

**‘In midst of death’:
Medical Responses to the Great Plague of 1665
with Special Reference to John Allin**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Lara Elyse Thorpe, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

This thesis uses the under-utilised correspondence of John Allin, ejected minister and irregular physician, to explore medical responses to the Great Plague of 1665. Allin's letters give a privileged look at the day-to-day life of a sophisticated medical mind at work treating the sick during London's last plague epidemic; this thesis uses these letters as a guiding thread to consider a variety of medical responses to the epidemic. A major theme here is the question of medical innovation during the Plague of 1665, an important corrective to previous work which treats early modern plague medicine as homogeneous and unchanging. By the 1665 epidemic, medical practitioners in London functioned under a centuries-old understanding of the disease and its cures. However, the dissemination of Helmontian and iatrochemical dogma and therapies into London's medical economy in the 1640s and 1650s resulted in changed to plague treatment. This work aims to contribute to our understanding of early modern pharmacology by arguing that the result of this Helmontian influence was the increasing importance of and dependence on commercially obtained ingredients and medicines as treatment for plague. This thesis uses a detailed analysis of the ingredients recommended as parts of the remedies detailed in plague literature to reinforce and enhance recent historiography that argues that purchased, readymade medicines were increasingly relied on over the course of the seventeenth century. Amongst its other contributions, this thesis also details the print culture of the vernacular medical pamphlets about plague produced in 1665, making the case that printers and medical practitioners formed a complex and interlinked network, working together to advertise and distribute medical texts, services and wares. This thesis also considers parish-assigned plague nurses, giving original research which uncovers biographical details about them and makes the case that they were competent medical practitioners in their own right.

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The Wellcome Collection and Museum of London have each generously allowed me to use images from their collections in my thesis. The Museum of London has allowed me to reproduce an image of John Dunstall's gorgeous woodcut depicting scenes from the Great Plague of 1665 (Item ID 42.39/142) which can be found in Chapter Seven. I am also grateful to the Wellcome Collection, which allowed me to use and modify their 'Map of London and Westminster before the Fire of London' through Wellcome Images.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the footnotes are listed below

BL	The British Library
CLHL	Camden Local History Library
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, City of London
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RCP	Royal College of Physicians
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England... 1475-1640</i> , 2nd ed. revised by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer (London: 1976-1991)
STC2	D. Wing, <i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700</i> , 2nd ed. revised by J. J. Morrison et. al. (London, 1892-1994)
TNA	The National Archives
WCL	Westminster City Library
WL	Wellcome Library

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 John Allin and the Great Plague

In August 1665, ejected Nonconformist minister and alchemist John Allin sat in his rented rooms in the parish of St Olave, Southwark, witnessing a veritable hell. He reported to his friend Philip Fryth that

I am through mercy yet well, in midst of death & that too approaching nearer & nearer: not many doores off, & the pitt open dayly within view of my chamber window, the Lord fit mee & all of us for our last end.¹

Allin's experience of plague was ridden with anxiety about his health and well-being; throughout 1665, he penned letters which vividly described both the horrific and mundane details of life during the epidemic. An avid consumer of the *Bills of Mortality*, he read, reported and analysed their data each week whilst the 'continuall ringing & tolling of the bells' increased his constant dread and foreboding.² Though, he believed, God punished his city with a ravaging disease, Allin gathered his 'prima materia' and continued time-consuming alchemical experiments which he hoped would create the Philosopher's Stone and herald Christ's Second Coming. He was not without fear that God would halt his work; after casting his horoscope in November, he told a correspondent of 'a very sickely if not a mortall day, very neere approaching to mee'.³ But though Allin obsessively monitored his body for signs of plague, he survived the scourge; similarly, his letters have survived to provide one of the most chilling and compelling records of London's last plague epidemic.

John Allin was born in Norfolk in 1623 though he and his family moved to Massachusetts in the 1630s, most likely for religious reasons. His father, also named John Allin, was a cornerstone of their New England community.⁴ The younger John studied at Harvard, sharing rooms with George Starkey (later a well-known London alchemist), with whom he was to stay lifelong friends.⁵ Allin returned to England and took over the vicarage of Rye, East Sussex in 1653.⁶ The Act of Uniformity ejected him from his living in 1662 due to his nonconformity; from 1664, he moved to London and pursued his interest in practising professional medicine.⁷ He was to remain living in or very near London until 1680, when he moved to New Jersey and became

¹ ESRO, FRE 5462 (24 August 1665).

² ESRO, FRE 5464 (5 September 1665).

³ ESRO, FRE 5481 (November 1665).

⁴ Donna Bilak, *The Chymical Cleric: John Allin, Puritan Alchemist in England and America (1623-1683)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bard Graduate Centre, 2013), p. 37, 74.

⁵ For more on Starkey, see Chapter Three.

⁶ Bilak, *The Chymical Cleric*, p. 74.

⁷ John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University Vol. 1* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873), p. 93.

minister to the township of Woodbridge. There, he ministered to both the spiritual and medical needs of his flock, as the many outstanding receipts for money owed him at his death show.⁸

My thesis privileges Allin's contemporary voice in a discussion of medical responses to the Plague of 1665. Previous histories of the epidemic have focused on the narratives of diarist Samuel Pepys, novelist Daniel Defoe, Anglican churchman Patrick Symon and ejected minister Thomas Vincent. Allin's practice as a physician, his background as a minister, his engagement materially and intellectually with the print trade and his chemical work position him uniquely as a springboard to discuss a number of enduring questions about medical life and practice in London during the plague of 1665. It is this aspect of his correspondence that I will focus on in my thesis. Allin's correspondence gives vibrant examples of plague medicine in practice: he detailed the prophylactics and treatments he used, his feelings and fears about the disease and how he intended to use chemistry to address the problem of plague. Allin and his letters are the thread which binds my comprehensive study of medical responses to the plague of 1665 together.

Utilising Allin as a plague commentator allows me to address frequently neglected questions about medical responses to the Great Plague, including: what herbs, plants and medicines made up medicines used as prophylactics and therapeutics during the plague? Were the remedies recommended in the printed pamphlet literature similar or dissimilar to those used by actual practitioners, and in what ways? How far did Allin conform to contemporary ideas about Galenism and Helmontianism? Why did the Society of Chemical Physicians fail in 1665, and what, if anything, did this failure have to do with plague? How widely shared was Allin's belief in a chemical panacea? What role did these panaceas and proprietary nostrums actually play in the Plague of 1665? How did Allin and other practitioners structure their visits to quarantined houses? What role did parish-assigned nurses play in plague care, and what, if anything, can be known about these women? By addressing these questions, this thesis seeks to establish how much of medical practice was new during the 1665 epidemic.

1.2 Summary of Arguments

This thesis is about medical responses to the Great Plague of 1665 and considers the practitioners who treated the plague sick, the vernacular medical literature they produced and consulted, the prophylactics and therapeutics they used to fight the disease and the public health measures instituted by the city in order to restrict the spread of disease. I ask the question of what was new or innovative about plague medicine in 1665 and also attempt to bridge the gap between the theory of plague medicine and actual practice during an epidemic on the scale of the 1665 outbreak. My central argument is that readymade and commercially obtained drugs—whether purchased to use as ingredients in a more complex remedy or proprietary nostrums meant for use on their own—were an increasingly important recourse of plague medicine. My thesis illustrates this argument in a number of ways. In Chapters Two and Six, I have quantified the ingredients

⁸ Bilak, *The Chymical Cleric*, p. 83.

recommended in printed vernacular medical plague literature for the first time so that we can analyse how the plants, minerals and drugs recommended as ingredients in plague remedies changed over time. The data suggests that purchased drugs and proprietary pills, potions and nostrums became more significant to plague medicine over the course of the seventeenth century. Likewise, as chemical medicine gained more traction—in 1665, Helmontian ideals were still hotly debated and it was unclear whether traditional Galenism would retain its ascendancy—readymade medicines also gained popularity, manufactured by both licensed and unlicensed practitioners. The idea of a medical panacea, or at the very least a medicine with multiple uses, was increasingly widely held in Restoration London; I argue here that chemical medicine contributed to the popularity of these purchased panaceas. Indeed, the impracticalities of obtaining ingredients and making medicines for most Londoners suggests that readymade medicines were increasingly used, particularly during an outbreak of plague as the service-based economic life of the city slowly ground to a halt.

My argument that, over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, plague medicine relied to an increasing extent on purchased, readymade drugs and nostrums contributes to a growing historiography which supports the increasing commodification of early modern medicine via the market in readymade and purchased medicines. Christina Bellorini's study of medicine in Renaissance Tuscany and Hannah Newton's work about sick children in England between 1580 and 1720 have suggested that readymade medicines were becoming more important to medicine over time.⁹ Other historians have observed the growth of the market for readymade and proprietary medicines in the seventeenth century, but not with particular reference to the Plague of 1665. J. Styles observed that they were among the first branded products to be extensively advertised and marketed.¹⁰ Louise Hill Curth has argued similarly that the seventeenth century witnessed the rise of 'premade, pre-packaged proprietary nostrums'.¹¹ Likewise, Patrick Wallis' study of London's early modern apothecaries has argued that the sick bought 'pre-made medicines for commonplace purposes'.¹² My contention that proprietary medicines became more popular resorts for those interested in preventing or curing plague acts as a convincing and in-depth study which supports this historiography, giving an enhanced sense of evolution over time and providing important quantified data. Indeed, analysing the details of plague medicine and practice over the course of the seventeenth century gives us as historians a privileged glance at just how far the idea of purchased panaceas had gained traction by 1665.

⁹ Christina Bellorini, *The World of Plants in Renaissance Tuscany* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2016), p. 212; Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England 1580-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 75.

¹⁰ J. Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past and Present*, 168:1 (2000), 124-69 (pp. 148-9).

¹¹ Louise Hill Curth, 'Introduction' in *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of British Drug Retailing* ed. by Louise Hill Curth (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 1-12 (p. 5).

¹² Patrick Wallis, 'Apothecaries and the Consumption and Retailing of Medicines in Early Modern London' in *From Physick to Pharmacology*, 13-29 (p. 18).

My thesis also extends studies which have suggested that the medical culture of seventeenth-century London was increasingly commercialised and consumption-driven. Ian Mortimer has argued that the seventeenth century was a period of ‘medical revolution’ based on his research into probate accounts, showing that the sick of southern England were increasingly likely to pay for medical care.¹³ This finding has been compounded by the research of Wallis, whose study of foreign medical drug importation into early modern England indicates a growth in medical consumption over the course of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Wallis and Pirohakul’s further research into the record of nursing care in probate accounts has likewise shown that the sick were increasingly likely to hire professional medical care. Apothecaries replaced physicians as primary caregivers, suggesting ‘the greater role that medical substances were playing in medical exchanges’.¹⁵ My discussion below of the increasing importance of proprietary medicines reaffirms these views.

By examining medical responses and practice during the Great Plague of 1665, I hope to highlight the ways in which vernacular medical print affected practice more generally during the seventeenth century. Chapter Four constitutes the first description of the print culture of vernacular medical texts about plague in 1665—which, I argue, can be called plague pamphlets. This print culture study builds upon and adds to the important work of two historians. The first is Kathleen Miller, whose significant book *The Literary Culture of Plague in Early Modern England* discusses a wide array of written texts produced in response to the 1665 epidemic, both printed and manuscript.¹⁶ The second is Mark Jenner, who has explored the print culture of the cheapest form of plague print, the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets.¹⁷ By looking at medical plague pamphlets, I reason that these pamphlets played an important role in disseminating and popularising medical knowledge about the plague in the early modern medical economy—a ‘marketplace of print’ in this case, as Fissel has argued.¹⁸ The authors, publishers, printers and booksellers who produced and sold this print acted as part of the medical marketplace during outbreaks of plague. They formed complex relationships and networks amongst themselves and with medical practitioners in order to produce this distinctive form of print. I further argue that this form of print was fundamentally commercial in nature. Medical plague pamphlets were typically produced at the beginning of an epidemic, as the *Bills of Mortality* began to show an increase in plague deaths. Many were overt advertisements for proprietary drugs or medical services. I also demonstrate those areas of the city where this print could be purchased, showing

¹³ Ian Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors: The Medical Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Patrick Wallis, ‘Exotic Drugs and English Medicine: England’s Drug Trade, c. 1550-c. 1800’, *Social History of Medicine*, 25:1 (2010), 20-46.

¹⁵ Patrick Wallis and Terrapa Pirohakul, ‘Medical Revolutions?: The Growth of Medicine in England, 1660-1800’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:3 (2016), 510-531 (pp. 523-524).

¹⁶ Kathleen Miller, *The Literary Culture of Plague in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave, 2016).

¹⁷ Mark S. R. Jenner, ‘Plague on a Page: Lord Have Mercy Upon Us in Early Modern London’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 27:3 (2012), 255-286.

¹⁸ Mary E. Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’ in *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1450-c. 1850*, ed. by Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (London: Palgrave, 2007), 108-132.

that plague pamphlets were sold in those sectors of the city associated with book retail rather than those affected worst by the disease they addressed.

As well as exploring the medicines used for plague and the print generated in response to the 1665 epidemic, I also focus on the practice of quarantine and the ways in which medical practitioners and caregivers experienced this public health measure in Chapter Seven. I suggest that, while metropolitan and national authorities recommended rigorous, strict quarantine more in 1665 than ever before, in reality quarantine was nearly impossible to enforce. Particularly at the height of the epidemic in August and September, parochial resources were stretched so thin that quarantine, in some areas of the city, was not observed at all. I also discuss the parish plague nurses assigned to the sick, who were theoretically confined to quarantined homes. I argue that these nurses were competent providers of medical care; the blackening of their reputations by polemical writers was due to their unknown qualifications and their association with quarantine, a much-disliked public health measure. Using parish sources like churchwarden's accounts and vestry records compared to the 1666 Hearth Tax returns, I have constructed a prosopography of these nurses to supplement the argument that they were competent medical caregivers. Chapter Seven constitutes the first attempts at providing biographical details for these women. The picture of nurses that emerges contests previous research, which has suggested that these women were nearly always elderly widows. These women in fact came from diverse backgrounds; many were married, young and some only recently widowed. Furthermore, some of them came from explicitly medical backgrounds. My research, I hope, adds important biographical details to the historiography of plague nurses.

By investigating practice, I diverge from the usual approach to discussing medicine during the Great Plague. Most studies have focused on the preventatives and curatives discussed in the printed medical literature produced in response to plague.¹⁹ Little effort has been made to discuss the gap between the remedies written about in the plague pamphlets and those actually used. Slack has commented the remedies prescribed in doctors' casebooks suggest that practical remedies were far simpler.²⁰ My thesis supports and enhances Slack's observation. Likewise, my thesis includes the first in-depth study of the print culture of the medical plague pamphlet genre, the sources which have so often been utilised for their text but rarely as artefacts in themselves.

My thesis is further unique in that it addresses a gap in the historiography which depicts early modern medicine as in flux while plague medicine remained largely unchanged. Of plague pamphlets, treatises and tracts, Samuel Cohn has observed that 'Few historians have bothered to

¹⁹ Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 158-171; A. Lloyd Moote and Dorothy C. Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 95-110; Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), pp. 244-254; Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 275-353; F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 1-14.

²⁰ Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England' in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 237-74 (p. 257).

track change through these sources. In fact, many continue to see them as monotonous repetitions'.²¹ Whilst plague medicine has been depicted as repetitive, seventeenth-century England has been portrayed as transformative with its Civil Wars, revolution, religious friction and conflict and burgeoning metropolitan populations. Likewise, the medical world of the seventeenth century has often been depicted as one of upheaval and change. More patients than ever were consulting with medical practitioners for care²² and more foreign medical drugs and substances from the 'New World' and elsewhere without Europe were being imported into England than ever before.²³ Indeed, the very foundation of classical medicine, the humoral theories of Galen and Hippocrates, were under attack by the chemical doctrines of Paracelsus and van Helmont.²⁴

In this thesis I hope to provide a reassessment both of the supposed homogeneity of plague medicine and the wider medical context this practice took place in. I argue that innovations in the wider field of medicine had marked changes on plague medicine as well. Plague medicine was not static; like the medical tenets of the seventeenth century, it was in flux.

My research is split into six chapters which address two main themes. The first theme, discusses two chapters, addresses practitioners; this first part comprises Chapters Two and Three and is concerned with 'setting the scene' and medical practitioners. Chapter Two discusses early modern London's various types of medical practitioners and traditional Galenic responses to plague in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and Chapter Three considers the influx of chemical and in particular Helmontian ideas and the threat to the College of Physicians posed by the Society of Chemical Physicians in 1665.

The second section focuses on responses specifically to the Great Plague of 1665, including print culture medicines and remedies and public health. Chapter Four considers the print culture of vernacular medical plague texts. Chapters Five and Six together consider medicines and remedies. Chapter Five discusses Allin's pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone in the context of medicine's increasing focus on panaceas and wonder drugs, while Chapter Six discusses the types of medicines and ingredients recommended as prophylactics and therapeutics in this vernacular medical plague literature before considering what access Londoners would have had to these medicines and ingredients. The final chapter, Chapter Seven, considers the public health response to the Plague of 1665 and deliberates upon the restrictions quarantine places on providers of medical care and the role of parish-appointed nurses.

1.3 Definitions and Parameters

The classic model of plague has suggested that the bacterium *Yersinia Pestis*—bubonic plague—is the pathogen that caused the pandemic of the fourteenth century and each successive

²¹ Samuel K. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London: Arnold Publication, 2002), p. 234.

²² Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*.

²³ Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs and English Medicine'.

²⁴ See Chapter Three for details.

epidemic in London to 1665.²⁵ However, since the 1980s, some researchers have questioned the identification of *Y. Pestis* as the sole pathogen which caused early modern England's plague epidemics, suggesting other disease entities that may also have been responsible.²⁶ As a rule, this thesis does not engage with the debate over the precise disease entity or entities which caused London's early modern plague outbreaks. For the purposes of this thesis, 'plague' will be defined as the disease which early modern people assigned as 'plague'. As one scholar has observed, 'Science has indeed told us much more about this plague of six hundred years ago than the people living then knew themselves'.²⁷ Thus, to avoid anachronistic reflections on how medical responses to plague were flawed or incorrect based on what we think we know of the biomedical nature of plague, as I rule I do not rule on the debate in my thesis. It is, in my opinion, a much more important fruitful endeavour to consider how early modern Londoners responded to this disease and to analyse how periodic high mortality affected culture and daily life.

Because I have chosen to use John Allin's correspondence as a springboard for my discussion, my thesis focuses on the 1665 epidemic. The Great Plague would be London's last major outbreak of plague, though it is important to consider that Londoners at the time would have had no idea that it would be the last; for them, rather, the 1665 outbreak was one of a larger pattern of epidemics that had been occurring since the global pandemic of the 1340's. Previous to the 1665 epidemic, epidemics had ravaged the early modern city's population in 1563, 1578, 1593, 1603, 1625 and 1636.²⁸ Considerable work needs to be done to better understand these earlier episodes of plague. Because a key question of this thesis is what was new about medical responses to plague in 1665, I have largely focused on 1665 but have brought in observations about medical print and practice during these earlier epidemics in order to draw comparison. For example, Chapter Two argues amongst other things that the early seventeenth century saw the beginnings of a trade in proprietary medicines for plague which would fully bloom during the 1665 epidemic.

Likewise, because my thesis focuses on medical responses to plague, I have consulted some religious and polemical literature in connection with London's early modern plague epidemics, but due to constraints of scope, have chosen not to include or discuss any at length. This is not to say that religion and medicine were separate concepts; however, I have chosen to focus on what contemporaries considered the natural causes, prevention and cure of the disease and so have prioritised medical literature written in the vernacular.

²⁵ Graham Twigg, *Bubonic Plague: A Much Misunderstood Disease* (Ascot, Berkshire: Derwent Press, 2013), p. 7.

²⁶ As a starting point, see Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*; Neil Cummins, Morgan Kelly and Cormac O'Grada, 'Living Standards and the Plague in London, 1560-1665', *The Economic History Review*, 69:1 (2016), 1-34; Twigg, *Bubonic Plague*; Lilith K. Whittles and Xavier Didelot, 'Epidemiological analysis of the Eyam plague outbreak of 1665-1666', *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*, 283 (2016), 1-9.

²⁷ Norman F. Cantor, *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World it Made* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), pp. 17-18.

²⁸ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 151.

Chapters Two and Six consider exactly which specific plants, herbs, minerals and drugs were used by early modern Londoners as ingredients in prophylactics and therapeutics for plague. I have supposed that some drugs—most notably, theriac—gain precedence over time not only due to the increasingly commoditised world of early modern medicine in London, but also because they were seen to have observable therapeutic benefits for plague victims. As a rule I have focused on the perceived benefits of plants, minerals and drugs rather than the benefits we ascribe to them in the twentieth century. An area of future research for medical historians would amalgamate modern research-based findings on the benefits of early modern medicines in order to explain their popularity or prevalence. That, however, has not been within the scope of this thesis.

I should, finally, note that modern dating has been used both in this thesis and in the full transcription of John Allin's 212 letters, which can be found in Appendix 1. The year has been taken to begin on 1 January, while Allin and his contemporaries observed the New Year on March 25. I have amended dates from primary sources so that what would have been January, February and March 1664 read as 1665.

1.4 Historiography of John Allin's Letters

The primary body of sources consulted here are the letters of John Allin. These letters have long been an under-utilised but valuable resource to those studying the Plague of 1665 and the wider cultures of medicine and nonconformity in Restoration London. While living in London Allin exchanged letters with two of his former acquaintances in Rye: Phillip Fryth, a solicitor-come-amateur surgeon and apothecary, and Samuel Jeake the elder, a cornerstone of the nonconformist community and key political player in Rye. Jeake had served as Rye's clerk during Allin's tenure as minister; his library catalogue exhibits his keen interest in all things medical, alchemical and astrological.²⁹ This correspondence continued from 1663 to 1674, a period over which Allin wrote in total 212 letters now in the East Sussex Record Office.

John Allin has been the subject of a number of studies since the discovery and partial publication of his letters by William Durrant Cooper in 1857. Cooper's article, along with an 1881 article published by T. M. W. Smart, has been the main sources on Allin's life until very recently. Cooper focuses exclusively on Allin's 1665 correspondence, detailing his life in Southwark during the Great Plague of 1665. Importantly, Cooper, in focusing on Allin's experience of plague, completely glosses over another central theme of his letters: his involvement in alchemy.³⁰ Cooper's account of Allin is ultimately a narrative, giving brief connecting phrases between long, printed sections of Allin's heavily edited correspondence. Little analysis of Allin's medical practice is offered and Allin's involvement with alchemy and astrology is trivialised.

²⁹ Michael Hunter, Giles Mandelbrote, Richard Ovendon and Nigel Smith, *A Radical's Books: The Library Catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1623-90* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. xiii-xxii.

³⁰ William Durrant Cooper, 'Notices of the Last Great Plague, 1665-6; from the Letters of John Allin to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake, In a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K. H., Director', *Archaeologia*, 37 (1857), 1-22.

Allin received a similar treatment by T. M. W. Smart three decades after Cooper's partial publication of the letters. Like Cooper, Smart's article focuses on the narrative that can be gleaned from Allin's correspondence, adding to it a vague study of his life before 1663 and after 1674. Smart describes Allin as 'a God-fearing man, who made no compromise with his principles when called to obey the dictates of conscience'³¹ and 'a man to whom death itself would be preferable to the abandonment of his duty.'³² Smart is most interested in Allin's nonconformity and his legal involvement in the court cases of a past parishioner interest. Conversely, Allin's alchemical pursuit of the 'elixir magnum' that would prove a panacea for plague receives less attention, despite Smart's acknowledgement that there are few letters postdating March 1664 that do not contain a reference to or request for his correspondents to send him some of his 'prima materia'.³³ Smart reduces alchemy to the 'efforts of infant science to stretch out her hand towards objects which experience had not yet taught her to be beyond her reach'.³⁴ Smart's narrative completely diminishes the integral and central role alchemy as a medical pursuit played in Allin's life during the Plague of 1665.

While Cooper's and Smart's assessments of Allin are descriptive rather than analytical, using the letters to create a chronological story of the plague's gradual upsurge, virulence, and ebb in London, Walter Bell's chapter on Allin in this *The Great Plague in London* goes on to consider Allin's beliefs in a deeply negative fashion. Bell describes Allin as a 'muddled', 'pseudo-learned' man who had 'a mind confused with alchemy and astrology' and worried 'his wracked nerves with vain imaginings about the malign influences of the stars'.³⁵ Bell sees Allin's letters as the observations of a man whose experiences in London during the plague cause him to slowly spiral downwards into strange and outlandish fantasies of how to prevent and cure the illness affecting his city.

Since Bell's work in 1924, Allin has received more positive treatment. Slack describes Allin's letters as demonstrating 'an extraordinarily broad range of responses' that synthesised a strong belief in astrological and supernatural influences, the protective value of amulets, and alchemical treatments with cautions against an over reliance on chemical medicine.³⁶ This is an acknowledgement of the challenges that come with trying to categorise Allin's response to plague; to Slack, Allin's approach is an abstruse synthesis of a number of other contemporary reactions. More recently, Allin has been depicted as having beliefs in line with those of his contemporaries. In the introduction to a catalogue of Samuel Jeake's library, Michael Hunter calls Allin an 'intriguing figure' whose interests were in line with those reflected in the subjects of

³¹ T. M. W. Smart, 'A Notice of Rev. John Allin, Vicar of Rye, A.D. 1653-1662; An Ejected Minister', *Sussex archaeological collections relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, 31 (1881), 123-56 (p. 124).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁵ Walter George Bell, *The Great Plague in London* (London: Bracken Books, 1924), pp. 259-64.

³⁶ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 253.

Jeake's large collection of books rather than the anomaly that Bell depicts.³⁷ In their compelling narrative of the plague of 1665, Lloyd and Dorothy Moote describe Allin as 'following in the footsteps of distinguished herbalists, astrologers, and alchemists from the previous generation'.³⁸

The recent work of Donna Bilak has begun the important task of orienting Allin and his beliefs in the medical, literary and political contexts of his time. In Bilak's account of Allin's life, he is less a solitary eccentric with archaic views and more a well-connected physician and chemist whose alchemical pursuits were not just relevant but of interest to a wider network of men involved in similar iatrochemical activities both in Rye and in London.³⁹ Her article on Allin confirms that he, Fryth and Jeake were particularly interested in the millenarian aspects of alchemy and associated the eventual discovery of the Philosopher's Stone with the second coming of Jesus Christ.⁴⁰ Bilak also orients Allin politically within Restoration London, postulating that his interest in alchemy and the end of days were linked to possible Fifth Monarchist sympathies.⁴¹ She writes that Allin's

engagement with alchemy as a scholar, a Puritan minister, an entrepreneur in London's medical marketplace and as an alchemical operator offers a multifaceted view of ways in which the science was utilized by a network that spanned city and province, and both sides of the Atlantic.⁴²

Indeed, Bilak's portrait of John Allin succeeds in orienting him in the larger medical, political, and social framework of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world rescuing his reputation from the judgment of Cooper, Smart, and Bell and establishing him as a respected member of the alchemical trade, which was by no means out-dated in Restoration London.

The depth and insight with which Bilak approaches Allin is, I believe, just the beginning of the work that can be done with the enigmatic author of such an extensive set of correspondence. I hope to provide the essential work of connecting Bilak's orientation of John Allin in his times with the previous research that explored his medical pursuits in London from 1663 to 1674, particularly his involvement with plague. Allin's correspondence illuminates a number of details about the 1665 plague outbreak that can contribute to our understanding of the practice of medicine during this epidemic. Allin's letters explain in vivid detail what it was like living in London during the plague, and because he was a practising physician, he offers tantalising glimpses into the medical practice surrounding plague, going beyond the theory explained in plague pamphlets and treatises and giving an idea of actual preventative and curative practice. Allin straddled a variety of categories that are frequently split into false dichotomies: he was both religious and medical and both a provider and consumer of medical services. Allin's letters are illuminative of medical care and perspective, in practice, during the Plague of 1665.

³⁷ Hunter, Mandelbrote, Ovendon and Smith, *A Radical's Books*, p. xxii.

³⁸ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 110.

³⁹ Donna Bilak, 'Allin, John (1623–1683)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/107168>> [accessed 22 May 2017].

⁴⁰ Donna Bilak, 'Alchemy and the End Times: Revelations from the Laboratory and Library of John Allin, Puritan Alchemist (1623-1683)', *Ambix*, 60 (2013), 390-414 (p. 404).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

Allin has been treated as plague commentator before, but in no real depth and often by historians who projected their preconceived beliefs about the supposed biomedical identification of the disease as *Yersinia pestis*. These historians have also typically been dismissive of his sophisticated medical mind and alchemical pursuits. Bilak has done a significant amount of work to rehabilitate Allin's reputation, placing him amongst Restoration London's vibrant community of alchemists, astrologists, booksellers and printers. Just as other historians have brought an epidemiological precision and material topography to plague studies, my study of Allin's material life, circumstances, and iatrochemical practice will provide an important perspective, acting as a corrective to the sometimes-anachronistic tendencies of the Great Plague's medical history. Allin's correspondence allows us a vivid, under-utilised and clear example of practitioners' interactions with the marketplace of medical print during the Plague of 1665. Privileging Allin's contemporary voice will cast further light on the experience and nature of epidemics in a major early modern city, particularly in regard to medical theory and practice.

1.5 Historiography of Plague

My thesis also builds upon the extensive work already done on the Great Plague of 1665 and early modern London's other outbreaks of epidemic plague. I explore a wide range of issues and aspects of early modern plague. There are, for example, numerous studies which tell the story of the year in narrative form⁴³ while others have focused on narratives of earlier epidemics.⁴⁴ Other works have focused on the social and economic impact of these many repeated epidemics⁴⁵ while still more have considered the epidemiology of the disease.⁴⁶ Moreover, several general studies of early modern English medicine have included discussions of plague prophylactics and therapies, focusing largely on what was written in the vernacular medical literature produced in response to the disease.⁴⁷ A more recent strain in the historiography of plague has built upon this

⁴³ See for example Bell, *The Great Plague*; James Leasor, *The Plague and the Fire* (Cornwall: Stratus Books, 2001); Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*; Stephen Porter, *The Great Plague* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2009); Rebecca Rideal, *1666: Plague, War and Hellfire* (London: John Murray, 2016).

⁴⁴ See for example Stephen Porter, *Lord Have Mercy Upon Us: London's Plague Years* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2005); Wilson, *The Plague*; Keith Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor's Summer: A Scrivener, his City and the Plague* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

⁴⁵ See for example Justin Champion, 'Epidemics and the Built Environment in 1665' in *Epidemic Disease in London: A Collection of Working papers given at the Symposium 'Epidemic Disease in London: From the Black Death to Cholera' held at the Institute of Historical Research, 19 March 1992* ed. by J. A. I. Champion (London: Centre for Metropolitan History Working Paper Series No. 1, 1993), 35-52; J. A. I. Champion, *London's Dreadful Visitation: The Social Geography of the Great Plague in 1665* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1995); Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*; Cummins, Kelly and O'Grada, 'Living Standards'; Vanessa Harding, 'Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London' in *Epidemic Disease in London*, 53-64; Slack, *The Impact of Plague*.

⁴⁶ See for example Graham Twigg, 'Plague in London: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Mortality' in *Epidemic Disease in London*, 1-18; Twigg, *The Black Death*; Twigg, *Bubonic Plague*; Whittles and Didelot, 'Epidemiological analysis'.

⁴⁷ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 158-171; Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, pp. 95-110; Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, pp. 244-254; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 275-353; Wilson, *The Plague*, pp. 1-14.

work in medical history, focusing on medical responses to the disease and particularly on identifying what types of medicine and treatments were used and why.⁴⁸

My thesis contributes to the historiography and particularly to this recent work for several reasons. Firstly, is that rather than treating the early modern discourse on plague as a homogeneous, rarely-changing whole, it separates plague literature into three epochs—Tudor, early Stuart and the Plague of 1665—and analyses each on its own, to show that there were notable evolutions in plague treatment over time, most notably the increasing use of commercially obtained medicines. Secondly, this thesis seeks to bridge a gap left in the historiography: practice. By examining recipe books and physicians' casebooks, this thesis explains to what extent the complex remedies of printed pamphlet literature about plague were different from those used by both lay and professional practitioners in fact.

In arguing that commercially obtained medicines—including purchased, proprietary panaceas—were an increasingly important element of practice during the Great Plague of 1665, I also engage with the wider historiography of pharmacology, particularly a growing historiography which discusses proprietary and purchased medicines.⁴⁹ I have not been the first to observe that proprietary medicines were of vital importance during the Great Plague of 1665.⁵⁰ My thesis contributes to this historiography in several ways: firstly, because it argues that the influence of iatrochemistry contributed to the increasing popularity of purchased panaceas in this epidemic. Secondly, because it establishes that 1665 was far from the first epidemic for which this trend was observable, as commercially obtained and proprietary medicines were in fact becoming increasingly important to plague medicine throughout the seventeenth century. My research also establishes the role of booksellers as purveyors of both print and of proprietary drugs during the Plague of 1665. Moreover, I also hope to add to previous work by mapping London's trade in proprietary medicines in 1665, showing the considerable spatial spread of the trade. The work here provides an important contribution to our understanding of the seventeenth-century medical economy.

⁴⁸ While many of the narratives of the Great Plague of 1665 give brief details about the contents of vernacular medical plague pamphlets and the types of medicines that may have been used, these studies dedicated to plague therapies include Christine Nockels Fabbri, 'Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac', *Early Science and Medicine*, 12:3 (2007), 247-83; J. P. Griffin, 'Venetian Treacle and the Foundation of Medicines Regulation', *British Journal of Clinical Pharmacology*, 58:3 (2004), 317-25; Erik A. Heinrichs, 'The Live Chicken Treatment for Buboes: Trying a Plague Cure in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 91:2 (2017), 210-32.

⁴⁹ This includes Curth, 'Introduction'; Louise Hill Curth, 'Medical Advertising in the Popular Press: Almanacs and the Growth of Proprietary Medicines' in *From Physick to Pharmacology*, 29-48; Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Styles, 'Product Innovation'; Wallis, 'Apothecaries and the Consumption and Retailing of Medicines'; Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs and English Medicine'.

⁵⁰ Others include Bell, *The Great Plague*, pp. 96-99; Porter, *The Great Plague*, pp. 39-40; Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, pp. 110-2; Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 245; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 349.

1.6 Sources

A diverse array of sources has been consulted in the process of writing this thesis, each with its own strengths and weaknesses. As has been said, this thesis uses the correspondence of John Allin as a springboard for discussing medical responses to the Great Plague of 1665. While correspondence, written in the moment, does not suffer from the same retrospective editing and memory loss a memoir or autobiography might do, Susan Wyman has argued convincingly that early modern letter writers displayed a considerable awareness of their audience and framed their news and stories to make them socially acceptable.⁵¹ Allin did this himself. When writing to Samuel Jeake, Allin took on a considerably more formal tone, interspersed with fervently religious sections that are missing from the Fryth letters. For example, Allin's letter to Fryth written on 3 February 1665 contains a long passage reflecting on God's timing:

there is no condition can befall one that is blessed of god that can bee for harme but shall in the end be turned to the utmost good; and that shall bee at gods appointed time; & his everlasting arms underneath will bee sufficient to support the weakest of creatures in the meane while[.]⁵²

Indeed, half the letter is taken up with expanding on Allin's reflections that the righteous would, eventually, be vindicated. With Jeake, who had been Rye's town clerk whilst Allin was its rector, Allin maintains his role as minister. With Fryth, however, Allin's tone changes; simply put, Allin appears to have been closer to and friendlier with Fryth than with Jeake. This supposition is supported by comments made by Allin to Fryth; in January 1665, he wrote that 'I am to make hast back to dinner where I am now invited [by] an honest good neighbour, such another house as yours was, there I can bee free at pleasure.'⁵³ Indeed, at the height of the 1665 epidemic, Fryth appears to have been the only one of Allin's friends who still accepted his letters; wrote Allin, 'I returne you many thankes & blesse god that I have one freind left at Rye y^t will communicate with me'.⁵⁴ With Fryth, Allin shares more details of his day-to-day life; as a majority of Allin's extant correspondence is addressed to Fryth, this type of detail is of benefit to us in discerning his response to plague.

In examining the experience of life in London during the 1665 plague and the responses of both medical practitioners and lay people, this thesis has also considered the memoirs of apothecary William Boghurst and physician Nathaniel Hodges as well as that of clergyman Thomas Vincent. Likewise, I have also consulted the diary of Samuel Pepys and the hearsay narrative of Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*. The question of self-editing is more prominent with each of these sources than with Allin's letters. While Pepys' diary appears to have been written for his own exclusive use, each of the other accounts was written with a widespread readership in mind. Similarly, while Pepys' diary was written on the spot, the other accounts were

⁵¹ Susan Wyman, 'Paper Visits: the Post-Restoration Letter as Seen Through the Verney Family Archive' in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945* ed. by Rebecca Earle (Aldershot, Hampshire: Routledge, 1999), 15-36 (p. 20).

⁵² ESRO, FRE 5433 (3 February 1665).

⁵³ ESRO, FRE 5428 (6 January 1665).

⁵⁴ ERO, FRE 5466 (14 September 1665).

written some months, in the case of Vincent's narrative, or even decades, as with Defoe's, after the epidemic had taken place. Defoe's *Journal* is perhaps the most problematic of these sources; written and published during the Marseilles outbreak of plague in 1720, there is some disagreement about how reliable the *Journal* is. However, despite being a nominally fictional account of the plague of 1665, *Journal of the Plague Year* was meticulously researched, utilising a huge amount of first-hand information including an impressive amount of printed plague and memoir literature such as Kemp's *Brief Treatise*, Hodge's *Loimoliga* and Thomson's *Loimotomia*, pamphlets which shall be discussed below.⁵⁵ Defoe's account also leaned heavily on the account of his uncle, Henry Foe, who not only shared his initials with Defoe's narrator H.F., but also lived near the fictitious narrator's dwelling in Whitechapel High Street in 1665.⁵⁶ Letters like John Allin's and diaries like Samuel Pepys' are our best look into life as it was and ideas about plague as experienced by contemporaries.

To more closely examine widely held ideas about plague—beliefs about its nature, cause, propagation, prevention and cure—this thesis has also utilised the printed vernacular medical literature produced in response to the disease. These pamphlets and treatises form the basis for much of the discussion in Chapters Two, Four and Six. In consideration of word count restrictions, I have included shortened titles of any early modern published source in the footnotes; titles in full can be found in the bibliography. The plague pamphlets consulted here were written by medical practitioners across the medical hierarchy, both licensed and unlicensed, and can be said to represent the professional view of plague during the early modern period. However, I hope to show that practice was much simpler than suggested by these pamphlets. It is impossible to truly know to what extent the ideas and practices disseminated by this print were popularly held and difficult to estimate the extent to which these medical texts represent opinions which were actually held. However, as Chapter Four argues, the plague pamphlet was a popular and lucrative form of print; as so many plague pamphlets printed over the course of the 1665 epidemic experienced multiple editions, it is possible to suggest that these texts, their ideas and treatments resonated with those who purchased and consumed this print. Many of these texts were also printed in small, cheap format, suggesting that they were accessible to a wide audience.

In order to examine the gap between these printed vernacular medical texts and actual practice, three key source types have been examined. First are the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets. These broadsheets are a key example of the sort of cheap print generated by plague epidemics. These broadsheets 'contain (in varying proportions) accounts of Biblical and historical plagues...; medical advice and basic prophylactics against the disease...; verses on the need for repentance...;

⁵⁵ Watson Nicholson, *The Historical Sources of Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1919), pp. 48-81. The pamphlets consulted were Nathaniel Hodges, *Loimologia: Or, an Historical Account of the Plague in London in 1665* (London: 1721; STC2 T61368); W. Kemp, *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from and cure of the pestilence* (London: 1665; STC2 R6407); George Thomson, *Loimotomia, or, The pest anatomized in these following particulars* (London: 1666; STC2 R1148).

⁵⁶ F. Bastian, 'Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* Reconsidered', *Review of English Studies*, 16:62 (1965), 151-73 (p. 160).

and full-blooded prose jeremiads'.⁵⁷ In epidemic years, these broadsheets would have been printed en masse and proved the cheapest plague publications available.⁵⁸ These texts, like popular ballads, would have been 'borrowed, exchanged, shared, and passed on'⁵⁹ and thus can, perhaps, show us a more popular view of plague prophylactics and therapeutics. This is not to say that the very poorest read and used these texts; Jenner has pointed out that in some cases the writers of these broadsheets assumed their readers had libraries of medical texts to reference.⁶⁰ However, their cheap price and high survival rates, particularly as such ephemeral forms of print, suggest that the recipes included on these broadsheets would have been some of the most widely read in London during the 1625, 1636 and 1665 plague years.

Physicians' casebooks further augment my discussion of practice. These records of the consultations of medical practitioners have often been used by historians to 'study experiences of illness and healing, while exercising caution in reading them as direct representations of the patients' perspective and supplementing them with letters, diaries and other ego documents.'⁶¹ For the purposes of this thesis, these casebooks have provided information about what types of medicines were prescribed to those looking to prevent or cure cases of plague rather than examine the experience of either practitioner or patient.

Recipe books have further supplemented my consideration of the plague remedies and recipes used in practice. These patch-worked manuscripts—'homemade, handwritten, used frequently, and passed down from one generation to the next'⁶²—were key elements in the practice of domestic medicine during the early modern period. These recipe books, importantly, show a lay perception of medical prevention and treatment. Katherine Knight writes that these manuscript collections 'give an impression of being meant for use, not made for fun.'⁶³ Indeed, the ways in which they were organised, annotated and noted upon shows that recipes were visited and revisited by domestic medical practitioners.⁶⁴ Professional help from either a licensed or unlicensed practitioner was only sought when domestic medicine, or 'kitchen physick', had failed. The poor would almost certainly have relied wholly on domestic medicine, unable to afford the hefty fees of medical practitioners.⁶⁵ In the home, the matriarch most frequently provided medical care; the female head of house provided not just for her own family but also for all dependents,

⁵⁷ Jenner, 'Plague on a Page', p. 255.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 256.

⁵⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 33-4.

⁶⁰ Jenner, 'Plague on a Page', p. 262.

⁶¹ Lauren Kassell, 'Casebooks in Early Modern England: Medicine, Astrology and Written Records', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 88:4 (2014), 595-625 (p. 597).

⁶² Phyllis Thompson, 'Uncovering the Traces Left Behind: Manuscript Recipes, Middleclass Readers, and Reading Practices' in *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book: Writers and Publishers in England, 1650-1800* ed. by Laura L. Runge and Pat Rogers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 70-95 (p. 71).

⁶³ Katherine Knight, 'A Precious Medicine: Tradition and Magic in Some Seventeenth-Century Household Remedies', *Folklore*, 113:2 (2002), 237-47 (p. 246).

⁶⁴ Thompson, 'Uncovering the Traces', p. 75.

⁶⁵ A. W. Sloan, *English Medicine in the Seventeenth Century* (Durham: Durham Academic Press, 1996), p. 1.

including servants.⁶⁶ In fact, the medical knowledge of the lay population was so highly valued that it could be used as a type of currency, expressed in the form of recipe swapping, and possession of a recipe of proven efficacy could be considered a type of capital.⁶⁷ Domestic medicine was a highly trusted subsection of early modern medicine that relied on simple treatments that could be easily explained and replicated and medicines that could be made simply and cheaply with ingredients that could be easily obtained. A major weakness of recipe books as a source is that high-ranking women of the aristocracy or gentry wrote a majority of surviving examples. Because of this, the information gleaned from these recipe books have been supplemented by that popular print like the cheaper plague pamphlets—some of which were consciously marketed and addressed to ‘the poor’⁶⁸ and ‘the poorer sort’⁶⁹—and the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets, the picture of practice given in these thesis is as representative of all classes as can be managed.

A range of other sources supplements these sources. For example, Chapter Three contains a discussion of the pamphlets bandied between the College of Physicians and the Society of Chemical Physicians during the 1665 plague. These have been used to gain insight into how these chemists differentiated themselves from the university-learned physicians. Chapters Five and Six, in which London’s market in proprietary medicines is discussed at length, also draw from newspapers, handbills and advertisements in order to get a sense of not only the breadth of the wares being offered, but also to map the places in the metropolis where these goods could be obtained. Finally, Chapter Seven’s discussion of quarantine and plague nurses draws significantly from the parish records of three London parishes. These sources are discussed in further depth in those chapters rather than here as they are used and analysed largely in just those chapters. In short, much has been written about plague and indeed about plague medicine, but my thesis, I hope, constitutes a significant contribution to our understanding of the nature of pharmacology during 1665.

⁶⁶ Harold J. Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 30.

⁶⁷ Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, ‘Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern “Medical Marketplace”’ in *Medicine and the Market*, 133-52, p. 133.

⁶⁸ Thomas Cock, *Advice for the poor by way of cure & caution* (London: 1665; STC2 R15569).

⁶⁹ Thomas Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague. Fitted for the poorer sort* (London: 1665; STC2 R221989).

Part One:
Background of Ideas and Practices

Chapter Two

Longstanding Medical Responses to Plague, c. 1550 to 1664

2.1 Introduction

To contextualise the main content of this thesis, this chapter provides a background of early modern beliefs about and treatments for plague. The prescriptions, recommendations and nostrums endorsed and mentioned by vernacular medical plague writers, discussed here (see sections 2.4 to 2.7) and in Chapter Six (see sections 6.2 to 6.5), were founded on a centuries' old understanding of the disease; the first pandemic of plague, after all, assaulted the British Isles in 1348. The first known printed medical book in English, *A passing gode lytyll boke necessarye and behouefull agenst the pestilence*, was published in 1485 in response to the disease.¹ By the time London was rocked by its repeated early modern epidemics, medical practitioners were reliant on an understanding of the nature of the disease which was already firmly embedded in medical tradition.²

As its source material, this chapter uses the vernacular medical literature written about the plague during the early modern period up to 1665 in addition to wider printed literature of plague. Wider print included sermons; broadsheets; legislation passed by the monarch, Privy Council or Court of Aldermen; treatises written to give religious instruction during the trying time of an epidemic; and pamphlets written by laypeople seeking to direct the actions of city officials. By considering plague literature from across the early modern period, from 1550 to 1664, I seek to give the widest possible picture of beliefs about plague. I will also attempt to address an error in the historiography which tends to describe the literature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as homogeneous and unchanging by providing quantitative data on the ingredients recommended in plague literature which suggests that there was indeed change over time; namely, that readymade prescriptions and commercially obtained ingredients were important aspects of plague medicine and were becoming more important over the course of the early modern period. I suggest that this trend was true in practice as well.

Previous to my study, much has been written about the ingredients of plague remedies but little quantitative work has been done. To date, the most in-depth study of this topic has been herbalist Marcus Harrison's *Plants and the Plague: The Herbal Frontline*. In his text, Harrison focuses on the remedies and preventatives recommended in plague literature, ignoring the question of actual practice. A majority of Harrison's book is dedicated to his description of the common or interesting ingredients he found in his survey of plague literature, giving a list of

¹ Anonymous, *A passing gode lityll boke necessarye [and] behouefull a[g]enst the pestilence* (London: 1485; STC S111595).

² As suggested here, this tradition went back to the pandemic of the 1340s; for more on the earliest Galenic response to the disease see John Arrizabalaga, 'Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners' in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* ed. by Luis Garcia-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 237-88.

quotes to indicate in which texts these ingredients were recommended, a description of the plant and a brief discussion of qualities of the various parts of that plant.³ However, he makes no effort to consider whether or not these simples would have been used in practice during the time of an epidemic. However, these studies also do not consider the question of practice, or why seventeenth-century author-practitioners recommended the ingredients listed in these recipes.

Accounts of specific epidemic years— like Wilson’s account of the 1603 plague— include discussions of preventatives and remedies, quoting medical tracts and treatises.⁴ Slack’s magisterial study *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* also includes discussion of the plague remedies recommended in printed literature. Slack describes some of the most common ingredients and contemplates the question of practice, concluding that the wealthy were more likely to purchase plague tracts and incorporate the recommended prophylactics and remedies into their routines.⁵ The poor, instead, were likely more interested in remedies that synthesised folk magic and cheaper natural ingredients like vinegar and rue.⁶ He also tracks the rise of Paracelsian remedies and ingredients in plague literature, concluding that plague medicine accommodated a plurality of responses. Studies by Wear, Lindemann and Fabbri have treated the early modern *corpus* of plague literature as a whole, discussing and contextualizing the theoretical knowledge of medical plague literature but doing little to investigate individual ingredients, rationalisations or whether or not these remedies and ingredients were used in practice.⁷

These studies have tended to suggest that the recommendations given for plague remained largely the same over time. For example, Fabbri has asserted that

The 1348 plague and its later epidemic outbreaks severely challenged late medieval and early modern medicine, yet, medical theory and practice were slow to transform. In the following centuries, neither prevention nor treatment of plague changed appreciably. There was little evolution in the antipestilential regimen as regarded diet, hygiene, medicines, or surgical procedures.... Plague prophylaxis and the substance of plague therapies, both steeped in the principles of traditional Galenic therapeutics, remained the same.⁸

Slack acknowledges the gradual inclusion of Paracelsian ingredients, but his picture is also of plague medicine largely unchanged over time, with notable changes only happening by the 1665 epidemic⁹ though he does note that responses to the 1625 and 1636 plague were largely religious in nature.¹⁰ Of these earlier epidemics, he concludes that ‘The plague literature of the sixteenth

³ Marcus Harrison, *Plants and the Plague: The Herbal Frontline* (Lostwithiel, Cornwall: 2015), pp. 109-227.

⁴ Wilson, *The Plague*, pp. 8-13.

⁵ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷ Fabbri, ‘Treating Medieval Plague’, 247-83; Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 158-171; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 275-353.

⁸ Fabbri, ‘Treating Medieval Plague’, pp. 247-8.

⁹ 1665, Slack argues, was unique from its predecessors due in part to its uniquely secular response, helped by the medical observational advances of Thomas Willis and Thomas Sydenham and the cool statistical analysis of William Petty and John Graunt. Reactions in 1665 were more medical, concerned with the natural causes and recommended therapies for the disease. Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 244.

¹⁰ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 244.

and early seventeenth centuries can therefore be taken as a whole and plundered for evidence'.¹¹ Cohn observes that 'Few historians have bothered to track change through these sources. In fact, many continue to see them as monotonous repetitions... even into the seventeenth century.'¹²

Indeed, plague literature is so often treated as a whole that Griffin has confidently asserted that

The main internal remedies that were recommended for the plague were London treacle, Mithridatium, Galene and diascordium, a confection prepared from water germander. Victims of the plague who developed buboes were treated with a plaster of either Mithridatium or Galene applied hot thrice daily.¹³

Wear similarly sees little change in plague recommendations and treatments over time, writing

Where changes occurred they were due more to radical alterations in the foundations of medicine... but even those were only partial changes... But they only apparent promise of innovation came from empirics offering new pills and treatments, and such offerings had long been part of the traditional structure of medicine.¹⁴

Plague literature—particularly that of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—has usually been treated as whole. Plague medicine is presented as static and largely unchanging. Vernacular medical plague literature has been treated too often as homogeneous, not in enough detail and rarely has the literature of separate epidemic years been treated separate from one another.

Moreover, little has been done to investigate whether or not the complex remedies recommended in medical literature was used in practice, though Slack did note that doctor's casebooks suggest that practical remedies tended to be much simpler than complex printed recommendations suggest.¹⁵

This chapter seeks to remedy the treatment of the literature of earlier plague years as homogeneous or repetitious by enumerating and analysing the recommendations given for the Tudor and early Stuart plague years separately. What we find is the plague literature of early modern London was much more diverse than has been presented in previous studies. Beside the inclusion of Paracelsian ingredients and remedies in recommended preventatives and therapeutics, my research suggests that commercially obtained and even proprietary medicines became more important to plague medicine over the course of the seventeenth century. The research here supports Fissel's argument that 'over the course of the century, such medical remedy books came to include an increasing number of ingredients that could only be obtained commercially'.¹⁶ Indeed, because plague was of such concern to early modern vernacular medical writers over the course of the early modern period, tracking the ingredients recommended in their treatises is a unique opportunity to assess the increasing incorporation, use and normalization of commercially obtained plants, minerals and drugs in early modern medicine.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹² Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, p. 234.

¹³ Griffin, 'Venetian Treacle', p. 321.

¹⁴ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 348-9.

¹⁵ Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 257.

¹⁶ Mary E. Fissel, *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 41.

I will begin with a discussion of the medical economy of early modern London, considering the types of practitioners for hire (section 2.2). My thesis attempts to fill a gap in the historiography which focuses on medical goods and services rather than practitioners. Afterwards, I will move on to discuss early modern beliefs about the nature and cause of plague (section 2.3) before jumping into Tudor and early Stuart recommendations and prescriptions, first for prevention and then for cure of the plague (sections 2.4 to 2.8). By comparing commonly recommended ingredients for the periods 1550 to 1603 and 1604 to 1664, we find that readymade compound ingredients—for example treacle, waters, plasters and syrups—became more commonly recommended, suggesting that they became more integral to plague medicine. The increase in readymade recommendations in the early Stuart period parallels the growth in the usage of printed medical plague literature's use as a method for advertising premade, ready-to-purchase preparations. Afterwards, I will assess practice by discussing the evidence garnered from the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets, recipe books and physicians' casebooks. Plants, minerals and drugs that would have had to be purchased emerge as gradually more significant elements of many medical remedies for plague (section 2.9).

2.2 Setting the Scene: The Medical Marketplace and the Oeconomy of Health Care in Early Modern England

Early modern London was home to a wide array of medical practitioners, both licensed and unlicensed. This section will describe the various types of medical practitioners available for hire by early modern Londoners, describing their levels of training and the roles in medical practice they were prescribed. This section provides a framework for my thesis by describing and defining the types of practitioners who engaged in plague medicine.

Traditionally, the College of Physicians has been represented as forming the top tier of professionalised medicine. After obtaining a bachelor's and master's degree from Oxford or Cambridge, a physician studied a further seven years for his doctorate. Additional study familiarised him with medical theory using the Latin texts of authors like Hippocrates and Galen and granted him the medical degree necessary for entrance into the College.¹⁷ The exclusive duties of the College included both prescribing and administering treatment, called *physick*, to the people of the City of London and the seven-mile radius surrounding it, according to the charter granted them on their creation in 1518.¹⁸ Membership of the College was restricted to an elite 50 persons¹⁹ who were, at least according to law, primarily responsible for the health and well being of a city whose population burgeoned from 70,000 to 80,000 to 550,000 over the period from 1500 to 1670.²⁰ Physicians were the most formally educated of the licensed medical practitioners

¹⁷ Cook, *The Decline*, p. 119.

¹⁸ Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 16.

¹⁹ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 97.

²⁰ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 15.

on offer in London's medical marketplace, having studied for a combined total of 14 years to become a Doctor of Medicine.²¹ They were also, according to a 1617 charter, the only practitioners with a legal right to prescribe and administer internal medicines.²² During the later plague years of 1636 and 1665, the College was responsible for issuing a pamphlet titled *Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection*, which included, as it implies, a number of directives for preventing the plague as well as a number of curative recipes in case the worst happened.²³ The pamphlet was made available in every apothecary's shop and could also be purchased from most booksellers.²⁴

The Society of Apothecaries was originally a part of the Grocers' Company, but gained its own charter in 1618.²⁵ Officially, apothecaries were in charge of filling the prescriptions members of the College gave to patients using recipes listed in the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, a publication of the College.²⁶ However, the wording of their charter did not specifically prohibit the apothecaries from prescribing medicines and attending to patients, and this created a deep-seated struggle between the College and Society as the former ineffectually attempted to exert control over the latter, contributing to the publication of Nicholas Culpeper's *Herbal* in 1653 and many other medical receipt collections in the vernacular.²⁷ After a seven-year apprenticeship, apothecaries could set up shop across the city, distilling and dispensing prescriptions and medicines that included gargles, draughts, ointments, pills, resins, gums, chemicals and metals, in addition to providing spices and a number of foodstuffs like raisins, coffee, tobacco, and candied citron fruits.²⁸ Throughout the seventeenth century, conflicts arose between the apothecaries and physicians over the apothecaries' right to prescribe medicines and give advice, privileges usually reserved for the physicians.²⁹ Plague years gave apothecaries an increased chance to treat patients. They were known for staying in the city rather than fleeing, and it is estimated that as many as three-quarters of London's apothecaries and their apprentices stayed during the plague of 1665.³⁰

The Company of Barber Surgeons formed the final tier of the three-level structure of licensed medicine in early modern London. These men provided an eclectic array of services for their clients, ranging from tooth extraction to complicated surgical procedures such as

²¹ Sloan, *English Medicine*, p. 2.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²³ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions, as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection* (London: 1665; STC2 R9802).

²⁴ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 97.

²⁵ Penelope Hunting, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries* (London: Society of Apothecaries, 1998), p. 17.

²⁶ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua medicamenta antiqua et nova vsitatissima, sedulo collecta, accuratissimè examinata, quotidiana experientia confirmata describuntur. Opera Medicorum Collegij Londinensis. Ex serenissimi Regis mandato cum R.M. priuilegio.* (London: 1618; STC S102952).

²⁷ Hunting, *A History of the Society*, pp. 34-43.

²⁸ J. G. L. Bunby, 'A Study of the English Apothecary from 1660-1760,' *Medical History, Supplement 3* (1983), 1-128 (p. 20).

²⁹ Sloan, *English Medicine*, p. 6.

³⁰ Hunting, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries*, p. 63.

amputation.³¹ Because only physicians could give internal medicines, surgeons restricted their practice to external complaints.³² Medical books and pamphlets produced for surgeons reflect the wide horizon of their therapeutic concerns. One such publication includes guidance on bone fractures, dislocations, wind, bleeding, abscesses, cataract removal, leeching, bullet removal, cancer, gangrene, ulcers and plague sores and carbuncles in addition to general anatomy.³³ Interestingly, Bunby points out that surgeons were often apothecaries as well, providing practical treatment as well as medicinal or herbal remedies.³⁴ In times of plague, surgeons were frequently most concerned with the outward manifestations of plague—buboes, carbuncles, sores, and blisters—and were called upon to lance a bubo with a long-handled cautery after softening it with an herbal plaster.³⁵

Early modern London's medical economy also included a huge assortment of various unlicensed practitioners that did not fit into any of the three professional categories listed above. It is clear that a majority of paid medical treatment would have come from an unlicensed practitioner, which could vary from the reputable—major medical writers of the period, like Nicolas Culpeper, were unlicensed, and many could have large numbers of clientele among the political elite at court—to the disreputable, which would have included a 'large and ill-defined assembly of independent practitioners'³⁶ that included quacks, mountebanks, and charlatans ready to make a profit off Londoners in need of medical care.

Roy Porter has argued that the medical elite levied the term 'quack' against unlicensed practitioners in an attempt to discredit them.³⁷ However, research has made it clear that the types of controls the College attempted to put into place to restrict the practice of physick to only its members were largely unsuccessful.³⁸ Webster observed that 'the carefully constructed edifice of medical monopolies established under the Stuarts was highly unstable'.³⁹ Unlicensed practitioners actually formed an essential sector in early modern medicine in London, providing medical treatment to the poor, as medical professionals typically devoted themselves to the care of the rich.⁴⁰ Irregular practitioners could be university educated—like the controversial medical writer Gideon Harvey, who attended Oxford and Leiden University—or had learned medicine in a less formal environment in a sort of apprenticeship.⁴¹ Additionally, despite Defoe's assertion that the medicines provided by such practitioners were malignant in nature, Porter argues that most

³¹ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 104.

³² Sloan, *English Medicine*, p. 7.

³³ Paul Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae the chirurgical & anatomical vworks of Paul Barbette... together with a treatise of the plague*. (London, 1676; STC2 R20651).

³⁴ Bunby, 'A Study of the English Apothecary', p. 19.

³⁵ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 104.

³⁶ Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Peter Lang, 1976), p. 254.

³⁷ Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 2.

³⁸ Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis, 'The Medical Marketplace' in *Medicine in the Market*, 1-23 (p. 2).

³⁹ Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 254.

⁴⁰ Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 21.

⁴¹ Patrick Wallis, 'Harvey, Gideon (1636/7–1702)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12519>> [accessed 23 May 2017].

unlicensed practitioners provided medicines from the College-approved *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, and that it is unlikely that these preparations ‘were decisively worse than those prescribed by regulars’.⁴² During plague years, unlicensed practitioners had an expanded opportunity to provide physick to the people of London.⁴³ As Wear has commented, ‘Plague probably gave empirics their greatest opportunity to make money in a short space of time.’⁴⁴ Indeed, competent practice during epidemics could prove to be ‘justification for subsequently continuing to practice without the necessary permission from the College of Physicians’.⁴⁵ However, rather than functioning without restraint, as the idea of a ‘medical marketplace’ would have it, these irregular practitioners and nostrum sellers were in fact ‘subject to extensive controls’.⁴⁶

Since the 1980s, the wide variety of medical wares, services and practitioners available in early modern London has long been described as a ‘medical marketplace’; considering the network of both licensed and unlicensed medical caregivers in early modern London as a marketplace allowed historians to include practitioners beyond the licensed elites. Harold Cook utilised the term in his study, *The Decline of the Medical Regime in Stuart London*. Cook criticised the fact that until then, the history of medicine had focused only on the three levels of legal, professional medicine in early modern London. Cook emphasised the early modern belief that ‘kitchen physic is the best physic’, and argued that a majority of medical care was experienced in the home rather than from an outside caregiver. Domestic caregivers, usually a family’s matriarch, relied on oral tradition and the largely herbal remedies passed down in familial receipt books.⁴⁷ The use of the phrase ‘medical marketplace’ accentuates the capitalistic and competitive nature of medicine in the capital, as Cook saw it. Instead of domineering monopoly of all medical care, legal practitioners had to compete with an influx of new American and Near Eastern trade opportunities that mirrored the new popularity of mineral medicines.⁴⁸ A burgeoning of new medical print after the relaxing of censors during the English Civil War meant that the published word became an additional competitor in a diverse medical marketplace.⁴⁹ In this way, the idea of the medical marketplace allowed historians to depict a much wider picture of the medical profession, including women, unlicensed, and quack practitioners in addition to the three-tier system of professionalised medicine.⁵⁰

⁴² Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 141.

⁴³ Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners 1550-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), p. 149.

⁴⁴ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 338.

⁴⁵ Patrick Wallis, ‘Plague, Morality and the Place of Medicine in Early Modern England,’ *English Historical Review* 490 (2006), 1-24 (p. 13).

⁴⁶ Jenner and Wallis, ‘The Medical Marketplace’, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Cook, *The Decline*, p. 30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Jenner and Wallis, ‘The Medical Marketplace’, p. 3.

Since then, many historians have acknowledged the problems with the idea of a ‘medical marketplace’ in early modern London.⁵¹ For one thing, the idea of a competing marketplace of practitioners tends to distract attention away from the fact that a majority of medical care would not have been paid for, but provided at home. As Wear has observed, ‘the underlying reality was that few people enjoyed any continuous care outside their families.’⁵² For another, the idea of a medical marketplace tends to portray Londoners as able to select from one or any combination of medical practitioners and services on offer in the metropolis. This was not the case; the world of medicine in early modern London was by no means a free market. Indeed, as Patrick Wallis has shown, medical practice was as likely to be cooperative as it was competitive, though the idea of the medical marketplace tends to accentuate the latter.⁵³

Historians who have criticised the idea of the medical marketplace offer instead the ‘*oeconomy* of health care’.⁵⁴ Medical provision was only part of a household’s wider commercial activity; indeed, paid health care would only have been sought when domestic care failed. This thesis engages with this notion by suggesting that rather than having access to an unlimited number of competing practitioners in a free and open medical market during epidemic plague, the choices of Londoners were likely more limited. Over the course of the seventeenth century, it seems probable that an increasing proportion of health care for plague was paid for rather than provided within the home; the possibility of paying for medical goods rather than a practitioner during plague years increased. Medicines and ingredients that would have had to be commercially obtained become increasingly important to medical provision during times of epidemic plague. By examining medical goods and commodities in addition to practitioners, my thesis fills the gap left by the historiography of the ‘medical marketplace’, which has tended to focus on practitioners rather than wares.

2.3 *The Nature and Cause of Plague*

The practitioners who opted to become plague writers had a complex understanding of the disease they called the plague. Their understanding was largely rooted in Galenic understandings of the human body and its propensity for illness. Plague was viewed as having a multitude of causes, both supernatural and natural. First and foremost, early modern Londoners acknowledged that God was the root cause of any epidemic contagion; plague was viewed, fundamentally, as a sweeping judgement on the city for its many sins. However, Tudor and early Stuart plague writers also attributed plague to a number of natural causes. Plague was seen as a poison absorbed by the body; plague writers disagreed on the cause of the air’s corruption, with

⁵¹ For a collection of essays which systematically questions this terminology’s aptness, see *Medicine and the Market*.

⁵² Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 338.

⁵³ Patrick Wallis, ‘Competition and Cooperation in the Early Modern Medical Economy’ in *Medicine and the Market*, 47-68.

⁵⁴ Leong and Pennel, ‘Recipe Collections’ in *Medicine and the Market*, pp. 133-52.

some postulating that the conjunctions of the stars and planets were to blame, though most believed that the insalubriousness of the urban environment was the root cause of tainted air.

In the early modern period, the body and its ailments were understood according to the writings of Galen and Hippocrates.⁵⁵ This *corpus* formed the basis of Western medical practice for thousands of years; in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England Galenic medicine was still a highly respected form of medical practice despite Continental detractors like Paracelsus and van Helmont.⁵⁶ In this traditional Galenic understanding of the human body—the prevalent system of medical belief until the end of the eighteenth century—all diseases were actually considered different manifestations of the same disease, which was caused by the imbalance of the body's humours.⁵⁷ The body was considered to be composed of a combination of four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. Each person had their own unique combination of the humours based on variables like age and sex, and a person's temperament was dictated by which of these humours was most prevalent in the body. The sanguine were in excess of blood, said to be hot and wet; the choleric, in excess of yellow bile, were hot and dry; the phlegmatic were wet and cold, in excess of phlegm; while cold and dry melancholic were in excess of the last humour, black bile. These temperaments could most commonly be seen in the young, the middle aged, women, and the aged respectively.⁵⁸

A healthy person was one who was able to balance his humours and defeat his body's propensity for excess in one or more of them by following a regimen which safeguarded the equilibrium of his humours by seeking balance in his lifestyle—a concept known as the 'non-naturals'. Moderation in each of the six non-naturals—air, diet, sleeping and watching, labour and rest, emptiness and repletion, and state of the mind—was considered the best method for achieving balance and health.⁵⁹ In times of plague, the sanguine were considered particularly at risk, their hot and humid temperament reflecting what plague writers purported to be the temperament of the disease, thus attracting it.⁶⁰

Medical writers who penned treatises about the disease wrote vivid descriptions of the disease's symptoms. That 'Fear of plague was widespread'⁶¹ is reflected again and again in plague literature. One pamphleteer purported that of all diseases, plague was the 'most terrible and fearefull, and the most contagious'.⁶² Another writer echoed, 'y^e pestilence is one of the moste horrible & cruel infirmities y^t is found among men'.⁶³ Plague writers gave extensive lists of the

⁵⁵ Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 60.

⁵⁶ For more on iatrochemical objections and responses to Galenic medical practice, see Chapter Three.

⁵⁷ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 25.

⁵⁸ Thomas Cogan, *The haven of health*. (London: 1636; STC S108449), pp. 309-10.

⁵⁹ Curth, *English Almanacs*, pp. 141-52.

⁶⁰ Stephen Hobbes, *A new treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1603; STC S117905), p. 3.

⁶¹ Andrew Wear, 'Fear, Anxiety and Plague in Early Modern England: Religious and Medical Responses' in *Religion, Health and Suffering* ed. by John R. Hinnells and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1999), 339-63 (p. 339).

⁶² I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague vvherein is shewed, the naturall cause of the plague, preservations from the infection, way to cure the infected*. (London: 1603; STC S123186), p. 3.

