

Index

Act for the Kingly Title, 80 almsgiving, 64, 66, 75 Act of Explanation, 176 American Revolution, 230 Acte for Punyshment of Rogues, 77-8, 81 Americas, 84, 105, 119, 149, 152, 227, 238 Acte for Setting of the Poore on Worke, 77 likened to Canaan, 126 Acte for the Punishement of Anglo-Dutch Wars Vacabondes, 77 First, 160 Acte for the Releife of the Poore, 77 Second, 176 Acts of Settlement animal husbandry, 81, 136, See also cattle; Cromwellian, 166 sheep-farming restoration, 176 animals. See also cattle; horses; oxen; Addison, Joseph sheep-farming The Spectator, 194-5 as labor source, 159 adiaphora, 45 attitudes toward, 159 Adventurers' Act, 162 labor source, 157-9 Africans and African-descended lifespan, 143 multiplication, 229 people, 153-5, 159, 178, 197, 221, 223, 224, 228, 231 annuities, 190 agrarian complaint literature, 29, 43, 73 Antigua, 223 agriculture, 136, See also animal husbandry; Antwerp, 122 apiculture; enclosure; horticulture; apiculture (metaphor), 127 sheep-farming apocalypse, apocalypticism, 190, See also and carrying capacity, 202 eschatology and colonial settlement, 227 Arbuthnot, John Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical and growth, 116 and human power, 245 Learning, 192-3 and improvement, 148, 151, 161 of the Laws of Chance, 92 and perpetual motion, 157 Aristotle and Bodin, 107 and stadial theory, 239 and Botero, 114 as metaphor, 127 commercial, 227 and Starkey, 46 linked to civility, 87 politics, 22, 27-9, 106, 120 air ars apodemica, 104 aspect of salubrity, 144-5, 208, 211, 219 and improvement, 149 improvement of, 145, 205, 209, 211 and infinite growth, 150 natural history of, 207, 209 and situation, 124, 146, 202 alchemy, 101, 141, 148, 152, 173 and struggle for subsistence, 181 as metaphor, 5, 173-5 as perfecting nature, 148 Alexander the Great, 86 helping nature, 128 aliens (foreign migrants), 27, 28, See also improving nature, 113, 134 refugees Malthus on, 243, 246 attacked, 74 power of, 22, 46, 101, 110, 127 immigration discouraged, 228, 230 surpassing nature, 114 immigration encouraged, 56 artificers. See artisans



288 Index

artisans, artisanship, 28, 48, 49, 70, 89, 107, on population growth, 107 136, 182 on the census, 107-8 and policy, 56, 114 policy as an art, 105 foreign, 56, 116, 181 Six Bookes of a Commonweale, 106–10 body politic (metaphor), 1–2, 62–3, 105, Athens (ancient), 115 Awdeley, John 247-8 Fraternitie of Vagabonds, 68, 69 and Ireland, 62-3, 80 Aristotle on, 29 bachelors, 50, 211, 212 in Elizabethan writing, 61 in mid-Tudor writing, 31, 43 Bacon, Francis, 140-6 Advancement of Learning, 142 in seventeenth century, 103, 136 and Petty, 143 John Awdeley on, 69 Robert Gray on, 127 and political arithmetic, 136 Essayes and Counsels, 137 Starkey on, 46, 48, 50 History of the Reign of King Henry VII, Thomas Smith on, 51, 54 40-I threats as exogenous, 14, 71 History... of Life and Death, 142-5 William Bradford on, 131 "human empire," 22, 145 Bornitz, Jakob, 141 humanism, 45 Boston, 196 New Atlantis, 145-6 botany, 245 New Organon, 4, 102, 142 Botero, Giovanni, 10, 13, 88, 101, 115-17 on muster rolls, 37, 41 and Aristotle, 112, 114 and Bacon, 137, 141 on policy, 118 and Bodin, 111 operationalism, 101, 136 rhetoric, 2, 4 and reason of state, 101, 105 significance, 1 estimate of English strength Barbados, 159, 223 questioned, 118 Bayker, John, 66 influence in England, 118 beggar's cant, 64, 69-72 on colonies, 113-14 begging, 35, 50, 64-5, 75-8, 35 on conquered populations, 115-16 on demographic governance, 115–17 Bermuda, 223 Bible, 22, 25-7, See also Cain; Canaan; David; on empire, 105 Egypt; great flood; Noah; Israel on Greece and Rome, 112 chronology, 120 on limits to growth, 115 genealogy, 120, 194 on situation, 115 proverbs, 37, 42, 56, 64, 106, 122, 127 On the Causes of the Greatness and Wisdom of Solomon, 4, 171 Magnificence of Cities, 112-15 On the Reason of State, 115-17 Bills of Mortality, 4, 11, 15-16, 19, 67, 133, 171, 181, 192, 195 on utility, 113, 114 beyond London, 196 policy as an art, 105, 111, 14, 116 comparative uses, 208-9, 226 significance, 111 Boyle family, 165 publication, 15 biopolitics, 8 Boyle Lectures, 191, 192 biotech, 251 Boyle, Robert, 3, 174 Black Legend, 152 on air, 206-7 Black, William, 189 Bradford, William Of Plymouth Plantation, 130-1 blackness, 153-4, 221, 222, 226 Bodin, Jean, 10, 13, 19, 29, 101 Brakenridge, William, 209-11 and Botero, 111 Brand, Charles, 209 and reason of state, 105 breastfeeding. See nursing Breslau (Wrocław), 188, 208 cited by Edmund Spenser, 98 influence in England, 117-18 Bridewell, 66, 75, 77, 130, See also workhouses on blackness, 108 British Empire, 121, 152, 221, 248, 250 on character, 108-10 arguments for, 119-35 on governance, 110 expansion of, 160-1



