. At *Strode*, a large Apple Tree, being about a Foot in Square, was broken off cleverly like a Stick, about four Foot from the Root, and carried over an Hedge about ten Foot high; and caſt, as if darted, (with the Trunk forward) above fourteen Yards off. And I am credibly inform'd, that at *Ellwood* in the Pariſh of *Abbotsbury*, a large Wheat Riek (belonging to one *Jolyffe*) was cleverly blown, with its Staddle, off from the Stones, and ſet down on the Ground in very good Order. I would fain know of the Atheiſt what mov'd his *Omnipotent Matter* to do ſuch Miſchief, *&c.*

SIR, *I am,*

*Your Affectionate Friend and Servant,*

*though unknown,*

Jacob Cole, *Rect. of* Swyre
in County of *Dorſet.*



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This Account is very remarkable, and well attested, and the Editor of this Collection can vouch to the Reputation of the Relators, tho' not to the Particulars of the Story.

*A great Preſervation in the late Storm.*

ABout Three of the Clock in the Morning, the Violedce of the Wind blew down a Stack of Chimneys belonging to the dwelling Houſe of Dr. *Gideon Harvey*, (ſituate in St. *Martin*'s Lane over againſt the Street End) on the back Part of the next Houſe, wherein dwells Mr. *Robert Richards* an Apothecary, at the Sign of the Unicorn; and Capt. *Theodore Collier* and his Family lodges in the ſame. The Chimney fell with that Force as made them pierce thro' the Roofs and all the Floors, carrrying them down quite to the Ground. The two Families, conſiſting of Fourteen, Men, Women, and Children, beſides Three that came in from the next Houſe, were at that Inſtant diſpos'd of as follows, a Footman that us'd to lie in the back Garret, had not a Quarter of an Hour before remov'd himſelf into the fore Garret, by which means he eſcap'd the Danger: In the Room under that lay Capt. *Collier*'s Child, of Two Months old, in Bed with the Nurſe, and a Servant Maid lay on the Bed by her; the Nurſe's Child lying in a Cribb by the Bed-ſide, which was found, with the Child ſafe in it, in the Kitchen, where the Nurſe and Maid likewiſe found themſelves; their Bed being ſhatter'd in Pieces,

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Pieces, and they a little bruis'd by falling down Three Stories: Capt. *Collier*'s Child was in about Two Hours found unhurt in some Pieces of the Bed and Curtains, which had fallen through Two Floors only, and hung on some broken Rafters in that Place, which was the Parlour: In the Room under This, being one Pair of Stairs from the Street, and two from the Kitchen, was Capt. *Collier* in his Bed, and his Wife just by the Bed-side, and her Maid a little behind her, who likewise found her self in the Kitchin a little bruis'd, and ran out to cry for Help for her Master and Mistress, who lay buried under the Ruins: Mrs. *Collier* was, by the timely Aid of Neighbours who remov'd the Rubbish from her, taken out in about Half an Hours Time, having receiv'd no Hurt but the Fright, and an Arm a little bruis'd: Capt. *Collier* in about Half an Hour more was likewise taken out unhurt. In the Parlour were sitting Mr. *Richards* with his Wife, the Three Neighbours, and the rest of his Family a little Boy of about a Year old lying in the Cradle, they all run out at the first Noise, and escaped. Mrs *Richards* staying a little longer than the rest to pull the Cradle with her Child in it after her with her, but the House fell too suddenly on her, and buried the Child under the Ruins, a Rafter fell on her Foot, and bruis'd it a little, at which she likewise made her Escape, and brought in the Neighbours, who soon uncovered the Head of the Cradle, and cutting it off, took the Child out alive and well. This wonderful Preservation being worthy to be transmitted to Posterity,



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we do attest to be true in every Particular. Witness our Hands,

*Gideon Harvey.*
*Theo. Collier.*
*Robert Richards.*

*London*, Nov. 27. 1703.

These Accounts of like Nature are particularly attested by Persons of known Reputation and Integrity.

*SIR*,

IN order to promote the good Design of your Book, in perpetuating the Memory of God's signal Judgment on this Nation, by the late dreadful Tempest of Wind, which has hurl'd so many Souls into Eternity; and likewise his Providence in the miraculous Preservation of several Persons Lives, who were expos'd to the utmost Hazards in that Hurricane: I shall here give you a short but true Instance of the latter, which several Persons can witness besides my self; and if you think proper may insert the same in the Book you design for that Purpose; which is as follows. At the *Saracen's* Head in *Friday* Street, a Country Lad lodging three Pair of Stairs next the Roof of the House, was wonderfully preserv'd from Death; for about Two a Clock that *Saturday* Morning the 27th of *November*, (which prov'd fatal to so many) there fell a Chimney upon the Roof, under which he lay, and beat it down through the Ceiling (the Weight of the Tiles, Bricks, *&c.* being judged by a Workman

to

to be about Five Hundred Weight) into the Room, fell exactly between the Beds Feet and Door of the Room, which are not Two Yards diſtance from each other, it being but ſmall: the ſudden Noiſe awaking the Lad, he jumps out of Bed endeavouring to find the Door, but was ſtopt by the great Duſt and falling of more Bricks, *&c.* and finding himſelf prevented, in this Fear he got into Bed again, and remain'd there till the Day Light, (the Bricks and Tiles ſtill falling between-whiles about his Bed) and then got up without any Hurt, or ſo much as a Tile or Brick falling on the Bed; the only thing he complain'd of to me, was his being almoſt choak'd with Duſt when he got out of Bed, or put his Head out from under the Cloaths: There was a great Weight of Tiles and Bricks, which did not break through, as the Workmen inform me, juſt over the Beds Teſter, enough to have cruſh'd him to Death, if they had fallen: Thus he lay ſafe among the Dangers that threatned him, whilſt wakeful Providence preſerv'd him. And SIR, if this be worthy your taking Notice of, I am ready to juſtify the ſame. In Witneſs whereof, here is my Name,

Dec. 3. 1703. *Henry Myers.*

*A great Preſervation in the late Storm.*

*William Phelps* and *Frances* his Wife, living at the Corner of *Old Southampton Buildings*, over againſt *Gray's-Inn Gate* in *Holborn*, they

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they lying up three pair of Stairs, in the Back-room, that was only lath'd and plaiſter'd, he being then very ill, ſhe was forc'd to lie in a Table-Bed in the ſame Room: about One a Clock in the Morning, on the 27th of *November* laſt, the Wind blew down a Stack of Chimneys of ſeven Funnels that ſtood very high; which broke through the Roof, and fell into the Room, on her Bed; ſo that ſhe was buried alive, as one may ſay: ſhe crying out, *Mr.* Phelps, *Mr.* Phelps, *the Houſe is fall'n upon me*, there being ſo much on her that one could but juſt hear her ſpeak; a Coachman and a Footman lying on the ſame Floor, I ſoon call'd them to my Aſſiſtance. We all fell to work, tho' we ſtood in the greateſt Danger; and through the Goodneſs of God we did take her out, without the leaſt hurt; neither was any of us hurt, tho' there was much fell after we took her out. And when we took the Bricks off the Bed the next Morning, we found the Frame of the Bed on which ſhe lay broke all to pieces.

*William Phelps.*

*Another great Preſervation.*

MR. *John Hanſon*, Regiſter of *Eaton College*, being at *London* about his Affairs, and lying that dreadful Night, *Nov.* 26, at the *Bell-Savage Inn* on *Ludgate Hill*, was, by the Fall of a Stack of Chimneys (which broke through the Roof, and beat down two Floors above him, and alſo that in which he lay) carried in his Bed

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Bed down to the Ground, without the leaſt hurt, his Cloaths, and every thing beſides in the Room, being buried in the Rubbiſh; it having pleaſed God ſo to order it, that juſt ſo much of the Floor and Ceiling of the Room (from which he fell) as covered his Bed, was not broken down. Of this great Mercy he prays he may live for ever mindful, and be for ever thankful to Almighty God.

*SIR,*

THE Deſign of your Collecting the remarkable Accidents of the late Storm coming to my Hands, I thought my ſelf obliged to take this Opportunity of making a publick Acknowledgment of the wonderful Providence of Heaven to me, namely, the Preſervation of my only Child from imminent Danger.

Two large Stacks of Chimneys, containing each five Funnels, beat through the Roof, in upon the Bed where ſhe lay, without doing her the leaſt Harm, the Servant who lay with her being very much bruiſed. There were ſeveral Loads of Rubbiſh upon the Bed before my Child was taken out of it.

This extraordinary Deliverance I deſire always thankfully to remember.

I was ſo nearly touch'd by this Accident, that I could not take ſo much notice as I intended of this Storm; yet I obſerv'd the Wind gradually to encreaſe from One a Clock till a Quarter after Five, or thereabouts: at which time it ſeem'd

to

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to be at the higheſt; when every Guſt did not only return with greater Celerity, but alſo with more Force.

From about a Quarter before Six, it ſenſibly decreas'd. I went often to the Door, at which times I obſerv'd, that every Guſt was preceded by ſmall Flaſhes, which, to my Obſervation, did not dart perpendicularly, but ſeem'd rather to ſkim along the Surface of the Ground; nor did they appear to be of the ſame kind with the common Light'ning Flaſhes.

I muſt confeſs I cannot help thinking that the Earth it ſelf ſuffer'd ſome Convulſion; and that for this Reaſon, becauſe ſeveral Springs, for the ſpace of 48 Hours afterwards, were very muddy, which were never known to be ſo by any Storm of Wind or Rain before: nor indeed is it poſſible, they lying ſo low, could be affected by any thing leſs than a Concuſſion of the Earth it ſelf.

How far theſe ſmall Hints may be of uſe to the more ingenious Enquirers into this matter, I ſhall humbly leave to their Conſideration, and ſubſcribe my ſelf,

SIR, *Your humble Servant,*

*Dec.* 8. 1703. Joſeph Clench,
*Apothecary in* Jermyn *Street, near* St. James's.

*SIR,*

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*SIR,*

THis comes to let you know that I received yours in the *Downs*, for which I thank you. I expected to have ſeen you in *London* before now, had we not met with a moſt violent Storm in our way to *Chatham*. On the 27th of the laſt Month, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, we loſt all our Anchors and drove to Sea: about Six we loſt our Rother, and were left in a moſt deplorable condition to the mercileſs Rage of the Wind and Seas: we alſo ſprung a Leak, and drove 48 Hours expecting to periſh. But it pleaſed God to give us a wonderful Deliverance, ſcarce to be parallell'd in Hiſtory; for about Midnight we were drove into ſhoul Water, and ſoon after our Ship ſtruck upon the Sands: the Sea broke over us, we expected every minute that ſhe would drop to pieces, and that we ſhould all be ſwallowed up in the Deep; but in leſs than two hours time we drove over the Sands, and got (without Rother or Pilot, or any Help but Almighty God's) into this Place, where we run our Ship on ſhore, in order to ſave our Lives: but it has pleaſed God alſo, far beyond our expectation, to ſave our Ship, and bring us ſafe off again laſt Night. We ſhall remain here a conſiderable while to refit our Ship, and get a new Rother. Our Deliverance is moſt remarkable, that in the middle of a dark Night we ſhould drive over a Sand where a Ship that was not half our Bigneſs durſt

not

not venture to come in the Day; and then, without knowing where we were, drive into a narrow place where we have ſaved both Lives and Ship. I pray God give us all Grace to be thankful, and never forget ſo great a mercy.

I am,

*Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,*

*Roſſel*, at *Helverſluce* in *Holland*, Dec. 16. 1703. Henry Barclay.

*SIR*,

ACcording to the publick Notice, I ſend you two or three Obſervations of mine upon the late dreadful Tempeſt: As,

1. In the Pariſh of St. *Mary Cray*, *Kent*, a poor Man, with his Wife and Child, were but juſt gone out of their Bed, when the Head of their Houſe fell in upon it; which muſt have kill'd them.

2. A great long Stable in the Town, near the Church, was blown off the Foundation entirely at one ſudden Blaſt, from the Weſt-ſide to the Eaſt, and caſt out into the High-way, over the Heads of five Horſes, and a Carter feeding them at the ſame time, and not one of them hurt, nor the Rack or Manger touch'd, which are yet ſtanding to the Admiration of all Beholders.

3. As the Church at *Heyes* received great Damage, ſo the Spire, with one Bell in it, were blown away over the Church-yard.

4. The Miniſter of *South-Aſh* had a great Deliverance from a Chimney falling in upon his Bed

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Bed juſt as he roſe, and hurt only his Feet; as bleſſed be God, our Lives have been all very miraculouſly preſerv'd, tho' our Buildings every where damag'd. You may depend on all, as certify'd by me,

Thomas Watts,
*Vicar of* Orpington *and St.* Mary Cray.

There are an innumerable variety of Deliverances, beſides theſe, which deſerve a Memorial to future Ages; but theſe are noted from the Letters, and at the Requeſt of the Perſons particularly concern'd.

Particularly, 'tis a moſt remarkable Story of a Man belonging to the *Mary*, a fourth Rate Man of War, loſt upon the *Goodwin Sands*; and all the Ship's Company but himſelf being loſt, he, by the help of a piece of the broken Ship, got a-board the *Northumberland*; but the Violence of the Storm continuing, the *Northumberland* ran the ſame fate with the *Mary*, and coming on ſhore upon the ſame Sand, was ſplit to pieces by the Violence of the Sea: and yet this Perſon, by a ſingular Providence, was one of the 64 that were delivered by a *Deal Hooker* out of that Ship, all the reſt periſhing in the Sea.

A poor Sailor of *Brighthelmſton* was taken up after he had hung by his Hands and Feet on the top of a Maſt 48 hours, the Sea raging ſo high, that no Boat durſt go near him.

A Hoy run on ſhore on the Rocks in *Milford* Haven, and juſt ſplitting to pieces (as by Captain *Seam*'s Letter) a Boat drove by, being broke

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broke from another Veſſel, with no body in it, and came ſo near the Veſſel, as that two Men jumpt into it, and ſav'd their Lives: the Boy could not jump ſo far, and was drowned.

Five Sailors ſhifted three Veſſels on an Iſland near the *Humber*, and were at laſt ſav'd by a Long-boat out of the fourth.

A Waterman in the River of *Thames* lying aſleep in the Cabbin of a Barge, at or near *Black-Fryers*, was driven thro' Bridge in the Storm, and the Barge went of her ſelf into the *Tower-Dock*, and lay ſafe on ſhore; the Man never wak'd, nor heard the Storm, till 'twas Day; and, to his great Aſtoniſhment, he found himſelf ſafe as above.

Two Boys in the *Poultry* lodging in a Garret or Upper-room, were, by the Fall of Chimneys, which broke thro' the Floors, carried quite to the bottom of the Cellar, and receiv'd no Damage at all.