⁶³ Leonardo Fioravanti, *A ioyfull iewell Contayning as well such excellent orders, preseruatiues and precious practises for the Plague* (London: 1579; STC S118891), p. 33.

symptoms or 'signs' exhibited by someone infected by plague. The surgeon Thomas Thayre's list included head pain, heat within the body while the extremities became cold, difficulty breathing, sleepiness, fitfulness, swelling in the stomach, profuse sweating, 'seeing all things of one colour', changed eye colour, loss of appetite, bitter mouth, a desire to vomit, swift pulse, weakness of the limbs, and troubled urine, or no urine at all.⁶⁴ Thomas Brasbridge added to the list a dry mouth, unnatural hotness, and 'a greate pricking and shooting in the body'.⁶⁵ The worst and surest sign was a 'tumour or swelling' which 'ariseth in the necke, vnder the arme, or in the flanke' or 'in some other part of the bodie there appeareth any red, greenish, or blackish coloured sore'.⁶⁶ The tumor was the dreaded bubo or '*botch of Egypt*', a protuberance made up of corrupt humours and plague poison accumulated under the skin and trying to escape.⁶⁷ The location of buboes on the body was taken to indicate in which vital organ the disease had taken root in: if under the arms, the heart had been attacked, while the groin was sign that the liver was harbouring the pest.⁶⁸ The outward signs of plague—blains, botches, carbuncles, and buboes—were the key indicators that the victim was suffering plague rather than another disease. Searchers, the women employed by the parish to determine cause of death, were instructed to look for blisters 'much bigger than the Small Pox, of a Straw colour or livid colour' with a 'reddish Circuit, something swollen round about it'.⁶⁹ One writer even postulated that plague could only be identified when the outward symptoms were present.⁷⁰

Plague was seen to have both supernatural and natural causes. Of the supernatural causes, divine wrath was seen as the most common trigger for plague. After all, the word *plague* itself 'derived from the Latine word *Plaga*, which is a wound, a stripe, a stroke, or a hurt'.⁷¹ It was believed that plague, along with war and famine, was 'one of the three great and terrible Arrowes of the Almighty' with which the Lord might punish mankind for its sins.⁷² A majority of plague-related publications pointed to sin and heavenly condemnation as the chief cause of plague. Even primarily medical literature included God as the first in a list of many other causes that were typically environmental. In a 1665 plague pamphlet, Anglican minister Richard Kingston asserts that pride, oath-swearing, '*Uncharitableness* to one another', '*Rebellious murmuring*' against '*Prince and Priest*', excessive eating and drinking, apparel 'so *fantastically shap'd*, that instead of *covering* [shame] they *discover it*', and finally, common lust were the sins most likely to bring

⁶⁴ Thomas Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence vvh wherein is shewed all the causes thereof, with most assured preseruatiues against all infection: and lastly is taught the true and perfect cure of the pestilence, by most excellent and appoued medicines*. (London: 1603; STC S101271), pp. 37-8.

⁶⁵ Thomas Brasbridge, *The poore mans ieuuel, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence* (London, 1578: STC S229), p. 20.

⁶⁶ Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (STC S101271), p. 38.

⁶⁷ John Sanford, *Gods arrowe of the pestilence* (London: 1604; STC S102391), p. 7.

⁶⁸ Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's last legacy* (London: 1655; STC2 R22796), p. 69.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), p. 345.

⁷¹ John Woodall, *The surgeons mate or Military & domestique surgery* (London: 1655; STC2 R221201), p. 323.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 321.

down the wrath of God.⁷³ The Elizabethan mentality on sins that merited divine retribution was distinctly different than the later opinion of Kingston. In 1595, Anthony Anderson recorded these sins as

Sinnes in the Court vnbridled, sinnes in the Church not repented of, in the country not cared for. The prophanation of the Sabbath day, the abhominations in the weeke day, no truth, lesse trust, no faith to God, no loue to our breathern, much fayll of loyaltie to the prince, and small prooffe or due obedience, to hir Magistrates. But a mightie scorne of the Lords Preachers, through an vtter contempt of his woord.⁷⁴

Kingston's sins, like lust and drinking, were personal, controllable on a person-to-person basis.

Anderson's list, however, were communal sins committed on a nation-wide scale.

Anderson was not only directing his comments at the Church of England and the court of Elizabeth I, but also challenging the loyalty and piety of the English nation.⁷⁵

This was not to say that personal sin did not play its role in deserving and spreading the disease. One plague writer asserts that plague was propagated via physical means, like the touch and breath of the infected, but was also spread, 'not only with lying together, but also by breath and handling, yea and moreouer is sucked out by infantes from their Nurses breasts, and agayne the Nurses get this disease by giuing suck vnto the infant which is either concieued by an vnclane father, or borne of an vnclane mother.'⁷⁶ This suggests the belief that sin could have a literal corrupting effect on the body that could be passed from parent to child and beyond. The belief that the body became a type of poison mirrored the belief that plague itself was a type of poison absorbed into the body through the lungs and pores of the skin, drawn into the veins to eventually embed itself, fatally, in the heart of the infected.⁷⁷

The natural means cited in early modern plague literature were diverse, fitting in largely with the popular Galenic medical theories of the time. While medical writers agreed that the sickness was a result of divine condemnation for wrongdoing, they also attributed plague to a multitudinous assortment of natural causes, rather than God. Most religious pamphlet writers granted that they would not disagree with those who claimed natural causes in addition to those supernatural.⁷⁸ Most pamphlet writers divided these natural causes into three distinct groupings: the effect and movement of the planets, the corruption of the air, and the aptness of a corrupt body to catch the infection.

⁷³ Richard Kingston, *Pillulae pestilenciales, or, A spiritual receipt for cure of the plague* (London, 1665: STC2 R4398), pp. 32-47.

⁷⁴ Anthony Anderson, *An approued medicine against the deserued plague*. (London: 1593; STC S108496), p. 4.

⁷⁵ Kingston, *Pillulae pestilenciales* (STC2 R4398), pp. 32-47.

⁷⁶ Bèze, Théodore de, *A shorte learned and pithie treatize of the plague* (London: 1580; STC S104577), p. 9.

⁷⁷ Pierre Drouet, *A new counsell against the pestilence declaring what kinde of disease it is, of what cause it procedeth, the signes and tokens thereof: with the order of curing the same*. (London: 1578; STC S108183), p. 9.

⁷⁸ T. C., *A godly and learned sermon, vpon the 91. psalme* (London: 1603; STC S117370), p. 4.

Plague was viewed as being caused by air that had been corrupted and became a type of poison.⁷⁹ A commonly contested opinion reflected in plague literature was that pestilential air quality derived from the malign influences of the stars. Some argued that the arrangement of heavenly bodies could cause humoral imbalances.⁸⁰ However, others believed the stars themselves caused plague. One writer asserted that ‘The beams of these stars... infect the spiritual and corporeal nutriment’ with disease, specifically plague.⁸¹ According to those plague writers who cited astrological causes for plague, the air became corrupt due to

the influences, aspects, coniunctions, and opposition of ill planets, the Eclipse of the Sunne and moone, through the immoderate heate of the aire, where the temperature of the aire is turned from his naturall state of excessiue heate and moisture... remaining vnconsumed, doe rot, putrifie, and corrupt, and so with the veneme the aire becometh corrupted and infected.⁸²

Concerns about weather conditions beyond human control—particularly heat and humidity—were rife in astrological explanations for plague. The position of the sun in Aries or in the eighth house of a horoscope was considered to foretell a year of pestilential infection.⁸³ While some writers dismissed the role of the planets in causing plague, most acknowledged that any truly learned physician should consider the stars in both cause and treatment of the disease.

Other writers dismissed out of hand the notion that planets corrupted the air. To these sceptics, the cause of the air's corruption was entirely natural and deeply rooted in concerns about urban cleanliness.⁸⁴ In these explanations, the dominant idea that anything strongly unpleasant smelling caused the air to become poisonous. The sources of these stenches and stinks were numerous, listed by plague writers in great detail. Thayre listed 'standing muddie waters, and stinking ditches and priuies, or from dead bodies vnburied, stinking chanel and mixstones, and multitudes of people liuing in small and little roome, and vncleanlie kept'.⁸⁵ Less tactful, Brasbridge added, 'common pissing places, and such like' to a similar list of London's sanitary offenses.⁸⁶

Plague writers were fundamentally concerned about the urban condition and recognised a connection between filth and infection. James I's government, echoing Thayre's concerns about crowded living conditions in the metropolis, sought to limit these sorts of habitations. A 1603 proclamation blamed plague on 'excessiue numbers of idle, indigent, dissolute and dangerous persons, and the pestering of them in small and strait roomes and habitations of the Citie of

⁷⁹ Hobbes, *A nevv treatise of the pestilence* (STC S117905), p. 2.

⁸⁰ Allan Chapman, 'Astrological Medicine' in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, 275-99 (p. 286).

⁸¹ Philagathou, *The method of chemical philosophie and physick* (London: 1664; STC2 R214177), p. 238.

⁸² I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague* (STC S123186), p. 3.

⁸³ Jean Goeurot, *The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1550; STC S109504), pp. 95-6.

⁸⁴ This concern about the urban environment was entirely justified; in his doctoral thesis, Stephen Cornish has established the cycles of disease caused by building locations, patterns and materials used in early Modern London; see Stephen Michael Cornish, *The Building Pathology of Early Modern London* (unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, 2015).

⁸⁵ Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (STC S101271), p. 5.

⁸⁶ Brasbridge, *The poore mans ieuuel* (STC S229), p. 8.

London, and in and about the Suburbes of the same'.⁸⁷ The solution was to prescribe that no new tenant be admitted to these crowded urban habitations; however, as to what constituted crowded, the proclamation remains tacit and the matter was left to the Aldermen of the City.

The idea that bad smell caused a literal corruption of the air, called *miasma* by the Galenists, showcased a fundamental concern about the public and private spaces of the city and their disorder. Each of the stinking places listed by plague writers as the font of infection were man-made pollutions of the natural God-given cleanliness of their environment. The earth became so insalubrious that animals rejected their habitations; rats, moles, and other underground creatures forsook their homes in the earth because of its corruption, while flies, snakes, toads, and frogs abandoned their polluted waters.⁸⁸ Thayre called plague 'a venemous euaporation arising from the earth'.⁸⁹ Pollution, manifested in the repellent odours of life—and especially urban life—caused the earth itself to become venomous. Corrupt air as causation for plague reflects the belief that plague was sourced in the communal, disordered living caused by the urban environment.

Some writers, however, took exception to the idea that venomous air could be the cause of plague. It was argued by some that if corrupt air truly was the cause, all should become infected. However, for the most part, as Cohn has observed,

There was no conflict in these medical tracts between a theory of disease that was spread by air, water, and stench and its capacity at the same time to spread directly from person to person.⁹⁰

Other medical writers dismissed this argument, offering instead the notion that an excess of corrupt humours in certain bodies were more likely to attract the plague poison.⁹¹ Brasbridge voiced the dangers of excessively indulging in any one of the non-naturals; in his opinion, men contracted plague by the

taking of meate and drinke out of measure, specially by feeding of many dishes at one meale, or by too much lack of good nourishing meate, by too much sleepe, or watching, by too much labour or ease: Finally, by too much anger, greife of minde, and feare of the disease.⁹²

A strictly prescribed diet and regiment were a man's best defence against illness and disease, including the dreaded plague.

Plague garnered a multitude of causation theories from those who wrote of it. These causes varied from the supernatural—God's divine wrath demanded retribution in the form of suffering and death—to the natural. Early modern Londoners believed that plague was, essentially, a poison taken into the body through the pores of the skin or by breathing. The source

⁸⁷ James I, *By the King a proclamation against inmates and multitudes of dwellers in strait roomes and places in and about the cities of London, and for the rasing and pulling down of certain new erected buildings*. (London: 1603: STC S123933), p. 1.

⁸⁸ Thomas Lodge, *A treatise of the plague containing the nature, signs, and accidents of the same* (London: 1603; STC S108807), p. 11.

⁸⁹ Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (STC S101271), p. 5.

⁹⁰ Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, p. 233.

⁹¹ Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (STC S101271), p. 1.

⁹² Brasbridge, *The poore mans ieuuel* (STC S229), p. 8.

of pestilential poison was always seen as corrupt, tainted air, but the cause of corruption was contested; some believed that the stars and planets were to blame, while others expressed detailed concerns about the insalubriousness of the urban environment around them. In either case, immoderate living heightened one's likelihood of catching plague.

2.4 Survey of Recommended Ingredients for Plague Remedies

The next portion of this chapter (sections 2.4 to 2.8) will focus on the medicinal prophylactics and therapies recommended by the writers of plague pamphlets during the Tudor and early Stuart periods as ways to ward off and cure the disease. The printed plague pamphlets consulted to create the data in these tables comes from a survey of vernacular medical literature about plague published between 1550 and 1664. These works were selected formulaically; first, I searched the British Library's English Short Title Catalogue for 'plague' and 'pestilence' in the titles. Those works in the vernacular deemed as primarily medical in nature were those selected for my data sampling. I have split my sampling into two periods: Tudor, covering from around 1550 to 1603 and early Stuart, covering from 1604 to 1664 leading up to the Great Plague (a similar survey of recommended ingredients can be found in Chapter Six, sections 6.2 to 6.5). I have done this to remedy the fact that sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century plague literature and beliefs are so often lumped together and to show how there were notable changes in recommended plague remedies even over time, which were precursors to the changes observed in 1665 discussed in this thesis. A full list of the printed works consulted in the survey can be found in Appendix 2.1. In cases of multiple editions, only one edition was included, though if a title was published during both the Tudor date range and the Stuart date range, that title was included once in each sample in order to reflect the new information being peddled as part of the marketplace of medical print.

To make further sense of which titles were included in each sample, Table 2.1 shows each title, its author, the dates for the first and last known editions and the number of recipes identified in that particular work. From the two dates of publication provided, it is clear when a title was included in both samples. This is shown visually in Table 2.2, which reflects the number of new plague publications being produced for each decade, including 1665 (further discussed in Chapter Six).

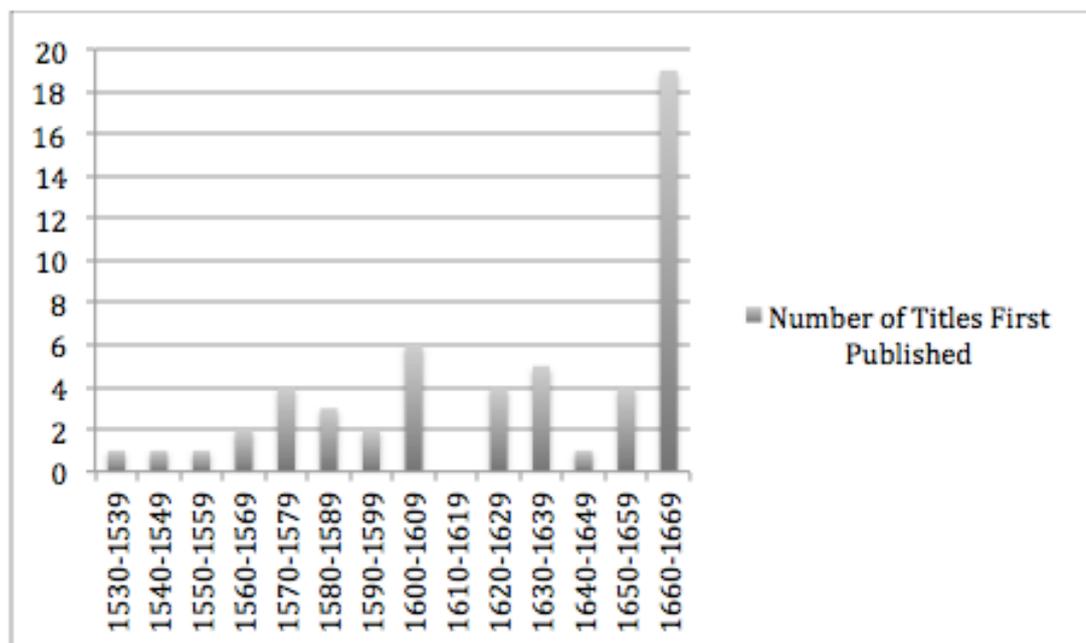
Table 2.1: Titles, Publication Dates and Recipe Count for each Distinct Title Included in the Tudor and Early Modern Samples of Plague Literature

Author	Title	Year of First Publication	Year of Last Known Edition	Number of Recipes in Book
Moulton, Thomas	<i>This is the myroure or glasse of helth, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence</i>	1531	1580	10
Goeurot, Jean	<i>The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence</i>	1543	1596	40
Bullein, William	<i>A newe boke of phisicke called ye gouernment of health</i>	1558	1595	15
Fuchs, Leonhart	<i>A worthy practise of the moste learned phisition Maister Leonerd Fuchsius</i>	1563	1563	25
Bullein, William	<i>A dialogue both pleasant and pietyfull, against the fever pestilence.</i>	1564	1578	22
Drouet, Pierre	<i>A new counsell against the pestilence</i>	1578	1578	47
Brasbridge, Thomas	<i>The poore mans ieuuel, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence</i>	1578	1592	17
T. C.	<i>An hospitall for the diseased wherein are to bee founde moste excellent and approued medicines</i>	1578	1638	19
Fioravanti, Leonardo	<i>A ioyfull ieuell. Contayning aswell such excellent orders, preseruatiues and precious practises for the plague, as also such meruelous medcins for diuers maladies, as hitherto haue not bene published in the English tung.</i>	1579	1579	55
Bright, Timothie	<i>A treatise, vwherein is declared the sufficiencie of English medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicines.</i>	1580	1615	20
Cogan, Thomas	<i>The haven of health.</i>	1584	1636	16
Vicary, Thomas	<i>The English-mans treasvre.</i>	1586	1641	12
Learned Phisition	<i>Present remedies against the plague.</i>	1592	1603	37
Kellwaye, Simon	<i>A defensatiue against the plague</i>	1593	1593	49
Hobbes, Stephen	<i>A nevv treatise of the pestilence, containing the causes, signes, preseruatiues and cure thereof.</i>	1603	1603	7
I. W.	<i>A briefe treatise of the plague vwherine is shewed, the naturall cause of the plague.</i>	1603	1603	11
Lodge, Thomas	<i>A treatise of the plague: containing the nature, signes, and accidents of the same</i>	1603	1603	103
Turner, Peter	<i>The opinion of Peter Turner Doct: in phisicke, concerning amulets or plague cakes</i>	1603	1603	2
Thayre, Thomas	<i>A treatise of the pestilence</i>	1603	1625	58
Herring, Francis	<i>Certaine rules, directions, or advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion.</i>	1603	1665	10
Anonymous	<i>A Direction concerning the plague, or pestilence, for pooore [sic] and rich</i>	1625	1625	3

Table 2.1
(Continued)

Author	Title	Year of First Publication	Year of Last Known Edition	Number of Recipes in Book
Anonymous	<i>Especiall obseruations, and approued physicall rules; which haue (heretofore) beene well tryed and experienced, in the last heauy and grieuous time of the pestilence.</i>	1625	1625	60
Bradwell, Stephen	<i>A vvatch-man for the pest.</i>	1625	1625	49
Donne, George	<i>The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence</i>	1625	1636	9
Boraston, William	<i>A necessarie and brieue treatise of the contagious disease of the pestilence</i>	1630	1630	24
Paré, Ambroise	<i>A treatise of the plague, contayning the causes, signes, symptomes, prognosticks, and cure thereof.</i>	1630	1630	73
Royal College of Physicians of London	<i>The Kings medicines for the plague.</i>	1630	1665	21
Bradwell, Stephen	<i>Physick for the sicknesse, commonly called the plague.</i>	1636	1636	17
Royal College of Physicians of London	<i>Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection</i>	1636	1665	79
Sherwood, Thomas	<i>The charitable pestmaster, or, the cure of the plague</i>	1641	1641	11
A. M.	<i>A rich closet of physical secrets</i>	1652	1653	2
Heyden, Hermann van der	<i>Speedy help for rich and poor.</i>	1653	1653	32
Culpeper, Nicholas	<i>Culpeper's last legacy</i>	1655	1662	13
Moulton, Thomas	<i>The compleat bone-setter enlarged</i>	1657	1666	30

Table 2.2: Number of Vernacular Medical Plague Titles First Published per Decade, Tudor, early Stuart and 1665 Samples



I identified 998 total recipes across all the recipes included in these titles. The recipes recommended in medical plague literature fit largely into one of four categories: those remedies concerned with the purification of the air and the cleansing of miasma; those inward medicines meant to fortify the body against infection; those intended to cure the body of plague once contracted; and those which promised to ameliorate the outward symptoms of the disease. For the Tudor sample, I identified 121 recipes to do with fuming and airing, 197 medicinal preservative recipes, 130 curative therapies and 130 outward preparations. For the Early Stuart periods, the total recipe count for each time was 138, 219, 153 and 144 respectively. Ingredients were recorded by their primary ingredient, with qualifiers—such as preparation or part or characteristic—in brackets. Thus, angelica root appears as ‘angelica (root)’ and rose water as ‘rose (water)’. Mithridate, diascordium, London Treacle and Venice Treacle are all categorised under ‘theriac-type compounds’ for the purposes of this study, as they were all purported variations of an ancient medicine called theriac.⁹³ Alongside each ingredient is a percentage, which reflects the percentage of recipes this ingredient appears in. For the purpose of this research, a recipe was defined either as a set of instructions for preparing a medicine or as a list of ingredients given as a general recommendation for preventing or curing plague.

While substances could be recommended in the form of a simple—that ingredient alone—as a treatment, it was far more common for them to be recommended in a compound medicine mixed with other ingredients that would work together to enhance their health-giving and humour-purging qualities. Compound medicines like treacle, rose water or lemon syrup could also be incorporated into more complex recipes as an ingredient. Bellorini’s study of the *materia medica* of the Tuscan court of the Medici has shown that ‘account books show that simples were usually sold in the form of a ready-made product, or of ready-made drugs’.⁹⁴ Inward medicines, for preservation or cure, were typically recommended in the form of an electuary, conserve, powder, pill or water. An electuary was a medicine mixed with honey or another sweetener for palatability in texture; electuaries could be taken with food or on their own. A pill, on the other hand, was a solid medicine cut or rolled into a small pellet usually taken on its own. A powder was just that: a medical mixture that was dried and ground into a powder with a mortar and pestle. A water, usually named after its primary ingredient, i.e. *scabious water* or *treacle water*, was a distillation of not only that main ingredient, but also a variety of other herbs and medical substances. A water could be drunk on its own or provide a vehicle for powders and electuaries. Alternately, medical herbs and substances could be eaten on bread or taken in milk, water, wine or ale. Outward medicaments also came primarily in a variety of formats, including plasters, ointments, oils, balms and unguents. All were applied topically to the skin of the patient; in plague cases, these were most commonly applied to the buboes, sores, carbuncles and blisters caused by the disease. An ointment was, just as it is now, a smooth substance with a creamy or oily consistency that was applied to the skin of the patient. A plaster, on the other hand, was a

⁹³ Griffin, ‘Venetian Treacle’, p. 318.

⁹⁴ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 212.

semi-liquid medicine that was rubbed onto a strap of leather or linen and then held or affixed to the affected area of the patient's skin. These medicines, in turn, fell into three different categories according to their intended result. Purgatives cleansed the body of surfeit humours; cordials strengthened the heart, brain and liver; and composites, compound medicines which 'aimed to restore humoral balance by drying, cooling, warming, moisturizing, and fortifying the body.'⁹⁵ Recommended remedies for plague and its symptoms came in all of these formats; lists of ingredients to be compounded into these formats could be long and complex.

2.5 Preventing Pestilence

It has been shown that writers of plague literature blamed God and corrupt air for causing of plague. Preventatives for plague recommended by these same writers directly sought to counteract these causes. Repentance was an essential step in warding off the plague; in order to resist judgment from God, one must placate Him; however, one must also protect oneself from pestilential air by correcting and strengthening the body against it.

The surest preventative measure against plague was repentance. Anderson warned the reader to 'repent, least ye all likewise perish'.⁹⁶ God's assistance was seen as the apex of the preventative and curative measures that could be taken against plague. Writers consistently refer to certain treatments proving effective 'through Gods Mercy'.⁹⁷ Because the plague was the direct result of the wrath of God, it was ultimately only He that could soften its blow. To avoid the plague one must make a full repentance for all of one's sins; nobody was exempt from this task, as all had sinned. Only by assuaging the Lord's anger could one hope to escape it. Repentance alone was not enough, however. One also needed to amend one's lifestyle, and religious writers in particular suggested the best steps to take. Because these writers considered plague the direct result of neglect in proper worship, regular church attendance, public fasts, more frequent prayer both in private and public, and public, demonstrative acts of charity to the less fortunate all came highly recommended.⁹⁸ Taking the sacrament acted as a type of purifying fire, simultaneously cleansing the soul from sin and plague.⁹⁹ Public restitution and repentance needed to be made if one wished to protect oneself and one's community from the plague.

The language of medical cure was used metaphorically as a way for Londoners to visualise abstract concepts of spirituality. Godskall's religious pamphlet *The Kings medicine* is most obvious in the use of medical language for religious means. Over 104 pages, Godskall alternates physical cure for the pestilence with its religious equivalent. Thus, Godskall alters the prescription that a patient be given a spoonful each of betony water and scabious water tempered

⁹⁵ Fabbri, 'Treating Medieval Plague', pp. 251-2.

⁹⁶ Anderson, *An approued medicine* (STC S108496), p. 5.

⁹⁷ John Woodall, *The cure of the plague by an antidote called aurum vitae* (London: 1640; STC2 S113972), p. 6.

⁹⁸ Henoah Clapham, *An epistle discoursing vpon the present pestilence*. (London: 1603; STC S117509), pp. 7-12.

⁹⁹ Roger Fenton, *A perfume against the noysome pestilence prescribed by Moses vnto Aaron* (London: 1603; STC S105577), p. 17.

with a 'prettie quantie' of treacle to induce the expulsion of plague venom, used with a plaster of elder leaves and mustard when a bubo was produced. Instead, 'treacle' becomes the 'consideration of Gods will', betony water the '*Water of Gods mercie*', and scabious water the '*Water of life*'. These were to be mingled together with 'patience, faith, confidence and hope.' This, he promised would 'expel the veneme of this his sinne'. However, if 'the filthy botch of impatience, distrustfulnesse, and immoderate feare doe happen to appeare' then it should be treated with the examples of elders in place of elder leaves, and the mustard seed of God's word.¹⁰⁰ Godskall and many other plague writers used metaphor to disseminate both medical and religious knowledge at the same time, while privileging the religious in their discussion.

Just as plague writers suggested methods for addressing the supernatural causes of plague, they recommended preventatives for the natural causes of plague as well. A key method of prevention was to correct insalubrious, miasmatic air. Air could be corrected in two ways; firstly, the air of the private space of the home had to be remedied. Anything with a pleasant, sweet or even a merely strong aroma was recommended as a way of warding off miasma. Francis Herring suggested burning sweet-smelling wood in the fireplace.¹⁰¹ Drouet further advised burning rosemary, sage, lavender, bay, cypress, juniper wood, juniper berries, cinnamon and cloves. Troches—large pellets of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers—could be made to burn in the fire or coals.¹⁰² Any room or chamber should be thoroughly cleansed, with clean water, vinegar and fresh-smelling willow boughs sprinkled across it regularly.¹⁰³

Likewise, when a person left the house, plague writers suggested an array of methods for correcting air on the go. Sweet and strong smelling herbs and spices could be held or chewed in the mouth. Bullein suggested that angelica root or pimpnel be chewed while walking the streets¹⁰⁴ and a 'Learned Phisition' suggested that chewing cinnamon was particularly effective.¹⁰⁵ Lodge added orange, lemon and pomelitron peels to a huge list of suggestions made by plague writers.¹⁰⁶ Writers also endorsed carrying pomanders and gave a variety of prescriptions on how to make them. Lodge's undoubtedly complex and expensive preparation called for red roses, bugloss flowers, saunders, cloves, nutmeg, calamus aromaticus, storax calamita, benjamin, musk and ambergris, which were all to be mixed in gum dragacanth-infused rose water and rose vinegar, made into a paste and fashioned into small, round pomanders to be worn around the neck

¹⁰⁰ James Godskall, *The Kings medicine for this present yeere 1604* (London: 1604; STC S118768), pp. 10-12.

¹⁰¹ Francis Herring, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion. With a caveat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preservative from the plague.* (London: 1636; STC S104003), p. 6.

¹⁰² Drouet, *A new counsell against the pestilence* (STC S108183), p. 19.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ William Bullein, [*A dialogue both pleasant and piety-full, against the fever pestilence.*] (London, 1564: STC S109495), p. 4

¹⁰⁵ Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague* (London: 1603; STC S122521), p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Lodge, *A treatise of the plague* (STC S108807), p. 13.

and smelled.¹⁰⁷ Cheaper alternatives include carrying plain rue, rosemary, roses, camphor or vinegar to smell when leaving the house.¹⁰⁸

Airing clothes, particularly those of the infected, was equally important. It was believed that plague could ‘for a long time lie couched and concealed... amongst *Garments, Hangings*, and the *Furniture of Beds*; which we have sometimes observed strangely to impart their Malignity to those that have handled them’.¹⁰⁹ Clothes were seen as apt to absorb plague vapours. Francis Herring, a member of the College of Physicians during the plague outbreak of 1603, specifically detailed that ‘blankets, mattresses, flockbeds, and all bed-clothes of the infected are to be burned’ because they held the plague infection for an exceptionally long time.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the sale of second-hand clothes and bedclothes was prohibited by statute during plague epidemics.¹¹¹ Certain types of fabrics were to be avoided if possible. One practitioner counselled, ‘For *Garments*, avoide (as much as may bee) all leather, woollen, and furies: also velvets, plush, and shagge. Choose such as may be *watered*, as *chamlets, grograms, paropas, philip and chenyes*, and such like: for their gumminesse excludeth the infectious aire best.’¹¹² Preventing plague through cleanliness in dress was not just about fuming fabrics, but also choosing the most appropriate materials to wear.

Table 2.3 shows the most commonly recommended ingredient species in fumative recipes from the Tudor period compared to the early Stuart period. Species, simply put, are ingredients without their qualifiers, i.e. ‘root’ or ‘water’. Alongside each ingredient are its rank (where ‘1’ is the most commonly recommended ingredient) and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient (with a ‘recipe’ defined as set of instructions for preparing a medicine or a list of simples or compounds considered effective in fuming and airing). The category ‘theriac-type compounds’ encompasses several traditional compounds used for sweating plague patients, including diascordium, theriac and mithridate. This is true for each of the ingredients tables in this chapter. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for 1550 to 1603 can be found in Appendix 2.3 while a full list of recommended ingredients for 1604 to 1664 can be found in Appendix 2.4.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague* (STC S123186), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), p. 347.

¹¹⁰ Herring, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion*. (London: 1636; STC S104003), p. 5.

¹¹¹ England and Wales, *Certaine statvtes especially selected, and commanded by his Maiestie to be carefully put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; with his Maiesties proclamation for further direction for executing the same. Also certaine orders thought meete by his Maiestie and his Priuie Counsell, to bee put in execution, together with sundry good rules, preseruatiues, and medicines against the infection of the plague, set downe by the Colledge of the Physicians vpon his Maiesties speciall command* (London: 1630; STC S125901), p. 90.

¹¹² Stephen Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse, commonly called the plague* (London: 1636; STC S106184), p. 15.

Table 2.3: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species for Fuming and Airing in Plague Literature, 1550-1603 Sample Compared with 1604-1664 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
rose	1	1	69.4	61.6
clove	3	2	28.1	34.1
juniper	4	4	24.8	24.6
benjamin	5		19	
rosemary	6	9	18.2	13.8
aloes	7	17	16.5	6.5
angelica	7	8	16.5	14.5
laudanum	7	9	16.5	13.8
cinnamon	8	6	15.7	16.7
saunders	8	10	15.7	13
frankincense	9	14	14.9	9.4
storax calamita	10		14	
musk	11	12	12.4	11.6
citron	12	14	11.5	9.4
storax	12	5	11.5	22.5
marjoram	13	14	10.8	9.4
zedoary	13	13	10.8	10.9
bay	14	11	9.1	12.3
myrrh	14	16	9.1	7.2
nutmeg	14	15	9.1	8.7
orange	14		9.1	
rue	14	8	9.9	14.5
storax liquida	14		9.1	
amber/ambergrise	15	18	8.3	5.8

Table 2.3
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
lemon	15		8.3	
mace	15	18	8.3	5.8
camphor	16	7	7.4	15.2
lavender	16	16	7.4	7.3
benzoin		7		15.2
cypress		12		11.6
saffron		15		8.7
sage		16		7.2
theriac-type compounds		7		15.2
wormwood		12		11.6

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, c. 1550-1603: 121

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 138

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes c. 1550-1603: 238

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 238

So where was change occurring in the ingredients being recommended? In terms of correcting the air and fuming cloth stuffs, it is noteworthy that many of the ingredients recommended remained largely the same over time, and indeed were recommended in around the same proportion of remedies. Rose water, vinegar, benzoin and cinnamon remained central to remedies focused on the purification of the air. Another noteworthy trend amongst these ingredients is the number of herbal and floral simples included; violet, rose, lavender, sage, marjoram, and rosemary were all clearly prized for their strong sweet or aromatic fragrances. However, equally apparent are the number of ingredients that would have had to be imported rather than grown; benzoin, storax calamita, frankincense, cypress, nutmeg, cinnamon and camphor are all, notably, ingredients that would have needed to be imported, some from as far as the East Indies, and thus would be purchased rather than grown or gathered.

Repentance, avoidance of the unpleasant smells from stables, streets, carcasses, ditches, and standing waters, correction of the air using juniper, rue, mugwort, and wormwood, and abstaining from large, mixed companies remained the standby prescriptions for preventing plague's propagation.¹¹³ Likewise, a strict regimen in respect to the Galenic non-naturals remained at the forefront of prescriptions for plague prevention. Diet was particularly emphasised. Bradwell's recommendations to eat beef, poultry, dried fruits, nuts, and eggs while avoiding fresh

¹¹³ William Boraston, *A necessarie and briefe treatise of the contagious disease of the pestilence with the causes, signes, and cures of the same* (London: 1630; STC S106525), pp. 9-11.

fruits reads like the long lists of dietary prescriptions given by plague writers.¹¹⁴ Medicinal preservatives conformed to antecedents and often had specific associations with the purgation of venom or superfluous humours. Based on the belief that ‘*Oyle and Butter, are kindes of Antidotes against venome*’,¹¹⁵ various combinations of buttered bread and toast sprinkled with rue, vinegar, or treacle remained popular recommendations.¹¹⁶ Rather than being anti-venomous, garlic, ‘purgeth also flegme and casteth forth euill humours, provoketh appetite to Meate’. The occasional sweat or purge was also considered beneficial in reducing the extraneous humours present in the body.¹¹⁷ Similarly, bleeding was considered a helpful preservative if used once a month when possible.¹¹⁸

The best thing that could be done to prevent plague, however, was to take inward medicaments that claimed to enhance the body’s defences against the pestilence once or twice daily, and certainly before leaving the house. In an age where diet was understood to be an integral part of medicine, many medicinal preservatives were taken as food. One writer suggested aqua vitae, rose water, cinnamon, yellow saunders and conserve of roses be mixed together and eaten on a toast of bread.¹¹⁹ Bread smeared with butter and dotted with the leaves of rue or sprinkled with red rose vinegar and cinnamon powder was considered an effective remedy on its own, fortifying the body’s humours against the incursion of plague poison.¹²⁰ Preservatives were also drunk in waters and wines. Powdered tormentil could be eaten in scabious- or sorrel-infused water;¹²¹ eight spoonsful of barley, rose and sorrel water mixed together was another lauded preservative.¹²² Other ingredients had known purgative qualities; cassia and rhubarb were recommended with particular frequency.

Table 2.4 reflects the most commonly recommended ingredient species in medicinal preservatives in the Tudor period compared to the early Stuart period. Species are ingredients without their qualifiers, i.e. ‘root’ or ‘water’. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for 1550 to 1603 can be found in Appendix 2.5 while a full list of recommended ingredients for 1604 to 1664 can be found in Appendix 2.6.

¹¹⁴ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184), p. 18.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Anonymous, *Lord have mercy upon us. This is the humble petition of England unto Alm[ig]hty God, meekely imploring his divine bounty for the cessation of this mortality of pestilence now raining amongst us* (London: 1636; STC S102336), p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Boraston, *A necessarie and brieffe treatise* (STC S106525), p. 14.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁹ Simon Kellawaye, *A defensatiue against the plague contayning two partes or treatises* (London: 1593; STC S109245), p. 26.

¹²⁰ Learned Phisition, *Present remedies* (STC S122521), p. 4.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹²² William Bullein, *The government of health* (London: 1595; STC S107022), p. 85.

Table 2.4: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Medicinal Preservatives in Plague Literature, 1550-1603 Sample Compared with 1604-1664 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
wine	1	3	25.9	24.7
rose	2	2	23.3	29.8
saffron	3	5	22.8	21
theriac-type compounds	4	1	22.3	34.2
aloes	5	6	17.3	19.6
sorrel	5	9	17.3	16.4
bole armeniac	6	6	16.6	19.6
vinegar	7	6	15.7	19.6
myrrh	8	11	14.7	11.4
cinnamon	9	11	14.2	11.4
carduus benedictus	10		12.7	
sugar	10	14	12.2	10
citron	11	8	11.7	16.9
scabious	11	14	11.7	10
rue	12	4	24.2	11.2
borage	13		10.7	
bugloss	14	12	10.2	11
lemon	14	13	10.2	10.5
rhubarb	14		10.2	
tormentil	14	10	10.2	15.1
angelica	15	7	8.6	17.4
fig	15	15	8.6	9.5
zedoary	15	13	8.6	10.5
cloves	16	17	7.6	8.2

Table 2.4
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
honey	17		7.5	
saunders	18	16	7.1	9.1
walnut	19		6.6	
dittany	20	21	6.1	6.4
water	21		6.1	
salt	22	20	5.6	6.8
bread		19		7.8
hartshorn		11		11.4
juniper		18		8.2
mace		20		6.8
sage		12		11
wormwood		14		10

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, c. 1550-1603: 197

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 219

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes c. 1550-1603: 426

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 299

Perhaps the most striking and notable change in internal preservatives from the Tudor to the early Stuart period is the increased importance of theriac-type medicinals like mithridate and London and Venice treacle. Typically used as a universal antidote against poison and infection,¹²³ theriac and its variants were compounded from a huge assortment of ingredients; one recipe book published in 1618 included a recipe for Venice Treacle that called for 64 ingredients that included a huge array of herbs, flowers, and gums, including large amounts of opium.¹²⁴ The simpler recipe for London Treacle lists just over half the number of ingredients, but both could be taken orally in wine or applied to the skin as an ointment.¹²⁵ Treacle had been ‘famous as a universal antidote since ancient times’¹²⁶ and was used for both preventing and treating plague. In early modern London, the manufacture and sale of treacle was aggressively monitored and regulated by the College of Physicians.¹²⁷ It was, as Fabbri has termed it ‘fundamental to plague medicine’.¹²⁸ Its role at the heart of plague prevention is highlighted here. In the Tudor period, treacle as a species appeared in 22.3 per cent of preventative recipes, while the early Stuart saw it elevated to a full

¹²³ Griffin, ‘Venetian Treacle’, p. 318.

¹²⁴ Royal College of Physicians, *Pharmacopoea Londinensis* (STC S102952), pp. 72-5.

¹²⁵ Griffin, ‘Venetian Treacle’, p. 318.

¹²⁶ Fabbri, ‘Treating Medieval Plague’, p. 248.

¹²⁷ Griffin, ‘Venetian Treacle’, pp. 318-21.

¹²⁸ Fabbri, ‘Treating Medieval Plague’, p. 283.

34.2 per cent of recipes, becoming the most frequently recommended ingredient species. The trade in treacle was strictly regulated; theriac was an ingredient which was purchased rather than made at home. However, many of the other ingredients would have been able to be grown or gathered: angelica, sorrel, carduus benedictus, rue, rose, bugloss and borage were all grown in the British Isles. Physick gardens and green spaces in London provided opportunities for the cultivation and foraging of some of these plants, though all Londoners would have had access to these plants at herb markets. A further grouping, as one might expect, required importation and purchase: myrrh, citron fruits, cinnamon, sugar, zedoary and bole armeniac in particular. Another notable change is the fact that rhubarb—a fairly popular recommended ingredient in the Tudor period, appearing in 10.2 per cent of recipes—falls off the most popular list altogether by the early Stuart period. Rhubarb was an imported ingredient that, beyond being expensive, was also commonly used in purgative recipes. Its fall in popularity reflects the fact that, over the course of the early seventeenth century, purges were recommended with more caution for plague cases than in the sixteenth.

Preventing plague was largely concerned with preventing the incursion of infected air into the body. Prescriptions for correcting air were remarkably consistent over the course of the Tudor and early Stuart periods, as they integrated both native and imported substances. The surest way of prevention, however, was to supplement one's diet with a number of herbs, minerals and drugs which would strengthen the body against the incursion of pestilential poison. When Tudor and early Stuart recommendations for medicinal preservatives are compared, the increased proportion of early seventeenth-century recommendations for medicinal substances that would have needed to be commercially obtained is striking. These included theriac-type drugs like mithridate and London and Venice treacle.

2.6 Curing the Incurable?

Although some of the writers of plague literature, influenced by religious writings and sermons, expressed doubt that medicine offered any true refuge against God's judgment against London, medical plague writers expressed optimism that the plague could be cured. Indeed, as Cohn has observed, the mere evolution of the vernacular medical plague tract as a genre shows that people 'believed increasingly that something could be done about the plague.'¹²⁹ Surprisingly, even though the causes of plague were hotly contested, once contracted medical practitioners often recommended one therapy for the disease: sweating. Administering medicines which would promote the production of sweat was seen as aiding the body's natural efforts to expel the pestilential poison it had imbibed. In the recommendations vernacular medical writers gave for diaphoretic remedies, it is here that we see the most marked increase in ingredients that would have had to be commercially obtained.

¹²⁹ Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, p. 233.

The influence and prevalence of religious explanations of and prescriptions for plague affected early plague publications in one key way. Particularly during the early Stuart period, writers expressed doubts that physick and surgery could affect the cures that medical pamphlets promised. As John Taylor asserts in his commemorative poem *The fearefull summer*,

The drugs, the drenches, and untoothsome drinkes,
Feare gives a sweetnesse to all severall stickes...
These 'gainst the *Plague* are good preservatives,
But the best Cordiall is t'amend our lives:
Sinn's the main cause, and we must first begin
To cease our griefes, by ceasing of our sinne.¹³⁰

Taylor displayed an open contempt for physical cures. Only after the necessary repentance would each medicine have the efficacy required to fight plague. 'And till that time,' promised Taylor, 'experiements are not/But paper walls against a Canon shot'.¹³¹ The belief that medicine offered almost no recourse against the threat of plague was widespread in Tudor and early Stuart plague literature, but diminished over the course of the period.

The medical practitioners who authored vernacular medical tracts offering remedies for plague displayed an optimism and assurance that medicine could combat the disease. The surest, and by far the most often-recommended method for cutting plague was to give the patient an expulsive which would cause them to sweat. Sweating was by far the most common therapy recommended in plague pamphlets. The surgeon Paul Barbette suggested that

There is no means more requisite than that of *Diaphoreticks* and *Cordials*, especially those that are acid, which produce such effects as are certain, and therefore the more laudable; for they rectifie the Mass of Blood, and free it from the venom which infects it. They dissolve the pituitous Matter which is lodged in the Stomach and the Entrails, and correct the Cholera, which in this Disease is the cause of much mischief.¹³²

Plague was essentially viewed as a poisonous corruption of the air, which was then taken into the body through breath or the pores of the skin. Death occurred when the poison reached and putrefied the heart. Buboes and other swellings were considered the body's attempts to naturally expel pestilential poison. Procuring a sweat acted to aid the body's natural process and push out the poison.¹³³

Table 2.5 shows the most commonly recommended ingredient species in curative remedies in the Tudor period compared to the early Stuart period. Species are ingredients without their qualifiers, i.e. 'root' or 'water'. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for 1550 to 1603 can be found in Appendix 2.7 while a full list of recommended ingredients for 1604 to 1664 can be found in Appendix 2.8.

¹³⁰ John Taylor, *The fearefull summer, or Londons calamitie* (London: 1636; STC S118217), p. 6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³² Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), pp. 355-6.

¹³³ Culpeper, *Culpeper's last legacy* (STC2 R22796), p. 69.

Table 2.5: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Curative Remedies in Plague Literature, 1550-1603 Sample Compared with 1604-1664 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
theriac-type compounds	1	1	40.1	69.9
scabious	2	8	39.2	15
rose	3	5	32.3	21.6
wine	4	2	29.2	29.4
sorrel	5	4	27.7	22.2
bole armeniac	6	12	21.5	9.2
tormentil	7	13	19.2	8.5
bugloss	8	12	18.5	9.2
carduus benedictus	9	9	17.7	14.4
citron	9		17.7	
saffron	10	10	16.2	12.4
vinegar	11	3	15.4	27.5
gentian	12	16	14.6	6.5
zedoary	12		14.6	
angelica	13	7	13.8	15.7
aloes	14	18	12.3	5.2
lemon	14	13	9.2	8.5
rue	14	6	12.3	18.3
sage	14		7.8	
borage	15	14	11.5	7.8
dittany	15		11.5	
rosemary	16	16	10.8	6.5
betony	17	14	10	7.8
sugar	17	11	10	11.1

Table 2.5
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
juniper	18	13	9.2	8.5
cinnamon	19	17	8.5	5.9
coral	19		8.5	
terra sigillata	19		8.5	
water	19	16	8.5	6.5
myrrh	20	14	7.7	7.8
aqua vitae		16		6.5
carduus		15		7.2
dragon		14		7.8
hartshorn		14		7.8
marigold		15		7.2
saunders		12		14.6

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, c. 1550-1603: 130

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 153

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes c. 1550-1603: 472

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 444

As is clear from the data collected, sweating could be achieved with a number of concoctions, but chief among these was theriac. From 1550 to 1603 theriac-type medicines appear in 40.1 per cent of recommended therapeutics; remarkably, from 1604 to 1664 its appearances increase to a full 69.9 per cent of curative recipes. Treacle maintained its role at the heart of plague therapeutics; indeed, its role as a vital compound medicine for plague multiplied over the early seventeenth century. There are several possible explanations for why treacle came to be an increasingly essential aspect of plague prophylactics and therapeutics. Firstly, there is the potential that treacle had notable therapeutic benefits; that is, that it was used, and used increasingly more over the early modern period, because it worked. It may not have cured the plague, but its opium content would surely have assuaged much of the pain and discomfort caused by the disease. Secondly, there is the potential that printing remedies had the effect of standardizing certain aspects of plague medicine. Thirdly, the publication of the College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, which included recipes for the most popular medicinals at that time may have had a similarly homogenising effect.¹³⁴ The data collected, however, seems to suggest that the first possibility—observable therapeutic benefits—was the case. If the

¹³⁴ Royal College of Physicians, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (STC S102952).

standardisation of print were truly the cause, we would expect to see a more focused core of remedies and ingredients being recommended. However, as the varied tables for the early Stuart period suggests, it most certainly was not.

Rather, it appears that readymade ingredients were increasingly called for after the Tudor period. While herbal waters certainly feature on the Tudor list, the early Stuart list overflows with them: rose water, scabious water, sorrel water, betony water, carduus benedictus water and angelica water all feature and would have had to be made, seeped and distilled in advance of when they would be needed. Aqua vitae, or water of life, went from not appearing on the most popular list at all in the Tudor period to appearing in 6.2 per cent of early Stuart curative recipes. Waters could be simply made at home or purchased from a local apothecary. In her study of the use of medical plants in the Medici court in Florence, Bellorini has found that the two most frequently sold medicinal products were syrups and waters.¹³⁵ The evidence collected from early modern plague pamphlets suggests that the same was true in early modern London.

2.7 Ointments, Poultices and Plasters

The outward signs of plague were the most distinctive symptoms of the disease; they were also some of the most unpleasant. An entire subcategory of plague remedies was devoted to their treatment and cure. In this category, as others, we can see that during the early Stuart period, more commercially obtained, imported and readymade medicines and ingredients are being recommended for plague sores than in the Tudor period.

There were four symptoms of plague that left their mark on the flesh of its sufferers; these were the carbuncles, botches, blains and spots. Each had different prognostic ramifications. As Paul Barbette explained, ‘A Bubo is less dangerous than a Carbuncle, and a Carbuncle than the Spots, which very seldom portend less than present death wheresoever they are display’d.’¹³⁶ What we would consider buboes now were also called ‘botches’ in the seventeenth century. They were tumours that varied in size and would form on what we now know to be the patient’s lymph glands: on the neck under the ears, in the groin, or in the armpits. Early modern medical plague writers recorded these as the usual and distinctive sites of the formation of botches and buboes, though they would have been unaware that they swellings were in fact the swelling of the lymph nodes. Usually botches were quite small, but could swell ‘to the size of a mans fist, or a penny loafe.’ Shape could also change; Bradwell wrote that the botches he had seen could vary from quite round to ‘sometimes long and slender as ones finger.’¹³⁷ Blains were hard, small blisters that could occur anywhere on the body while carbuncles were more pustule-like, with crusts and rings of varying colours. Carbuncles erupted anywhere on the skin including the face and were notoriously itchy and inflamed. Spots, on the other hand, were usually seen as the first sure sign

¹³⁵ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 216.

¹³⁶ Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), p. 348.

¹³⁷ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184), pp. 44-6.

of death. Tiny, ‘of the bignesse of a flea-bitten spot’,¹³⁸ these spots could vary in colour from red to dark blue to black and typically appeared after the third day of a patient’s illness, or even later.¹³⁹

Physicians and surgeons recommended a number of treatments for the outward symptoms of the pestilence, both for drawing them forth and for ripening and breaking them. John Woodall suggested several methods for bringing a bubo to the surface of the skin, including a poultice made of warm pigeon dung, a freshly killed fish laid to the skin at first sign of the bubo, and the application of horse leeches. Afterwards, a plaster of honey, chamomile oil, and milk would cause the suppuration of the poison within the bubo.¹⁴⁰ Venice Treacle, ‘being hot, therefore Attractive’ could also aid the propulsion of plague poison from the body into buboes, if applied behind the ears, on the wrists, under the armpits, and on the inside of upper thigh, where buboes were most apt to occur.¹⁴¹

The *Certain necessary directions* of the College give two further instructions of how to bring a bubo to maturity, and interestingly each of these remedies is found again and again in medical plague literature. The first was to hollow out an onion, fill it with Venice Treacle, wrap it in cloth, and place it in a fire’s embers. Afterwards, it was to be applied, still hot, to the bubo. Application was to be repeated three or four times, with the last to be left a full three hours. The second suppuration technique mentioned in plague literature is, to the modern reader, somewhat more bizarre. The medical caregiver was to pull the feathers from ‘living Cocks, Hens, Pigeons, or Chickens, and balding their bills, hold them bare to the Botch or Swelling, and to keep them at that part until they die, and by this means draw out the poison’.¹⁴² The French surgeon Ambroise Paré explained that the birds, which were believed to have special value against poison due to the fact that they routinely consumed poisonous creatures like toads, drew the poison from the bubo into their body.¹⁴³ The fact that these two remedial tactics and sweating are so prevalent in publications both by licensed and unlicensed practitioners indicates the extent to which knowledge of plague was traditional and shared. The physicians of the College often had the same recommendations as the unlicensed practitioners they so easily dismissed as quacks. Shared medical knowledge about plague can be sourced in these plague publications themselves; the most common endorsements are found in the College’s *Certain necessary directions*, and likely copied from it.¹⁴⁴ The College had produced a nearly identical pamphlet of the same title during the minor plague year of 1636; by 1665, the information in the original had been disseminated amongst plague writers and quoted again as common knowledge. The universally lauded nature of

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

¹⁴⁰ Woodall, *The surgeons mate* (STC2 R221201), p. 364.

¹⁴¹ Culpeper, *Culpeper’s last legacy* (STC2 R22796), p. 71.

¹⁴² Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC S2216), pp. 19-20.

¹⁴³ Paré, *A treatise of the plague* (STC S103146), p. 81.

¹⁴⁴ Indeed, Erik Heinrichs has convincingly argued that the chicken rump method for curing plague ‘resulted from physicians trying ideas on paper, rather than in practice’; Heinrichs, ‘The Live Chicken Treatment’, p. 211.

sweating treatments, in addition to the fowl and onion methods of drawing a bubo, are clear indications of the shared medical knowledge of early modern London and the permeability of treatments between the supposed divisions of the medical economy.

Table 2.6 reflects the most commonly recommended ingredient species in outward medicinal preparations for the Tudor period compared to the early Stuart period. Species are ingredients without their qualifiers, i.e. ‘root’ or ‘water’. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for 1550 to 1603 can be found in Appendix 2.9 while a full list of recommended ingredients for 1604 to 1664 can be found in Appendix 2.10.

Table 2.6: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Outward Medicinal Preparations in Plague Literature, 1550-1603 Sample Compared with 1604-1664 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
rose	1	6	23.8	12.5
lily	2	2	23.1	27.8
egg	3	3	21.5	26.4
theriac-type compounds	4	1	19.2	34.7
mallow	5	8	16.9	10.4
grease	6	5	13.8	14.6
scabious	7	8	13.1	10.4
leaven	8	4	12.3	15.3
linseed	8	4	12.3	15.3
onion	8	9	12.3	9.7
fig	9	9	11.5	9.7
salt	10	8	10.8	10.4
honey	11		10	
water	11	13	10	6.9
butter	12	8	9.2	10.4
turpentine	13	9	8.5	9.7
vinegar	13	7	8.5	11.1
barley	14	10	7.7	9
hollyhock	14		7.7	
wax	14		7.7	
fenugreek	15	15	6.9	4.9
mustard	15	9	6.9	9.7
violet	15		6.9	
wine	15		6.9	

Table 2.6
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1550-1603	Rank 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1550-1603	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
bread	16	14	6.2	6.3
chicken rump	16	14	6.2	6.3
dung	16		6.2	
pomegranate	16		6.2	
ammoniac	17		5.4	
ceruse	17		5.4	
chamomile		12		7.6
Diachylon (plaster)		15		4.9
elder		15		4.9
garlic		15		4.9
marshmallow		12		7.6
oil		11		8.3
rue		11		8.3
sorrel		12		7.6
Unguentum Basilicon		11		8.3

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, c. 1550-1603: 130

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 144

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes c. 1550-1603: 321

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 266

Again, perhaps the most noteworthy change that can be observed from the data is the increased importance of theriac-type compounds, from appearing as an ingredient in 19.2 per cent of recipes in the Tudor period to 34.7 per cent in the early Stuart. Another significant change that can be observed is the inclusion of several readymade ointments and plasters in the early Stuart period. Diachylon plaster was an ointment composed of vegetable juices and applied to linen or leather and used as a plaster; it appeared in a full 4.9 per cent of recommendations between 1604 and 1664. Unguentum Basilicon was another ointment with mildly antiseptic qualities, a very cheap ointment valued at 8d to 12d per pound.¹⁴⁵ The data suggests that, as with preventative and curative remedies, the trend in outward preparations was towards readymade, purchased medicaments and ingredients.

¹⁴⁵ Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities 1550-1820* (Wolverhampton: 2007), *British History Online* < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/traded-goods-dictionary/1550-1820> > [accessed 23 May 2017].

2.8 Plague Literature and Proprietary Medicines

Another important trend to observe in the development and evolution of plague medicine from the Tudor and early Stuart period—and one that is further observable during the 1665 epidemic—is the use of printed plague pamphlets as advertisements for proprietary medicines. Chapter Four makes the case that the plague pamphlets of 1665 were often commercial in nature while Chapter Six argues that proprietary medicines were vital elements of plague medicine during the 1665 epidemic. The trend towards the commodification and commercialisation of plague medicine in the form of proprietary medicines observed and deliberated upon below had its roots in the early seventeenth-century plague pamphlets of the 1625 and 1636 outbreaks.

Proprietary medicines and nostrums for plague existed in the sixteenth century; England's plague literature makes this apparent. Leonardo Fioravanti's 1579 plague pamphlet *A ioyfull iewell* specifically mentioned 'our Balm Artificial', 'our Electuary Angelica', 'our Pillule Aquilone', 'our Quintasesence', 'our Sirupo Solutino', 'our Aromatico' and 'Petra Philosophall', all of which had dual uses as preservatives or curatives.¹⁴⁶ However, as Fioravanti's pamphlet was a translation from the Italian and Fioravanti—a prolific physician and alchemist—was native to Italy, there was little chance for Londoners to get their hands on these proprietary medicines. It was not until 1603 that proprietary medicines appeared in another Tudor pamphlet: I. W.'s *A briefe treatise*.¹⁴⁷

The early seventeenth-century pamphlets, on the other hand, show evidence of a new trade in proprietary nostrums, supporting Louise Hill Curth's argument that the seventeenth century saw 'the appearance of pre-made, pre-packaged proprietary nostrums, which were sold in a variety of retail outlets, alongside the more traditional remedies.'¹⁴⁸ These included 'my *Contrapestilential Vinegar*',¹⁴⁹ 'seuerall Antidotes for the preseruacion of mans body from the Plague',¹⁵⁰ 'this Electuarie which I shall keepe alwaies ready for you',¹⁵¹ 'a certaine Elixar',¹⁵² 'My Electuarie', 'My Plague Powder', 'My Powder of Life',¹⁵³ and 'this red powder'.¹⁵⁴ These new proprietary preparations offered, with directions how to take them and an address at which to purchase them, represent an important innovation in plague medicine. Plague medicine, along with medicine more generally, was becoming commercialised and commoditised; 1665, with its newspapers, was the peak of the commodification of plague medicines. However, it is significant that the rise of the proprietary plague medicine took place during the early Stuart period, at the

¹⁴⁶ Fioravanti, *A ioyfull iewell* (STC S118891), p. 47.

¹⁴⁷ I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague* (STC S123186).

¹⁴⁸ Curth, 'Introduction', p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ Hermann van der Heyden, *Speedy help for rich and poor*. (London: 1653; STC2 R30733), p. 109.

¹⁵⁰ Anonymous, *A Direction concerning the plague, or pestilence, for pooore [sic] and rich* (London: 1625; STC S3167), p. 1.

¹⁵¹ George Donne, *The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence* (London: 1625; STC S3336), p. 1.

¹⁵² Anonymous, *A Direction concerning the plague* (STC S3167), p. 1.

¹⁵³ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184), pp. 52-3.

¹⁵⁴ Donne, *The signes that doe declare* (STC S3336), p. 1.

same time as other readymade compound medicines like treacle were being recommended significantly more frequently in vernacular medical plague prescriptions.

2.9 Plague in Practice

This section examines the recipes given in manuscript recipe books, physician's casebooks and the most popular form of plague print—the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets—to consider how those remedies more likely to have been used in practice departed from the remedies recommended in the vernacular medical pamphlet literature discussed previously. This study confirms Slack's suggestion that the prophylactics and curatives used in practice were often much simpler than those given in printed medical literature.¹⁵⁵ I also find that readymade and commercially obtained medicines were becoming increasingly important to practice, as the study of plague pamphlet literature has suggested.

It is notoriously difficult to determine which remedies practitioners and laypeople used in practice. In this section, records of various 'layers' of practice will be examined, ordered from the perhaps less reliable to those documents which can dependably show practice. The first sources examined—the physicians' memoirs and recipe books—suffer from the question of how can we know for certain that the remedies listed were actually used. Recipe books, as established by Katherine Knight and Elaine Leong, seem to have been made for use, but can we know that the domestic caregivers who recorded these remedies actually used them on patients and family members? From there, more reliable records are examined: physicians' casebooks and ego documents like letters and diaries. These, at least, record actual use and practice rather than intention.

A closer shift towards toward practice can be seen through the window of the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets. These broadsheets make it clear that simpler remedies were preferred to the complex mixtures prescribed in plague literature. The remedies and preventatives found on these broadsheets are immensely simple. One broadsheet recommended smelling a sponge soaked in 'grace water', a concoction made of water, vinegar, rose water, a handful of rue, and a handful of wormwood, which was then boiled. Alternately, a small box with a perforated lid could be filled with shavings of cedar wood to smell. Medicinal preparations are similarly elementary. Beer infused with wormwood and rue or toast spread with treacle and butter and sprinkled with rue was touted as effective preventatives.¹⁵⁶ Alternately, just London Treacle could be taken before breakfast.¹⁵⁷ Table 2.7 reflects the 15 most popular recommended ingredients for plague prophylactics and therapeutics in the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets of 1625 and 1636, showing the proportion of recipes they appeared in both the broadhseets and the 1604 to 1664 sample of plague literature.

¹⁵⁵ Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 257.

¹⁵⁶ Anonymous, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs A speciall remedy for the plague* (London: 1636; STC S105188), p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Lord have mercy upon us preservatives and medicines as well before infection as afterwards, according to the judgement of the best physitians* (London: 1636; STC S2845), p. 1.

Table 2.7: 15 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredients in *Lord Have Mercy* Broadsheets, 1625-1637 compared with Plague Literature, 1604-1664

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, <i>Lord Have Mercy</i>	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
rue	21.7	14.4
butter	17.4	2.9
treacle	17.4	2.3
vinegar	17.4	19.3
bread	13	2.8
fig	13	5.8
rose (water)	13	10.1
rosemary	13	4.1
bay (leaves)	8.7	1.1
cedar (wood)	8.7	0.3
garlic	8.7	2.1
juniper	8.7	3.8
lemon	8.7	3.4
sorrel	8.7	7.8
walnut (kernels)	8.7	1.8

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, *Lord Have Mercy*: 22

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 654

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, *Lord Have Mercy*: 59

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 893

Recipe books can get a fraction closer to practice—at least in terms of intention. In times of plague, a majority of medical care would have come from the home; Moote and Moote estimate that during the plague of 1665, there were 250 regular medical practitioners in London, supplemented by a possible 250 more unlicensed, irregular practitioners, which resulted in a ratio of one caregiver to every 600 Londoners.¹⁵⁸ Such a dearth of medical practitioners necessitated the use of the practical, traditional skills and knowledge of domestic medicine. Recipe books are the remaining evidence of domestic practice, and can illuminate the production methods, ingredients and equipment typically used to make medicines.¹⁵⁹

These recipe books were chosen from the Wellcome Library’s online collection of digitised recipe books to be representative of the period 1600-1660 (as those books after 1660 are surveyed in Chapter Six, see section 6.6). A full table of the recipe books consulted in the sample can be found in Appendix 2.11. What the data derived from this sampling shows is that the recipes in these collections were largely reliant on plants and herbs that could be purchased or

¹⁵⁸ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁹ Elaine Leong, ‘Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82 (2008), 145-68 (p. 145).

grown. A majority of these ingredients—for example, rue, sage, rosemary, balm, burnet, and many others—were local to the British Isles and could easily be grown or gathered. Ginger and myrrh came from farther afield but were so commonly prescribed that purchasing them does not appear to have been difficult. Several others, like sugar, wine, eggs and vinegar were common kitchen goods. Indeed, treacle—which, like other samplings, appears in around 30 per cent of recipe sources—is the only readymade ingredient which appears among the most commonly recommended ingredients, though bole armeniac was recommended in two preparations. Recipe books represent a much simpler picture of plague recipes than the recommendations in vernacular medical plague literature do. Table 2.8 reflects the thirty most commonly recommended ingredients in plague recipes from manuscript recipe books dated between 1606 to 1651. Both tables compare the proportion of recipes that the ingredient appears in in recipe books to the percentage it appears in in the early Stuart sample of plague literature.

Table 2.8: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Plague Recipes from Recipe Books, 1606-1651 compared with Plague Literature, 1604-1664

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, Recipe Books	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664
rue	33.3	17.3
sage	31	7.8
theriac-type compounds	31	38.7
wine	31	16.7
vinegar	26.2	21.7
pimpernel	19	2.1
wormwood	19	7.3
dragon	16.7	3.3
saffron	16.7	12
scabious	16.7	9.2
mugwort	14.3	1.4
sorrel	14.3	13.1
water	14.3	4.6
agrimony	11.9	0.5
bctony	11.9	3.4

Table 2.8
(Continued)

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, Recipe Books	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604- 1664
bramble	11.9	2.4
celandine	11.9	1.7
egg	11.9	7
elder	11.9	2.9
ginger	11.9	2
rosemary	11.9	5.7
sugar	11.9	6.3
balm	9.5	2.4
marigold	9.5	3.2
tormentil	9.5	8.1
ale	7.1	2.1
angelica	7.1	12.7
burnett	7.1	1.8
citron	7.1	
elecampane	7.1	3.2

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, Recipe Books: 42

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 654

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, Recipe Books: 155

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 893

Casebooks are more reliable evidence of actual practice than recipe books are, as they were actual records of a physician's practice. Lauren Kassell has done considerable work on casebooks from the early modern period, in addition to organising 'The Casebooks Project' at Cambridge, which seeks to transcribe and organise information from the medical casebooks of astrologers Simon Forman and Richard Napier. A typical consultation with one of these physicians included a description of the patient's reason for consulting a physician; depending on the case, a small astrological chart, a description of the patient's urine or the recommended treatment was included.¹⁶⁰ There are limitations to using these casebooks in comparison with the recommended treatments in London plague pamphlets. While Simon Forman practised in London, Napier's practice was in Buckinghamshire.¹⁶¹ Additionally, there is the obvious

¹⁶⁰ Casebooks Project (Anatomy of a case), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/the-manuscripts/anatomy-of-a-case>> [accessed 24 July 2017].

¹⁶¹ Casebooks Project (Introduction to the casebooks), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/the-manuscripts/introduction-to-the-casebooks>, accessed 2017-07-24> [accessed].

drawback of these casebooks dating fifty years before the plague year of 1665. However, trends exposed by these casebooks are worth discussion.

The casebooks of Forman and Napier span nearly half a century, from 1596 to 1634. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, just 34 cases involved plague. Most of these cases are clustered around that decade's plague years: London experienced a major outbreak in 1603 and a smaller one in 1609. Patients came for one of three reasons: they sought treatment for plague, to prevent contracting plague, or they suspected plague and wished for a confirmation and treatment. What are most illuminating are the treatments and medicines the astrologers prescribe to their clients. In 1603, Forman recorded that 'Francis thonsons man of lambeth had the plague & I gave him ζ i of strong water & he scapt'.¹⁶² When 'Collings sonne of Stony stratford' came to Napier for a preventative for plague, he was prescribed scabious water and zedoary water.¹⁶³ A man who was said to be 'metuit pestem' was prescribed rose syrup.¹⁶⁴ Napier prescribed another juniper and bay berries in order to prevent the plague.¹⁶⁵ The evidence from these recipe books tentatively suggests that preventatives and remedies for plague were not the complex affair of mixing syrups, tinctures, and powders that plague pamphlets would have us believe. Rather, at least some practitioners preferred syrups and waters distilled from simples for preventing and curing plague. This finding once again chimes with the findings of Bellorini, who finds that the two most frequently sold medicinal products were syrups and waters.¹⁶⁶

It would appear that some practitioners ignored the complex prescriptions and preparations recommended in English pamphlet literature throughout the early modern period. Some caregivers, like the gentlewoman writers of recipe books and the physicians Simon Forman and Richard Napier, clearly preferred more straightforward preparations that drew from a much less extensive list of ingredients. The data collected for this chapter supports Slack's assertion that simpler preparations were those used in practice.¹⁶⁷ The fact that those documents with a stronger indication towards practice—recipe books and casebooks—frequently mention and recommend prepared waters suggests that medicines that could be prepared in advance were those which were actually used by seventeenth-century Londoners; Londoners, like Elizabeth Freke, could make and store these medicines for when they would be needed, or could purchase them if they had the need. Remedies used in practice were typically simple, and usually came premade, ready to be

¹⁶² Casebooks Project (Case 9904 [Normalised Version]), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE9904?sort=date&order=asc>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁶³ Casebooks Project (Case 31157 [Normalised Version]), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE31157?sort=date&order=asc>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁶⁴ Casebooks Project (Case 31892 [Normalised Version]), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE31892?sort=date&order=asc>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁶⁵ Casebooks Project (Case 32233 [Normalised Version]), <<http://www.magicandmedicine.hps.cam.ac.uk/view/case/normalised/CASE32233?sort=date&order=asc>> [accessed 5 June 2016].

¹⁶⁶ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁷ Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 257.

called upon when necessary, echoing Bellorini's observation that 'The account books show that simples were usually sold in the form of a ready-made product, or of ready-made drugs that could be simply assumed to obtain the remedy for which they were intended.'¹⁶⁸ In plague, the use of these readymade and commercially obtained medicines makes sense when we consider the fact that, in curative therapies, these expulsive medicines would need to be called upon within hours of the onset of symptoms; thus, made or purchased preparations like syrups, waters and treacle were likely amongst those used most often in plague therapy.

2.10 Conclusion

Early modern London's medical economy was filled with practitioners who competed for clientele and formed partnerships and agreements to gain it. A majority of Londoners, however, would have self-treated or sought treatment within the domestic space of the home, occasionally seeking opinions and second opinions from the city's professionals which included physicians, apothecaries, surgeons and irregulars. In times of plague, there would have been a transformation in the types of medical services that were available to Londoners; many practitioners, most notably the physicians, fled the plague-ravaged city while those practitioners who were inundated with patients and consultations (section 2.2). The above chapter has focused on a part of the medical economy that has often been neglected in respect to plague years, in that it has focused on the medical wares and goods that self-treating Londoners used to prevent plague and, if necessary, to treat it.