> Index 289

governance of population within, 221-31	hindrance to multiplication, 226
ideology, 153	insalubrity, 208–9
information-gathering within, 183	civil society, 24, 213, 233
British North America, 198, 228, 232	civility, 43, 44
broadsides. See <i>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us</i>	and Englishness, 82, 179
brothels, 214–16	and religion, 170
Burnet, Thomas, 191, 207	and trade, 97
	in Ireland, 80–102
Cabal ministry, 176	Indigenous, 134
Cain, 112	clergy, 13, 50, 123
Calvinism, 56	climate. See also air; environment;
Campion, Edmund, 93, 95	salubrity; situation
cited by Vincent Gookin, 169	and character, 108–10, 115
Historie of Ireland, 93–5	and race, 221
Canaan, Canaanites, 126, 128	and salubrity, 124
Canada, 229, 229	and situation, 201
Cant, canting. See beggar's cant	Bacon on, 143–4
Caribbean, 131, 135, 159, 160, 179, 221, 223,	human power to change, 205, 21:
228, 232, See also Antigua; Barbados;	in New England, 132–3
Guadeloupe; Hispaniola; Jamaica;	in queries for travelers, 206
Spanish West Indies	Irish, 85
Carolinas, the, 223	Virginian, 125
carrying capacity, 202, 210	coinage, 53-5
Carthaginians, 109	Coke, John
Catholicism	Débat des Hérauts d'armes, 38
and idleness, 57–8	Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 19
and reason of state, 111	colonial plantation, 62, 63, 119–35,
and rebellion, 167	151–61
in England. <i>See</i> England	and demographic governance, 24
in Ireland. See Ireland	commerce. See trade
in Quebec, 230	Commonwealth discourse, 43, 45, 6
of the Old English (in Ireland), 82	complexion
possibility of restoration in England, 178	and climate, 132
cattle, 33, 36, 39, 52, 134, 158, 159	and longevity, 143
Cattle Acts, 176	and skin color, 144, 230–1
celibacy, 49, 86	Compton Census, 191, 193
censuses, 22	Condorcet, Nicolas de Caritat, mai
and the sin of David, 25, 73, 108	236, 237, 243
arguments for, 37, 107, 107–8	confinement, 62, 64, 75, See also Br
British, 5, 172, 190, 247	hospitals; workhouses
Compton Census, 191, 193	and demographic governance, 24
history, 248	conjectural history, 237
of the poor, 5, 67, 68, 75	conversion. See religion
significance, 190	Copland, Patrick
Certayne Causes Gathered Together, 38–43	Virginia's God Be Thanked, 129
charity, 64, 65, 75, 190, 213, 219	Coram, Thomas, 216
Charles II, 170, 176	corpuscularianism, 174
chemistry, chymistry. See alchemy	Counter-Reformation, 26, 93, 147, 1
Chichester, Arthur, 1st Baron, 204	craft, craftsmen. See artisans, artisa
chronologists, 25–6	creoles, creolization, 222
Church of England, 213, See also English	Cromwell, Henry, 165
reformation	Cromwell, Oliver, 160, 162, 168
cities	Cromwell, Thomas, 15, 45, 65
Aristotle on, 27–9	Cunningham, William
Botero on, 112–15	Cosmographicall Glasse, 200

13, 233 ss, 82, 179 O 102 ir; environment; uation 108–10, 115 24 OI to change, 205, 212 d, 132–3 avelers, 206 uts d'armes..., 38 tiste, 19 n, 62, 63, 119–35, ic governance, 248 liscourse, 43, 45, 63 143 144, 230-I , 191, 193 as de Caritat, marquis de, 64, 75, See also Bridewell; rkhouses nic governance, 248 y, 237 ligion Be Thanked, 129 216 n, 174 ition, 26, 93, 147, 152 See artisans, artisanship on, 222 165 160, 162, 168 as, 15, 45, 65 illiam Cosmographicall Glasse, 200



290

custom
and virtue, 46
English, 92, 230
hindrance to improvement, 155
Indigenous, 135
instrument of policy, 170
Irish, 91, 93, 98
popular, 218
power of, 108–10

Davenant, Charles, 173, 189, 205
David (king)
and the census, 25, 73, 108
Davies, John
cited by Vincent Gookin, 169
Discoverie of the Trve Cavses..., 99–100
de Bry, Theodore, 124
De La Warr, Thomas West, 3rd Baron, 128

dearth, 56, 57, 127 debasement. See coinage Dee, Arthur, 171 Dee, John, 142 defense. See security Defoe, Daniel Essay upon Projects, 190

Journal of the Plague Year, 195 degeneration, 14, 59 and colonial settlement, 132, 134

and miscegenation bans, 223 and overpopulation, 130 and poor relief, 241 and vagrancy, 71, 77 of ploughmen, 30, 34 of the Old English in Ireland, 62, 81, 82, 85,

demographic agency, 2, 3, 5, 13, 24, 196 and Foucault, 8 and political arithmetic, 18 and providentialism, 26 and quantification, 6 and the lawgiver, 30, 31 contested, 197–9 constraints on, 222 Malthus on, 241, 243–4 transformative, 101, 140 demographic governance

and slavery, 155 and the invention of population, 140 and the public, 192 as an art, 136 contested, 233 disciplinary location, 8–10

and racial hierarchy, 222

down survey and, 163 expansion in scope, 100–2, 105 implications of subject, 249–50