*SIR*,

AT my Return home on *Saturday* at Night, I receiv'd yours: and having ſaid nothing in my laſt concerning the Storm, I ſend this to tell you, that I hear of nothing done by it in this Country that may ſeem to deſerve a particular Remark. Several Houſes and Barns were ſtript of their Thatch, ſome Chimneys and Gables blown down, and ſeveral Stacks of Corn and Hay very much diſpers'd; but I hear not of any Perſons either kill'd or maim'd. A Neighbour

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of ours was upon the Ridge of his Barn endeavouring to ſecure the Thatch, and the Barn at that inſtant was overturn'd by the Storm; but by the good Providence of God, the Man received little or no harm. I ſay no more, not knowing of any thing more remarkable. I am ſorry that other Places were ſuch great Sufferers, and I pray God avert the like Judgments for the future. I am

*Your real Friend to ſerve you,*

*Orby*, Dec. 18. 1703.

Hen. Marſhal.

*SIR*,

I Have no particular Relation to make to you of any Deliverance in the late Storm, more than was common with me to all the reſt that were in it: but having, to divert melancholly Thoughts while it laſted, turn'd into Verſe the CXLVIII Pſalm to the 9th, and afterwards all the Pſalm; I give you leave to publiſh it with the reſt of thoſe Memoirs on that Occaſion you are preparing for the Preſs.

SIR, *Your*, &c.

Henry Squier.

I. Verſe 1, 2.

*HAllelujah: From Heav'n*
*The tuneful Praiſe begin;*
*Let Praiſe to God be giv'n*
*Beyond the Starry Scene:*
*Ye Angels ſing*
*His joyful Praiſe;*
*Your Voices raiſe*
*Ye ſwift of Wing.*

S II.

II. 3, 4.

*Praiſe him, thou radiant Sun,*
*The Spring of all thy Light;*
*Praiſe him thou changing Moon,*
*And all the Stars of Night:*
*Ye Heav'ns declare*
*His glorious Fame;*
*And waves that ſwim*
*Above the Sphere.*

III. 5, 6.

*Let all his Praiſes ſing,*
*His Goodneſs and his Power,*
*For at his Call they ſpring,*
*And by his Grace endure;*
*That joins 'em faſt,*
*The Chain is fram'd,*
*Their Bounds are nam'd,*
*And never paſt.*

IV. 7, 8.

*Thou Earth his Praiſe proclaim,*
*Devouring Gulfs and Deeps;*
*Ye Fires, and fire-like Flame,*
*That o'er the Meadows ſweeps;*
*Thou rattling Hail,*
*And flaky Snow,*
*And Winds that blow*
*To do his Will.*

V. 9, 10.

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V. 9, 10.

*Ye Prodigies of Earth,*
*And Hills of leſſer ſize,*
*Cedars of nobler Birth,*
*And all ye fruitful Trees;*
*His Praiſes ſhow*
*All things that move,*
*That fly above,*
*Or creep below.*

VI. 11, 12.

*Monarchs, and ye their Praiſe,*
*The num'rous Multitude;*
*Ye Judges, Triumphs raiſe;*
*And all of nobler Blood:*
*Of ev'ry kind,*
*And ev'ry Age,*
*Your Hearts engage,*
*In Praiſes join'd.*

VII. 13, 14.

*Let all his glorious Name*
*Unite to celebrate;*
*Above the Heaven's his Fame;*
*His Fame that's only great:*
*His Peoples Stay*
*And Praiſe is He,*
*And e're will be:*
*Hallelujah.*



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The two following Letters, coming from Perſons in as great Danger as any could be, are plac'd here, as proper to be call'd Deliverances of the greateſt and ſtrangeſt kind.

*From on board a Ship blown out of the* Downs *to* Norway.

*SIR*,

I Cannot but write to you of the Particulars of our ſad and terrible Voyage to this Place. You know we were, by my laſt, riding ſafe in the *Downs*, waiting a fair Wind, to make the beſt of our way to *Portſmouth*, and there to expect the *Lisbon* Convoy.

We had had two terrible Storms, one on the *Friday* before, and one on *Thurſday*; the one the 18th, the other the 25th of *November*: In the laſt I expected we ſhou'd have founder'd at an Anchor; for our Ground Tackle being new and very good held us faſt, but the Sea broke upon us ſo heavy and quick, that we were in danger two or three times of Foundring as we rod: but, as it pleas'd God we rid it out, we began to think all was over, and the Bitterneſs of Death was paſt.

There was a great Fleet with us in the *Downs*, and ſeveral of them were driven from their Anchors, and made the beſt of their way out to Sea for fear of going on ſhore upon the *Goodwin*. the Grand Fleet was juſt come in from the *Streights*, under Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*; and the Great Ships being deſign'd for the River, lay to Lee-

Leeward: Moſt of the Ships that went out in the Night appear'd in the Morning; and I think there was none known to be loſt, but one *Dutch* Veſſel upon the *Goodwin*.

But the next Day, being *Friday*, in the Evening, it began to gather to Windward; and as it had blown very hard all Day, at Night the Wind freſhen'd, and we all expected a ſtormy Night. We ſaw the Men of War ſtrouk their Top-maſts, and rode with two Cables an-end: ſo we made all as *ſnug* as we could, and prepar'd for the worſt.

In this condition we rid it out till about 12 a-clock; when, the Fury of the Wind encreaſing, we began to ſee Deſtruction before us: the Objects were very dreadful on every ſide; and tho' it was very dark, we had Light enough to ſee our own Danger, and the Danger of thoſe near us. About One-a-clock the Ships began to drive, and we ſaw ſeveral come by us without a Maſt ſtanding, and in the utmoſt Diſtreſs.

By Two a-clock we could hear Guns firing in ſeveral Parts of this Road, as Signals of Diſtreſs; and tho' the Noiſe was very great with the Sea and Wind, yet we could diſtinguiſh plainly, in ſome ſhort Intervals, the Cries of poor Souls in Extremities.

By Four-a-clock we miſs'd the *Mary* and the *Northumberland*, who rid not far from us, and found they were driven from their Anchors; but what became of them, God knows: and ſoon after a large Man of War came driving down upon us, all her Maſts gone, and in a



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dreadful Condition. We were in the utmoſt Deſpair at this ſight, for we ſaw no avoiding her coming thwart *our Haiſer:* ſhe drove at laſt ſo near us, that I was juſt going to order the Mate to cut away, when it pleas'd God the Ship ſheer'd contrary to our Expectation to Windward, and the Man of War, which we found to be the *Sterling Caſtle*, drove clear off us, not two Ships Lengths to Leeward.

It was a Sight full of terrible Particulars, to ſee a Ship of Eighty Guns and about Six Hundred Men in that diſmal Caſe; ſhe had cut away all her Maſts, the Men were all in the Confuſions of Death and Deſpair; ſhe had neither Anchor, nor Cable, nor Boat to help her; the Sea breaking over her in a terrible Manner, that ſometimes ſhe ſeem'd all under Water; and they knew, as well as we that ſaw her, that they drove by the Tempeſt directly for the *Goodwin*, where they could expect nothing but Deſtruction: The Cries of the Men, and the firing their Guns, One by One, every Half Minute for Help, terrified us in ſuch a Manner, that I think we were half dead with the Horror of it.

All this while we rid with two Anchors a-head, and in great Diſtreſs: To fire Guns for Help, I ſaw was to no Purpoſe, for if any Help was to be had, there were ſo many other Objects for it, that we could not expect it, and the Storm ſtill encreaſing.

Two Ships, a-head of us, had rid it out till now, which was towards Five in the Morning, when

when they both drove from their Anchors, and one of them coming foul of a ſmall *Pink*, they both ſunk together; the other drove by us, and having one Maſt ſtanding, I think it was her Main-Maſt, ſhe attempted to ſpread a little Peak of her Sail, and ſo ſtood away before it; I ſuppoſe ſhe went away to Sea.

At this time, the Raging of the Sea was ſo violent, and the Tempeſt doubled its Fury in ſuch a Manner, that my Mate told me, we had better go away to Sea, for 'twould be impoſſible to ride it out; I was not of his Opinion, but was for cutting my Maſts by the Board, which at laſt we did, and parted with them with as little Damage as could be expected, and we thought ſhe rid eaſier for it by a great deal; and I believe, had it blown two Hours longer, we ſhould have rid it out, having two new Cables out, and our beſt Bower and Sheet Anchor down: But about Half an Hour after Five to Six, it blew, if it be poſſible to conceive it ſo, as hard again as it had done before, and firſt our beſt Bower Anchor came Home, the Mate, who felt it give way, cried out, we are all undone, for the Ship drove; I found it too true, and, upon as ſhort a Conſultation as the Time would admit, we concluded to put out to Sea before we were driven too far to Leward, when it would be impoſſible to avoid the *Goodwin*.

So we ſlipt our Sheet Cable, and ſheering the Ship towards the Shore, got her Head about, and ſtood away afore it; Sail we had none, nor Maſt ſtanding: Our Mate had ſet up a Jury



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Miſſen but no Canvaſs could bear the Fury of the Wind, yet he faſten'd an old Tarpaulin ſo as that it did the Office of a Miſſen and kept us from driving too faſt to Leeward.

In this Condition we drove out of the *Downs*, and paſt ſo near the *Goodwin*, that we could ſee ſeveral great Ships faſt a ground, and beating to Pieces. We drove in this deſperate Condition till Day-break, without any Abatement of the Storm, and our Men heartleſs and diſpirited, tir'd with the Service of the Night, and every Minute expecting Death.

About 8 a Clock, my Mate told me, he perceiv'd the Wind to abate; but it blew ſtill ſuch a Storm, that if we had not had a very tite Ship, ſhe muſt have founder'd, as we were now farther off at Sea, and by my Gueſs might be in the mid Way between *Harwich* and the *Brill*, the Sea we found run longer, and did not break ſo quick upon us as before, but it ran exceeding high, and we having no Sail to keep us to rights, we lay wallowing in the Trough of the Sea in a miſerable Condition: We ſaw ſeveral Ships in the ſame Condition with our ſelves, but could neither help them, nor they us; and one we ſaw founder before our Eyes, and all the People periſh'd.

Another diſmal Object we met with, which was an open Boat full of Men, who, as we may ſuppoſe, had loſt their Ship; any Man may ſuppoſe, what Condition a Boat muſt be in, if we were in ſo bad a Caſe in a good Ship: we were ſoon toſt out of their Sight, and what became

of

of them any one may gueſs; if they had been within Cables Length of us we could not have help'd them.

About Two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Wind encreaſed again, and we made no doubt it would prove as bad a Night as before; but that Guſt held not above Half an Hour.

All Night it blew exceſſive hard, and the next Day, which was Sabbath Day, about Eleven a Clock it abated, but ſtill blew hard: about three it blew ſomething moderately, compar'd with the former; and we got up a Jury Main-Maſt, and rigg'd it as well as we could, and with a Main Sail lower'd almoſt to the Deck, ſtood at a great Rate afore it all Night and the next Day, and on *Tueſday* Morning we ſaw Land, but could not tell where it was; but being not in a Condition to keep the Sea, we run in, and made Signals of Diſtreſs; ſome Pilots came off to us, by whom we were inform'd we had reached the Coaſt of *Norway*, and having neither Anchor nor Cable on board capable to ride the Ship, a *Norweigian* Pilot came on board, and brought us into a Creek where we had ſmooth Water, and lay by till we got Help, Cables, and Anchors, by which means we are ſafe in Place.

*Your Humble Servant,*

J. Adams.

*From*

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*From on board the* John *and* Mary, *riding in* Yarmouth *Roads during the great Storm, but now in the River of* Thames.

*SIR,*

HEaring of your good Deſign of preſerving the Memory of the late Dreadful Storm for the Benefit of Poſterity, I cannot let you want the Particulars as happen'd to us on board our Ship.

We came over the Bar of *Tinmouth* about the having had terrible blowing Weather for almoſt a Week, inſomuch that we were twice driven back almoſt the Length of *Newcaſtle*, with much Difficulty and Danger we got well over that, and made the *High-land* about *Cromer* on the North-ſide of *Norfolk*; here it blew ſo hard the *Wedneſday* Night before, that we could not keep the Sea, nor fetch the Roads of *Yarmouth*; but as the Coaſt of *Norfolk* was a Weather-ſhore, we hall'd as cloſe *Cromer* as we durſt lie, the Shore there being very flat; here we rode *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday*, the 24th and 25th of *November*.

We could not reckon our ſelves ſafe here, for as this is the moſt dangerous Place between *London* and *Newcaſtle*, and has been particularly fatal to our Colliers, ſo we were very uneaſy: I conſidered that when ſuch Tempeſtuous Weather happen'd, as this ſeem'd to threaten, nothing is more frequent than for the Wind to ſhift Points; and

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and if it ſhould have blown half the Wind from the South Eaſt, as now blew from the South Weſt, we muſt have gone a-ſhore there, and been all loſt for being embayed; there we ſhould have had no putting out to Sea, nor ſtaying there.

This Conſideration made me reſolve to be gon, and thinking on *Friday* Morning the Wind ſlacken'd a little, I weigh'd and ſtood away for *Yarmouth* Roads; and with great Beating and Labour got into the Roads about One in the Afternoon, being a little after Flood, we found a very great Fleet in the Roads; there was above Three Hundred Sail of Colliers, not reckoning above Thirty Sail which I left behind me, that rode it out thereabouts, and there was a great Fleet juſt come from *Ruſſia*, under the Convoy of the *Reſerve* Frigate, and Two other Men of War; and about a Hundred Sail of Coasters, *Hull*-Men, and ſuch ſmall Craft.

We had not got to an Anchor, moor'd, and ſet all to Rights, but I found the Wind freſhen'd, the Clouds gather'd, and all look'd very black to Windward; and my Mate told me, he wiſh'd he had ſtaid where we were, for he would warrant it we had a blowing Night of it.

We did what we could to prepare for it, ſtruck our Top-maſt, and ſlung our Yards, made all tite and faſt upon Deck; the Night prov'd very dark, and the Wind blew a Storm about Eight a Clock, and held till Ten, when we thought it abated a little, but at Eleven it freſhen'd

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freſhen'd again, and blew very hard; we rid it out very well till Twelve, when we veer'd out more Cable, and in about Half an Hour after, the Wind encreaſing, let go our Sheet Anchor; by One a Clock it blew a dreadful Storm, and though our Anchors held very well, the Sea came over us in ſuch a vaſt Quantity, that we was every Hour in Danger of Foundring: About Two a Clock the Sea fill'd our Boat as ſhe lay upon the Deck, and we was glad to let her go over board for Fear of having in our Decks: Our Mate would then have cut our Maſt by the Board, but I was not willing, and told him, I thought we had better ſlip our Cables, and go out to Sea, he argued ſhe was a deep Ship, and would not live in the Sea, and was very eager for cutting away the Maſt; but I was loth to part with my Maſt, and could not tell where to run for Shelter if I loſt them.

About Three a Clock abundance of Ships drove away, and came by us; ſome with all their Maſts gone, and foul of one another; in a ſad Condition my Men ſaid they ſaw Two founder'd together, but I was in the Cabin, and cannot ſay I ſaw it. I ſaw a *Ruſſia* Ship come foul of a Collier, and both drove away together out of our Sight, but I am told ſince the *Ruſſia* Man ſunk by her Side.