In providing a brief summary of early modern beliefs about and prescriptions for plague in the Tudor and early Stuart periods, this chapter has provided a useful framework for the content below. Epidemic plague was subject to a number of interpretations, varying from the strictly religious, in which plague was seen as divine punishment, to the natural, which typically had it that plague was a poison imbued by miasmatic air and taken into the body clogged with overabundant humours. These views were not distinct; religious and natural beliefs about plague mixed and coexisted to inform reactions to the disease (section 2.3). While repentance was an early modern Londoner's first and best protection against the disease, this chapter has largely concerned itself with the *materia medica* recommended by the medical writers who addressed the disease.

This chapter has, I hope, addressed a gap in the historiography by treating Tudor plague literature separately from its early-seventeenth century successors so as to assess changes over time (sections 2.4 to 2.7). Like past studies, this study has found that longstanding notions about medicine, founded on Galenic ideas about the four humours and miasma remained consistent over the course of the period; indeed, the fact that recommended prophylactics and therapeutics could be so easily grouped into four subcategories suggests that methods for preventing and curing plague remained consistent over time. However, within these categories there was gradual change

¹⁶⁸ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 212.

in that readymade ingredients, or even medicines, were being recommended more consistently in the early Stuart literature than the Tudor. The sharp increase of recommendations for theriac-type compounds in both preventive and curative medicines is evidence of this trend (sections 2.5 and 2.6); likewise, the inclusion of other medicines—for example, a prepared, purchased plaster in the outward medicaments (section 2.7)—further shows that readymade and commercially obtained medicines were being recommended more in the early Stuart period. Indeed, the fact that early Stuart pamphlets were increasingly being used as a method for advertising proprietary nostrums further shows developments in the direction of plague medicine (section 2.8). This chapter's study of plague practice has shown that remedies could be simpler in practice than in theory and that readymade ingredients and medicines, like waters and syrups, were the preferred treatments of some practitioners and domestic caregivers (section 2.9).

This chapter has focused on longstanding Galenic interpretations of and reactions to plague, contending that theory about the disease remained largely consistent while *materia medica* evolved, the following chapter will move on to discuss the threat of chemical movements like Paracelsianism and Helmontianism to ascendant Galenism. The influx of chemical notions and beliefs would have marked effects on the *materia medica* recommended for use against and for plague.

Chapter Three

‘Every one... must either be singularly excellent above others or else will be nothing’:

Chemistry, the Failure of the Society of Chemical Physicians and Medical Innovations for the Plague of 1665

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two discussed the long-standing Galenic medical response to plague, in which plague was prevented by avoiding or correcting miasmatic air and cured by procuring a sweat to expel poison from the body. This chapter will discuss how these Galenic beliefs came under fire by iatrochemical practitioners and ideas. While these iatrochemists were unable to innovate theories about the cause and treatment for plague, their medicines—often proprietary preparations with multiple uses—were on the cutting edge of medical practice in Restoration London.

By 1665, a group of English chemists had come together to provide an organised opposition to the largely Galenic College of Physicians in London. Their first meeting appears to have been in May 1664. It was then, according to a lawsuit filed in Chancery, that a group of men who ‘were practising Chymistry and chymicall physicke and p^eparations’ met together and ‘had severall meetings... for the better carrying out and Accomplishing’ of their end goal, a charter which would make them a new corporate body and grant them the right to practise their chemical physick in London.¹ Their specialty was inorganic distillations and calcinations, particularly those made of salt, sulphur, mercury, and liquid gold.² They called themselves the Society of Chemical Physicians.

In September 1665, when the Great Plague was at its height, an unusual anatomy took place. Chemists from the Society and Galenists from the College of Physicians alike gathered around the corpse of a 15-year-old male servant who had recently succumbed to plague. The anatomist was George Thomson, a fervent adherent of iatrochemistry and polemical writer for the Society; the attenders were made up of other Society members and various medical practitioners, including William Johnson, the College’s chemist. It was a strange company: over the course of the epidemic, several of those in the room had engaged in a pamphlet war contesting the efficacy of the ‘new’ chemical medicine and therapies. The anatomy, it was thought, would decide once and for all which camp—Galenists or iatrochemists—was the more correct in its medical theories.

Thomson prepared himself to begin the dissection by burning a dish of sulphur under the coffin to protect him and the other attendees. A servant was brought in to pry off the coffin’s lid and clear the burial linen away from the body, revealing ‘a skin so beset with spots black and

¹ TNA: PRO, C 10/477/110.

² Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 98.

blew, more remarkable for multitude and magnitude than any that I have yet seen'.³ The first incision revealed that spots similarly marred the innards.⁴ The heart, when opened, was filled with a congealed black matter which Thomson concluded was the effects of plague on the *Archeus* (an iatrochemical concept which will be explained in section 3.2) and proof that the chemists' theories were the true ones.⁵

However, rather than triumph for the Society of Chemical Physicians, the anatomy ushered in a disaster. John Allin's correspondence provides a special insight into how the conflict between traditional and iatrochemical medicine was received by contemporaries. While Allin as an alchemist was enthusiastic about furthering the cause of iatrochemistry, he was not a member of the Society himself. His lifelong friend and former Harvard roommate George Starkey, on the other hand, was one of its most vocal members.⁶ As Starkey's friend, Allin wrote to Rye of the disastrous consequences of the plague anatomy, telling Fryth that,

our freind D^r Starkey is dead of this visitation, wth about 6 more of them chymicall pracititioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists and in a sorte over this visitation sicknes, which is more a judgem^t then a disease, because they could not resist it by their galenicall medicines, wth they were too confident y^t their chymicall medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could heare of to dissect which y^ey had opened to search the seate of this disease etc., upon y^e opening whereof a stench ascended from the body and infected them every one, + its said they all are dead since.⁷

Though an iatrochemist, Allin paired Galenic and chemical theories in his practice rather than replacing the latter with the former. While he mourned the death of his old friend Starkey, Allin saw the anatomy not as the chemists' triumph, but as a judgement for their pride and presumption. Indeed, the Society of Chemical Physicians would not survive the plague they sought so desperately to treat.

This chapter provides a new interpretation of the failure of the Society of Chemical Physicians, arguing that the failure of the Society was due in part to pressure from and comparisons with irregular practitioners drawn vocally by members of the College of Physicians in a pamphlet war. But in order to make sense of this failure, it will first be necessary to provide a background of chemistry prior to the outbreak of civil war, situating this brand of physick within the wider medical economy of London. The key differences between chemical and more traditional Galenic medicine will be identified (section 3.2). The medical economy of Restoration London was filled with tension; the vulnerable College of Physicians attempted to use the new king, Charles II, to regain the prestige and power it had lost during the Civil Wars (section 3.3). The Society attempted to set itself up as a medical corporation in this climate, just as plague deaths were beginning to escalate in London's suburbs. A pamphlet war exploded between the

³ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), pp. 71-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

⁶ William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 18.

⁷ ESRO, FRE 5466 (September 14, 1665).

College and the Society as each one accused the other of quackery and defended itself. The anti-establishment rhetoric of quackery was one that would prove damning to the Society's cause (section 3.4).

Plague provided irregular practitioners like Society members a unique opportunity to advertise their services and wares and demonstrate their superiority; this chapter argues that while the chemists were unable to innovate successful theories of the cause and treatment of plague, their true innovation were the effective and pleasant readymade medicines they used to treat plague (section 3.5). However, ultimately these readymade medicines were too easily duplicated by London's quacks and nostrum-sellers. This, along with ongoing the discourse about quackery on the pages of the pamphlet war, the deaths of many Society members and Charles II's sensitivity to the Society's anti-establishment rhetoric, made plague a crucible the chemists were unable to escape (section 3.6).

3.2 *The Rise of Helmontian Medicine*

In speaking of the state of medicine at the end of the seventeenth century, Lester S. King argued that 'A new philosophy had thoroughly permeated the intellectual atmosphere and seemed to choke out the older doctrines based on Galen and Aristotle'.⁸ According to King, seventeenth-century people viewed the traditional Galenic explanations of disease—imbalances of the humours and miasmas—as insufficiently adaptive. Chemistry filled the gap; the victory in the battle between the old and new sciences went firmly to the new.⁹ More recent studies have argued for the primacy of Galenism over time and the unproblematic marriage of Galenic and chemical theories and therapies, as I have above.¹⁰ Andrew Wear argues for continuity over time, contending that the slow changes seen in the second half of the seventeenth century were theoretical and ideological rather than practical.¹¹ This chapter orients the discussion of continuity and change over the seventeenth century within the context of plague medicine, exploring how medical responses to plague did in fact adapt to include chemical therapies and beliefs. Using the framework of plague, I find anew that instead of supplanting Galenism, the iatrochemical medicine of Paracelsus and van Helmont was incorporated and adapted to be included in traditional Galenic medical beliefs.

The humoral theory of Galen was under question throughout the early modern period but particularly during the seventeenth century, driven by the dissemination of the writings of

⁸ Lester S. King, 'The Transformation of Galenism' in *Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England: A Symposium Held at UCLA in Honor of C.D.O. O'Malley* ed. by Allen G. Debus (Los Angeles: University of California Press 1974), 7-31 (p. 7).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁰ See for example Newton, *The Sick Child*, pp. 31-90; Andrew Wear, 'Medical Practice in Late Seventeenth- and early Eighteenth-century England: Continuity and Union' in *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* ed. by Roger French and Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 284-320; Wear *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 294-320.

¹¹ Wear, 'Medical Practice', p. 294.

Paracelsus (1493-1541) and Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1580-1644);¹² the Society of Chemical Physicians counted themselves among their most ardent devotees: George Thomson even referred to van Helmont as ‘heroick Helmont’.¹³ Chemists attempted to discredit Galenic theory, arguing that new medical knowledge should be garnered from first-hand observation; chemistry and distillation should be applied to solving the problems observed in nature.¹⁴

In many ways, the new science was the recent descendent of John Dee’s mystical alchemical practices, which included the conviction that the combination of mercury and sulphur, under the correct astrological influences and in the right ratio, could create new metals, perhaps even gold.¹⁵ Recent scholarship has found that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chemists were influenced not just by new chemical texts, but also the texts of medieval alchemists like George Ripley.¹⁶ While pre-Paracelsian chemistry has been neglected in scholarship until recently, Rampling has effectively shown how both these older recipes and newer texts were ‘copied, excerpted, swapped, and annotated’ by successive iterations of medieval and early modern chemists.¹⁷ Paracelsus’ medical theory was couched in long-held beliefs in astrology and alchemy. His followers supported a macrocosm-microcosm view of the world, which saw parallels between the celestial and terrestrial.¹⁸ Sixteenth-century alchemy had also supported the efficacy of iatrochemistry, or chemical therapy—the combination of nonorganic materials to create medicines and treatments for illnesses.¹⁹ The strong tradition of English alchemy in the courts of Elizabeth I and elsewhere made England a ripe ground for the flowering of chemical medicines and therapies, ideal for the influx of Paracelsianism. The circulation of manuscripts and printed works and oral dissemination played key roles in the diffusion of chemistry.²⁰ The diffusion of Paracelsian ideas was immensely successful, and Webster asserts that ‘alchemical medicine was endemic’.²¹ By 1585, ‘the works of Paracelsus and his followers were widely disseminated, and actively studied by both laymen and medical practitioners’.²² Transmission continued into the mid-seventeenth century, as literature from the Continent, translated into vernacular and published in medical treatises and handbooks, filtered down to the practice of practitioners.²³

¹² Peter Elmer, ‘Society of Chemical Physicians (*act.* 1665–1666)’, ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/107538>> [accessed 27 May 2017].

¹³ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), p. 2.

¹⁴ Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: F. Watts, 1965), p. 14.

¹⁵ N. H. Clulee, ‘Astronomia Inferior: Legacies of Johannes Trithemius and John Dee’ in *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe* ed. by William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2001), 173–234 (p. 184).

¹⁶ Jennifer M. Rampling, ‘Transmuting Sericon: Alchemy as “Practical Exegesis” in Early Modern England’, *Osiris*, 29 (2014), 19–34 (p. 19).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁸ Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, p. 19.

¹⁹ Charles Webster, ‘Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine’ in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, 301–34 (p. 317).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 309–17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 330.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 319.

In the 1640s and 1650s, the existing order—that is, the inclusion of Paracelsian theories and therapies into traditional Galenic practice—was interrupted by the arrival in England of the writings of Jean Baptiste van Helmont. Over the course of his life, van Helmont was increasingly interested in Paracelsianism, but rejected several of its key tenets, including Paracelsus’ belief in the influence of the macrocosm on the microcosm.²⁴ Like Paracelsus, however, van Helmont believed that chemistry was the key to nature.²⁵ Helmontian chemistry was devoted to the pursuit of the *Alkahest*, liquor which had the ability to return matter to its original state. Van Helmont owed the first achievement of the *Alkahest* to Paracelsus.²⁶ In a departure from the four humours, van Helmont believed that everything—mineral, vegetable, and animal—derived from ‘a material base of elementary water’.²⁷ Acted upon by a seminal spirit called the *Archeus*, this water generated life.²⁸ In humans, the *Archeus* was located in the stomach and spleen; disease occurred when the *Archeus* was provoked and thus a key part of cure was neutralizing the irritant thought to be provoking the *Archeus*.²⁹ Van Helmont also believed that diseases ‘were produced by specific, individual agents’ called seeds, which lay dormant in the body until aggravated by the *Archeus*, explaining why some became ill with certain diseases while others did not.³⁰ In creating medicines to address these diseases, chemists sought to ‘separate nature’s pure parts from the impure, especially through distillation’.³¹ While the vegetable and animal kingdoms had their pick of powerful ingredients, these were considered notoriously difficult to extract and purify. Minerals, on the other hand were a simpler matter. Because they were regarded as living, they were easier to prepare chemically without ‘destroying their vital essences’.³² Van Helmont took upon himself the reformation of medical practice.³³

Though far from supplanting traditional medicine, Paracelsian and Helmontian theories did make significant inroads into medical practice through the mid-seventeenth century. Some chemical remedies had been admitted into the College’s *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* in 1618.³⁴ During the 1640s and 1650s, English physicians and natural philosophers, including the Hartlib circle and the College of Physicians adopted forms of Helmontian chemistry.³⁵ The same decades saw ‘intense scientific activity in England, culminating in the foundation of the Royal Society in

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 315-20.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 322.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 326.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 340.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 341.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 360-1.

³⁰ Antonio Clericuzio, ‘From van Helmont to Boyle: A Study of the Transmission of Helmontian Chemical and Medical Theories in Seventeenth-century England,’ *British Journal of the History of Science* 26 (1993), 303-334 (p. 310).

³¹ Bruce T. Moran, ‘A Survey of Chemical Medicine in the 17th Century: Spanning Court, Classroom, and Cultures,’ *Pharmacy in History* (1996), 121-33 (p. 122).

³² Ibid., p. 122.

³³ Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Volume 1 (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), p. 359.

³⁴ Moran, ‘A Survey of Chemical Medicine’, p. 125.

³⁵ Clericuzio, ‘From van Helmont to Boyle’, p. 304.

December 1660'.³⁶ The College of Physicians—traditionally seen as the protectors of Galenic practice—hosted many of these lectures and experiments, becoming a centre of scientific investigation.³⁷ In 1648, William Johnson was appointed to be the College's chemist; he, amongst many of College members, voiced a middle road that allowed for the practice of both Galenic and chemical therapies.³⁸ By the end of the seventeenth century, Helmontian terms like *Archeus* had become an accepted part of medical and scientific vocabulary.³⁹ This mix of traditional and chemical beliefs was not unique; even chemical physicians exhibited and practised a marriage of Galenic and chemical beliefs and therapies.⁴⁰

For some, however, it was not enough to incorporate chemical beliefs into what they viewed as a flawed, heathen system of medicine. The writings of van Helmont galvanised these irregular practitioners in a city already discontented with its exclusive College of licensed physicians. These physicians were seen as blocking the progress of the 'true' chemical medicine with their continued adherence to the medicine of the ancients. Some 'argued that only academic upheaval would accomplish the desired establishment of the chemical philosophy.'⁴¹ A new medicine focused on chemistry as a way of observing, discovering and replicating the secrets of nature was needed.

3.3 Corporative Competition in Restoration London's Medical Economy

The letters of John Allin open a unique window onto how competition within London's economy of medical practitioners was perceived by participants. On his arrival to London, Allin was faced with the challenge of selecting a new profession for himself. While he continued his work as a Nonconformist preacher, he was forced to supplement this income from other livings as well.⁴² He wrote that 'my freinds here are devided in y^e^{er} counceles whither I should take to soliciting for others, or studying phisick for my selfe'.⁴³ Rather than making a choice between the two, he did both as necessary to make his living, although debt plagued him throughout the entire decade of his correspondence. Allin's skills and custom as a medical practitioner were in strong demand; the considerable patterns of disease in England's teeming capital necessitated a network of medical caregivers to provide established regimes of therapy and care. As a medical practitioner, Allin took his place in London's competitive medical economy (previously discussed in section 3.2).

Plague offered London's medical practitioners, both licensed and irregular, an increased opportunity to prove the efficacy of their care, treatment and cures. As London emptied of any

³⁶ Charles Webster, 'The College of Physicians: "Solomon's House" in Commonwealth England', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 41:5 (1967), 393-412 (p. 394).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 408-11.

³⁸ Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* Vol. 2, p. 508.

³⁹ Clericuzio, 'From van Helmont to Boyle', p. 303.

⁴⁰ Isabelle Clairhout, 'Erring from Good Huswifery? The Author as Witness in Margaret Cavendish and Mary Trye', *Renaissance and Reformation* 37:2 (2014), 81-114 (p. 86).

⁴¹ Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* Vol. 2, p. 447.

⁴² ESRO, FRE 5475 (October 14, 1665).

⁴³ ESRO, FRE 5424 (December 13, 1664).

inhabitants with the means to flee, the scarcity of appropriate practitioners became a real concern. As Theophilus Garencières put it,

The causes why so few escape are these. The scarcity of able Physitians willing to attend that disease, the Inefficacy of common remedies... A vapouring Chymist with his drops, an ignorant Apothecary with his blistering plasters, a wilfull Surgeon, an impudent Mountebanke, an intruding Gossip, and a carelesse Nurse.⁴⁴

There were fewer than 30 qualified members of the College of Physicians; of these, only 10 or 11 stayed in the city to treat its plague sick.⁴⁵ Indeed, the College had a rampant reputation for fleeing the city when it was in the most need.⁴⁶ Critiques of this perceived behaviour informed the content of a number of pamphlets.⁴⁷ One writer asserted that ‘the Ablest of the Galenists cowardly and unworthily run away, leaving this great City destitute of their Help’.⁴⁸ Indeed, the absence of physicians in London during the plague of 1603 is frequently cited as causing the creation of a rival medical group—the Society of Apothecaries.⁴⁹ As Pelling has observed, ‘The absences of physicians during epidemics were a major factor in lowering contemporary estimates of this class of practitioner.’⁵⁰

In 1665, the College decided to combat this image by appointing eight ‘Persons of Ability... to take care of such Persons and Families in this time of Infection’, with each being assigned a certain section of the city to care for; by 2 August plague had escalated to the point that two more were appointed to supplement the original four.⁵¹ These physicians included Nathaniel Hodges, Thomas Witherley, Nicholas Davis and Edward Deantry and were supplemented by others who chose to stay, like Thomas Wharton, at the time practising in St Thomas’ Hospital in Lambeth.⁵² Notably, the College’s broadsheet which announced the additional two members also included a cautionary note to the apothecaries of the city: ‘we further desire all *Apothecaries* who have so near a connexion to our Profession... to repair to us... for our Counsel and Advice, as in former cases they were wont’.⁵³ In the one or two years preceding major plague years, warned by slight increases in plague deaths reported in the *Bills of Mortality*, censorial activities increased disproportionately; the College was keen to sue and weed out any competition.⁵⁴ The College

⁴⁴ Theophilus Garencières, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London; being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague, in this calamitous year, 1665* (London: 1665; STC2 R16663), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁵ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 246.

⁴⁶ Samuel Pepys snidely commented in 1666 that one physician, William Goddard, ‘did fill us with talke, in defence of his and his fellow physicians going out of towne in plague-time, saying that their particular patients were most gone out of towne, and they left at liberty’. See Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1664/01/22/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (22 Januray 1666).

⁴⁷ For more information, see Wallis, ‘Plague, Morality and the Place of Medicine’.

⁴⁸ George Thomson, *Loimologia A consolatory advice, and some brief observations concerning the present pest* (London, 1665; STC2 R220876), p. 2.

⁴⁹ Hunting, *A History of the Society of Apothecaries*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 48.

⁵¹ Nicholas Davis, *The resolution of those physitians* (London: 1665; STC2 R231328), p. 1.

⁵² RCP, MS 3118/2/17.

⁵³ Davis, *The resolution* (STC2 R231328), p. 1.

⁵⁴ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 25.

expressed significant anxiety about the unauthorised practice of physick during periods of unusual demand for medical services.

The lack of licensed practitioners during outbreaks of plague was something early modern Londoners were keenly aware of. Some, like Garençières, expressed concern; for others like John Allin, however, plague provided a perfect opportunity not only to practise medicine but also to reach a wider clientele. As for the people choosing from practitioners offering their medical services and expertise, ‘laypeople reserved the right to treat themselves, to drive bargains (they bought ‘cures’ rather than treatment), and not to trust themselves to any single practitioner’.⁵⁵ People often sought treatment and advice from an array of practitioners, family members and members of their wider communities and neighbourhoods.

Indeed, the Plague of 1665 was uniquely placed to exhibit tension between the various types of medical practitioner. For one thing, as Cook has established, the influence of the College of Physicians was at an all-time low after the pressures of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum.⁵⁶ They had had to make a number of concessions to both the apothecaries and the barber-surgeons and concerns were voiced about the new Royal Society, a ‘rival learned society’.⁵⁷ The physicians were keen to remedy these compromises; in April 1664 they put forward a charter which would see the king confirm their letters patent.⁵⁸ Amongst other things, the charter proposed that the College would have more authority over the Society of Apothecaries, including the permission to ‘enter and search the houses, shoppes, etc of Apothecaries Druggists distillers [and] sellers of waters... to view and try out their medicines, drugs wares [and] to examine y^e sellers’.⁵⁹ The charter was supported and passed by the King in thanks for the College’s Royalist sympathies through the Civil Wars,⁶⁰ but was blocked by the Commons; afterwards the College and the Apothecaries appointed three representatives each to deliberate through their various privileges and duties. Plague interrupted these discussions.⁶¹ It was onto this contested stage that the Society of Chemical Physicians stepped to advertise their own remedies, wares and medical services.

3.4 *The Pamphlet War*

Since its ‘discovery’ in the 1950s, the Society of Chemical Physicians has been the subject of several historical studies, each reading its successes and ultimate failure in different lights. In 1954, Henry Thomas published the first work of history about the Society; he had

⁵⁵ Margaret Pelling, ‘Occupational Diversity: Barber-Surgeons and Other Trades, 1550-1640’ in *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations, and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England: Essays* ed. by Margaret Pelling (London: Longman, 1998), 203-29 (p. 204).

⁵⁶ Cook, *The Decline*, p. 135.

⁵⁷ Harold J. Cook, ‘Institutional Structures and Personal Belief in the London College of Physicians’ in *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (Aldershot, Hampshire: Scolar Press, 1996), 91-114 (p. 104).

⁵⁸ *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 8, 1660-1667* (London, 1802), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol8>> [accessed 5 June 2017]; the entire text of the charter can be found in BL, Sloane MS 3914, 100-04.

⁵⁹ BL, Sloane MS 3914, 103.

⁶⁰ Sloan, *English Medicine*, p. 3.

⁶¹ RCP, MS 3118/2/16.

discovered their advertisement during the Plague of 1665 and set out to learn more about the pamphlet war surrounding the advertisement. On one hand he found, ‘the followers of Galen’ while on the other, ‘those of Paracelsus, or rather of his modern Belgian disciple Helmont’.⁶² These studies set the tone of viewing the Society and the College as two competing groups with opposing sentiments. P. M. Rattansi and Charles Webster each viewed the Society as a manifestation of the disunity of the medical profession in London caused by the chasm between Galenic and chemical medicine.⁶³ Rattansi saw the chemists becoming a third party in the decades-old quarrels over privileges between the physicians and the apothecaries.⁶⁴ Allen Debus similarly read the Society as a medical organisation which set itself up in opposition to the Galenic College of the Physicians; the chemists were ‘alienated’ from the college and thus attempted to create their own corporation.⁶⁵

More recent studies, while maintaining the theme of rivalry between the College and the Society, have begun to look beyond the two organisations to examine reasons for the Society’s creation and failure. Cook has observed that the Society only emerged after the College’s authority had weakened and was made up of former Royalists who ‘played upon both the open-handed patronage and the intellectual sympathies evident among certain parties of the royal Court’.⁶⁶ Thus, according to Cook, the Society failed once these parties withdrew their support.⁶⁷ Peter Elmer has read their failure as being in the College’s successful characterisation of members of the Society as ‘subversive and heretical’.⁶⁸ William Newman has argued for the need to view the Society as a response not just to the monopoly of the College, but also to the usurpation of chemical ideas by Restoration London’s quacks.⁶⁹ Moote and Moote see the Royal Society as supplanting the role that the Society wished for themselves—that is, an organised group of chemical experimenters.⁷⁰ Importantly, these studies have ceased to view the College as strictly Galenist and the Society as strictly Paracelsian or Helmontian, acknowledging that members of each held mixed views from each set of medical dogma.

This study reads the Society in the same light, focusing specifically on the Society as competitors in the larger medical economy who were ultimately unsuccessful in distinguishing

⁶² Sir Henry Thomas, ‘The Society of Chymical Physitians: an Echo of the Great Plague of London, 1665-6’ in *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice written in Honour of Charles Singer* ed. by E. Ashworth Underwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 56-71 (p. 58).

⁶³ Charles Webster, ‘English Medical Reformers of the Puritan Revolution: A Background to the “Society of Chymical Physicians”’, *Ambix* 14 (1967), 16-41 (p. 16); P. M. Rattansi, ‘The Helmontian-Galenist Controversy in Restoration England’, *Ambix* 12 (1964), 1-23 (p. 1).

⁶⁴ Rattansi, ‘The Helmontian-Galenist Controversy’.

⁶⁵ Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* Vol. 2, p. 510.

⁶⁶ Harold J. Cook, ‘The Society of Chemical Physicians, the New Philosophy, and the Restoration Court’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987), 61-77 (p. 63).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶⁸ Peter Elmer, ‘Chemical Medicine and the Challenge to Galenism: The Legacy of Paracelsus, 1560-1700’ in *The Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500-1800* ed. by Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 108-35 (p. 132).

⁶⁹ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 202.

⁷⁰ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 155.

themselves from the city's irregular practitioners, particularly the quack pedlars of proprietary nostrums. This section establishes an important framework to contextualise this chapter's discussion of the Society's failure. Firstly, it argues that the Society's members came from a variety of backgrounds, both Nonconformist and Protestant, Royalist and Parliamentarian. Secondly, it describes the pamphlet war that the Society and College engaged in with each other; the pamphlet war was an important element of the Society's attempts at incorporation. For one thing, the Society experienced a number of setbacks before the outbreak of plague; for another, these pamphlets were the Society's opportunity to describe what made them different from the other practitioners in the medical economy. According to Kathleen Miller, the pamphlet war between the Society and the College shows a new response to plague, reflecting 'a charged print landscape filled with vigorous debate in response to the outbreak.'⁷¹ 1665 was the first plague outbreak which saw physicians and chemists use medical print about the disease to justify their preferred medical dogma.⁷² In their pamphlet war, Society chemists hit on three main themes: religion, their new medicines and their espousal of observation as true learning. In retaliation, defenders of the College exploited and exaggerated the anti-establishment message of Helmontianism; the College claimed that the medical establishment did not require replacement and equated the Society's espousal of empiricism with quackery.

During the 1665 outbreak, the Society presented itself as the chemical alternative to the Galenic medicine adhered to by the College, engaging in a pamphlet war with collegiate physicians and their supporters over which medical therapy could prove more effective in treating the epidemic. In a one-page broadsheet advertisement of the chemical physicians dated 28 June 1665, the chemists purported that 'remedies made by *Chymical preparation* are of greater Excellence than any other, for preservation from Diseases, as well for the Cure of them.'⁷³

Members of the Society were fervent in their belief that not only should chemical experimentation trump learned, academic medicine, but that because chemistry was derived from Hermetic philosophy, it was 'therefore closer to God's initial revelations'.⁷⁴ Despite claims from supporters of the College that chemists were the same as or no better than empiric quacks on the street, the Society of Chemical Physicians enjoyed a comfortable following at court. A full 38 lords and gentlemen publicly expressed their support for the Society; notable supporters included the Duke of Buckingham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Albemarle.⁷⁵ The College had expressed hopes that the Restoration would result in a more rigorously maintained medical hierarchy that would have excluded chemists; however, with the support of many factions at court and strong opposition from apothecaries and surgeons, the College's bid for a new, more

⁷¹ Miller, *The Literary Culture of Plague*, p. 8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-93.

⁷³ Anonymous, *An advertisement from the Society of Chymical Physicians* (London, 1665; STC2 R213124), p. 1.

⁷⁴ Cook, *The Decline*, p. 149.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

absolute charter failed.⁷⁶ Elmer relates the Society of Chemical Physicians to a more widespread dissatisfaction with the medical orthodoxy of licensed medicine, spreading from the highest tiers of the Court to those levels of society unable to pay the pricey bills of physicians.⁷⁷ The Great Plague exacerbated discontent with traditional Galenic treatments, leading sufferers to look to alternative methods of cure.⁷⁸

The Society of Chemical Physicians was made up of an assorted group of men, foremost among who were Marchamont Nedham, Thomas O'Dowde, George Starkey, Edward Bolnest, Everard Manwaring and George Thomson.⁷⁹ They came from a variety of backgrounds which puts to question Webster's assertion that chemistry appealed most to the radical Puritans of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth.

Their leader was Thomas O'Dowde, an Irish royalist who at several junctures during Cromwell's rule was imprisoned for the king's cause. After the Restoration, the king rewarded O'Dowde by making him one of the grooms of his bedchamber; O'Dowde was also a self-taught physician.⁸⁰

George Thomson was also a Royalist (having served, like O'Dowde, in the Royalist army) and, notably, a fervent Anglican. Unlike O'Dowde, he had extensive medical training as both an apothecary and as a physician, having learned both chemical and Galenic methods. After failing to obtain a licence from the College in 1648, he left the capital to practise in Essex, where his practice was increasingly influenced by his chemical knowledge. By 1659, he had returned to London, where he was practising without a license.⁸¹

George Starkey, on the other hand, came from a background closer to what Webster would have expected. Starkey was from the American colonies and was, moreover, a Nonconformist, born in Bermuda and educated at Harvard College. He split his time between medicine, alchemy and writing; after successfully practising in Boston for several years, he immigrated to England in 1650, where he became embroiled in the Hartlib circle, trading recipes and ideas about chemical technology. He was imprisoned as a debtor in 1654; after he was freed, he wrote several ardent defences of chemistry including *Nature's Explication*⁸² and *Pyrotechny Asserted*.⁸³ In these texts, he was the first to suggest a clinical trial to decide, once and for all, the

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 133.

⁷⁷ Peter Elmer, *The Miraculous Conformist: Valentine Greatrakes, the Body Politic, and the Politics of Healing in Restoration Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013), p. 78.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁹ More complete lists of the Society's members can be found in Anonymous, *An advertisement* (STC2 R213124); Thomas O'Dowde, *The poor man's physician, or The true art of medicine, as it is chymically prepared and administered, for healing the several diseases incident to mankind* (London: 1665; STC2 R218541).

⁸⁰ Harold J. Cook, 'O'Dowde, Thomas (d. 1665)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57248>> [accessed 27 May 2017].

⁸¹ Antonio Clericuzio, 'Thomson, George (1619–1677)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27300>> [accessed 27 May 2017].

⁸² George Starkey, *Natures explication and Helmont's vindication, or, A short and sure way to a long and sound life becing a necessary and full apology for chymical medicaments* (London: 1657; STC2 R13346).

⁸³ George Starkey, *Pyrotechny Asserted and illustrated to be the surest and safest means for arts triumph over natures infirmities* (London: 1658; STC2 R469840).

effectiveness of chemical medicines over their Galenic counterparts. By the time of his involvement with the Society of Chemical Physicians, he had achieved a degree of notoriety.⁸⁴

Marchamont Nedham was perhaps the Society's most controversial member, having been, for a short amount of time, Cromwell's press secretary. However, he was notorious for switching sides during the 1640s and 1650s; as Blair Worden put it, 'Marchamont Nedham is the serial turncoat of the Puritan Revolution'.⁸⁵ He worked as a journalist, writing for Parliament during the first Civil War, then for the King during the second; he wrote for the Cromwells during the 1650s but shortly before the Restoration, changed his tune to write for Charles II. Despite his occasional support, however, Nedham hated Puritanism.⁸⁶ By the 1660s, he had a long history of practising as a self-taught physician, having started as early 1646. In 1665, he fired the first shot in the Society's pamphlet war with the College with his *Medela medicinae*.⁸⁷

It should be clear from these brief biographies of the Society's key members that the only unifying force amongst this disparate group of Nonconformists and Anglicans, Royalists and former Parliamentarians, was devotion to chemistry and a particular wish to see iatrochemistry completely replace the existing medical institution. They were particularly keen to free chemistry from being subsumed into Galenic practice; a pure chemistry should be pursued, while the mongrelised 'pseudochymistry' of both the College of Physicians and London's quack and irregular practitioners should be eradicated.

In their call for reform, the members of the Society were not alone. They were in fact following in the footsteps of other polemical writers of the 1650s who had called for change. In 1651, Noah Biggs had famously outlined the reasons why contemporary medicine was such an imposture. There were four main areas of ignorance: 'the ignorance of causes, the remedy, the manner of making it, and coaptation of it'.⁸⁸ The College's overreliance on the ancients and their monopoly over the medical economy were also seen as major issues which quashed medical innovation.⁸⁹ In echoing Biggs nearly 15 years after the publication of his pamphlet, the Society had a strong enclave of support from the court and the Royal Society. One unidentified member or supporter of the College of Physicians wrote that the Royal Society sought to 'disparage y^e Ancient practise of Physic' and 'advance Odowds College' before punctuating with the statement that 'They are Comon enemeyes to all literature'.⁹⁰

However, while the Society of Chemical Physicians attempted to achieve recognition, it experienced several major setbacks prior to the outbreak of epidemic plague in the spring of 1665.

⁸⁴ William R. Newman, 'Starkey, George (1628–1665)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26315>> [accessed 27 May 2017].

⁸⁵ Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 14.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–6.

⁸⁷ Marchamont Nedham, *Medela medicinae a plea for the free prosetion and revocation of the art of physick* (London: 1665; STC2 R19741).

⁸⁸ Noah Biggs, *Mataeotechnia medicinae praxeos, The vanity of the craft of physick* (London: 1651; STC2 R20474), p. 22.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18–9, 31.

⁹⁰ BL, Sloane MS 1786, 118b.

For one thing, many members of the court changed their loyalties, switching to the newer and more fashionable Royal Society, which, unlike the Society of Chemical Physicians, had the support of Charles II. Additionally, the Society became increasingly engaged in a pamphlet war with the College of Physicians.

The pamphlet war between the College of Physicians and Society of Chemical Physicians was a convoluted conflict. For clarity, the timeline of books and pamphlets, in brief, can be found in Table 3.1. The pamphlet war between the College of Physicians and its rival can be split into two main phases: the first, which started with Nedham's *Medela medicinae*, was focused around the Society's arguments that the College was too conservative and made no attempts to keep up with new medical knowledge and innovations. The College defended themselves with a long list of their accomplishments to date. The second attack, initiated by Thomson, called for tests of competence;⁹¹ the anatomy described at the beginning of this chapter appears to have been the only such test undertaken by the groups.

⁹¹ Sir George Clarke, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, Volume 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 322-4.

**Table 3.1 : Timeline of the Pamphlet War Between the
College of Physicians and the Society of Chemical Physicians**

Month (if known) and Year of Publication	Author	Short Title and STC2 Number	Affiliation
September 1664	Marchamont Nedham	<i>Medela medicinae</i> (STC2 R19741)	Society of Chemical Physicians
1664	Robert Sprakling	<i>Medela ignorantiæ</i> (STC2 R219132)	College of Physicians
1665	Thomas O'Dowde	<i>The poor man's physician</i> (STC2 R218541)	Society of Chemical Physicians
1665	Edward Bolnest	<i>Medicina instaurata</i> (STC2 R33237)	Society of Chemical Physicians
1665	George Thomson	<i>Galeno-pæle</i> (STC2 R33830)	Society of Chemical Physicians
1665	William Johnson	<i>Agryo-mastix</i> (STC2 R43321)	College of Physicians
June 1665	George Thomson	<i>Plano-pnigmos</i> (STC2 R24128)	Society of Chemical Physicians
November 1665	John Heydon	<i>Psonthophachia</i> (STC2 R26439)	College of Physicians
1665	Nathaniel Hodges	<i>Vindiciæ medicinae</i> (STC2 R13220)	College of Physicians
1666	John Twysden	<i>Medicina veterum vindicata</i> (STC2 R20872)	College of Physicians
1666	George Thomson	<i>Lainotomia</i> (STC2 R1148)	Society of Chemical Physicians
1667	George Castle	<i>The chymical Galenist</i> (STC2 R12752)	College of Physicians
February 1668	Everard Maynwaringe	<i>Medicus absolutus</i> (STC2 R32063)	Society of Chemical Physicians

While space here does not allow for an in-depth discussion of each argument in these pamphlets, several prevailing themes emerge which are essential to understand chemical practice on the eve of epidemic plague and will contribute to the discussion of chemical remedies for plague later in this chapter. Many of the complaints levied by the College against the Society are significant for how they depict the state of the medical economy in Restoration London and are useful in understanding why the Society failed; likewise, the rhetoric which the College used against the Society reveals the depth and width of its anxieties.

The first theme which played a key role in the chemistry of the mid-seventeenth century was religion. In his monograph *The Great Instauration*, Webster has postulated that the strong tradition of the Puritan Revolution of the 1640s and 1650s propelled these movements forward.⁹² Cook argues that the mysticism of Paracelsianism appealed to the ‘heightened religious sensibilities’ of the period.⁹³ Webster’s thesis is difficult to sustain: as we have seen from the religious leanings of members of the Society, Nonconformity and chemistry did not necessarily go hand in hand, and adherence to Helmontian medicine did not preclude conformist church membership. Chemists made it clear that Helmontian chemistry was the truly Christian medicine that would replace the heathen medicine of Galen and Hippocrates, wiping away its errors. O’Dowde viewed the Helmontian physician as following in the footsteps of Christ, who had healed even the meanest of diseases.⁹⁴ Religion formed an important part of O’Dowde’s medical practice. He observed that,

As to the *Plague* (where there hath been yet no mention) I hope God’s Mercy is such to us, there may never be occasion for experiment in that kind: But if our sins shall at any time draw down that Judgment upon us, I shall not doubt, by that method which God hath been please to communicate to me, to preserve thousands from the grave, and in that confidence, to administer freely and publickly to all that shall desire it, not exception those persons to places, where other Physicians... would be afraid to shew themselves.⁹⁵

The godliness of the chemists was evident in the writings they followed; Bolnest observed of Paracelsus, ‘There is hardly a Page in some parts of his Works, in which he doth not, and that more than once, or twice, with a true Christian regard, and reverence, name and mention both the Name of God, and also of our Saviour himself’.⁹⁶ The strength of the faith of the chemists could achieve wonders not seen in Galenic practice; Bolnest reminded his readers that ‘Christ spake so much of the power of Faith, who, when ever he cured any of Diseases, said *Believe, and thou shalt be made whole*’.⁹⁷ The deep Protestant Christianity at the heart of Helmontian medicine gave it curative powers beyond the merely physical. In a 1675 pamphlet, Thomson argued that Helmontian medicine would ‘cure the disordered mind as well as the bodies of those opponents of

⁹² Webster, *The Great Instauration*.

⁹³ Cook, *The Decline*, p. 122.

⁹⁴ O’Dowde, *The poor man’s physician* (STC2 R218541), p. 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁹⁶ Edward Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata, or, A brief account of the true grounds and principles of the art of physick with the insufficiency of the vulgar way of preparing medicines, and the excellency of such as are made by chymical operation* (London: 1665; STC2 R33237), p. 37.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

the crown who continued to agitate for religious and political change'.⁹⁸ Through the application of chemical physick, Thomson hoped to return his patients, and eventually, the nation, back under the cloak of a united Anglican church.⁹⁹

In the pamphlet war, Society members also highlighted their belief that new medicines were needed for the modern world's new diseases. In one of the first pamphlets of the coming war of words, Nedham asserted, amongst other things, that modern therapies and drugs were needed to combat modern diseases, which he believed to be different from the ancient.¹⁰⁰ In his foreword to Bolnest's *Medicina instavrata* Nedham asserted that 'not a man of the old Faction knows how to conjure down a poor Ague, whilst the old Women and Mountebanks every where do shame them'.¹⁰¹ Society members saw a discrepancy between the knowledge of the ancients—and thus, in their eyes, the physicians as well—and the needs of the modern world. The diseases that Nedham considered particularly altered were agues, women's diseases, French pox and worms.¹⁰² Chemical medicines could do a multitude of things that Galenic medicines could not achieve, including curing all the 'new diseases'.¹⁰³ Moreover, English medicines were needed to treat English bodies; chemical medicines were the best and purest, as Galenic medicines were vulgar and clogged with impurities.¹⁰⁴ Reform was needed in order to meet the needs of patients.

Society members also stressed their belief that university learning was not necessary to practise true physick. Observation and experimentation were the new methods of attaining true knowledge, rather than the long years of training that the physicians endured. Nedham believed that even the least accomplished members of the Society 'hath skill enough in Medicine, to furnish a score of the ordinary Master Drs.'¹⁰⁵ As for the College's criticism that a large number of Society members had no letters or formal training, Society members argued that these were not prerequisites for true knowledge, medical or otherwise. As Nedham put it, the 'way to true Physical Learning... lies quite out of the Common *Scholastick Road*... we must pass through the fire to it'.¹⁰⁶

For their part, physicians argued two things in particular: firstly, that a wholesale replacement of existing medical practice was not required, as those aspects of chemistry deemed effective had been incorporated into an already useful medicine that had become traditional primarily because it was successful; and secondly, that the reliance of the Society on observation and experimentation as epistemological methods left no adequate bulwark between professional and quack medicine. Nedham complained that the College did not regard the Society's knowledge

⁹⁸ Peter Elmer, 'Society of Chemical Physicians (*act.* 1665–1666)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/107538>> [accessed 27 May 2017].

⁹⁹ Ole Peter Grell, 'Plague Prayer and Physic: Helmontian Medicine in Restoration England' in *Religio Medici*, 204–27 (p. 220).

¹⁰⁰ Nedham, *Medela medicinae* (STC2 R19741), pp. 29–56.

¹⁰¹ Marchamont Nedham in Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), p. 12.

¹⁰² Nedham, *Medela medicinae* (STC2 R19741), pp. 29–42.

¹⁰³ O'Dowde, *The poor man's physician* (STC2 R218541), pp. 34, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Nedham, *Medela medicinae* (STC2 R19741), p. 452.

¹⁰⁵ Nedham in Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Nedham in *Ibid.*, p. 7.

as being on the same level as its own, ‘because we have admitted some Persons to associate who have not been hooded in a University’.¹⁰⁷ In response to these complaints, physician Robert Sprakling responded,

Now to your... Chymical Remedies, I might only answer... Who ever disparag’d them? *Viz.* among Physicians now living and lawfully practicing? It is only desired for the publique good, that every *Empirick* and *Charlatan* may not prescribe, and expose to sale his own trifles and venomes under the notion of *Spagyricall* preparations. But because *M. N.* commendeth the Chymical Medicines, with intention utterly to discredit and comdemn the *Galenical* ones... He must give me leave to wonder at his groundless fancy and presumption’ how does he know Galenical preparations are so bad?... the *Galenical*... must not be cast out of doors, so long as they do good service.¹⁰⁸

The College did not disdain chemistry when it proved useful; they even employed their own chemist, William Johnson, who summarised the debate more simply when he wrote, ‘the Judicious and Learned do not build the Praises of *Galen*, on the Disgrace of *Vanhelmont*, but honour both according to their respective worth’.¹⁰⁹ The College’s bottom line was clear: no reform was needed, and the educated physicians should continue to stave off the growth of empirics and quacks by practising their mixture of Galenic and Helmontian therapies.

In April or May of 1665, the Society of Chemical Physicians faced what might have been its final crucible had it not been for the plague.¹¹⁰ Several of its key members—including O’Dowde, Thomson and Nedham—had an audience with Charles II, at which they were allowed to argue their case for the incorporation of their fledgling society. Reports as to what occurred at the audience vary. William Johnson wrote that the O’Dowde and his friends were accused both of quackery and of political subversion.¹¹¹ The presence of the allegiance-shifter Nedham may have impacted the outcome of the audience in addition to the fact that of the chemical attendees, only Thomson had any formal training. Thomson himself, however, recalled how their ‘*just, honest, desirable, and useful* Enterprise’ received ‘favourable Countenance from our *Sovereign Lord the King*’ who ‘professed to have no small kindness’ toward the plight of the chemists.¹¹² However, others reported that the chemists were not so favourably received, particularly its more controversial member Nedham, who defended himself against accusations that he had been ‘chidden rather than countenanced at our Audience at the King’s Council-Table’.¹¹³

Although responses to the pamphlet war would continue to be published over the following years, both the pamphlet war and the Society’s attempts to incorporate itself were

¹⁰⁷ Nedham in Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Sprakling, *Medela ignorantiae; or A just and plain vindication of Hippocrates and Galen from the groundless imputations of M.N.* (London: 1665; STC2 R219132), p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ William Johnson, *Agyrto-mastix, or, Some brief animadversions upon two late treatises one of Master George Thomsons, entituled Galeno-pale, the other of Master Thomas O’Dowdes, called The poor mans physitian* (London: 1665; STC2 R43321), p. 3.

¹¹⁰ TNA: PRO, C 10/477/110.

¹¹¹ Cook, ‘The Society of Chemical Physicians’, p. 75.

¹¹² George Thomson, *Galeno-pale, or, A chymical trial of the Galenists, that their dross in physick may be discovered with the grand abuses and disrepute they have brought upon the whole art of physick and chirurgery* (London: 1665; STC2 R33830), pp.103-4.

¹¹³ Nedham in Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), p. 13.

ground down by the trials of the Plague of 1665. William Johnson died after the anatomy in September; the College of Physicians remembered him for his persuasive defences of collegiate practice during the pamphlet war. Moote and Moote have interpreted the College's note of Johnson's passing to reflect suspicion that he had died as a result of the anatomy; however, this is not the case. Rather, he had 'given hope to some' against the 'pseudochemists' but had died shortly afterwards, a victim of plague.¹¹⁴ The anatomy also heralded the end of several key members of the Society, including Starkey and O'Dowde. The pamphlet war continued into 1666 without these members; however, by then attempts to properly incorporate the Society had failed. As this chapter argues, the incorporation of a new body devoted to medicine was not considered necessary because most were satisfied with the status quo which saw chemical ideas being incorporated selectively into the existing Galenic *corpus*.

3.5 *The Chemical Cure for Plague*

To Slack, the controversy between the College of Physicians and the Society of Chemical Physicians had little to do with plague and much more to do with the conflicts between Galenism and chemistry. Paracelsianism had started out as a peaceful creed, slowly being incorporated into the recipe books of practitioners and laypeople alike. During the Interregnum, however, fuelled by the writings of van Helmont, it became more controversial, used by its adherents to challenge the monopoly of the College of Physicians.¹¹⁵ As the previous section will have made clear, this was certainly the case. The chemists and the physicians disputed about the nature of diseases cure and true medical knowledge and expertise rather than the intricacies of a plague cure. However, as 1665 progressed and plague cases became more widespread, the Society of Chemical Physicians became more concerned with advertising their expertise in plague treatment and cure; while there are some striking similarities between the theories and cures of Galenists and Helmontians, in 1665 the chemists offered readymade medicines, usually with multiple applications, to treat plague.

The metropolis was spatially segregated between the Galenist College and Helmontian Society. Walter Bell has established that in the early summer of 1665, once the plague had spread to epidemic proportions in London, a small committee of two of the city's Aldermen recommended that physicians be appointed to various regions of the city.¹¹⁶ Of these, Nathaniel Hodges was assigned to Walbrook, while other physicians were allotted other areas. These areas—excepting the parishes of St Dunstan in the West and St Bride Fleet Street and the Ward of Cripplegate Without—were within the city walls, where the rich lived and contagion was much

¹¹⁴ RCP, MS 2073 reads, 'Guilielmo Johnson Chymico donare centum libris: spe rem aliquando facturum quam dederat, e edito pronuper libello contra quosdam pseudo-chymicos, non sine singulari specimine ingenis industria suce. Sed ille Paulo post Endemica lue correptus obiit, non quidem spej iterum nostros deconquendo, sed postitus spe citius extra omnem fortunam oe aleam'.

¹¹⁵ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 248.

¹¹⁶ Bell, *The Great Plague*, p. 86.

lower than the suburban areas without the walls.¹¹⁷ In Figure 3.1, the advertised locations of members of the Society of Chemical Physicians have been mapped to show that these iatrochemists were located in the suburban parishes hit most virulently with plague infection. This spatial spread is not particularly surprising, as it confirms that the physicians of the College were employed by the rich while the poorer Londoners located in extramural parishes either self-treated or accessed other means of healthcare.

What wares and services were Society members offering from their suburban homes? Beyond their advertisement in June, there are several pamphlets by Society members we can examine to understand how the chemists responded to the challenge of plague. The Society's most prolific adherent, George Thomson, authored most of these while Richard Barker wrote another. The chemists considered the disease a rare, God-given opportunity to promote their specific brand of medicine and were keen to take advantage of it. Indeed, some chemists even believed that in this new visitation, the nature of plague was altered, so that the Directions published by the College

and many other Medicines, are reported to have been useful in former days; yet now failing, there is a general longing and earnest desire for some more powerful and more effectual means; and if such be not speedily brought forth, a general Calamity is feared likely to befall this City.¹¹⁸

God had given the Society an opportunity to prove themselves and bring about a reform of medicine ordained by God. The pamphlet war, plague pamphlets, plague anatomy and advertisement were the tools the chemists used to do God's work, as they saw it.

Dogmatic chemists endorsed a new cause of plague—and indeed, a new cause for all diseases. While Galenic theory depended on balance of the humours, health in the Paracelsian perspective was reliant on the state of what was termed the *Archeus*, or *vital spirit*. This living spirit was that which differentiated the living from the dead.¹¹⁹ In 1662, van Helmont purported that 'plague is bred in us by an Image of terrour.'¹²⁰ Thomson echoed him, believing that the plague was a poison—a separate entity—that 'doth enter in, and ride in the Triumphant Chariot of the vital spirit'.¹²¹ The *Archeus*, the protector and moderator of health, could be weakened by fear of the plague, thus making itself vulnerable to infection with the diseases it dreaded. Thus, chemists argued that every disease had a common cause, which supported their claim that they could all any of them.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 86-7.

¹¹⁸ Sir Richard Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilentiale, or, Seasonable advice concerning sure, safe, specifick, and experimented medicines both for the preservation from, and cure of, this present plague offered for the publick benefit of this afflicted nation* (London: 1665; STC2 R28348), p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), p. 26.

¹²⁰ Wear, 'Fear, Anxiety and Plague', p. 351.

¹²¹ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), p. 39.

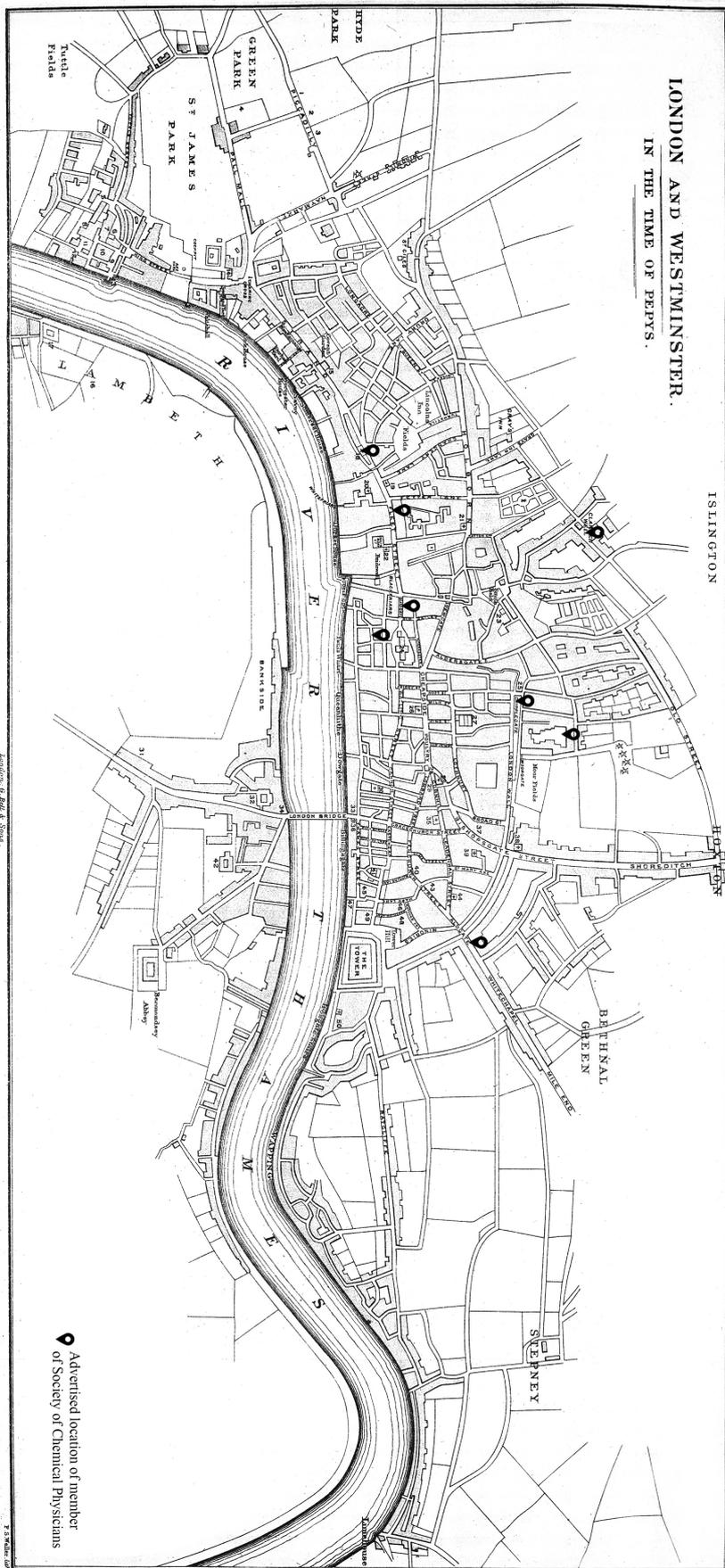


Figure 3.1: Advertised Locations of Members of the Society of Chemical Physicians, 1665

These Galenic and Helmontian medical theories and their corresponding ideas of plague causation are often presented as distinct from one another. In practice, however, the two theories proved more overlapping than separate. By 1665, Paracelsian and Helmontian doctrines had been present in literary form in England for a quarter-century, plenty of time for these theories to fuse with Galenism on varying levels. Paracelsian and humoral theory coexisted in a new, blended medical theory that borrowed heavily from each. This belief is shown clearly in plague pamphlets and literature; one writer even claimed that he ‘imparted those grand Secrets of *Hippocrates* and *Helmont*’.¹²² Indeed, the Helmontian terrified vital spirit would have been familiar to the early modern sensibility, as Galenic plague writers had frequently counselled their readers that, as emotion was one of the non-naturals, plague could be contracted by ‘by too much anger, greife of minde, and feare of the disease’.¹²³ The early modern world was one in which ‘fear-induced disease... [was] part of normal, comprehensible experience, a world where a fright could be implicitly linked to the onset of other symptoms’.¹²⁴ In the case of plague, many chemists purported that while a fearful *Archeus* was the root cause, but that this fear caused the pestilential poison to be more easily taken into the body.¹²⁵ Galenic theories of corrupt air and humoral imbalance were married with discourses about the Helmontian vital spirit.

Many practitioners reflect this marriage between traditional and chemical theories of disease. To the pamphlet-writer William Kemp, the humours of the body affected the mind in the same way that the imagination could affect the body, citing ‘others, who by imagination have fallen into the same diseases they have feared’.¹²⁶ Kemp uses the same terminology as the Helmontians’ ‘Image of terrour’;¹²⁷ behaviours like coughing, laughing, yawning and stretching breedeth the like gaping in the lookers on; and this doth proceed out of the action of the Object upon the fancy of the Spectator, which making as it were the picture, resemblance, or image of it self in the others mind, sendeth his spirits unto the same parts, where they produce the same actions.¹²⁸

The image of another’s disease could produce the same disease in the onlooker. The terminology of the effects the *Archeus* and the imagination could have on the body were described unproblematically alongside discussions of humoral balance by practitioners like Kemp. Iatrochemical beliefs had made deep inroads into traditional medicine by 1665; most blended these beliefs rather than replacing one with the other.

The chemists also innovated the idea of plague as a corpuscular phenomenon. Like Galenists, who sourced illness in the imbalance of the humours but also believed that plague was a poison communicated through foul air and person-to-person contact, chemists believed that both

¹²² William Simpson, *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale. Or, A short discourse of the plague its antidotes and cure* (London, 1665; STC2 R221491), p. ii.

¹²³ Brasbridge, *The poore mans ieuuel* (STC S106315), p. 8.

¹²⁴ David Gentilcore, ‘The Fear of Disease and the Disease of Fear’ in *Fear in Early Modern Society* ed. by William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 184-208 (p. 185).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹²⁶ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 23.

¹²⁷ Wear, ‘Fear, Anxiety and Plague’, p. 351.

¹²⁸ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 24.

a terrified *Archeus* within and ‘Atoms’ without the body could cause plague. Corpuscular beliefs are clearest in the writings of Thomson. After his dissection of the plague corpse, Thomson held his hands over a dish of burning sulphur which had been placed in the room; however, he lamented, he had not done so long enough,

for those slie, insinuating, venemous Atoms, excited by the heat of the body, opening the pores of my skin, had quickly free ingress; the Archeus, the Porter of my hand, that should have better guarded it, forthwith tergiversating, and taking its flight, being extreamly terrified at the Alarum of so fierce and potent an Enemy.¹²⁹

It is clear here that Thomson interpreted pestilential poison in a corpuscular manner; he believed his *Archeus* would safeguard his health as long as he pacified it, but when perturbed it quit its role as ‘Porter’. Thomson contracted plague but successfully recovered, unlike at least three other attendees of his anatomy. Likewise, whilst dissecting the plague victim, he believed that the ‘deleterious ferment of this Heteroclitite poison’ had ‘so altered the substance, texture, consistence, and colour’ of the corpse’s blood that ‘not one spoonful... could be obtained in this Pestilential body, being partly congealed... into a filthy matter’. Indeed, he observed, the effect was quite like that he had achieved by giving poison to ‘some Creatures, whose carcasses I have afterwards dissected’.¹³⁰

Slack has observed that, in their writings on plague, chemists changed the terminology connected to long-held beliefs about diseases rather than making any true innovations themselves. Chemists, within and without the Society, believed that poisonous gases could perturb the *Archeus*, just as miasma could affect the Galenic humours. Thus, the terminology rather than the basic understanding of plague was altered: ‘humours’ became ‘*Archeus*’; ‘putrefaction’ became ‘fermentation’.¹³¹ Rather than an influx of genuinely new ideas, the chemical debate gave plague beliefs ‘a revitalising injection of new concepts’,¹³² inciting debate in a field which had seen little innovation for the previous century.

Indeed, Hannah Newton has seen the *Archeus* as a terminological variant for another traditional medical concept: *Nature*. During the early modern period, the term *Nature* denoted ‘a specific bodily agent which acted intelligently to restore health’.¹³³ Healing comprised two steps: the removal of the cause of disease and the return of strength.¹³⁴ *Nature* aided this process by concoction, or the reduction the troublesome humour to the correct level, and by evacuation, or the expulsion of the offending humour.¹³⁵ Helmontians converted the discourse of *Nature* into one about the *Archeus*, which was personified as a petulant being that was easily distracted and disturbed by foul ideas and images, causing illness and delaying recovery. Like Galenic cures which attempted to help *Nature* cure the disease, Helmontian cures also sought to aid the body’s

¹²⁹ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), p. 75.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹³¹ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 249.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹³³ Hannah Newton, “‘Nature Concocts and Expels’: The Agents and Processes of Recovery of Disease in Early Modern England”, *Social History of Medicine*, 28 (2015), 465-86 (p. 466).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 475-7.

natural processes, though in this case the goal was to strengthen the *Archeus* enough to resist the ideas that terrified it. Furthermore, Helmontians sought to ‘pacify and gratify’ the *Archeus* with pleasing, delicious remedies, so that it was distracted from dwelling on ideas of disease.¹³⁶ For Newton, the Helmontians’ retention of Nature as the healer of disease can be seen as another reason why Helmontian medicine failed to gain ascendancy over Galenism, ‘despite its promise to provide pleasant and effective remedies’.¹³⁷

By this point, this section has focused on the ways in which the Helmontian medicine of the Society of Chemical Physicians failed to create any real innovation in terms of plague theory. Instead, as I argue, Helmontians’ medicines were the true innovation.

However, some of these medicines did admittedly achieve the same ends. Although chemists rejected purging and bleeding,¹³⁸ many of their remedies purportedly healed diuretically or diaphoretically—that is, through urine or sweat. Most chemists continued to view sweating as the best way to cure a plague patient. Indeed, this belief is rooted in the writings of Paracelsus.¹³⁹ Paracelsus’ tactics for curing plague remained rooted in Galenic understanding of the disease as a poison to be expelled; instead, what stand out as progressive and different about chemical practice are the use of nonorganic, metallic ingredients and the chemical processes of distillation and calcination used in their preparation.

Table 3.2 shows the most-recommended ingredients in the pamphlets of the Society of Chemical Physicians. In this table, proprietary preparations are italicised, with the author who recommended them in brackets. This table shows that these practitioners overwhelmingly called for complex, nonorganic materials. These types of readymade medicines were increasingly important aspects of practical care during the Plague of 1665. Readymade, proprietary and commercially obtained medicines were increasing in recommendation and use over the course of the seventeenth century. The chemists galvanised this trend by offering readymade medicines which not only promised cure but also promised to be delicious and utterly pleasing to its takers.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 481-2.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 469.

¹³⁸ Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* Vol. 1, p. 367.

¹³⁹ Paracelsus, *An excellent treatise teaching howe to cure the French-pockes with all other diseases arising and growing thereof, and in a manner all other sicknesses*. (London, 1590; STC S108576), p. 20.

Table 3.2: Recommended Ingredients in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature Authored by Members of the Society of Chemical Physicians

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient
salt (spirit of)	18.8
<i>Tinctura Polyacaea (Thomson, Loimologia)</i>	18.8
amber (oil)	12.5
beer (small)	12.5
brimstone	18.8
Dr. Trigg's great Cordial, or Medicine against the Plague	12.5
elixir vitae	12.5
sulphur (common)	12.5
vinegar	12.5
acontium	6.3
amber	6.3
amulets	6.3
antimonium diaphoreticum	6.3
antimony	6.3
antimony (basalm)	6.3
beer (strong)	6.3
blood stone	6.3
brimstone (basalm)	6.3
brimstone (flour)	6.3
camphor	6.3
cinnabar (native)	6.3
<i>clear white liquor (Barker)</i>	6.3
coal	6.3
cress (bank)	6.3
cress (garden)	6.3
cress (water)	6.3
dittany	6.3
emerald	6.3
fig	6.3

Table 3.2
(Continued)

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient
Fuliginis (basalm)	6.3
ginger	6.3
horseradish	6.3
juniper	6.3
juniper (berries)	6.3
lawn (cloth)	6.3
mercury	6.3
mercury (crude)	6.3
napellus	6.3
opium	6.3
pitch (burgundy)	6.3
posset (urine)	6.3
<i>Pulvis Pestifugus (powder, Thomson)</i>	6.3
saffron (English)	6.3
salt (bay)	6.3
sapphire	6.3
sugar	6.3
sugar (candy)	6.3
sulphur	6.3
sulphur (flour)	6.3
sulphur (of Mars)	6.3
sulphur (oil, spirit of)	6.3
sulphur (oil)	6.3
tartar (salt)	6.3

Table 3.2
(Continued)

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient
tobacco (leaf)	6.3
tobacco	6.3
<i>Tutelares (pills, Thomson)</i>	6.3
venus (flowers)	6.3
viper	6.3
vitriol	6.3
wine (canary)	6.3
wine (malago)	6.3
wine (spirit of, tartarised)	6.3
wine (spirit of)	6.3
wine (sulphurated)	6.3
wine (white)	6.3

Total Number of Recipes Consulted: 24
Total Number of Ingredients in Consulted Recipes: 67

The list of ingredients here is markedly different from the Tudor and early Stuart tables analysed in Chapter Two (sections 2.4 to 2.7) and those for 1665 elaborated in Chapter Six (sections 6.2 to 6.5). What is remarkable here is the overwhelming majority of ingredients that would have had to be commercially obtained and overt proprietary preparations. The metals and minerals would have had to be purchased; even some of the most common ingredients were recommended with chemical preparations. Wine, for example, was recommended for use in sulphurated form and as spirits. Readymade medicines were included as well—the basalm of Fuliginis could be purchased from an apothecaries' shop. The chemists, George Thomson in particular, also prepared and advertised their own proprietary prophylactics. In discussing their plague remedies, these members of the Society of Chemical Physicians made it clear that the best cure was not kitchen physick, but that which was purchased from their shops. The intricate processes of chemistry, which iatrochemical practitioners saw as purifying and perfecting vegetable, animal and mineral ingredients, moved these preparations away from the kitchen and into retail spaces.

The Helmontians of the Society of Chemical Physicians, despite discussions of the *Archeus* and venomous atoms, were unable to truly transform the *theory* of plague; as Slack has observed, ‘They contributed little to a clearer understanding of the origins of plague’.¹⁴⁰ However, they certainly contributed to the rising popularity of premade medicines, which were of increasing importance to plague treatment during the Plague of 1665, as Chapters Five and Six further argue. However, it was precisely this development of the readymade medicine for plague that proved to be the Society’s downfall. As Chapter Two established, London already had a burgeoning market in proprietary medicines and drugs (section 2.8); in entering this marketplace with their own preparations, the Society was unable to distinguish themselves from irregular practitioners with similar wares. This inability was one potent factor in the Society’s failure to incorporate itself.

3.6 Pressure from Below

In order to fully explain the failure of the Society of Chemical Physicians, we need to reorient the Society in the competition between practitioners so apparent in the years leading up to 1665. Competition has always been at the heart of studies of the Society and of early modern chemistry more generally. Webster and Rattansi viewed the Society as a necessary innovation to address the medical needs of a London which, due to immigration, was splitting at the seams.¹⁴¹ Wear has concluded that patient power and expectations were significant factors in the failure of the ‘Helmontian Revolution’: simply put, patients accepted those parts of chemistry they liked and rejected those that they did not. Without the full support of the buyers, the Helmontians had no hope of achieving their revolution.¹⁴² In the following section I wish to develop Newman’s call that ‘The Society must be seen as an attempt to forestall the wholesale usurpation of Helmontian medicine both by empirics and by university doctors’.¹⁴³ I argue that the necessity of competition, and the chemical physicians’ inability to distinguish themselves from other irregular practitioners—most particularly those viewed as ‘quacks’ and ‘mountebanks’—contributed to their failure. This is evident not only in the struggles of Society members with quack physicians, recorded in another, smaller pamphlet war, but also in the ways in which the larger pamphlet war with the College of Physicians focused on and, indeed, was obsessed with, the concept of quackery; the depiction of the Society of Chemical Physicians as anti-establishment, moreover, was damning to their cause.

The quack was the bogeyman of Restoration medicine, if the writings of the College and Society of Chemical Physicians are to be believed. These irregular practitioners took a variety of forms, from the mountebanks who attracted buying crowds by performing on stage, to the sellers of wonder drugs, to the empirics who experimented without any formal or informal studies into chemistry or science. Quacks could be the meanest of irregular practitioners or employed by the

¹⁴⁰ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 248.