Index

in colonial settings, 89 introduced as subject, 1-3 Malthus on, 235-7 transformative, 62 vernacular, 17 demographic subjectivity, 3, 194-6, 198 demography (discipline), 19 depopulation, 29-43, 48, 61, 103 after 1688, 230 in the Americas, 152 Derham, William, 191 digestion (metaphor), 168, 174 disease, 113, 133, 145, 172 and aliens, 74 and environment, 206-7 and Indigenous mortality, 125 and poverty, 75 and vagrancy, 71 as metaphor, 48 in Virginia, 132 Dissent, Dissenters, 213, 215, 230 Donius, Giovanni Battista, 205 doubling periods (of population), 25, 191, 229-30, 239-40 down survey. See Petty, William D'Oyley, Edward, 221 Dublin, 62, 80, 164, 175 Dutch Republic, 151, 182, 203, 205 Dymock, Cressy, 155-60 advocacy of enclosure, 155-6 and perpetual motion, 156-60 Ease for Overseers of the Poore, 67, 78

Ease for Overseers of the Poore, 67, 78
economic thought
and William Petty, 180
history of, 6, 53, 114
idea of growth in, 101
education, 43, 46, 62
and demographic agency, 244
and Ireland, 93–6
and love of independence, 241
and racial hierarchy, 222
and the London Foundling Hospital, 220
Bodin on, 109
Botero on, 115
Edward VI, 51, 56
Book of Common Prayer, 38

Book of Common Prayer, 38 Egypt (ancient), 25 Elizabeth I, 61, 95, 120 enclosure, 29, 31–43, 51–3 and improvement, 155 and industry, 156 engines, 156–60

England. *See also* British Empire; Great Britain Catholics in, 176–8, 180 Civil War, 135, 162



	El
compared with France, 38, 137	Fleetwood, Charles, 165, 168
competition with France, 151	Fleetwood, William, 78
competition with the Dutch Republic, 151	Florence, 73
descriptions of, 35	foreigners. See aliens
interest of demographic figures in, 16	forests, 33, 38, 146
Kett's Rebellion, 31, 37, 51, 73	clearance of, 209, 231
number of towns and villages estimated, 39	Forrest, William, 37
Parliament, 78, 164, 165, 175	Foucault, Michel, 7–9
population, 61	France, 182, 212, 228
Privy Council, 66	civil wars, 162
science in, 21	compared with England, 38–9, 137
situation, 56	competition with England, 225
Western Rising, 31, 37	descriptions of the poor in, 68, 69
English Reformation, 86	reception of political arithmetic, 12
dissolution of the monasteries, 30, 37, 65, 86	situation, 203, 204
Edward VI, 37, 56, 57	Franklin, Benjamin, 225–31, 234
Henry VIII, 15, 31, 36, 71	and Hume, 231
enlightenment, 17, 22, 226, 227, 238	and Malthus, 238, 239
environment, 1, 13, 59, 105, 128, 132, 182, 206,	Interest of Great Britain
248, See also salubrity; situation	Considered, 229
and Bills of Mortality, 208	Observations Concerning the Increase of
and improvement, 210	Mankind, 225–6
and situation, 202	racism, 230–1
antediluvian, 25, 120	Speech of Miss Polly Baker, 225–6
Bacon on, 144	French Revolution, 237
Bodin on, 108–10	
Botero on, 114, 115	Galen. See medicine
colonial, 105, 221, 225	Gates, Thomas, 128
colonial and metropolitan, 221	genocide, 96, 168, 249
in sacred history and theories of the earth,	Germans
207-8	ancient, 109
epidemics. See disease; inoculation; plague;	modern, 231
yellow fever	Gerrard, William, 90–2
epistemes (Foucault), 9	gig economy, 251
equality, 236, 242, 243	Gilbert's Act, 232
Erasmus, Desiderius, 44, 45, 64	Glorious Revolution. See Revolution of
eschatology, 5	1688
Etough, Henry, 218, 220	Godwin, William, 236, 243, 244
eugenics, 249, 250	Gookin, Vincent
Europe	and Petty, 168
civilization and stagnation in, 239–40	and Richard Lawrence, 168–9
contrasted with Americas, 226, 238	Author and Case of Transplanting
information gathering in, 15	Vindicated, 170
expulsion	Great Case of Transplantation
of Jews and Moriscos, 250	Discussed, 166–8
of religious minorities, 164	government. See demographic governance;
of the Huguenots, 228	policy; state
	governmentality, 7–8
facts, facticity, 183, 185, 186	Graunt, John, 11, 22, 181, 198
family, history of the, 196	and Petty, 171, 172, 186
fen drainage, 115, 146, 155	and women, 197
fertility	cited by Cotton Mather, 192, 194
ancient, 120	influence in Europe, 12
in New England, 125, 133	Natural and Political Observations upon the
women's control over, 198	Bills of Mortality, 15, 16, 18
fishing, fisheries, 151, 152	on the history of population, 191