In this Condition we rid till about Three a Clock, the *Ruſſia* Ships which lay a-head of me, and the Men of War, who lay a-head of them, fir'd their Guns for Help, but 'twas in vain to expect it; the Sea went too high for any Boat

to

to live. About Five, the Wind blew at that prodigious Rate, that there was no Poſſibility of riding it out, and all the Ships in the Road ſeem'd to us to drive: Yet ſtill our Anchors held it, and I began to think we ſhould ride it out there, or founder; when a Ship's long Boat came driving againſt us, and gave ſuch a Shock on the Bow that I thought it muſt have been a Ship come foul of us, and expected to ſink all at once; our Men ſaid there was ſome People in the Boat, but as the Sea went ſo high no Man durſt ſtand upon the Fore-caſtle, ſo no Body could be ſure of it; the Boat ſtav'd to pieces with the Blow, and went away, ſome on One Side of us and ſome on the other; but whether our Cable receiv'd any Damage by it or not we cannot tell, but our Sheet Cable gave Way immediately, and as the other was not able to hold us alone, we immediately drove; we had then no more to do, but to put afore the Wind, which we did; it pleaſed God by this Time the Tide of Ebb was begun, which ſomething abated the Height of the Sea, but ſtill it went exceeding high; we ſaw a great many Ships in the ſame Condition with our ſelves, and expecting every Moment to ſink in the Sea. In this Extremity we drove till Daylight when we found the Wind abated, and we ſtood in for the Shore, and coming under the Lee of the *Cliff* near *Scarbro*, we got ſo much Shelter, as that our ſmall Bower Anchors would ride us.

I can

I can give you no Account but this; but ſure ſuch a Tempeſt never was in the World. They ſay here, that of Eighty Sail in *Grimsby* Road, they can hear of but Sixteen; yet the reſt are all blown away, Here is about Twelve or Fourteen Sail of Ships come in to this Place, and more are ſtanding in for the Shore.

*Yours*, &c.

Abundance of other ſtrange Deliverances have been related, but with ſo ſmall Authority as we dare not convey them into the World under the ſame Character with the reſt; and have therefore choſe to omit them.

## The CONCLUSION.

THE Editor of this Book has labour'd under ſome Difficulties in this Account: and one of the chief has been, how to avoid too many Particulars, the Crowds of Relations which he has been oblig'd to lay by to bring the Story into a Compaſs tolerable to the Reader.

And tho' ſome of the Letters inſerted are written in a homely Stile, and expreſt after the Country Faſhion from whence they came, the Author choſe to make them ſpeak their own Language, rather than by dreſſing them in other Words make the Authors forget they were their own.

We

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We receiv'd a Letter, very particular, relating to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and reflecting upon his Lordſhip for ſome Words he ſpoke, *That he had rather have his Brains knock'd out, than* &c. relating to his Inferiour Clergy. The Gentleman takes the Diſaſter for a Judgment of God on him: But as in his Letter the Perſon owns himſelf the Biſhop's Enemy, fills his Letter with ſome Reflexions indecent, at leaſt for us: and at laſt, tho' he dates from *Somerton*, yet baulks ſetting his Name to his Letter: for theſe Reaſons we could not ſatisfie to record the Matter, and leave a Charge on the Name of that unfortunate Gentleman, which, he being dead, could not anſwer, and we alive could not prove. And on theſe Accounts hope the Reverend Gentleman who ſent the Letter will excuſe Us.

Alſo we have omitted, tho' our Liſt of Particulars promis'd ſuch a thing, An Account of ſome unthinking Wretches, who paſs'd over this dreadful Judgment with Banter, Scoffing, and Contempt. 'Tis a Subject ungrateful to recite, and full of Horror to read; and we had much rather cover ſuch Actions with a general Blank in Charity to the Offenders, and in hopes of their Amendment.

One unhappy Accident I cannot omit, and which is brought us from good Hands, and happen'd in a Ship homeward bound from the *Weſt-Indies*. The Ship was in the utmoſt Danger of Foundring; and when the Maſter ſaw all, as he thought, loſt, his Maſts gone, the Ship leaky, and

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and expecting her every moment to ſink under him, fill'd with Deſpair, he calls to him the Surgeon of the Ship, and by a fatal Contract, as ſoon made as haſtily executed, they reſolv'd to prevent the Death they fear'd by one more certain; and going into the Cabbin, they both ſhot themſelves with their Piſtols. It pleas'd God the Ship recover'd the Diſtreſs, was driven ſafe into ..... and the Captain juſt liv'd to ſee the deſperate Courſe he took might have been ſpar'd; the Surgeon died immediately.

There are ſeveral very remarkable Caſes come to our Hands ſince the finiſhing this Book, and ſeveral have been promis'd which are not come in; and the Book having been ſo long promis'd, and ſo earneſtly deſir'd by ſeveral Gentlemen that have already aſſiſted that way, the Undertakers could not prevail with themſelves to delay it any longer.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

*FINIS.*

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PART III

## A Note on the Annotations

The critical introduction to The Storm situates the text in its historical and literary context. Accordingly, the annotations illuminate the historical background, abiding by the guidelines set forth in Arthur Friedman's "Principles of Historical Annotation in Critical Editions of Modern Texts." When possible I have referred to contemporary eighteenth-century sources to substantiate factual information, to explain allusions, to define nautical and scientific terms, and to provide definitions for words and phrases that may not have the same meaning or connotation at present. All Latin and French translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

The notes are intended to help to recover a reading of The Storm that is faithful to its historical context. They will also provide information about Defoe's working methods. It appears that Defoe appropriated more information and text from William Camden's Britannia and Ralph Bohun's Origine and Properties of Wind than he gave credit for to buttress his own historical and scientific analysis of the storm. In some instances he also garnered information from news sheets and calamity pamphlets which he did not mention by name, but

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which are identified in the notes.

Standard reference works used for the notes may not always be cited, but when they are they will be identified by the following abbreviations:

DNB: The Dictionary of National Biography

DSB: Dictionary of Scientific Biography

LPP: Wheatley, Henry Benjamin. London Past and Present, Its History, Associations, and Traditions. London: John Murray, Albemarle St., 1891. 3 vols.

OCD: The Oxford Classical Dictionary

OCEL: The Oxford Companion to English Literature. Ed. Sir Paul Harvey. 4th ed. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1967.

OED: The Oxford English Dictionary

UDM: Falconer, William. An Universal Dictionary of the Marine. London. 1769.

## Note

Each annotation is represented by three numbers. The first number indicates the page, the second corresponds to the line number on the page, and the third is the number of the note on the page. The numbering for the annotations begins afresh on each page. For example, the first note on line 5 of page 6 would read 6.5.1. and so on.

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## Annotations

A2r.7.1. "Noverint Universi": L. Let everyone know this.

A4r.23.1. "Rhodomontades": Excessively boastful or inflated language; arrogant bragging or speechmaking.

A4v.7.1. "Belus": Belus (or Belos) was an ancient king of Babylon. He was a king of Egypt and son of Poseidon and Libya. His name is probably a Greek form of the Phoenician Baal, which means Lord and was a title for many local gods in the Near East.

A4v.8.2. "Nimrod": Nimrod is the legendary first great hunter conqueror in the Bible. See Genesis 10:8-9; 1 Ch 1:10; Mic. 5:6.

A4v.8.3. "Nimrus": Not identified.

A4v.9.4. "Saturn": The comma is missing that should separate Saturn from Jupiter. Saturn is the Roman name for the Titan who was the progenitor of a new line of gods. He was father to six of the twelve Olympians: Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Ceres, Juno, and Vesta.

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A4v.10.5. "Jupiter": The Roman name is Jove or Jupiter, and the Greek name is Zeus, for the most powerful of all the ancient Greco-Roman gods. He ruled heaven, earth, all gods, and all men.

A4v.10.6. "Celestial Rabble": A reference to the jealous, belligerent gods of the Homeric and Virgilian epics.

A4v.18.7. "Deucalion's Time": Deucalion was the Noah of Greco-Roman mythology.

A4v.18.8. "Universal Deluge": The story of Noah and the great flood is in Genesis 6:17, "For behold, I will bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh in which is the breath of life from under heaven; everything that is on earth will die."

A4v.19.9. "Dedalus": Daedalus was the legendary Athenian master craftsman and inventor. With his son Icarus, he fled from Athens to Crete where he built the famous labyrinth for King Minos. Daedalus had suggested to Ariadne that she might save Theseus from the Minotaur in the labyrinth by providing him with a ball of thread with which to retrace his steps to its entrance. Theseus killed the Minotaur and was the first person to escape from the maze. Minos suspected Daedalus' role

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in the plot and therefore had him and Icarus confined in the labyrinth. To escape, Daedalus made wings of wax and feathers for himself and his son so that they could fly away. Icarus, however, flew too close to the sun, melted his wings, and fell to the sea, while Daedalus arrived safely in Sicily.

A4v.20.10. "Clue of Thread": Defoe has conflated the legend of Theseus with that of Daedalus. It was Ariadne who equipped Theseus with a sword and, at Daedulus' suggestion, provided him with a ball of thread so that he could find and slay the Minotaur and then retrace his steps to find his way out of the labyrinth. According to legend it was Theseus who made use of the clue of thread and not, as Defoe claims, Daedalus.

A4v.20.11. "Egyptian Maze": The labyrinth built by Daedalus to house the Minotaur was situated in Knossos on the island of Crete and not in Egypt, as Defoe relates. However, according to the Romano-Greek writer Apollodorus, Daedalus built it along the lines of the famous Egyptian labyrinth but on a smaller scale (W.H. Matthews. Mazes & Labyrinths, Their History & Development. New York: Dover Publications, 1970. 17-23).

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A4v.25.12. "Great Famine was in Samaria": 1 Kings 18:2; 2 Kings 6:25, "And there was a great famine in Samaria."

A5r.2.1. "Story of Phaeton": Also Phaethon. He was the foolish son of Phoebus Apollo and Clymene, who insisted on driving the Sun's chariot for one day as proof that he was his father's son. Phaethon got his way despite Apollo's protests that it could not be done by anyone but himself. Being mortal, Phaethon was unable to guide the horses on course and almost burned heaven and earth. In Ovid's Metamorphoses, this story is used to explain how the people of Ethiopia became black-skinned when "the blood was drawn to the surface of their bodies by the heat" (Book II, ll. 235-236).

A5r.13.2. "King Arthur": The legendary British king and founder of the Round Table in a famous cycle of medieval romances.

A5r.14.3. "Gyant Gogmagog, and the Britain": According to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae (ca. 1136), when Brutus arrived in Britain after the fall of Troy he found it inhabited by giants, the last and the greatest of whom was Gogmagog. The Trojan Corineus killed Gogmagog in a wrestling match and threw him into the sea, and as a reward Cornwall was assigned to him.

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This would have been a stock tale by Defoe's day.

A5r.15.4. "St. George and the Dragon": Edward III made St. George the patron saint of England. Accounts of him as a warrior saint developed and became popular in the 6th century. The story of his rescuing a maiden from a dragon originated in the 12th century and was popularized in the 13th-century Golden Legend: it was equally familiar to Defoe's era.

A5r.15.5. "Guy Earl of Warwick": A popular verse romance of the early 14th century. Guy was the son of Siward, steward of Rohaud, earl of Warwick. The poem is about the exploits he undertook to win the hand of Felice, the earl's daughter. The chroniclers took the legend to be authentic, and Lydgate versified it in 1450.

A5r.16.6. "Bevis of Southampton": A popular verse romance of the early 14th century. Bevis' mother has Mordure kill her husband Guy, earl of Southampton, and then marries him. Bevis is then sold as a slave and given to the King of Armenia. He marries the King's daughter Josiane under the condition that she become a Christian. The King intervenes and separates the two of them, and Josiane and Bevis have separate adventures until he meets her again in time to rescue her from

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being burned alive on a pyre. Among his exploits, Bevis converts the giant Ascarpus to Christianity. Ultimately, Bevis and Josiane return to the East.

A5v.15.1. "to remember posterity": Here "remember" is used to mean "remind."

A5v.18.2. "Uses": "Use" is the part of a sermon that focuses on the practical application of doctrine.

A5v.18.3. "Application": That part of a sermon which shows how Christ's role as redeemer comes to bear on one's life.

A6r.24.1. "the Test of Humane Policy": Defoe here employs the reasoning of "Pascal's wager." In his Pensées, published posthumously, the French philosopher and mathematician Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) argues "that belief in God is the best bet, because if God exists he will reward the belief, and if he does not exist no harm will have resulted from the belief" (D.W. Hamlyn, The Pelican History of Western Philosophy 145).

A6v.20.1. "loose": Lose.

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A6v.20.2. "Main": "In the game of hazard, a number (from five to nine inclusive) called by the 'caster' before the dice are thrown" (OED).

A8r.10.1. "Undertakers": Obs. Equivalent to modern entrepreneur, here, a book publisher.

1.10.1. "viz.":L. Namely. Abbr. of videlicet.

2.13.1. "Discovery": "The action of…divulging (anything secret or unknown)…" (OED).

2.21.2. "Arcana": L. plural neuter form of adjective "arcanus", meaning a mystery, a profound secret.

2.21.3. "Oeconomy": In theology, "Economy" means, "The method of the divine government of the world"(OED).

2.29.4. All of the authorities and Latin and vernacular phrases cited in Defoe's scientific discussion of the wind for this chapter are taken directly from Ralph Bohun's A Discourse Concerning the Origine and Properties of Wind (1671). It is evident that Defoe did not consult Bohun's sources directly.

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2.29.5. "Aristotle, in his Problems, Sect. 23…": Aristotle, Greek philosopher (384-322 B.C.). His Problemata, a collection of discussions on various topics, is now known to be spurious. Taken from Bohun, 6.

2.30.6. "Aeris Impulsum": L. Driven air. The quotation is taken from Bohun, 6 where the Greek wording is also provided, although Defoe cites only the Latin.

2.30.7. "Seneca": Lucius Annaeus (ca. 3 B.C.-A.D. 65). Statesman, philosopher, and the second son of the rhetorician Seneca. He was a Roman Stoic who looked to physics to elevate the mind and reveal the wisdom of Providence and its moral government in the world. Taken from Bohun, 6.

2.30.8. "Ventus est Aer Fluens": L. Wind is flowing air. Taken from Bohun, 6.

2.31.9. "The Stoicks": The Stoics were a school of philosophers founded by Zeno of Citium at the end of the fourth century B.C. They believed in the law of Nature and in the connection between the heavens and the moral law within mankind. This topic was popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Taken from

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Bohun, 7.

2.31.10. "Motum aut Fluxionem Aeris": L. Movement or flow of air. Taken from Bohun, 7.

2.32.11. "Mr. Hobs": Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) political philosopher who was regarded as, and disparaged for, holding atheistic views. English contemporaries thought that his mechanistic interpretation of nature, man, politics, religion, and ethics was both implausible and pessimistic. Taken from Bohun, 7. See also Kearney, 186.

3.1.1. "Fournier": Georges Fournier (1595-1652), French geologist, member of the Society of Jesus, spiritual coadjutor, and professor of mathematics at Tournay, Belgium. He published seven books on such topics as geography, travel, mathematics, and hydrostatics. His L'Hydrographie appeared in 1643. Taken from Bohun, 7.