¹⁴¹ Webster, ‘English Medical Reformers’; Rattansi, ‘The Helmontian-Galenist Controversy’, p. 1.

¹⁴² Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 429.

¹⁴³ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 202.

aristocracy or the king.¹⁴⁴ The College was aware of and concerned with what they saw as a proliferation of quacks. The College's charter was intended to curtail

y^e number of unskillful [and] unlicensed practizers of this phisicke + y^e... abuses of diverse oth^e persons in p^eparing + ventinge of Druggs, Medicines, + oth^e things relating to phisicke have dayly increased to y^e great dishon^r of this Kingdome.¹⁴⁵

The authority of the College was further undermined by the establishment of the Royal Society, whose members seemed to support the premise of the Society of Chemical Physicians with their programme of experimental medicine which supported the new philosophy. The Royal Society also seemed to back the enterprise of quack drug sellers like Lionel Lockyer, who was invited to court in the early 1660s.¹⁴⁶ The Society itself, as well as other chemists at large were also aware of practitioners who claimed to be chemists but in fact sold remedies with Latinate names and 'sold mineral purgatives as wonder drugs'.¹⁴⁷ These practitioners took advantage of the fashion for chemical cures; however, not all of these cures were authentic.¹⁴⁸ Selling proprietary wonder drugs and elixirs could prove a lucrative trade, as shown in the case of Daffy's Elixir in the 1670s and 1680s; 'the production and distribution of a standard box of 12 half pints of Elixir worth 30s' cost roughly 8s9½d, leaving a 21s surplus.¹⁴⁹ The making, sale and marketing of proprietary drugs and nostrums flourished in seventeenth-century London, and behind it all, to the College, was the quack physician, eager to make a profit.

A problem presented itself in that the readymade medicines of the chemists were what was often the most appealing thing about employing them. Cook's study of military medicine during the reign of William III found that the admiralty's demands for quick cures and universal medicines that worked 'no matter the age, temperament, or circumstances of the patient' resulted in a flourishing of chemical medicine amongst military surgeons.¹⁵⁰ Mary Trye, the daughter of Society leader Thomas O'Dowde, recalled how during the plague, when she was quarantined after the death of her parents,

considerable persons petitione'd for the opening of the house again, though some of us still sick therein, that the urgent necessities of the sick might have that relief they so much wanted... with what conveniencies I could, I convey'd Medicines to many of those that wanted.¹⁵¹

Other chapters of this thesis—including Chapters Two (sections 2.4 to 2.9), Five (sections 5.3 to 5.7) and Six (sections 6.2 to 6.8) cover the increasing demand of seventeenth-century London for

¹⁴⁴ Sloan, *English Medicine*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ BL, Sloane MS 3914, 100.

¹⁴⁶ Cook, 'Institutional Structures', p. 104.

¹⁴⁷ Moran, 'A Survey of Chemical Medicine', p. 122.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁹ David Boyd Haycock and Patrick Wallis eds., 'Quackery and Commerce in Seventeenth-Century London: The Proprietary Medicine Business of Anthony Daffy', *Medical History Supplement 25* (2005), p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Harold J. Cook, 'Practical Medicine and the British Armed Forces After the "Glorious Revolution"', *Medical History* 34 (1996), 1-26 (pp. 1-13).

¹⁵¹ Mary Trye, *Medicatrix, or The woman-physician vindicating Thomas O'Dowde, a chymical physician and royal licentiate, and chymistry against the calumnies and abusive reflections of Henry Stubbe* (London: 1675; STC2 R25832), p. 59.

readymade medicines. This was a trend inspired and fed by the penetration of iatrochemical theories and therapies into traditional medicine.

However, it was notoriously difficult to ensure that one was purchasing an authentic chemical cure. Society member George Starkey was the focus of a number of disputes with the sellers of wonder drugs in the early 1660s. The first dispute took place with Richard Mathews, the seller of a purported panacea; the second with Lionel Lockyer, maker and seller of what was perhaps Restoration London's most famous proprietary medicine. These disputes show that it was a simple thing for a quack to dupe chemical medicines, cheapening the value of authentic cures available in the medical economy.

For example, in 1660 Richard Mathews published his pamphlet *The Unlearned Alchymist* which was in part an advertisement for his proprietary pill.¹⁵² Mathew's pill achieved cure through sweating and urine and could cure an impressive array of diseases and complaints including wind, stone, gravel, gout, cough, fevers, headache, toothache, fluxes¹⁵³ and indeed 'doth heal above belief' so well that 'great pains and grief they have had for some years' could be effectively cured.¹⁵⁴ The pamphlet also included a list of 150 testimonials lauding the efficacy of Mathew's pill from his patients and clients near the Tower and Limehouse.¹⁵⁵ Mathews' panacea was clearly very popular and had acquired an impressive reputation.

The problem was that Starkey believed that Mathews had stolen the recipe he used to create his wonder pill from him, and said as much in his pamphlet *George Starkey's Pill Vindicated*, a response to *The Unlearned Alchymist*. Even though Mathews refused to publish his recipe for the pill, Starkey confidently and explicitly stated, 'That the pill of Mr. *Richard Matthews*, was in truth mine, and that he had the receipt from me... The universality of it, was but a mistake in the unlearned Alchymist'.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the sophistication of his own remedies should be enough to convince his readers that they should seek out his medicines rather than those of Richard Mathews and his ilk.¹⁵⁷ Starkey's pill was further vindicated by George Kendall's *An appendix to The unlearned alchymist*. Kendall, a student of Starkey's, had convinced Jonathan Loddington, a friend of Mathews, to come forward with what he knew of the debate. Loddington relates the story of how, shortly before his death, Mathews confided in him 'his mind about the publishing his Pill and gave... some order about it, if he should not live to do it himself'.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, Kendall was pleased to confirm that based on Loddington's description of the making of

¹⁵² Richard Mathews, *The unlearned alchymist his antidote, or, A more full and ample explanation of the use, virtue and benefit of my pill, entituled, An effectual diaphoretick, diuretick, purgeth by sweating, urin* (London: 1660; STC2 R214133).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4-87.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-8.

¹⁵⁶ George Starkey, *George Starkey's pill vindicated from the unlearned alchymist and all other pretenders with a brief account of other excellent, specific remedies of extraordinary virtue for the honour and vindication of pyrotechny* (London: 1660; STC2 R292), 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Jonathan Loddington in George Kendall, *An appendix to The unlearned alchymist wherein is contained the true receipt of that excellent diaphoretick and diuretick pill, purging by sweat and urine, commonly known by the name of Matthew's Pill* (London: 1664; STC2 R8493), Epistle.

the pill, it was clearly based on ‘a receipt ... committed to the custody of Mr. *Richard Mathews*, in the year 1655, by Mr. *George Starkey* the first that found it out’.¹⁵⁹ Members of the Society of Chemical Physicians suffered because of their early associations with quacks and ‘unlearned’ chemists, but more because the readymade specific medicines which they popularised were so easily replicated for mass consumption.

Starkey’s next dispute was even larger in scale, as it was with Restoration London’s most famous quack, Lionel Lockyer. Lockyer made, marketed and sold his own incredibly popular proprietary pills, which he called ‘pillulae radis solis extractae’.¹⁶⁰ These pills were recommended for all chronic disorders and were to be taken in large doses. Two were to be taken the first morning on an empty stomach; the dosage was to be increased by one every day ‘until you come to five or six Pills’, after which this amount was to be maintained for three days, followed by one day’s rest, after which the entire dosing process was to begin again.¹⁶¹ However, even by the time this advertisement was published, there were already rumours about the pill’s provenance and ingredients. Lockyer defended it, writing,

I understand also by some Persons, that there are great Disputes and Conjectures amongst men, what my Pill is made of, Some say it is made of *Turpenthum Minerals*, Others, of *Sulphur of Antimony*, and some say it is made of *Crude Mercury* or *Quick-silver*: But not one grain of *Either* of these did I ever use to the making of my Pill... It matters not what its made of it being so safe and harmeless that *Women* with child do constantly take them, and much good they find by them.¹⁶²

These critics were ‘asham’d to own their *Own* names’ and thus should be discounted.¹⁶³ In this case, no recipe of Starkey’s had been duped, but he felt obligated to voice his own opinion in order to defend chemistry from the quackery of Lockyer. Starkey was merciless, calling Lockyer a ‘Silly Cheat’ with ‘false Latine’ and moreover ‘a pitiful, creeping, dirty thing in Addressing your selfe... by the Title of *Honoured Doctor*’.¹⁶⁴ He concluded that the pill was ‘at best but a Crocus of *Antimony*’¹⁶⁵ which over time would result in heavy metal poisoning.¹⁶⁶

The problem seen in Starkey’s disputes is that the popular parts of chemical medicine—like readymade medicines with multiple uses—were easily imitated. Moreover, in their claims that true learning was sourced in observation and experimentation, the Society of Chemical Physicians undermined the barrier of formal learning that had traditionally stood between licensed and unlicensed physicians. The anxieties of both the College, who viewed members of the Society as quacks, and the Society, who viewed those unlicensed practitioners who aped their chemical

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Lionel Lockyer, *An advertisement, concerning those most excellent pills called pillulae radijs solis extractae*. (London: 1664; STC2 R222234), p. 1.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-3.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁴ George Starkey, *A smart scourge for a silly, sawcy fool being an answer to a letter, at the end of a pamphlet of Lionell Lockyer* (London: 1665; STC2 R770), p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ George Starkey, *A brief examination and censure of several medicines of late years* (London: 1664; STC2 R457), p. 17.

¹⁶⁶ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 198.

learning and preparations as quacks, are clearly exposed by a closer reading of the pamphlets of the 1664-1666 pamphlet war.

Negative notions of ‘quackery’ and ‘empiricism’ were central to the debate of the pamphlet war. The inclusion of this type of abusive language by the College cannot be ignored. Previous studies of the Society have overlooked the extent to which these pamphlets served as a way for Society members to defend against and to dispel the stain of quackery. Chemist Richard Barker expressed concerns about ‘The great Abuse of many who pretend the Publick Good, when as indeed their chief aim is only their private Interest’¹⁶⁷—that is, quacks who would sell any remedy to the willing buyer instead of the best-suited remedy. He and many other members of the Society sought to distinguish themselves from quacks by expressing their Christian desire to serve England with the very best and purest cures, therapies and medicines. Thomson complained that one of the major criticisms against the Society was the fact that ‘many ignorant Empiricks make use of Chymical preparations, to the destruction of many credulous persons’.¹⁶⁸ A major issue, however, lay in the fact that some of the Society’s chemists—Marchamont Nedham in particular—garnered their medical knowledge and practice from the very quacks from whom they were so keen to distance themselves.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, the College was very successful in portraying the Society as the latest in London’s rowdy crowd of quacks and mountebanks. College chemist William Johnson wrote of George Thomson that he appeared ‘in the head of this band [the quacks] himself, impudently bidding defiance to the Doctors’.¹⁷⁰

The chemists were also like quacks in their adherence to universal medicines—something that was particularly associated with quack medicine sellers like Lockyer. In later years, Society chemist Everard Maynwaringe wrote of his ‘Catholic medicine’ by which he meant a medicine that could be used in all cases regardless of the patient’s complaints, disease, age or temperament.¹⁷¹ In this matter, the Society also behaved like quacks, contesting the efficacy of their cures and condemning all others. Collegiate physician John Twysden quipped that ‘every one pretended himself to be the most skilful and possessed of the most Universal Medicine of any other. One pretends to have a universal powder, another a Salt, another an Oyl, a fourth a Spirit, and he that is possessed of one of these, shall generally as much decry the rest’.¹⁷² The Society’s rhetoric was very like that of London’s quacks.

The Society’s insistence that observation and experimentation, rather than university learning or apprenticeships, were the keys to true knowledge and mastery of the medical art only added to the College’s case against it. Nedham had asserted that,

¹⁶⁷ Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilientiale* (STC2 R28348), dedicatory epistle.

¹⁶⁸ Thomson, *Galeno-pale* (STC2 R33830), p. 38.

¹⁶⁹ John Twysden, *Medicina veterum vindicata, or, An answer to a book, entitled Medela medicinae in which the ancient method and rules are defended* (London: 1666; STC2 R20872), p. 20.

¹⁷⁰ Johnson, *Agyrto-mastix*, (STC2 R43321), p. 10.

¹⁷¹ Everard Maynwaringe, *The catholic medicine, and soverain healer rectifying and assisting the depraved functions, of infirm and diseased bodies : for reducing and curing in all cases* (London: 1684; STC2 R18244).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

it were happy for us, if all the great Lords, and Gentlemen of *England*, would (as the King himself, and divers of the Nobility, have given an excellent example) erect Laboratories of their own, and spend time in the invention of Remedies more sufficient, and of a Philosophy more conducive, to cure the Diseases of this Age; for, then those noble Personages finding by experience, how much more of worth and use is attainable, beyond what is contained in the *Galenists* Books[.]¹⁷³

However, this was not the case. This is not to say that the College was the learned society it aspired to be; Pelling has convincingly argued that ‘The existence of the poachers-turned-gamekeepers, and the relatively high proportions of them in the College as a whole, imply a lack of real difference in educational attainment between Fellows and a significant number of outsiders’.¹⁷⁴ However, the Society’s failure to create some sort of solid distinction between the expertise of its members and the observational knowledge of laypeople and other irregular practitioners are what, ultimately, led to its failure. Thomson alone of the Society seemed worried about this lack of distinction. He wrote that

’Tis not a good Medicine, purchased we know not how, or stumbled upon by some ridiculous chance, that makes a real Philosopher, nor multiplicity of Furnaces, contrived on purpose to get a fame in the world, but undeniable and stable Principles, that enoble an *Adeptus*, or son of Art. Let not therefore any blinde *Bayard*, that wants the discretion to hold the Reins of *Phebus* his Steeds, presume to drive the *Solar Chariot* of *Pyrotechnie*, lest instead of cherishing and illuminating the World, he bring all into confusion and combustion, as some *Pseudochymists* among us of late have endeavoured.¹⁷⁵

However, no plan was put into place to educate or place any real restrictions upon membership in the Society of Chemical Physicians. This lack of boundaries, in combination with the fact that the Society’s medicines were often universal, like common quack medicines, and that the Society communicated during the pamphlet war like quacks made them very difficult to distinguish from each other.

It is also important to consider that, according to the College, the Society failed because of its quackery, of which they were accused at their audience with the King. Perhaps it is significant that Thomson, O’Dowde and Nedham were the attendees; O’Dowde and Nedham both admitted to being self-taught, relying on observation and experimentation for the learning. One can only imagine that the King, who had supported the charter of the College of Physicians in protecting the nation against the medicines of quacks, would not have been impressed by their resume. The Society suffered because of espousal of experimentation as the ultimate epistemological tool. The inability of the Society to build in some sort of bulwark between its new proposed professional society and the larger populace, laypeople, irregular practitioners and quacks alike, led to its failure.

The breakdown of the Society of Chemical Physicians was no doubt due in part to the deaths of many of its members, but its failure to gain the approval of Charles II was likely due to

¹⁷³ Nedham in Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, p. 142.

¹⁷⁵ Thomson, *Galeno-pale* (STC2 R33830), p. 106.

seventeenth-century ideas of quackery. Society members' inability to adequately distinguish themselves from London's hordes of irregular medical practitioners and nostrum-sellers played an important part in the Society's failure. We have seen here, through the examples of George Starkey's public, published disputes with Richard Mathews and Lionel Lockyer, that the true innovation of the chemists—the readymade pills and potions they made and sold—was easily emulated and replicated. This 'pressure from below' was exploited by the College of Physicians in their pamphlet war with the chemists; defenders of the College pointed out the similar rhetoric used by each group. Indeed, in Starkey's defence of chemistry against quackery, we see a mirror image of the College's defence of their corporation against the Society. The College, which at the time of the Plague and pamphlet war was making keen attempts to consolidate its censorial rights against other medical practitioners, expertly utilised the language of anti-quackery to procure the disapproval of the King, who understood the Society's protests against the College as anti-establishment, something that smacked heavily Interregnum anti-establishment rhetoric. The Society's failed audience with the King heralded their failure, one that was compounded by the plague deaths of many of its strongest defenders.

3.7 Conclusion

In outlining the history of the Society of Chemical Physicians, this chapter has attempted to summarise the Society's contributions to plague medicine. It has, first and foremost, been argued that the failure of the Society of Chemical Physicians must be understood in the context of early modern London's medical economy of practitioners; in particular, the College of Physicians deftly manipulated the government's growing anxiety about the marketing and sale of proprietary medicines by quacks. Indeed, the anti-establishment creed of Helmontian medicine was inherently problematic to a King who had only been restored to his throne five years before. This quackery discourse, as well as the deaths of many of its members of plague during the 1665 epidemic, spelled disaster for the Society.

While the Society ultimately failed because of its disastrous audience with Charles II, we must read this failure in its context, with the College desperately scrabbling for power and chemists suffering in their attempts to adequately differentiate themselves from quacks in order to gain an edge in London's medical economy. Just as its members considered the inclusion of chemical medicines and therapies into the Galenic practices of Collegiate physicians a threat, the Society of Chemical Physicians were as concerned about the disrepute brought about by the chemical claims made by London's quack physicians and medicine sellers. In addition to explanations of the Society's failure given by other historians—the termination of its favour at court, the deaths of several of its members after the triumphant and disastrous plague anatomy, the unpopularity of chemical medicines in the long run—this chapter has established that not only were chemical medicines very popular during the plague of 1665, but also that it was the very popularity of these readymade proprietary medicines contributed to the Society's failure. Where other historians have seen the contributions of the Society of Chemical Physicians and other

chemists as no real innovations at all, the chemists in fact made important contributions to the intellectual climate during the Plague of 1665. The most significant of these was their championing of the readymade medicine. The Society failed to differentiate itself enough from other chemical experimenters, irregular practitioners and medicine sellers in the city. This not only meant that Londoners—their base of potential patients—did not see them as innovative or necessary, but also that at a time when the King and College of Physicians were particularly sensitive to the problem of quackery, they were especially susceptible to the attacks of a group which, though diminished in its authority, was still already chartered and firmly entrenched in early modern London's medical economy.

The previous two chapters have formed Part One of this thesis, covering both traditional Galenic responses to the disease as practised during the Tudor and early Stuart periods, but also showing how this system of long-standing practice and belief came under assault with the influx of militant iatrochemistry, in the form of Helmontianism, into England. The following part will detail the medical responses of the Great Plague of 1665, including vernacular medical print, medicines and drugs and public health.

Part Two:
Medical Responses in 1665

Chapter Four

Plague in Print: The Print Culture of the Great Plague's Vernacular Medical Literature

4.1 Introduction

By the time the *Bills of Mortality* began to report plague deaths in late 1664 and early 1665, there was a long-standing discourse about the disease which understood it in the context of traditional Galenic medicine. Chapter Two (sections 2.3 to 2.7) describes how this discourse was furthered in printed literature about plague with a particular focus on the recipes and ingredients recommended by plague writers. Though the ingredients which made up these remedies were diverse, they were often sudorific in nature, rooted in a centuries-long understanding of the disease as a poison to be expelled. I have observed the trend towards readymade and commercially obtained drugs and ingredients from the beginning of the seventeenth century, an innovation in plague medicine. This trend for the readymade, particularly in the form of waters, is echoed in manuscript recipe collections. Chemical ingredients and receipts were incorporated into this traditional understanding in a harmonious marriage of the two medical systems.

However, 1665 saw a departure from the gradual piece-by-piece inclusion of chemical beliefs into the existing Galenic discourse. Helmontians, spurred on by the anti-establishment rhetoric of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, argued that iatrochemistry should wholly replace Galenism as the prevalent form of medical belief and practice. Some of them came together and petitioned for incorporation as the Society of Chemicall Physicians. However, competition within London's medical economy, the College of Physicians' successful imaging of members of the Society as 'quacks', a disastrous audience with the King and the deaths of so many of its members during the 1665 epidemic meant that the Society's bid was doomed for failure. However, it is important to remember that at the time of the Plague of 1665, Helmontianism was at the height of its influence in England and, as will be seen in Chapters Five (sections 5.2 to 5.7) and Six (sections 6.2 to 6.8), had a marked influence on the *materia medica* recommended in response to plague.

Part One has provided an important framework for Part Two of my thesis. Chapter Two performed the essential task of describing the state of plague medicine before the outbreak of plague in 1665, allowing for comparisons to be made in Part Two, while Chapter Three showed how the contest between Helmontian and Galenic medical practitioners aided to popularise the readymade medicine for plague. Part Two, which starts with this chapter, will describe medical responses to the 1665 epidemic. Chapter Four covers vernacular medical print, Chapters Five and Six discuss medicines and medical ingredients and Chapter Seven focuses on public health.

The correspondence of John Allin shows how early modern Londoners engaged with and were avid consumers of the printed word. Indeed, London itself was a city that seemed to be made of print, with printed advertisements nailed and affixed to every available space, not only in

public areas but also on the doorposts of the houses.¹ Print was everywhere one looked and available across the city from booksellers and mercury women, street vendors of cheap print like ballads and broadsheets.² Literacy rates were higher than ever before; London's population had a particularly high rate of literacy, with 70% of even those of the lower orders demonstrating the ability to read.³ Print was offered in a large variety of forms, from printed sermons, almanacs, traveller's tales, strange news, medical advice, political commentaries, law books, advice on farming and keeping a household and a number of other genres.

Allin's letters show an on-going engagement with London's print world. For example, he kept tabs on the controversy between irregular peddlers of proprietary physick and his old friend George Starkey (see section 3.6); on 20 November 1663 he shared his copy of Mathew's pamphlet with Philip Fryth along with a brief account of its contents⁴ while in April 1665 he shared a copy of Lockyer's pamphlet.⁵ In January 1666 he sent Fryth two almanacs⁶ and in January 1667 three more.⁷ He also regularly sent Fryth copies of the London Gazette, a publication which Allin himself used to track goings-on in the metropolis. He regularly sent Fryth books and pamphlets from London⁸ and Fryth himself sent Allin books from the library he'd left in Rye.⁹

Allin was even a writer himself. In September 1665, convinced that he would die of the plague tearing through the ranks of his neighbours and friends, Allin confided in Fryth his will, leaving his books to his own son; Fryth, however, was left Allin's 'little booke now written' (for more see section 5.1).¹⁰ There was more than just this book; in the same month that he wrote his will, Allin wrote about 'the bookes I intended for y^e presse, a stationer is to come tomorrow morning to my chamber to see them & treat me about the printeing of them'.¹¹ Moreover, he mentioned visits to the printer Livewell Chapman¹² and the almanac writer John Booker.¹³ Allin was not just a consumer of print, but was also interested in its production.

As a Londoner during the 1665 epidemic, Allin had access to and read vernacular medical plague literature; he refers to 'a freind that had D^r Cockes paper—w^{ch} I gave 3d for'.¹⁴ This paper appears to have been Thomas Cock's *Advice for the poor by way of cure and caution* (discussed

¹ Tiffany Stern, "'On each Wall and Corner Post': Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London", *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 57-85 (p. 80).

² Jenner, 'Plague on a Page', p. 265.

³ Anna Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 32.

⁴ ESRO, FRE 5423 (20 November 1663).

⁵ ESRO, FRE 5446 (14 April 1665).

⁶ ESRO, FRE 5496 (9 January 1666).

⁷ ESRO, FRE 5549 (19 January 1665).

⁸ See for example ESRO, FRE 5427, (29 December 1664) in which Allin asks Fryth to return his copy of a book he called 'Tutola Sanitatis'.

⁹ ESRO, FRE 5425 (23 December 1664).

¹⁰ ESRO, FRE 5465 (7 September 1665).

¹¹ ESRO, FRE 5466 (14 September 1665).

¹² ESRO, FRE 5496 (9 January 1666).

¹³ ESRO, FRE 5548 (27 October 1666).

¹⁴ ESRO, FRE 5548 (27 October 1666).

further in section 4.6).¹⁵ Allin's involvement with books can be summarised in his reassurance to Fryth that 'Bookes [and] Almanackes sell so well... that w^{ch} can be gotten you shall have'.¹⁶

Given that Londoners like Allin were so thoroughly entangled in the world of print, when epidemic plague threatened—in 1665 or in any of London's previous plague years—the metropolis' publishers and printers leapt into action. During an outbreak, print about this widely feared disease was in demand and, thus, lucrative, as this chapter argues. Stephen Porter observed that 46 publications concerned with plague appeared over the course of the 1665 to 1666 epidemic in London.¹⁷ My description of the print culture of 1665 concerns itself particularly with the pamphlets, books and broadsheets produced in response to plague that were written in English and focused on disseminating medical information about the disease, including theories of the nature, cause and treatment of the disease. In doing so, this chapter focuses on several major questions. How was vernacular medical literature about the plague produced? What did it look like? What choices informed the layout and look of these works? In what numbers were they produced (section 4.4)? Who commissioned them, and where could they be purchased? What types of printers and booksellers produced them—that is, were there specialists in the print trade for this type of literature? Were works on plague produced by already-established partnerships between printers, booksellers and medical practitioners? What were their motives for printing works that would likely only be in demand for a year or so (section 4.5)?

Previous work on vernacular medical literature about plague is surprisingly narrow considering the attention devoted to it by historians. These previous works fit neatly into three categories: those works which have summarised and analysed the content of the treatises and tracts¹⁸ and those which provide literary analysis of this content.¹⁹ Kathleen Miller has inspected a wide array of writing produced in response to the plague epidemic, including letter- and life-writing along with explorations of medical and religious print.²⁰ However, her discussion of 1665's medical literature is restricted to the pamphlet war between the chemists and Galenists discussed in Chapter Three. This chapter seeks neither to summarise the content of plague print nor to analyse its literary merits and meanings, but rather to construct a print culture and the networks of creators of the vernacular medical plague literature produced in response to the Great Plague of 1665. This study limits its scope to this specific set of literature for practicality's sake, but there is opportunity for further work to be done constructing printers' networks and choices

¹⁵ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569).

¹⁶ ESRO, FRE 5496 (9 January 1666).

¹⁷ Porter, *The Great Plague*, p. 41.

¹⁸ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 158-171; Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, pp. 95-110; Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, pp. 244-254; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 275-353.

¹⁹ Ernest B. Gilman, *Plague Writing in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Margaret Healy, *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues and Politics* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001); Colin Jones, 'Plague and Its Metaphors in Early Modern France', *Representations*, 53 (1996), 97-127; Ian Munro, 'The City and Its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance*, 30:2 (2000), 241-61; Whitney, Charles, 'Dekker's and Middleton's Plague Pamphlets as Environmental Literature' in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England* ed. by Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2011), 201-18.

²⁰ Miller, *The Literary Culture of Plague*.

not only for vernacular medical literature about plague over the course of the entire early modern period but also to incorporate other subsets of plague literature—the printed sermons, the government orders, the commemorative poems—and to provide comparison.

This study, however, does build upon a third subset of literature that has opened a discourse about the print culture of some of the print produced in reaction to epidemic plague. Rebecca Totaro includes ‘Plague Remedies’ as one genre among many influenced by the consistent threat of plague during the Tudor period, including remedies, prayers, literature, orders and bills.²¹ These vernacular remedy collections, she observes, were the product of ‘An infusion of classical and continental medical knowledge’ which ‘coincided with an increase in the population and the number of licensed and unlicensed practitioners contributing to the medical marketplace in early modern London’.²² Paul’s Slack’s keystone study of Tudor vernacular medical literature discussed the general trends in these types of publications, including a short discussion of plague print;²³ Mary Fissel has done the same for the seventeenth century.²⁴ Both these studies included short discussions of the production of plague pamphlets, largely observing that the production of this print spiked during each of London’s plague epidemics.²⁵ Other works have scrutinised the print culture of specific types of plague print. These have largely focused on the *Bills of Mortality*, seeing the *Bills* as a printed public health measure which enabled Londoners to track illness and disease through their city.²⁶ The final work which this study builds upon is Mark Jenner’s study of the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets produced during the 1625, 1636 and 1665 outbreaks of plague, which argues that historians should focus on the numerical and pictorial as well as the textual in their assessments of these texts. My own work on the subject of the print culture of medical vernacular print about plague article is, I hope, important in that it discusses not only the content, layout and imagery of these broadsheets and pamphlets but also the printers that produced them.²⁷

The research in this chapter is based on a selective *corpus* of printed works published over the course of 1665 to 1666 that were determined to be both written in the vernacular and primarily medical in nature. These pamphlets were selected from a search in the English Short Title Catalogue for ‘plague’ and ‘pestilence’ in the titles of publications; from there, I surveyed the results to determine whether they were primarily medical in nature. If they discussed

²¹ Rebecca Totaro, *The Plague in Print: Essential Elizabeth Sources, 1558-1603* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2010).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²³ Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health’, 237-274.

²⁴ Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, 108-132; Mary Fissel, ‘Popular Medical Writing’ in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 418-31.

²⁵ Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health’, p. 243; Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, p. 118.

²⁶ Stephen J. Greenberg, ‘The “Dreadful Visitation”: Public Health and Public Awareness in Seventeenth-Century London,’ *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 85 (1997), 391-401; Stephen Greenberg, ‘Plague, the Printing Press and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 508-527.

Erin Sullivan, ‘Physical and Spiritual Illness: Narrative Appropriations of the Bills of Mortality’ in *Representing the Plague*, 79-94.

²⁷ Jenner, ‘Plague on a Page’, p. 275.

perceived causes for the disease, along with potential preventatives and cures; included lists of recipes for plague; incorporated advertisements for proprietary medicines for plague, they were deemed as medical. Thus, this chapter bases its discussion on the 24 distinct works and 32 editions of plague vernacular medical literature published over the course of 1665 to 1666. A full list of this literature can be found in Appendix 4.1.

What emerges from this study is the clearly commercial nature of this type of print. The printed works in question were written by both licensed and unlicensed medical practitioners in the hope that their name would reach consumers; likewise, these works were the continuation of an identifiable genre produced as an important resort of London's book trade in the face of the economic disruption caused by the outbreak of plague. Plague pamphlets played a role as an integral part of London's medical economy during plague years. Moreover, the research in this chapter supports Andrew Wear's argument that vernacular medical literature—including works on plague—led to a more open, popularised form of medicine, in that the 'literature of medicine was accessible to those who were not trained in medicine'.²⁸ Thus, by 1665, the plague pamphlet had emerged as an effective mix of information and promotion, printed in an ephemeral format that ensured the next plague year could see a re-issue of this print. Thus, the research in this chapter also supports Alexandra Halasz's argument that

the early modern marketplace of print makes possible two equally important but quite different kinds of claims: that printed texts offered the possibility of widened access to discourses that have enduring cultural value, and that printed texts offer topical information or ephemeral pleasures on a regularly renewed basis.²⁹

The printed medical literature of plague, as will be discussed, was a resource which provided information of immediate importance during epidemics of plague but was also ephemeral—on purpose, to ensure a return on investment for publishers and ensure profit. This print also performed the dual purpose of advertisement and the communication of medical knowledge, effectively widening access to medical knowledge. This research—particularly its observation that plague print was often a form of advertisement—also reflects the commercialised and commodified nature of plague medicine. This chapter's final argument is that these plague works were printed for use, and used they were; readers digested, applied and questioned the information included, as selections from John Allin's letters will show.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the background of both vernacular medical publishing (section 4.2) and the state of the print trade in Restoration London (section 4.3) before launching into the trends and features of plague pamphleteering in 1665 (section 4.4) and constructing a network of printers and booksellers participating in plague print (section 4.5); this chapter closes with a consideration of how plague pamphlets were obtained, read, questioned, digested and used (section 4.6).

²⁸ Andrew Wear, 'The Popularization of Medicine in Early Modern England' in *The Popularization of Medicine 1650-1850* ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 17-42, p. 20.

²⁹ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 15.

4.2 Background of Medical Publishing

As has been noted above (see sections 1.3 and 2.1), 1665 was the last major plague year in a succession that had spanned more than three centuries. Over the course of the early modern period, each successive epidemic saw a growing demand for literature disseminating knowledge about the plague. Slack has established the desire for medical works about plague as representing 15 per cent of all Tudor medical publishing.³⁰ Fissel has echoed this claim: ‘The very earliest popular medical books were about plague, with seven editions up to 1520, while such books comprised 9 per cent of titles from the beginning of print up to 1660.’³¹ Just as in-demand were religious explanations of plague, in both treatises and published sermons. Medical and religious discourses were inextricably linked in early modern medicine, as religious writers used the language of medicine to provide people with ‘a structured way of thinking about the effects of sin’³² and medical writers acknowledged their God as the all-powerful mover of the disease. While medical writers nearly always included observations on religion and the need for humility and repentance, religious writers only occasionally stressed the importance of physick in seeking a cure for plague.

An increasing want for printed literature about the plague is evident from the birth of the *Bills of Mortality*, which were not regularly produced until the very end of the sixteenth century. Thomas Cromwell's 1538 edict requiring the recording of births, marriages, and deaths in each parish was only regularly kept by the 1560s. These records were sent to London's officials and Elizabeth I's privy council; by the 1590s, deaths were occasionally reported on a citywide level in the *Bills of Mortality*, which described the numbers dead of what causes. The desire to track plague and its growth, locality, and progress through London played a central role in ‘attempts at citywide record keeping’.³³ These attempts proved successful: by 1603, two separate printing presses were producing 5,000 to 6,000 copies a week, which could be purchased for the paltry price of one penny each. Low cost assured that most London citizens were frequent consumers of the Bills.³⁴

Greenberg has established that, based on the extent to which they were printed and disseminated, the *Bills* were one of the most profitable forms of print which resulted from London's plague epidemics. In an environment in which occasional endemic cases could spiral into devastating epidemics, the greatest demand for information about plague was for the figures Londoners could use to track the progress of the disease. Because of this demand, the *Bills of Mortality* were the most systematically produced—and indeed, one of the *only* systematically

³⁰ Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health’, p. 243.

³¹ Fissel, ‘Popular Medical Writing’, p. 423.

³² Sullivan, ‘Physical and Spiritual Illness’, p. 85.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

produced—forms of print which responded to plague.³⁵ Other forms of print were also common and expected features of each of London’s early modern plague epidemics, as with each outbreak, presses poured out plague orders (basic public health precautions), sermons, and bills of mortality, offering civic and spiritual means for avoiding the plague balanced by quantitative accounts of an epidemic’s effects.³⁶

Another important feature of this trade in print about plague were works—short or long but most usually under 30 pages—written in English and devoted to sharing methods of preventing and curing the disease. These medical vernacular plague tracts were a vibrant and particular category of the print marketplace. Historians have commented on the extent to which classical Galenic texts were published in vernacular languages.³⁷ As Pettegree has asserted, ‘Those who could spent freely in the search for health, cure and pain relief’.³⁸ Plague literature was intensive and reflected changes in medical thought as Paracelsian and other chemical ideas infiltrated established Galenic medicine. These works were particularly concerned with disseminating ideas about the cause and treatment of the plague.³⁹ As Wear put it, these works of vernacular literature, ‘digested, popularized, and made accessible the classical works of Hippocrates and Galen’ which suggested ‘a model of medical knowledge coming down in a diluted form from the top to the reading public.’⁴⁰ Moreover, these works of medical print played an important role in the medical marketplace. This print played a ‘vital role’ in ‘eroding and eliding carefully constructed medical hierarchies. Through their printed books the unfashionable, heretical or simply untrained could reach out directly to their audience.’⁴¹

However, medical plague literature’s primary purpose was to communicate essential knowledge about plague, often sharing its perceived causes and methods of diagnosis before providing hope for prevention and cure in the form of recipes. Communicating this medical knowledge was their main function. Section 2.3 will, among other things, have adequately shown that the disease’s cause, prevention and cure were the main focuses of this vernacular medical plague literature. The literature explored in this chapter supports Fissel’s observation that recipe books were the hot sellers of the vernacular medical print trade after from the 1650s onwards.⁴² Occasionally, this literature was also promotional in nature, as will be discussed below (section 4.4). My analysis of printed vernacular literature of plague echoes Fissel’s argument of all vernacular medical literature: ‘These books and pamphlets, as I have suggested, were neither purely informational nor purely promotional but an extremely successful hybrid of the two.’⁴³

³⁵ Greenberg, ‘Plague, the Printing Press and Public Health’, p. 510.

³⁶ Fissel, ‘Popular Medical Writing’, pp. 423-424.

³⁷ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 300.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-3.

⁴⁰ Wear, ‘The Popularization of Medicine’, p. 19.

⁴¹ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 314.

⁴² Fissel, ‘Popular Medical Writing’, p. 429.

⁴³ Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, p. 126.

Plague print was an important aspect of the vernacular medical print trade. There was a roaring trade in information about the human body, its ailments and possible remedies and cures. In epidemic years, this carried over to a demand for print about plague. The *Bills of Mortality* were perhaps the most immediate satisfaction of this craving. However, over the course of any plague year, a number of vernacular medical works about plague would be produced in response to demand. The next section will give a brief background of the print trade, providing explanations for the burgeoning of print after the Civil War and a framework for a discussion of plague pamphlets in 1665.

4.3 Background on Print Trade

The business of books in the early modern period was a risky one.⁴⁴ The production and sale of a book or any printed work involved four major players: the author, the publisher (or patron), the printer and the bookseller. Authors—often medical practitioners, in the case of plague print—got little in return for their work besides the advertisement of their name, as a majority of the profits went to the other players in the print trade; the publisher, not the author, had the legal rights to the work.⁴⁵ Publishers were the money behind the production of a printed work, those who invested their capital into producing a print run of a work with the expectation of a return on this investment.⁴⁶ Often, publishers were also the printer or the seller of this same work, although there are many cases in which interested parties, including wealthy merchants, also invested their capital in this manner.⁴⁷ These men took an active interest and role in ‘collecting and distributing knowledge’.⁴⁸

Producing a printed work required decisions to be made by those involved. These decisions included what types and genres of books to bring to the market (a choice informed by what was most in demand and would thus bring in the most profit) and how many copies of a particular work should be produced.⁴⁹ These decisions extended down to materials as well, as paper quality and ‘the size, variety and quality of its types’ was deliberated upon.⁵⁰ After the master printer had made these choices about the type, form and format of the work, it was then committed to the page in a complex process which involved several additional print workers, including a compositor who set the type,⁵¹ a beater who inked it and a puller who laid blank pages

⁴⁴ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 73.

⁴⁵ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 183.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁴⁷ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Catherine Armstrong, ‘The Bookseller and the Pedlar: the Spread of Knowledge of the New World in Early Modern England’ in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500* ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2005), 15-29 (p. 18).

⁴⁹ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 69-71.

⁵⁰ D. F. McKenzie, ‘Printing and Publishing 1557-1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades’ in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4 1557-1695* ed. by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie with Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 553-67 (p. 556).

⁵¹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 41-46.

on the press.⁵² These pages were then folded together to make groups of leaves.⁵³ Any combination of page numbers, catchwords and signatures were printed on each sheet to aid in the matching-up and folding of sheets into larger works.⁵⁴ Binding, however, was separate from the print trade; cheaper print was left merely folded before sale.⁵⁵ After new print was gathered and folded into bundles it was shipped to the booksellers. These booksellers could then sell all or only a portion of the copies himself. Extra copies could also be passed on to more itinerant sellers like mercury women, peddlers, hawkers and chapmen, after which the pages were typically stitched together.⁵⁶

London's early modern print trade is closely bound up with the Company of Stationers, granted a charter by Mary I in 1557. First and foremost, this charter limited printing to London.⁵⁷ The Crown saw the Stationers' Company, from the outset, as a means of checking the potentially seditious ideas that were multiplied by the printing press.⁵⁸ Elizabeth I consolidated the power of the Stationers' Company over printing with the Star Chamber of 1586, which further restricted any provincial printing.⁵⁹ This regulated print trade was changed irrevocably in 1641 with the closure of the Court of Star Chamber which had until then been the place of trial for violations of censorship. Print immediately began to proliferate: in the late 1630s, about 600 titles were produced in England each year; 1641, on the other hand, saw the publication of more than 4,000 titles. More vernacular medical literature was being produced as well. From 1650 to 1679, medical books accounted for 1 to 1.5 per cent of titles produced by England's printers.⁶⁰ Vernacular medical literature was particularly in demand from the 1650s onwards.⁶¹

The boom in the print trade also had marked effects on the number of printing houses in London. Before the Civil War, London was home to 25 printing houses; by the time of Charles II's accession, this number had ballooned to over 60. After the Restoration, Charles II attempted to reassert control over London's untamed printers and booksellers. The Printing Act of 1662 to 1695 limited London printing houses to 24 and stated that each of these houses were to have no more than three presses or apprentices.⁶² The act was largely lifted out of the 1637 printing regulations put in place by Star Chamber, further evidence that Charles II was attempting to return

⁵² Ibid., p. 129.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 51.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 146.

⁵⁶ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 56 and p. 81.

⁵⁷ John Hinks, 'The Book Trade in Early Modern Britain: Centres, Peripheries and Networks' in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* ed. by Benito Rial Costas, 101-126 (p. 117).

⁵⁸ Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing* (London: Academic Press, 1976), p. 269.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 270.

⁶⁰ Fissel, *Marketplace of Print*, p. 113.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 112.

⁶² James E. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 85.

the print trade to its neatly-regulated, pre-Civil War shape.⁶³ The act was largely concerned with licensing, trade restriction and printing rights; essentially, before any work could be printed, the Company of Stationers had to license and register it.⁶⁴ These attempts to limit printing, however, were largely ineffective despite the fact that Roger L'Estrange, Surveyor of the Press from 1663, harassed many printers and booksellers.⁶⁵ These new censorship and licensing restrictions had little effect on the basic structure of the London's print trade. Indeed, it also had little effect on the number of presses.⁶⁶ Throughout this change in legislation, however, the Company of Stationers managed to maintain its role as 'financial protector and disperser of dividends'⁶⁷ even though they had failed to enforce the licensing provisions called for by the Act.⁶⁸

In 1665 the print trade in London was well and thriving. A 1668 survey records a full 26 printing houses, each with various numbers of presses, apprentices and workmen, while one contemporary estimated that 600 booksellers plied their trade in the metropolis. The same survey suggests that London was home to a full 198 printers.⁶⁹ By the end of the seventeenth century, spurred on by the State's erratic regulation, growing consumer demand and disposable income, the print trade was booming to the extent that even haberdashers, fishmongers and girdlers involved themselves in the trade as booksellers. Itinerant sellers, hawkers and mercury women also took part in London's thriving print trade. Even though the seventeenth century was one of ups and downs for London's publishing network of printers, patrons and booksellers, by the late seventeenth century, this 'commercial transformation of the book trade... established greater stability and a more certain range of prices, without reducing the risks for individual businessmen.'⁷⁰

We have so far observed that the print trade in 1665, like the medical trade, was only partially regulated, or at least regulated unsuccessfully and inefficiently. The disorder of the Civil Wars and Interregnum had allowed the number of print houses, and thus publications, to mushroom. Like the medical trade, the Restoration saw attempts by monarchy, parliament and livery companies to impose order on what had become a difficult trade to regulate. These attempts were largely ineffective in the case of both trades. When plague hit the city, then, there were a huge number of printers, publishers and booksellers ready to profit.

4.4 Trends in Plague Pamphleteering

This section will discuss the major trends of vernacular medical works on plague during the 1665 to 1666 epidemic in London. Most vernacular medical plague literature was printed in

⁶³ Michael Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the end of the Seventeenth Century' in *Cambridge History of the Book, 755-76* (p. 755).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 757.

⁶⁵ McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing', p. 566.

⁶⁶ Raven, *The Business of Books*, pp. 83-6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁶⁸ Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts', p. 767.

⁶⁹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 176.

⁷⁰ Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 83.

pamphlet format. Because pamphlets were a largely impermanent form of print, plague pamphlets embodied a dichotomy in that they were both ephemeral and made for use. Thus, surviving copies of these works are usually rare. However, by and large this form of vernacular medical literature can indeed be called a plague pamphlet. These pamphlets were important sources of income for printers in the face of the economic disruption caused by plague.

Various print scholars have very different definitions of what constitutes a ‘pamphlet’. The definitions of several historians, including Joad Raymond and Anna Bayman, suggest that ‘pamphlet’ is not an appropriate term for the set of literature discussed in this chapter. First and foremost, as Bayman has observed, in the seventeenth-century pamphleteering was seen as a ‘distinctive form of print’, particularly as ‘idle’ and ‘trifling’, ephemeral or of little importance.⁷¹ Raymond, however, claims that a ‘pamphlet’ was a term used for any small book; specifically,

the term became to specify a ‘separate’, a small item issues on its own, usually unbound, not substantial enough to constitute a volume by itself. In a minor usage the word described a collection of literary items, in poetry or prose, which were produced to be disposable rather than enduring.⁷²

However, Raymond also suggests that a pamphlet was ‘a short, vernacular work, generally printed in quarto format, costing no more than a few pennies, of topical interest of engaged with social, political or ecclesiastical issues.’⁷³ These works were literary and by the 1640s largely political in their subject matter.⁷⁴

This print culture study, on the other hand, links to Alexandra Halasz’s definition of a pamphlet. To Halasz,

The categorization of pamphlets by their commodity status, rather than their authors, titles, or discursive kind draws attention to them as *only* pamphlets and thus distinguishes them from other discourses produced in small formats and sold in the marketplace.⁷⁵

Essentially, Halasz claims, it is problematic to draw lines between pamphlets and other small books; ‘pamphlet’ does not describe content or even genre’.⁷⁶ Jason Peacey’s definition of a pamphlet, on the other hand, describes the pamphlet as something originally

conceived within the book trade as anything in size smaller than a folio (i.e. quarto, octavo, duodecimo), and in bulk consisting of few than twelve sheets. In terms of quartos, therefore, pamphlets contained anything between eight and ninety-six pages, the latter being the maximum size which could be roughly stitched rather than thoroughly sewn.⁷⁷

The stitching, then, defined the genre of pamphlets, rather than their contents.⁷⁸

These definitions are contradictory, but do not constitute a mere squabble over semantics. This discourse exhibits the on-going difficulty of characterising various early modern print genres. For the purposes of this study, I will adopt Peacey’s definition. A majority of vernacular

⁷¹ Bayman, *Thomas Dekker*, p. 13.

⁷² Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

⁷⁵ Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁷ Jason Peacey, ‘Pamphlets’ in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 453-70, p. 454.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

medical plague publications of 1665 were short, octavo-sized works, and even when they were longer they followed the conventions of the ‘genre’ of the plague pamphlet.⁷⁹ Not only does their form suggest that they can appropriately be called plague pamphlets, but their content was indeed a type of current event literature. One of the main arguments of this chapter is that the early modern plague pamphlet embodies the dichotomy of being an ephemeral form of print produced for practical use.

That being said, ‘pamphlet’ does not necessarily apply to all of these works. The mean number of pages across this chapter’s sample is 94.77. However, a majority of these works were shorter; the median number of pages was just 21. Of the 24 distinct titles and 32 editions, 22 editions were fewer than 30 pages long. A further four were 100 pages or less. Thus, only four editions were more than 100 pages long. Three were printed in broadsheet form (one of them across two sides of the page). Overwhelmingly, these vernacular medical works on plague *were* plague pamphlets—short works of less than 30 pages, covering in a similar formula the basics of the nature, cause, propagation and cure of the disease.

Pamphlets, by their very nature and form, were of little monetary value.⁸⁰ Pamphlets like Thomas Dekker’s sold from anywhere between 2d and 5d based on the length and usually were printed in runs from 800 to 1,000 copies.⁸¹ Fissel recounts the median price of a vernacular medical book at 1s6d, a sum which represents,

(very) roughly a twentieth of the weekly income for those on the lower rungs of the middle class, a quarter of a labourer’s weekly income, or six meals at the cheapest London cookshops.⁸²

Evidence suggests, however, that early modern people were willing to pay for and own vernacular medical print. The cheap price of a shorter plague pamphlet would surely have held a considerable level of appeal for those looking to purchase one as plague began to spread in the metropolis.

That there was a commercial motivation for producing plague print about the disease at the onset of an outbreak of plague has been well explained by historians. Bayman, for example, has observed that Dekker’s plague pamphlets, published during the 1603 and 1625 epidemics, were financial fallbacks for printers once theatres were closed due to the plague. Those who printed and sold Dekker’s literary plague pamphlets had commercial aims.⁸³ The purpose of plague print in 1665 was primarily profiting making.

For one thing, the dates of publication, where discernable, for this body of literature suggests that there was a commercial motive for producing plague print. The *Bills of Mortality*, pored over by Londoners eager for news of the progress of disease through the city, also acted as a clarion call for those trades most likely to profit from epidemic. As Fissel has established,

⁷⁹ These conventions, including structure, are discussed at several points through this chapter.

⁸⁰ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 4.

⁸¹ Bayman, *Thomas Dekker*, pp. 27-8.

⁸² Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, p. 112.

⁸³ Bayman, *Thomas Dekker*, p. 19.

‘Booksellers were quick to respond to public anxiety (perhaps fuelling it), rushing... books on the plague into print’.⁸⁴ Of the eight pamphlets published over the course of 1665 to 1666 with known publication dates, five were published in June 1665. A further two were published in July and August, with only one reprint produced well into the epidemic in February 1666.⁸⁵ These publication dates indicate that publishers—whether private, booksellers or printers—were keen to subsidise vernacular medical print about plague because, over the course of the epidemic, demand would prove it a lucrative source of income, providing more than a mere return on their investment.

Pamphlets were purposely small because they promised a return on investment. Their small, ephemeral form made them the type of print that could be produced between other, larger jobs. Printing anything required a large capital investment on the part of the publisher: from the supplies that printing required, like paper, ink and candles to the wages of the workers themselves, printing anything was expensive.⁸⁶ Larger works required a huge chunk of a printing house’s resources. However, one way that printers ensured they could turn quick profit was ‘to secure a rapid turnover by printing large editions of small, cheap books for quick and certain sale.’⁸⁷ These smaller, profit-guaranteed works ‘could be produced both by small-scale operations and by major printing houses, which could cut corners and use smaller projects to fill in gaps between larger jobs.’⁸⁸ Indeed, a printer’s main profit came from cheap print.⁸⁹ The small investment required resulted in the mass production of ephemeral literature, of which only scattered survivors remain. In major plague years—not just 1665 but any of London’s plague years—the plague pamphlet was an important element of this mass production of profit-guaranteed ephemeral literature produced by London’s book trade. Halasz has argued that the pamphlet genre shows the ‘intrinsic relation of the economy to print because they [pamphlets] so flexibly and efficiently utilise the productive capacity of the press.’⁹⁰ The same is true of plague pamphlets: the economy and the demand for small, profitable print—particularly in the face of economic disruption threatened by plague epidemics—shaped the form of the plague pamphlet itself.

⁸⁴ Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, p. 114.

⁸⁵ Those published in June 1665: Roger Dixon, *A directory for the poor* (London: 1665; STC2 R213275) was published 19 June 1665; Thomas Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged* (London: 1665; STC2 R180773) was published 10 June 1665; Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802) was issued in June 1665; Simpson, *Zenexton ante-pestilenale* (STC2 R221491) was published 26 June 1665; W. J., *A collection of fifty and seven approved receipts good against the plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R218505) was published 11 June 1665.

Those published after June 1665: Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569) was published 4 August 1665; Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck, *Several choice histories* (London: 1665; STC2 R216530) was published 6 February 1666; Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407) was published 22 July 1665.

⁸⁶ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 176-77.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁸⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 55.

⁸⁹ Peter Stallybrass, ‘“Little Jobs”: Broad-sides and the Printing Revolution’ in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 315-42 (p. 315).

⁹⁰ Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 14.

Print runs of any pamphlet varied. Typical runs were between 1,000 to 1,500 copies, and rarely exceeded 2,000 because ‘As the quantity increased the printer’s capital investment, which was always alarmingly high rose with it, and his profit as a percentage of investment fell.’⁹¹ Estimating print runs of vernacular medical works on plague is an inexact art. The rate of survival of certain works is not necessarily directly proportional to the size of the print run. Plague pamphlets, as I have argued, were works that were read and used; this, along with the ephemeral quality of their short forms, means that they may have been used to tatters. Of the 24 distinct works in 32 editions, no edition has more than 42 surviving copies. The College of Physicians’ *Certain necessary directions* has the highest survival rate and almost certainly had the largest run, though using surviving copies as evidence of print run size can be problematic.⁹² Other works which likely saw larger print runs are Thomson’s *Loimotomia*, of which 23 copies survive,⁹³ and Kemp’s *A brief treatise*, of which 21.⁹⁴ Of all 32 editions, 25 have less than 10 surviving copies each; seven have only one surviving copy. This poor survival rate—of runs of perhaps 1500—suggest, once again, that plague pamphlets were used to shreds, partially because of their already ephemeral format.

By and large, however, a repeated print run implies that the reprinted work had been successful.⁹⁵ Looking at reprints enables us, immediately, to get at which of 1665’s plague pamphlets were the most popular. Theophilus Garencières’ *A mite cast* saw three editions over the course of 1665 to 1666,⁹⁶ Cock’s *Advice for the poor* saw two, in different formats each time;⁹⁷ T. D.’s *Food and physick* saw two,⁹⁸ the College of Physicians’ *The Kings medicines* saw two;⁹⁹ and Thomas Moulton’s *The compleat bone-setter* saw three.¹⁰⁰ Thus, of the 24 distinct titles produced over the course of the outbreak, six were of such widespread appeal that they were printed more than once. Of these, one was a *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheet, four were short, pamphlet-style works of less than thirty pages, while Moulton’s handbook for surgeons came in at a whopping 681 pages, and thus must have been massively popular in order to call for so many reprints and the correspondingly large capital necessary to finance it.

However, print about plague was not simply commercial in purpose due to the actual sale of the broadsides, pamphlets and books themselves. These works afforded practitioners, printers and booksellers to with a valuable opportunity to advertise their names, wares and services. Of the 32 editions published over the course of 1665 to 1666 (24 distinct works, five of which saw multiple editions), over half of them—a full 16 in number—functioned as forms of advertisement, either explicitly or in a more subtle manner. Advertisement was not a necessary attribute of a

⁹¹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 161.

⁹² Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802).

⁹³ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148).

⁹⁴ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407).

⁹⁵ Roger Chartier, ‘The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal’ in *Agent of Change*, 397-408, (p. 400).

⁹⁶ Garencières, *A mite cast* (London: 1665 and 1666; STC2 R16663, R544 and R28669).

⁹⁷ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569, R215203).

⁹⁸ T. D. *Food and physick* (London: 1665 and 1666; STC2 R33433, R4395).

⁹⁹ Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines* (London: 1665; STC2 R179477, R217563).

¹⁰⁰ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter* (STC2 1665 and 1666; STC2 R180773, R222704, R228564).

plague pamphlet, though it was certainly a common one. More explicit cases of advertisement took on an array of forms. For example, there was Theodore le Medde's *Elixyrlogia*, which told of a wonder drug available for sale at the shop of Henry Eversden at the sign of the Greyhound in St Paul's Churchyard; Eversden had also acted as the pamphlet's publisher.¹⁰¹ Likewise, the first edition of Cock's *Advice for the poor* advertised medicines for sale at a variety of bookshops listed in the pamphlet.¹⁰² A further six works also fit this pattern of advertising remedies—either outlined in the pamphlet or simply tacked onto the end—available in a variety of locations across the metropolis.¹⁰³ Another case is Garencières' *A mite cast*, which gave the writer's location so that interested readers could contact and engage him for his medical knowledge and services.¹⁰⁴ Advertising could also be subtler in nature. For example, Moulton's plague remedy, which formed the first chapter of *The Mirror or glass of health*¹⁰⁵ was revived in *The compleat bone-setter enlarged*, first published in 1657 and then twice more in 1665 and 1666. Moulton's text was annotated by an irregular called Robert Turner, and acted as a form of advertisement for his name and remedies.¹⁰⁶ Subtle or explicit, however, the purpose of half of these vernacular medical publications published in response to the Plague of 1665 functioned on some level as advertisement for medical wares or services. Thus, there was a commercial benefit to producing this type of print beyond the profit that came from the sale of the works themselves.

Examining 1665's vernacular medical print culture uncovers a final, more perplexing trend: the lack of reprints from previous years. As has been considered earlier in this chapter, the most efficient way for short texts to make money was to reprint them, something Bayman has termed the 'careful repackaging of older material.'¹⁰⁷ Almanacs and reprints were lucrative mainstays for the London's printers and booksellers.¹⁰⁸ Previous historians have similarly noted the trend for reprinting plague material, what Ernest Gilman has termed 'traumatic repetition'.¹⁰⁹ Miller has observed three distinct groups of plague texts reproduced during the 1665 outbreak, including those transmitted with little changes (for example, London's plague orders), those in which data changed but the form remained consistent (like Royal Proclamations or the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsides) and anecdotes that stayed relevant from outbreak to outbreak.¹¹⁰ However, reprinting was common in vernacular medical print as well. The Tudor period saw the publication and republication of a core group of regimens giving advice on the plague: among others, Jean

¹⁰¹ Theodore le Medde, *Elixyrlogia, or, A compendious discourse wherein the eminent and effectual virtues and properties of the universal elixyr are set forth* (London: 1665; STC2 R41364).

¹⁰² Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569).

¹⁰³ Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilentielle* (STC2 R28348); John Belson, *Remedies against the infection* (London: 1665; STC2 172712); Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802); Francis Herring, *Preservatives against the plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R10799); Richard Kephale, *Medela pestilentiae* (London: 1665; STC2 R26148); Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague* (STC2 R221989).

¹⁰⁴ Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663, R544 and R28669).

¹⁰⁵ Moulton, *The Mirror or glass of health* (STC S112925), pp. 7-21.

¹⁰⁶ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged* (STC2 R180773).

¹⁰⁷ Bayman, *Thomas Dekker*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs'", p. 339.

¹⁰⁹ Ernest Gilman, *Plague Writing*, p. 57.

¹¹⁰ Miller, *The Literature Culture of Plague*, p. 26.

Goeurot's *The regiment of life* was first published in 1543 and then saw a further eight reprints until its final edition in 1600;¹¹¹ Thomas Brasbridge's *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence* saw five editions between 1578 and 1592;¹¹² and Moulton's *This is the mirror or glass of health* saw nineteen editions up until 1580.¹¹³ A further core of early modern plague literature were printed and reprinted from the sixteenth to well into the seventeenth centuries. Thomas Cogan's *The haven of health* saw eight editions between 1584 and 1636¹¹⁴ and Thomas Vicary's *The English-mans treasure* saw eight editions from 1586 up until 1641.¹¹⁵

Another core of works remained popular throughout the seventeenth century: Thomas Cartwright's *An hospitall for the diseased* had twelve editions between 1578 and 1638;¹¹⁶ Francis Herring's *Certaine rules* had five editions between 1603 and 1665;¹¹⁷ while Thayre's 1603 *Treatise of the pestilence* was reprinted in 1625 as *An excellent and best approoued treatise of the plague*.¹¹⁸ In many of these cases of reprints, the 1665 editions were produced by other publishers than the original editions, likely due to the passage of time. For example, the first two editions of Herring's *Certaine Rules*, published in 1603 and 1625, were produced by one William Jones;¹¹⁹ by 1636 the book was printed by Thomas Paine and sold by Matthew Simmons¹²⁰ while just four years later it was being printed for and sold by Jasper Emery. By 1665 the rights had shifted to Thomas Pierrepont.¹²¹ The 1625 edition of Thayre's pamphlet was similarly published and sold by different publishers and booksellers from the 1603 edition.¹²² However, it would seem that publishers and booksellers held on to plague titles for as long as they could. Jones retained the rights for Herring's *Certaine rules* for two successive epidemic years.

In sharp contrast, 1665 saw only four reprints from previous epidemics. Herring's *Certaine rules* was reprinted in that year as *Preservatives against the plague*;¹²³ the College of

¹¹¹ Goeurot, *The regiment of life* (London: 1543, 1544, 1546, 1550, 1553, 1560, 1567, 1578, 1596; STC S92714, S105685, S5111, S109504, S117696, S108644, S103193, S108623 S117697).

¹¹² Brasbridge, *The poore mans ieuell* (London: 1578, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1592; STC S229, S106315, S120283, S91183, S120286).

¹¹³ Moulton, *This is the mirror or glass of health* (London: 1531, 1531, 1536, 1536, 1540, 1540, 1545, 1546, 1546, 1546, 1546, 1547-9, 1548, 1555, 1560, 1560, 1566; STC S94243, S104303, S94241, S94242, S104399, S112921, S104406, S108113, S100047, S94244, S94245, S94246, S94248, S112923, S104397, S94247, S120736, S112925).

¹¹⁴ Cogan, *The haven of health* (London: 1584, 1588, 1589, 1596, 1605, 1612, 1636, 1636; STC S105007, S112813, S108446, S108447, S108448, S114681, S91478, S108449).

¹¹⁵ Vicary, *The English-mans treasure* (London: 1586, 1587, 1596, 1599, 1613, 1626, 1633, 1641; STC S111543, S102494, S105692, S95672, S119117, S538, S119121, R13290).

¹¹⁶ Cartwright, *An hospitall for the diseased* (London: 1578, 1579, 1579, 1580, 1584, 1587, 1595, 1598, 1610, 1619, 1630, 1638; STC S126046, S126047, S4169, S118738, S91273, S264, S108207, S115043, S104866, S115959, S116144, S118398).

¹¹⁷ Herring, *Certaine rules, directions or advertisements* (London: 1603, 1625, 1636; STC S92953, S92954, S104003), *Preservatives against the plague* (London: 1641, 1665; STC R230654, STC2 R10799).

¹¹⁸ Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1603; STC S101271), *An excellent and best approoued treatise of the plague* (London: 1625; STC S103487).

¹¹⁹ Herring, *Certaine rules, directions or advertisements* (London: 1603, 1625; STC S92953 and S92954)

¹²⁰ Herring, *Certaine rules, directions or advertisements* (London: 1636; STC S104003)

¹²¹ Herring, *Preservatives against the plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R230654)

¹²² Thayre, *A treatise of the pestilence* (STC S101271), *An excellent and best approoued treatise of the plague* (STC S103487).

¹²³ Herring, *Certaine rules, directions or advertisements* (London: 1603, 1625, 1636; STC S92953, S92954, S104003), *Preservatives against the plague* (London: 1641, 1665; STC R230654, STC2 R10799).

Physicians reissued its 1636 *Certain necessary directions* almost without revision;¹²⁴ the College also reissued two editions of its *The King's medicines for the plague*, first published in 1604;¹²⁵ Moulton's *The compleat bone-setter*, which had seen its first edition in 1656, saw a further three editions in an enlarged format over the course of 1665 to 1666.¹²⁶ Thus, of the 24 distinct works produced that year, 19 were completely new works, penned in direct reaction to the 1665 epidemic. This outpouring of new knowledge is curious, particularly in view of the fact that new medical knowledge was typically distrusted.¹²⁷ However, the pattern observed here largely fits the pattern observed by Lynette Hunter, who found that medical literature, among other books for daily life, experienced a noticeable shift after 1650, after which one finds 'numerous translations and new works by identifiable new writers'.¹²⁸

The noticeable lack of reprints reinforces two major trends previously discussed in this chapter. Firstly, because a major motive behind this print was the advertisement of services or medicines offered by a specific practitioner or the medicines for sale by a bookseller or printer, new print needed to be produced in order to advertise these specific medicines and services. There was a commercial attraction to these new and novel productions. New pamphlets or broadsheets or, in two cases, enlarged or added postscripts to new editions of older works provided the means for advertising these wares and services. However, consumers were looking for an addition to medical knowledge. Some consumers had kept previous pamphlets; Robert Boyle, for example, wrote from Oxford that he was consulting a book published in 1605.¹²⁹ 1665 was the first outbreak of plague after the Civil War and Protectorate inspired 'the political desire to break down the barriers to medical knowledge and provision'.¹³⁰ This, Wear argues, led to the popularisation of medicine, aiding in the careers of such irregular practitioners as Nicholas Culpeper and leading to an inflation of popular medical literature.¹³¹ I would argue the same in regards to plague literature. Not only did chemical practitioners like George Thomson, who were literally in opposition to the attempted medical hegemony of the College of Physicians, produce literature in response to the 1665 epidemic, but other pamphlets—written by producers of proprietary nostrums like le Medde and irregulars like Kemp—were written as a response to established medicine. Thus, the Plague of 1665, which gave irregulars an increased opportunity for practice, also enabled them to produce literature to exhibit their knowledge and to advertise their services and medicines. Another important consideration is the ephemeral nature of the plague pamphlet itself; the form of the plague pamphlet itself necessitated that new, updated

¹²⁴ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (London: 1636, 1636, 1665; STC S2216, S108814, STC2 R9802).

¹²⁵ Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines for the plague* (London: 1630, 1636, 1665, 1665; STC S102947, S102949, STC2 R179477, R217563).

¹²⁶ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter* (STC2 1665 and 1666; STC2 R180773, R222704, R228564).

¹²⁷ Fissel, "Marketplace of Print", p. 114.

¹²⁸ Lynette Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour' in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 514-532, (p. 527).

¹²⁹ Porter, *The Great Plague*, p. 41.

¹³⁰ Wear, 'The Popularization of Medicine', p. 30.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

versions would need to be printed with each subsequent outbreak of plague—ensuring a repeated form of income for London’s print trade. There was a commercial attraction for the new on the part of a new generation that was less familiar with plague than their Tudor and early Stuart antecedents; there is some evidence which suggests that earlier plague print had been kept, but there was a considerable demand for new knowledge about the disease.

Plague pamphlets were ephemeral in form, but made for use. Their form was dictated by the necessities of the printers and publishers who produced them: smaller works were the bread and butter of London’s book trade. Surviving copies of these works are so rare because they received such intensive use from their purchasers and readers. A majority of these works were written specifically for the 1665 epidemic; an important distinction from the earlier part of the century that shows that there was a new demand for knowledge about plague that fit in with the new, egalitarian form of medical vernacular print championed and popularised by Nicholas Culpeper.

4.5 Plague Print and Networks of Creators

This section will discuss the members of London’s print trade who took advantage of the demand for vernacular medical literature disseminating information about the causes, nature, symptoms, prevention and cure of the disease. Booksellers in particular saw plague print as lucrative and almost without exception were the ones to commission it. Several trends emerge: these works were typically produced at smaller print houses and were backed financially by any interested bookseller regardless of their typical specialisation. The demand for and production of plague print saw the formation of print partnerships amongst printers, publishers, booksellers and author-practitioners. Additionally, several of these booksellers were also involved in the trade of proprietary medicines, which saw the network between practitioner and stationer grow and established London’s booksellers as an essential part of the medical marketplace as the distributors of medical knowledge and goods.

The printers, booksellers and patrons of this vernacular medical literature about plague came from a variety of backgrounds. Some were involved in the publication of medical works more generally, but there is considerably evidence suggesting that specialisation did not necessarily play a role in whether a printer decided to become involved in the production of plague print or not. Of the 32 editions and 24 distinct titles produced during 1665, there were 23 writers, 19 publishers and 17 booksellers involved in this production. These varied backgrounds reinforce the early modern bookshop as a space for sociability and medical exchange.

In only eight cases is the printer’s name indicated, which immediately suggests that booksellers were more likely to patronise and publish print giving medical information about plague. Indeed, in the case of 17 works—each and every time a bookseller is named on the title page—the bookseller also acted as the publisher. The most important player in the production of plague print was the publisher. As the one who paid for the entire project, he was one risking his

capital. A printer's cost was always covered,¹³² the publisher's, however, might not be. That so many booksellers acted as publishers immediately indicates that the medical vernacular plague pamphlet was a lucrative form of print: so lucrative that booksellers were guaranteed a return on their investment. This trend further explains the typically small size of these works on plague: having smaller works printed minimised the bookseller's risk and ensured them a quick-seller which would fly off the shelves over the course of an epidemic.