292

Graunt, John (cont.) on urban and rural health, 208 Gray, Robert Good Speed to Virginia, 126-8 policy as art, 136 Great Britain Parliament, 213, 216 population, 229 great flood, 25, 26, 120, 133, 191, 209 Greece ancient, 112 Guadeloupe, 230 Guinea, 228 Hakluyt, Richard (the elder), 123 Hakluyt, Richard (the younger), 105 Discourse of Western Planting, 120-3 on goals of colonial plantation, 120 on planned mobility, 123-4 on situation, 124, 201 use of quantification, 120-2 Halley, Edmund, 188, 208, 210 . Hanway, Jonas, 217, 232 Hariot (or Harriot), Thomas, 126 Briefe and True Report, 124–6 Harman, Thomas and William Harrison, 72 Caveat for Common Cursitors, 68-72 on gender and vagrancy, 71 Harrison, William Description of England, 68-72, 118 Hartlib, Samuel, 163, 165 and Petty, 174 Hartlib Circle, 136, 141, 147-61, 173 Haygarth, John, 232 Henry VII. See Bacon, Francis Henry VIII, 15, 30, 36, 44 Hext, Edward, 79 Heysham, John, 232 Hippocrates. See medicine Hispaniola, 122, 160 Hobbes, Thomas, 3, 142, 173 Holinshed, Raphael Chronicles, 68, 93 Holland, 73 horses, 157-9 horticulture, 136 hospitals, 65, 66 for foundlings, 211 for putting the idle to work, 66 London Foundling Hospital, 216-21 houses of correction. See Bridewell; workhouses humanism, 29, 44-6, 63-4 Hume, David, 4, 172, 226 and Franklin, 231

Index

debate with Robert Wallace, 212, 239 on racial hierarchy, 222 husbandmen, 40, 89, 123, 182, 248 and depopulation, 29, 41 degeneration of, 42 idleness, 14, 33 and begging, 35 and body politic, 48-9 and Catholicism, 58 and crime, 30 and dearth, 57 and depopulation, 43 and enclosure, 36, 42 and ideas of poverty, 63 and monastic life, 64 and servants, 53 and situation, 59 and slaveholders' children, 228 and vagrancy, 70, 71, 78–9 and views of Indigenous people, 134 illegitimate births. See out-of-wedlock births impressment (analogy), 5, 179 improvement, 21, 41, 42, 190, 226, See also agriculture; air; enclosure; population; soil; situation and climate, 212 and demographic governance, 136, 152 and enclosure, 155-6 and racial hierarchy, 226 and salubrity, 210 and situation, 205 in New England, 133-4 Malthus on, 245 of population, 216 indentured labor, 129, 153 Indigenous people, 125-6, 132 and civilizing mission, 134-5 and intermarriage, 5, 223 and religious conversion, 121 as Canaanites, 128 deaths from disease, 125 European speculation about origins of, 121 Malthus on, 239 mode of subsistence criticized, 133 occupation of land obscured, 227 industrial proletariat, 249 industry, 30, 35, 42 and enclosure, 156 and improvement, 149 as goal of policy, 211 as object of policy, 79, 113-14, 116 Dutch, 96, 182, 203 environment's effect on, 108 needed in New England, 134 needed in Virginia, 128



Index 293

information. See also state Jews (modern), 116, 164, 250 and colonial plantation, 125 Journal des Sçavans, 11 and Down Survey, 164 Jurin, James, 189 and policy, 104, 136, 171 Kennett, White, 191, 213-14 and political arithmetic, 22, 141, 186 and trade, 206 Keymor, John, 202 demographic and economic, 5 Kilkenny, Statutes of, 91, 92 official use of, 19, 74 King, Gregory, 183, 189, 208 political, 15, 201 Kuhn, Thomas, 9 inoculation (smallpox), 172, 196-7, 218, la Peyrère, Isaac, 207 220, 232 inquisition. See Spanish Inquisition labor. See animals: as labor source; instruments (of measurement), 172, 197, indentured labor; slavery; wage labor 218, 220 L'Amy, Hugh, 151-3 landowners, landownership, 35, 53 insurance, 190 intermarriage. See also miscegenation bans and colonial plantation, 83 between English and Indigenous and depopulation, 30 and enclosure, 14, 34, 42 people, 5, 223 between English and Irish, 91 and improvement, 42, 150 and price-fixing, 39 between Irish and English, 173, 176-7 and vagrancy, 66 1641 Rebellion, 135, 161, 164, 167 in Ireland, 162, 164 Langton, Christopher, 200 Ards plantation, 83-9, 146 Catholic Confederacy, 162 Language, 177 Catholics in, 164, 165, 168, 170, 176 English, 5, 95, 100, 168, 173, 178, 230 conquest advocated, 96 imposed following conquest, 116 Cromwellian conquest of, 151, 162 Irish, 97, 170 Flight of the Earls, 83, 99 Las Casas, Bartholomé de, 121 Gaelic Irish, 62, 80, 81, 87-90, 93-4, Lawrence, Richard, 164 Interest of England in the Irish 96-7, 248 Gaelic lordships, 80 Transplantation, 168-9 Kildare rebellion, 82 Le Pruvost, Peter (Pierre), 151-3 land settlements, 164 leghorn. See Livorno Munster plantation, 83 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 12 New English (Protestant settlers), 80, 93, 94 liberalism, 22, 233, 236 Nine Years' War, 92, 96, 99 Licensing Act, 196 Old English (Anglo-Normans), 62, 80-3, life expectancy, 12, 172, 190, 191 87-97, 167, 248 life table, 188, 208, 210 Old Protestants, 170 limpieza di sangre, 250 Pale, 80, 82, 87, 91, 93, 94 liquor consumption, 211, 218 Parliament, 80, 91 lists of householders, 6, 139 problem of English authority in, 62-3, Livorno (Leghorn), 113, 204 80-101 Locke, John, 84 Protestants in, 161, 165, 169 London, 195 rights of conquest asserted, 97, 99-100 and depopulation, 52 Scottish settlement in Ulster, 80 and Societies for the Reformation of Ulster plantation, 83, 99 Manners, 213 and the Bills of Mortality, 16, 67 Israel (ancient), 25, 87, 126, 220 citizens' petition, 66 city government, 129 English conquest of, 151, 160 Defoe on, 195 legal status of whiteness in, 155, 223-4 demographic growth, 62 Tacky's Revolt, 224 Foundling Hospital, 216-21 James I, 126 Graunt on, 171 James II, 175, 176 Lord Mayor, 130 Jamestown. See Virginia mortality, 197