3.1.2. **"Le Vent et un Movement Agitation de l'Air Cause par des Exhalations et Vapours"** : F. Wind is an agitated movement of air caused by exhalations and vapours. This quotation appears in Bohun,7 and is credited to L'Hydrographie. The first "et" in Defoe's

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text is erroneous and reads as "est" in Bohun.

3.3.3. "The Moderns": This allusion is in Bohun, 7 and refers to the ongoing controversy over who had ultimate scientific authority, the Ancients (Aristotle and Plato) or the Moderns (Descartes, Newton, the Royal Society, and their followers). Proponents of the Moderns championed mathematical models and empirical methods for examining every aspect of nature; those who followed the Ancients relied on the rediscovery of Roman and Greek precedent. The same canonical battle also preoccupied the literary world, and in both cases Defoe was an example of and a believer in the Moderns.

3.4.4. "Antiperistasis": The force of contrast or contrariness; the resistance or reaction roused against any action. Taken from Bohun, 7.

3.5.5. "Des Cartes": Rene Descartes (1596-1650). French mathematician, scientist, philosopher, and the most influential proponent of the mechanistic world view in the seventeenth century. God figures as a Divine Engineer in his philosophical system. Taken from Bohun, 8.

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3.5.6. "Venti Nihil sunt nisi Moti & Dilati Vapores": L. Winds are nothing but moving and expanding vapors. Taken from Bohun, 8.

3.9.7. "Origin and Properties of Wind, P.7.": Defoe is summarizing pages 6-7 of Bohun's text. See note 2.29.2.

3.10.8. "That no one hypothesis...has": Bohun, 9 uses "hath" rather than "has."

4.3.1. "Rarifying": To make thin by expansion; to decrease the density of a substance, usually air. Taken from Bohun, 8.

4.11.2. "Not but that a Philosopher may be a Christian...": This is Defoe's observation, although some of the scientist/philosophers to whom he alludes do appear in Bohun.

4.13.3. "Vossius": Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), canon of Windsor and scholar, the seventh son of Gerhard Johann Vos (1577-1649), renowned Dutch scholar and theologian. The family name was usually latinised to Vossius. During his lifetime he published four scientific books. Taken from Bohun, 15.

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4.13.4. "Mr. Boyle": Robert Boyle (1627-1691) English physicist and chemist whose main interests were chemistry, pneumatics, and theology. His New experiments physico-mechanicall touching the spring of the air and its effects (Oxford, 1660) contained the experiment that led to "Boyle's law" of gases. Boyle was one of the Fellows of the Royal Society and to a great extent contributed to its mechanical and experimental methods. The institution became symbolic of the Moderns. Taken from Bohun, 15. See also Rousseau, 197-199, and Kearney, 171-180.

4.14.5. "Sir Walter Raleigh": (1552?-1618) British explorer, poet, and historian. While imprisoned in the Tower from July 1603 to March 1618 for supposedly taking part in conspiracies against James I, he conducted experiments in chemistry and wrote his History of the World.

4.14.6. "Lord Verulam": Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans (1561-1629). English philosopher, lawyer, scientist, statesman, moralist, and essayist. He popularized the notion of experimentation, and his writings inspired the Royal Society. Taken from Bohun, 13.

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4.14.7. "Dr. Harvey": William Harvey (1578-1657) was an English physician to Charles I and a member of the Royal College of Physicians. By reasoning and experiment, he improved upon Galen and Aristotle's conclusions about the heart and discovered the circulation of the blood. He published his findings in De Motu Cordis (1628). See Kearney 79-88.

4.15.8. "Mr. Hobbs": See note 2.31.8.

4.28.9. "hunt Counter": to trace the scent backward.

5.7.1. "Terra Incognita": L. unknown territory.

5.30.2. "Champion Country": Champion and champian were variants of the French Champaign, and denoted an expanse of level, open country.

6.12.1. "David": The most powerful king of biblical Israel, who reigned ca. 1010-970 BC and made the city of Jerusalem his capital. He was famous as a charismatic leader, soldier, statesman, and a great poet who wrote a number of the Psalms.

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6.19.2. "When I view the Heavens…what is Man!": Psalms 8: 3-4.

6.25.3. "a-ground": stranded.

6.36.4. "Charm": Enchantment.

6.37.5. "Dissecting the womb of his Mother…": Psalms 139: 13, "For thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb."

7.2.1. "Johan Remelini": Johan Remmelin (1583-1632), German anatomist. He was a physician and mathematician of some reputation. He wrote Catoptrum Microcosmicum (1613,1619). See Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science vols. VII and VIII; see also Robert Mortimer Gascoigne, A Historical Catalogue of Scientists and Scientific Books.

7.3.2. "Riolanus": Jean Riolan, Jr. (1580-1657), renowned Parisian anatomist and medical doctor. He was considered an international arbiter of anatomical matters. Many of his publications criticized the work of his contemporaries. In his Encheiridium (1648) Riolan tried to refute Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, occasioning Harvey's first

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and only formal response to his critics in 1649 (DSB 466-467).

7.9.3. "Psal. --.--. "I was fearfully and wonderfully made": Psalms 139: 14, "I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well."

8.17.1. "universal Blank": This is a phrase from Satan's monologue in Paradise Lost Book III, 48, "Presented with a universal blank/ Of Nature's works...."

8.26.2. "The Winds, says the Learned Mr. Bohun...": Taken from Bohun 9, 10.

9.1.1. "Refilition": "Resilition", "Obs. The act of springing back" (OED).

9.16.2. "and that by Fire and Water Wind may be rais'd…Lord Verulam": Lord Verulam's experiment involving feathers is discussed in Bohun, 13. For note on Lord Verulam see 4.14.5.

10.1.1. "viz." See note 1.10.1.

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10.5.2. "He holds the Wind in his Hand": Proverbs 30: 4, "Who has gathered the wind in His fists?"

10.12.3. "The Wind blows where it listeth": John 3:8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the spirit."

10.20.4. "Mansones": A variant of "monsoon", a seasonal wind over southern Asia and the Indian ocean that tends to blow from the south-west from April to October, and from the north-east October to April. The wind shifts direction when the temperature of the land surface periodically changes.

10.23.5. "That we hear the sound, but know not from whence they come": John 3:8, see note 10.12.2 for the full citation.

12.6.1. "We read in the Scripture of Two Great Storms; One past, and the Other to come.": The first is the great flood and the story of Noah in Genesis Chapters 6-9, the second is the apocalyptic storm-to-be in Revelation, especially chapters 6,8, and 9.

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12.32.2. "God shall rain upon the Wicked, Plagues, Fire and a horrible tempest.": Psalms 11:6, "Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup."

13.7.1. "Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah on fire": According to Genesis 19:24-25 "the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; 25. And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew on the ground." The cities no longer exist, and they are thought to have been submerged by Dead Sea.

13.11.2. "Dead Sea": It is the extremely saline lake which receives the river Jordan, and its "other worldly appearance…often inspires awe and wonder in the minds of those who view it…" (The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible). It is mentioned in the biblical narratives of Abraham and Lot and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by earthquake and sulfurous rain.

13.23.3. "Cambden": William Camden (1551-1623), English antiquary and innovator of historical method. His Britannia (1586), written in Latin, was the first topographical record of England, and it was an instant

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success.

13.23.4. "Cambden tells us..." Defoe used Edmund Gibson's English translation of Britannia (1695). In this edition Latin poetry, in the original, is followed by White Kennet's English translation.

13.23.5. "The Britains": The ancient Britons who inhabited the whole island of England, Wales, and Scotland.

13.26.6. "Albion": The ancient poetical name of the island of Britain. It has been translated as "white land", and the Romans explained that it referred to the white cliffs of Dover. In Latin albus means white.

14.7.1. "Et Penitus Toto…Britannos": Defoe quotes this from page I of Camden's Britannia (1695). He alters the translation from Kennet's "And Britain quite from all the world disjoyn'd" (I). The quotation is from Virgil's Eclogue I, l. 66.

14.9.2. "Quem Littus… Impervia Thule": Defoe truncates Camden's 6 lines from Claudian in Britannia, LXXXII. The English translation provided by Kennet is, "Scorch'd Lybia's borders tremble at his power, and Thule's cliffs that scorn the labouring oar" Britannia

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(1695), LXXXII. Thule was the ancient Greek and Latin name for a land that was a six day sail north of Britain. It was thought to be the northern most region in the world, but it is not certain whether Thule was Iceland or Norway (OCD). Defoe, however, notes that it was often taken for Britain. The quotation is from line 53 of Claudian's Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti.

14.11.3. "Ignotumq; Fretum": Defoe has combined two separate quotations from Camden. This one, from Claudian, appears in Britannia LXXXI, where it is translated, "And seas untried by fearful Mariners." It is taken from line 31 of Panegyricus de Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti.

14.19.4. "Belluosus qui…Brittanis": Camden's quotation from Horace appears in Britannia, 961. Kennet provides this translation, "And seas (where shapeless monsters roar)/ That wash Great Britains farthest shore." The lines are from Horace's Carmina 4. 14. 48.

15.26.1. "Spring-Tide": A tide occurring on those days shortly after the new and full moon, in which the high-water level reaches its maximum.

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16.3.1. "Shooters-Hill in Kent": Shooter's Hill is 446 ft., and its summit affords "a grand view of the metropolis" (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

16.16.2. "Danish fleet came almost to Hartford": "Hertford" is a market town in the county of Hertfordshire, 24 miles north of London. The Mimram, Beane, and Lea rivers flow through the town. When the Danes occupied East Anglia through most of the 9th century AD, Hertford was of strategic importance, since passage by the Lea and Thames allowed for communication with London.

17.9.1. "Moras": "Morass", a swamp land or bog.

17.9.2. "Lough": A lake or pool.

18.12.1. "The Phoenicians": Phoenicia was part of the seaboard of present day Syria and Lebanon. The Phoenicians were famous for their sailing and navigation. They began seafaring around 1250 BC.

18.17.2. "Coasting": "Sailing along the coast, or trading between the ports of a country" (OED).

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19.12.1. "And Thule, where no Passage was…to bear.": This is taken loosely from Camden's Britannia (1695). For more information on Thule see note 14.9.2.

19.14.2. "Horace": Horace (65 BC-8 BC), the Roman poet.

19.18.2. "Belluosis…Britannis": See note 14.19.4.

19.20.3. "Juvenal": Juvenal (ca. 50 AD-ca. 127 AD), the greatest of the Roman satiric poets.

19.21.4. "Quanto…major": Defoe quotes Juvenal verbatim from Britannia (1695), 961. In that edition it is translated, "As much as dolphins yeild (sic.) to British Whales."

20.5.1. "early Sons of Neptune": Sailors.

20.14.2. "under their Lee": A nautical expression meaning under protection or shelter from the wind; the lee side of a boat is turned away from the wind for shelter (OED).

21.13.1. "allow": To accept or acknowledge.

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21.16.2. "Barbary": The region of northern Africa which borders Egypt to the east, the Atlantic to the west, the Sahara to the south, and the Mediterranean to the north. It encompasses Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

21.16.3. "allow'd": See note 21.13.1.

21.21.4. "a Lee Shore": "A shore that the wind blows upon" (OED).

21.24.5. "a found Bottom": "Sound bottom": A nautical term referring to a sailing vessel in which the underside is in good condition.

21.25.6. "Sea-room": Space at sea in which a ship may move about easily, free of obstruction.

21.28.7: "Fresh-gale": The equivalent of a strong breeze of 22-27 knots (Lamb and Frydendahl, 71-72).

21.31.8. "our sailors bald Terms": The following list of what Defoe calls the "bald Terms" of English sailors was common parlance about 1700 (Lamb and Frydendahl, 71-72). The twelve point scale of wind force descriptions that Defoe presents was similar to those

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of other countries, and provided the basis for the Beaufort wind scale of 1806 which, with later adaptations, has become the standard measure (Lamb and Frydendahl, 71-72).

22.1.1. "Stark Calm": The standard name is "Calm," the equivalent wind speed is of less than one knot. It ranks 0 on the Beaufort wind scale of 0-12. When inland "smoke rises vertically" (Lamb, 71). All of the definitions and descriptions for Defoe's list are taken from Lamb and Frydendahl, 71.

22.1.2. "A Top-sail Gale": A "Moderate gale", Beaufort number 8, with a wind speed of 28-33 knots. When inland, "Whole trees in motion. Difficulty in walking against the wind."

22.2.3. "Calm Weather": The standard name is "Light air" which ranks 1 on the Beaufort scale, with a wind speed of 1-3 knots. When inland, "Wind direction shown by smoke, not by vanes."

22.2.4. "Blows fresh": A "Fresh gale", Beaufort number 8, with a wind speed of 34-40 knots. When inland it "Breaks off twigs. Generally impedes progress."

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22.3.5. "Little Wind": This term subsumes both of the standard names "Light breeze" and "Gentle breeze" which are, respectively, ranked 2 and 3 on the Beaufort scale. The wind force would be between 4-6 or 7-10 knots. Inland, a "Light breeze" is "Wind felt on face" and a "Gentle breeze" puts " Leaves and small twigs in motion. Small flags extended."

22.3.6. "A hard Gale of Wind": A "strong gale", Beaufort number 9, with a wind speed of 41-47 knots. Inland it causes "Slight damage to buildings (roof slates, chimney pots)."

22.4.7. "A fine Breeze": Now known as a "Moderate breeze" Beaufort number 4, wind speed of 11-16 knots. Inland it "raises dust, leaves and loose paper. Small branches moved."

22.4.8. "A Fret of Wind": A "Whole gale", Beaufort number 10, with a wind speed of 48-55 knots. Inland "Trees uprooted. Considerable damage to buildings."

22.5.9. "A small Gale": Now known as a "Fresh breeze", Beaufort number 6, with a wind speed of 17-21 knots. Inland "Small trees in leaf begin to sway."

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22.5.10. "A Storm": Still called a "Storm", Beaufort number 11, with a wind speed of 56-63 knots. Inland it causes "Widespread damage."

22.6.11. "A fresh Gale": Now known as a "Strong breeze", Beaufort number 7, with a wind speed of 22-27 knots. Inland "Large branches in motion. Whistling heard in overhead wires."

22.11.12. "A Tempest": The equivalent of a "Hurricane", Beaufort number 12, wind speeds from over 63 knots.

22.12.13. "Tarpawlin Articles": Tarpaulin, of or belonging to a mariner: Defoe's reference to the previously named nautical terms.

22.16.14. "reif a Top-sail Gale": "Reefs" are the horizontal portions of a sail that may be rolled or folded to diminish the impact of the wind. There are usually three or four of them on top of the square sails. To "reef" a sail is to contract it (OED). It was standard procedure at sea during a fierce gale to have "reefed topsail" (Lamb, 71).

22.30.15. "Cleopatra's Fleet…the Battle of Actium": Cleopatra VII persuaded Antony that war with Octavian

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was inevitable. According to Plutarch, she insisted that Antony fight Octavian at sea so that she would have a better chance of sailing away after the battle was lost. The naval battle of Actium was postponed for four days because of stormy seas. On the day of the battle, a little gale from the sea helped Octavian's light and more seaworthy ships to gain on Antony's unwieldy vessels. Cleopatra and her fleet fled while the skirmish was still even, and Antony followed suit forgetting everything but her. Antony's fleet struggled in disorder and ultimately lost the battle (Shakespeare's Plutarch, 254-262).