The printers who produced vernacular medical print about plague usually headed smaller operations. While the 1668 Survey of printing presses recorded some printers as having as many as five or six presses—there were six at the King's printing house, for example, while the City of London's printer Mr. Flesher had five, and the printing house of Mr. Rycroft had four—most printing houses typically had three presses. Mr. Tyler, Mr. White, Mr. Norton, Mr. Newcomb and Mrs. Cotes each had three. The printers who churned out plague print, however, were usually print houses of one or two presses¹³³ (the exception were the College's *Certain necessary directions* which was printed at the King's printing house¹³⁴ and Humphrey Brooke's *Cautionary rules* which were printed by the City's printers on the order of the Lord Mayor).¹³⁵ The relegation of plague print to smaller printing houses may be due to do practical reasons. Firstly, the larger printers were those more likely to have the means to flee the city once the epidemic truly broke out, and secondly the smaller printing houses were probably those more likely to take on smaller projects with last-minute deadlines. Larger presses typically produced the atypical larger books on plague.¹³⁶

The printers and booksellers involved in the production of plague print in 1665 came from a variety of backgrounds and specialisations and were spread across the city. 14 per cent of the stationers involved in plague print in 1665 had histories of printing or publishing seditious books. John Grismond, the printer of Thomas Wharton's *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague*, was bound over in 1649 not to print seditious books, and in 1664 was arrested by the Company of Stationers for printing law books without a license.¹³⁷ Thomas Leach, who ran a print house of one press and one workmen, published T. D.'s *Food and physick*, had been arrested in 1662 for printing seditious literature.¹³⁸ Samuel Speed, the Fleet Street bookseller who published Richard Kephale's *Medela pestilentiae* was another imprisoned and bound, this time for selling law books from the time of the Commonwealth.¹³⁹ Nathaniel Crouch as published-bookseller produced a huge amount of Nonconformist literature, usually authored by Quakers or Anabaptists, although it is unknown if he published this work because it was lucrative or because he shared

¹³² Stallybrass, "Little Jobs", p. 326.

¹³³ TNA: PRO, SP 29/243.

¹³⁴ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802).

¹³⁵ Humphrey Brooke, *Cautionary rules for preventing the sickness* (London: 1665; STC2 R37163).

¹³⁶ See for example Simpson, *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale* (STC2 R221491), a larger 100-page work published and sold by George Sawbridge, treasurer of the Company of Stationers.

¹³⁷ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), p. 89.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

these beliefs.¹⁴⁰ Amongst these publishers were both Royalists¹⁴¹ and Parliamentarians, but in only one case can the printing of a plague book be connected to any type of anti-authority activity. Livewell Chapman, a known Fifth Monarchist, published Helmontian chemist George Thomson's *Loimologia*; quite possibly Chapman published the book because he sympathised with the book's anti-establishment message.¹⁴²

Like their backgrounds and political leanings, specialism also had little to do with whether booksellers and printers decided to invest in plague print as publishers. Henry Eversden, the publisher of le Medde's *Elixyrlogia* and seller of its remedy, was usually the seller of theological works.¹⁴³ Booksellers who acted as publishers sometimes advertised other books in their shops in the endpapers of their publications.¹⁴⁴ These lists, though often hastily thrown together in time for publication, were designed to bring traffic into shops; a booklist was tailored to the specific volume in question, in the hopes that the buyer would come to the bookseller's for similar stock.¹⁴⁵ Thus, we know that Henry Million, the publisher-bookseller of M. R.'s *The meanes of preventing, and preserving from, and curing of, the most contagious disease*, also specialised in theological works.¹⁴⁶ Thomas Rookes, involved in the print trade in several respects, sold theological, mathematical and philosophical books in his shop at the sign of the Holy Lamb and Ink Bottle in St Paul's Churchyard in addition to a handbook on midwifery.¹⁴⁷ Nathaniel Crouch likewise split his stock between theological and medical books.¹⁴⁸ Publishing, printing and selling vernacular medical works on plague was something seen as profitable by stationers regardless of specialization.

Some printers and booksellers involved themselves in the plague print trade more than others. In particular, six booksellers fully immersed themselves in the potential profits of plague print. Crouch, at the sign of the Rose and Crown in Exchange Alley near Lombard Street, was particularly involved in the plague print trade. The neighbour and former apprentice of Livewell Chapman, he was also involved as the publisher-bookseller of one of George Thomson's books,¹⁴⁹ in this case 1666's *Loimotomia: or The pest anatomized*.¹⁵⁰ He also sold the three editions of Moulton's *The compleat bone-setter* published over the course of 1665 to 1666.¹⁵¹ Rookes,

¹⁴⁰ Jason Mc Elligott, 'Crouch, Nathaniel [Robert Burton] (c.1640–1725?)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52645>> [accessed 24 May 2017].

¹⁴¹ Peter Lilliecrap, publisher of W. J., *A collection of fifty and seven approved receipts* (STC2 R218505), fought for the Royalist Army and was taken prisoner four times (Plomer, *A Dictionary*, p. 118).

¹⁴² Livewell Chapman, publisher and bookseller of George Thomson's *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876) was a known Fifth Monarchist and acquaintance of John Allin.

¹⁴³ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364).

¹⁴⁴ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 87.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Lindenbaum, 'Publisher's Booklists in Late Seventeenth-Century London', *The Library* (2010), 11:4, 381-404 (p. 381).

¹⁴⁶ M. R., *Meanes of preventing, and preserving from, and curing of the most contagious disease, called the plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R217714), p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter* (STC2 R180773), pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁸ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), pp. 190-1.

¹⁴⁹ Mc Elligott, 'Crouch, Nathaniel [Robert Burton] (c.1640–1725?)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52645>> [accessed 24 May 2017]

¹⁵⁰ Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148).

¹⁵¹ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter* (STC2 R180773).

another bookseller, not only published these three editions of *The compleat bone-setter*, but also published Roger Dixon's broadsheet of recipes and advertisements for plague remedies.¹⁵² While Rookes did not explicitly list himself as the seller of either of these works, it made sense to split copies among several shops, including his own in St Paul's Churchyard. A final trio of booksellers were similarly entrenched in the trade for plague print. Francis Coles, Thomas Vere and John Wright—all with established shops near the Old Bailey—are all bookseller-publishers usually associated with seventeenth-century London's ballad trade.¹⁵³ However, during 1665 they also churned out a number of plague vernacular medical literature. As made sense for their existing stocks, several of these works were the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets which amalgamated enumerative, poetic, religious and medical responses to the disease in a one-page format.¹⁵⁴ However, Coles branched out and acted as publisher-bookseller for T. D.'s 21-page pamphlet listing plague recipes;¹⁵⁵ Coles and Vere partnered to publish and retail 1665's first edition of *The King's medicines for the plague*¹⁵⁶ while John Wright and an R. Gilbertson joined in to financially back the pamphlet's second edition.¹⁵⁷ Other publisher-booksellers—for example Thomas Pierrepont,¹⁵⁸ John Wingfield,¹⁵⁹ and Samuel Speed¹⁶⁰—were only involved in the publication of one plague pamphlet each. Some printers and publishers were involved in the creation of several plague pamphlets, while others only helped produce one.

1665's trade in plague print also saw the formation of several partnerships and networks of printers, publishers, writer-practitioners and booksellers across the metropolis. Partnerships between publishers, printers and booksellers were common in early modern London,¹⁶¹ though formal relationships and contracts were rare.¹⁶² In addition to the alliance between publisher and bookseller reflected in Rooke's publication of the three editions of Moulton's *The compleat bone-setter* for sale at Nathaniel Crouch's shop in the Old Bailey, there is also evidence of a relationship with a medical practitioner. The practitioner who enlarged Moulton's work—one Robert Turner—needs to be added as an interesting connection. The same Turner was the maker of medicines for sale at the Fleet Street shop of Samuel Speed. These same medicines were those advertised at the beginning of the plague tract Speed published and sold, *Medela pestilentiae*.¹⁶³ Rooke, the prolific publisher, also backed Dixon's broadsheet of recipes—the same broadsheet

¹⁵² Dixon, *A directory for the poor* (STC2 R213275).

¹⁵³ Plomer, *A Dictionary*, pp. 49, 186, 198.

¹⁵⁴ See for example: Anonymous, *Londons Lord have mercy upon us. A true relation of seven modern plagues* (London: 1665; STC2 R220359); Anonymous, *London's Lord have mercy upon us. A true relation of seven modern plagues* (London: 1665; STC2 R224592).

¹⁵⁵ T. D. *Food and physick* (STC2 R33433, R4395).

¹⁵⁶ Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines* (STC2 R179477, R217563).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Herring, *Preservatives against the plague* (STC2 R10779).

¹⁵⁹ W. J., *A collection of fifty and seven approved receipts* (STC2 R218505).

¹⁶⁰ Kephale, *Medela pestilentiae* (STC2 R26148).

¹⁶¹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 180.

¹⁶² Peter Lindenbaum, 'Authors and Publishers in the Late Seventeenth Century: New Evidence on their Relations', *The Library* (s16-17: 3), 1995: 250-269, pp. 251.

¹⁶³ Kephale, *Medela pestilentiae* (STC2 R26148), p. 4.

which was then published as part of the first edition of Thomas Cock's *Advice for the poor*.¹⁶⁴ A final interesting partnership took place between William Kemp, the author-practitioner of *A brief treatise* and the pamphlet's publisher-bookseller, a D. Kemp at the sign of the Salutation near Hatton-Garden in Holborn. The shared surname almost certainly suggests that the Kemps were relations, brothers or perhaps cousins, and when plague broke out in London the two formed a lucrative partnership.

Some of these publisher-booksellers made further connections with medical practitioners by selling proprietary medicines from their bookshops. Eversden's sale of le Medde's medicine and Speed's sale of Turner's remedies have been touched on previously. However, the bookseller neighbours and former master-apprentice pair in Exchange Alley, Livewell Chapman and Nathaniel Crouch, were each advertised in the *Newes* as selling medicines for plague during the course of the epidemic.¹⁶⁵ Crouch and Nathaniel Brooke also sold John Piercy's 'famous and most approved Lozenges' which were lauded as a 'sovereign Antidote against the Plague' from their respective shops.¹⁶⁶ Several other booksellers were also listed selling proprietary medicines for other illnesses and ailments over the course of the 1665 year. For example, Samuel Speed sold cough lozenges.¹⁶⁷ Even outside the outbreak of plague, booksellers—regardless of specialism—were willing to take part in aspects of London's medical economy, something further covered in Chapters Five and Six of this thesis. Booksellers were an important part of the medical economy, particularly during times of plague and widespread contagion, in this case as a distributor of medicines. In times of plague, this role was amplified, as booksellers distributed knowledge of how to defend from and cure the disease.

4.6 Obtaining, Reading and Understanding Medical Plague Literature

How, then, did Londoners gain access to the knowledge distributed by these bookseller-publishers? Once in possession of knowledge about plague, how was it digested, construed, synthesised and constructed? Print was widely accessible to Londoners, available for purchase across London and its suburbs. Londoners could purchase or borrow plague pamphlets, read them or be read to from them; they could anxiously scan the title pages, which would have been tacked across the metropolis as advertisements. Consumers of plague print were sceptical, accepting information but subjecting it to rigorous testing and analysis to see where it would fit into their pre-existing knowledge of the disease. Plague print was formulated as ephemeral, to enhance the publisher's profits, but similar format across the genre enhanced its usefulness. There was a set form for this genre, one that consumers would have expected. Plague pamphlets, a subset of the vernacular medical genre, played a role in commercializing the medical economy.

¹⁶⁴ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569), pp. 6-8.

¹⁶⁵ Livewell Chapman is listed in *The Newes Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People*, 27 July 1665 (Issue 58); Crouch is listed in *The Newes*, 3 August 1666 (Issue 60).

¹⁶⁶ John Piercy, *An advertisement of concern to the city and nation* (London: 1665; STC2 R231449), p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ *The Newes*, 16 March 1665 (Issue 21).

Bookshops were spread throughout the metropolis, but not evenly. James Raven's survey has found that bookshops congregated in certain areas of the city. These areas included St Paul's Churchyard, though over the course of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth, concentration of the print trade spread down Fleet Street. Booksellers could also be found just north of the cathedral in Little Britain. Outside of the City proper, bookstalls were a familiar feature of Westminster Hall.¹⁶⁸ Second-hand methods of transmission—including book fairs—were another familiar feature of the trade.¹⁶⁹ According to Catherine Armstrong, the size (and thus, price) of the book one was looking to purchase would determine where you went for it: bigger books were sold in the permanent shops of St Paul's Churchyard, while smaller books were more typically sold by peddlers.¹⁷⁰ Hawkers, another seller of small print, sold from fixed points around the city, while chapmen and peddler transported it in their packs.¹⁷¹ However, as this chapter will show, the established shops of St Paul's were as likely to stock smaller, cheaper literature like plague pamphlets. These bookshops, like any other building in London, were identified by their sign—'pictorial scenes' that were used to identify 'not only inns, taverns and shops, but also houses, tenements, and even rooms inside larger buildings' before the introduction of street numbers during the Georgian period.¹⁷²

A final, unsurprising aspect of this research has been the finding that the booksellers listed as selling plague pamphlets were, as one might expect, congregated around those areas of the city associated retail, particularly the retail of books, as shown in Figure 4.1. It is striking that the areas in which plague was rife were not those in which plague pamphlets and texts were being offered for sale. As Slack has established, in 1665 plague hit the poorer areas of the city—particularly large, suburban parishes—the hardest.¹⁷³ The retail locations for print about plague, on the other hand, are clustered around the wealth parishes within the city's walls. Kemp's treatise, sold at Hatton Gardens, came closest to the parishes suffering the most, among them St Giles in the Fields and St Andrew Holborn.¹⁷⁴

For those Londoners who were willing to traverse the city to obtain plague print, news of books that were being sold could be obtained in many of the same places that they could be purchased, including St Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside and the New Exchange. Other major thoroughfares and congregation points throughout the metropolis: Newgate, the Stocks, the Pillory, Pissing Conduit, Bridewell, the London Stone, the Inns of Court and Temple Bar are all suggested in contemporary accounts.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ Raven, *The Business of Books*, pp. 158-187.

¹⁶⁹ Armstrong, 'The Bookseller and the Pedlar', p. 22.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁷¹ Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 59-75 (p. 67).

¹⁷² Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), p. 10.

¹⁷³ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, pp. 156-7.

¹⁷⁴ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407).

¹⁷⁵ Stern, "'On each Wall and Corner Post'", p. 73.

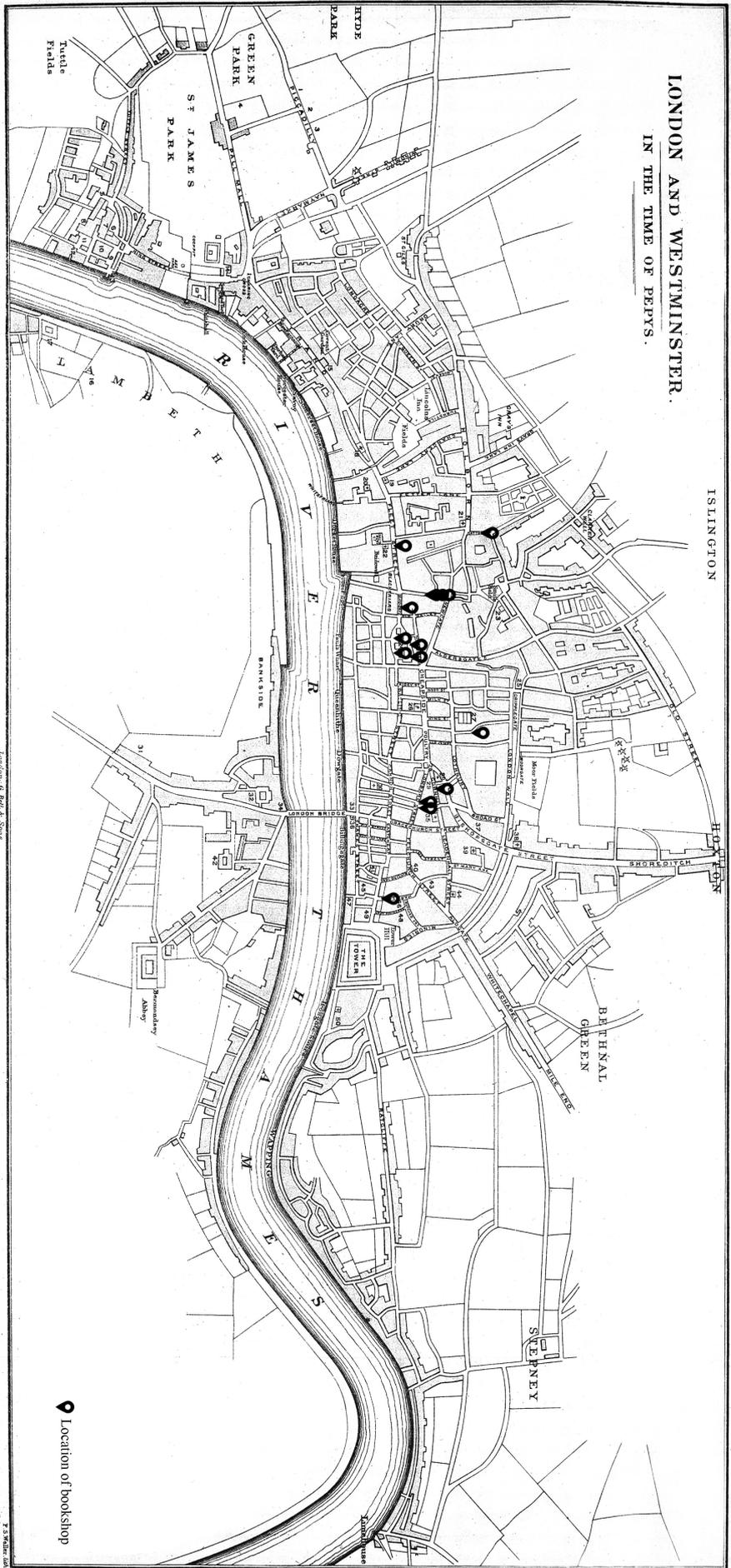


Figure 4.1: Advertised Retail Locations for Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665

Plague tracts were also advertised in some of Restoration London's thriving newspapers. *The Intelligencer* advertised a wide range of medical works over 1665, including several key works in the pamphlet war between the College of Physicians and Society of Chemical Physicians. The College's *Certain necessary directions* were advertised on 19 June, as the number of plague deaths in the Bills began to escalate to worrying levels, while Kemp's *A brief treatise* was advertised in the 24 July issue.¹⁷⁶ Interestingly, however, these are the only medical vernacular works on plague advertised in either the *Intelligencer* or the *Newes*. Other printed works on plague—particularly sermons, commemorative poems, and directions for those quarantined—were advertised from August to October.¹⁷⁷

Pettegree has observed that as early as the sixteenth century, the title page of any book published in Paris 'was far more likely to advertise the shop where a book was to be sold than the name of the printer.'¹⁷⁸ This was also true of Restoration London's plague tracts and pamphlets. Their title pages would have been printed again separately from their texts and used as advertisements. As Stern establishes, 'the information on any title-page of the period, telling the reader where the book can be bought, is hardly relevant to the owner of a book: it is only relevant as an advertisement'.¹⁷⁹ Beyond acting as an advertisement for the work in question even when they featured as part of that work, these title pages would have also continued to advertise the services of a particular bookseller; as we have seen, many booksellers specialised in vernacular medical literature. Thus, if the owner of a particular work was interested in buying others like it, his first port-of-call might have been the bookseller which had commissioned the work and had his name printed onto the title page. These title-pages are important to consider not just because they were themselves a form of advertisement, but because they were a Londoner's first contact with the work in question—and for some, the only contact.

The language used here is important. Stern describes title pages as 'narrative', using 'the same advertising vocabulary: "excellent," "famous," and "merry."'"¹⁸⁰ In the case of plague pamphlets, it appears that printers preferred them to be simple and to-the-point. The eye was drawn not by the promised of delight, but by the prioritization of a key word: 'plague'. Particular words and phrases might be emphasised by the printer, placing some words in all capital letters or in a font size larger than that of the rest of the text. Le Medde's *Elixyllogia*'s title page emphasises the words 'Universal ELIXYR' and 'PLAGUE'.¹⁸¹ Wharton's *Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague* prioritises 'DIRECTIONS' and 'PLAGUE'—any person interested in buying

¹⁷⁶ *The Intelligencer Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People*, 19 June 1665 (Issue 47); July 24, 1665 (Issue 57).

¹⁷⁷ See for example John Featley, *A Divine Antidote against the Plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R231239), and Simon Patrick *A Brief Exhortation to those who are shut up* (London: 1665; STC2 R217129), both advertised in *The Intelligencer*, 28 August 1665 (Issue 70); John Gadbury, *London's Deliverance Predicted* (London: 1665; STC2 R24344) advertised in *The Intelligencer*, 9 October 1665 (Issue 82).

¹⁷⁸ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁹ Stern, "'On each Wall and Corner Post'", p. 80.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁸¹ le Medde, *Elixyllogia* (STC2 R41364).

a plague pamphlet would have known just what they were purchasing.¹⁸² Most plague works prioritise the word *PLAGUE*, if not in size, but at least by placing it in all capitals. *A mite cast*, for example, chose to emphasise the names and titles of both practitioner-writer and printer-publisher. ‘PLAGUE’ in this scenario, is in all capitals but is amongst some of the smallest text on the page.¹⁸³ Thus, those crowding around common areas where advertisements were tacked up—Cheapside, St Paul’s Churchyard and the New Exchange, among many—would be quickly able to identify the vernacular medical works on plague.

Vernacular medical plague literature would have received a receptive audience. In a home with few books, one or two of those texts might be vernacular medical texts.¹⁸⁴ Print was more affordable and accessible than ever before. Printed books became more affordable between 1560 and 1635, so much so that a ‘seventeenth-century husbandmen might comfortably buy a two-penny pamphlet every fortnight’.¹⁸⁵ Even illiterate Londoners would have had access to the type of knowledge printed in medical plague texts. While for the moneyed, reading was a private experience, common people often read in groups or were read to.¹⁸⁶ Short works—as most of these plague pamphlets were—were lent among friends, read aloud in private or public spaces, which varies from taverns to church porches. At any of London’s many coffee houses, one could buy copies of newsbooks and pamphlets; customers read them over their dishes of coffee.¹⁸⁷ ‘This information was then shared and discussed among patrons, as ‘Coffee houses promoted a talking culture’.¹⁸⁸ As Halasz has observed, because shorter works like pamphlets ‘are ubiquitous and polymorphous, they imply a generalized access to the circulation of printed discourse and thus open up the social space that will come to be conceptualized as the public sphere.’¹⁸⁹ Public broadsides were another way the poor could have had access to printed information.¹⁹⁰ Thus, the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets and various broadsheets of plague remedies might have been the most ‘popular’ form of vernacular medical plague literature.¹⁹¹ Londoners of any class would have had access, in some form or other, to print which would inform them about plague and its potential treatments.

Londoners who had access to these printed pamphlets communicating medical information about plague engaged in a complex new way of understanding the material they read. Robert Darnton has commented that

¹⁸² Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague* (STC2 R221989).

¹⁸³ Garençières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663).

¹⁸⁴ Fissel, *Patients, Power and the Poor*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁵ Heidi Brayman Hackel, ‘Popular Literacy and Society’ in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 88-100, p. 95.

¹⁸⁶ Robert Darnton, ‘First Step Towards a History of Reading’, *Australian Journal of Print Studies*, 51 (1986), 5-30, p. 13-14.

¹⁸⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 56.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁸⁹ Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Armstrong, ‘The Bookseller and the Pedlar’, p. 26.

¹⁹¹ Anonymous, *Londons Lord have mercy upon us* (STC2 R220359); Anonymous, *London’s Lord have mercy upon us* (STC2 R224592)

after 1500 the printed book, pamphlet, broadside, map, and poster reached new kinds of readers and stimulated new kinds of reading. Increasingly standardized in its design, cheaper in its price, and widespread in its distribution, the new book transformed the world. It did not simply supply more information. It provided a mode of understanding, a basic metaphor of making sense of life.¹⁹²

Moreover, ‘reading and living, construing texts and making sense of life, were much more closely related in the early modern period than they are today’.¹⁹³ The evidence suggests that the spread of print also spread new forms of knowledge: Lauren Kassell has found that almanac print played a role in increasing astrological literacy throughout Europe from the beginning of the fifteenth century through the early modern period.¹⁹⁴ Early modern readers practised ‘extensive’ rather than ‘intensive’ reading, making links beyond the text itself to other things they had read and learned.¹⁹⁵ Taking notes, often in the margin of a particular text, was considered an important way of understanding that text.¹⁹⁶ Early modern texts were subject to significant cross-referencing and intense reinterpretation.¹⁹⁷

Readers of medical plague tracts and pamphlets were aided in their efforts to understand a text by the fact that the information in plague pamphlets was often organised similarly, which is to say that the reader knew what type of information to expect in what order. By 1665, readers had expectations and assumptions about what a plague pamphlet looked like and the type of information it would contain. This is borne out by the similarities across the genre. Indeed, most pamphlets began with a discussion of the cause of plague, moving from supernatural to natural; the plague pamphlet then considered the symptoms and life course of the disease before typically launching into a laundry list of recommended medicines and therapies in regards to (and in this order) purifying the air, fortifying the body, curing a plague victim and treating the outward symptoms of the disease. Thus, by 1665 the plague pamphlet was a familiar genre with conventions adhered to across the city. These conventions allowed readers both to intensively read the portions they were interested in and to engage with whatever section they required as and when they needed it.

Once read, plague pamphlets were clearly meant for use. Slack describes medical vernacular literature generally as handbooks for middle-class households and for unqualified medical practitioners’.¹⁹⁸ Any popular medical book shares features which suggest they were books meant for use: for example, an item-by-item format which allowed readers to dip in as needed, a mixture of a variety of theoretical systems and a use of practical verbiage.¹⁹⁹ The mere

¹⁹² Darnton, ‘First Step’, p. 24.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁹⁴ Lauren Kassell, ‘Almanacs and Prognostications’ in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 431-42, p. 440.

¹⁹⁵ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2008), p. 18.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 3-5.

¹⁹⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 184-5.

¹⁹⁸ Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health’, p. 237.

¹⁹⁹ Fissel, ‘Popular Medical Writing’, p. 423.

fact that recipes and tips from vernacular medical literature were collated into manuscript receipt books shows that people digested and synthesised what they read, assessing its usefulness as they went. As Wear has observed, readers ‘took an active interest in bringing [medical knowledge] together.’²⁰⁰ Reading was a rigorous process, as Phyllis Thompson’s study of manuscript recipe collections shows; recipe collectors deployed a variety of tactics for organizing their recipes, and Johanna St John marked some of the recipes she tested with an ‘X’, denoting a recipe which had not had the desired effect.²⁰¹ Plague pamphlets went under the same rigorous testing and questioning.

Fissel suggests that ‘close attention to the ways in which... texts are written’—including structure, order of the words and clause structure—‘can suggest how readers were expected to respond to them’.²⁰² The structure of plague pamphlets reinforces the idea that they were meant to for use. Recipes were listed, like manuscript recipe collections, by their purported effects; thus, in T. D.’s *Food and physick* we see recipes entitled, ‘To Preserve from the Infection of the Plague’, ‘To take the Infection from a House Infected’, ‘For purging’, ‘Outward Medicines to Ripen the Sore’ and ‘To procure Sleep to the Sick Persons’.²⁰³ Readers and users of these pamphlets, then, were able to use these headings to find and read the recommended remedies.

Perhaps the most interesting work of vernacular medical literature published about plague produced during 1665 is the second edition of Thomas Cock’s *Advice for the Poor*. The first edition, published in August, was eight pages long, jumping straight into a discussion prevention of the plague by regimen and cure of the plague by purgative sweating. Cock’s portion of the pamphlet concluded with a list of the places at which several of the remedies mentioned in the text could be purchased, before including the text of Roger Dixon’s previous broadsheet *A directory for the poor*, which were placed under headings describing each recipe.²⁰⁴ The second edition, perhaps, is far more interesting. Essentially, it represents the information of the entire eight-page first edition compacted onto one two-sided sheet. The full text was reproduced in the middle of the sheet, while small blurbs summarizing the information were introduced in both of the margins in itemised lists under the headers ‘Expulsives’ and ‘Preventatives’.²⁰⁵ The change in format was on one level, practical; Cock writes that ‘his Highness... and the Right Honourable Lord Craven’ recommended that any poor Londoner who paid to ‘the Poors Book’ be allowed to purchased the sheet for just 2d.²⁰⁶ Cock’s original pamphlet was considered so useful that it was printed and distributed en masse; in order to keep costs low, a shortened version was considered appropriate. The churchwarden of St Margaret Westminster bought four copies for parishioners to

²⁰⁰ Wear, ‘The Popularization of Medicine’.

²⁰¹ Thomson, ‘Uncovering the Traces’, p. 77-8.

²⁰² Mary Fissel, ‘Readers, Texts, and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England’ in *Popularization of Medicine* ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 72-97, pp. 87-88.

²⁰³ T. D. *Food and physick* (STC2 R33433), pp. 8-10.

²⁰⁴ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569).

²⁰⁵ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R215203).

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

consult.²⁰⁷ At this rate, costs—including in sheets of paper—had to be kept low in order to ensure that the financial backers were at least breaking even. However, the change in format also suggests something interesting about the ways that readers digested the information in plague print: that is, that they valued, insofar as could be provided, itemised lists telling them what to expect and allowing them to browse and select information quickly when in use. Thus, in the case of *Advice for the poor* as well as many other pamphlets, the practicalities of business were fused with consumer preference in order to produce and evolve the structures in which printers chose to compose their print.

John Allin's correspondence can open a window into how plague print was received by a learned consumer. As established in section 4.1, Allin was an avid consumer of print, particularly medical print. In 1666, Allin finally got his hands on Cock's 'paper'—very likely the shortened second edition published in broadsheet form. It is clear that Allin intensively read and critiqued this work of medical vernacular literature. He confides in Fryth his distrust of the information in the pamphlet, writing that

others experience sayth that more moderate sweating y^en 15 houres w^{ch} hee prescribeth, is more convenient for feare of weakening y^e naturall spiritts, w^{ch} is y^e life of man at such a time: better oftner; & not so much together: & y^t not without some very good cordiall to bee taken often in the time²⁰⁸

Readers of plague print were assaulted with a range of contesting opinions and directions. Thus, these readers—like Allin—took what they read with a grain of salt, digesting it and then comparing it to pre-existing knowledge, from thence to be accepted or rejected. Reading a plague pamphlet was done extensively and thoughtfully.

Londoners had access to plague pamphlets through a number of methods. First, They could purchase these pamphlets; they could be read to from them or borrow them from friends or neighbours; or they could glean whatever information possible from the title pages which would have been tacked around the city. They approached this print sceptically, analysing where it would fit into their pre-existing knowledge. Moreover, this print was specifically formulated to aid its use and to enhance the publisher's profits. Plague pamphlets, like vernacular medical literature more generally, were part of a wider move towards a commercialised economy increasingly driven by consumption and commodification.²⁰⁹

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has, I hope, shown the vital role of smedical print during the Great Plague of 1665. It was an important recourse of the printing trade when threatened by plague. In 1665, there was 'more medical advice available than ever before'.²¹⁰ The proliferation of printing houses and printed works during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth ensured that as soon as the *Bills of*

²⁰⁷ WCL, Churchwardens' accounts in relation to the plague, SMW/E/1/47.

²⁰⁸ ESRO, FRE 5548 (27 October 1666).

²⁰⁹ Fissel, 'Marketplace of Print', p. 126.

²¹⁰ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 246.

Mortality began reporting increased deaths of plague, there was an outpouring of print in response to the disease (sections 4.2 and 4.3). These responses included the medical vernacular literature discussed above.

This chapter has given the first in depth description of what vernacular medical plague print looked like in 1665, the process by which it was produced and the motivations behind its creation. Plague pamphlets are a clear reflection of the commercialised and commodified state of medicine in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the very format of plague pamphlets shows that economic considerations were taken into account at every point in the production and dissemination of plague print. These pamphlets were ephemeral, usually of less than 30 pages, not only ensuring that the cost of printing a plague pamphlet would be kept low, but also that they would be used to such an extent that a reprinting of the most popular works would be necessary in any future outbreaks of plague. Likewise, their effective mix of information and promotion reflects that plague pamphlets were a commercial venture. There was an uncommonly high proportion of new medical print produced in response to the Plague of 1665. There was a demand for new print about the disease in a decade where medical dogmas were so hotly debated; likewise, the use of the printed pamphlet as advertisement in 1665 on an unprecedented scale necessitated the creation of new print (section 4.4).

Rather than exploring the content or the literary aspects of this print—as previous studies of the *Bills*, the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsides and the Galenic-Helmontian pamphlet war have done—I have chosen to focus on its creators. The printers who engaged in producing plague print during London’s last plague year were important parts of the medical economy during times of plague. This chapter has revealed the complex partnerships formed between booksellers, printers and practitioners that produced medical plague literature in 1665. Printers, publishers and booksellers were thoroughly entangled in the medical economy from the 1650s onwards; booksellers were the purveyors of medical advice and wares. During the Great Plague of 1665, printers and booksellers were more important in distributing medical goods than ever before (discussed more below in sections 5.6, 6.7 and 6.8). Vernacular medical plague print would have been a familiar feature of any of London’s plague years and could be purchased across the city, although an interesting aspect of this research shows that plague pamphlets were usually vended in the more affluent parts of the metropolis—not those most commonly affected by plague (section 4.5).

Medical print about plague was widely available during the Great Plague of 1665; readers were faced with the task of fitting the medical knowledge they consumed with pre-existing beliefs and experiences. These works, once read, were digested, questioned, applied and modified to suit the reader’s needs and preferences (section 4.6). John Allin, as a medical practitioner, was highly critical of the details of Cock’s pamphlet. The next chapter continues to use Allin’s correspondence as a window onto medical responses to the Plague of 1665 by exploring the ways in which John Allin engaged with London’s growing market for panaceas in Restoration London during the Great Plague.

Chapter Five

Panaceas for Plague:

The Effects of Chemical Medicine on Cure-alls for Plague in Mid-Seventeenth-Century London

5.1 Introduction

In September 1666, just a year after the decline of the Great Plague, Allin sat writing to his friend Philip Fryth. With excitement, he told Fryth that ‘Since I wrote to you last I have seene almost one graine of the pfect greate Elixir.’¹ During the heat of the plague in 1665, though he left his chambers in Southwark to treat the stricken as an irregular physician, Allin’s alchemical experiments bubbled away back in his chambers in Southwark. Between 1663 and 1674—the entire period of his correspondence with Samuel Jeake and Philip Fryth—Allin attempted to distil the Philosopher’s Stone from what he referred to as his *prima materia*. In 1665, he willed Fryth a book he had written about his attempts and ‘the use of the elixir magnus for phisicke pfitt or delight’,² a clear reference to his intentions to use the results of his experiments as a medical panacea.

Allin was not the only Londoner in search of a panacea for plague. As Chapters One and Two have argued, the Great Plague of 1665 took place during a period in which London’s trade in proprietary medicines was more vibrant and profitable than it had ever been before. During times of plague, as many licensed practitioners fled the city, this trade had never been more important. Londoners were anxious consumers and testers of medicines that claimed to have universal or multiple uses. In a letter to his sister, Londoner H. North wrote about the plague’s progress through the metropolis. Along with the letter, he sent some physick which he boasted was ‘the most excellentest thing in England, and cheap at half a crown a spoonful; it cures the plague, if anything can do it, also smallpox, measles, and an infinite number of other diseases.’³ Like Allin, others searched for panaceas of a more alchemical persuasion. In 1603, Dekker had observed that ‘some fewe Empiricall mad-caps... went humming vp and downe... sucking the sweetnes of Siluer, (and now and then of *Aurum Potabile*) out of the posion of Blaines and Carbuncles.’⁴ Allin’s letters show that the search for an alchemical panacea was still in full force during the 1665 outbreak.

This chapter will orient John Allin’s alchemical practice within the larger context of universal medicine in London in the mid-seventeenth century, making the case that Allin’s search for the Philosopher’s Stone placed him on the cutting edge of medical practice in Restoration London. I will further make the case that London’s proprietary medicine market was increasingly

¹ ESRO, FRE 5545 (22 September 1666).

² ESRO, FRE 5465 (September 7, 1665).

³ TNA: PRO, SP 29/168 f.73b.

⁴ Thomas Dekker, *1603. The vvonderfull yeare* (London: 1665; STC S91632), p. 15.

important to preventing and treating plague during the seventeenth century and discuss some of the marketing techniques used to entice prospective buyers. I argue that chemistry—in particular, lofty ideas about the ultimate panacea, the Philosopher’s Stone—nurtured this trade.

Throughout the period of his correspondence, Allin attempted to create the Philosopher’s Stone, which he intended to use as a panacea to cure, among many things, plague. Chapter Three has established that Allin was in fact one amongst a vibrant network of such chemical practitioners in Restoration London. This network included the Society of Chemical Physicians, who engaged in a pamphlet war with members of the College of Physicians over the validity of Paracelsian and Helmontian medicine and its potential ascendance over traditional Galenic medicine. This chapter starts by orienting the reader in scholarship about alchemy and the Philosopher’s Stone, showing how the quest for a panacea on the scale of the Stone was at its height in Restoration London (section 5.2). Allin’s own attempts to produce the Stone show his involvement with alchemical print and circles (section 5.3). I then discuss how sweating was a universally recommended therapy for plague in the vernacular medical literature of 1665. Theriac, a sudorific drug which was of increasing importance to plague medicine over the course of the seventeenth century, was also used as a panacea (section 5.4). The idea of a panacea bled into all aspects of plague treatment, for while chemists still used diaphoretic therapies to cure plague, their drugs were the true innovation (section 5.5). A case study of mid-seventeenth-century advertisements for proprietary panaceas and nostrums will further exhibit both the marriage of Galenic and chemical dogmas and the typicality of Allin’s belief in a panacea for plague (section 5.6). Finally, correspondence and annotations made in the margins of two plague pamphlets will suggest that these types of panaceas were used in practice (section 5.7).

5.2 *Iatrochemistry and the Philosopher’s Stone*

Chapter Three introduced the background and concepts at the heart of the debate between the Society of Chemical Physicians and the College of Physicians. At its core, the debate was a contest disputing what type of medicine was most appropriate for the cure of disease. Early modern chemists believed that God had created an inexhaustible supply of remedies which required purification by chemistry in order to become the most effective.⁵ These remedies, Charles Webster has claimed, came in the form of specifics, though elixirs and panaceas were the objects of popular curiosity.⁶ This chapter, however, contends that the ideal of a panacea was at the heart of alchemical, and therefore, chemical medical practice in seventeenth century London. Allin’s belief in and pursuit of the Philosopher’s Stone was by no means unique; around him his chemical consorts and correspondents also took up the pursuit.

Belief in the Philosopher’s Stone was so widespread that one historian has termed it the ‘*idée fixe of the age*’.⁷ Alchemy was ‘the art of combining a series of ingredients at the correct

⁵ Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 284-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁷ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 2.

times and temperatures. The result was the Philosopher's Stone, a substance which could transmute base metals into gold, and prolong life.⁸ Alchemy was particularly concerned with the discovery of two substances, the Philosopher's Stone and the *Alkahest*.⁹ These goals can be summarised even more simply as metallic transmutation and pharmaceutical medicine.¹⁰

The Philosopher's Stone was a widely sought-after prize in early modern Europe. Seventeenth-century chemists organised the seven recognised metals into two categories. Gold and silver were noble metals because of their aesthetic appeal, rarity and their resistance to decay, while copper, tin, iron, lead and mercury were base metals.¹¹ The Philosopher's Stone was a substance—not necessarily a stone, metal or mineral—which would transform any base metal into gold.¹² In order to create the Philosopher's Stone, an alchemist needed to select a *materia prima*. This 'prime matter' was believed to be the substance of which all metals were composed. While Aristotelian alchemy viewed the *materia prima* as an abstract concept, early modern alchemists like Allin 'tended to view prima materia more tangibly and in more material terms. Prime matter for them, if it could be isolated, offered a kind of material blank slate on which any form might be imposed, thereby producing any desired substance.'¹³

The *Alkahest*, on the other hand, was a substance which would 'reduce matter into its ultimate constituents.'¹⁴ Paracelsus was believed to have been the first to discover the *Alkahest*.¹⁵ Van Helmont also believed that the *Alkahest* could be achieved and that it would be a pure substance which would withstand corruption¹⁶ and separate the pure from the impure when used in chemistry.¹⁷ Van Helmont believed that the *Alkahest* would dissolve material, including metals and minerals, into water.¹⁸ Significantly, van Helmont believed that the key to the creation of both the *Alkahest* and the Philosopher's Stone was fermentation. Because fermentation was seen as a vital process, it 'made alchemy the arbiter and touchstone of life itself'.¹⁹ As Hedesean has put it,

Van Helmont propagated the ideas of a universal solvent (the Alkahest) which could reduce matter into its initial components, as well an universal medicine that would remarkably extend life... Indeed, this period saw a flourishing of interesting in metallic transmutation, promoted by the re-discovery of medieval tracts... The result was a blurring of the lines between medical and chrysopoeian alchemy, as well as an increasing fascination with the latter.²⁰

⁸ Ibid., p. 133.

⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁰ Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 108.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 108-9.

¹² Ibid., p. 112.

¹³ Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁴ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 146.

¹⁵ Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy*, p. 326.

¹⁶ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 147.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁸ Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 140.

¹⁹ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 91.

²⁰ Georgiana Hedesean, 'Alchemy' in *The Occult World*, ed. by Christopher Partridge (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2015), 552-563 (p. 559).

Thus, alchemy was seen as having life-giving powers, and that branch of alchemy which had become obsessed with the transmutation of metals— chrysopoeian alchemy—merged and married with iatrochemical alchemy.

The history of alchemy is one that has often been misunderstood as a pseudoscience. However, the separation of alchemy and iatrochemistry is one that is fundamentally artificial.²¹ The two were in fact one and the same in the seventeenth century.²² One of alchemy's admitted goals was to produce better medicines, and its goal substances—the Philosopher's Stone and the *Alkahest*—were seen as having life-giving qualities and elements. Van Helmont's writings effectively merged two branches of alchemy into early modern chemical practice.

Corresponding with this peak in interest not only in the Philosopher's Stone and its discovery and the merger of transmutational and medical alchemies, was a peak in interest in the prolongation of human life. Historians like Hedesan and Haycock have established that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a widespread interest in the prolongation of life and the means by which it could be achieved. Haycock has observed that a 'belief in the medical possibilities of prolonging life was firmly held amongst a number of important philosophers in the seventeenth century,²³ including Bacon, Paracelsus, van Helmont, Starkey, Boyle, and Oldenburg.²⁴ This belief accounted for the inclusion of snake's flesh in plague remedies, as it was seen as having regenerative properties due to the annual shedding and renewal of its skin.²⁵ Hedesan has written about the interest of philosophers between 1630 and 1650 with the biblical concept of the tree of life which, she observes, is fundamentally linked to belief in prolongation of life.²⁶

Allin's lifelong friend and former roommate, the iatrochemist George Starkey, was himself obsessed with pursuing both the *Alkahest* and the Philosopher's Stone, which he experimented in the hopes of throughout the 1650's.²⁷ He was by no means alone in his search for an alchemical panacea. As this chapter will illustrate, belief in panaceas was one common amongst and central to chemical practice in early modern London. This belief is not only evident amongst the Society of Chemical Physicians but also amongst a number of irregular practitioners who advertised panaceas for plague throughout the mid-seventeenth century. Allin was one of an established network of chemists in pursuit of the same goal: a panacea.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

²² William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, 'Alchemy vs Chemistry: The Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake', *Early Science and Medicine*, 3:1 (1998), 32-65.

²³ David Boyd Haycock, "'A Thing Ridiculous'?: Chemical Medicines and the Prolongation of Life in Seventeenth-Century England', *Working Papers on the Nature of Evidence: How Well do 'Facts Travel'?* 10/06 (2006), 1-29 (p. 28).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁶ Georgiana D. Hedesan, 'Reproducing the Tree of Life: Radical Prolongation of Life and Biblical Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century Alchemy', *Ambix* 60:4 (2013), 341-60, pp. 342-3

²⁷ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 174.

5.3 John Allin's Alchemical Practice

Key to the production of Allin's panacea was his own *materia prima*, which was in fact a rather unpleasant looking alga known as *coelifolium* or *nostock*. While plague desolated London, Allin rambled through his parish in Southwark in search of the plant, which he said was best found, 'after a rainy, but most in a dry night after a rainy day or weather, the wind south-west'.²⁸ He also entreated his correspondents to send him some of the plant if they could find it, reminding one on 7 September 1665, 'If I live I hope to have some *prima materia* from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it'.²⁹ By the 27th of that month, he was so certain of success that he believed others might try to learn of his secret ingredient. He wrote, 'If you send any *prima materia* in a glasse I pray cover it over w^h paper and double seale it up that nothing of it bee seene.'³⁰ By distilling the plant, Allin hoped to create the mystical substance that would transform gold into a panacea for plague.

In a letter to Jeake dated 17 March 1670, Allin told more of the chemical process by which he hoped to create the Stone. He wrote:

I had y^e conveniency to goe + view the phylosophicall nest, to have a fresh account + sight of the eggs; last monday I went thither accordingly. you may please to remember there there were 2 nests, both fed with sawdust; y^e one in sand the other in Balneo: That in balneo consist of 4 eggs much of y^l satisfaction 1/3 full at first all of y^e phylosophical matter but diversly gathered: one y^e middle most that then and still doe looke like sacke or yellow oyle, was pt of y^l matter gathered at Rye w^{ch} M^r Fryth sent mee. y^e other eggs (as well as y^l at first) turned black like pitch after 40 or 50 dates with a kind of shining superficies in whitish spotts like fishes eyes: y^e one of y^e other glasses looke now on y^e top of greyish white supficies, another of y^{em} looke blackish againe but seemes to be so swelled as if y^e glasse was almost full.³¹

Allin's nests were actually two flasks being heated, one in a water bath and one in a sand bath; the changes he observed in this particular letter excited him, as he viewed them as an important step in achieving his goal.³² He went on to tell how calcinated chalk on the side of the glasses that held his distillations of alga made it difficult to see the progress of his experiments, and that he had been distilling the glass of sand for 285 days, while that of water 'have stood this day about 300 dayes'.³³ Allin's alchemical pursuits were no mere hobby; rather, they took immense amounts of time and energy, both to observe and record the stages he noticed and to maintain the necessary conditions by which his experiments could continue. Allin was in fact devoted to an all-consuming pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone.

This passage suggests that Allin engaged with the alchemical literature of his day. The agreed method for turning an alchemist's chosen *materia prima* into the Philosopher's Stone involved placing the prepared *materia prima* into a 'glass vessel with an oval body and a long neck, often called the philosophical egg... on account of both the size and the shape of its belly,

²⁸ ESRO, FRE 5465 (September 7, 1665).

²⁹ ESRO, FRE 5465 (September 7, 1665).

³⁰ ESRO, FRE 5470 (September 27, 1665).

³¹ ESRO, FRE 5626 (March 17, 1670).

³² Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 47.

³³ ESRO, FRE 5626 (March 17, 1670).

and its function in “giving birth”... to the stone.³⁴ The vessel was then placed in a furnace and heated to the correct temperature; the alchemist would know he had chosen and prepared his *materia prima* correctly if, after thirty to forty days, it turned black within his glass. The glass was to remain in the furnace, necessitating continuous attention and labour on the part of the alchemist, on account of the need to keep the heat constant. As Principe describes,

The early modern chymist had only carefully sized pieces of charcoal added at regular and frequent intervals day and night, and the manipulation of the air vents on bright or iron furnaces, to maintain and control the heat. In an age before thermometers, the chymist had to rely on touch, sight, and smell to gauge temperatures.³⁵

Eventually, if the alchemist gauged the temperature correctly, the blackness of the substance in his glass was to recede, exposing a substance that was multi-coloured.³⁶ Eventually, the liquid would turn white, marking its transformation into the White Philosopher’s Stone or White Elixir, a stop on the way to the full Philosopher’s Stone, which required more heating.³⁷ Allin’s March 1670 letter shows his excitement as his experiment reached one of the traditional stages on the way to the creation of the full Philosopher’s Stone.

A conventional *materia prima* for creating the Philosopher’s Stone was some type of metal. Most early modern alchemists ‘argued that since the goal of transmutation is to alter metals, it is necessary to begin with metals or metallic minerals’.³⁸ Indeed, there was a strain of alchemy popularised by George Starkey which purported that the key to creating the Philosopher’s Stone was ‘preparing a Philosophical Mercury from ordinary Mercury by a process of purification and “animation” which endowed it with life and vital heat.’³⁹ Allin’s choice of a vegetable *prima materia*, then, seems odd in comparison; however, by the 1660s alchemists were branching into the animal and vegetable kingdoms. One alchemist even used urine as his solvent.⁴⁰ Van Helmont himself used a vegetable as his *materia prima*; his own experiments for the Philosopher’s Stone used cedar of Lebanon and the *Alkahest* distilled together.⁴¹

Allin’s own choice of vegetable ingredient proves to be deeply founded in the printed iatrochemical *corpus*. *Coelifolium* was also known as *tremella nostock*; Paracelsus, van Helmont, and their followers frequently refer to the plant simply as *nostoch*, referring to the alga as the ‘pollution of some plethorical and wanton Star, or rather... blown from the nostrils of some rheumatick planet’,⁴² while English Paracelsian Oswald Croll commented that it was an ‘Excrement’ of the stars.⁴³ The plant had a long tradition of being regarded as otherworldly,

³⁴ Principe, *Secrets of Alchemy*, p. 123.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴¹ Haycock, ‘A Thing Absurd’, p. 17.

⁴² Jan Baptiste van Helmont, *A ternary of paradoxes the magnetick cure of wounds, nativity of tartar in wine, image of God in man* (London: 1650; STC2 R202397), p. 100.

⁴³ Oswald Croll, *Bazilica chymica, & Praxis chymiatricae, or Royal and practical chymistry in three treatises* (London: 1670; STC2 R881), p. 105.

referred to as ‘shooting stars’, ‘troll’s butter’, and ‘witch’s jelly’. In his investigations of the material, Paracelsus described it as a ‘peculiar intermediate between the microcosmos and macrocosmos’, or terrestrial and celestial spheres.⁴⁴ The use of *coelifolium* as a solvent for the creation of gold had been disseminated into English literature by the time Allin began his experiments in the mid-1660s. German-Dutch alchemist Johann Rudolph Glauber, whose work was translated into English in 1651, observed, ‘I have oftentimes seene those, that although they have not chosen common water for their *menstruum*, yet have made choice of... water distilled out of Nostock’.⁴⁵ Allin’s choice of ingredient was completely in line with what one would expect of a devoted Paracelsian alchemist; to create the ultimate cure, to treat not just plague but any illness or disease, Allin looked to the fathers of early modern alchemy themselves.

Donna Bilak has established that Allin’s immense interest in the Philosopher’s Stone had loftier goals than just metallic transmutation or a medical cure-all. His experiments were rooted in the connection between ‘alchemical practice and millenarian concerns in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic world’, and Allin’s Nonconformist beliefs indicated that the successful creation of the Philosopher’s Stone would herald the second coming of Christ.⁴⁶ Allin fervently believed that the Second Coming was imminent; his interest in supernatural news manifests his belief that the last days were nigh.⁴⁷ This belief was common amongst those who, possibly like Allin, were involved in Fifth Monarchist circles. In the 1650s, the radical Fifth Monarchist Mary Rand prophesied that the discovery of the Philosopher’s Stone would presage the Second Coming of Christ.⁴⁸ Allin’s contemporaries read the plague as a sign of divine providence, a punishment from God merited by their wickedness.⁴⁹ Allin’s interest in creating the Philosopher’s Stone was not a hobby, but his consuming pursuit both as a millenarian and as a chemist. During a time in which he found work where he could as an unlicensed physician, solicitor and nonconformist preacher, his alchemical pursuits were the one occupation he consistently engaged in.

With the exception of Bilak’s work, previous treatments of Allin have often been dismissive of his alchemical pursuits. William Durrant Cooper and Walter Bell were particularly derisive in their assessments. Bell describes Allin as a ‘muddled’, ‘pseudo-learned’ man who had ‘a mind confused with alchemy and astrology’ whose interest in the Philosopher’s Stone were ‘the confusions’ of an ‘over-wrought’ mind.⁵⁰ And while historians since then have been more

⁴⁴ Malcom Potts, ‘Etymology of the Genus Name *Nostoc* (Cyanobacteria)’, *International Journal of Systematic Bacteriology*, 47 (1997), 584 (p. 584).

⁴⁵ Johann Rudolf Glauber, *A description of new philosophical furnaces, or A new art of distilling* (London: 1651; STC2 R202215), p. 308.

⁴⁶ Bilak, ‘Alchemy and the End Times’, p. 390.

⁴⁷ ESRO, FRE 5490 (December 20, 1665).

⁴⁸ Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ John Spurr, ‘“Virtue, Religion and Government”: the Anglican Uses of Providence’ in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* ed. by Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie (London: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 29-48, (p. 35).

⁵⁰ Bell, *The Great Plague*, pp. 259-64.

forgiving, describing Allin as ‘following in the footsteps of distinguished herbalists, astrologers, and alchemists from the previous generation’,⁵¹ he was not an out-dated traditionalist.

For Allin was in fact on the cutting edge of medical practice in seventeenth-century London. The influence of Paracelsian and Helmontian modes of thought, embodied by chemical and alchemical networks within the metropolis, was active throughout the mid-seventeenth century; Allin was by no means unique. The Society of Chemical Physicians was the organised and unified front of these practitioners in 1665; while they had lost a great deal of support by the time plague broke out in the metropolis, the Society advertised with gusto their chemical medicines, made of nonorganic, frequently mineral materials. They were not alone in their endeavours: epidemic disease and the flight of the College of Physicians offered irregular practitioners the opportunity to practise without reproach, and advertisements left by these practitioners reflect the fact that panaceas, often chemical or alchemical in nature, were on wide offer in London throughout the mid-1660s.

5.4 Sweating: A Universal Therapy

As part of its discussion of traditional approaches to the prevention and cure of plague, Chapter Two introduced a drug which became increasingly important to medical practice over the course of the seventeenth century: theriac and its variants, including Venice treacle, London treacle, mithridate and others (see section 2.5). Plague far from the only disease to which treacle was used therapeutically; it was used, in many ways, as a Galenic panacea. Theophilus Garencières lauded its efficacy and usefulness, prescribing it for plague, as an antidote for venomous bites, stings, and poison in addition to using it as a treatment for epilepsy, jaundice, dropsy, colic, gout, madness, the delivery of stillborn children, and general strengthening of the ‘whole body’.⁵² In cases of plague, after taking the recommended dose of treacle, the patient was then laid to sweat, wrapped up in a woollen blanket with heated bricks laid against the sides of his body.⁵³ It was considered essential that the patient not sleep during the sweat; after two to three hours, the patient was to be given a strengthening broth or cordial, wiped down with clean linen, and have the mouth, face, and hands washed with vinegar. The entire process was to be repeated once every eight to twelve hours depending on the strength of the patient, until a cure was reached.⁵⁴

Sweating was recommended almost universally in the plague literature of 1665. Both professional and unlicensed practitioner-writers lauded its efficacy. Garencières boasted that plague was the easiest disease to cure with the use of sweat therapy; using it, he could cure ‘nineteen of twenty’.⁵⁵ However, specific directions on how best to sweat a patient were contested and, it was emphasised, should change from person to person. The College’s pamphlet suggested

⁵¹ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 110.

⁵² Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), p. 8.

⁵³ College of Physicians, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802), p. 15.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁵ Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), p. 2.

sweating period of two or three hours was on the minimalist side of the spectrum.⁵⁶ Collegiate physician Thomas Wharton, who claimed to give directions for the poor, suggested that the sweat should be lengthened to twelve hours⁵⁷ while another writer proposed an extravagant 24-hour sweating period.⁵⁸ Most plague writers agreed on a sweating period of between two and six hours, to be repeated with breaks twice a day. During these breaks, patients were to be given broth made from chicken or mutton.⁵⁹ The broth could be supplemented with a variety of herbs, spices, and fruits—endive, parsley, rosemary, thyme, lemons, currants, grapes, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and saffron—to enhance its taste so as to ‘refresh the spirits’.⁶⁰ Gruel was an adequate substitute where broth was unavailable.⁶¹

A lone doubter of sweating as a remedy for plague stands out amongst the literature: William Boghurst, an apothecary who remained in the city to treat the sick of the large suburban parish of St Giles in the Fields. In his memoir of the plague year, Boghurst recalled how consulted with ‘40, 50 or 60 patients a day’; he also participated in London’s growing market for proprietary medicines, advertising his own prepared remedies in *The Intelligencer*.⁶² The idea of sudorific therapy for plague clearly troubled him. He wrote critically:

But whoever thinks like Mr. Garencières to cure 19 of 20 only with sweating reiterated or by taking of Venice Treacle will miss their mark I believe, and... lays a little too much stress upon that one common way of often repeated sweating, and yet confesseth this oft fayled of which hee expected most success.⁶³

Despite Boghurst’s admitted doubts about the efficacy of sweating, his cure also depended on sudorific drugs; however, he resisted the temptation to perform the treatment universally. Instead, he considered the strength, weight, temper, age, and sex of the patient, in addition to factors like the season of the year and the weather, before using sudorific therapies. Boghurst supplemented or replaced sweating as sole treatment for plague with a variety of other remedies. He incorporated Galenic regimen into his own treatment of plague victims. Diet was cornerstone of his treatment. He recommended that cold food and drink should be avoided, as should all substantial foods as ‘flesh, fish, bread, eggs, etc.’⁶⁴ He also commended the use of cordials, especially if they were expensively made—as an apothecary, he would have recognised the quality of ingredients, and encouraging people to go to an apothecary to buy expensively could only benefit him.⁶⁵ And while Boghurst castigated other practitioners for their overreliance on Venice Treacle, it features as an ingredient in his medicines to cause sweating, cure headaches,

⁵⁶ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802), p. 18.

⁵⁷ Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague* (STC2 R221989), p. 5.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, *The observations of Mr. Lillie, and many famous and learned divines, touching the present visitation of the plague of pestilence* (London: 1665; STC2 R216877), p. 1.

⁵⁹ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569), p. 2.

⁶⁰ Woodall, *The surgeons mate* (STC2 R221201), p. 352.

⁶¹ Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague* (STC2 R221989), p. 5.

⁶² *The Intelligencer*, 31 July 1665 (Issue 59).

⁶³ William Boghurst, *Loimographia: an account of the great plague of London in the year 1665* (London: Shaw and Sons, 1894), p. 74.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

soothe plague sores and carbuncles, and help the patient rest between bouts of sweating along with mithridate and London Treacle.

As touched on in Chapter Three (see section 3.5), even chemical practitioners resorted to sweating as a curative therapy for plague; Paracelsus himself cited sweating as an effective treatment. In one pamphlet, he even recommended a concoction containing treacle as a sovereign method for causing sweat.⁶⁶ Paracelsus' tactics for curing plague remained rooted in Galenic understanding of the disease as a poison to be expelled; his true innovation was his use of nonorganic, metallic ingredients and the chemical processes of distillation and calcination used in their preparation. Indeed, the more Paracelsian a work and its writer, the more likely there are to be mentions of a universal cure more closely resembling Allin's belief in the effect of the Philosopher's Stone.

5.5 *The Society of Chemical Physicians and Universal Medicine*

Allin was not the only alchemist on the hunt for the means to cure plague. Some Italian physicians had been recommending alchemical compounds in their therapies since the late Middle Ages.⁶⁷ Chapter Three argued that the readymade medicines of the Society of Chemical Physicians contributed to its failure to incorporate itself. The next two sections will show that the idea of a panacea, a universal medicine that could cure all ills, was embedded into the medical culture of seventeenth-century London. Indeed, the Helmontians of the Society of Chemical Physicians were obsessed with the discovery and manufacture of panaceas.

The ideal of a panacea was emphasised and compounded by the rise and influence of Helmontian medicine. Many of the pamphlets of the members of the would-be Society of Chemical Physicians show a clear emphasis on panaceas and medicines with multiple uses. Beyond attempts to distil and create the Philosopher's Stone, the idea of a panacea as an important part of the chemists' claim that their medicines were 'the fastest, pleasantest, and most effectual means both for Conservation and of Health, and Cure of all Diseases whatsoever'.⁶⁸ This belief was evident not only amongst the Society of Chemical Physicians, eager to legitimise their practice, but amongst irregular practitioners as well. Le Medde noted that 'Galenical Medicines... are good and profitable all do allow, but being Harsh, Gross, and Nauseous to Squeamish Stomachs, and to most Especially being sick... when tis as it were forced down... tis forced up again.'⁶⁹ Chemists saw their belief in and use of purported panaceas as a way of practising a pleasant medicine that was not only more Christian but also the true means of cure. This conviction is evident in their pamphlets.

⁶⁶ Paracelsus, *An excellent treatise* (STC S108576), p. 20.

⁶⁷ Chiara Crisciani and Michaela Periera, 'Black Death and Golden Remedies: Some Remarks on Alchemy and the Plague' in *The Regulation of Evil: Social and Cultural Attitudes to Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages* ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Francesco Santi (Florence: Brepols, 1998), 7-39.

⁶⁸ O'Dowde, *The poor man's physician* (STC2 R218541), p. 93.

⁶⁹ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364), p. 8.

For example, Edward Bolnest used his *Medicina instavrata* not only as a chance to defend chemical physick, but to sing his chemical panacea's praises; he called his panacea 'pilula solaris'. It was, he boasted, a 'Noble and Excellent *Panacea*' and was a 'miracle' which would cleanse the body and 'not suffer any thing of impurity to remain that which is pure'.⁷⁰ It had gentle effects on the body; it 'doth not at all produce any Purgative, Emetick, or Cathartick operation... it (haply) manifests its force, in some by Urine, in others... by a gentle breathing Sweat.'⁷¹ Indeed, this pill was better than any emetic or purgative, as, claimed Bolnest, it cleansed the body of the impurities those medicines did not. Bolnest was emphasising chemistry's capability of purifying matter; just as chemistry separated the wholesome from the dross in order to create the most perfect medicines, those medicines would then work the same effect on the human body.

Everard Maynwaringe bragged about his own medicine, which by itself could replace the various treatments of the Galenists; it was 'the *Traumatick*, the *Digestive*, the *Abstersive*, the *Purgative*, the *Anodyne*, the *Cordial*, the *Julep*, that allayed *Fermenting Matter*, and *Febrile Heats*; the Opening *Clyster*, the *Discussing Fomentation*, the mollifying *Unguent* and Suppurating *Cataplasme*.'⁷² It treated an impressive array of complaints and diseases, among them,

Pains of the *Head* or *Limbs*, *Stitches*, or *Gripes* in the Body, *Reumatism*, or *Gout*... the *Paroxism*... To assist the *Genital Function*... is a probable good means against *Barrenness*... For Diseases appearing outward... as *Spots*, *Pimples*, *Itch*, *Scabs*, *Pustuls*, *Swellings*... For the *Venerial Lues* or *Pox*... for *Wounds*, *Tumors*, *Contusions*, *Apostems*, *Ulcers*, *Cancers*, *Fistulas* and *Gangrene*.⁷³

Panaceas, chemists believed, were the most attractive part of their medical practice. One could have one medicine to treat and cure all complaints, rather than many medicines to merely assuage some symptoms.

But while chemists promoted their panaceas, the Galenists rolled their eyes at the mere thought. Nathaniel Hodges asserted that Londoners were avid consumers of the panaceas of chemical empirics, 'supposing that they may as safely venture on a *Medicine* out of a *Booksellers shop* as *read a Book*'.⁷⁴ Indeed, he claimed, 'some thousands died more in *London* these last three or four years then the preceding... by the *Emperick ferment* and its *pernicious malignancy*.'⁷⁵ Thomson, the bulldog of the Society of Chemical Physicians, marvelled at the Galenists' derision of panaceas; presented with the mere idea, 'they will but deride and flout at it, boldly and presumptuously denying any such thing to be in *rerum natural* because their shallow wits being altogether soused and steeped in dirty Humours.'⁷⁶ This contempt for panaceas, to Thompson,

⁷⁰ Bolnest, *Medicina instavrata* (STC2 R33237), pp. 17-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷² Maynwaringe, *The catholic medicine* (STC2 R18244), p. 10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

⁷⁴ Nathaniel Hodges, *Vindiciæ medicinæ & medicorum: or An apology for the profession and professors of physick. In answer to the several pleas of illegal practitioners* (London: 1665; STC2 R13220), p. 48.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

⁷⁶ Thomson, *Galeno-pale* (STC2 R33830), p. 31.

made the physicians novices in comparison to chemists. What is clear is that the main reason chemists were able to believe in and rely on panaceas was their belief that all diseases had the same cause—a fearful and perturbed *Archeus*—while the Galenic theory of disease was more multi-causal.

The idea of a panacea was central to chemical medicine, not only because chemistry was fundamentally concerned with the creation of the Philosopher’s Stone, but because it was seen as the purest form of medical practice. This trend for universal medicine was shown in several ways. Firstly, because chemists believed that all diseases had the same root cause, the *Archeus*, pacifying the *Archeus* could cure them all. Secondly, these medicines were gentle, and could replace the many therapeutics used by the Galenists which were often seen as harsh and painful. Finally, these panaceas, with their purified mineral ingredients, were the best way to cleanse and renew the body. Panaceas could only be achieved through chemistry. Widespread belief in panaceas is further shown in handbill and pamphlet advertisements for universal medicines and wonder drugs for plague in mid-seventeenth-century London.

5.6 Advertisements

The trade in panaceas becomes most evident in the medical advertising of mid-seventeenth-century London. Elizabeth Furdell has pointed out that,

The explosion of iatric advertising in early modern England reflected an awareness on the part of the entrepreneurs that ordinary citizens demanded alternative and affordable forms of health care treatment than those provided by expensive physicians or by their costly counterparts among legitimate surgeons and apothecaries.⁷⁷

Our main glimpses into the world of chemical panaceas come from these surviving advertisements of those irregular practitioners who practised that transitional medicine that straddled the lines between Galenism and Helmontianism. Advertising, as Styles has observed, ‘was crucial to establishing and sustaining branded medicines in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century marketplace.’⁷⁸ They were advertised by a variety of methods, including handbills and broadsheets. Handbills were very small, usually between four and eight inches in length.⁷⁹ David Gentilcore has argued convincingly that these broadsheets constitute their own genre, as they all conformed to similar standards and norms.⁸⁰ Gentilcore has observed that handbills comprised five parts: the first introduced the practitioner and his proprietary medicine; the second listed the disease and complaints the remedy treated; the third told of recommended dosage; the fourth returned to the practitioner, listing his credentials; and the fifth portion catalogued the price of the

⁷⁷ Furdell *Publishing and Medicine*, p. 154.

⁷⁸ Styles, ‘Product Innovation’, p. 150.

⁷⁹ Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine*, p. 146.

⁸⁰ David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanry in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 357.

remedy and those places at which it was sold.⁸¹ A particular benefit of using handbills as an advertisement was that they were not taxed by parliament.⁸²

Almanacs offered a unique opportunity for advertising proprietary medicine, in that these advertisements had a longer lifespan than broadsheets and pamphlets. Additionally, the distribution of almanacs meant that advertisements in them had the potential of being seen not just by local, but national and international audiences.⁸³ These advertisements, according to Louise Hill Curth, reflected the ‘growing acceptance, popularity and subsequent demand for proprietary medicines’.⁸⁴ Common proprietary medicines, like Buckworth’s Lozenges and Daffy’s Elixir, were frequently advertised in almanacs, with the former appearing ‘a total of 64 times between 1656 and 1700.’⁸⁵ However, advertisements in almanacs during the 1660s overwhelmingly tended to focus on other books, with less space devoted to medical books, proprietary drugs and medical services.⁸⁶

Other advertisements in broadsheet or pamphlet form were a more ephemeral form of print, unlikely to be saved by owners and more likely to be discarded than other formats. While many of these longer publications often doubled as advertisements, mentioning the name and location of the author-practitioner at the end, the advertisements most likely to contain mentions of panacea-like medicines were usually one-page broadsheets and handbills, often undecorated and to the point, which consisted of a large, bold title, a brief and fantastic description of the medicine on offer, and an even briefer description of the location and sign of the purveyors of that medicine. I have managed to find ten of these types of advertisements, all dating from between 1640 and 1670, when chemical medicine was experiencing its English heyday. The small amount of words available in such advertisements meant that many were formatted similarly and, likewise, made similar promises.

Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, for example, waxed poetic—literally—upon the health benefits of drinking chocolate:

*Let th’ Universall Medicine
(Made up of Dead-mens Bones and Skin,)
Be henceforth Illegitimate,
And yeild to Sovereigne Chocolate*

Colmenero de Ledesma’s advertisement reflects the very common pride and swaggering confidence typical of this form of print. He was openly dismissive and contemptuous of other practitioners’ claims of panaceas. Chocolate, he claimed, would cure dysentery, consumption, syphilis, coughs, and a multitude of other diseases. It could even alleviate impotence in men,

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 351.

⁸² Furdell, *Medical Publishing*, p. 142.

⁸³ Curth, *English Almanacs*, pp. 184-5.