294

London (cont.)

economic and social consequences of, 240 salubrity, 209-11 encouraged by policy, 50, 172, 212 size and growth debated, 189 hindrances to, 49, 212, 226, 242 vagrants in, 78 Marriage Duty Act, 160 Marshal, William, 65 Long, Edward, 224 longevity, 207 Maryland, 223 ancient, 120 Massachusetts Bay (colony), 130-1, 223, 224 mathematics, 142 Bacon on, 142-5 in New England, 224-5 Mather, Cotton, 192, 194, 224-5 Mayflower Compact, 131 of patriarchs, 25 Lord Have Mercy Upon Us (broadside medical arithmetic, 8, 18, 172, 189, 207, genre), 16, 67 209-11, 217, 232 Louis XIV, 203, 204, 212, 182 medicine low countries. See Dutch Republic; as metaphor, 49, 55 Holland; Spanish Netherlands Bacon on, 145-6 Luther, Martin Galenic, 200 Liber vagatorum, 64 Hippocratic, 154, 206, 209 luxury, 33, 137, 211, 212 history, 196 and depopulation, 230, 243 in public debate, 196 and London, 210 profession, 181 and peddlers, 211 racialized, 198, 221, 232 hindrance to marriage, 113 mercantilism, 160 merchants, 49, 123, 130, 182 Lycurgus, 107 Mersenne, Marin, 173 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 101, 104 migration. See also aliens; expulsion; Machines. See engines indentured labor; refugees; slavery; Machyn, Henry, 66 slave trade; transplantation Maitland, William, 189, 209 forced, 231 Malthus, Thomas Robert, 21, 23, 199, 229, 234 of artisans to England, 231 Essay on the Principle of Population, 2, 23, of Germans to Pennsylvania, 230 24, 172, 235-47 of servants to colonies, 129 his followers, 22 or artisans, to England, 56 his targets, 22, 236, 243-5 to colonies, 229 neo-Malthusians, 22 to Ireland, 97 on colonial growth, 230, 238 to London, 61 on improvement, 245 to New England, 135 on love of independence, 240-1 military strength. See seamen; security; on moral restraint, 247 soldiers on poor relief, 243 mills, 158, 159 on providence, 245-6 miscegenation bans, 223 on "savage" and "civilized" societies, 239-40 mixture significance, 23, 250 and degeneration, 62, 81, 85, 92, 248 Mandeville, Bernard and education, 94, 95 Fable of the Bees, 215 and immigration, 230 Modest Defence of Publick Stews, 215–16 and Irish difference, 166-8, 170 and policy, 100 manners, 97, 98, 125, 218 degeneration of, 85 and racial and labor hierarchies, 222-4 English, 5, 100, 167, 168, 173, 175, 177, 178 controlling, 97 in America, 238 mobility Irish, 91, 170 and bodily change, 222 and degeneration, 30, 248 Marine Society, 232 Maroon War, 224 and demographic governance, 242, 248 marriage. See also bachelors; celibacy; and elimination of Irish difference, 169 intermarriage; pro-natalism and Irish difference, 167 earlier in America than Europe, 226, 238 and labor markets, 241