23.6.1. "that terrible Tempest which scatter'd Julius Caesar's Fleet": When Julius Caesar (102?-44 B.C.) first forayed into Britain in 55 B.C., he arrived by sea with eighty ships carrying only two legions. He was to be followed by a small force of Gallic horse troops sailing from another harbor, but a great storm dispersed them and they never reached Caesar (Alfred Duggan, Julius Caesar, 119).

23.8.2. "Aeneas": Son of Anchises and the goddess Aphrodite, Aeneas was the famous Trojan leader of Homer's Iliad and the hero of Virgil's Latin Aeneid. According to Virgil, at the fall of Troy Aeneas was

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commanded by Hector in a vision to flee and found a great city overseas. Aeneas fled with his father and son Ascanius by sea. At Hera's behest stormy seas drove them off course and set them on their legendary journeys westward to Sicily. In Carthage Dido delayed Aeneas' arrival on Italian shores, but finally he reached the mouth of the Tiber, where according to legend he founded the Roman state.

23.11.3. "Spanish Armada": The battle began on the morning of 19 July 1588, and lasted a week. The Spanish gathered the most formidable show of sea power that the world had ever seen. They were to sail to the Netherlands and from there accompany the prince of Parma's army to the English coast. Vice-Admiral Sir Francis Drake and Admiral Lord Howard of Effingham met them in the Channel with 200 English ships. The lighter, smaller, and well armed English vessels broke up the Spanish formations and attacked them. Then a great storm, the famed "Protestant wind," blew the broken Armada northwards to Scotland, where the gales and the forbidding coasts, which they had to maneuver without charts or pilots, destroyed them (Palmer, A History of the Modern World 129-130).

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23.13.4. "Sir Francis Drake": The greatest of Elizabethan seamen, Drake (1540?-1596) was both a circumnavigator of the globe and an admiral. He commanded the fleet that conquered the Spanish Armada in 1588. Among the moderns, Drake's name has been associated with almost as many legends as Arthur or Charlemagne. None of these legends are grounded in historical or biographical fact, but they show that he captured his countrymen's imagination (DNB).

23.14.5. "Fireships": A ship filled with explosives, set on fire, and allowed to drift into an enemy formation or anchored fleet.

24.1.1. "Galleons": "Galleon" was a Spanish name for a European ship of the 16th and 17th centuries. It was used for both a merchant and war ship.

25.11.1. "Squauls of rain": "Squalls of rain", a severe local storm with gusty winds, rain or snow, and thunder and lightning.

25.15.2. "Mischief": A cause of harm or evil.

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26.9.1. "Royal Society": The Royal Society of London was founded in 1662 under a charter of Charles II. It was a scientific society dedicated to the interchange and publication of ideas valuable to the natural sciences, mathematics, paleography, numismatics, legal history, and natural law.

26.10.2. "Philosophical Transactions, No. 289": The following letter is taken word for word from Derham's four page letter in The Philosophical Transactions. There are only a few minor changes in punctuation in Defoe's reprint. Defoe omits Derham's final paragraph which gives a clergyman's account of sea salt that blew inland to Lewes in Suffolk to cover hedges, grapes, and grass, making the latter unpalatable to the sheep. This issue also has four other letters about the great storm which Defoe includes later in The Storm.

26.12.3. "William Derham": Derham (1657-1735) was a divine. He was ordained minister in 1682 and was given a vicarage in Upminster, Essex in 1689. Here he lived quietly and studied natural history and mechanics. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1702, and he contributed a number of papers to the Society between 1679 and 1729. Among them were observations of the weather and the barometer, and particularly this

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letter about the great storm of 1703.

26.13.4. "F.R.S.": Fellow of the Royal Society.

26.17.5. "St. Andrews Day": November 30.

26.24.6. "Upminster": Upminster, Essex.

27.7.1. "Tunnel": A now rare usage meaning pipe or tube.

28.3.1. "My Thermometer (whose freezing Point is about 84)": "The numbers on thermometer scales are merely historical choices; they are not scientifically fundamental" (McGraw-Hill Concise Encyclopedia of Science and Technology). Derham writes this before the scales of Celsius and Fahrenheit had been developed.

28.18.2. "Corruscations": Coruscations, "A vibratory or quivering flash of light or a display of such flashes; in early use always of atmospheric phenomena" (OED)

28.26.3. "Mr. Halley": Edmond Halley (1656-1742), English astronomer and mathematician. At age 22 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. He edited the Philosophical Transactions from 1685-1693, and among his many contributions was an "Historical Account of

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Trade Winds and Monsoons" in 1686 (XVI, 153), which gave the first detailed description of a circulatory theory of these winds. Now he is best known for his discovery in 1705 that the comet sightings which had been recurring at intervals since 240 B.C. were of the same comet. He predicted correctly that the comet, last seen in 1682, would reappear in 1758. It has continued to recur, and it is known as Halley's comet.

28.29.4. "viz.": See note 1.10.1.

29.23.1. "Millers": Those whose trade is the grinding of corn in a mill.

30.3.1 "vid.": An abbreviation of the Latin "videre" meaning to see or observe.

32.12.1. "The Author of this Relation was in a well-built brick House in the skirts of the city": According to J.R. Moore, Defoe's home was "probably in Kingsland or Newington Green, with his wife's mother and her second husband" (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 150).

32.30.2. "Tile-Sherds": Obs. Broken pieces of tile.

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35.27.1. "Travail": "The labour and pain of child birth" (OED).

37.12.1. "Execution-Dock": Execution Dock, Wapping in the East, is on the left bank of the Thames, just below Wapping New Stairs. Stow described it as "the usual place of execution for hanging of pirates and sea-rovers at the low-water mark, and there remain till three tides had overflowed them" (LPP vol.2, 23).

37.13.2. "Lime-House Hole": Limehouse, a parish on the Middlesex bank of the Thames, between Wapping and Poplar, where Lime-burning was practised from earliest times. It lies along the bend of the Thames known as Limehouse Reach, between the Regent's and the West India Docks, and was the location of a large shipping trade. Several ship, barge, and boat-building docks and yards were located there. Limehouse Hole lies at the far end of Limehouse (LPP vol. 2, 388-389).

39.7.1. "Fleeted": The past participle of "fleet" meaning to shift or change position.

39.17.2. "Sellers": Variant of "cellar", a store-room or store-house, either above or below ground, for provisions.

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41.15.1. "a Pastoral Poem": Defoe states that the poem was sent to him by someone, but he does not divulge the author's name. Sir Walter Scott was the first and only critic to have assumed that the poem was composed by Defoe. In an article first published in his Miscellaneous Prose Works 1827 vol. 4, Scott stated that the pastoral was "wretched" and elaborated that "Defoe was only a poet in prose"(see Scott 169). The poem's style and content are not characteristic of Defoe, however, so it seems likely that the work was written by one who preferred to remain anonymous. Defoe would later publish his own poem, "The Storm. An Essay", 15 August 1704.

42.5.1. "Damon": Damon was the shepherd singer of Virgil's eighth eclogue; it was also a name that poets used for a rustic swain.

42.5.2. "Melibaeus": Meliboeus was one of the two speakers in Virgil's first eclogue; he was also in the seventh eclogue.

42.6.3. "Isis": The river Thames at Oxford.

42.15.4. "Chloe": A stock name for a pastoral maid in Greco-Roman romances.

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43.13.1. "Cherwel": The Cherwell is a river near Oxford that flows south to the Thames.

43.16.2. "Orpheus": In Greco-Roman mythology, Orpheus, the son of Apollo and Calliope, was renowned as the greatest of mortal musicians. According to Aeschylus and Euripides, his music charmed even trees, wild beasts, and stones into following him. Dryden alludes to this in "A song for St. Cecilia's Day", "Orpheus cou'd lead the savage race;/ and trees unrooted left their place."

43.16.3. "Amphion's hand": In Greco-Roman mythology, Amphion was the son of Zeus and Antiope and twin brother to Zethus. Hermes gave Amphion a lyre and he became a great musician. According to legend, when he rebuilt the walls of Thebes with Zethus, he played on his lyre and caused great stones to roll into place. Here the allusion is used in a comparison to point out the legions of trees uprooted by the great storm.

43.28.4. "the Deluge by great Jove": According to Greco-Roman mythology, Jove flooded the earth in anger at the sins of the Bronze Age. Only Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha survived in an ark that his father Prometheus told them to build.

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44.4.1. "Severn's Banks": The Severn river is 180 miles long, flowing from Newtown, Wales, up to Shrewsbury and then to Worcester, Gloucester, and Berkeley to the Bristol Channel. The lower part of the Severn by the Bristol channel was particularly hard hit during the storm.

44.7.2. "Neptune": Neptune was the Roman god of the water, not of the sea, although his cult came to identify him with the Greek god Poseidon. He was associated with rain and its fertile effects.

44.9.3. "Thetis": One of the most famous Nereiads, the 50 sea-nymph daughters of Nereus and Doris who attended Neptune. She was also the wife of Peleus and the mother of Achilles.

44.12.4. "Aeolian God": Aeolus, a minor Greco-Roman god of the winds. He appears at the beginning of the Aeneid (I. 51) in response to Juno's request that he create a storm to throw Aeneas off his course to found Rome. Neptune, however, soon stops him since the lesser deity has overstepped his bounds by disquieting his seas. In this poem Aeolus is acting in a similar capacity, usurping control of the seas, although now the thwarted seaman is Charles III of Spain, who is represented as

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the contemporary Aeneas.

44.14.5. "Charles of Spain's on board": Archduke Charles of Austria (1685-1740) was made Charles III of Spain from 1703-1714, and became Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI in 1711. He was the second son of Emperor Leopold I who had proposed him as the rival candidate to the throne of Spain. England, the United Provinces, and finally Portugal recognized him as King Charles III of Spain in September 1703. The great storm postponed his departure from Holland so that he did not arrive in England until 26 December 1703. Charles had a successful meeting with his ally Queen Anne, but then inclement weather aborted several of his efforts to sail from England to Lisbon with Sir George Rooke's fleet. He finally set sail with Admiral James Wishart and arrived at Lisbon 18 days later on 8 March 1704. See Cunningham, 356-359; Boyer, 170-171; and Strickland, 191-192.

44.24.6. "the great Trojan,": This reference is to Aeneas in Book I of Virgil's Aeneid (see note 23.8.2.). The implication is that Charles III of Spain will also fulfill the promise of a great national destiny and save England and the Continent from the tyrannous, overreaching clutches of Louis XIV during the War of the Spanish Succession.

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44.25.7. "Juno": Jove's wife and the Roman goddess of marriage, the home, and childbirth. In the Aeneid she was Aeneas' greatest antagonist, thwarting his passage to Rome "tossing" him from Troy to Carthage to Italy.

45.1.1. "Great Charles": See note 44.14.5.

45.3.2. "the great Dardan Prince": This is another name for the Trojan Aeneas: see notes 44.24.6 and 23.8.2. According to legend, the Trojans were the forebears of the British.

46.17.1. "Squauls": See note 25.11.1.

46.25.2. "Sir Francis Wheeler's Squadron": Sir Francis Wheler (1656-1694), admiral. Wheler and his squadron were destroyed at sea off Malaga on 19 February 1694 when a hurricane struck. At night they mistook Gibraltar Bay for the Straits and were driven afoul on shore.

46.26.3. "City of Straelfond was almost ruin'd by a Storm,": Stralsund is a city in Germany close to the Baltic.

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47.10.1. "Sir William Temple": Sir William Temple (1628-1699) was a statesman and an author. He was a diplomat during the Anglo-Dutch war. In 1671 he retired and devoted himself to literature and philosophy, but in 1674 he was called upon to negotiate the treaty of Westminster to settle the peace between England and Holland. It was at this time that he experienced the storm about which he wrote. His cousin Jonathan Swift lived with him as secretary in the 90's.

47.21.2. "in his own words": These entries are taken verbatim from two separate passages in Sir William Temple's "Memoirs from 1672-1679" in The Works of Sir William Temple, Bar. Vol. II. London, Printed for J. Clarke, T. Wotton... MDCCLVII. IV vols. This passage is from 268-269 of said work.

47.28.3. "States yacht": A ship appropriated for state ceremonies and duties.

48.1.1. "Bergen ap Zoom": Bergen op Zoom, a city in the south west Netherlands.

49.12.1. "In November, 1675." This paragraph is taken in full from "Memoirs from 1672-1679," The Works of Sir William Temple, Bar. Vol. II. 318.

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49.16.2. "Diques": "Dykes", embankments used to prevent flooding.

50.2.1. "Mirabilis Annis": The complete title is Mirabilis Annus, or The year of Prodigies and Wonders, being a faithful and impartial Collection of several Signs that have been seen in the Heavens, in the Earth, and in the Waters; together with many remarkable Accidents and Judgments befalling diverse persons, according as they have been testified by very credible hands... (London, 1661). It is a Dissenters' providence book that lists recent events in England which are interpreted in a favorable light and emphasize their difficult plight in England. The following excerpt about the storm of 1661 in England is taken verbatim from Mirabilis Annus 39-42.

51.7.1. "Riding-House": A large building used for practice horseback riding.

51.8.2. "Pickadilla": Piccadilly Street in London.

51.16.3. "Chiltenham": Cheltenham, East Gloucestershire.

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51.19.4. "Scaldwel": Scaldwell village, Northamptonshire (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

54.2.1. "Fane": A weathercock.

55.6.1. "Salt-house": "A building in which salt is made or stored" (OED).

55.31.2. "Oppression": The action of forcibly putting down or repressing.

55.32.3. "Incumbent": One who holds ecclesiastic office, hence the parson.

56.24.1. "Spice of the Steeple": A part of the steeple.

57.31.1. "Moreclack in Surry": Surrey.

59.27.1. "has his way in the Whirlwind,…and the clouds are the dust of his Feet.": Nahum 1:3.

60.30.1. "Confederate": Related.

61.9.1. "Meridian": Culmination.

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61.31.2. "Sweedland": Sweden.

61.31.3. "Muscovy": The name of the principality of Moscow, applied by extension to Russia generally.

61.31.4. "Tartary": The region of Central Asia extending eastward from the Caspian Sea.

63.16.1. "Inspight": In spite of.

64.2.1. "Russia Fleet": According to accounts in The London Gazette, The Daily Courant, and The Post-Man, these were homeward-bound English merchant ships that had engaged in trade with Russia, and had been scattered by the storm as they sailed southward. It seems to have been standard practice to refer to merchant ships by the nation with which they were trading, and so they are called "Russia ships" although they were clearly English. From November 27-December 6 close to fifty of these ships had returned to England at the ports of Shields, Hull, and Yarmouth. They had been sailing in a convoy with Royal Navy ships, only two of which were mentioned by name, the Reserve, which sank on the sands off of Yarmouth the morning of November 27th, killing all 191 men on board (Daily Courant Nov. 30), and the Falkland, which met with no damage

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(London Gazette Dec.2-6). Only three of the merchant ships involved with Russian trade were named, probably because they met with misfortune. At Yarmouth, the John Humphreys Master sank but its men and cargo were saved, and the Joseph and Mary also foundered and sank but all of its men were saved, while at Hull the Crow of London was forced ashore (Daily Courant Dec.4; London Gazette Dec. 2-6).