⁸⁴ Curth, ‘Medical Advertising in the Popular Press’, p. 47.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁸⁶ Curth, *English Almanacs*, p. 187.

infertility in women, and even had cosmetic benefits, making ‘*old women Young and Fresh*’.⁸⁷ Colmenero de Ledesma’s claims worked upon a relatively new inclusion of chocolate as a medicinal; the sixteenth-century Spanish physician Hernandez had been the first to use cacao beans as a cold and dry medicine to combat fevers.⁸⁸ By the time Colmenero de Ledesma practised in Andalusia in the mid-seventeenth century ‘the list of the accounts [that] referred to the presumed merits and medicinal properties of cacao and chocolate, is infinite’.⁸⁹ Charles II’s physician to Jamaica, Henry Stubbe, likewise lauded the effects of chocolate;⁹⁰ it was not until the 1680s that the idea of chocolate as medicine came under question.⁹¹ Colmenero de Ledesma, like many others, was so confident of chocolate’s curative benefits that, he claimed, chemists would ‘*Break all their Stills for Chocolate*’.⁹²

However, the chemists showed no signs of doing so. Surviving advertisements show the multiplicity and breadth of the various decoctions and mixtures available for treating disease; many of these advertisements flaunted wares that their creators claimed were medicines for varying levels of universal application. Daniel Defoe’s *Journal of the Plague Year* is vivid in its description of how these advertisements abounded during the year 1665:

On the other hand it is incredible and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors’ bills and papers of ignorant fellows, quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting the people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz.: ‘Infallible preventive pills against the plague.’ ‘Neverfailing preservatives against the infection.’ ‘Sovereign cordials against the corruption of the air.’ ‘Exact regulations for the conduct of the body in case of an infection.’ ‘Anti-pestilential pills.’ ‘Incomparable drink against the plague, never found out before.’ ‘An universal remedy for the plague.’ ‘The only true plague water.’ ‘The royal antidote against all kinds of infection’;—and such a number more that I cannot reckon up; and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.⁹³

Dekker had already written that during the Plague of 1603, ‘some fewe Empiricall mad-caps... clapt vp their bills vpon euery post’.⁹⁴ Printed advertisements were noticeable features of life in early modern London; playbills and handbills ‘were visible enough and widespread enough to get themselves noticed and read, whether or not that had been the passer-by’s intention.’⁹⁵ Plague-ravaged Londoners sought reprieve from the disease in any way they could, seeking both to prevent and treat it. Fear of plague created a booming market in proprietary medicines that

⁸⁷ Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma, *Chocolate: or, An Indian drinke*. (London: 1652; STC2 R4428), pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸ Donatella Lippi, ‘Chocolate in History: Food, Medicine, Medi-Food’, *Nutrients* 5 (2013), 1573-84, (p. 1576).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1577.

⁹⁰ Mordechai Feingold, ‘Stubbe, Henry (1632–1676)’, ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26734>> [accessed 1 Aug 2017]; James R. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 46.

⁹¹ Lippi, ‘Chocolate in History’, pp. 1577-8.

⁹² Colmenero de Ledesma, *Chocolate* (STC2 R4428), p. 5.

⁹³ Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2001), p. 21.

⁹⁴ Dekker, *1603. The vvonderfull yeare* (STC S91632), p. 15.

⁹⁵ Tiffany Stern, ‘“On each Wall and Corner Post”: Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 36 (2006), 57-85 (p. 71).

claimed to defend and cure their recipients. The number of surviving advertisements for chemical panaceas in particular suggests that this type of medicine was increasing in popularity and importance over the course of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the fact that one advertisement for a purported panacea included promises that:

The Medicines are to be had at Mr. *Leonard Sowersby*, a Book-seller next to *Turn-stile* neer the Dukes Playhouse, by the Church-yard wall. At Mr. *Heywoods* house, next door to the Green Dragon in *Alderman-bury*, over against *Adel-street*. At Mr. *Owens* at the Holy Lamb in *Islington*. At Mr. *Goodlaks* at *Trinity-house* at *Stepney*. At Mr. *Heywoods* at New-Crane at *Wapping*. At Mrs. *Elizabeth Calverts* at the Black-spread-Eagle, at the West end.⁹⁶

This suggests the fact that the market for proprietary medicines, particularly those lauded as multiuse or panaceas, was thriving so much that those involved in other trades could make partnerships with medical practitioners in order to take a slice of the profit for themselves. Two booksellers sold another advertised remedy.⁹⁷ The link between the book trade and proprietary medicine was so evident in the 1660s than Nathaniel Hodges complained that London's empirics 'procure some *Booksellers* and others to be their *PIMPS*'.⁹⁸ Peter Isaacs has established the connection between the book trade and the market for proprietary medicines, detailing how booksellers and printers acted not only as advertisers for panaceas and nostrums, but also as distributors and even, on occasion, manufacturers.⁹⁹ These claims have been repeated by Furdell, who observed that 'A sick person could purchase an "over-the-counter" remedy at a bookshop without seeing any sort of doctor, let alone the maker of the medication.'¹⁰⁰ Styles has similarly concluded that the print and medicine trades were intimately linked.¹⁰¹ The print culture of vernacular medical plague print given in Chapter Four has added weight to his claims that the book and medical trades were particularly linked in the seventeenth century; practitioners, printers and booksellers worked together not only to produce, market and sell plague print, but also to sell proprietary medicines (section 4.5).

The bold claims made by those practitioners advertising these proprietary medicines were frequently astonishing in their breadth. John Piercy's lozenges, which were to be taken upon waking in the morning and retiring at night, claimed to treat Plague in addition to 'all... Diseases incident to the Lungs, Colds new and old, Shortness of Breath, and stuffings of the Stomach.'¹⁰² Charles Balgrace's '*Golden Purging Spirit of Scurvey-Grass*' could be taken not just for scurvy, but also for bodily pains, any swollen joints caused by scurvy, foul blood, the common cold, a mixed array of digestive complaints, wind, scrofula, colic, kidney stones, worms, boils, headaches, dizziness, nausea, dropsy and a variety of other more severe complaints, which

⁹⁶ Anonymous, *Famous and effectual medicine to cure the plague* (London: 1670; STC2 R40576), p. 1.

⁹⁷ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364), p. 1.

⁹⁸ Hodges, *Vindiciæ medicinae* (STC2 R13220), p. 48.

⁹⁹ Peter Isaacs, 'Pills and Print' in *Medicine, Mortality and the Book Trade* ed. by Robin Meyers and Michael Harris (Folkestone, Kent: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), 25-48, (p. 29).

¹⁰⁰ Furdell *Publishing and Medicine*, p. 131.

¹⁰¹ Styles, 'Product Innovation', pp. 150-1.

¹⁰² John Piercy, *An advertisement of concern to the city and nation* (London: 1665; STC2 R231449), p. 1.

included small pox, ague, and plague. This cordial medicine took effect after only one or two small doses of eight grains and could be stored for forty years.¹⁰³ Theodore le Medde was even bolder when he claimed that his panacea, concocted from an herb called '*Panax* or *All-heal*'¹⁰⁴ was

of absolute use in the Cure of all malign and venemous Diseases, and of effectual use, in the general Cure of other distempers not malign, with other accidents, in themselves terrible, and often accompanied with death, if not prevented, such as Gangreens, Bitings of Venemous beasts &c.) is termed *Universal*.¹⁰⁵

Le Medde's wonder-herb, however, was intended for use as a supplement to the Galenic mainstays of treacle and mithridate, and like many other medicines of the time, was recommended both as a regular preventative and a one-off remedy for infections, bites and feared diseases like the plague.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly, when taken with the correct herbs, it would cause a sweat.¹⁰⁷

While these medicines were advertised as panaceas, able to cure all, the specific ailments listed in these advertisements reflect the health concerns of an early modern metropolis. That they ranged from everyday complaints like headaches and dizziness to greatly feared contagions like plague and smallpox is significant. The diseases mentioned in these advertisements inspired readers to seek out and purchase the medicinal wares on offer as they were the ailments with which early modern Londoners were most concerned. A medicine that claimed treatment for all of your regular, everyday complaints in addition to the diseases you feared must have been a strong draw—and Defoe corroborates that, during the Plague of 1665, these types of panaceas were hugely popular.

Not all practitioners were so expansive in their promises. An advertisement for a 'Famous and effectual medicine to cure the plague' was in fact a red powder, which when taken orally resulted in a sweat which was to last three hours, aided by the drinking of 'a Posset with Sage, or Sorrel, and Dandilion'.¹⁰⁸ Its use often required the aid of other medicines, including a plague water to be taken periodically after the sweating was over; plasters to be applied to the temples in case of headaches; a salve to be applied to any sores or swellings in order to burst them; and a cordial water to ease vomiting and diarrhoea.¹⁰⁹ Even le Medde put limitations on *Panax*, his wonder plant:

For better reason do we put this Epithete upon our *Elixyr*, and call it *Universal*, not that it will Cure all Diseases whatever mans body may be the subject off; but that it is absolutely proper for preservation from all malign Contagion, and of great and effectual use in the

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *An approved antidote or cordiall medicine, that by Gods favour cureth the pestilentill feaver, or plague* (London: 1650; STC2 R231697), p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364), p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13-9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, *Famous and effectual medicine* (STC2 R40576), p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

general Cure of malygn Distempers, and several accidents which daily happen to mankind.¹¹⁰

He went on to deny that there was any truth to other advertisements that ‘pretend to a Compleat Panacea, or *Universal Medicine*’, which were instead ‘imperfect cures’.¹¹¹

A handful of advertisements seem to align themselves more closely with Allin’s ideal of an alchemical panacea. John Woodall, a surgeon active in London in the 1640s and 1650s, also authored several vernacular medical books and pamphlets, including a handbook for those of his profession and a small pamphlet about his perfect plague remedy. Clearly intended to advertise his preparation of the medicine, Woodall claims that his plague cure ‘taketh away the Pestilential Feaver, and thereby cureth the Plague, that the patient becommeth well the very next day’. Not only was this cure of proven and undeniable efficacy in curing the plague, it could also be used effectively to combat smallpox and a variety of other fevers. It was also pleasant tasting and could be used to treat a universal pool of patients, regardless of age, status, and condition; even pregnant women and nursing infants could take Woodall’s cure.¹¹² Woodall emerges from his advertisement as a clear alchemist; he calls his cure ‘aurum vitae’, or ‘golden life’, a direct reflection of his metallic main ingredient. Gold, being the best metal, would surely make the best medicine. Woodall’s cure is also a clear reflection of the ways in which Galenic medicine married with Paracelsian therapy. It relied on sweating to affect its cure and expel the pestilential poison of plague. Another Paracelsian recommended calcinated sulphur to protect the patient from ‘astral impressions’,¹¹³ whilst echoing Woodall’s confidence in metallic preparations by claiming a sublimation of Red Mercury as a ‘universal medicine in the Plague’. He claimed another panacea when he wrote that ‘The Universal cure of the plague is made by the spirits of Gold, with Diaphoretical Sun of life, the essence of Gemms... These mysteries of nature if they be given in a convenient dose they will expel the Plague altogether’.¹¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, both of these cures achieved their goal by sweating.

Often, the practitioners writing these advertisements claimed the title of physician or referred to themselves as ‘Dr.’ or ‘MD’. These titles and honoraries, although not official, would have garnered a greater trust in the writers in addition to imbuing their words with authority. These advertisements sought, invariably, to confidently depict medicines and their makers as legitimate while also emphasising or exaggerating efficacy. This trend often translated into a number of bold claims, often summarised in the advertisement’s title and discussed at more length in its text. One peddler of panaceas claimed he cured more than fifty people of the plague with his cure; the cure was so effective in fact, that he claimed his advertisement was the result of a ‘duty to publish [his cure] abroad in the World, for the benefit and good of others; And have put an easie price on the medicines (very little more then what they cost making) for it is my cheifest aim

¹¹⁰ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364), p. 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹² Woodall, *The cure of the plague by an antidote called aurum vitae* (STC2 S113972), p. 3.

¹¹³ Philagathou, *The method of chemical philosophie and physick* (STC2 R214177), p. 239.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

to do good, and not to get gain'.¹¹⁵ Advertisements for panaceas often represented their writers as do-gooders with a moral obligation. This depiction makes better sense when it is remembered that there were 'two substantial reasons for practising physick without license: charity and emergency'.¹¹⁶ Epidemic plague created the ideal environment in which irregular practitioners could supposedly practise their trade without reproach, and reminders of this duty are frequently cited in advertisements for panaceas.

If these advertisements remained bashful about anything, it was the price of the proprietary drugs on offer. In these advertisements, only one practitioner mentioned the prices of his wares, and they were surprisingly moderately priced: his panacea-like red powder could be purchased for one shilling, while plasters for headaches were a mere 2d. His salve for sores was one shilling. Interestingly, both his cordial plague water and his cordial water for griping sold at two shillings each.¹¹⁷ In a society where the average labourer of the next century might bring home five or six shillings a week, it was an exorbitant sum.¹¹⁸ It is important to note that this advertisement was published in 1670, when plague merely an endemic concern; in 1665, demand would have caused a spike in prices for these goods. However, the various prices of this anonymous practitioner's collection of plague remedies suggest that cordial waters were more highly prized even than his panacea; one cordial water could also be used as a preventative, and therefore had a double use, while the other could be used for intestinal complaints even if they were not affected by plague. The panacea's relatively low price could also be explained by the fact that it caused a sweat, which a huge number of remedies claimed to do; only grand claims of curing and duty differentiated this diaphoretic from any other.

Garencières noted in his plague handbook that 'What I say of the Plague, let it be said also of the small pox'.¹¹⁹ Diseases were often understood in categories: fevers, lung ailments, diseases of the skin, convulsions, women's diseases, gastrointestinal failings, children's diseases and sexually transmitted infections were several of the categories discussed in *The compleat method of curing almost all diseases* by Thomas Sydenham, a member of the College who briefly practised in London during the plague epidemic of 1665.¹²⁰ Smallpox and plague were invariably understood as similar due to their common conception as epidemic fevers. It is worth noting that chemical panaceas were often advertised for their universal applications in similar disease groupings. *Panax* was noted for its efficacy against the poison of plague and of venomous bites, for example. Likewise, treacle was frequently assigned as treatment only for those diseases understood as poisonous. In these cases, the 'panaceas' advertised were typical treatments with a frequently traditional basis. In many cases, however, panaceas were assigned truly universal application and ascribed to a variety of diseases of a variety of categories. However, depending on

¹¹⁵ Anonymous, *Famous and effectual medicine* (STC2 R40576), p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Wallis, 'Plague, Morality and the Place of Medicine', p. 14.

¹¹⁷ Anonymous, *Famous and effectual medicine* (STC2 R40576), p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor*, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), p. 5.

¹²⁰ Thomas Sydenham, *The compleat method of curing almost all diseases to which is added an exact description of their several symptoms* (London: 1694; STC2 R34635).

the practitioner, the same medicine could be assigned to both limited and universal applications. Garençières recommended treacle for most diseases regardless of general category; fact that *Panax* was recommended for daily ailments and complaints as well as poisonous diseases marks it as a straddling the fence between these two categories.

Throughout the mid-seventeenth century proprietary panaceas were advertised robustly in London, offered for sale by practitioners of all sorts. However, panaceas for sale by iatrochemical practitioners were on the rise during the middle of the seventeenth century. These panaceas were available across the metropolis, not only from the shops of the irregular practitioners who concocted them, but from a variety of purveyors, frequently including booksellers trading in or near the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral. Defoe indicates that during 1665, these advertisements were plastered and pasted on virtually every surface, the result of enterprising practitioners who saw the plague as an opportunity to legitimate their practice. Is it the case, however, that Londoners took advantage of these advertised goods? The gap between theory and practice can often be wide, but a convincing case can be made for the idea that these panaceas were used in practice as well.

5.7 Panaceas in Practice

In the *Journal*, Daniel Defoe noted that in 1665, the people of London were:

mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman, for medicines and remedies; storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money but even poisoned themselves beforehand for fear of the poison of the infection; and prepared their bodies for the plague, instead of preserving them against it.¹²¹

Dismissive contemporary attitudes towards medicines claiming a universal application make it tempting to believe that, while advertisements for such treatments abounded, they were largely held in derision or considered harmful. However, this passage also highlights the huge popularity of these readymade plague remedies, establishing that they were highly sought after and valued by the majority during times of epidemic.

Despite the fact that the most popular pamphlets like that written by the College included long prescriptions and recipes to be prepared by the reader, readymade medicines were increasingly important recourses of plague medicine during the seventeenth century and in 1665 more specifically. Medical handbooks and pamphlets were frequently read not by the common Londoner, but by middling, often irregular, practitioners themselves. Plague pamphlets and literature would have supplied these unlicensed practitioners with ideas for treatments; it is certainly the case that actual recipes, such as those found in doctors' casebooks, were often much simpler than those given in handbooks.¹²² However, this thesis, amongst its other claims, has argued in Chapter Four that vernacular medical plague print would have been available to a larger audience (section 4.6). The typical Londoner would have relied on domestic medical care, the

¹²¹ Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, p. 21.

¹²² Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 257.

practice of which is notoriously difficult to get at. What this thesis argues here, has argued in Chapter Two and will argue further in Chapter Six, is that, like the prophylactics and treatments of medical practitioners, recipes used for plague were simpler than pamphlet literature would suggest. It seems likely that, in a city largely made up of young migrant workers, the knowledge required for domestic care could have been lacking, creating a ripe market for readymade panaceas and medicines, when they could be afforded.

The marginalia in the Museum of London's copy of Stephen Bradwell's 1636 treatise *Physick for the Sicknese* opens a window on the aspects of medical plague pamphlets early modern people thought important.¹²³ In this particular plague text, notes are made in two different inks; it is impossible to know whether these marks were from the same person or not. However, the second ink often marks the same passages as the first. Unfortunately, very little can be known of the person who owned and made notes in this pamphlet; however, his or her ownership of such a book suggests an interest in or engagement with medical treatment. Both inks employ very few marginalia types; while William H. Sherman has pointed out that early modern English marginalia could include 'penmanship exercises, prayers, recipes, popular poetry, drafts of letters, mathematical calculations, shopping lists' and other such miscellanea, the markers of *Physick for the Sicknese* restricted themselves to underlining or placing brackets around certain passages and the occasional manicule used to point out a specific paragraph. In all three instances, the meaning is clear: the marker was documenting its perceived importance of each of these passages.¹²⁴

These readers made note of typically basic information, including the definition Bradwell gives of plague as a popular disease, '*venemous and Infectious, striking chiefly at the Heart, and for the most part is accompanied with some Swelling, which is eyther called a Blayne, a Botch or a Carbuncle, or else with Spots called G O D S Tokens*'.¹²⁵ Besides definitions, the annotator was most interested in the types of people who were most likely to be infected and in the most simple remedies and preventatives. Passages recommending the typical measures of keeping a clean house aired with herb-infused fires and strewn, typically, with '*Rew, Wormwood, Lavender, Marjoram, Penyriall, Costmary... Primroses, Violets, Rose-leaves, Borrage*'.¹²⁶ Recommendations based on diet were ignored except for those listing the types of foods to be avoided.¹²⁷ Most interestingly, this particular reader highlighted passages that recommended the readymade remedies Bradwell sold from his shop in Golden Lane. The reader took particular interest in and marked Bradwell's listing of Venice Treacle, London Treacle, Mithridate, Electuarium de Ovo and other antidotes 'of which kind the Apothecaries shops are (or ought to bee) alwayes stored with'.¹²⁸ This annotator's notes show a marked predilection for readymade

¹²³ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184

¹²⁴ Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 27-32.

¹²⁵ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184), p. 3.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

medicines that required no preparation on the part of the purchaser, which indicates a contemporary reader.

The propensity of this medical reader to highlight recommendations of simple, readymade remedies available throughout the metropolis may be due to a variety of factors. An increased demand for much-recommended herbs and spices like rue, wormwood, cloves, and cinnamon meant that it was often more cost-effective to purchase readymade pills and potions, even if their prices had also increased.¹²⁹ Other materials needed to create medicines—hearths, pots, skillets, dishes and pewterware—were also at a premium. As Anne Stobart admits, ‘households of lesser status and health or in urban settings might not have had the resources of equipment and labour to have prepared ingredients readily available, or the facilities to keep many prepared medicinal items in stock.’¹³⁰ The making and administration of domestic medicine required a huge number of goods beyond the herbs themselves. Kettles, pans, mortars, brass pots, pipes, piping sieves, sets of weights, spatulas, pipkins and skillets were all mentioned in recipe collections.¹³¹ Sara Pennel’s research into inventories of St Sepulchre and St Giles in the Fields shows the ingenuity of Londoners who squeezed kitchens into ‘every conceivable location, from cellar to garret,’ and lodgers might be furnished with simple supplies to create their own meals, the popularity of victualling and eating out was partially due to the fact that these materials were not available to all.¹³² Lorna Weatherill, in data taken from a survey of English inventories between 1660 and 1750, has shown that while 84 per cent of England’s gentry had cooking pots and 13 per cent had saucepans, these figures dropped to 57 per cent and two per cent for those of trades of low status.¹³³ Additionally, there is a distinct possibility that not every Londoner had the knowledge or inclination required to make their own medicinal preparations. Roy Porter has observed that while the typical early modern person had a confidence in his own medical expertise and used vernacular medical literature to expand it, ‘the presence of regular medicine increased markedly, indeed, quite disproportionately, from the late seventeenth century onwards’.¹³⁴ Even those practitioners of domestic physick have been shown to have leaned on cure-alls with either universal or illness-specific applications: Elaine Leong’s article about the recipe collection and inventory of late seventeenth-century gentlewoman Elizabeth Freke attests the presence of common cure-alls like aqua mirabilis, Daffy’s Elixir, and Hungary water among her medicinal stores.¹³⁵ As Chapters One and Three have shown, over the course of the seventeenth century,

¹²⁹ For more details, see section 6.7

¹³⁰ Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 48.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

¹³² Sara Pennel, ‘“Great quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod beef”: victualling and eating out in early modern London’ in *Londinopolis c. 1500-c. 1750: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester, 2000), pp. 228-49 (p. 230).

¹³³ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1750* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 168.

¹³⁴ Roy Porter, ‘The Patient in England c. 1660-1800’ in *Medicine and Society: Historical Essays* ed. by Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 91-118 (p. 100).

¹³⁵ Leong, ‘Making Medicines’, pp. 152-5.

practitioners utilised print as an opportunity to advertise the services, wares and medicines they offered for purchase.

Simple, readymade preparations were the standby of plague therapy in the mid-seventeenth century, and the focus of the annotators of Bradwell's treatise on treacle and mithridate, each used as a type of diaphoretic cure-all, shows the extent to which universal, readymade cures were in demand. The annotator of W. Kemp's *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence* showed a similar predilection for readymade medicines.¹³⁶ Besides a plethora of notes about the nature, causes and propagation of the disease, this annotator showed a keen interest in the various treatments recommended by Kemp, including underlining passages relating to treacle, its various forms, and to vinegar. To Kemp, vinegar was a wonder drug in itself, acting as both disinfectant and antidote to poison, including plague. It was to be taken both as preservative and treatment, and Kemp was so confident in it that he wrote:

Tis for the verture of Vinegar that I wrote this book. I would be loath to present you a Glo-worm instead of a Diamond, or put a Bulrush instead of a Spear into your hand, when you are to fight with such an Enemy. Imagine well, and think highly of this Medicine.¹³⁷

It is also significant that besides these readymade cures touted for their panacea-like applications, the annotator of this copy only highlighted three other recipes. One, a simple concoction of treacle and vinegar to be used for a sweat,¹³⁸ and the other various herbs steeped in vinegar, to be used for washing the hands and face or to soak a sponge in to carry as a pomander.¹³⁹ By and large, what this annotator showed interest in was what Kemp was recommending: readymade remedies with a variety of applications.

Once again, the letters of John Allin allow a privileged view into contemporary ideas about alchemical panaceas and readymade medicines. We know of Allin's interest in generating a potential medical panacea through his chemical practice in Southwark, so it comes as no surprise that his primary correspondent Philip Fryth also had a keen interest in alchemical cure-alls. Fryth was a prolific letter writer, as evidenced by the masses of correspondence addressed to him held in the East Sussex Record Office. Not only did he exchange letters with Allin, but also with his stepson, John Man, whose apprenticeship took him to London; his stepson's master William Buckland; and, perhaps most interestingly, George Starkey, member of the would-be Society of Chemical Physicians.¹⁴⁰ As Starkey was a lifelong friend of Allin's, it was presumably through Allin that Fryth and Starkey became correspondents, and the four surviving letters from Starkey to Fryth show that their relationship was primarily professional, as Fryth ordered remedies and medicinal potions from Starkey to be sent to Rye.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁴⁰ ESRO, FRE 5637-5703.

¹⁴¹ ESRO, FRE 5700-3 (January 2, 1663; March 4, 1663; March 17, 1663; May 15, 1663).

In response to the first of Fryth's surviving letters in January 1663, Starkey wrote that Fryth would have the requested medicine, 'when that is what you please, but I have Elixirs exceeding them in virtue a 1000 times, having prepared... y^e Certain Cure of all y^e most deplorable chronicall maladies'.¹⁴² In a follow up letter sent just two months later, Starkey explains that the requested medicines, two pots of pills which had already been received, 'are either sort anodynous, Diaphoretick, + diuretick, + on y^t score of a most generall, I may almost say universall application, y^e red only is more specifick against y^e dropsey scurvey, + pestilential cases, [and] generally in chronick or fixt confirmed diseases'.¹⁴³

While Fryth was a lawyer by trade, he was a surgeon-apothecary by hobby, and this evidence of his interest in medicines that could be used for a variety of illnesses shows how panaceas were used in practice as well as theory. It is worth noting that Starkey considers both his pills as a type of panacea, but that one is more a cure-all for specific types of diseases; it has interesting parallels with the advertisements of apothecaries and mountebanks which often made similar claims. More interesting, however, is the very fact that Fryth had ordered these pills. In his correspondence with Fryth, Allin often shared long medicinal prescriptions and preparations he found useful, not least among them a recipe Allin recommended for his children, who were at the time troubled with worms.¹⁴⁴ Fryth, as a part-time surgeon-apothecary, was clearly capable of making these types of preparations. However, the fact that he ordered these pills twice in three years indicates that he was willing to rely on a quick, premade remedy that had multiple applications.

5.8 Conclusion

While Allin split much of his time between treating patients and wandering the streets in search of nostock, he also spent time obsessively scrawling observations about his distillations of the plant in the hope that he would create the ultimate panacea, the Philosopher's Stone. His *prima materia* was in fact an alga rooted in the writings of Paracelsus. We know he was hardly alone in his devotion to this preeminent alchemist: by 1665, the Society of Chemical Physicians posed an organised chemical response to the traditional Galenism of the College of Physicians. The Society attempted to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the surge of plague deaths in the metropolis, offering chemical treatments after a majority of the College's members fled London.

The Society, however, was hardly the sum total of chemical and alchemical practitioners in London. There were a huge number of London practitioners, typically illegal, who found it not at all troubling to straddle the fence between Galenism and Paracelsianism, practising a marriage of the two medical dogmas that mixed and cherry-picked theories of causation, treatments and therapies. John Allin was certainly one of these practitioners; his letters show that he was as much

¹⁴² ESRO, FRE 5700 (January 2, 1663).

¹⁴³ ESRO, FRE 5701 (March 4, 1663).

¹⁴⁴ ESRO, FRE 5568 (March 16, 1667).

a believer in the traditional Galenic ideals of balance of the humours, maintenance of the non-naturals and the use of various purges in order to preserve this balance as much as he was a devotee of alchemy and the creation of the Philosopher's Stone.

Elusive glimpses of the panaceas championed by these illegal practitioners exist today in the remaining advertisements and pamphlet literature intended to spread the word of these cures and their locations in early modern London. A number of interesting patterns can be gleaned from these surviving fragments. First, that a panacea did not always claim to cure every disease; however, while expressing doubt about its efficacy in all cases, practitioners often listed a huge assortment of illnesses that their medicines would be highly effective in treating. These ailments usually ranged from everyday health concerns like headaches or dizziness to highly contagious epidemic diseases—plague and smallpox in particular—that must have been of lasting and consistent concern to the early modern Londoner. Simply put, practitioners must often have listed the ailments that they believed would spark the interest of their audience the most, encouraging them to journey to the location of the practitioners' various shops dotted throughout the metropolis. Secondly, the trade in these cures was so widespread that even those in non-medical trades became involved in their distribution, as evidenced by the various purveyors of an anonymous practitioner's 'Famous and effectual medicine' and other works—these were most often booksellers.

Despite the various forms they took and the claims they made, however, panaceas for plague frequently had a similar reasoning behind them: the idea that plague could be expelled by use of a diaphoretic. The belief endured that plague was essentially a poison taken into the body via the pores that needed to be sweated out was enduring. In this regard, the Galenists of the College of Physicians employed treacle, in all its various forms—London Treacle, Venice Treacle and mithridate—as a type of panacea. It was used not just for sweating out the plague, but a variety of other routine and more exceptional, contagious diseases; practitioners even expressed confidence that it was beneficial for everyday use as a type of preventative against disease and ailment. Sweating as therapy for plague was perpetuated not just by traditional Galenism but also by the writings of early modern alchemists, most notably Paracelsus himself, who acknowledged sweating as a key therapy for combatting plague. As the perceived nature of the plague as a poison did not change with transitions in medicine, the fundamental treatment for plague also remained consistent; however, the means by which the treatment was effected did. Seventeenth-century proprietary panaceas—particularly those meant for application during plague—were frequently diaphoretics, remaining rooted in centuries of Galenic practice. In this way, they straddle the 'new' and 'old' medicines of the mid-seventeenth century, using progressive preparations to create medicines that would achieve familiar results.

It is also evident is the fact that London provided a ripe market for the types of panaceas advertised in this literature. For one thing, a metropolis of young workers would likely have been largely ignorant of the skills and lore of domestic healing and medicine, and it is uncertain to what extent heads of household would have cared for servants' sick of the dreaded plague. The

anonymous annotator of the Museum of London's copy of Bradwell's *Physick for the sicknesse* may or may not have been a medical practitioner, but the fact that he or she had access to this book indicates that they likely had pre-existing medical knowledge. However, this person, as well as knowledgeable hobby practitioners like John Allin and Philip Fryth, indicated a strong inclination for readymade medicines. Indeed, the latter two practitioners clearly preferred treatments made for universal application. Clearly, those with the knowledge to prepare the types of recipes recommended in plague literature also had an interest in panaceas.

Allin was not by any means unique in his pursuit of an alchemical panacea to treat the plague ravaging his city. He was part of an established presence of chemical medicine in London. While this group was certainly radical in comparison to the Galenic members of the College of Physicians, these irregular physicians most often practised a form of medicine that mixed old and new medical doctrines in a way they found unproblematic. Allin, as he searched for his strange alga and jotted down notes and letters detailing the progress of his experiments, was not alone.

The next chapter will develop the themes of this chapter and its focus on universal medicines by further making the case that proprietary nostrums and drugs were more important during the Great Plague of 1665 than ever before.

Chapter Six

Provisions for Plague: The Practicalities of Making and Purchasing Plague Medicines in London, 1665

6.1 Introduction

Having established the fashion for panaceas in Restoration London—a trend spurred on by adherents to iatrochemistry—this chapter will examine to what extent this trend influenced the recipes, medicines and ingredients recommended in vernacular medical plague literature. Like Chapter Two, this chapter will explore the recipes recommended 1665's plague pamphlets and address the important question of whether or not they are a better reflection of theory or practice by comparing them to the plague recipes include in mid-seventeenth-century recipe books. A majority of this chapter is spent discussing the results of a survey of 1665's plague literature; this discussion focuses on which ingredients were most popularly recommended and in what types of preparations (sections 6.2 to 6.5). These recommended remedies will then be contrasted with books of *practica*, showing that the recommendations of the writers of vernacular medical plague literature can tell much more about perceptions of plague rather than actual practice (section 6.6). This chapter's final focus will be the practicalities of purchasing and making medicines during plague in an epidemic-ravaged metropolis (sections 6.7 to 6.8).

This chapter is concerned with several specific questions. First of all, if a Londoner were to use plague pamphlets to treat and prevent plague, which ingredients would be the most in-demand as those commonly recommended, and thus in demand? What were the medical qualities attributed to those plants that made them so popular in plague treatment? What were the preventatives and cures recommended for plague, and what were the ingredients recommended as parts of these remedies (sections 6.2 to 6.6)? The second part of this chapter focuses on the practicalities of obtained these vegetable, animal and drug ingredients. Where could all of these ingredients be purchased during times of epidemic as London's formal economy shut down (section 6.7)? Finally this chapter concerns itself with the proprietary medicines on offer during the plague year of 1665, considering where they could be purchased and for what price (section 6.8). Each of these questions speaks to this chapter's major, overarching question: what was new about medical responses to the Plague of 1665?

Like Chapter Two, this chapter builds on the studies of medical plague literature of scholars like Wear, Lindemann and Slack, but adds quantitative data and detail to the brief 1665-specific study of Moote and Moote.¹ Like Chapter Two, this chapter will also give a more fine-grained study of the recommendations given in pamphlet literature by quantifying the ingredients prescribed in the recipes in this genre. This chapter, I hope, provides clear evidence to support two important contributions to our understanding of medical reactions to plague: first, that the

¹ Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 158-171; Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, pp. 95-110; Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, pp. 244-254; Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, pp. 275-353.

ingredients called for in plague remedies would have become almost unfeasibly expensive during an epidemic like that of 1665 (section 6.7); and second, that readymade and proprietary medicines remained available across the city and its suburbs at a cheaper rate than those medicines one could make at home with the necessary supplies (section 6.8). What emerges is a picture of plague medicine that was becoming increasingly commercialised and commodified, as readymade medicines more and more became the resort of plague medicine (a trend which had its roots in the 1625 to 1636 epidemics, as discussed in sections 2.4 to 2.9). This chapter hopes to contribute to the historiography in that it questions the gap between the theory of printed plague literature and practice and also because it questions the practicalities of obtaining ingredients and making plague remedies during the 1665 epidemic.

In presenting a picture of medicine that was increasingly commodified, commercialised and consumption-driven, I am building upon the work of previous scholars who have exhibited similar trends in their own work. Fissel has observed that vernacular remedy books increasingly included ingredients that could only be obtained commercially.² Mortimer's study of seventeenth-century probate accounts has found an increase in the rates of resort to medical care, leading him to identify the seventeenth century as a period of 'medical revolution'.³ Patrick Wallis' research into the importation of foreign medical drugs into England likewise indicates a period of growth in medical consumption over the course of the seventeenth century, though it was also a long term process that continued well into the eighteenth century.⁴ The further research of Wallis and Pirohakul into the use of medical and nursing care reflect in probate accounts led to the conclusion that 'The probability that the sick would turn to a medical practitioner in their time of need rose substantially over the long eighteenth century.'⁵ Increasingly, an apothecary was preferred over a physician; this trend suggests 'the greater role that medical substances were playing in medical exchanges'.⁶ Likewise, Porter's magisterial study of quackery in the long eighteenth century suggests that the increasing resort to buying medicines and medical goods should be contextualised as one part of that century's intensified commercialism.⁷

This research chimes with a growing literature which champions the argument that readymade proprietary medicines were increasingly important in medical practice over the course of the seventeenth century. Bellorini's study of medicine in early modern Tuscany and Newton's study of the sick child in early modern England have both suggested that readymade prophylactics and therapeutics were becoming more important to medical practice over time.⁸ Styles has found that that proprietary medicines were some of the first 'extensively marketed branded products'.⁹ Curth has written that, the seventeenth century saw 'the appearance of pre-made, pre-packaged

² Fissel, *Patients, Power and the Poor*, p. 41.

³ Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*.

⁴ Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs', 20-46.

⁵ Wallis and Pirohakul, 'Medical Revolutions?', pp. 523-524.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

⁷ Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 50.

⁸ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 212; Newton, *The Sick Child*, p. 75.

⁹ Styles, 'Product Innovation', pp. 148-149.

proprietary nostrums, which were sold in a variety of retail outlets, alongside the more traditional remedies.’¹⁰ Curth claims that the,

growing number of advertisements... illustrates the gradual erosion of traditional kitchen physick and other types of “non-commercial” medicine. This is not to suggest that it was ever replaced totally, but simply to demonstrate the beginnings of a movement that would result in a demand for proprietary drugs that resulted in overflowing eighteenth-century domestic medicine chests that would make modern ones appear almost austere.¹¹

Indeed the market for proprietary medicines shows that we should speak of a consumer revolution of the seventeenth century rather than the eighteenth.¹² Likewise, Wallis’ study of seventeenth-century apothecaries and medicinal consumption has suggested that the sick bought

pre-made medicines for commonplace purposes—compound drugs described simply as purges, cordials, vomits and the like—and only occasionally concern[ed] themselves with the particular ingredients of a medicine or purchasing simples to use in home-made therapies.¹³

This chapter will argue that the ‘growing acceptance, popularity and subsequent demand for proprietary medicines’¹⁴ witnessed by other scholars in the seventeenth century was also—and, perhaps, particularly—the case during the Great Plague of 1665, as the economic life of the city ground to a halt. London’s thriving trade for proprietary medicines, however, remained active throughout the epidemic. I contend that readymade medicines, including these proprietary preparations, were an important element of medical practice during the Plague of 1665 due to their continued availability throughout the epidemic.

6.2 Common Medicines and Ingredients

This survey of the ingredients and medicines recommended in the vernacular medical literature of 1665 uses the same *corpus* of vernacular medical pamphlets discussed in Chapter Four (see section 4.4).¹⁵ Thus, this sample includes the 23 distinct titles produced during the Great Plague. These pamphlets were chosen for their possessing several distinct characteristics: firstly, each was published in 1665 or 1666, with the inclusion of the words ‘plague’ or ‘pestilence’ in their title. Publications written in English and deemed primary medical in nature rather than anecdotal, religious, literary or governmental were included; works were deemed medical due to their sustained discussion of natural causes of plague and their recommendation of preservative and curative methods and medicines. I identified 519 recipes in these 23 distinct works: 92 for airing and fuming, 164 for preventative medicines, 174 for curative therapies and a further 89 for outward preparations. Table 6.1 shows each title, its author, the dates for the first and last known editions and the number of recipes identified in that particular work. As is readily apparent, the

¹⁰ Curth, ‘Introduction’, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p 46.

¹² Curth, ‘Medical Advertising in the Popular Press’, p. 29.

¹³ Wallis, ‘Apothecaries and the Consumption’, p. 18.

¹⁴ Curth, ‘Medical Advertising in the Popular Press’, p. 47.

¹⁵ See Appendix 3.1 for a full list of these books.

recipes were not evenly spread amongst the titles, which contained as little as four and as many as 79 recipes; the median number of recipes per title is 13.

Table 6.1: Titles, Publication Dates and Recipe Count for each Distinct Title Included in the 1665 Sample of Plague Literature

Author	Title	Year of First Publication	Year of Last Known Edition	Number of Recipes in Book
Herring, Francis	<i>Preservatives against the plague</i>	1603	1665	10
Royal College of Physicians of London	<i>The Kings medicines for the plague.</i>	1630	1665	21
Royal College of Physicians of London	<i>Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection</i>	1636	1665	79
Moulton, Thomas	<i>The compleat bone-setter enlarged</i>	1657	1666	30
Anonymous	<i>The plagues approved physitian.</i>	1665	1665	18
Barker, Sir Richard	<i>Consilium anti-pestilentiale</i>	1665	1665	12
Belson, John	<i>Remedies against the infection of the plague</i>	1665	1665	4
Brooke, Humphrey	<i>Cautionary rules for preventing the sickness published by the order of the lord mayor</i>	1665	1665	7
Cock, Thomas	<i>Advice for the poor by way of cure & caution.</i>	1665	1665	13
Dixon, Roger	<i>A directory for the poor, against the plague and infectious diseases.</i>	1665	1665	4
Garencières, Theophilus	<i>A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague</i>	1665	1665	10
Harvey, Gideon	<i>A discourse of the plague.</i>	1665	1665	21

Table 6.1
(Continued)

Author	Title	Year of First Publication	Year of Last Known Edition	Number of Recipes in Book
Kemp, William	<i>A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence.</i>	1665	1665	51
Kephale, Richard	<i>Medela pestilentiae</i>	1665	1665	65
le Medde, Theodore	<i>Elixyrlogia</i>	1665	1665	4
M. R.	<i>The meanes of preventing, and preserving from, and curing of the most contagious disease, called the plague</i>	1665	1665	19
Simpson, William	<i>Zenexton ante-pestilentiale.</i>	1665	1665	4
T. D.	<i>Food and physick, for every housholder, & his family, during the time of the plague</i>	1665	1665	25
Thomson, George	<i>Loimologia A consolatory advice, and some brief observations concerning the present pest</i>	1665	1665	4
W. J.	<i>A collection of seven and fifty approved receipts good against the plague.</i>	1665	1665	57
Wharton, Thomas	<i>Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague Fitted for the Pooere Sort</i>	1665	1665	12
Diemerbroeck, Ysbrand van	<i>Several choice histories of the medecines manner and method used in the cure of the plague.</i>	1666	1666	44
Thomson, George	<i>Loimotomia: or The pest anatomized in these following particulars</i>	1666	1666	5

Moving on to the ingredients recommended in these 519 recipes, Table 6.2 shows the most commonly recommended ingredient species in plague recipes, regardless of category or preparation, in the vernacular medical plague literature of 1665. In this case, the qualifiers—preparation, part and characteristic—are removed for the purpose of showing which simples would have been most in demand, for use on their own, in compound preparations or as compound preparations in even more complex mixtures. The category ‘theriac-type compounds’ encompasses several traditional compounds used for sweating plague patients, including diascordium, theriac and mithridate; this is true for each of the ingredients tables in this chapter. For reference, less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2, which is a glossary of herbs and ingredients found in the tables in this chapter.

Table 6.2: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Plague Literature, 1665

Sample Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665- 1666
theriac-type compounds	35.5
vinegar	20.4
rue	15.2
rose	12.5
sorrel	12.5
wine	11.4
angelica	10.4
wormwood	8.7
carduus	7.5
scabious	7.3
juniper	6.9
camphor	6.4
sage	6.4
citron	6.2
salt	6.2
saffron	6
zedoary	5.2
water	5
fig	4.8
saunders	4.8
myrrh	4.6
cinnamon	4.4
rosemary	4.4
aloes	4.2
bread	4.2
hartshorn	4
posset	4
sugar	4
tormentil	4
lily	3.9

Total Number of Recipes Consulted: 519

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes: 770

Several trends immediately become clear upon reading these lists. Firstly, some of these ingredients were common foodstuffs or herbs. Food remained at the heart of the maintenance of

health.¹⁶ Some of the ingredients, like vinegar, figs, sage, saffron, salt, clove, nutmeg, water, butter, cinnamon and sugar, are still commonly used foodstuffs today. These domestic resources, writes Wallis, ‘were freely available either wild or in gardens’.¹⁷ However, they were also supplemented with ‘compound drugs obtained from apothecaries, druggists, proprietary medicine sellers, distillers, herb-women or surgeons’.¹⁸

Some of the most common compound medicines recommended were diascordium, mithridate and a number of varieties of treacle, which could serve as both a medicine on its own or as an ingredient in an even more complex concoction. As the table shows, each of these was hugely popular. The surgeon Paul Barbette explained that,

Opium hath in it the virtue of causing Sweat, and is a great Ingredient in *Treacle*, *Diascordium*, and *Mithridate*, which without it, would not in my judgment have that *Sudorifick* quality, for which they are now noted. It is also reckoned by several Authors amongst those Medicines which are famous for dispelling of Poison... I believe that there can any other Medicine be named which gives so present relief to the Patient as *Opium*.¹⁹

Theriac-type compounds were actually hugely complex on their own; Londoners wishing to use them in their own remedies would almost certainly have needed to purchase them from an apothecary, as the trade in theriac was highly regulated. Nicholas Culpeper’s translation of the College of Physicians’ *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* lists among London treacle’s ingredients: hartshorn, citron seeds, sorrel peony, basil, tormentil, peony, rosemary, marigolds, ginger, mace, myrrh, scabious leaves, malaga wine, and saffron amongst many others.²⁰ Some of these ingredients—ginger and malaga wine, for example—would have needed to be imported and would have come at a premium, making just that one ingredient vastly expensive. Treacle and its variants were by far the most commonly recommended ingredient in 1665, reflecting the most common recommended curative therapy, sweating.

Commonly recommended herbs were rue, angelica, wormwood and sage. Rue was considered good against poison;²¹ angelica was a ‘singular remedy against poison, and against the plague, and all infections taken by euill and corrupt aire’;²² wormwood was good against fevers, vomiting and certain types of poison;²³ and sage was particularly ‘good for the head and braine’.²⁴ Indeed, many of the ingredients recommended against plague were seen as particularly effective at treating certain parts of the body. Rue, sage, betony, marjoram, rosemary, sage, angelica, tormentil, citrus peels, balm, scordium, carduus benedictus, scabious, bugloss, borage, and St

¹⁶ David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe: Diet, Medicine and Society 1450-1800* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 1.

¹⁷ Wallis, ‘Apothecaries and the Consumption and Retailing of Medicine’, p. 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁹ Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), p. 363.

²⁰ Nicholas Culpeper, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (London: 1653; STC2 R2908), p. 132.

²¹ John Gerard, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes. Gathered by Iohn Gerarde of London Master in Chirurgerie very much enlarged and amended by Thomas Iohnson citizen and apothecarye of London* (London: 1633; STC S122165), p. 1257.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 1001.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1097-8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 766.

John's wort were all considered effective in protecting and treating conditions that affected the heart and veins or the head.²⁵ Many of the ingredients were also associated with fighting poison in general, which Nicholas Culpeper recorded as, 'Leeks, Onions, Garlike, the Sea-water, Mustard-seed, Endive... Bay-berries, Herbgrace, Dill... Fennel, Peneral'.²⁶ Because plague was still essentially understood as an invading poison, many of these ingredients were incorporated and recommended in plague literature.

Many of the herbal ingredients recommended across 1665's vernacular medical literature were described as 'known to all' in Nicholas Culpeper's *English Physitian*. These plants included angelica, borage, bugloss, chamomile, elder, dragon, garlic, clove, juniper, mallows, marjoram, onions, pennyroyal, plantain, roses, rue, saffron, sage and wormwood. These ingredients, in turn, made up one of several possible medicines, including fumigants, oral medicines (in the form of pills, syrups, waters, electuaries, etc.) and outward preparations (plasters, poultices, blisters).²⁷ The most popular recipes recommended in plague literature were waters—in table 6.1, the inclusion of both rose and treacle water cannot go overlooked—which could be drunk on their own, mixed with wine, or compounded with other herbs and ingredients to create a new liquid medicine altogether.

Other medicines were clearly based on ancient precedents. One was recommended again and again: a mixture of rue leaves, walnuts and figs was considered an excellent preservative against plague, as it 'is good against all euill aires, the pestilence or plague, resists poyson and all venom'.²⁸ This recipe was taken from Galen himself, lauded as an excellent remedy against poisons of all varieties.²⁹ Bellorini asserts that antique recipes, sourced from physicians like Galen or Dioscordes, were included for the sake of form and rarely intended for actual use.³⁰ Indeed, while many authors recommended them, other authors displayed a distinct scepticism of the wisdom of the ancients. Bradwell wrote, 'But beware of *unsavourie smels* and stinking odours. Forthough *Dioscordes* commends *Galbanum*, and *Cardan* the burning of *Leather*, *Averroes* a *potion of Vrine*, and others the smelling to *Horse-dung*: yet I stand to it, that sweet and pleasing odours are more proper'.³¹ Seventeenth-century Londoners based their medicine on experience and did not necessarily accept ancient precedents without scepticism.

Writers of a more Helmontian persuasion included less traditional ingredients amongst their recommended recipes. These tables show that Slack's argument that throughout the

²⁵ Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993), p. 127.

²⁶ Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's school of physick* (London: 1653; STC2 R9312), p. 53.

²⁷ Nicholas Culpeper, *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: ... Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation* (London: 1653, STC2 R19808); for the full list of ingredients "known to all" see Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor*, p. 43.

²⁸ Gerard, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes* (STC S122165), p. 1257.

²⁹ Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* trans. by Owen Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 93.

³⁰ Bellorini, *The World of Plants*, p. 213.

³¹ Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184), p. 16.

seventeenth century, more and more Helmontian and Paracelsian ingredients made their way into plague remedies and prophylactics is correct. However, these ingredients never experienced widespread popularity and can be seen in the full tables of plague ingredients included in Appendices 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 but not in the table of popular ingredients included above. These ingredients included sulphur, mercury and brimstone.³² Members of the Society of Chemical Physicians, keen to discredit Galenic medicine, even expressed deep scepticism about the most common ingredients included in Galenic remedies. George Thomson commented that Galenic physicians:

in hope at least to save themselves, if not their Patients... try what a dry fume of Gums will do, a costly Pomander, a composition of Figs, Rue, and Walnuts, (a ruful Medicine to trust to, if all were known) Matthias Plague-water, or Aqua epidemica, (I wonder they forgat S. Luke's Water, for more credits sake) an Electuary of London-Treacle and Wood-Sorrel, (I am perswaded a Leg of Veal and Green-sauce is far better) Bole-Armeniack (no whit better then Tobacco-clay, but that's is dearer, and farther fetched) the eating of Sorrel for a breakfast in the Summer, (for fear of heating) and Barberries in the fall of the leaf, (to keep them upright.) If these avail not, if they light upon rich Families, (let the Poor shift for themselves) then they will provide for them (taking a share with them) Pearls, Hyacinth-stone prepared (after their gross way) Bezoar-stone of the East, Unicorns horn, (equivalent to Harts horn) Lignum-Aloes, (strange they omitted Gold, but that I believe they mean to put that into their own purse)... Nay, they will ascend one step higher, to Balsamum Sulphuris, Elixir Proprietatis, either of which if they can make perfectly right, I will be bound to kiss their hand, had they a Plague-sore upon it.³³

A comparison with Appendices 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 shows that each of the ingredients mentioned in this passage were recommended at least once in 1665's plague literature, suggesting that even though Galenic medicine was being questioned in the 1650s and 1660s, many Galenic remedies and ingredients remained important parts of printed, public knowledge of the plague. Chemical ingredients were often incorporated as part of a larger Galenic regime and had been since the first filtering of Paracelsianism into England. Linda Pollock's study of the papers of a Tudor gentlewoman, Grace Mildmay, shows the incorporation of chemical medicaments and remedies amongst her range of mostly Galenic therapies.³⁴ Mildmay used chemical remedies alongside Galenic medicines and in plague medicine unproblematically, although the fact that chemical ingredients do not make it into the most common ingredients recommended indicates that chemical novelties were only slowly incorporated and traditional ingredients and remedies remained the most favoured, at least by 1665.

A comparison of 1665 ingredients with those of earlier epidemic years shows a rise in pamphlets which advertise the writer's own special plague remedies and preservatives. Chapter Two observed that during the 1625 and 1636 epidemics that London's burgeoning trade in proprietary medicines began to take advantage of economic opportunity offered by widespread plague (section 2.8). In the literature of 1665, these in-text advertisements increased in comparison with earlier epidemics, most notably in the work of chemists like George Thomson in

³² Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148), pp. 147-54.

³³ Thomson, *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876), p. 13.

³⁴ Pollock, *With Faith and Physick*, p. 99.

his *Loimologia* and *Loimotomia* and William Simpson in his *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale*.³⁵ The use of the plague pamphlet as a medium for advertisement is discussed in Chapter Four (see section 4.4).

Of course, beyond the ingredients themselves, recipes and the manufacture of medicines called for other goods and materials. An anonymous author's *Especiall obseruations* give us an idea of some of the vessels and chemical equipment that would have been needed to make medicine in one's own home: gallipots, earthenware pots, stills and pipkins are all mentioned.³⁶ Other texts indicate the use of more advanced equipment, mentioning alembics and specifying whether medicines were to be distilled in sand or water.³⁷ The improbability of common Londoners having access to this type of equipment is discussed in section 5.7 above.

6.3 Recommended Preventatives

As with earlier plague epidemics, the vernacular medical writers of 1665 maintained that the surest preventative measure against plague was the protection of the soul. Sins must be acknowledged and repented. On a citywide level, monthly fasts and public prayers were recommended to 'prevent the Air's Stagnation and Corruption, and to carry off the pestilential Steams'.³⁸ Personal introspection and reflection on sin was also necessary. Nathaniel Hodges considered repentance first and foremost among both preventatives and cures:

But before we enter upon that Part with seeks Assistance from Medicine, it may be necessary to exhort the infected, that they have due Regard to the Almighty Power, not only in confessing, and seeking Forgiveness for Sin, but in imploring his Blessing upon those Remedies and Means for Recovery which even the most skilful Physician can prescribe.³⁹

However, as Slack has observed, in 1665 there was a marked reduction in the quantity of printed religious responses, both in dedicated pamphlets and sermons but also within medical pamphlets. Previous epidemics—like those in 1626 and 1636—generated a significant religious response.⁴⁰ By 1665, however, and in medical vernacular literature specifically, plague writers gave an almost cursory mention of God as cause of plague and repentance as the ultimate preventative and cure before launching into much longer passages about the natural causes and medical prophylactics and therapeutics.

Amongst these natural preventatives, and because plague was clearly seen as contagious, measures were taken to limit the contact people had with one another. One of the most popular images associated with plague is that of a quarantined house with a red cross and the words 'Lord

³⁵ Simpson, *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale* (STC2 R221491); Thomson, *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876); Thomson, *Loimotomia* (STC2 R1148).

³⁶ Anonymous, *Especiall obseruations, and approued physicall rules; which haue (heretofore) beene well tryed and experienced, in the last heauy and grieuous time of the pestilence* (London: 1625; STC S119939), p. 10.

³⁷ Moulton, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged* (London: 1665; STC2 R180773), p. 76.

³⁸ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 13.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁰ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 244.

have mercy upon us' emblazoned across the door; quarantine was the chief way in which the infected were kept from the healthy (the practice of quarantine is discussed at length in Chapter Seven, section 7.2).⁴¹ Keeping the healthy from the sick was also seen as necessary: ultimately, anyone might be exposed to the infectious plague poison. London's Court of Aldermen recommended that public assemblies be forbidden for this purpose; these public assemblies included church congregations, markets, taverns and the theatre.⁴² Concerns were expressed about beggars and transients; the College recommended that 'the Poor be relieved and set at work' so that they were not 'suffered to go about'.⁴³

However, life, though disrupted by plague, had to continue. If one must leave the house, measures should be taken to protect oneself from plague. Carrying perfumes combatted pestilential air. Herbs like angelica, rue, wormwood, zedoary, and myrrh could be carried in the hand and held to the nose or even chewed throughout a journey in the streets.⁴⁴ The rich carried pomanders, balls of sweet-smelling herbs and spices to be held to the nose when a stench was encountered. For plague, these pomanders contained more expensive herbs, resins and laudanum. However, the poor could create their own type of pomander by soaking a sponge or piece of bread in a mixture of crushed rue and vinegar and tying it securely in a linen cloth.⁴⁵ Smoking tobacco was also seen as a highly effective preventative, strongly recommended by a number of pamphleteers in addition to the diarist Samuel Pepys.⁴⁶

It was not enough just to combat tainted air personally—it must also be done on a larger scale. The air should be purified with great open fires in streets and infected houses; open fires were briefly lit in London's streets in early September 1665.⁴⁷ Within the home, fumes of 'Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Frankincense, Myrrh, Amber; the Woods of Juniper, Cypress, Cedar; the leaves of bays, Rosemary' and brimstone could all be created to purify air; alternately, these herbs could be laid out to freshen the air throughout the day.⁴⁸ The use of both sweet and acrid smells to combat plague suggests that there was a specific smell that was associated with pestilential taint that could be combatted with these aromas. Long tirades against the evils of slaughterhouses, meat markets, and fishmongers suggest that the stench of decay was of particular anxiety to late seventeenth-century plague writers. Urban cleanliness was also emphasised in preventing these smells; the Court of Aldermen made provisions to have householders clean the streets before their houses and hire additional rakers to dispose of the streets' refuse daily.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802), p. 2.

⁴² City of London, Court of Aldermen, *The orders and directions, of the right honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen* (London: 1665; STC2 R232156), p. 3.

⁴³ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802), p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/06/07/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (7 June 1665).

⁴⁷ Porter, *Lord Have Mercy Upon Us*, p. 226.

⁴⁸ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions* (STC2 R9802), p. 5.

⁴⁹ City of London, Court of Aldermen, *The orders and directions* (STC2 R232156), p. 4.

As in earlier periods, there was particular anxiety that clothing was particularly liable to harbouring pestilential poison (section 2.5). Kemp advised his readers that they might ‘carry the *Infection* with you, either in your own body... or else in your cloths, whereby those persons among whom you dwell... may easily be infected.’⁵⁰ Gideon Harvey recommended that

Nothing seems more preservative than cleanliness and oft shifting of Linen, because the steams of a mans body inhering in dirty linnen are very apt to putrefie into malignanty. it is likewise very commendable to change cloaths once or twice a week, for the reason alleged. At nights have a fire kindled in your Chamber, which doth very much conduce to purifie the air, and consume all noxious damp; and after you are a bed cause your cloaths to be hung before the fire, whereby the venene air that possibly may be latent in the wooll is potently extracted[.]⁵¹

Harvey further recommends the reader to make troches—small lozenges made of herbs, resins and gums, dried and compacted into tablets—made of angelica root, zedoary, juniper, myrrh and lavender to cast on the fire.⁵² The resulting sweet aroma that would permeate the clothes, purify the air and ensure safety. Table 6.3 shows the 30 most commonly recommended ingredients for fuming and airing from the early Stuart sample compared with the 1665 sample so we can get a sense of change over time. Species are ingredients normalised without their qualifiers. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for this category can be found in Appendix 6.1.

⁵⁰ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 37.

⁵¹ Gideon Harvey, *A discourse of the plague containing the nature, causes, signs, and presages of the pestilence* (London: 1665; STC2 R9710), p. 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Table 6.3: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species for Fuming and Airing in Plague Literature, 1604-1664 Sample Compared with 1665 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
rose	1	1	61.6	31.5
clove	2	6	34.1	15.2
vinegar	3	1	29.7	31.5
juniper	4	2	24.6	20.7
storax	5	9	22.5	9.8
cinnamon	6	10	16.7	8.7
benzoin	7		15.2	
camphor	7	5	15.2	17.4
theriac-type compounds	7		15.2	
angelica	8	3	14.5	19.6
rue	8	6	14.5	15.2
laudanum	9	10	13.8	8.7
rosemary	9	4	18.3	18.4
saunders	10	8	13	10.9
bay	11	9	12.3	9.8

Table 6.3
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
cypress	12		11.6	
musk	12	12	11.6	5.4
wormwood	12	9	11.6	9.8
zedoary	13	9	10.9	9.8
citron	14	11	9.4	7.6
frankincense	14	7	9.4	13
marjoram	14	11	9.4	7.6
nutmeg	15	10	8.7	8.7
saffron	15		8.7	
lavender	16		7.2	
myrrh	16	9	7.2	9.8
sage	16		7.2	
aloes	17	10	6.5	8.7
amber/ambergrise	18	8	5.8	10.9
mace	18		5.8	
brimstone		9		9.8
gallia muscata		13		4.3
gum arabic		13		4.3
mastic		12		5.4
pitch		12		5.4
setwall		12		5.4
sulphur		12		5.4

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 138

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 92

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 238

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 202

As in the Tudor and early Stuart periods, a large number of the ingredients recommended for fuming remained the same into the Restoration period (section 2.5). Rose water, vinegar and cloves were important resorts for airing and fuming. However, we also see the trend for readymade or imported ingredients observed in Chapter Two continuing during the 1665 epidemic. For example, gallia muscata, a preparation containing musk, mastic, camphor and rose water appeared in 4.3 per cent of recipes as a species. Gum Arabic was a resin which appeared in the same proportion of recipes. Imported ingredient species like frankincense and myrrh also became more important, rising from appearing in 9.4 per cent of recipes between 1604 and 1664 to 13 per cent and from 7.2 per cent to 9.8 per cent respectively. As Wallis has established, the

‘consumption of imported medical drugs exploded in the seventeenth century’;⁵³ this climb in consumption is reflected in the extent to which these types of imported drugs and medicinal substances were recommended in plague literature. Likewise, camphor—an aromatic resin produced from the Asian camphor plant⁵⁴—also saw a slight increase in recommendations from 15.2 per cent in the early Stuart period to 17.4 per cent in 1665. By and large, the data in these tables reflect the continuance of the trend for purchased products that were imported or came readymade, suggesting the commodification of plague medicine.

The balance of the humours, most easily influenced positively or negatively by diet, continued to play a significant role in preventing plague. A moderate diet was strongly recommended, particularly one consisting of bread and meat supplemented by ‘sharpe things’ like vinegar, oranges, lemons, and pomegranates.⁵⁵ Excessive drinking should be avoided, as should fruits like ‘sweet Plums, sweet Apples, Pears, Peaches, Mallacotoons, Cucumbers, Pompions, Mellons, ripe Gooseberries, ripe Grapes, Apricocks’ in addition to ‘Colliflowers, Cabbage, Coleworts, Spinage, and Beets’ as they were considered likely to cause excess flatulence.⁵⁶ Indeed, the particular virulence of plague in 1665 was partially blamed on the abundance of such fruits and vegetables that year. Even plague writers of a more chemical persuasion emphasised the importance of a spare diet; in a mixture of chemical and Galenic thought, Kemp asserts that by, ‘disorder of diet, or corruption of humours, there is begotten in the body, a disposition of inclination to, or as it were a seed of the *Pestilence*, Fear and Terror do excite and stir it up, and quickly bring it to action’.⁵⁷ The Helmontian *Archeus* was married with Galenic regimen, a reflection once again of how chemical ideas and therapies were married with Galenic doctrines to evolve rather than replace medical dogma.

The best thing that could be done to prevent plague was to take inward medicaments that claimed to enhance the body’s defences against pestilence once or twice daily, and certainly before leaving the house. These medicines, called alexipharmics, were meant to ward off and fight infection, not just plague. In many cases, the difference between these preventative medicines and cures were hardly defined by the authors who recommended them, and many prescribed the same preparations given in differing doses, usually larger if the intention was to cure. Even when preparations for cures and preventatives were different, the ingredient list drew from the same core of commonly used ingredients. Rue, referred to as ‘herb of grace’, an indication of belief in its healing power, was a common ingredient in plague preparations, as were angelica, wormwood, vinegar, zedoary, myrrh, garlic, sage, hartshorn, saffron, fig, onion, lemon and other citrons, rosemary, cloves, rose, rose water, egg, and gentian. More exotic preparations called for unicorn’s horn, salt from the River Nile, viper’s flesh, bezoar, powdered mummy, gold,

⁵³ Wallis, ‘Exotic Drugs’, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Mark Harrison, *Medicine in an Age of Commerce and Empire: Britain and its Tropical Colonies 1660-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 139-40.

⁵⁵ Culpeper, *Culpeper’s last legacy* (STC2 R22796), p. 66.

⁵⁶ Wharton, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague* (STC2 R221989), p. 1.

⁵⁷ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 23.

silver, emerald, ruby, and pearl. This close link between preventatives and cures can be seen even in discussions of treatments for plague. When bleeding was recommended as part of a combined method for curing plague, it was also mentioned, in moderation, as an effective preventative: after all, in Galenic dogma fevers were believed to have been caused by an excess of blood, the hottest humour. Medicines could also be made into ointments and applied topically; alternately, herbs could be stuffed into an amulet-like bag to protect the heart from taking the infection.⁵⁸ The symmetry of prevention and cure was a hallmark of Galenism clearly evident in the plague pamphlets of the 1665 epidemic.

The line between a preventative and a remedy was often a thin and thoroughly permeable one. Medicinal prophylactics not only draw from the same *corpus* of recommended ingredients, but the ever-increasing importance of treacle in both prophylactic and therapeutic remedies suggest that diaphoretic medicines were the preferred method of both prevention and cure. Preventatives, in comparison to curatives, were often recommended in varying doses, with or without minor changes, as curatives as well. Harvey even referred to his list of recommended preservatives as ‘The Preservative Cure’, which he considered, ‘the best, easiest, and surest cure of the Plague’.⁵⁹ Table 6.4 shows the 30 most commonly recommended ingredient species in medicinal preservatives from the early Stuart sample compared with the 1665 sample so we can get a sense of change over time. Species are ingredients normalised without their qualifiers. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for this category can be found in Appendix 6.2.

⁵⁸ Harvey, *A discourse of the plague* (STC2 R9710), p. 19.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Table 6.4: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Medicinal Preservatives in Plague Literature, 1604-1664 Sample Compared with 1665 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
theriac-type compounds	1	1	34.2	23.8
rose	2	11	29.7	7.9
wine	3	5	24.7	14.6
rue	4	2	24.2	23.2
saffron	5	10	21	8.5
aloes	6	11	19.6	7.9
bole armeniac	6	16	19.6	4.9
vinegar	6	3	19.6	17.7
angelica	7	7	17.4	12.2
citron	8	12	16.9	7.3
sorrel	9	4	16.4	16.5
tormentil	10	14	15.1	6.1
cinnamon	11		11.4	
hartshorn	11		11.4	
myrrh	11	12	11.4	7.3
bugloss	12		11	
sage	12	8	11	11.6
lemon	13		10.5	
zedoary	13	9	10.5	9.1
scabious	14	14	10	6.1
sugar	14	16	10	4.9
wormwood	14	6	10	12.8
fig	15	13	9.6	6.7
saunders	16	12	9.1	7.3

Table 6.4
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
cloves	17		8.2	
juniper	17	11	8.2	7.9
bread	18	12	7.8	7.3
mace	19		6.8	
salt	19	10	6.8	8.5
dittany	20		6.4	
beer		16		4.9
butter		16		4.9
nutmeg		16		4.9
sulphur		15		5.5
vitriol		14		6.1
walnut		11		7.9
water		16		4.9

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 219

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 164

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 299

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 315

As in earlier periods, the number of foodstuffs that appear in this list of the most common prophylactic medicines in 1665 plague literature is striking. Buttered bread was a commonly recommended vehicle for preservative herbs; sugar is included on this list for its virtues not only as a preservative but also because it masked the bitter taste of some of the commonly recommended plants, like wormwood. Theriac-type compounds like Venice and London Treacle, diascordium and mithridate remained the most important and commonly recommended ingredient species. While imported goods like bole armeniac and myrrh decreased between the early Stuart plagues and 1665, this data does note the inclusion of a distinctively chemical ingredient: vitriol. Vitriol was any combination of sulphuric acid with any metal, and by 1665 it had leapt into the spot of fourteenth most commonly recommended ingredient species, listed in 6.1 per cent of recipes. The number of readymade ingredients included in Appendix 6.2 further suggests that plague medicine increasingly encompassed commercially obtained ingredients and medicines.

1665 also saw the inclusion of many proprietary medicines amongst the lists of recommended medicines and ingredients. While they do not appear on the lists of most popular ingredients or species, Belson's 'Celestial Water',⁶⁰ 'Dr. Trigg's great Cordial, or Medicine

⁶⁰ Belson, *Remedies against the infection* (STC2 172712) p. 1.

against the Plague’;⁶¹ the ‘hot’ medicines of Dr. Burgess, Dr. Dixon and Sir Walter Raleigh,⁶² Lady Allen’s water;⁶³ Thomson’s ‘Tinctura Polyacea’ and ‘Tutelares’ pills;⁶⁴ and le Medde’s ‘Universal Elixyr’⁶⁵ all suggest that plague medicine was increasingly driven towards the sale and consumption of proprietary medicines.

6.4 Recommended Curative Medicines

Curing plague was considered a delicate and variable process—especially according to Galenists, who believed that administering physick was a personalised process dependent on the patient’s own, specific balance of humours. As apothecary William Boghurst admitted, ‘I judge it unnecessary to write seeing there is a daily necessity of altering Medicines according as the case of the Patient requires, and these are only for Patients to guide you in generall.’⁶⁶ However, this supposed need for flexibility did not stop him and most of the writers of medical plague pamphlets from confidently asserting cures and preventatives that were meant for all patients.

Most medical writers, particularly Galenists, believed that curing the plague could only be reached through a combination of various therapeutics that had to be as fluid as the nature of the disease. Hodges summarised the arguments of such writers when he wrote that ‘some heretofore have taken a great deal of Pains to no Purpose in finding an *universal specific* against the Pestilence, and have imposed man palpable Falsities upon the World under such Pretences’; instead, he asserted that ‘in this Distemper a Person must proceed, as in all others, by a serious Attention to the manifest Symptoms, and a rational Conformity of the means of the Cure thereunto’.⁶⁷ To Galenic practitioners, treating the symptoms of plague in a therapy that often combined medicinal and surgical treatments was the key to curing the plague.