and policy, 76, 99, 105, 119	naturalization, 137, 228
and poverty, 64	Navigation Act, 158, 160
and racial and labor hierarchies, 222–3	Neville, Henry, 204, 229
and racial hierarchy, 154	New England, 13, 125, 130–5, 221, 225,
and slavery, 155	See also Massachusetts Bay; Plymouth
and vagrancy, 66, 70, 78	Great Migration, 135
in Tudor Ireland, 62–3	salubrity, 224–5
More on, 34–5	New Model Army, 152, 161
of the Gaelic Irish, 81	New World. See Americas
regenerative, 106	Newfoundland, 123
regulation, 73	news, newspapers, 16
transformative, 123, 129	and demographic subjectivity, 196
modernity, 198	Nicolay, Nicolas de, 201
and population, 140	Noah, 25, 133, 191
money. See coinage	Norfolk, Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of, 65
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de	Norwich, 74, 76
La Brède et de	census of the poor, 73–5
Persian Letters, 212	number, numbers. See quantification
Moors. See Muslims	numeracy, 198
More, Thomas, 45	nursing, 97, 217, 218, 220
Utopia, 18, 33–5, 107	
Moriscos, 250	Ormond, James Butler, Duke of, 176, 183, 204
Morris, Corbyn	on William Petty, 180
Observations on the Past Growth and Present	out-of-wedlock births, 108, 217
State of the City of London, 211	overpopulation, 86, 103–4
mortality, 4, See also Bills of Mortality	and colonial settlement, 119, 122, 126, 127
childhood, 28, 217	and degeneration, 130
Indigenous, 125	and food scarcity, 238
multiplication (human). See also doubling	oxen, 157, 158
periods	Oxen, 1)/, 1)0
and improvement, 150	Pale. See Ireland
benefits, 107	paradigms (Kuhn), 9
history, 192	Paris, 12, 212
models, 238	parish registers, 4, 15, 45, 66, 171, 208
past and future, 190	pastoral power, 8
multitudes (distinguished from populations), 1,	Patrizi, Francesco, 59
14, 23, 29–31	peddlers, 77, 78, 211
	peddler's French. See beggar's cant
and governance, 43–4	
and quantification, 68	Penn, William, 204
and transformation, 61–3, 100–2	Pennsylvania, 223, 224, 230
ethnically and nationally defined, 100	Pepys, Samuel, 16, 195
Mun, Thomas	Pequot War, 135
England's Treasure by Forraign Trade,	Percival, Thomas, 232
202-3 Marking of 1 222	perfectibility (of society), 237, 243
Muslims, 164, 229	perpetual motion. See Dymock, Cressy
muster rolls, 5, 37, 41	Perrott, James Chronicle of Ireland, 95–6
nationalism, 249	Persian Empire, 86
Native Americans. See Indigenous people	Pett, Peter, 204
natural history, 104, 184, 201, 206	Petty, William, 11–13, 15, 22
natural philosophy, 17, 205, See also	and alchemy, 174–5
corpuscularianism	and colonial empire, 224
and mathematics, 142	and demographic governance, 173–82
Francis Bacon's writings on, 136	and intermarriage, 223
political import, 141	and John Arbuthnot, 193



296 Index

Petty, William (cont.) power over nature, 101 and later calculators, 172 task of government, 88 and political arithmetic, 3-5, 171-2 political arithmetic, 23, 248 and quantification, 183-8 after 1688, 188-99 and colonial America, 224-31 and Swift, 193 and the Hartlib Circle, 141 and Petty, 3-5 and the transplantation into Connacht, 165 as an art, 193 and Vincent Gookin, 168 as vernacular, 18 and women, 177-9, 197 during the Restoration, 171-87 Discourse... Concerning Duplicate English and Anglo-American history, 11-13 Proportion, 204 Foucault on, 7 Down Survey, 161-4 golden age, 6 on Africans, 154 political economy, 226 on sacred history, 191 Christian, 247 on situation, 199, 203-5 discipline, 172 on the limits of policy, 200 imperial, 151, 160, 222, 225 Political Anatomy of Ireland, 176-7 liberal, 233, 236 Political Arithmetick, 182, 200, 203 political thought, 63, 88, 104, 153 projector, 19, 175 polygenism, 121 "Scale of Salubrity," 143, 205, 224 polyp, 229, 231 Poor Laws, 65, 73, 76, 79, 241–2 transmutation of the Irish into English, 173, 175-80 poor relief, 10 Treatise of Taxes, 181-2, 204 population. See also demographic agency; Philadelphia, 198 demographic governance; demographic Philanthropy, 2, 213, 216, 219, See also charity subjectivity after Malthus, 22 Philip II, 120, 121 Philosophical Transactions (Royal Society), 205, after the Great Flood, 133 208, 210, 224 and biopolitical governmentality, 7-8 physico-theology, 191, See also Boyle Lectures and colonial plantation, 119 physiology and empire, 161 and imperial political economy, 151 and colonial settlement, 221-2 plague, 15, 16, 113 and improvement, 156, 212-21 and political arithmetic, 174, 178 Great Plague (London), 16, 195, 252 Plattes, Gabriel, 149–51, 174, 202 and projecting, 151 Discovery of Infinite Treasure, 149, 150, 171 and racial hierarchy, 222, 230-1 Macaria, 150 and reason of state, 118 Profitable Intelligencer, 150-1 and the Bible, 26-7 ploughmen, 29-30, 32, 34, 40 and transformation, 24, 173, 189 Plymouth (colony), 131 anglophone discussions, 10 Polices to Reduce this Realme Aristotle on, 27-9 of Englande..., 30, 37, 45, 56–60 as labor force, 134 policy, 21 Bacon on, 137 and commonwealth discourse, 43 Bodin on, 107, 106-10 and environment, 110 Botero on, 110-12 and human nature, 53 governance of, 115-17 limits of, 114 and multitudes, 46 and situation, 146, 199-211 control contested, 234 and transformation, 100 density and economic potential, 181 as art, 55, 105, 111, 114–16, 118, 128, 136 distinguished from multitude, 1, 76 concerned with multitudes, 31 doctrines, 8 early modern conceptualization, 21 imitating nature, 115 imposing second nature, 116 early modern views, 19 Malthus on, 243 early use of the word, 31 population its object, 169, 182 empirical engagements, 101 power of, 22 empirically knowable, 23