65.7.1. "Colliers": The name for the vessel and the crew that transports coal.

65.25.2. "East India Men": These were ships of the East India Company, which was founded by a group of London merchants in 1599 and operated under a royal charter. The Company enabled the merchants to trade directly with India and the Far East.

65.30.3. "Sir Cloudsly Shovel": Sir Clowdisley or Cloudisley Shovell (1650-1707), Admiral of the Fleet. He had played an important part in the victory against the French at the Battle of Barfleur in 1692. In 1703 he commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. He was returning to England from thence when the great storm scattered his ships and set him back to sea for months.

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65.31.4. "Tenders": Originally, ships or boats commissioned to attend men of war. They supplied provisions, munitions, and might also convey intelligence and dispatches.

65.32.5. "Victuallers": Ships that carried provisions for a fleet or squadron.

66.2.1. "Transports": Vessels meant for the transportation of soldiers, military stores, or convicts.

66.3.2. "Admiral Dilks": Sir Thomas Dilkes (1667?-1707) was a rear admiral. In July of 1703 he captured and destroyed a fleet of 45 merchant ships and 3 frigates on the shores near Granville and Avranches, for which the Queen awarded him a gold medal. The rest of the year he cruised the channel. He returned to Spithead in time to escape the great storm of November 26th.

66.27.3. "Helvoet Sluice": Hellevoitsluis is a city on the southern coast of the Netherlands by the Haringvliet waterway.

66.28.4. "Texel": An island off the Netherlands.

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66.28.5. "Cadstandt": Cadzand is in the Netherlands.

67.11.1. "Paris Gazetteer": The Gazette de Paris was an official French news magazine (See James Sutherland, The Restoration Newspaper and its Development 126).

70.13.1. "Fox": John Foxe (1516-1587) the martyrologist who wrote the multi-volume 1015 page work Actes and Monuments (1563), popularly known as the Book of Martyrs.

70.13.2. "Grimston": Edward Grimestone, an early 17th century historian and translator of histories. The works that he translated were of moderate length, but the one book that he authored, A Generall Historie of the Netherlands (1608), was a copious 1415 pages.

70.13.3. "Holinshead": Raphael Holinshed (d. 1580?), a chronicler. He worked as a translator for the printer and publisher Reginald Wolfe, for whom he planned the multi-volume Chronicles (1577) which ran to 1876 pages. Although they are known by his name, he wrote only the Historie of England himself. The Chronicles were an immediate success, and Shakespeare and other dramatists drew on it as a source for their works.

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70.14.4. "Stow": John Stow (1525?-1605), chronicler and antiquary. He was the most accurate and systematic of the 16th-century historians. Some of his books were Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles (1565), and The Chronicles of England (1580), which was later known by the title The Annales of England. The first edition of the Annales was 1223 pages, and subsequent editions were even longer.

70.20.5. "Circuit I rode": Defoe frequently traveled circular routes through England on horseback, rather like itinerant judges or clergymen who served several places, to transact his different business enterprises.

71.22.1. "foreign Accounts…shall be a Supplement to the Work": Defoe never published a foreign supplement to The Storm. J.R. Moore has noted that this was the first of many times that Defoe would promise a sequel and not provide it (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World 153). Since the first printing of The Storm never sold out, he would have had little incentive to produce another work on the subject.

72.20.1. "Pantiles": "A roofing tile traversely curved to an ogee shape, one curve being much larger than the

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other; when laid on the roof the greater part of their surface forms a concave channel for the descent of water, while one side forms a narrow convex ridge, which overlaps the edge of the adjoining tile" (OED).

73.9.1. "Christ Church Hospital": By grant of Henry VIII the city of London had established a regular provision for the poor. In Defoe's time, Christ's Church Hospital continued to house, care for, and educate indigent children. The hospital was comprised of a few buildings in a combination of Gothic modern styles (John Fielding. The London Guide, Describing the Public and Private Buildings of London, Westminster, and Southwark (London, 178?) 233-237).

73.10.2. "Asks-Hospital": Aske's Hospital at Hoxton, was established by the Haberdasher's Company in 1692 at the behest of Robert Aske Esq.'s will. In 1688 he left £20,000 and land for the company to build and endow a hospital to provide for twenty of its poorest members, and a school to educate twenty boys who were sons of the neediest members (LPP vol. 1, 75-76).

73.10.3. "Old-Street": "Old Street was a part of the Roman road that crossed England from east to west, to the north of London at that time" (George Cunningham 484).

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73.10.4. "Hogsden Squares": "Mentioned in Domesday as Hocheston, a manor belonging to the Cathedral of St. Paul,…a suburban district within the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, lying to the north of the Shoreditch end of the Old Street Road and west of the Kingsland Road. Stow in 1598 described it as "a large street with houses on both sides." Some of the houses were of a superior class…. But most part of the district was open fields. Hoxton Fields were a great resort of the citizens on holidays…. Hoxton appears to have had a special attraction for the founders of alms houses. The Haberdashers' Almshouses and Askes Charity and Grammar Schools were built by them" (LPP, vol. 2, 245-246).

73.30.5. "Cambray-House: Canonbury House in Islington was "during the 17th and 18th centuries vulgarly known as Canbray or Cambray…. [The] manor [was] given to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield by Ralph de Berners…. In 1616 it was leased to Francis Bacon when he was Attorney General. The tower of brick, 17 feet square and 60 feet high, was probably built by Sir John Spencer…. The tower was let out in apartments from an early period" (LPP vol. I, 325-326).

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74.21.1. "Weekly Bills of Mortality": In 1625 the Parish clerks of London first published weekly the number of burials in each parish, and their bills of mortality "acquired a general reputation" (Mortality of the Metropolis I). By 1629 their report of diseases and casualties published the returns from 97 parishes within the walls of London and 26 without (See John Marshall, Esq. Mortality of the Metropolis. Digest Relating to the Population, Productions, Etc. of Great Britain. London, 1832. I-III). At the time of Defoe's writing, these statistics would have been readily available to the general public.

74.26.2. "One woman was killed...near the Palace of St. James's": The following accounts of damage and fatalities in and around London (pp.74-78) are found also in The Amazing Tempest: Being a Surprizing Account of the great Damage done in and about the City of London, Southwark &c. By the Late Terrible and Astonishing Tempest...(1703), published within a week of the storm, and An Exact Relation Of the Late Dreadful Tempest: Or, a Faithful Account Of the Most Remarkable Disasters which hapned on that occasion: The Places where, and Persons Names who suffer'd by the same, in City and Countrey; the Number of Ships, Men and Guns, that were lost, the miraculous Escapes of

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several Persons from the Dangers of that Calamity both by Sea and Land (1704). Although Defoe used these sources, he rephrased the individual episodes in his own manner.

74.29.3. "Coin": A corner-stone of a wall or building.

76.18.1. "Weekly Bills": See note 74.21.1.

76.25.2. "Wherry": A light rowing boat used mainly on rivers to transport passengers and goods.

81.11.1. "Cardinal Woolsey": Thomas Wolsey (c. 1473-1530), English cardinal and statesman. He was one of Henry VIII's most influential counselors. As lord chancellor he presided over the public sessions of the Star Chamber. He also played a central role in foreign affairs until he lost royal favor in 1529.

81.14.2. "Baums, commonly call'd Whitmore House": Balmes House, Hoxton was "an old moated house built originally in 1540, but rebuilt in the next century by Sir George Whitmore, Lord Mayor of London, 1631…. Balmes was at one time esteemed a mansion of note… (LPP vol. I, 93).

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83.25.1. "scurvy Circumstances": Here "scurvey" is used to mean sorry, worthless, and contemptible. Defoe's condemnation of the nastier side of factionalism is the more pointed since recently he had been imprisoned and pilloried for The Shortest Way with the Dissenters (1702). The Tories denounced it as a seditious libel and the Dissenters, whose position Defoe had wished to champion, looked askance upon the extremist parody, at first unaware of its irony and then unforgiving of the furor created by Defoe's method of support.

84.14.1. "Motion": A motive or reason.

84.20.2. "Vouchers": A voucher is a written warrant or attestation; it is also an author who corroborates another person or attests to the truth of a fact or statement.

85.5.1. "viz.": See note 1.10.1.

86.6.1. "Spars": One of the main rafters of a roof.

86.21.2. "riving up": Rending or tearing up.

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87.6.1. "Samuel Farr, Vicar": Samuel Farr received his B.A. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1670-1, and his M.A. in 1674. He was ordained deacon of Norwich in June, 1674, and priest in February 1680-1. He served as vicar of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk 1680-1687, and of Stowmarket from 1688-1710. In Alumni Cantabrigienses, John Venn has noted that Farr's "account of the injury to Stowmarket Church, in the great gale of 1703, is given in De Foe's narrative."

87.18.2. "Gazette of Monday": Reference is to The London Gazette. Numb. 3973, Monday December 6. to Thursday December 9. 1703, in which Defoe placed the following anonymous advertisement: "To preserve the Remembrance of the late dreadful Tempest, an exact and faithful collection is preparing of the most remarkable Disasters which happened on that Occasion, with the Places where, and Persons concern'd, whether at Sea or on Shore. For the perfecting so good a Work, 'tis humbly recommended by the Author to all Gentlemen of the Clergy, or others, who have made any Observations of this Calamity, that they would transmit as distinct an Account as possible, of what they have observed, to the Undertakers, directed to John Nutt near Stationer's Hall, London. All Gentlemen that are pleas'd to send any such Accounts, are desired to write no particulars

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but what they are well satisfied to be true, and to set their Names to the Observations they send, which the Undertakers of this Work promise shall be faithfully Recorded, and the Favour publickly acknowledged."

87.26.3. "Oxon": "Oxon." is an abbreviation for Oxfordshire.

88.13.1. "spout": A tornado-like wind funnel.

90.13.1. "the Gazette": See note 87.18.1.

91.10.1. "Tanners": Those whose occupation is to tan hides or convert them to leather by tanning.

91.10.2. "Fell-mongers": Dealers in the hides of animals, especially sheep.

91.13.3. "Sessions-House": A building in which a continuous series of court, legislative, administrative, or deliberative meetings take place daily, or at short intervals.

91.16.4. "Guild-hall": The meeting place for a guild. Because the town and corporation would also meet there, it is often syonymous with "town hall."

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91.17.5. "Fane": See note 54.2.1.

91.18.6. "Sir Thomas Samwell's Park": Sir Thomas Samwell of Northamptonshire was the son of Sir Thomas of Upton, Northants. He succeeded as second baronet in March 1693-4, matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1704, and became M.P. for Coventry 1715-22 of Upton Northants (John Venn Alumni Cantabrigienses).

93.7.1. "Plummer": A variant spelling of "Plumber," which originally designated anyone who dealt with and worked in lead.

93.33.2. "Henry Head, Vicar of Berkly": Head received his B.A. from Balliol College, Oxford in 1682, and his M.A. in 1685. He was the vicar of Berkeley, Gloucester from 1691-1728, and became canon of Bristol from 1722-1739 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

94.10.1. "our late Bishop and Lady": Richard Kidder (1633-1703) was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1691 and thereafter resided in Wells. Previous to this, he had been appointed one of the royal chaplains in 1689, soon after the accession of William and Mary. He was also placed on the royal commission to determine such

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alterations to the liturgy that might conciliate the Dissenters in connection with the Comprehension Bill. He published a vast number of sermons, tracts, and fugitive pieces. High Churchmen disliked him. News that Dr.and Mrs. Kidder were killed in their bed by a stack of chimneys was reported in The Daily Courant. Numb. 403. Thursday, December 2, 1703, and in the calamity pamphlet An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempest (London, 1704) 15-16. See also Strickland, 189-191.

94.14.2. "Flower": Variant spelling of "floor".

95.9.1. "subscribe": According to the OED, "To write one's name originally at the bottom of a document. Especially as a witness or consenting party."

95.31.2. "Basis": The base or bottom.

95.31.3. "an Ell": In England an ell measures a length of 45 inches.

96.4.1. "Tun": Variant spelling of "ton." It is a measure of capacity, in this instance for timber which is usually equal to 40 cubic feet, or 50 for hewn timber.

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96.5.2. "Load": "The specific quantity of a substance which it is customary to load at one time; hence, taken as a unit of measure or weight for certain substances" (OED).

96.5.3. "Billets with Faggots": A billet is a thick piece of wood cut to the appropriate length for fuel, and a faggot is a bundle of twigs, sticks, and small tree branches wrapped together for fuel burning.

96.11.4. "Miserere, &c.": Latin, a beginning to many prayers as in "Miserere mei, Deus" : Have mercy on me, God.

96.12.5. "William Frith Church Warden": Not identified.

96.24.6. "Key": Variant of "quay," a wharf.

97.11.1. "Ashler": An "Ashlar" is a "Square hewn stone for building purposes or pavement" (OED).

98.1.1. "the general Judgment": The picture on the stained glass window would depict the Last Judgment.

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98.17.2. "Munnel": A corruption of "Monial or "Munnion" which refers to "A vertical bar dividing the light of a window, especially in Gothic architecture" (OED).

99.20.1. "Discharge of Ordnance": The setting off of a mounted gun or cannon.

100.5.1. "January 1703/4": In Great Britain the Calendar (New Style) Act, which required that the Gregorian calendar be used for all legal and public business, was not passed until 1751. Previous to this, the new year had begun on March 25, but the Act changed it to January 1, which was the traditional date of the new year according to the Julian calendar. For the years 1703-1704, for example, it was not unusual to have different dating systems in use. During this time, The Daily Courant dated the new year from March 25th, while The London Gazette, the official government newspaper, dated the new year from January 1. Consequently, for the months of January through March the designation 1703/4 was often used to encompass both the Gregorian and the Julian Calendar year.

100.7.2. "Edw. Shipton, Vic.": Not identified.

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101.11.1. "Colliers": See note 65.7.1.

102.1.1. "Trenchard": "Trencher", a plate or platter of wood or earthenware.

105.29.1. "Conjuration": A magic spell or charm to cause the supernatural.

106.6.1. "Post-House": A post office.

106.12.2. "rouled": Variant spelling of "rolled."

106.15.3. "Rookery": A collection of rooks' nests in a cluster of trees.

106.22.4. "Bows": Variant spelling of "bough."

106.25.5. "Ground-pening": "Ground-pin," the main pin or beam in any structure; a "ground-pinning" is therefore an underpinning.

106.27.6. "Hay-recks": Variant of "hay-ricks," stacks of hay.

107.14.1. "IMPRIMUS": Now "imprimis" from Latin "in primis" meaning literally "in the first place" or "among the

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first things." It was originally used to introduce the first of a number of items (OED).

108.4.1. "the House was not glazed": The house was not yet fitted with windows.

108.10.2. "Beaches": Variant spelling for "Beech" trees.