Because Galenic theory relied so heavily on imbalance of the humours as cause of plague, and could vary according to the humoral temperament and complexion of the patient in question, it would be expected that bleeding and purging should feature strongly as recommended therapies for the disease. Thomas Sydenham writes that the cure of the plague is ‘destin’d by Nature’, and should be informed by the causes of the disease in addition to being reliant on the experience of a licensed practitioner.⁶⁸ The excess humour must be expelled, and the physician’s job is to aid this process. Purges—by taking an emetic to cause vomiting, rather than by taking a laxative—are recommended as highly effective as plague treatment.⁶⁹ Bleeding, the other mainstay of Galenic therapy, caused fundamental disagreements as to its effectiveness. It was believed that the swellings and buboes so commented on as symptoms of the plague were manifestations of the

⁶¹ Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilentiale* (STC2 R28348), p. 5.

⁶² Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569), p. 3.

⁶³ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 69.

⁶⁴ Thomson, *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876), p. 3.

⁶⁵ le Medde, *Elixyrlogia* (STC2 R41364).

⁶⁶ Boghurst, *Loimographia*, p. 92.

⁶⁷ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 154.

⁶⁸ John Pechey, *Collections of acute diseases. Taken from the best authors that have written most accurately of some particular acute diseases*. (London: 1687; STC2 R227651), p. 3.

⁶⁹ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 158.

body's attempt to expel excess humours. Consequently, much of plague treatment, both Galenic and Paracelsian, is centralised around fostering the production of buboes. For Sydenham, bleeding was a key treatment to be administered in encouraging this reaction.⁷⁰ He is apparently alone in his opinion, however. Hodges considers bleeding a plague patient as an action likely to cause death; a 'rash Effusion of Blood' would only unnecessarily weaken the patient. Bleeding may be effective in other fevers, but for plague, bad humours could not be driven out through the veins.⁷¹

Sweating remained the mainstay and keystone of plague therapy. A closer look at *A Mite Cast* can tell more of the procedure. Its author, Garencières', took to sweat his patients. The patient was to take medicine within four hours of the onset of his symptoms; Garencières favoured his own proprietary antidote dissolved in carduus posset. Then, the patient was to be covered with clothes up to the neck and allowed to sweat for the three to four hours. After the fourth hour, the patient was to be cooled by degrees, each layer of bedding and clothing removed at intervals. After being dried and washed, he was to be given restorative foods. The entire procedure was to be repeated twice a day for four full day, promising 'if this be carefully done, and attended, there is no Plague so stubborn or any kind whatsoever, but must yeild.'⁷²

In 1665, most authors agreed that sweating should be the only purge performed on a patient already taken with plague. Barbette recommended caution when it came to using purges alongside sudorifics:

It is to be considered, that the Venom of the Disease, and not the Costiveness is the cause of the pain at the Heart; it is therefore most requisite to make use of *Sudorificks*, to corroborate the Heart, and not to concern your self for the costiveness of the Body: but if you desire to open it a little, it is better to make use of a *Suppository* than a *Glyster*, which is not altogether so safe, but hath been prejudicial to many on this occasion.⁷³

The body's natural instinct and course of action was to push plague poison out through the pores of the skin. Attempting to expel it any other way, through the veins or through the body's evacuative functions, could prove harmful and dangerous instead of providing the hoped-for cure.⁷⁴

Table 6.5 shows the 30 most commonly recommended ingredient species for plague cures from the early Stuart sample compared with the 1665 sample in order to show change over time. Species are ingredients normalised without their qualifiers. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for this category can be found in Appendix 6.3.

⁷⁰ Pechey, *Collections of acute diseases* (STC2 R227651), p. 15.

⁷¹ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 157.

⁷² Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), pp. 5-7.

⁷³ Barbette, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (STC2 R20651), p. 353.

⁷⁴ Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), p. 5.

Table 6.5: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Curative Remedies in Plague Literature, 1604-1664 Sample Compared with 1665 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
theriac-type compounds	1	1	69.9	73
wine	2	3	29.4	17.8
vinegar	3	2	27.5	23
sorrel	4	4	22.2	15.5
rose	5	8	21.6	8
rue	6	5	18.3	11.5
angelica	7	6	15.7	9.2
scabious	8	8	15	8
carduus benedictus	9	7	14.4	8.6
saffron	10	10	12.4	6.9
sugar	11	10	11.1	6.9
bole armeniac	12	13	9.2	5.2
bugloss	12		9.2	
juniper	13		8.5	
lemon	13	11	8.5	6.3
tormentil	13	12	8.5	5.7
betony	14		7.8	
borage	14		7.8	
dragon	14		7.8	
hartshorn	14	6	7.8	9.2
myrrh	14		7.8	
sage	14	13	7.8	5.2
marigold	15	12	7.2	5.7
aqua vitae	16		6.5	

Table 6.5
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
gentian	16		6.5	
rosemary	16		6.5	
water	16	10	6.5	6.9
cinnamon	17	14	5.9	4.6
aloes	18		5.2	
bezoar		13		5.2
butterbur		14		4.6
camphor		8		8
carduus		7		8.6
citron		9		7.5
orange		9		7.5
posset		8		8
scordium		9		7.5
terra sigillata		14		4.6
vitriol		14		4.6
wormwood		6		9.2

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 153

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 174

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 444

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 348

Theriac-type compounds remained as if not more important to the cure of plague. From the 1604 to 1664 period, when they appeared in 69.9 per cent of recipes (section 2.6), they increased to 73 per cent in 1665. As with preventative medicines, vitriol appears in the most popular tables for the first time. Also like the provisions tables, there is a notable decrease in the recommendation of bole armeniac—in these tables, its dropped from appearing in 9.2 per cent of curative recipes in the early seventeenth century to just 5.2 per cent in 1665—other imported ingredients feature a boost. Camphor, imported from Asia, features in 8 per cent of 1665 therapeutic recipes, while bezoar appears in 5.2 per cent, its first appearance in any of the ‘most popular’ data. The bezoar stone was an import from India; while there were disputes as to the source of bezoars, it was reputed to be an antidote to poison.⁷⁵ As Wallis has shown, the importation and consumption of bezoar stones peaked during the last decade of the seventeenth century, though its inclusion on this list suggests that its increasing availability made it an ever-

⁷⁵ Harrison, *Medicine in an Age*, pp. 137-8.

more popular resort for plague cases.⁷⁶ Also like 1665's prophylactics, the full list of recommended therapeutics in Appendix 6.3 includes an increased number of proprietary medicines. Thomson's 'Tinctura Polyacea' makes an appearance as a curative,⁷⁷ as does Belson's 'Cordial Tincture',⁷⁸ Kephale's own remedy,⁷⁹ the chemist Barker's clear white liquor,⁸⁰ Dr. Trigg's cordial,⁸¹ Lady Kent's powder,⁸² Garencières' 'Antidote' and cordial water,⁸³ and Thomson's own powder, 'Pulvis Pestifugus'.⁸⁴ Interestingly, a majority of these readymade remedies were recommended by practitioners who identified as chemists or were open members of the failed Society of Chemical Physicians, which suggests that chemists were more likely than Galenists to make and market proprietary medicines. The market in curatives, as with preventatives, was geared towards purchased remedies in the form of imports or proprietary elixirs, potions, nostrums, pills and powders.

6.5 Outward Symptoms

As in earlier epidemics, the vernacular medical writers of 1665 noted the huge variety of outward symptoms of the disease. Harvey commented on the,

Spots and Blotches of several colours and figures stragling over the Body; some are red like fleabits, but livid about; others yellow, livid, or black. A pricking of the intire skin, as if stung with Nettles: Risings like blisters, or small tumors and pushes, some red, others yellow or blackish: Carbuncles, or red, purple or blackish Boyls or inflammations about the groin, under the ears or armpits, which if they break, contain a black crust or coal within them.⁸⁵

Kemp synthesized humoral theory with William Harvey's discovery of blood circulation earlier in the century when he explained that the spots were the result of plague poison infecting the blood, 'and as it were spewed out of the Capillary small veins into the skin, and becomes Spots'.⁸⁶ That blood, mingled with choler, made the spot a purple or dark yellow colour; with phlegm, they were pale; or, with a mix of humours, the spots became blue or blackish.⁸⁷ Blains, he further explained, were little blisters; botches were swellings 'about the bignesse of a Nutmeg, Wallnut, or Hens Egge, and cometh in the Neck, or Behind the Eares... or under the Arm-pits... or in the Groin'; while carbuncles were described as 'an exceeding angry Wheal'⁸⁸ that developed anywhere on the body.

⁷⁶ Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs', p. 31.

⁷⁷ Thomson, *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876), p. 3.

⁷⁸ Belson, *Remedies against the infection* (STC2 172712) p. 1.

⁷⁹ Kephale, *Medela pestilentiae* (STC2 R26148), p. 88.

⁸⁰ Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilientale* (STC2 R28348), p. 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸² Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 75.

⁸³ Garencières, *A mite cast into the treasury* (STC2 R16663), pp. 6-7.

⁸⁴ Thomson, *Loimologia* (STC2 R220876), p. 3.

⁸⁵ Harvey, *A discourse of the plague* (STC2 R9710), pp. 3-4.

⁸⁶ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 83.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

The method of treating these outward signs of the pestilence remained largely the same as in previous periods; indeed, many of the ingredients used in the plasters and poultices used to treat botches, blains, blisters and carbuncles were also used to treat boils and protuberances more generally. Table 6.6 shows the 30 most commonly recommended ingredient species used to make the plasters and ointments necessary to ripen, break and heal plague sores and carbuncles. Species are ingredients normalised without their qualifiers. Alongside each ingredient are its rank and the percentage of recipes including that ingredient. For reference, a glossary of less familiar ingredients can be found in Appendix 2.2; a full list of recommended ingredients for this category can be found in Appendix 6.4.

Table 6.6: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Outward Medicinal Preparations in Plague Literature, 1604-1664 Sample Compared with 1665 Sample

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
theriac-type compounds	1	2	34.7	20.2
lily	2	1	27.1	22.5
egg	3	5	26.4	14.6
leaven	4	3	15.3	19.1
linseed	4		15.3	
grease	5	5	14.6	14.6
rose	6	14	12.5	4.5
vinegar	7	10	11.1	9
butter	8	7	10.4	12.4
mallow	8	7	10.4	12.4
salt	8	5	10.4	14.6
scabious	8	4	10.4	15.7

Table 6.6
(Continued)

Ingredient	Rank 1604-1664	Rank 1665	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1604-1664	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
fig	9	6	9.7	13.5
mustard	9	8	9.7	11.2
onion	9	8	9.7	11.2
turpentine	9	12	9.7	6.7
barley	10		9	
oil	11		8.3	
rue	11	11	8.3	7.9
Unguentum Basilicon	11		8.3	
chamomile	12	15	7.6	3.4
marshmallow	12		7.6	
sorrel	12	8	7.6	11.2
water	13	14	6.9	4.5
bread	14	10	6.3	9
chicken rump	14	13	6.3	5.6
Diachylon (plaster)	15		4.9	
elder	15	13	4.9	5.6
fenugreek	15		4.9	
garlic	15	9	4.9	10.1
bramble		14		4.5
brimstone		14		3.4
diachylon cum gummi		14		4.5
dung		12		6.7
plantain		14		4.5
soap		12		6.7
soot		14		4.5

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1604-1664: 144

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 89

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1604-1664: 266

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 164

Outward remedies represent the greatest consistency from the early seventeenth century to 1665. Many of the same ingredient species—lily, treacle, scabious, leaven, grease and egg—remained some of the key ingredients. As in the early Stuart period, our list features some readymade ointments like diachylon. However, as with other subcategories of plague medicine, readymade preparations appear to have become more important in the full list included in Appendix 6.4 compared with earlier epidemics (Appendices 2.9 and 2.10). Here, it becomes clear that plasters, unguents and ointments were frequently listed by name, implying that Londoner’s

would recognise the name and either know how to prepare it, or, as is more likely know where to buy one for themselves.

6.6 Remedies in Practice

As with previous epidemics, the picture we can garner from those documents which are perhaps more indicative of practice—the popular print of the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets, recipe manuscript collections, memoirs and diaries—suggests a far simpler medical practice which was more reliant on medicines that could be made in advance or even purchased readymade.

In the *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets printed in 1665, the normally complex prescriptions for sweats or ointments for ripening plague sores were simplified significantly. Often, handy kitchen staples were used; for outward treatments, garlic, fresh butter, lemon, white onion, mallows, and scallions boiled in water could make a poultice used to reach the desired effect.⁸⁹ Table 6.7 shows the most common ingredients recommended in the two 1665 *Lord Have Mercy* broadsheets surveyed. Despite the use of kitchen ingredients, premade ingredients, noticeably treacle and various waters—treacle and sorrel water in this case—are noticeably included in this list. Likewise, the inclusion of medicines that would have had to be purchased rather than grown, like turpentine, frankincense, and water, also feature in this list. While many of the recommendations for this epidemic remained the same as those from the 1625 and 1636 epidemics (partially due to the fact that some broadsheets were reproduced in their entirety for the 1665 outbreak), the new inclusion of turpentine—an imported ingredient—on the 1665 list is a tantalizing glimpse of a medicinal market expanded by imported goods.

⁸⁹ Anonymous, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs A speciall remedy for the plague* (STC S105188), p. 1.

Table 6.7: 15 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredients in *Lord Have Mercy* Broadsheets, 1665 compared with Plague Literature, 1665

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, <i>Lord Have Mercy</i>	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
fig	27.8	4.6
rue	27.8	12.5
treacle (London)	22.2	4.6
ale (posset)	16.7	1.5
garlic	16.7	2.7
milk	16.7	1
pimpernel	16.7	0.8
myrrh	11.1	4.4
salt	11.1	4.6
turpentine	11.1	1.2
wormwood	11.1	5
amber	5.6	1.2
angelica	5.6	4.2
balm	5.6	1.7
bay (leaves)	5.6	1.7

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, *Lord Have Mercy*: 22

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 519

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, *Lord Have Mercy*: 59

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 770

A survey of mid-seventeenth-century manuscript recipe books provides a similar picture of simpler practice reliant on waters and other premade medicines. The recipe books surveyed in this sample are housed in the Wellcome Library's excellent recipe book collection and span the years from 1660-1680. These eight books were chosen specifically for their mid-seventeenth-century date. A full list of the recipe collections used for this sample can be found in Appendix 6.5. Though women of the upper classes from without London compiled these recipe books, they are the best representation of kitchen physick we have access to. The data collected shows a picture very different from that of plague literature. The pool of recommended ingredients and cited remedies were both much smaller, as reflected in table 6.8, which show the 30 most common ingredient species, with the percentage of recipes they appear in compared to the 1665 literature sample.

Table 6.8: 30 Most Commonly Recommended Ingredient Species in Plague Recipes from Recipe Books, compared with Plague Literature, c. 1665

Ingredient	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, Recipe Books	Percentage of Recipes Including Ingredient, 1665
wine	63	11.4
angelica	51.8	10.4
rue	51.8	15.2
theriac-type compounds	51.8	35.5
sage	33.3	6.4
agrimony	29.6	0.2
elecampane	29.6	2.5
pimpernel	29.6	0.8
rosemary	29.6	4.4
celandine	25.9	1.5
dragon	25.9	2.1
tormentil	25.9	4
wormwood	25.9	8.7
balm	22.2	2.1
carduus	22.2	7.5
marigold	22.2	2.3
mugwort	22.2	0.6
scabious	22.2	7.3
betony	18.5	1
carduus benedictus	18.5	0
ginger	18.5	1.7
hartshorn	18.5	4
nutmeg	18.5	3.9
pepper	18.5	0.8
scordium	18.5	3.5
zedoary	18.5	5.2
rosa solis	14.8	0.2
aqua vitae	11.1	1.3
centuary	11.1	0.4
gentian	11.1	2.1

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, Recipe Books: 27

Total Number of Recipes Consulted, 1665: 519

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, Recipe Books: 149

Total Number of Ingredients in all Recipes, 1665: 770

By far the most popular plague remedy in seventeenth-century recipe books involves ginger and long pepper. This remedy—which was in fact created by a physician called Doctor Butler—was often cited under the name ‘Doctor Buggs’, ‘Doctor Butler’ or ‘Docter Bugeis’. The varied names cited resemble a game of Chinese whispers. Johanna Saint John’s 1680 book records a recipe for ‘Doctor Butlers Plague Water’ which called for muscadine, rue, goat’s rue, sage, long pepper, ginger, nutmegs, mithridate, treacle and aqua vitae.⁹⁰ Sarah Hudson’s 1678 recipe calls for almost exactly the same recipe, calling for malaga wine, sack, sage, long pepper, ginger, nutmegs, mithridate, angelica water and treacle.⁹¹ A seventeenth-century book records the same remedy, with malmsey, sage, rue, long pepper, ginger, nutmegs, mithridate, treacle, aqua vitae and angelica.⁹² Bridget Parker’s 1663 recipe book records almost the same remedy but calls it a medicine for the plague, and also noted to ‘keep the same especially above all other medicines’, indicating that the person who suspected himself to have plague was to take it every morning and evening and sweat in bed.⁹³ Indeed, the remedy appears to have been a popular one by the mid-seventeenth century. Thomas Cock referred to ‘those Hot Medicines of Sir *W. Rawliegh*, Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Dixon*... are, without exception, of very great Worth for such as are Infected.’⁹⁴

Indeed, ingredients for remedies and preservatives with the same name could differ drastically, even within the same recipe book. Sarah Hudson’s 1678 book records three very different plague waters. Table 6.9 shows these three distinct preparations.

In fact, this most popular remedy, involving ginger and long pepper, in contemporary recipe books was communicated in the text of *The Newes* on 6 July 1665:

Take three pints of Malmsey or Muscadell; of Sage and Rue of each a handfull: Boyl them gently till one pint be consumed, then straint it, and set it over the fire again, and pt thereto a pennyworth of Long pepper, half an ounce of Ginger, and a quarter of an ounce of Nutmeg, all beaten together: Then let it boil a little, and taking it from the fire very hot, dissolve therein six pennyworth of Mithridate, and three penyworth of Venice Treacle; and when it is almost cold, put to it a quarter of a pint of strong Angelica water, or good Aqua vitae, and so keep it a glass close stopped.⁹⁵

The article goes on to explain that the recommended dosage of three spoons full would cause a sweat ‘which will be most effectual as soon as ever the Infection is taken’ and was to be repeated if a patient’s infection was particularly virulent. Just one spoonful taken by the uninfected would serve as a preservative.⁹⁶ All versions of this recipe appear to be variants of a proprietary medicine advertised during the 1636 outbreak of plague; there is one known extant handbill advertising ‘Doctor Burges approved medicine against the plague’, bound at the back of the

⁹⁰ WL, Recipe Book of Saint John, Johanna, 1680 (MS.4338).

⁹¹ WL, Recipe Book of Hudson, Sarah, 1678 (MS.2954).

⁹² WL, English Medical Notebook, 1575-1663 (MS.6812).

⁹³ WL, Recipe Book of Parker, Bridget, 1663 (MS.3768).

⁹⁴ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569), p. 3.

⁹⁵ *The Newes*, 6 July 1665 (Issue 52).

⁹⁶ *The Newes*, 6 July 1665 (Issue 52).

Huntington Library’s copy of Stephen Bradwell’s 1636 *Physick for the sicknesse*.⁹⁷ The domestic medical practitioners who described this remedy or a variation of it did not attribute it to any specific physician, and many predate this advertisement. It is striking, given this recipe’s apparent popularity, how infrequently long pepper and ginger are recommended in vernacular medical plague literature—neither appear on any list of the top 30 most-recommended ingredients in the plague pamphlets.

Table 6.9: Plague Waters in Sarah Hudson’s 1678 Recipe Book⁹⁸

'Plague water'	'the plague water'	'Doctor Bugeis plague watter for Either man or Beast'
agrimony	agrimony	angelica (water)
angelica (root)	angelica	ginger
balm	balm	nutmeg
betony (wood)	betony	pepper (long)
bramble	carduus	sage
carduus benedictus	dragon	treacle
celandine	elecampane	treacle (mithridate)
dragon	gentian	wine (malaga)
elecampane	liquorice	wine (sack)
marigold	mugwort	
mugwort	peony	
pimpernel	pimpernel	
rosemary	rosa solis	
rue	rosemary	
sage	rue	
tormentil	sage	
wormwood	scabious	
	scordium	
	tormentil	
	wormwood	
	zedoary	

Recipe books suggest that these recipes were made in advance for when they would be needed. Distilled and prepared waters were not only important remedies for plague on their own, but were also often key ingredients in other preparations. Waters could be used as a vehicle for other medicines but were also seen as having notable medicinal virtues in their own right. This was clearly inherited from the traditional medical practice of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, which also emphasised the importance of waters to plague medicine (section 2.9). Kemp counselled, ‘If sometimes you cannot be without strong waters, you may drink *Aqua Petasitis Composita*, or *Angelica*, or *Imperial-water*, or *Aqua Mirabilis*, or *Treacle-water* at the Apothecaries; or some of that water that goes by the Name of

⁹⁷ Dr. Burges, *Doctor Burges approved medicine against the plague* (London: 1636; STC S106183); Bradwell, *Physick for the sicknesse* (STC S106184).

⁹⁸ WL, Recipe Book of Saint John, Johanna, 1680 (MS.4338).

the Lady *Allens Water*.⁹⁹ Waters could also be made in advance and stored for when they would be needed. Elizabeth Freke's inventory shows a strong correlation between the recipes she recorded and the waters she made and stored, indicating the practical use of recipe books.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the inventory exhibits the fact that people with the medical knowledge to produce medicine could make and store medicines and waters for use when they would be needed. The storage and use of waters also solves the problem of how long it would have taken to make these medicines to treat a disease in which time, it was constantly emphasised by plague writers, was of the essence. Simon Kellaway's inclusion of an outward medicament 'which is soner made'¹⁰¹ than others acknowledges the fundamental problem of the fact that many of the remedies included in plague pamphlets, which called for overnight distillations and other lengthy processes, could be infeasible in practice. Pamphlet writers even recorded recipes for waters to be brewed at certain times of the year, like May or June.¹⁰²

Ego records like diaries, can also give us a strong idea of practice. Pepys records his shock that

This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us" writt there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to but some roll-tobacco to smell and chew, which took away the apprehension.¹⁰³

It is particularly interesting that Pepys used the tobacco to treat his fear of plague as much as prevent it. He is concerned with monitoring his emotions, and his use of a preservative, in this case tobacco, assuages his need to feel as though he is doing something rather than nothing to prevent himself from getting plague.

In ego records and documents, the clearest evidence for practice focuses on the use of preventatives rather than cures. It is not that cures were not used, but that they are just more difficult to track in letters. In his anecdotal account of the plague of 1603, Thomas Dekker mentions that 'poore *Mithridatum* and *Dragon-water* (being both of them in all the world, scarce worth thrée-pence) were boxt in euery corner, and yet were both drunke euery houre at other mens cost' while those who braved the infectious air of the open streets went 'miching and muffled vp & downe with Rue and Wormewood stuf into their eares and nostrhils, looking like so many Bores heads stuck with branches of Rosemary, to be serued in for Brawne at Christmas'.¹⁰⁴ Fumes were popular as well. In 1665, London's postmaster James Hickes kept communications between London and the outside world open, his office 'so fumed, morning and night, that they can hardly see each other, but had the contagion been catching by letters, they had

⁹⁹ Kemp, *A brief treatise* (STC2 R6407), p. 69.

¹⁰⁰ Leong, 'Making Medicines', pp. 148-9.

¹⁰¹ Kellwaye, *A defensatiue against the plague* (STC S109245), p. 32

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁰³ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/04/30/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (30 April 1665).

¹⁰⁴ Dekker, *1603. The vvonderfull yeare* (STC S91632), p. 14.

been dead long ago. Hopes to be preserved in their important public work from the stroke of the destroying angel.¹⁰⁵

The correspondence of John Allin gives a privileged view at the types of preservatives employed by a medical practitioner. Allin employed a number of preservatives to protect himself from the plague. He carried an Elizabethan gold coin in his mouth, tucked between his cheek and teeth, in order to prevent the plague, purifying the air as he breathed it.¹⁰⁶ This particular prophylactic may have been employed for a number of reasons. As Bilak has noted, perhaps Allin associated its preventative powers with the coin's Christian imagery; the coin was stamped with an image of the Archangel Michael and the legend *per crucem tuam salva nos Christe redemptor* ('through thy cross save us Christ Redeemer'). Bilak has also speculated that George Starkey may have told Allin of the coin's alloy composition; angels had the most gold of any coin minted at the time. Allin 'would have understood that it possessed a tight atomic structure, and therefore contaminated air would not be able to penetrate its interstices'.¹⁰⁷ However, it is also possible that Allin associated the coin's preventative benefits to be linked to the ceremony of touching for the King's Evil; angels were given to each person touched in commemoration of their cure.¹⁰⁸ He admired the use of toad's poison amulets by others in London and hoped to ascertain the preparation to send to Philip Fryth back in Rye.¹⁰⁹ It is striking that while amulets made of arsenic or toad's poison were recommended in a handful of pamphlets, Allin's trick of the gold coin is mentioned nowhere in pamphlet literature. Allin's prophylactics suggest that not only was practical plague medicine and prevention much simpler than has been previously thought, but also much more diverse. People, like Allin, may have engaged in preservative practices and taken medicines which appeared in no plague pamphlet.

Between ego records and recipe books there is more evidence for preventative measures involved with purifying the air, medicinal preservatives and cures—particularly and especially herbal waters—and outward ointments and plasters. These records, which come the closest we can to plague medicine in practice, show a story very different from that in plague pamphlets, which until now historians have mostly relied upon. Two trends have become obvious from a reading of these sources. For one, plague medicines were in practice much simpler than those recommended in plague literature. Secondly, practical plague medicine seems to have relied on medicines that could be made in advance and stored in readiness for when they would be needed or were purchased at the time of need.

¹⁰⁵ TNA: PRO, SP 29/114 f.147.

¹⁰⁶ ESRO, FRE 5469 (22 September 1665).

¹⁰⁷ Bilak, *The Chymical Cleric*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Brogan, *Royal Touch in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2015), p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ ESRO, FRE 5462 (24 August 1665).

6.7 Practicalities: Location and Price

But where could these herbs, gums, syrups and waters be obtained? Commerce in London ground slowly to a halt during the epidemic, with grass growing in streets once rubbed bare by the passage of carts, livestock and Londoners on foot.¹¹⁰ Allin himself admitted that ‘I doe not make it my worke to walke up and down y^e streetes this sicknes times.’¹¹¹ There is the possibility that some of these herbs could have been grown in physick gardens, and therefore come at small price. Leonard Meager’s *The new art of gardening* gave recommendations for the types of herbs and roots useful for planning in a physick garden which included angelica, borage and bugloss, chamomile, elecampane, lovage, endive, succory, fennel, featherfew, lavender, mallows, marigolds, pennyroyal, rosemary, rue, saffron, sage, thyme and garlic.¹¹² One does have to consider the practicalities of space, however. While these physick gardens may have been available to the very rich, who would have been able to pay the premium for space in a crowded metropolis, physick gardens would likely have been unavailable to the poor.

Pepys’ diary suggests that the Exchange—the commercial centre of the city of London, located on the north bank near London Bridge—remained open throughout the epidemic. On the ninth of June, a week that saw numbers of deaths reported in the *Bills of Mortality* climb from 19 to 43,¹¹³ he visited the Old Exchange and bought a pair of stockings from a pretty seamstress.¹¹⁴ On the 26 July, when deaths had escalated to 1089, he visited the seamstress again, concluding that she was ‘indeed one of the finest women I ever saw in my life.’¹¹⁵ By 16 August, the Exchange was still open but had experienced a solemn transformation:

Thence to the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the ‘Change. Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up.¹¹⁶

Commerce at the Exchange then, was possible but much restricted through the months of August and September. Upon his visit to the Exchange on the 16 October, Pepys mourned, ‘So upon the Exchange, which is very empty, God knows! and but mean people there.’¹¹⁷ The sudden evacuation of the Exchange and other public spaces was informed by Londoners’ readings of the *Bills of Mortality*. Erin Sullivan has written about how

the bills served an important creative function in the understanding and regulation of illness. By rendering sickness of body, city, and soul visible, the bills offered their

¹¹⁰ Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, p. 76.

¹¹¹ ESRO, FRE 5476 (19 October 1665).

¹¹² Leonard Meager, *The new art of gardening with the gardener’s almanack containing the true art of gardening in all its particulars* (London: 1683; STC2 R214166), pp. 89-90.

¹¹³ Corporation of London, *London’s Dreadful Visitation* (London: 1665; STC2 R233540), pp. 26-7.

¹¹⁴ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/06/09/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] 9 June 1665).

¹¹⁵ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/07/26/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (26 July 1665).

¹¹⁶ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/08/16/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (16 August 1665).

¹¹⁷ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/10/16/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (16 October 1665).

readers a method of imagining and combatting disease, allowing them a degree of control over an otherwise devastating force.¹¹⁸

Londoners used the bills to monitor which parts of the metropolis were infected, and therefore to be avoided, and which parts could be deemed safe.¹¹⁹ Indeed, in the 1630s, freeholders in St Leonard, Foster Lane petitioned to have numbers reported separately from St Martin's le Grand because their shops were suffering due to the sharp decrease in their trade.¹²⁰ And indeed, it makes perfect sense that the Exchange's economic activity should continue normally until August 1665. Examining the numbers of plague dead in St Bartholomew by the Exchange can show us up to what point Londoners would have considered the Exchange a 'safe' area. Between 2 May and 8 August, the parish only witnessed eight burials,¹²¹ the first plague death in the parish was not recorded until the week of the 8 to 15 of August, just before Pepys observed the alteration of the Exchange. As one Londoner remarked in a letter to Portsmouth in September 1665, 'All trade is out of order on account of the sickness'.¹²²

Apothecaries' shops, dotted throughout the city, also offered many of the medical herbs, plants and compound medicines recommended for use as prophylactics and therapeutics during the plague. However, there is disagreement as to whether or not a majority of apothecaries fled the city or stayed to treat the sick during the 1665 epidemic year. The timeline published on the website of the Society of Apothecaries claims that in 1665 'Most Apothecaries stay[ed] in London and treat[ed] the sick'.¹²³ Whittet similarly contended that approximately two hundred apothecaries were present in London during the epidemic, with one hundred of them being mentioned more than once.¹²⁴ However, Moote and Moote note that many of these names were mentioned only once, in June and not afterwards, an indication that they fled; thus, Whittet's 'count may be high'.¹²⁵

Many of the ingredients recommended in plague literature and noted in recipe book collections would have been available for purchase at an apothecary's shop. The inventories taken after death of two London apothecaries can give us an idea of the wares available for purchase. These particular inventories were chosen due to their dates in the mid-1660s, as close to the 1665 outbreak as could be managed. The inventories show that a huge range of imported plants and herbs, in addition to manufactured 'druggs' like London treacle and olibanum were available at these shops, a proportion of which would have stayed open throughout the epidemic.¹²⁶ However,

¹¹⁸ Sullivan, 'Physical and Spiritual Illness', p. 77.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

¹²¹ Corporation of London, *London's Dreadful Visitation* (STC2 R233540), pp. 22-35.

¹²² National Archives, SP 29/133 f.47.

¹²³ The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, *Timeline* (London: The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries) <<http://www.apothecaries.org/charity/timeline>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

¹²⁴ T. D. Whittet, *The Apothecaries in the Great Plague of London in 1665* (London: A. E. Morgan, 1965), p. 29.

¹²⁵ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 325.

¹²⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 4/11990 (Richard Foucant, of St. Paul, Covent Garden, MDx., apothecary); TNA: PRO, PROB 4/17465 (Gore, Mr., Christopher, Citizen & Apothecary of London).

there is a huge difference in the wares each of these apothecaries offered; Christopher Gore stocked premade drugs and a wide range of imported plants in a variety of forms—leaf, flower, seed, stem and root—while Richard Didier Foucant’s inventory shows a higher proportion of readymade medicines. As Patrick Wallis has commented, ‘there seems to have been no large core of medicinal substances that every apothecary would possess’.¹²⁷ Thus, it seems likely that an apothecary was not a ‘one-stop-shop’ for any practitioner, domestic or professional. Purchases made would have to be supplemented by visits to other shops, to the Exchange or one of London’s many herb markets.

The formal retail spaces of the Exchange and various apothecaries’ shops were not the only places at which herbs could be purchased. Gideon Harvey explained that in 1678, herbs—particularly balm and *carduus benedictus*—could commonly be found in ‘*Newgate-Market, Stocks-Market, Gutter-lane, or Covent-Garden*, of the Physical Herb-women’ and could be purchased ‘by the basket... by the Peck... by the pint or quart measure... also by the Bushel.’¹²⁸ However if you wished to buy them by the handful, it would cost a Groat a dozen, while if you wished for less ‘a half-penny the handful is the usual rate.’¹²⁹ The usual price for common English roots was just a groat for an entire pound’s weight.¹³⁰

Harvey also provides a helpful barometer for how much distilled waters cost, both to buy already prepared and to distil oneself:

The value of twelve Pence in Herbs or Flowers will yield three Pints of Water, or more; in some Herbs it may yield two Quarts or five Pints: or if you have not the convenience of distilling them, you may buy them from the *Apothecaries*, at a Shilling the Pint; or if you are onely mindful to buy them, when your occasions require, you need pay but a Penny for the Ounce, being the common price of almost all distilled Waters.¹³¹

Most helpfully, at the end of his text Harvey provided a list of prices for common roots, barks, woods, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds and other botanical and animal products commonly used in the production of medicines.¹³² Table 6.10 shows the prices listed for the most frequent ingredients in plague medicines. Ingredients like aloes, benzoin, camphor, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, rhubarb, opium and pepper would all have needed to be imported and thus would be more expensive.¹³³

Harvey gives an idea of the price of these ingredients at normal levels of demand. However, all the evidence suggests that just as one would expect, increased demand drove up the prices of the most common ingredients called for in plague recipes. Boghurst mentioned that the price of rue and scordium increased during plague outbreaks; rue, he wrote, was ‘so dear and scarce to be had, especially in a plague. They that can abide it and have it growing may make use

¹²⁷ Wallis, ‘Apothecaries and the Consumption and Retailing of Medicine’, p. 26.

¹²⁸ Gideon Harvey, *The Family-physician, and the house-apothecary* (London: 1678; STC2 R13943), pp. 4-5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 115-39.

¹³³ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, p. 101.

of it. Scordium is also commonly dear, which may be left out if not easily had.’¹³⁴ Dekker gives us the best idea of the inflated demand which could drive prices sky high; in *The wvonderfull yeare* of 1603 he wrote that ‘the price of flowers, hearbes and garlands, rose wonderfully, in so much that Rosemary which have wont to be sold for 12. pence an armefull, went now for sixe shillings a handful’.¹³⁵ Demand for common ingredients and herbs recommended in plague literature or called for in family recipe books inflated prices far beyond the means of most Londoners. As Fissel has estimated, the average ‘weekly income for those on the lower rungs of the middle class’ was 30 shillings a week while the average labourer could expect 6 shillings a week;¹³⁶ the likelihood that anyone spent one fifth or the whole of his week’s earnings on a handful of rosemary is slim, especially since rosemary would be only one of many ingredients needed to concoct a plague remedy at home.

Comparing the ingredients in remedies recommended in plague literature as ‘for the poor’ or ‘for the rich’ can give a good idea of where ingredients would have ranked in terms of cost. Leong notes that, in the inventory of Elizabeth Freke, more expensive ingredients like coral and vitriol were noticeably absent, as were chemical remedies.¹³⁷ Harvey, an irregular practitioner popular amongst London’s upper classes, regularly recommended pearls and vitriol in his preservatives for plague, and it is likely that the clients he gave medical attention to could afford it.¹³⁸ As Champion in his introduction to *London’s Dreaded Visitation*, plague was seen as a disease of the poor, and the demographic statistics shared in *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* show that, while Elizabethan plague epidemics were experienced primarily in the rich merchant and artisanal core within the walls of the City of London, increasingly over the seventeenth century, plague was suffered by poorer Londoners in the peripheral spaces of London’s suburbs. Recommendations for the poor in plague literature increase over the seventeenth century. Preservatives for the poor included some of the most common core of plague ingredients: rue, vinegar, juniper berries, figs, salt, mithridate, angelica, saffron, sage and London treacle.¹³⁹ However, the prices for these ingredients would have multiplied in times of epidemic, making them impossible for the typical Londoner. In this climate of high demand, other, readymade medicines experienced an increase in popularity as well.

¹³⁴ Boghurst, *Loimographia*, p. 68

¹³⁵ Dekker, *1603. The wvonderfull yeare* (STC S91632), p. 15.

¹³⁶ Fissel, ‘Marketplace of Print’, p. 112.

¹³⁷ Leong, ‘Making Medicines’, p. 160.

¹³⁸ Wallis, ‘Harvey, Gideon (1636/7–1702)’, ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12519>> [accessed 23 May 2017].

¹³⁹ Cock, *Advice for the poor* (STC2 R15569).

**Table 6.10: Prices of Common Plague Ingredients in Harvey's *The Family-physician*¹⁴⁰
(Demand in 1676, a non-plague year)**

Ingredient	Price Given by Harvey	Amount Given by Harvey
aloes (lignum)	9d	'the pound'
ambergrise	18s	'the dram'
angelica (root)	6d	'the pound'
antimony	6d	'the pound'
benjamin (course)	2s	'the pound'
benjamin (fine)	4s	'the pound'
bezoar (Oriental)	30s to 40s	'the pound'
camphor	8s	'the pound'
cinnamon	8s	'the pound'
cloves	7s	'the pound'
Diachilon plaster	9d	'the pound'
frankincense	4d	'the pound'
galbanum	2s8d	'the pound'
garlic	6s8d	'the pound'
ginger	6d	'the pound'
gum draggagant	2s	'the pound'
juniper (berries)	4d	'the pound'
linseed	3d	'the pound'
mace	13s4d	'the pound'
mastic	2s8d to 5s4d	'the pound'
musk	5s	'the dram'
myrrh	3s4d	'the pound'
nutmeg	6s	'the pound'
pepper (long)	9d	'the pound'
rhubarb	14s	'the pound'
rue (seed)	2s8d	'the pound'
saffron (English, leaves)	50s to 54s	'the pound'
saffron (Indian, leaves)	3s6d	'the pound'
scordium (leaves)	1s	'the pound'
storax calamita	8s	'the pound'
storax liquida	3s4d	'the pound'
sugar (white, candy)	1s8d	'the pound'
tormentil	10d	'the pound'
treacle (London)	2s	'the pound'
treacle (mithridate)	6s	'the pound'
treacle (water)	2s8d	'the pound'
vitriol (common)	1½d	'the pound'
vitriol (Roman)	4s	'the pound'
zedoary	2s	'the pound'

¹⁴⁰ Harvey, *The Family-physician* (STC2 R13943).

6.8 Remedies for Sale: Obtaining Proprietary Medicines and Nostrums

Several historians have previously touched on the fact that proprietary medicines and nostrums were of increasing importance during the Plague of 1665. ‘In such a climate of anxiety and fear’, observes Porter, ‘many put their faith in quack medicines’.¹⁴¹ Newspapers were vehicles for mortality figures as well as advertisements for ‘the medicines recommended in the official publication by the College of Physicians, the rival antidotes of ‘chemical’ practitioners, and the potions of empirics and quacks.’¹⁴² Bell described many of the medicines advertised in these newspapers in his 1927 account of the Great Plague;¹⁴³ however, he also included the judgement that the medicines ‘added to the numbers of the dead’.¹⁴⁴ A less prejudiced description of some of the readymade medicines offered for sale has been given by Moote and Moote, who note that the rivalry between various ‘wonder drugs’ intensified as the epidemic did.¹⁴⁵ Wear has commented that over the course of the seventeenth century ‘the only apparent promise of innovation [in plague medicine] came from empirics offering new pills and treatments, and such offerings had long been part of the traditional structure of medicine.’¹⁴⁶ However, as both this chapter and Chapter Two will have shown, readymade medicines were becoming increasingly important to plague medicine, both in theory and in practice during the seventeenth century. This trend included purchased compounds—most noticeably treacle—and, increasingly, proprietary medicines (sections 2.4 to 2.9). In 1665, with its newspapers and its distinctly advertorial pamphlet literature, proprietary medicines reflected the ways in which medicine was becoming increasingly commodified. Plague medicine was not exempt from a trend towards purchasing rather than making medicine.

These advertisements from 1665 for proprietary medicines give us an idea of the places in the city where commerce could still take place through the plague. The *Intelligencer* and the *Newes* were each edited by Sir Roger L’Estrange, the Royalist political pamphleteer created Licenser in the Press and granted a warrant to seize seditious books and pamphlets in 1662.¹⁴⁷ Newspapers were an important method for advertising proprietary medicines, as Slack observed;¹⁴⁸ indeed, Gentilcore has argued that ‘Newspapers reached out wider and deeper than any other form of print. They played a role in broadening and further commercializing the marketplace for medical goods and services.’¹⁴⁹ In Restoration London, rival wonder drugs appeared next to one another in print and reflect the robust nature of the city’s trade in proprietary panaceas and potions.

¹⁴¹ Porter, *The Great Plague*, p. 39.

¹⁴² Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 245.

¹⁴³ Bell, *The Great Plague*, pp. 96-9.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁵ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, pp. 110-12.

¹⁴⁶ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 349.

¹⁴⁷ Treadwell, ‘The Stationers and the Printing Acts’, p. 755.

¹⁴⁸ Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, p. 245.

¹⁴⁹ Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism*, p. 368.

In the *Newes* and the *Intelligencer*, adverts for the nostrums and medicines sold by booksellers and even coffee houses around the city were concerned with making known where their goods could be purchased. An excellent pomander against the plague could be purchased at Mrs. *Annie Loves* at the sign of the *Blacke Boy* in the inward Walk below stairs in the *New Exchange*, and no where else.¹⁵⁰ Mr. Burnby's powdered preservative, which claimed to have been used effectively in the parishes of St Clement Danes and St Giles in the Fields, was 'sold by Mr. *Eldridge* against the George Inn, *Kingstreet*, *Westminster*, Mr. *Cordwin*, next door to *Hinde-Court*, *Fleet-street*, Mr. *Smelt*, Bookseller in *Exchange-Ally*, *Cornhill*, and Mr. *Love*, Grocer in *Maiden-Lane*, *Covent Garden*, and no where else.'¹⁵¹ Again and again, nostrums were listed for sale at specific locations and by specific people, but 'no where else.' The same was true of an excellent cordial antidote,¹⁵² 'an excellent drink used in the last great Plague,'¹⁵³ 'Doctor Waldrons Electuary, very exactly made according to the true Receipt',¹⁵⁴ and 'Dr Theodore le Medde his famous Antipharmacoon, or Antidote against the Plague, Malignant Contagion, and Poyson.'¹⁵⁵

Remedies could be purchased across the breadth of the City and its suburbs in Southwark and Westminster; Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 reflect this fact.

Advertisements for proprietary medicines and nostrums were very specific about the locations and persons from which they could be purchased for a good reason: apparently, a rash of dupes could appear during times of epidemic contagion. In the advertisement for Mr. Augier's famous remedies, after listing the places where the nostrum could be attained, specifically warned that it was available in these places 'and no other, the said Remedies are to be had, which is notified, that People may avoid Counterfeits.'¹⁵⁶ Another advertisement specifically warned against 'fraudulent pretenders.'¹⁵⁷ In *A vvatch-man for the pest*, Stephen Bradwell expressed concern that,

There is a Fellow in Distaffe Lane, that disperseth Bills abroad, bragging of a Medicine that was my Grandfather *Banisters*; thinking vpon the fame of his name to get both glory and gaine to himselfe. But let me warne all men to take heed of such impudent lyers. My Grand-father was very scrupulous of giving any speciall Receipts to others. But if any man can say he hath any Receipt of his: I am sure, (if it were of any value) I haue the Coppie of it. But I professe vpon the word and credit of an honest man, that among all his Receipts, he hath not prescribed one Preservatiue Drinke for the *Plague*: And besides, his judgement ever was, that the best forme of an *Antidote* was either Powder, Pill, or Electuarie. Therefore this Drinke that he talkes of; was either none of my Grandfathers; or els some very slight thing, by him little esteemed.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁰ *The Intelligencer*, 5 July 1665 (Issue 51).

¹⁵¹ *The Intelligencer*, 17 July 1665 (Issue 55).

¹⁵² *The Intelligencer*, 31 July 1665 (Issue 59).

¹⁵³ *The Intelligencer*, 24 July 1665 (Issue 57).

¹⁵⁴ *The Newes*, 8 June 1665 (Issue 44).

¹⁵⁵ *The Newes*, 27 July 1665 (Issue 58).

¹⁵⁶ *The Intelligencer*, 25 September 1665 (Issue 78).

¹⁵⁷ *The Intelligencer*, 21 August 1665 (Issue 65).

¹⁵⁸ Stephen Bradwell, *A vvatch-man for the pest* (London: 1625; STC STC S115636), p. 33.

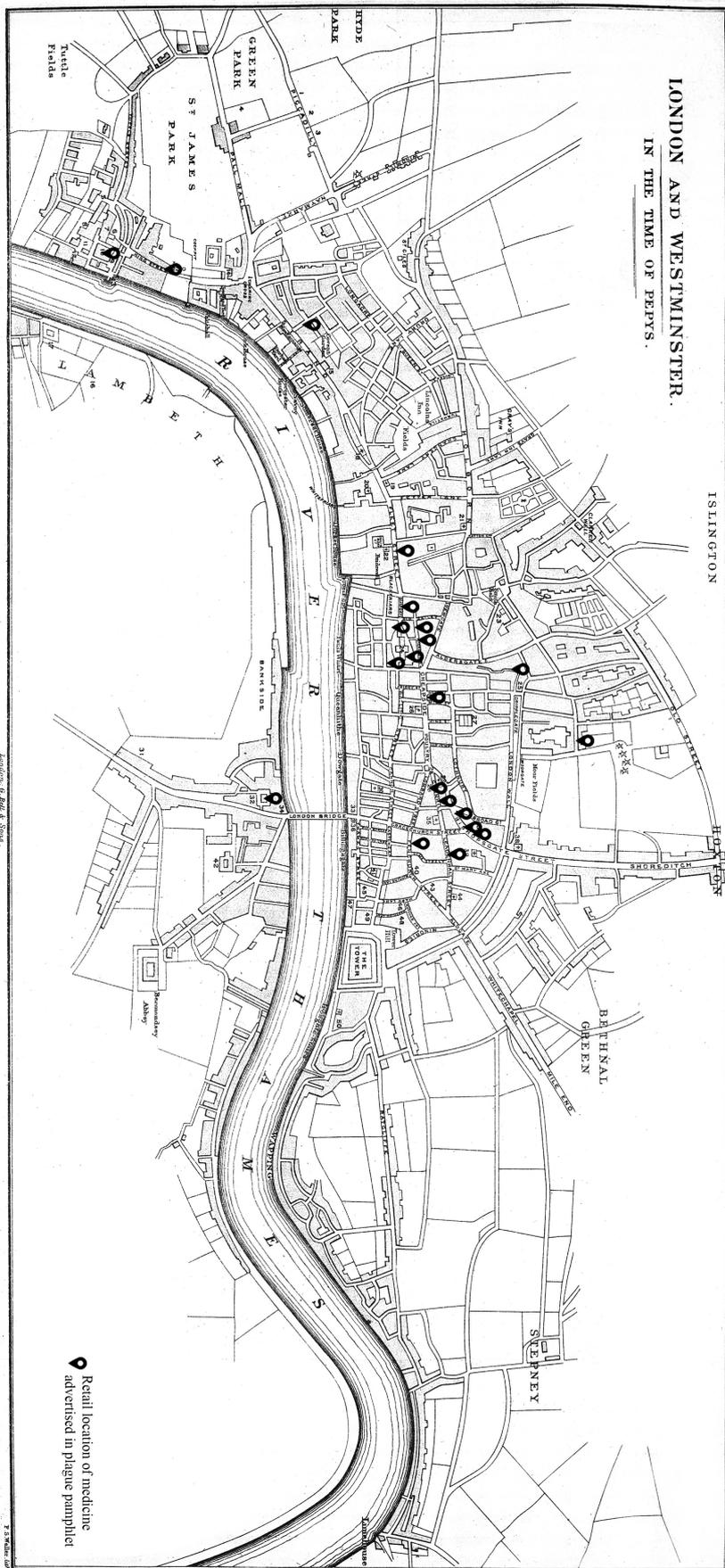
During epidemics, the makers and sellers of nostrums were concerned with asserting their reputability and superiority over others, particularly if their wares were similar or even identical. The popular Countess of Kent's Powder shows how the sale of remedies and preventatives against plague multiplied during epidemics. The powder,

a most soveraigne remedy against pestilential Fevers, is now in the hands of a Person of Quality that had the honor to wait upon the said Countess till her death, and made the said Powder by the directions of the said Countess long before she died.

Likewise, the 'Excellent Electuary and Drink for Prevention and Cure', which had been made according to the directions of the College of Physicians, went from being sold just by Mr. Francis Platts at the Green Dragon in Cheapside, to being sold 'by *John Holme* at the Green Dragon in *Basinghall-street*, and *Henry Bishop* at the Lion and Lamb against the *East-India-house Leadenhall Street*, Apothecaries; and for the convenience of the publick, by them exposed to sale with Mr. *Ogden* a Barbar without *Algate*; Mr. *Alder* at the Feathers at the *Bridge foot*; Mr. *Cary* at the Golden Tun near *Pauls Wharfe*; Mr. *Martin* at the Golden Still *Kingstreet Westminster*; *Robert Terry* at the *Coffee house in Chancery Lane*; Mr. *Wilson* Chymist in *Redcross-street*'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ *The Intelligencer*, 4 September 1665 (Issue 72).

Figure 6.1: Retail Locations for Proprietary Medicines Advertised in the Vernacular Medical Plague Literature of 1665



Richard Lowndes, a bookseller based in St Paul's Churchyard, was prodigious in his sale of plague medicines. It is clear that he had a trade in proprietary medicines and nostrums even before the outbreak of plague in London. He sold Buckworth's famous lozenges, 'Mr. *Matthews* Excellent Pill, which purgeth by Sweat and Urin', and 'The Universal Pill made by Mr. *Lionel Lockier*' from his shop in St Paul's Churchyard.¹⁶⁰ By the end of that year, he had added not only the Countess of Kent's powder to his stock, but also 'An approved Antidote or Pectoral against the Plague, prepared by some Eminent Physicians in that great year of Contagion, 1625 and taken with good success.'¹⁶¹ He also stocked a chemical pill, the 'Tabella Chymiatica perlate'.

But how much did these medicines and nostrums cost? 'An excellent electuary and drink for prevention and cure of the Plague' was the cheapest remedy advertised in the *Intelligencer* and the *News* and could be had for 12 pence the ounce, 'and the drink at three shillings six pence the pint'. Another drink was priced at '2s the quart'.¹⁶² Theodore le Medde's antidote was cheaper at '3 d price, where the said Elyxier put up in Glasses containing 5 ounces'.¹⁶³ At the highest end of the spectrum, an 'excellent Electuary and Drink for Prevention and Cure of the Plague' which was made according to the College of Physicians' recipe in their *Certain necessary directions*; the electuary could be had at just 3 pence per ounce, while the drink was charge at three shillings six pence per pound weight.¹⁶⁴

Table 6.11 shows nostrums that were advertised with prices; a description of the medicine is given, its stated affiliation, rationale for providing that affiliation, price and amount. What becomes immediately evident is that Galenic remedies—particularly those concocted according to the directions of the College of Physicians—were hugely popular. Furthermore, it becomes clear that for the most part, these preventatives and antidotes came at a steep cost. Fissel estimates that the average labourer might bring home five or six shillings a week,¹⁶⁵ so many of these remedies would likely have been out of reach for a typical Londoner. However, cheaper medicines, both Galenic and chemical, would have remained an option for some. Clearly, these proprietary medicines were an expensive option in comparison to making one's own remedies in advance of epidemics while the prices of herbs, roots, leaves, gums and powders remained low. However, if we factor in the inflation caused by a spike in demand, these proprietary medicines could very well be the cheaper option in comparison with a water that could multiple very experience herbs and ingredients.

¹⁶⁰ *The Intelligencer*, 12 June 1665 (Issue 45).

¹⁶¹ *The Intelligencer*, 17 July 1665 (Issue 55).

¹⁶² *The Newes*, 20 July 1665 (Issue 56).

¹⁶³ *The Newes*, 27 July 1665 (Issue 58).

¹⁶⁴ *The Newes*, 3 August 1665 (Issue 60).

¹⁶⁵ Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor*, p. 45.

Table 6.11: Proprietary Medicines, Affiliations and Prices from the *Newes* and *Intelligencer*

Description	Affiliation	Affiliation Rationale	Price	Amount
A Sovereign medicine for prevention and cure of the Plague, Fevers, and Small Pox	Chemical	'invented and practised with rare success by the famous Doctor John Baptist van Helmont'	10s	pint
Tabella Chymiatica perlate	Chemical		1s	18-20 pills
Tabella Chymiatica perlate	Chemical		1s	ounce
An approved Antidote or Pectoral against the Plague	Unknown		12d	
An excellent Electuary... for Prevention and Cure of the Plague	Galenic	'by order and appointment of His Majesties College of Physicians, London, and by their special care and advise'		ounce
An excellent... Drink for Prevention and Cure of the Plague	Galenic	'by order and appointment of His Majesties College of Physicians, London, and by their special care and advise'	3s6d	pound
Doctor Goodricks Pill 'universally approved for curing diseases, Gout, Dropsies, Scurvy, Jaundice, and perfectly eradicating diseases from the body.'	Unknown		2s6d	glass
An Excellent Antidote against the Plague, or any Infectious Disease				
An excellent drink used in the last great Plague	Galenic	'approved of by eminent Physicians'	2s	quart
Pillulae Prophylacticae or Cordial and cleansing Pills	Galenic	'according to College of Physicians'	2s6d	20 pills
'Dr Theodore le Medde his famous Antiphamacon'	Unknown		3d	5 ounces
Pomanders	Galenic	'made according to the advice of the Colledge of Physicians'	12d	piece

These advertisements show that medical retail, at least for proprietary medicines, remained active through the 1665 plague. Proprietary medicines were available across the metropolis, both in the City proper and in the more fashionably reaches of the West End. While the ingredients, materials and resources needed to make one's own medicines would have been difficult to come by, with the closing of markets and the waning of the Exchange, these proprietary prophylactics and remedies remained available to Londoners. These medicines played directly to the early modern desire for and practice of self-dosage.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, as Colin Jones has observed of eighteenth century France, 'The plethora of advertisements for medicines testified to growing medical entrepreneurialism, but also, finally, highlighted the strength of the demand for medical goods and services';¹⁶⁷ these medicines were created and sold because there was a demand for them, particularly in times of epidemic plague.

¹⁶⁶ Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁷ Colin Jones, 'The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 101:1 (1996), 13-40, (p. 31).

6.9 Conclusion

Plague medicine, by 1665, was slow to adapt and accept novelties. Some ingredients recommended as parts of prophylactics and curatives for plague remained the same. However, more and more, plague medicine relied on readymade compounds and commercially obtained ingredients as parts of plague recipes. Preventing pestilence continued to rely on many of the same concepts: air was purified and the body braced against threat with the use of mild sudorifics (section 6.3); cure remained centred on purgative sweats (section 6.4); and the victims' botches, blains and carbuncles were ripened, burst and soothed with the same types of preparations (section 6.5). However, this chapter has shown that taking a closer look at the *materia medica* recommended for plague shows the gradual transformation taking place in seventeenth-century English medicine. I suggest that the increasing inclusion of readymade and imported ingredients shows not only that they were more readily available more generally in seventeenth-century London, but also that English medicine was becoming increasingly commercialised. In times of epidemic plague, these medicines would have been many Londoners' only option for medical care.

Recipe books and the *Lord have mercy* broadsheets suggest that simpler remedies were most likely used in practice. In particular, there is compelling evidence that supports the argument that prepared medicines, which could either be purchased or made and stored in readiness, were increasingly significant elements of plague medicine (section 6.6). This suggestion is supported not only by the increase in advertisements for proprietary medicines and nostrums in vernacular medical plague literature and contemporary newsbooks, but also in the number of waters recorded and prescribed by recipe book keepers and physicians in response to plague. The demand for specific ingredients, a lack of fresh supply of these herbs into a beleaguered city ravaged by plague and huge spikes in price most of the most commonly recommended ingredients suggest that the remedies prescribed in plague literature are a reflection much more of theory than of practice. Premade medicines remained available throughout the epidemic across the metropolis at a cheaper rate than it would have been to manufacture one's own medicines using high-demand ingredients during epidemic plague (section 6.8).

Having discussed the *materia medica* in used during the Plague of 1665, we move on in the next chapter to discuss the practitioners and carers who used it to treat the disease's victims. These practitioners were faced with the challenge of providing care to victims under quarantine.

Chapter Seven

Quarantine and Carers:

The Practicalities of Providing Medical Care in a Divided City

7.1 Introduction

Having investigated the medical print and *materia medica* in use during the Plague of 1665, Chapter Seven moves on to discuss how practitioners were able to apply their medical goods and knowledge in a city divided by quarantine. This chapter will explore the public health response to plague and the practicalities of medical care within the quarantined house in 1665. First, I will question to what extent quarantine was used successfully as a method of ‘dividing the city’, labelling portions as ‘safe’ and others as ‘dangerous’, was utilised in practice, and to what extent the government’s orders were manipulated by parish authorities and Londoners alike. In reality, it seems that the legislative ideal of quarantine was nigh on impossible to enforce, supporting Slack’s argument that 1665 saw the failure of the quarantine system (section 7.2).¹ Previous histories of the plague of 1665, in discussions of practical medical care for families who were ‘shut up’, have focused on the histories of William Boghurst and Nathaniel Hodges in their discussions of professional medical practitioners accessing the home. I use these as well, in addition to the letters of John Allin to deepen discussion of the practice of professional medicine within the quarantined home. The practice of these practitioners was in fact deeply individual and depended his own understanding of the disease. While there were commonalities between the practice of various practitioners, including a large number of in-home visits and the use of sweating as a curative, this chapter will show how each practitioner had a distinct knowledge of the disease garnered quickly during the epidemic. Thus, professional medicine was largely dependent on the practitioner who was hired by those in the quarantined house (section 7.3).

From there, I will move on to discuss nurses, the other professional caregivers who provided care within quarantined houses. This chapter adds to previous scholarship on plague nurses by more closely examining the experience of nursing during the plague of 1665. I argue a number of things in regards to these nurses. Firstly, that nurses were competent medical practitioners in their own right, and secondly that their negative contemporary reputation was not due to their lack of skill, but rather due of their unknown qualifications as practitioner. In a time in which the patient-practitioner relationship was of deep importance to medical exchanges, the fact that nurses were assigned rather than chosen damned their reputation (section 7.4). This chapter’s final section will examine the parish records of St Margaret Westminster; St Bride Fleet Street; and St Giles in the Fields and use them to support my assertion that nurses were competent medical practitioners. These case studies will also examine the experience of plague nursing

¹ Paul Slack, ‘The Responses to Plague in Early Modern England: Public Policies and their Consequences’ in *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* ed. by John Walter and Roger Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 167-88 (p. 179).

during the plague of 1665, constructing as far as is possible a prosopography of plague nurses, with a particular focus on their backgrounds and careers (section 7.5).

7.2 *The Practice of Quarantine in London, 1665*

In 1665, strict quarantine—if indeed it can be called strict—was a relatively new practice that funds from the government had only made possible in the previous epidemic year. The measures taken by the government in times of plague had gone through significant change in the previous century and a half. Indeed, England was comparatively late to adopt official public health measures in connection to plague, which had been developed in other European countries as early as the fourteenth-century Black Death.² In 1518, the metropolitan government made its first attempts to mark infected houses³ in the form of bundles of straw hung from quarantined houses.⁴ However, those quarantined within the houses were allowed to leave as long as they carried a white rod to visually mark their proximity to plague.⁵ In 1578, Elizabeth's Privy Council sent the Lord Mayor a draft of suggested measures for plague time; in 1583, the metropolitan government passed these as the city's first plague regulations.⁶ The Plague Orders represented an important central hand which attempted to 'remedy haphazard local efforts'.⁷ However, Totaro has observed that both the Elizabeth and Jacobean governments failed to effectually enforce plague policy.⁸ Strict quarantine was not recommended until 1608;⁹ it was considered particularly harsh, as in many other countries—the Netherlands, for example—people were allowed to visit the sick within their quarantined homes.¹⁰ However, it was not until 1636 that English parishes purchased padlocks and provided formal provisions for the payment of warders and nurses, making 'the strategy of household isolation...something of a reality in London in the 1630s'.¹¹ Quarantine was further made a reality by the establishment in 1636 of the first tax to pay for the expenses of plague.¹²

In 1665, quarantine was enforced on a parish-to-parish basis. Searchers were the linchpin of London's system of quarantine. The parish had employed these women since the 1570s; their task was to identify cases of plague and notify the parish authorities, who compiled data which

² Carol Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 32.

³ Paul Slack, 'Metropolitan Governments in Crisis: The Response to Plague' in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* ed. by A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1986), 60-81 (p. 65).

⁴ Slack, 'The Responses', p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶ Slack, 'Metropolitan Governments', p. 66

⁷ Slack, 'The Responses', p. 169.

⁸ Rebecca Totaro, 'Introduction' in *Representing the Plague*, 1-34 (p. 13).

⁹ Slack, 'Metropolitan Governments', p. 67

¹⁰ Slack, 'The Responses', p. 170.

¹¹ Slack, 'Metropolitan Governments', p. 72.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

would eventually inform the *Bills of Mortality* and enforced quarantine when necessary.¹³ While searchers were often seen as susceptible to bribery, they actually used their own medical knowledge as women and a number of targeted questions, including a patient history, to diagnose illness.¹⁴ When a searcher identified a case of plague within a house or building, parish authorities initiated quarantine.¹⁵ The affected building was padlocked; a red cross and the words ‘Lord Have Mercy Upon Us’ were painted on the door so that neighbours and passers-by could identify the building as infected and dangerous. Warders, one for the day and one for the night, were placed at the door to guard it. From that point the time began to tick; quarantine was to last forty days.¹⁶ Plague doctor Nathaniel Hodges warned that ‘if a fresh person was seized in the same house but a Day before another had finished the Quarantine, it was to be performed over again; which occasion’d such tedious Confinements of sick and well together, as sometimes caused the Loss of the whole.’¹⁷ Once the building had been plague-free for forty days, it was opened, fumed and washed, and had a white cross affixed to the door to identify it for a further twenty days.¹⁸

Quarantine, in theory, was obsessed with separating the sick from the well, and distinguishing infected spaces from uninfected spaces. Londoners themselves perceived the separation. Thomas Vincent, who like John Allin had been ejected from his rectory at St Mary Magdalene, Milk Street in 1662, recorded his own observations during the plague. He described how it was

very dismal to behold the red Crosses, and read in great letters, *Lord have mercy upon us*, on the doors, and Watchmen standing before them with Halberts, and such a solitude about those places, and people passing by them so gingerly, and with such fearful looks, as if they had been lined with enemie in ambush, that waited to destroy them.¹⁹

Quarantined houses were viewed as dangerous and avoided accordingly. The red crosses and painted appeals to divine mercy were signs which warned the general populace to avoid that lodging if at all possible.

However, we must dispel the idea that plague sick were as strictly quarantined as the Plague Orders instructed. For one thing, it is clear that the sick were not always quarantined within their own houses, during the 1665 epidemic or any other. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence which suggests that the sick were frequently moved. Thomas Dekker claimed that householders often moved sick servants from the house proper into garden houses in the dark of night and said that the servants had spent the duration of their illness there.²⁰ Ole Peter Grell notes

¹³ Richelle Munkhoff, ‘Reckoning Death: Women Searchers and the Bills of Mortality in Early Modern London’ in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England* ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 119-134 (pp. 119-20).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-32.

¹⁵ Richelle Munkhoff, ‘Searchers of the Dead: Authority, Marginality, and the Interpretation of Plague in England 1574-1665’, *Gender & History*, 11:1 (1999), 1-29 (p. 10).

¹⁶ Charles II, *Rules and orders to be observed by all justices of peace, mayors, bayliffs, and other officers, for prevention of the spreading of the infection of the plague*. (London, 1666; STC2 R206381), p. 1.

¹⁷ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 7.

¹⁸ Charles II, *Rules and Orders* (STC2 R206381), p. 1.

¹⁹ Thomas Vincent, *Gods terrible voice in the city* (London, 1667; STC2 R234756), pp. 31-2.

²⁰ Thomas Dekker, *Villanies discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-light* (London, 1620; STC S109512).

that, during the 1603 plague, mortality in the suburbs may have been higher because ‘several well-to-do citizens in London owned small “garden- or pleasure-houses” in these areas, where they chose to send members of their households who caught the plague’.²¹ This practice continued during the 1665 outbreak. For example, on 3 August 1665 Pepys wrote of the maid of John Wright, who ‘falling sick of the plague... was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her’.²² Similarly, Margaret Pelling observes that the prevalence of smallpox in seventeenth-century London led to ‘divided houses’ with separate chambers and spaces specifically for the care of the sick in order to separate them from the well.²³ Legislation makes it clear that the sick could be moved from the house where they had become ill: no one was to be removed from the house where they had fallen sick ‘except it be to the Pesthouse or a Tent, or vnto some such house which the owners of the said Visited house holdeth in his owne hands.’ Removal was to be made at night.²⁴ Indeed, pesthouses had been employed in previous epidemics. Kira Newman has written of the widespread use of pesthouses during the 1636 plague; the parish of St Martin in the Fields built purpose-specific buildings in Soho Fields, one building for the sick and another for the healthy but exposed.²⁵ In St Martin, and others, these pesthouses were used in tandem with quarantine.²⁶ On 17 June 1665, several parishes in London worked together to purchase land upon which to erect a pesthouse.²⁷ Indeed, on 1 August one of the Duke of York’s pages fell ill ‘with fever and vomiting’ whilst they were passing through St Albans. Fearing it was plague, the Duke almost had the man committed to the pesthouse, but his quick recovery saved him.²⁸ Clearly, between pesthouses and garden houses, the sick, particularly those of the serving class, were frequently moved so as not to inconvenience their masters.

It also cannot be taken for granted that quarantine was strictly kept, or how strict quarantine was when enforced. As Keith Wrightson acknowledges, it is impossible to know just to what extent a house was actually ‘shutt up’. There are numerous examples of the sick intermingling with the well at all points of the 1665 epidemic, through escape or through poorly maintained quarantine. For example, in April 1665 a case in the suburban and gritty parish of St Giles in the Fields caused a scandal. An enquiry was opened into the case of a house which,

was shutt up as suspected to bee Infected with the Plague, & a Crosse and paper fixed, on the doore; And that the sd Cross and paper were taken off, & the doore opened, in a vitous manner, & the people of the house permitted, to goe abroad into the street promiscuously, with others.

²¹ Ole Peter Grell, ‘Plague in Elizabethan and Stuart London: The Dutch Response’ in *Medical History* 34 (1990), 424-439 (pp. 429-30).

²² Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor’s Summer*, p. 49.

²³ Margaret Pelling, ‘Skirting the City? Disease, Social Change and Divided Households in the Seventeenth Century’ in *Londinopolis c. 1500-c. 1750: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 154-76, pp. 165-6.

²⁴ England and Wales, *Certaines statvtes especially selected* (STC S125901), pp. 88-9.

²⁵ Kira L. Newman, ‘Shutt Up: Bubonic Plague and Quarantine in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Social History* 45: 3 (2012), 809-34, (p. 813).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 815.

²⁷ TNA: PRO, SP 44/22 f.87.

²⁸ TNA: PRO, SP 29/128 f.2.

The incident was described as a ‘Ryott’; the perpetrators were punished.²⁹ As the epidemic progressed, it was nearly impossible to completely enforce quarantine. Pepys’ tale of Mr. John Wright’s maid, who had been moved to the outhouse, continued when the nurse who had been appointed to watch her left briefly. The maid took the opportunity to escape through the window and run away.³⁰ On 3 September, Pepys heard the story of

a child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up and in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it (having put it into new fresh clothes) to Greenwich³¹

On 14 September, Pepys was horrified to see a sick person riddled with sores carried past him in a hackney coach.³² In November he wrote how Kent Street had been rendered ‘a sad place through the plague, people sitting sicke and with plaisters about them in the street begging.’³³ Thomas Vincent described how by the autumn, ‘we could hardly go forth, but we should meet many coffins, and see many with sores, and limping in the streets’.³⁴ Particularly vivid in his memory was an encounter near Moorfields with plague victim overcome with dizziness. While stumbling, the man ‘dasht his face against the wall’ and ‘lay hanging with his bloody face over the rails, and bleeding upon the ground’. The man, unable to respond to Vincent’s questions, died within the half hour.³⁵ The cases that were brought to justice—like the rioters from St Giles in the Fields—usually took place outside of the peak of the outbreak from July to October 1665. For example, in early 1666 a man was brought before the Middlesex Sessions ‘to answer for bring a person sick of the plague into the parish of St James Clerkenwell out of St Martin’s Lane neere Charing Crosse.’³⁶ Clearly, the rigours of strict quarantine proved impossible to enforce throughout the peak of the epidemic, most likely due to the fact of the manpower and the financial resources necessary to sustain it.