environmentally conditioned, 207–10 Franklin on, 227 Gabriel Plattes on, 148–51 governance. See demographic governance growth. See doubling periods Hartlibian engagements, 147 in eighteenth-century discourse, 190 invented, 139–40 its qualities objects of governance, 249 law of, 22 Malthus on, 235–46 measurable, 104 mobility, mixture and mutability objects of policy, 169, 180, 249 mobility, mixture and mutability ongoing concerns, 249	prostitution, 70, 214 Protestant Reformation, 63, 64 Protestantism, 147 linked to allegiance, 170 linked to Englishness, 167 providence, providentialism, 26, 67, 87, 149, 150, 245–6 public concern with demographic governance, 212–21 public discourse, 16, 196, 232 public health, 2, 8, 10 public sphere, 2 Purgatory, 36, 38 Puritans, Puritanism, 147 in New England, 130–1, 192
modern concept, 20 morally and politically conditioned, 210–11 More on, 34–5 number secondary in early discussions, 38	quantification, 4, 7, 20 and demographic agency, 6 demographic, 41, <i>See also</i> censuses
object of demographic thinking, 2	emblematic or symbolic, 30, 35, 38, 67, 79,
object of government, 136, 137	103, 247–8
object of policy, 182	empirical, 38, 67, 79, 104
object of policy and projects, 2	history, 12
object of political arithmetic, 5	in eighteenth-century discourse and public
of England, 61	debate, 190–9
of the world, 26, 120–1	in political arithmetic, 188–90
population politics, 22, 249, 250	ratios and proportions, 41, 47, 49, 67
product of policy, 168	spirit of, 1, 189, 247
public engagements, 196, 198, 199	verbal references to quantity, 139
quantitative engagements, 76	Quebec Act, 230
Starkey on, 47 state concern, 7 Portuguese empire, 12 poverty, 14, <i>See also</i> idleness; Poor Laws;	racial hierarchy, 222–4, 230–1 racism. <i>See</i> blackness; racial hierarchy; slavery; whiteness
vagrancy	Ralegh, Walter, 120, 125
and crime, 28	reason of state, 1, 101, 104–18
and multitude, 28, 47	Rebellion of 1641. <i>See</i> Ireland:1641 Rebellion
and vagrancy, 72	Reformation (of Manners). See Societies for the
hindrance to independence, 240	Reformation of Manners
hindrance to marriage, 113	Reformation (religious). See also English
humanist and reformation views, 63–4	Reformation; Calvinism; Luther, Martin;
in discourse on Ireland, 81 Powell, Robert Depopulation Arraigned, 42–3 Prayer Book Rebellion. See England: Western	Protestant Reformation; Puritans; Zwingli, Huldreich refugees (Dutch and Walloon), 74 religion
Rising	conversion, 121, 166, 167, 250
pre-Adamism, 13, 207	uniformity, 204
Price, Richard, 172–3, 230, 236, 243	Renzi, Matteo de, 201
probability, 192	restoration of the Stuart monarchy, 162, 173
history of, 190	Revolution of 1688, 162, 188
progress (idea), 149, 190, 226, 231	Rickman, John, 37
projecting, projectors, 2, 4, 88, 148, 190, 212, 220, 243, 248 pro-natalism, 8, 10, 107, 123, 160, 198	Roanoke. <i>See</i> Virginia rogue literature, 68–73 Roma, Romani, 250



298

Rome ancient, 112, 113, 115, 137 modern, 205 Royal Society, 141, 209, 224 Philosophical Transactions, 205, 208, 210, sacred history, 18, 26-7, 120, 207-8, See also Bible; chronologists and political arithmetic, 13, 190-1 sailors. See seamen salubrity, 115, 124, 143, 172, 205-10, 224-5 and situation, 201 satire. See Franklin, Benjamin; Mandeville, Bernard; Swift, Jonathan schools, 95 Scotland, 87 scripture (Christian). See Bible Scythians, 81, 97 seamen, 37, 123, 152, 159, 182, 204 seasoning (adjustment to climate), 221-2 and blackness, 221 security (military), 37, 57, 122, 180 and depopulation, 39-43 in Ireland, 82 in Jamaica, 223-4 sedentarization, 78, 89 self-interest, 50, 156, 161, 233, 242 and gender, 197 and slavery, 159 sermons, 129 servants. See also indentured labor and begging, 50 and depopulation, 42 and idleness, 53 colonial emigration, 129 colonial labor source, 134 dying without issue, 211 marriage encouraged, 50, 151, 211 Seven Years' War, 220 sex ratio, 192 sex work. See brothels; prostitution sexual appetites, 216, 237, 238 sexual norms, 69, 78 sheep-farming, 33-4, 36, 39-40, 52-3 shepherds, 38, 42, 52, 240 Short, Thomas, 209, 230, 232 Sidney, Henry, 90 Sidney, Philip, 95 sin of David. See David (king) situation, 24, 105, 144, 199-211 and art, 124, 146 and colonial settlement, 224 and demographic governance, 120 Bacon on, 144-6