108.19.3. "Rookery": See note 106.15.1.

108.31.4. "Furse": Variant spelling of "furze" the popular name for "Ulex europaeus," a spiny evergreen shrub with yellow flowers (OED).

109.25.1. "Stadle": Variant spelling of "staddle," the platform on which a rick stands.

112.12.1. "according to the Conditions mention'd in the Advertisement in the Gazette": See note 87.18.1.

112.15.2. "Undertakers": See note A8r.10.1.

113.2.1. "viz.": See note 1.10.1.

113.17.2. "poize": Variant spelling of "poise," a balanced or steady position.

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113.31.3. "Holms": The Holm-oak tree.

115.23.1. "Inclosure": Variant form of "enclosure," the statutory form referring to the marking off of a commons or wasteland to form private property.

117.27.1 "Undertakers": See note A8r.10.1.

118.13.1. "Rice Adams": Adams received his B.A. from from Pembroke College, Oxford in 1678, and his M.A. in 1681. He was rector of Donhead St. Mary, Wiltshire in 1693, and prebendary of Salisbury in 1706. He published the Sermons in 1708, and he died on 8 April 1738 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

119.6.1. "Causeth the Vapours to ascend from the Ends of the Earth": This is an interpretation of a passage that is in both Jeremiah 10:13 and 51:16: "When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures." There is also a shorter version, beginning, word for word, with "He causeth the vapours to ascend..." in the Psalms 135:7.

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119.30.2. "Roaps": Variant spelling of "ropes."

121.4.1. "William Offley, Rector of Middleton-Stony": Offley received his B.A. from King's College, Cambridge in 1682-3, and his M.A. in 1687. In 1690 he was made fellow at Oxford and rector of Middleton Stoney, Oxford. He died 25 April 1724 at the age of 64 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

122.11.1. "Pales": Originally the term designated the stakes driven into the ground to build a fence.

122.18.2. "Staddles": See note 109.25.1.

123.19.1. "Coppice": A small wood or thicket grown in order to be cut periodically.

124.5.1. "Deals": "Deal" is a plank of fir or pine.

125.3.1. "Purbick-stone": "Purbeck-stone" is a hard limestone found on the Purbeck peninsula by the Dorsetshire coast. It was used for building and paving.

125.8.2. "Rods or Perches distance": A "rod" or "perch" is a measure of length equal to 5 1/2 yards or 16 1/2

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feet.

125.30.3. "Stafolds": "Staffold": Dialect. Corrupt form of staddle (see note 109.25.1), perhaps derived from "scaffold" (OED).

126.15.1. "Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his Ladies Misfortune": See note 94.10.1.

127.12.1. "Magdalen Tower": The tower was a part of Magdalen College, Oxford, which was established in 1458.

127.13.2. "Merton": Merton College, established In 1264, was the third oldest college at Oxford University.

127.23.3. "Queen's College": Queen's College, Oxford, was founded in 1340.

127.25.4. "Sir J. Williamson's Buildings": Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) statesman, diplomat, and Queen's College benefactor. He received his B.A. from Queen's College, Oxford in 1653-4. In November 1657 he was elected a fellow of Queen's College, and he received his M.A. In February of 1666, he became the founding editor of the London Gazette, the official register of

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government transactions. When he died in 1701, he left £ 6000 to Queen's College for new buildings and for further beautification of the college (DNB).

129.21.1. "Teuxbury": Tewkesbury.

129.22.2. "Hatfield in Hartfordshire": Hatfield, Hertfordshire, also known as Bishop's Hatfield after the palace of the Bishops of Ely which was built there in 1534.

130.15.1. "Bed teaster": Dialect variant of "tester", the canopy over a bed either supported by the posts of the bedstead or suspended from the ceiling (OED).

131.6.1. "John Matthews": Matthews received his B.A. from Balliol College, Oxford in 1670, and his M.A. in 1673. He was vicar of Tewkesbury, Gloucester from 1703 until his death on 26 May 1729 at age 79 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

131.9.2. "Advertisement in the Gazette of last Monday": See note 87.18.1.

131.17.3. "The Church": The church of St. Etheldreda was built in the 13$^{th}$ century.

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132.2.1. "Hatfield House": The seat of the Marquis of Salisbury, and identified with Sir Robert Cecil, the first earl of Salisbury (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

132.31.2. "George Hemsworth": Received his B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford in 1694-5, and his M.A. from Cambridge in 1700. He was ordained priest in London 19 December 1703, and was a curate of Bishop's Hatfield, Hartfordshire (John Venn Alumni Cantabrigienses; Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

133.12.1. "Hoy": A small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, used to transport passengers and goods for short distances on the sea coast.

133.23.2. "Chartham": Chatham, Kent.

134.13.1. "viz.": See note 1.10.1.

135.14.1. "Tho. Figg": Thomas Figg was admitted as a scholar at Trinity Hall, Cambridge 30 March 1698 (John Venn Alumni Cantabrigienses).

136.23.1. "Wallingford": Wallingford, Berkshire.

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135.22.2. "Rods": A rod is a measure of length equal to 5 1/2 yards or 16 1/2 feet.

137.21.1. "Maiden Oke": Maiden Oak.

137.22.2. "Quille": Obs. rare, from the French "cueille" denoting a gathering or harvest.

137.25.3. "damnify'd": "damnified": damaged or spoiled.

137.25.4. "Tilth": Cultivated or tillaged land.

138.2.1. "sate": Variant spelling of "sat."

139.15.1. "Bagshot in Surry": Bagshot, Surrey.

139.17.2. "Pales": See note 122.11.1.

141.5.1. "Cathedral or Minister of Ely": "Ely Cathedral is one of the finest and most interesting edifices of the kind in Great Britain, displaying, as it does, all the various styles of architecture from Early Norman to Late Perpendicular" (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

141.7.2. "Crasy": Obsolete form of "crazy."

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141.31.3. "Prebendaries": The canons of a cathedral or a collegiate church who receive an ecclesiastical pension or stipend.

145.23.1. "Rigate": Reigate, Surrey.

147.8.1. "Lord Skudamoor": James Scudamore, third viscount, whose estate was at Holme Lacy, Herefordshire.

148.14.1. "Brightelmston": "Brighton" was "for some centuries before 1780...primarily known as a populous fishing village and not the fashionable watering hole it later became" (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

151.29.1. "Perry": A beverage similar to cider, made from the juice of pears expressed and fermented.

154.15.1. "Seats": Country homes.

157.1.1. "15000 Sheep drown'd...1500 Hogsheads of Sugars and Tobaccoes": These figures are also in An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempest(1704), 23.

160.1.1. "Part of a Letter from Mr. Denham to the Royal Society": This is the final paragraph from the letter written by William Derham (not Denham, as he is

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mistakenly referred to in The Storm) letter in The Philosophical Transactions, No. 289, 1534 that Defoe omitted from his earlier excerpt in The Storm, 26; see note 26.10.2.

161.1.1. "Part of a Letter from Mr Anthony van Lauwenhoek,": This letter appears in The Philosophical Transactions, No. 289, 1535-7 wherein the author's name is spelled Leuwenhoek.

161.1.2. "Anthony van Lauwenhoek": Antony van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), Dutch, became world renowned in his lifetime as the first great microscopist. He was a drapier shopkeeper with little formal education. In 1671, however, based on the concept of the hand-made glasses he used to inspect the quality of fabrics, he developed microscopes that were not to be surpassed until the nineteenth century. On the merit of his investigations of organic and inorganic structures, the Royal Society in England made him a fellow in 1680 and published many of his papers in their journal The Philosophical Transactions (DSB vol.III, 126-130).

164.16.1. "Sprye": Spray.

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166.11.1. "Negoce, at a kind of general stop,": Negoce is an obsolete word for commerce. In other words, trade was at a general stand still. Perhaps because of a compositor's error, the necessary comma separating "Unnavigable" from "Negoce" is missing.

168.5.1. "Advertisement in the Gazette": See note 87.18.1.

169.11.1. "Bulg'd": sprang a leak.

169.17.2. "Ketch": A strongly built two-masted vessel.

169.23.3. "Prize": A ship captured at sea because of the right of war; it is a legal capture.

170.12.1. "Tho. Chest": Thomas Chest received his B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford in 1676. He became vicar of Matherne in 1680, and of Chepstow, Monmouth in 1702 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

170.29.2. "Fresh": Freshwater.

171.16.1. "Groundsils": The timber which serves as a foundation to carry a superstructure.

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171.16.2. "Cap-heads": "Cappings" or "copings" would have been the stone covering course on the upper-most surface of the bridge's walls.

171.17.3. "Sleepers": Strong horizontal beams supporting the main part of the bridge.

173.9.1. "French Prize": The only report of a French ship was in Cowes on the Isle of Wight: "A large French Ship from the West Indies...[was] forc'd into this Road, having on board 900 Hogsheads of Sugar much damag'd, not any Mast standing" (The Daily Courant Numb.408, Thursday December 2, 1703). The London Gazette and The Post-Man noted that although the Arundel and the Canterbury storeship were forced ashore they remained safe in the Bristol harbor, but neither of the two foreign vessels mentioned in this letter are accounted for.

173.10.2. "damnified": See note 137.25.3.

173.13.3. "Tun": See note 96.4.1.

173.14.4. "Staved": broken into pieces.

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173.27.5. "Wood-buss": A "wood-bush" is a vessel used for transporting wood.

174.13.1. "Tho. Little": Thomas Little received his B.A. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1683-4, and his M.A. in 1687. He was a fellow at the college from 1688-1702. In 1702 he became a priest of St. Margaret, Lynn. He died 24 April 1731 at the age of 66 (John Venn Alumni Cantabrigienses).

178.16.1. "Ruff cast": "Rough-cast" was a compound of lime and gravel used as a plastering for the outside of walls.

178.28.2. "Moars": Figurative reference to the tree roots that "moor" or "anchor" the tree in the ground.

179.7.1. "Sam. Wooddeson": Samuel Woodeson received his B.A. from St. John's College, Oxford 1671-2, and later became rector of Huntspill, Somerset (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

179.8.2. "Swanzy in Wales": Swansea, Wales.

179.18.3. "Stav'd": See note 173.14.3.

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179.19.4. "Ashoar": Ashore.

181.28.1. "Duke of Beaufort": Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort (1684-1714). His main estate was in Badminton, Gloucester, but apparently he owned property in Wales as well.

182.17.1. "favourable": Admissible.

183.4.1. "Spurn": Spurn Head is by the mouth of the Humber.

183.7.2. "Hoy": See note 133.12.1.

183.17.3. "The letter Printed in the Philosophical Transactions, concerning the Salt being found on the Grass and Trees": Actually there were three letters about this subject in The Philosophical Transactions. The longest one was "Part of a Letter from Mr. Anthony van Leuwenhoek, F.R.S. giving his Observations on the late Storm. Delft, Jan. 8 1704. N.S" 1535-1537 which Defoe cites in full in The Storm, 161-164. Defoe also includes the conclusion of Derham's letter in The Storm, 160. However, Defoe does not cite the third letter on the subject, "Part of a Letter from John Fuller of Sussex" PT, 1530.

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184.20.1. "the Fleet that went out with the King of Spain": See note 44.14.3.

186.11.1. "Brighthemstone": See note 148.14.1.

187.11.1. "Pink": In the 17th and 18th centuries a "pink" was a ship of great size, especially a war-ship.

188.7.1. "the Needles": A group of insulated chalk rocks located off the southwest extremity of the Isle of Wight and 4½ miles southwest of Yarmouth.

188.22.2. "Salterns": Buildings in which salt was made by boiling or evaporation.

189.15.1. "IMpri.": Abbreviation of "imprimis," see note 107.14.1.

189.15.2. "Cob": The breakwater or pier of Lyme Regis [which] was originally constructed of cobblestones heaped together (OED).

189.26.3. "Ashoar": See note 179.19.3.

191.19.1. "Hookers": One masted fishing boats, similar to hoys in build, on the Irish coast and south-west of

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England.

194.7.1. "Rear Admiral of the Blew": "Rear-Admiral of the Blue": In England there were four rear admirals of the red, four of the white, and five of the blue squadron. The Rear Admiral was next in rank and command to the Vice-Admiral(UDM).

194.8.2. "third Rate": "Consists of ships from 80 guns down to 64, carrying from 650 to 500 men; all the above are termed ships of the line, being such as are stationed in the line of battle" (UDM).

194.9.3. "Admiral Beaumont": Basil Beaumont (1669-1703), Rear Admiral. On the Mary he had cruised the North Sea and off Dunkirk, or convoyed the Baltic trade. His ship was in the Downs on November 27th when the great storm drove the Mary on to the Goodwin Sands. Beaumont and all of his crew were lost. The tragic outcome of their desperate attempts to be rescued was much lamented. According to the DNB, the circumstances of Beaumont's death made him more renowned than his record as an officer would have warranted: while creditable, his service was undistinguished. For an extensive account of his death see An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempest, 19-21.

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195.6.1. "Admiral Beaumont": See note 194.9.3.

197.5.1. "Bower Anchor": The name for the two anchors kept at the bow of a vessel: the "best-bower" and the "small-bower."

197.15.2. "Kedge": "A small anchor used to keep a ship steady whilst she rides in a harbour or river, particularly at the turn of the tide"(UDM).

198.7.1. "bonet of her Foresail": A "bonnet" is an additional piece of canvas that used to be attached to the top of the sail, or in this case the "foresail"--the principal sail of the foremast, to catch more wind (OED).

199.5.1. "Lading": Cargo.

199.19.2. "Goodwin Sands": "An extensive and dangerous shoal off the east coast of Kent, opposite Sandwich and Deal, about 5 miles from the mainland. North to south it is about 10 miles long; its breadth ranges from 1 1/2 to 3 miles, and it forms a natural breakwater for the well-known roadstead called the Downs. A considerable part of the shoal is dry at low water…. Probably there is no place where wrecks have been more

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numerous..." (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

200.17.1. "Thomas Powell": The same episode to this point is given in Chambers, vol. II, 624.

204.19.1. "Lime-house Hole": See note 37.13.2.

205.11.1. "Limehouse": See note 37.13.2.

205.16.2. "Boltsprits": An obsolete variant of bowspirits, "the large spars running out from the stem of a vessel to which...the forecastle stays are fastened" (OED).

205.23.3. "Yards": Yard is an archaic naval term for a long spar, tapered at the ends, attached at its middle to a mast and running athwartship, which is used to support a sail.

206.7.1. "Streights": The Straights of Gibraltar.

206.8.2. "Blackwall": The first dock in the port of London was built here in 1661.

206.15.3. "Gravesend": Is situated on the south side of the Thames estuary.

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207.8.1. "Staved": See note 173.14.3.

207.10.2 "Between the Bridge and Hammersmith": From Roman times until 1750 the Bridge (now best-known as the London Bridge) was the only bridge across the Thames. Hammersmith lies on the Thames on its northwest side.

207.22.3. "Black Fryars": The church and precinct of Blackfriars lies along the Thames, west of London Bridge.

207.24.4. "Fulham": Lies on the Thames to the northwest and is the next borough after Hammersmith.

208.8.1. "viz." See note 1.10.1.

208.24.2. "in the City of Gloucester they compute": These numbers are also provided in An Exact Relation of the Late Dreadful Tempest, 23.

209.3.1. "At Bristol they tell us": These numbers are in An Exact Relation..., 15. However, it estimated that the city's losses were at least £ 20,000, which is less than Defoe's assessment.

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209.9.2. "The Harbour at Plimouth,": "Plymouth". All of these losses were also noted in An Exact Relation..., 16.

209.25.3. "the publick Prints": Defoe refers to broadside sheets and pamphlets that announced estimated financial losses and material damages caused by the storm. See An Exact Relation... and An Amazing Tempest.

211.22.1. "Flamboro": Flamborough village is in East Riding, Yorkshire and has 302 acres foreshore, it was then an important town (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

212.25.1. "Cows": Cowes is a coastal city on the north side of the Isle of Wight.

213.6.1. "Portsmouth, Plymouth...look'd as if they had been bombarded": The wording of this passage is similar to that in An Exact Relation, 15.

213.17.2. "Barstaple": Barnstaple harbor is on the northwest coast of Devon.

215.1.1. "an Abstract…in France, Printed in Paris": It is not clear to which source Defoe refers. The Paris

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Gazette was the official newspaper from France which was often cited in The London Gazette for news abroad. However, since at this time France was England's enemy in the War of the Spanish Succession it was very difficult to procure copies of it. Defoe never did publish a separate account detailing European losses.

215.14.2. "Peers": Piers.

215.15.3. "Ricebank": A "rice-bank" is a mound faced with brushwood.

215.15.4. "Dunkirk": Dunkerque, France.

215.15.5. "Haver de Grace": Le Havre or Le Havre de Grace (the harbor of grace), the second seaport of France.

215.16.6. "Bulloign": Boulogne, France.

216.1.1. "Diepe": Dieppe, France.

216.24.2. "Vouchers": See note 84.20.2.

217.1.1. "the Gunfleet": A sand-bank off the coast of Essex and 12 miles south of Harwich.

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217.7.2. "Second Rate": The British navy divided its ships of war into orders from the First-Rate through the Sixth-Rate according to their force and magnitude. The Second Rate included all ships carrying from 90 to 98 guns and 700 to 750 men.

217.8.3. "Sir Stafford Fairborn": Sir Stafford Fairborne (d. 1742), Admiral of the Fleet. On the ship Association he joined Sir Cloudisley Shovell (see note 65.30.3) in the Mediterranean. His squadron was ordered from the Downs into the Thames, and on the night of November 25 anchored off the Gunfleet. The next morning the Association was blown across the North Sea to the coast of Holland and finally to Göteborg, Sweden; from hence he returned to England.

217.11.4. "the Annals of the Reign of Queen Ann is as follows": Abel Boyer's History of the Reign of Queen Anne Digested into Annals. Vol. II (1704) provides a thorough account of the storm (167-170) and also includes a list of the ships and men lost at sea (168).

218.1.1. "An Account of Sir Stafford Fairborne's Distress in the late storm": Defoe cites this letter verbatim and in full from "The Appendix" of The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals. Vol II. (8-

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11).

218.4.2. "second rate": See note 217.7.1.

218.11.3. "Sir Cloudesley Shovell": See note 65.30.3.

218.14.4. "Long-sand-head": A shoal 20 miles long and partly exposed at low tide, located in the North Sea at the mouth of the Thames estuary extending from the southwest to the northeast.

218.14.5. "Yards": Yard is an archaic naval term for a long spar, tapered at the ends, attached at its middle to a mast and running athwartship, which is used to support a sail.

219.2.1. "Starboard side": The side of a ship that is on one's right when one faces forward.

220.1.1. "Sprit Sail": A spritsail was a "sail attached to a yard slung under the bowsprit of large vessels" (OED).

220.2.2. "Yard": See note 218.14.3.

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220.3.3. "Starboard-side": See note 219.2.1.

220.4.4. "Hove up": Raised up.

220.5.5. "Gun-Whale": "Gunnel" or "Gunwale", the upper edge of the side of a boat.

220.30.6. "in lieu": In its stead.

221.1.1 "Belle Isle": "Belle-Ile-En-Mer", a small island off the south coast of Brittany, France. At this time, England was engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession against the French and Spanish, so it is not surprising that Sir Stafford Faiborne's ship was "harassed" by enemy vessels in that region.

221.2.2. "jaded": Exhausted from hard work.

221.5.3. "Gotenbourgh": Göteborg, Sweden.

221.14.4. "French Privateers": These French privateers would have been armed vessels, privately owned and staffed, commissioned by its government for use against a hostile nation, in this case England, especially to capture merchant shipping.

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222.12.1. "Navy Books": Probably an annual statistical report such as List of Losses and Additions to the Navy 1689-1705, now kept at the Public Record Office in Kew, England.

222.15.2. "Sir Cloudesley Shovell": See note 65.30.3.

222r.1.3. foldout. "A LIST of Her Majesty's Ships": The list of ships and men lost in The Annals of Queen Anne Vol. II p.168 includes more ships and the numbers of men lost and saved on each. For a detailed and comprehensive account of the Royal Navy's losses, see David Hepper's British Warship Losses in the Age of Sail, 1650-1857.

222r.6.2. "Fourth Rate": In the British navy the Fourth-Rate war ships held from 50 to 60 guns and 380 to 420 men (UDM).

222r.7.3. "Third Rate": See note 194.8.2.

222r.9.4. "Bomb-Vessel": A small war-vessel carrying mortars for throwing bombs.

222r.10.5. "Advice Boat": A dispatch boat.

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222r.13.6. "Storeship": A government ship that carried military or naval stores.

222r.15.7. "Second Rate": See note 217.7.1.

223.7.1. "The loss of the Light-House, call'd the Eddystone at Plymouth": For more details see An Exact Relation..., 16-17; and Chambers, 624-625.

223.14.2. "Mr. Winstanley": Henry Winstanley (1644-1703), engineer and engraver. In 1696 he designed the lighthouse to be constructed on the Eddystone rock off Plymouth. While working on the project in June 1697, he was abducted by a French privateer and the lighthouse was destroyed. By early July the admiralty effected his return. The lighthouse was completed in 1700 after many revisions of the original plan. It was a pagoda-like structure built of wood with a base of stones bound by copper or iron. While overseeing some repairs there on the night of the storm, Winstanley and five other persons were swept into the ocean along with the lighthouse. Contemporaries eulogized him as a great inventor (see An Exact Relation... (16-17), whereas history has been less generous: in the later eighteenth century Chambers referred to him as "an enterprising but incompetent individual" (624) and the

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DNB has also taken this view.

225.11.1. "Reverend Mr. Banks": Robert Banks received his B.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1670-1, and his M.A. in 1675. He was vicar of the Holy Trinity in Hull from 1689-1715, and prebend of Southwell from 1689-95, and of York from 1695-1715. He died in 1715.

225.28.2. "Mischievous": Unfortunate, calamitous.

227.14.1. "Mischief": Harm or evil due to a particular cause.

227.27.2. "Pharos": A lighthouse.

228.10.1. "Colliers": See note 65.7.1.

228.18.2. "Shrowds": Obsolete form of "shroud": "A set of ropes, usually in pairs, leading from the head of a mast and serving to relieve the latter of a lateral strain; they form part of the standing rigging of a ship" (OED).

228.32.3. "viz.": See note 1.10.11.

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230.15.1. "Mr. Thoresby": Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), antiquary, collector of coins, and topographer. He was a Presbyterian and a zealous attendant of nonconformist meetings. In 1697 he was elected fellow of the Royal Society; his qualifications were his writings on botanical subjects and northern Roman artifacts.

231.22.1. "Morrice-Dancers": "Morris-dancers" would travel from town to town performing in fancy costumes, usually representing characters from the Robin Hood legend, and being given meals and money. In addition to dancing, they also acted in playlets.

232.14.1. "Undertakers": See note A8r.10.1.

232.25.2. "Part of two Letters from Mr. Thoresby, F.R.S. to the Publisher": This introductory title and the letter itself are quoted verbatim from The Philosophical Transactions. No. 289, pp. 1555-1558.

232.25.3. "Mr. Thoresby": See note 230.15.1.

233.13.1. "Childermas": Occurring on the 28th of December, the festival of the Holy Innocents commemorates the slaughter of the children by Herod.

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233.31.2. "Closet": A room for private study or retirement.

235.12.1. "St Matth. 24.7": "For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places" Matthew 24:7.

235.24.2. "viz.": See note 1.10.1.

237. 6.1. "Reverend Mr. King, Lecturer at St. Martins in the Fields": James King received his B.A. from Merton College, Oxford, on 8 February 1699-1700, and his M.A. in 1702. He was a lecturer of St. Martin's Ludgate, and chaplain to the countess dowager of Radnor. From 1722-29 he was rector of Great Stambridge, Essex (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

238.8.1. "Tester": See note 130.15.1.

238.9.2. "Joices": "Joyce" is an obsolete form of "joist" which originally referred to a beam or plank (OED).

240.10.1. "Infantry": A number of infants.

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240.20.2. "Preces & Lachrimae": "Prayers and tears", a phrase that also appears in The Book of Tobit, from the Apocrypha of the Vulgate bible: "Tunc dixit Raquel: Non dubito quod Deus preces & lacrymas meas in conspectu suo admiserit" (Tobiae 7:13). Then Rachel said, "I do not doubt because God will hear my prayers and tears in his view."

241.15.1. "As David said to Jonathan": In 1 Samuel 20:3 David said to Jonathan, "…Thy father certainly knoweth that I have found grace in thine eyes; and he saith, Let not Jonathan know this, lest he be grieved, but truly as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is but a step between me and death."

241.20.2. "Spars": See note 66.6.1.

241.31.3. "artificially": A now largely archaic sense of the word, meaning that something is done cleverly and skillfully in a workman-like manner.

242.13.1. "slumbers": Figurative usage meaning "To live in a state of inactivity or negligence" (OED).

242.26.2. "John Gipps": Defoe does not state the location of Gipps' parish. This could be the same John Gipps

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who matriculated at Cambridge in 1677-8 and received his L.L.B. in 1682. He was a university fellow from 1683 to 87. In 1685 he was ordained deacon of Lincoln, and was a priest at Norwich 1686. From 1685-90 he was rector of Brockley, Suffolk, but was deprived of the position for being a non-juror, a clergyman of the Church of England who believed that James II was still the rightful king of England and therefore refused to take the oath of allegiance to King William III and Queen Mary in 1689. Perhaps for this reason, either Defoe or Gipps chose not to disclose the latter's whereabouts.

243.14.1. "in David's Expression, 2 Sam.22.8": "Then the earth shook and trembled; the foundations of heaven moved and shook, because he was wroth" 2Samuel 22:8.

243.30.2. "Reeks of corn": Variant spelling for "ricks of corn", or stacks of corn.

243.30.3. "Furses": See note 108.31.4.

244.12.1. "Clavel": The beam of wood used as a fireplace mantel.

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244.13.2. "Fewel": Variant spelling of fuel.

245.25.1. "Omnipotent Matter": A derisive term for the atheistic philosophy of "materia Prima" (L. first matter) or mechanistic materialism, "The theory that the universe is a machine and can be completely explained in terms of the mechanical motions of matter. The traditional view holds that anything that produces a material (physical) effect must itself be a material object…. There are no final causes or purposes in the universe" (Peter A. Angeles, Dictionary of Philosophy 162).

245.30.2. "Jacob Cole, Rector of Swyre": Jacob Cole received his B.A. from Magdalen College, Oxford in 1666, and his M.A. in 1669. He was made rector of Swyre, Dorset in 1671 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

246.7.1. "Violedce": Violence.

246.9.2. "Dr. Gideon Harvey": Gideon Harvey, the younger (1669?-1754), physician. He was admitted candidate of the College of Physicians of London in 1699 and made a fellow in 1702-1703. About 1700-1702 he was appointed the King's physician to the Tower. According to the

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DNB he does not appear to have published. However, Gideon Harvey the Elder is listed as the editor of The City Remembrancer (1769) which contains a long adaptation of Defoe's The Storm.

248.3.1. "Gideon Harvey": See note 246.9.1.

249.19.1. "Bed's Tester": See note 130.15.1.

250.4.1. "Table-bed": "A bed of the figure of a table" (OED).

253.9.1. "Rother": Variant of "rudder" the paddle or oar used for steering a vessel.

254.8.1. "Helvensluce in Holland": See note 66.27.3.

255.6.1. "Thomas Watts": Watts received his B.A. from Oxford in 1685. He was curate of Kent in 1686, and became the vicar of Orpington in 1688. He died 17 February 1738-8 (Joseph Foster Alumni Oronienses).

255.14.2. "a fourth Rate": See note 222r.6.2.

255.24.3. "Deal Hooker": A hooker (see note 191.19.1.) from the town of Deal.

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255.26.4. "Brighthelmston": See note 148.14.1.

255.30.5. "Hoy": See note 133.12.1.

255.31.6. "Captain Soam's Letter": For Captain Joseph Soanes' letter see pp. 167-170.

260.17.1. "founder'd": sank.

260.18.2. "Ground Tackle": "Ground-tackle" is the anchoring equipment of a ship.

260.21.3. "Foundring": A "foundering" vessel has sprung a leak and is in danger of sinking.

260.21.4. "rod": Variant of "rode".

260.30.5. "Sir Cloudsly Shovel" See note 65.30.3.

261.4.1. "Goodwin": See note 199.19.2.

263.2.1. "Pink": See note 187.11.1.

263.33.2. "Jury Missen": A makeshift or temporary mizzenmast, the third mast on a ship, used in an emergency attempt to help a vessel to make port or a

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place where it can be repaired (The Facts on File Dictionary of Nautical Terms).

264.5.1. "the Downs...to near the Goodwin": See note 199.19.2.

264.15.2. "tite": Swift.

264.18.3. "between Harwich and the Brill": Harwich is a seaport in east Essex, on the peninsula on the south side of the river Stour. It is one of the safest and best harbors on the east coast, and its shipping was important in trade with Holland and northern Germany (Gazetteer of the British Isles). Brielle is across the water from Harwich on the southwest coast of Holland.

266.27.1. "Colliers": See note 65.7.1.

267.4.1. "embayed": Enclosed in a bay.

267.17.2. "Fleet just come from Russia": See note 64.2.1.

267.19.3. "Coasters": A vessel that sails along the coast or sails from port to port in the same country (OED).

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269.12.1. "Fore-castle": A short raised deck at the fore end of a vessel.

269.13.2. "stav'd": "staved", see note 173.14.3.

269.29.3. "under the Lee": See note 20.14.2.

269.30.4. "Scarbro": The municipal borough of Scarborough is on the northeast coast of England. Its harbor "is of great importance to the coasting trade, being used as a place of shelter from the easterly gales, and attention has been paid to it from an early period" (Gazetteer of the British Isles).

269.31.5. "Bower Anchors": See note 197.5.1.

271.2.1. "Bishop of Bath and Wells": See note 94.10.1.

272.17.1. "Undertakers": See note A8r.10.1.

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