Index

components of, 136 Dutch exploitation of, 182 Franklin on, 225-6 in New England, 133 Malthus on, 236 of England, 59 of Virginia, 128, 129 uptake of concept in England, 118 skin color, 108, 144, 224, 226, 230-1, See also blackness; complexion; racial hierarchy; whiteness slave trade, 153, 154, 223 history, 11 slavery, 152-5, 160, 231, See also blackness; colonial plantation; racial hierarchy ancient, 212 and degeneration of white colonists, 228 and racial hierarchy, 222-4 history, 160 history of, 11 smallpox. See inoculation Smith, Adam, 4, 25, 172, 189, 190, 194, 233, 236 Smith, John, 202 Smith, Thomas (the elder), 31, 45 Ards plantation, 83-9 Discourse of the Common Weal, 18, 44, 56, 201 policy as art, 55 Smith, Thomas (the younger) Letter sent by I.B. Gentleman..., 83-9 social cohesion, 251 social engineering, 4, 22, 24, 173, 180, 233, 245 social science, 3, 139 history of, 19-20, 183, 248 Societies for the Reformation of Manners (SRMs), 191, 213-15 and character, 109 and improvement, 137, 151 and salubrity, 206 and situation, 201 in New England, 133 Irish, 85, 87 soldiers, 28, 89, 116, 182 and the Down Survey, 162 as colonial settlers, 152, 164 Cromwellian, 162 degeneration of, 42 Somerset, Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of, 44, 51 sovereignty, 8, 91, 106, 110, 186 Spain, 82, 83, 121, 228, 250 empire, 101, 120-2, 152 Spanish Inquisition, 121 Spanish Netherlands, 74 Spanish West Indies, 122, 151

Botero on, 115



Sparta, 107	Thirty Years' War, 147
Spectator, The (Addison and Steele), 195	three kingdoms, 151, 179, See also England;
Spenser, Edmund, 81	Ireland; Scotland
View of the Present State of Ireland, 18,	governance of population within, 180
96–9, 118	information-gathering within, 183
stadial theory, 225, 237, 245	toleration, 45, 111, 168
Stanihurst, Richard, 93-4	Charles II, 176
Starkey, Thomas, 31, 65	Dutch, 168
Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset, 18,	James II, 176, 177
44–50	trade, 151, <i>See also</i> slave trade
state, 6, 7, See also demographic governance;	and civility, 96, 97
policy; sovereignty	and empire, 152
and political arithmetic, 186	and employment, 122
Bodin on, 111	and information, 206
Botero on, 111	and situation, 201
bureaucratic, 67	Dutch prowess, 182
demographic agency, 108, 150	necessary, 113
fiscal-military, 2, 6, 7	nursery of seamen, 159
imperial, 2, 21	restrictions, 160
information state, 73, 184, 187	transmutation (metaphor), 5, 173, 174, See also
object of allegiance, 99	alchemy; Petty, William; transplantation
statistics, 183	transplantation, 5, 113, 114, 127, 130, 161, 169,
history, 172, 248	173, 228
Steele, Richard	and demographic governance, 242
The Spectator, 195	and Restoration political
Stewart, Dugald, 238	arithmetic, 176–80
Stiles, Ezra, 12, 229–30, 230	and the transmutation of the Irish into
Stow, John, 16, 65, 79	English, 173, 175–6
Strachey, William, 128	of the Irish into Connacht, 165–70
sugar	travel. See also ars apodemica
cultivation, 123, 158–60	accounts of, 201
plantations, 159, 228, 231	instructions/queries for travelers, 206
surrender and regrant (Ireland), 82	Treaty of Paris, 224
surveys, 184	Trigge, Francis
Down Survey (Ireland), 161-4	Humble Petition of Two Sisters, 41–2
of the poor, 66, 76, See also censuses: of the	·
poor	unemployment. See idleness
Süssmilch, Johann Peter, 12	United Provinces. See Dutch Republic
Sutton, Daniel, 220	universities
Sweden, 228	intellectual pretensions, 17
Swift, Jonathan, 193-4, 197	scholars begging, 77
Argument against Abolishing Christianity,	
193	vacant land, 83, 231, 238, 239, 242
Gulliver's Travels, 193	vagrancy, 14, 63-79, 232, 248
Modest Proposal, 193	vagrants as source of colonial labor, 130, 152
1	Virginia, 124–31, 135, 221, 223
taxation	early settlers, 131
and disaffection, 166	great massacre, 128
and luxury, 211	insalubrity, 132, 221
hindrance to multiplication, 228, 230	Jamestown, 126, 128
of bachelors, 50	Roanoke, 124, 126
reform, 99	Vives, Juan Luis
returns as information sources, 4	De subventione pauperum, 64
tea consumption, 218	-
terra nullius. See vacant land	wage labor, 153
Test Act, 176	wages, 238



300

More Information

Wallace, Robert, 243 debate with Hume, 212, 239 Waller, Richard, 225 Walsingham, Francis, 120 as cause of depopulation, 230, 243 metaphor for reformation of manners, 214 Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 132, 147 Washington, Thomas, 201 western design, 150, 160 Westminster. See England: Parliament wet-nursing. See nursing Whatley, George, 218 Whiston, William, 191, 207 White, John, 124 White, Taylor, 218-20 whiteness, 222-4 Wilson, Thomas, 118 Winthrop, John, 130, 131 women. See also intermarriage; nursing; transplantation and demographic agency, 197-9, 232 and demographic governance, 178-9 and transplantation, 5, 173, 175, 177, 179 bearers of Englishness, 173

Index

employed, 123 English, 5 fertility in New England, 133 in Bridewell, 76 Indigenous, 5 Malthus on, 244 Mandeville on, 216 More on, 35 readers, 133 vagrants, 70, 71 wives for colonial settlers, 130 Wood, William Nevv Englands Prospect, 131-5 Wood, woods. See forests workhouses, 217, 219, 220, 232, 241, See also Bridewell Worsley, Benjamin, 158, 163 Wrocław. See Breslau Xenophon, 200 yellow fever, 198 Young, Arthur, 189 Ypres, 65

Zwingli, Huldreich, 64