Quarantine was a contentious issue in plague literature; by 1665, overwhelmingly, it was viewed as a negative and even unnecessary measure. Polemical writers contested that quarantine unnecessarily escalated the death rate. Thomas Clarke, in his *Meditations In my Confinement*

²⁹ TNA: PRO, PC 2/58.

³⁰ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/08/03/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (3 August 1665).

³¹ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/09/03/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (3 September 1665).

³² Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/09/14/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (14 September 1665).

³³ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/11/14/>> [accessed 24 April 2017] (14 November 1665).

³⁴ Vincent, *Gods terrible voice in the city* (STC2 R234756), p. 38.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

³⁶ ‘Middlesex Sessions Rolls: 1666’, in *Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67*, ed. John Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1888), pp. 381-389. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-county-records/vol3/pp381-389>> [accessed 9 September 2016].

lamented that quarantine ‘hath swept houses clean’.³⁷ Vincent poignantly recorded the effect it had on his own household. There were eight in all, ‘three Men, three Youths, an old Woman, and a maid’.³⁸ The maid was the first to contract the disease, on a Monday. By Thursday she was dead. The following day, one of the youths found a swelling in his groin and was dead by Sunday. That same day, another of the youths became ill and succumbed on Wednesday. The following evening, his master became ill but eventually recovered. Half of Vincent’s household would become ill and three would succumb to the disease; as Vincent recalled, ‘Thus did the Plague follow us, and came upon us one by one... so the Messengers of death came so close one after another, in such dreadful manner, as if we must all follow one another immediately into the Pit.’³⁹ He acknowledged only the mercy of his God in the preservation of the rest of his household. Hodges wrote that quarantine was an utter failure, ‘for the Plague more and more increases’. To Hodges, people feared the prospect of quarantine so much that it made them more likely to become ill.⁴⁰ Despite numerous critical examples given by plague writers, quarantine continued to be the legislative bar set by both City and national government. Indeed, some complained that it was the lack of observation of this legislative rule that helped to spread the disease so quickly; in May, some thought that a house should be quarantined as soon as a sick person was identified as having the plague, rather than waiting for a plague death as seems to have been the case.⁴¹

Another issue which added to the complexity of enforcing quarantine was the number of mixed households in London. Lodgers and split lodgings were extraordinarily common. According to Jeremy Boulton, the mean household size was 4.4 in London in 1695, with an average of 1.7 lodgers attached to that household.⁴² Indeed,

A large proportion of London’s eighteenth-century populace lived in lodgings of some description, ranging from cramped spaces shared with strangers to spacious ‘rooms’ within someone else’s house.⁴³

Many Londoners became life-long lodgers after leaving home; owning property was not a typical part of the early modern life cycle in London.⁴⁴ John Allin was himself a lodger; one of his letters suggests that a shared door was the operative element which decided what constituted a ‘household’ for the purposes of quarantine. On 7 September 1665 he wrote to Fryth that

it [plague] is at the next doors on both hands of mee; under the same rooffe, though none of the family through mercy: y^e women yⁱ was my landlady at the first is now dead & buryed yesterday, I believe it is of the sicknes.⁴⁵

³⁷ Thomas Clarke, *Meditations In my Confinement, When my House was Visited with the Sickness* (London: 1666; STC2 R32618), p. 7.

³⁸ Vincent, *Gods terrible voice in the city* (STC2 R234756), p. 44.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴⁰ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 7.

⁴¹ TNA: PRO, SP 29/122 f.185.

⁴² Jeremy Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 17.

⁴³ Joanna McEwan, ‘The Lodging Exchange: Space, Authority and Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century London’ in *Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor, c. 1600-1850* ed. by Joanna McEwan and Pamela Sharpe (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2011), 50-68 (p. 50).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴⁵ ESRO FRE 5465 (7 September 1665).

The fact that a shared door appears to have been the deciding factor on whether multiple-household dwellings were quarantined together or not is important. As Derek Keene has observed in his unpublished paper on the poor of St Botolph outside Aldgate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ‘many, perhaps most, of the poor lived in single room accommodations’⁴⁶ which ‘while constituting a separate household, appears to have shared a common entrance with its landlord or the other occupants of the house.’⁴⁷ These shared dwellings were complex and the division of space typically complicated. However, Allin’s letter suggests that a shared door resulted in the quarantine of all the various family groups and lodgers behind it.

In the cases in which quarantine was thoroughly observed, quarantine was a period of immense emotional and physical trial for those who were ‘shut up’. The physical ordeals could, of course, include contracting plague. Thomas Clarke wrote that the disease was, ‘Unspeakably tormenting till it dyes’, and to illustrate his point listed symptoms: ‘Agues chilliness, mix’d with Feavers flames’, ‘extreme languishing’, ‘Intrall-racking-laxes vherent’ and ‘retching vomitings’ were all part of the reason why ‘If favour shews, ‘tis in dispatching quick’.⁴⁸ The impossibility of visits to or from sick relatives, neighbours and friends was also considered a hardship unique to quarantine.⁴⁹ Worst of all, to Clarke at least, was the abridgement of liberty caused by quarantine.⁵⁰ He was deprived of the chance to make a livelihood, ‘Which thing next to my Childrens loss, was chief,/ and greatest of my smart and worldly grief’.⁵¹ Idleness wore those in quarantine to the quick, left them to thoughts of recently departed loved ones and drove them into depths of depression.⁵² ‘Indeed, the Consternation of those who were thus seperated from all Society... was inexpressible; and the dismal Apprehensions it laid them under, made them but an easier Prey to the devouring Enemy,’ wrote Hodges.⁵³ Vincent imagined the quarantined squirming in the knowledge of their sins, monitoring the onset of their own plague symptoms while listening to the death throes of their family.⁵⁴

It was into these tortured spaces that medical practitioners entered to give succour and care (for a price, of course). London’s licensed medical caregivers—particularly the physicians of the College—had often come under extreme criticism for fleeing the metropolis at the commencement of plague outbreaks. 1665 was no different. Clarke berated them, saying that during the 1665 epidemic,

here, the Doctors scruple, are not free
In any thing except in taking fee;
And as to that, theyre ready men, and quick,

⁴⁶ Derek Keene, ‘The Poor and their Neighbours: The London Parish of St. Botolph outside Aldgate in the 16th and 17th Centuries’ (unpublished paper, Centre for Metropolitan History, n.d.), p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Clarke, *Meditations* (STC2 R32618), p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵³ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 7.

⁵⁴ Vincent, *Gods terrible voice in the city* (STC2 R234756), p. 37.

But slack enough in visiting the Sick,
And chiefly then, the time when there's most need,
Their height of Art and Skill, to shew indeed.
This is to many much addition,
Unto their sad deplorable condition,
Because on these men they did much depend,
From Sickness rage their *Bodies* to defend.⁵⁵

Irregular practitioners like John Allin were left to treat London's sick. There were, of course, physicians who chose to remain in London, Westminster and Southwark, including the physicians at the City's various pesthouses, collegiate physicians like Nathaniel Hodges who carried on as usual in the face of epidemic contagion and apothecaries and irregular practitioners who took advantage of the opportunity to practise physick.

7.3 Physicians' Knowledge and the Management of Visits

Wrightson's depiction of Newcastle during its plague epidemic in 1636 is one of continued action. Inhabitants maintained, as far as possible, the patterns of daily life, procuring foodstuffs, having brief conversations to exchange news or to find work if it was still available.⁵⁶ Their daily activities remained largely unchanged; rather, their new 'townscape of confinement and separation' necessitated small changes to their routine.⁵⁷ London in 1665 was similar; most notably, medical caregivers like physicians and nurses searched for work and navigated the transition between the relatively safe, 'uninfected' space of the street into the 'infected' space of the quarantined house with particular frequency. Over the course of the epidemic, caregivers would become intimate with the disease that ravaged their city, quickly becoming familiar with plague's prognostics and signs. They relied on remedies they personally found effective, whether their own recipe or borrowed from other practitioners. The practice of professional, male physicians within the quarantined house was personal, and depended on the knowledge garnered by the caregiver throughout the epidemic.

For any practitioner, licensed or irregular, plague meant seeing many more patients, and perhaps working far more than normal. Physicians' casebooks suggest that most physicians typically saw four to five patients a day, and that each of these consultations consisted of an in-house call.⁵⁸ Beyond this detail, however, it is clear that a practitioner's knowledge of the disease and how he comported himself during an epidemic, including the level of care he gave his patients and how he protected himself from the disease, was individualistic. Examples from the ego records of three plague doctors—Nathaniel Hodges, John Allin and William Boghurst—reflect how plague care depended on the practitioner.

⁵⁵ Clarke, *Meditations* (STC2 R32618), p. 5.

⁵⁶ Wrightson, *Ralph Taylor's Summer*, p. 52.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁸ Michael Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave, 2011), p. 65.

Nathaniel Hodges (1629-1688) later recalled his daily routine during the plague of 1665, giving a sense of how medical caregivers structured their visits and managed transitions from infected to uninfected spaces.⁵⁹ He rose early in the morning and took Theodore de Mayerne's 'Antipestilential electuary', an expensive concoction which contained walnut ring, figs, plums, vinegar, Virginia snakeroot, contrayerva, zedoary, butterbur, sugar, marigold syrup, clove oil and gold leaf.⁶⁰ He spent the morning attending to family business and giving consultations to patients who sought him at his home. He ate breakfast, and then went out on home visits to the quarantined sick. Hodges' first concern was to purify the air of the home he had entered, doing so by burning 'some proper Thing' in the fire when he entered and holding preventative lozenges in his mouth for the length of his visit. He took care 'not to go into the Room of the Sick' when he was sweaty or short-breathed (which he believed made the body more susceptible to ingesting pestilential poison) and made sure to keep his 'Mind as composed as possible' so his emotions would not imbalance his humours. When he returned home, he drank a glass of sack wine 'to dissipate any beginning Lodgment of the Infection' and ate a meal carefully selected to guard health. He gave more consultations until eight or nine in the evening, finishing his evening with a nightcap of sack.⁶¹ Hodges' routine revolved around the protection of the balance of his humours and medicinal preservatives; he found his routine incredibly effective, noting that 'in the whole Course of the Infection, I found myself ill but twice, but was soon against cleared of its Approaches by these Means.'⁶² A preventative routine based on the fortification of the body and the purification of the air, then, could protect a medical practitioner as he passed into and from infected spaces.

A contemporary woodcut housed in the Museum of London can tell even more about the 'infected space' of the quarantined house (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2).⁶³ This one woodcut is in fact a series of nine separate woodcuts illustrated by John Dunstall cobbled together to embellish a 1665 mortality broadsheet. Together, the entire illustration depicts a London besieged by plague: a long line of carts and carriages flee the city, piles of coffins lie awaiting burial and dogs and cats are hunted for slaughter. The first of these individual woodcuts is what interests us: it is actually a depiction of a sickroom, a privileged and unique look at the inside of a quarantined house. Two patients lie ill in the bed; another lies on the floor, but not haphazardly. One male figure stands observing the patient in the bed on the right hand side of the image; is he a physician, ascertaining state of the patient's health? His grip around the neck of a flask suggests the common image of a physician using urine as a prognostic tool. If he is a physician, there is no sign of a plague doctor's mask; this absence of such a distinctive piece of headgear is notable, as no contemporary

⁵⁹ Helen King, 'Hodges, Nathaniel (1629-1688)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13423>> [accessed 10 Aug 2017]; Hodges is also discussed in sections 3.3, 3.5, 5.5, 5.6, 6.3, 6.4 and 7.2 of this thesis, as well as below in 7.4.

⁶⁰ Christopher J. Duffin, 'Nathaniel Hodges (1629-1688): Plague doctor', *Journal of Medical Biography* 24:1 (2015), 30-35 (p. 32).

⁶¹ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 221-2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶³ Museum of London, Item ID no. 42.39/142, 1666.

account mentions its use. This man is dressed typically in hat, coat, cloak and breeches; his preventatives, if he has used them, must be easily hidden like those Hodges mentions using. Besides this male figure, the room is filled with women carers, four in all. A cloaked figure tends to the patient in the bed on the left; in the centre of the image, one woman leaves or enters the room while another carries a basin to the first woman and the fourth woman walks from the right to the left, stooped over a cane. Is she, purposefully depicted as elderly, a plague nurse? Is the seated woman, holding a long staff, a searcher? A coffin lies on the floor, a reminder of the likely fate of these patients. What this image—the only contemporary image of a sick chamber, though admittedly of an interior which suggests wealth—makes clear is that sickrooms were kept clean and orderly; that everyone ill of plague was moved into the same room for care and treatment; additionally, that there was not just one carer involved in the treatment of patients: this image has five different figures all providing a type of care.

These images show the orderliness vernacular medical plague writers had in mind when they occasionally gave recommendations as to how the sickroom of plague victims should be maintained. Cleanliness was an oft-emphasised virtue, both in the prevention and treatment of plague. Culpeper asserted that a clean house could protect against plague.⁶⁴ One of many listed causes of plague was the ‘unclean keeping of houses’.⁶⁵ Householders were to wash and cleanse their houses often;⁶⁶ windows and floors could be strewn with fresh, sweet-smelling herbs like mint, balm, lavender, thyme and red roses.⁶⁷ Garencières recommended that if anybody found themselves with the symptoms of plague, they should take themselves to ‘a clean and warm room, and let a fire of wood be kindled in the chimney, to consume and destroy all the infectious vapours’.⁶⁸ Every householder was to look to the cleansing of his own private house and the space in the streets around it.⁶⁹ John Gadbury similarly recommended the stricken to take to bed in a clean and warm room, with a wood fire in the chimney.⁷⁰ The cleanliness of the inside of a sick room in a quarantined house was so important, the churchwarden of St Margaret Westminster paid one of its constables for the cost of ‘removeing filth from a visited House’.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Culpeper, *Culpeper's last legacy* (STC2 R22796), p. 66.

⁶⁵ M. R., *The meanes of preventing* (STC2 R217714), p. 3.

⁶⁶ W. J., *A collection of fifty and seven* (STC2 R218505), p. 11.

⁶⁷ A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets* (London: 1652; STC2 R207034), p. 4.

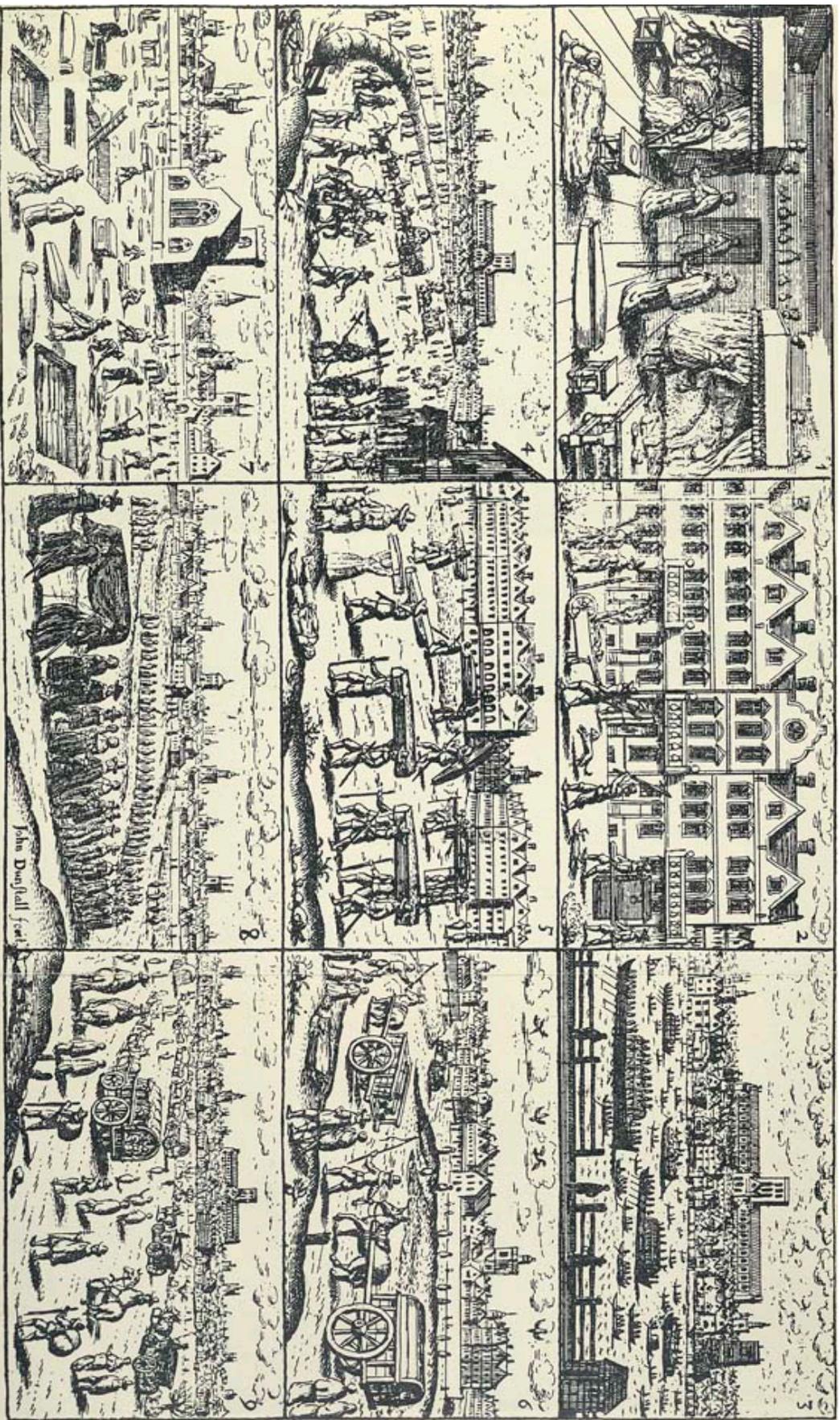
⁶⁸ Garencières, *A mite cast* (STC2 R16663), p. 5.

⁶⁹ Kephale, *Medela pestilentiae* (STC2 R26148), p. 8.

⁷⁰ John Gadbury, *The prophecie of one of His Maiesties chaplains, concerning the plague* (London: 1665; STC2 R220559), p. 3.

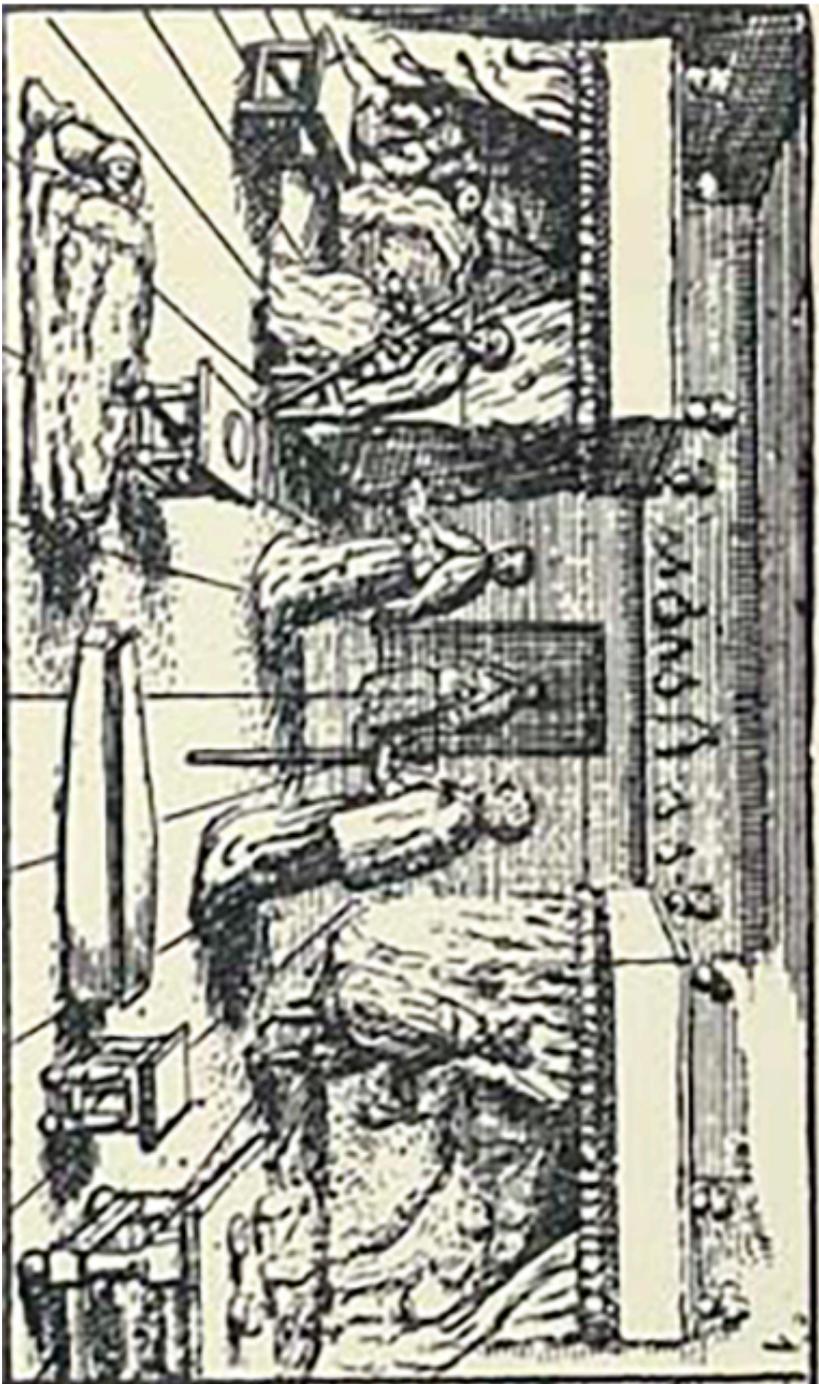
⁷¹ WCL, SMW/E/1/47.

Figure 7.1: Detail from a 1665 Mortality Broadsheet at the Museum of London, Item ID 42.39/142



FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION FROM A PICTORIAL BROADSIDE OF 1665 [c.] IN POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR
John Duryfall scul.

Figure 7.2: Interior of a Sickroom, detail from a 1665 Mortality Broadsheet at the Museum of London, Item ID 42.39/142



The procedure of cure taken once within the infected of the quarantined house was practitioner-specific. Hodges describes one of the more common procedures: ‘whensoever the Patient is taken, he must immediately be put to Bed; wherein we have found it much more serviceable to be covered with Blankets, than Linen Sheets, because the Woolen much better encouraged Sweating, and also absorbs it, and keeps the Body cleaner all the while.’ Importantly, patients were to be ‘kept close in their Beds the whole Time of the Disease’.⁷² John Allin’s own method of cure is difficult to get at; his promise to Philip Fryth to include a description of ‘y^e curative pte’ went unfulfilled as far as we know.⁷³ However, Allin and many other practitioners became familiar with the varying symptoms of plague, creating their own prognostics and curative methods. His letter of 20 September 1665 shows the familiarity he had with the disease, providing a detailed account of his knowledge of plague. He associates different symptoms with different methods of contracting infection; describes the way in which plague affected the body and achieved its affects; and describes in minute detail the appearance of carbuncles, buboes and botches. Allin observed that,

For y^e spotts or tokens, wch most generally are fforerunnrs of certaine death, they do more generally this yeare then formerly appear in divers parts of the body, formerly usually and almost onely to be found upon y^e region of the hearte and liver, or the breast, or agst it on the backe; but now on y^e necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called tokens; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrowne; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one. If they bee observed at first riseing sometimes with a red circle without, and blew wthin; sometimes with ablew circle wthout and red within; sometimes one more bright red, the other blewish or darker, sometimes blacker; y^e blew from y^e arteriall, y^e red from y^e venall blood affected, the blacke from melancholy as is aforesd.⁷⁴

John Allin’s views seem to be a mixtures of knowledge garnered from plague pamphlets and, overwhelmingly, from personal experience. Any plague doctor entering a quarantined house came with his own repertoire of knowledge and specialisation.

William Boghurst (1630/1-1685),⁷⁵ an apothecary practising plague medicine in St Giles in the Fields, scoffed at the practice some practitioners had of searching the ‘but newly fallen sick’ for tokens. He himself

never looked after any tokens at all, for I knew when they had them and when not, I knew also whether they would have many or few, great or small, black or redd, how long they would live with them; yea, I seldome judged by them, but allwaies judges them by forseeing signes before they came out, for I did seldome looke after them because the Patient should not thinke I did expect their death. Yea, I most commonly gave judgement whether people would live or dye at the first visit, almost allwaies at the second, and whether they would have carbuncles, buboes, or blaines, whether they would have any feaver or noe, and many more accidents too tedious. Though at first I was baffled in giving Judgement, but afterwards by nice and long observation of the particulars I arrived

⁷² Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 183.

⁷³ ESRO FRE 5469 (22 September 1665).

⁷⁴ ESRO FRE 5468 (20 September 1665).

⁷⁵ Paul Slack, ‘Boghurst, William (1630/31–1685)’, ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37204>> [accessed 10 Aug 2017]; Hodges is also discussed in sections 5.4, 6.4 and 6.7 of this thesis, as well as below in 7.4.

to a great skill, for I rendered myselve very familiar with the disease, knowing that the meanes to doe any good, it must not be nice and fearefull.

Boghurst was a hands-on practitioner. Conducting up to forty visits a day, he personally dressed his patient's plague sores, held their wrists for a pulse while he determined his opinion on their fate, held them up in bed to keep them from choking, ate and drank with them, sat next to and on their bed to talk for up to an hour if he had the spare time, stayed with them to witness their death, closed their eyes and mouth, and even helped lay them out for burial and accompany them to their grave.⁷⁶

The physician's experience of and dealings with plague was doctor-specific. Hodges, Boghurst and Allin all show how various understandings of plague could inform practice in equally various ways. Boghurst was perhaps the most hands-on practitioner of the three, giving deeply personal care to his patients that spanned the gap between medical care and the grave. Boghurst mentions how he never used the tokens on a patient's skin to give prognostics, while Allin depends on them entirely. Meanwhile, Hodges' practice was deeply rooted in Galenic theory of the disease, while some of the preventatives he used had chemical rationale. While Hodges takes necessary preventatives to protect himself from the disease, Boghurst's hands-on approach suggests that he was not afraid of contracting the disease. The medical care of physicians within the home could vary immensely.

In many cases, however, calling in an established physician or irregular practitioner was infeasible, particularly in terms of cost, for an ordinary Londoner. In these cases, the parish appointed nurses from amongst its pensioners to care for the plague sick. The next two sections will discuss nursing care during the Plague of 1665, covering their negative opinion amongst contemporaries and asserting that these women were in fact competent providers of medical care, before moving on to provide a prosopographical study of these women.

7.4 Plague Nurses: Murderers or Competent Caregivers?

A majority of those who contracted plague would not have had visits from any professional practitioner, whether licensed like Hodges or practising illegally like Boghurst and Allin. As Wear has observed,

the underlying reality was that few people enjoyed any continuous care outside their families. Probably the most attentive of the paid carers were the nurses who, despite being often condemned as ignorant and cruel in their attention to the sick, and as unscrupulous and thieving, did at least visit and stay with them.⁷⁷

This section seeks to increase our knowledge of these 'most attentive of the paid carers'.⁷⁸ Nurses were castigated as the vilest of murderers and thieves; I seek to exonerate plague nurses from this reputation and to assert that they were competent medical practitioners in their own right and to explain why they were accused of these specific crimes.

⁷⁶ Boghurst, *Loimographia*, pp. 30-1.

⁷⁷ Wear, *Knowledge and Pracice*, p. 338.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

There is a fundamental disagreement in the historiography about whether early modern London's parish-provided nurses—including, during plague years, plague nurses—actually provided medical care or not. Pelling addresses the need to further develop understanding of sick nursing in the early modern period in her essay 'Nurses and Nursekeepers'; in the same essay, she makes a move towards identifying the duties of seventeenth-century poor law nurses and their poor reputation, concluding that the 'fear and distaste' with which a nurse's working conditions were viewed were the main factors that resulted in their reputation. Additionally, distaste for the 'female independence' acquired by nurses played a key role in their negative reputation. On the whole, Pelling's picture is of a competent workforce of mainly female carers whose employment spanned a range of tasks that included, importantly, the medical.⁷⁹ Deborah Harkness has echoed this argument, asserting that nurses were medical practitioners in their own right. She asserts that 'women were part of organized *systems* of healthcare' in London parishes.⁸⁰ These women played central roles in 'the delivery of services that promoted and preserved the health of many Londoners from cradle to grave.... women were central figures in the delivery of nursing, medical pharmaceutical, and surgical services throughout the city' and had a diverse and detailed medical knowledge garnished from their experiences.⁸¹ Most recently Richelle Munkhoff has used parish records to support the argument that plague nurses provided a valuable medical service; they received payment because their medical expertise was seen as a commodity worth paying for.⁸² Like Pelling, Munkhoff argues that their close, daily proximity with plague that led to the marginalization of parish plague workers like nurses.⁸³ On the other hand, Ian Mortimer's study of probate records in the southwest of England during the seventeenth century has asserted that nursing implied 'watching' rather than giving medical care.⁸⁴ Rather than payment for services worth paying for, payments to parish nurses do

not necessarily mean there was a medical element to attendance on smallpox and plague cases which was reflected in [higher] payments, but rather that, in contracting to attend a smallpox for a certain amount per week, a female attendant was bringing to the case an appreciation for the disagreeable and possibly life-threatening nature of the task, and that this was what differentiated her payment from a woman attending a man dying of 'old age'.⁸⁵

Mortimer further punctuates his argument with the statement that 'Generally speaking, nursing functions did not include a significant medical element.'⁸⁶ However, he concedes that by 1660 women with medical experience dominated nursing roles.⁸⁷

⁷⁹ Margaret Pelling, 'Nurses and Nursekeepers: Problems of Identification in the Early Modern Period' in *The Common Lot*, 179-202 (p. 202).

⁸⁰ Deborah E. Harkness, 'View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82:1 (2008), 52-85 (p. 56).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

⁸² Richelle Munkhoff, 'Poor Women and Parish Public Health in Sixteenth-century London', *Renaissance Studies* 28:4 (2014), 579-96 (p. 584).

⁸³ Munkhoff, 'Searchers', p. 16.

⁸⁴ Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*, p. 140.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

My study of plague nursing during the Great Plague of 1665 seeks to support the arguments of Pelling, Harkness and Munkhoff and to counter that of Mortimer. There is considerable evidence which suggests that plague nurses were competent medical practitioners in their own right. Early modern women were often the primary caregivers in their homes; likewise, the fact that food was considered a type of medicine—and the preparation of food would certainly have been under a nurse’s remit—needs to be considered. The negative opinion and imagery associated with plague nurses, then, is due to their status as a practitioner of unknown qualifications rather than the fact that they had no medical knowledge whatsoever.

In the early modern period, family members usually provided nursing care rather than paying others to provide it.⁸⁸ Servants were often called upon to nurse their masters and mistresses.⁸⁹ However, fear of plague made treating plague uniquely challenging. Hodges noted how the threat of quarantine ‘made the Neighbours fly from theirs, who otherwise might have been a Help to them’.⁹⁰ The anonymous author of *The shutting up of infected houses* warned that ‘a whole and healthy familie to day, for want to preservatives, antidotes, attendance, and (it may be) necessaries off meat and drink, is to morrow none at all.’⁹¹ Neighbourly and familial care lapsed during epidemics of feared diseases like plague and smallpox. Into this gap stepped hired nurses and parish nurses.

Plague nurses were part of the early modern public health system that was based in the local administration of the parish.⁹² After the public health crisis caused by the Dissolution of Monasteries and nunneries, which until then had served as major healthcare centres, parishes were called on to provide for the healthcare needs of their communities.⁹³ Now, the Protestant imperative of charity made possible a system wherein those who received relief worked for it.⁹⁴ As Grell and Cunningham have put it, what emerged was a system of pensioners providing a nursing service for fellow pensioners.⁹⁵ The overlapping role of parish as both centre of poor relief and of public health led to the employment of older women as both nurses of the sick and searchers of the dead.⁹⁶ Indeed, receiving relief from the parish often obligated older women and pensioners to work for the parish in healthcare capacities.⁹⁷ It was a system that worked for the

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 188.

⁸⁸ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, pp. 53-4.

⁸⁹ Samantha Williams, ‘Caring for the sick poor: poor law nurses in Bedfordshire, c. 1770-1834’ in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850* ed. by Penelope Lane, Neil Raven, K. D. M. Snell (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewster, 2004), 141-70 (p. 150).

⁹⁰ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 9.

⁹¹ Anonymous, *The shutting up of infected houses as it is practised in England* (London, 1665; STC2 R221470), p. 8.

⁹² Munkhoff, ‘Poor Women’, p. 580.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 579.

⁹⁴ Ole Peter Grell, ‘The Protestant Imperative of Christian Care and Neighborly Love’ in *Healthcare and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500-1700* ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1997), 43-65 (pp. 49-57).

⁹⁵ Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, ‘The Reformation and Changes in Welfare Provision in Early Modern Northern Europe’ in *Healthcare and Poor Relief*, 1-42 (p. 2).

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 580.

⁹⁷ Andrew Wear, ‘Caring for the Sick Poor in St Bartholomew’s Exchange: 1580-1676’, *Medical History Supplement* 11 (1991), 41-60 (p. 47).

parish; relying on pensioners was much cheaper than relying on professional medicine.⁹⁸ Nurses were often called on to keep those with chronic illness or old age; when a plague epidemic descended on London, these nurses were then called on to care for plague patients. By an overwhelming majority, these nurses tended to be female.⁹⁹

‘Nurse’ and ‘nursing’ can be ambiguous terms for the modern reader. The definitive form of the term ‘nursing’ in the early modern age was not for the sick, but for children, and could include wet nursing, infant care or monthly care for older children. Nurses in hospitals definitely performed a medical role,¹⁰⁰ though in the case of nurses employed by the parish their medical involvements with their patients could be more questionable. In poor law cases, nurses provided all the care, though how medical this care was in nature could vary.¹⁰¹ Amongst the descriptive tasks allocated to late eighteenth-century poor law nurses in Bedfordshire were “‘doing for”, “attendance”, “looking after”, “care”, “nursing”, “washing” and “cleaning””.¹⁰² Thomas Dekker, in his criticism of nurses, lumps them together with keepers and charwomen.¹⁰³ However, in general nurses were associated with medical care. For example, a pamphlet by Thomas Nash includes one nurse criticising a rival for rushing in ‘with thy washing bowle and thy nursecloutes under thy cloak’.¹⁰⁴ Even if nurses did not explicitly dose their patients with medicines, they would certainly have fed their patients. Food and its preparation were firmly placed in the realm of women; it had notable overlaps with physick, defined as inward medicines. Indeed, Ian Mortimer contends that in smallpox and plague cases, for which payments were typically higher, there was more likely a medical element to attendance.¹⁰⁵

Contemporary writers rarely have anything but the most negative comments to make of plague nurses. During the 1665 epidemic, Hodges’ depiction of plague nurses was damning. He wrote how nurses

out of Greediness to plunder the Dead, would strangle their Patients, and charge it to the Distemper in their Throats; others would secretly convey the pestilential Taint from Sore of the infected to those who were well; and nothing indeed deterred these abandoned Miscreants from prosecuting their avaritious Purposes by all the Methods their Wickedness could invent’.¹⁰⁶

He relished in telling the tale of one nurse, who having observed the death of her patients, quickly ransacked their home for goods. Loaded down with her robberies, she suddenly collapsed in the street, dead of plague—a sure sign of divine wrath for her many ill deeds. Another nurse stripped her recently dead patient of his fine clothes, ‘but Recovering again, he came a second time into

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁹⁹ Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁰ Pelling, ‘Nurses and Nursekeepers’, p. 187.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁰² Williams, ‘Caring for the Sick poor’, p. 152.

¹⁰³ Dekker, *Villanies discovered* (STC S109512), p. 38.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Nash, *Haue vvith you to Saffron-vvalden* (London: 1596; STC S110085), p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁶ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 8.

the World naked'.¹⁰⁷ Hodges was in fact playing on an opinion which had been propagated since the plague epidemics earlier that century; pamphleteer Dekker writes of the 'Abuses of Keepers, Nurses, or Chare-women' whose bungled medical knowledge could result in fatality, much less their 'One charitable quality', which was murdering those near death.¹⁰⁸ Vincent, while describing the potential torment of the quarantined sick, included the threat of a nurse, 'whom they have been more afraid of, then the Plague itself' as a particularly horrible effect of the disease.¹⁰⁹ Nurses were accused to concealing plague for bribes, their avarice overcoming their civic duty.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the most damning portrayal came from the author of *The shutting up infected houses*, who wrote that,

Little is it considered how careless most Nurses are in attending the Visited, and how careful (being possessed with rooking avarice) they are to watch their opportunity to ransack their houses; the assured absence of friends making the sick desperate on the one hand, and them on the other unfaithful: their estates are the Plague most dye on, if they have any thing to lose, to be sure those sad creatures (for the Nurses in such cases are the off-scouring of the City) have a dose to give them; besides that, it is something beyond a Plague to an ingenious spirit to be in the hands of those dirty, ugly, and unwholsome Hagg; even a hell it self, on the one hand to hear nothing but screeches, cryes, groans, and on the other hand to see nothing but ugliness and deformity, black as night, and dark as Melancholy: Ah! to lye at the mercy of a strange woman is sad: to leave wife, children, plate, jewels, to the Ingenuity of poverty, is worse; but who can express the misery of being exposed to their rapine that have nothing of the woman left but shape?¹¹¹

The rhetoric and imagery used of nurses in these public, polemical sources was vivid and horrifying. However, it may be the case that plague nurses were the scapegoat of a system—quarantine—which by 1665, most Londoners hated and disagreed with. Perhaps the necessity of lying 'at the mercy of a strange woman' is what made the spectre of the plague nurse such a threatening one.

It is worth comparing the reputation of plague nurses as a group to another group of females kept and employed by the parish: searchers. Searchers, like nurses, were vilified by their contemporaries and portrayed as horrifying crones keener to profit from their duties than perform them correctly. Indeed, there is still a modern assumption that searchers misrepresented or underestimated the proportion of plague casualties.¹¹² However, importantly, contemporary accounts do not question the accuracy of the bills.¹¹³ The ability of searchers to recognise the obvious signs of plague, and their honest reporting of their observations, were taken for granted by contemporary writers; even Graunt acknowledged that the signs of plague would have been obvious and required no special training in order to identify.¹¹⁴ The majority, then, trusted their

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ Nash, *Haue vvith you* (STC S109512), pp. 38-9.

¹⁰⁹ Vincent, *Gods terrible voice in the city* (STC2 R234756), p. 34.

¹¹⁰ Hodges, *Loimologia* (STC2 T61368), p. 139.

¹¹¹ Anonymous, *The shutting up of infected houses* (STC2 R221470), p. 9.

¹¹² Munkhoff, 'Searchers', p. 3.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹⁴ John Graunt, *Reflections on the weekly bills of mortality for the cities of London and Westminster, and the places adjacent* (London: 1665; STC2 R9023), p. 3.

medical knowledge; instead, it was their close proximity and daily contact with plague that allowed for 'new forms of marginalisation to be implemented'.¹¹⁵

It was the same with nurses; these women had already participated with medical life as matriarchs. Parishes employed women as searchers and nurses because of this medical expertise and were able to 'perform their duties... within a very specific world of medical understanding'.¹¹⁶ Indeed, stress was laid upon these older women who were supposed to have more experience with medicine¹¹⁷ or even with the preparation of food, which notably overlapped with the physicians' role of inward medicines.¹¹⁸ As discussed above, many of the medicines that may have been used to treat and prevent plague were taken as food or drink rather than in overtly medicinal preparations (see sections 2.5 to 2.6 and 6.3 to 6.4). And indeed, the fact that the 'medical system of early modern England was an open one in which people moved from lay to medical expertise very easily'¹¹⁹ further supports the notion that most plague nurses were, on some level, competent medical caregivers. The level of medical care given would naturally have varied. Some nurses may have been able to obtain medicines or ingredients for recipes in order to administer them to their patients; others may only have tended to the comfort of their patient, preparing food and water and doing their patients' laundry; others may have only attended to the housework and cleaning their patients were unable to do. However, most women would have been familiar with the basics of medical care and would have been able to provide some level of medical succour to their patients. In his list of the ideal characteristics and traits of a nurse, Thomas Fuller included, amongst being of the middling sort, of good sight and hearing, nimble, clean and cheerful, the fact that she be 'observant to follow the Physicians Orders duly; and not be so conceited of her own Skill as to give her own medicines privately'.¹²⁰ By 1730 there was a concern that nurses were over-performing their duties; and a concern about the fact that good nurse could supplant the care of a male practitioner. Indeed, the fact that even Hodges uses the word 'patients' to describe those cared for by nurses suggests that there was a medical aspect to the relationship.

However, not all opinions were flagrantly negative. Boghurst commended nurses for suffering the danger of close contact with the disease;¹²¹ even Dekker, who castigated the abuses of nurses, acknowledges that 'a number of them are motherly, skillful, carefull, vigilant, and compassionate women: good Nurses indeed'.¹²² Otherwise, however, the reputation of poor law nurses who served during plague was very low indeed. To Pelling, this poor reputation is due in

¹¹⁵ Munkhoff, 'Searchers', p. 16.

¹¹⁶ Munkhoff, 'Reckoning Death', p. 132.

¹¹⁷ Margaret Pelling, 'Thoroughly Resented? Older Women and Medical Role in Early Modern London' in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* ed. by Lynette Harper and Sarah Hutton (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997) 63-88 (p. 82).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹¹⁹ Wear, 'Caring for the Sick Poor', p. 55.

¹²⁰ Thomas Fuller, *Exanthematologia: or, an attempt to give a rational account of eruptive fevers, especially of the measles and small pox* (London, 1730), quoted in Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullogh, *Care of the sick* (London: Croom Helm, 1979) p. 57.

¹²¹ Boghurst, *Loimographia*, p. 31.

¹²² Dekker, *Villanies discovered* (STC S109512), p. 39.

part to the relative independence of nurses compared to other women.¹²³ What also needs to be considered is the fact that the credentials—the herbal and medical knowledge a nurse would have brought to each quarantined house—was unknown to her patients. Early modern patients wanted a close, personal relationship with their medical practitioner.¹²⁴ The patient-practitioner trust that must exist for a functional exchange of medical goods and knowledge, then, did not exist betwixt nurses and their patients during times of plague.

Additionally, quarantine necessitated that not only did one have to cut one's house off from the rest of the city, labelling it as dangerous and infected, but also that one allow an uninvited person within. Contemporary accounts referred to the plague nurse as 'a strange woman' amongst many other insults.¹²⁵ While illness was viewed, to an extent, as a public rather than a private event in which relatives and nurses were involved, one gets a sense that typically only the known were allowed into the sick chamber.¹²⁶ Stolberg, using European evidence, mentions relatives, servants, paid attendants, acquaintances, friends, landlords and landladies all playing a part in nursing the sick.¹²⁷ In cases of plague however, particularly within a crowded metropolis, the nurses that were allocated to quarantined houses may have been strangers. Mortimer writes that it was the status of the nurse as a stranger that 'exacerbated [the image of] nurses as "uncaring" carers'.¹²⁸ Finally, the advantage of the poor law system of healthcare is that poorer people were cared for, often in an intimate way, by 'people of a similar class and outlook'.¹²⁹ Class barriers were breached during plague as poor law nurses, from a disadvantaged background, would have been allocated to households regardless of wealth. Munkhoff's assertion that plague allowed for searchers and nurses to be further marginalised due to their daily, intimate contact with plague is correct. For example, the searchers of St Bride Fleet Street were warned not to spend time dawdling in the street smoking and gossiping after performing their duties and instead to 'keepe within Doores as much as they can'; restricting their movement served the dual purpose of assuaging fears of their spreading the infection and minimising their visibility.¹³⁰ Indeed, the fact that plague was seen, fundamentally, as a disease of the poor—and the fact that these women served as nurses because they were poor—further compounded these negative associations. Objections to nurses, then, were rooted on one hand in their strangeness, on the other to their femaleness, and even more in their social origins.

And indeed, on an even more fundamental level, it is worth considering the sources which condemned plague nurses the most virulently. Firstly, there were the polemical treatises circulated in order to castigate the practice of quarantine. Keen to imbue quarantine with as many horrors as could be imagined, these polemicists utilised the plague nurse—imposed by the parish,

¹²³ Pelling, 'Nurses and Nursekeepers', p. 197.

¹²⁴ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, p. 65.

¹²⁵ Anonymous, *The shutting up of infected houses* (STC2 R221470), p. 9.

¹²⁶ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, pp. 53-4.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-6.

¹²⁸ Mortimer, *The Dying and the Doctors*, p. 137.

¹²⁹ Williams, 'Caring for the sick poor', p. 167.

¹³⁰ LMA, St. Bride's Vestry Minute Books 1644-1665, 1681-1937, P69/BRI/B/001.

just as quarantine was—as the monstrous personification of a law they hated. Nurses were described as murderers and thieves precisely because that was what quarantine did: robbed people unnecessarily of their lives, their property and their ability to engage in gainful employment. Secondly, male, licensed practitioners like Nathaniel Hodges, who had a clear interest in vilifying their much cheaper, perhaps equally capable competition, repeated these charges. Male practitioners consistently viewed their female counterparts with concern as rivals for trade and custom.¹³¹

It can easily be demonstrated that nurses were not thieves. The Middlesex Sessions Records from 1665 are, however, seasoned with a rise in burglaries throughout the city. Clearly, as Champion has observed, the new economy of the metropolis—now focused on the enforcement of plague policy—was so detrimental to some that they were driven to crime.¹³² Interestingly, many of the perpetrators, particularly through the seasonal peak of the outbreak in June to October of 1665, were female. For example, on the 1 July Jeane Prichard, a spinster, was brought ‘to ansvere for living out of service, and for bringing goods out of an hour then infected into an house in Graise Inne Lane, without the knowledge of the Master of the house.’ There were Elizabeth Moyes and Elizabeth Collier, both tried on 26 September for stealing the goods of ‘Doctor Parks lately dead of the Plague’. Elizabeth Williams helped a group of three men ransack a house in the parish of St Botolph’s without Aldgate. In October both Isabella Petty of Whitechapel and Elizabeth Ellis of St Giles in the Fields were separately brought to answer for their burglary of the goods in the houses of recent plague dead. This is not to say that all those involved with burglaries that year were female; seven perpetrators that year were male.¹³³ However, no entry in the Middlesex Sessions Rolls mentions a nurse being involved a burglary. Rather, the ubiquity of lower-class women in reported burglary cases shows that these type of women—the same class of women who would have served as nurses—were associated with crime and thievery. Indeed, Jeremy Boulton has observed that female-headed households, which were usually small and overrepresented in those considered poor, could be prevented from settlement in an area, quite possibly because of their vulnerable socioeconomic position.¹³⁴ An established distrust and prejudice against poor, usually single women, led to their being cast in a role that equated their poverty with their burden on the parish and low moral standards.

Nurses, then, were not the bungling, opportunistic leeches described by their contemporaries. Their social background and daily proximity to a feared disease entailed that they were feared. Seventeenth-century Londoners were uncomfortable with receiving medical care from strangers. However, this did not change the fact that these women, oriented in at least the basics of domestic medicine, would have been able to provide necessary care to the quarantined

¹³¹ Harkness, ‘View from the Streets’, p. 54.

¹³² Champion, *London’s Dreadful Visitation*, pp. 91-2.

¹³³ ‘Middlesex Sessions Rolls: 1665’, in *Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67*, ed. John Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1888), pp. 363-381. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-county-records/vol3/pp363-381>> [accessed 27 September 2016]

¹³⁴ Boulton, *Neighborhood and Society*, pp. 127-9.

poor in their parishes. The following case studies of three different London parishes will further describe the backgrounds and medical experiences of nurses, questioning the assumption of contemporary accounts and supporting the argument that plague nurses were medical practitioners in their own right.

7.5 *The Nurses of St Bride, St Margaret and St Giles: A Case Study*

The system of parish poor relief—the same system which called for nurses to be sent to those in need of medical care—was well in place by the time of the 1665 plague. Pelling has described the sophisticated system of healthcare in Norwich in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century; in Norwich, parish officials were willing to pay large sums for both the prevention and cure of disease and moreover employed professional practitioners for its needy in addition to supplying them with nurses.¹³⁵ Jeremy Boulton paints a similarly sophisticated picture of the nurses in St Martin in the Fields through the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century; in St Martin's, a network of parish nurses provided care for its inhabitants.¹³⁶ However, the demand created by plague placed considerable stress on the resources of London's parishes. Because London's plague orders (section 7.2) were only put into effect once a full-scale epidemic threatened, parishes were often left unprepared to cope with the stress.¹³⁷ The central government did pay London's parishes £600 to deal with the financial toll plague placed upon them,¹³⁸ but just as the demand for the parish services increased during plague—nursing, warding, searching the infected, bearing and burying the dead—so too did the potential pool of those receiving relief from the parish to fill these roles. As Champion has established, epidemic plague led to a transformation in London's economy from being service-based towards 'a market in the services associated with social policy.'¹³⁹ As the economy ground to a halt, 'more women were forced to seek dangerous employment as nurses, and... the provision of this employment was seen as form of relief for the women employed as well as for those to whom they supplied care.'¹⁴⁰ Thus, the material circumstances of plague both demanded and supplied nurses to care for the sick.

In order to more closely explore the backgrounds and experiences of London's plague nurses in 1665—who they were, how they were selected, what sort of care they gave, and how long they served in their capacity—I read the churchwarden's accounts from three London parishes: St Bride Fleet Street; St Margaret Westminster; and St Giles in the Fields, Holborn. These three parishes were chosen on two specific criteria: the quality of their records and their social and spatial positioning. Each of these three parishes have churchwarden's accounts that survived the Great Fire and contain details of the parochial provisions made for

¹³⁵ Pelling, 'Nurses and Nursekeepers', pp. 79-102.

¹³⁶ Jeremy Boulton, 'Welfare Systems and the Parish Nurse in Early Modern London, 1650-1725', *Family & Community History* 10:2 (2007), 127-51, (p. 127).

¹³⁷ Porter, *The Great Plague*, p. 113.

¹³⁸ Slack, 'Metropolitan Governments', p.72.

¹³⁹ Champion, *London's Dreadful Visitation*, pp. 91-2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

plague. St Bride was a relatively small, poor parish just without the city walls.¹⁴¹ The 1666 Hearth Tax returns for St Bride show that the entire parish had an average of just 3.66 hearths, ranging from Ginder Alley and Legg Alley (each with only one average hearth) to the slightly wealthier homes along White Hart Court, Peterborough Court and Salisbury Court (each totalling an average of seven hearths or more). St Margaret Westminster was a large and suburban parish, home to both the very wealthy and the deeply deprived, though by and large the parish was wealthier than St Bride.¹⁴² The average number of hearths per dwelling in St Margaret was 4.27, but this average takes into account Dean's Yard and Channel Row (each with an average of over 10 hearths) as well as poorer streets like White Alley, Twyfords Alley, Scotchford's Alley, Codpiece Court and Talmonds Hill (each with an average of less than two hearths). St Giles was composed similarly to St Margaret—across the parish, there was an average of 4.16 hearths per dwelling, ranging from the fabulously wealthy Drury Lane (with an average hearth count of 16.5) down to the desperately deprived Whetstone Yard, Thorntons Alley and Flowers Alley (each with an average of only one hearth per dwelling).¹⁴³ Indeed, the differentiation between the rich and the poor in St Margaret and St Giles due to their position in the increasingly fashionable West End¹⁴⁴ make them particularly interesting subjects of this case study.

The quality and detail of the churchwarden's accounts for each of these parishes vary. Both St Margaret and St Bride recorded separate books in which their churchwardens recorded plague-specific receipts and payments; as such, their records are very organised and provide a wealth of detail. St Giles records are spottier, included amongst the other payments of 1665 and sandwiched in the larger accounts book amongst other years; St Giles records are more hurried in nature, more overarching and as such lack detail. St Bride and St Margaret are much more detailed in scope, particularly St Margaret which often included the names of nurses in its records of payments. That being said, while these records can tell us a great deal of nurses and allow us to question common assumptions about them, they are limited. St Giles and St Bride do not include the names of nurses. No records include explicit details of these women's lives. Our knowledge of them, beyond what is explicitly stated in the records, must be inferential. However, careful interpretation of the ways in which these records were recorded can yield interesting details about how parishes viewed nurses and quarantine.

¹⁴¹ It covered just 28.7 acres and homed an estimated 1,413 households in the early modern period according to Roger Finlay, *Populations and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 171.

¹⁴² Jeremy Boulton has established how the parish, home to 3,133 households, housed both the rich and the poor. While it was certainly site to 'many many high-profile aristocratic mansions and gentry town houses', 47.4 per cent of its households were so poor as to be exempt from paying poor rates. Jeremy Boulton, 'The Poor Among the Rich: Paupers and the Parish in the West End, 1600-1724' in *Londinopolis*, 195-223 (pp. 203-9).

¹⁴³ *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666>> [accessed 10 April 2017].

¹⁴⁴ John Landers, *Death and Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 51-5.

St. Giles in the Fields was the first parish to be struck with the plague, in December of 1664. On the 24 December, the churchwardens' accounts record a payment to 'the Searchers for examining the Corps of Goodwife Phillips who dyed of y^e Plague'. Five shillings were then paid to 'Goodman Philips and his Children being Shutt upp [and] visited'.¹⁴⁵ St Giles was a poverty-stricken parish on the peripheries of the City, and its Churchwarden's accounts reflect payments that do not appear as frequently in the accounts of St Margaret or St Bride: the parish regularly paid for the shrouds of its dead and paid for vagrant migrants who had drifted into the parish to be expelled. In 1664, a child was sent back to his home parish of St Clement, Eliza Right and her daughter were sent out of the parish 'into their owne Country', and Goodwife Simons was fetched from 'the New Parish to her Children' who remained in St Giles.¹⁴⁶ The parish also had a functioning poor law system in place by the beginning of the epidemic in 1664; female pensioners often received payments both for nursing children and the sick, as in the case of Elizabeth Cullin 'for keeping Alice Simons her children' or the payment of five shillings to 'Goodwife Philips for keeping of Martha Jones being sick a Month'.¹⁴⁷

The vestry minutes and the churchwarden's accounts of St Giles combine to give a picture of the parish during the plague of 1665 as attempting to cope under the staggering pressure that plague created. In February to March 1665, payments were made for a shrouds for burials, with the name of the deceased recorded; in March 13 pounds were spent for lime and gravel for the parish's churchyard. The main drawback of these records is the fact that, quite suddenly in March 1665, the relatively detailed lists of payments concerning plague stop. This is not to say that the poor became impossible to care for. In March 1666, a John Green—son of John Green, a constable in the parish—sued the Middlesex Sessions for payments his now deceased father had made out of his own pocket. In total, the sum the senior Green had paid while on duty was 55£2s6p. He did this while being 'very vigilant and diligent in the performance of his office... and gave upp and account of all the visited houses, the persons within them, how they were provided for, and the charge of maintaining them'.¹⁴⁸ During the peak of the epidemic, however, this amount of detail is utterly lacking in the written records; the accounts' following pages record staggering sums ascribed to payments to plague-related expenses. For example, 219£5s was paid to the carpenter Thomas Sutton; 315£13p went to the pesthouse; 640£5s9p was paid to the constables of the parish who provided poor relief; and a full 729£9s4p was paid 'by this Accomptant himself' to 'all poore and visited People throughout the whole Pish' including the expense of 'severall nurses [and] warders in small sums'.¹⁴⁹ This sum was far beyond the total in a non-plague year, where most nursing charges went to those women caring for orphans and

¹⁴⁵ CLHL, St Giles in the Fields Churchwarden's Accounts 1640-1694, P/GF/CW/1/1.

¹⁴⁶ CLHL, P/GF/CW/1/1.

¹⁴⁷ CLHL, P/GF/CW/1/1.

¹⁴⁸ 'Middlesex Sessions Rolls: 1666', in *Middlesex County Records: Volume 3, 1625-67*, ed. John Cordy Jeaffreson (London, 1888), pp. 381-389. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/middx-county-records/vol3/pp381-389>> [accessed 9 September 2016].

¹⁴⁹ CLHL, P/GF/CW/1/1.

foundlings. In St Giles, we can assess that nursing was part of a huge expense of the parish; however, the details of nurses' placements are absent from these records.

The records of St Bride Fleet Street—a parish just outside the western walls of the City—are more detailed. Our picture of plague in the parish comes from three different sources: the churchwarden's records, the vestry minutes, and a rougher account book in which the churchwarden took rough notes for the year 1665. Importantly, at the vestry meeting of 16 June that year, it was decided that the parish's chief churchwarden, Henry Clarke, would decide on and dispense the amount of relief required for the visited, including the assignment and payment of warders and nurses.¹⁵⁰ The general churchwarden's accounts give only an overarching picture: regular provisions are made for bearers and those who 'kept the Doore', money is spent carrying dogs away from the parish and, once the pressure of mortality demanded it, for the excavation of a pit in the churchyard in which to bury the parish's plague dead. New pick axes and shovels are regularly purchased but nurses receive nary a mention in these official records; rather, like St Giles, a total sum for the amount 'Paid to severall Visited persons and Families for their Relief in their sicknesses, for their Nurses, and for Coffines [and] bearers for the Buriall of many sick that dyed and other incedent charges Concerneing their keepinge [and] burialls' is given.¹⁵¹

It is to the rough churchwardens' book for 1665 that we must look for more detail about nurses in St Bride. These accounts, bound as a single, slim volume, are in poor condition; the pages are water-stained and the volume has been rebound at some point, resulting in the cut off of many dates and monetary sums in the records. Additionally, a record of payments for the visited only survives for about a week's period in September of 1665. However, despite these gaps, a more detailed picture than that of the general churchwardens' accounts emerges. Warders and even bearers are mentioned by name; nurses are, with just one exception, never named. This detail suggests the premium the parish placed not only on male work, but also on work that filled the parish's most pressing demands: the burial of the dead and the quarantine of the sick. In St Bride the care of the sick takes the back burner to these more immediate demands. The fact that the churchwarden indicates a nurse by the family she cared for and their house's location—for example, payments are made to 'Whiteheads nurse george Alley', 'To Coopers nurse in popping alley for one weeke' and 'to a nurse at Lovells milke yard'—further suggests the idea that the officials of St Bride were more concerned about the location and containment of plague cases than the details of sick care.

What we can observe through a comparison with the 1666 Hearth Tax returns, however, is the economic background of the patients the nurses of St Bride were treating. In this particularly deprived parish, which unlike St Giles and St Margaret did not have clusters of the extremely rich to balance out the socioeconomic backgrounds of its inhabitants, the average number of hearths per dwelling was just 3.66. Overwhelmingly, those streets described as having a nurse stationed to them had less than three average hearths; no inhabitants on streets with 4.5

¹⁵⁰ LMA, St. Bride's Vestry Minute Books 1644-1665, 1681-1937, P69/BRI/B/001.

¹⁵¹ LMA, St. Bride's Churchwardens' account books 1639-1869, P69/BRI/B/016.

hearths on average was recorded as receiving nursing care. Indeed, only three streets with more than four average hearths received any care in these records. In St Bride, then, the poor were absolutely those most likely to be assigned nursing care from the parish.¹⁵²

In St Bride, the ambiguity of the term ‘nurse’ can be seen fully. The word is used primarily to describe those women who cared for parish children, paid monthly for this service and were compensated for the costs of their care. Occasionally, this type of nursing was outsourced to Stratford.¹⁵³ ‘Keepinge’ occasionally also denotes childcare, as when a woman called ‘Roper’ was paid for ‘takinge in and keepinge’ two children called Peter Brides and Stephn Brides’.¹⁵⁴ However, the same term could denote sick care, as when a Mrs. Piggott was paid seven shillings and six pence for ‘keepinge a sick maide’.¹⁵⁵ Payments could also be made to women sent to help the sick, as when women were paid to help the Withers family, the Greene family and the Glover family.¹⁵⁶ However, in plague cases, it appears that ‘nurse’ was the term commonly applied to women sent to care for the sick; as mentioned previously, these women were denoted by the family they were carrying for and the household’s location within the parish.

The records of St Bride can give a sense of how much nurses’ tasks were valued and how much compensation these women received for their services. On the 29 August, the petition of Elizabeth Duncombe was heard, and she was decided that the parish would give her 18 pence a week for the ‘keepinge’ of her husband—a surprisingly low sum.¹⁵⁷ Plague nurses in the parish typically received much more for a week’s work, ranging from around four shillings to seven shillings. However, interestingly, the one parish nurse referred to by her husband’s name—‘Piggotts wife’—is paid varying sums for her work. On 16 October she is paid seven shillings and sick pence for keeping the sick maid with an additional one shilling simply ‘for a sicke man that dyed in y^e Churchyard’. She is mentioned one more time in the surviving records: ‘To Piggotts wife for a weeke for Suzann White 2^s6^d for Edith 2^s0^d’.¹⁵⁸ Why Mrs. Piggott was paid such varying sums for her work caring for these various patients is difficult to get at; perhaps some of her patients died only a few days into her care. Perhaps she only stopped in in the case of Suzann White, while the sick maid required more full time attention. It is worth noting that 2s6d is the largest sum given to a plague nurse in St Bride—it is clear that the services of Mrs. Piggott were valued. However, it is also clear that the warder’s task was considered more important, and commoditised accordingly, by the parish. At the vestry meetings of 7 July, William Poole was appointed to be a warder at the rate of ten shillings a week.¹⁵⁹ At the average rate, a warder received twice as much as a nurse for the same amount of work.

¹⁵² *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History*

Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666>> [accessed 10 April 2017].

¹⁵³ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁵⁴ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁵⁵ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁵⁶ LMA, St. Bride’s Churchwardens’ accounts (rough), P69/BRI/B/017/MS06553.

¹⁵⁷ LMA, P69/BRI/B/001.

¹⁵⁸ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁵⁹ LMA, P69/BRI/B/001.

Finally, the records of St Bride give the sense that nurses were not quarantined with their patients, but rather installed when needed, only for as long as needed. As noted in the case of Mrs. Piggott, various levels of care and attention may have resulted in her varying payments. However, other payments provide tantalising glimpses at a parish for which the quarantine of the sick mattered more than the care of the sick. One payment is to ‘Webbs nurse till Munday’.¹⁶⁰ Is this a payment in retrospect, denoting a payment for care provided until the previous Monday, or is it an anticipatory payment for services until the next Monday? In any case, the terms for which the nurses were paid are usually quite clear in the records. One was paid ‘for a weeke’, another for ‘3 dayes’, yet another for ‘2 weekes’.¹⁶¹ These nurse/family pairings are mentioned only once in the surviving records—which indicates that after her services were no longer required, a nurse was paid and either sent to her next placement or made to await it.

By far the most useful records for our purpose are those of St Margaret Westminster. Like the parish of St Bride, St Margaret kept a separate book of detailed records related to the plague. Dates, in this case, are legible; churchwardens recorded expenditures from 29 May 1665, which they designated as the first week of the plague, to 5 November 1666, the final week. Recorded payments are typically for one of four expenditures, all focused on the machinations of quarantine: for the searchers to identify plague cases; for the warders to watch the doors; for the sick, who were recorded by head of house and the number of those in the household; and for the plague nurses, who were designated by name and the signifier ‘nurse’. Moote and Moote tracked the number of nurses employed by St Margaret in *The Great Plague*; these figures can be found in Appendix B of their masterful book. I will use the same records to provide a more fine-grained view of nursing in the parish, teasing out the backgrounds of these women and their experience of nursing during the 1665 epidemic.

It becomes clear, first and foremost, that nursing was not a steady job held consistently over the course of an epidemic. Appendices 7.1 and 7.2 contain a list of all the nurses employed by St Margaret’s churchwardens over the span of 1665 and 1666. Appendix 7.1 includes the 324 distinct nurses assigned in the parish records by name while Appendix 7.2 lists the 90 unnamed nurses who were signified by the household of their employment. Together there were at most 414 nurses employed by the parish over the course of the epidemic. As Williams observes, ‘Many carers were employed only once or twice, while others received a mixed bag of payments for care work and poor relief... while a third group of needy women were allocated caring jobs to that they might earn a little more in some weeks.’¹⁶² This argument is born out in the records of St Margaret; of the 324 named nurses, only 109 were paid for nursing more than once that year. Champion suggests that the small number of repeat-nurses may be due to the fact that ‘women tended to act as nurses for their neighbours rather than to serve as a pool from which the parish

¹⁶⁰ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁶¹ LMA, P69/BRI/B/016.

¹⁶² Williams, ‘Caring for the sick poor’, p. 152.

drew as required.¹⁶³ Only 22 were paid for nursing four or more times. The most frequently paid nurse, Mary Butler, was paid only eight times over the course of a year and a half. While plague nursing relied on a core of nurses who appear in the records more regularly than others, it becomes clear that in times of epidemic, nursing tasks were spread across the parish to include all those who needed additional monetary relief.

St. Margaret's churchwarden accounts also make clear that it cannot be taken for granted that nurses were always assigned to a quarantined house. As the plague limped on through the first half of 1666, the churchwarden of St Margaret continued to record the parish's plague expenditures, which included far more wardens than nurses. It seems that nurses were assigned on the basis of need; the preferred method was for care to be provided by someone already within the home, who might be able to care without receiving payment from the parish. Furthermore, as with the records of St Bride, it becomes clear that in practice, nurses were not always quarantined with their patients. The law was clear in its intention that nurses *should* be quarantined with their patients: 'And if any *Nurse-keeper* shall remove her self out of any infected house before 28 days after the decease of any person dying of the Infection, the house to which the said *Nurse-keeper* doth so remove, her self shall be shut up until the said 28 days be expired.'¹⁶⁴ There are anecdotal cases, however, which show the rule was not strictly adhered to. As has been described above, the nurse appointed to care for Mr. John Wright's maid left the outhouse where her patient lay ill and only returned after he charged had fled. Likewise, the fact that many of St Margaret's nurses were paid only for a week's work at a time suggests that they were not quarantined with and paid for a full forty days' duration. Some nurses, as Elizabeth Harvard and Margaret Rowes were each paid a half-week's wage, twice, in the week of 25 September 1665. Additionally, payments were made to discharge nurses of their duties: Alice Evans was both paid and discharged in the same week. Champion has suggests that, because the name of St Margaret's nurses were given far more frequently than the names of the sick, nurses 'may have acted in a more general capacity for particular neighbourhoods rather than for individual households'.¹⁶⁵

Comparing these lists of nurses with the 1666 Hearth Tax returns communicates a wealth of information not only about the economic background of the nurses (in cases where names are given) but also about whom they treated (when the name or street of the infected are given). The expectation would be that the poor would be treating the poor, but this is not necessarily the picture that emerges through comparison of these records. It should be noted that these comparisons are not definitive—in cases where nurses were married, her husband's name would have been noted rather than her own, meaning that in several cases an assumption has been made. For example, I have supposed that Dorothy Heard was the wife of Robert Heard, as only one Heard household appears in the Hearth Tax returns. In several cases, particularly when the

¹⁶³ Champion, *London's Dreadful Visitation*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁴ City of London, Court of Aldermen, *The orders and directions* (STC2 R232156), p. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Champion, *London's Dreadful Visitation*, p. 95.

surname was more common, it has been impossible to track down nurses; the parish of St Margaret was riddled with Bells, Stephens, Fishers and Butlers.

What is clear, however, is that nurses were largely garnered from among the parish's poorest. Marjery Stiffany, Elizabeth Taylor and Alice Lewes were all listed as heads of household for dwellings with just one hearth apiece; Joan Davis' home in New Way and Richard Crosley's in Stable Yard each had only two hearths. Several other nurses have been attached to possible husbands living in dwellings with just one or two hearths: these include but are not limited to Jane Singleton (wife of John Singleton, one hearth), Anne Millet (wife of Alexander Millet, one hearth), Sarah Hilliard (wife of John Hilliard, one hearth) and Mary Croke (wife of William Croke, two hearths). A number of tentative connections have also been made between women listed as widows in the Hearth Tax: Widow Bird of White Alley had only one hearth and Widow Bayly and Widow Petty each had two. It is also possible to suggest that Marie Cole was the Widow Cole (one hearth), Elizabeth Lee was the Widow Lee (one hearth), and Jane Gray the Widow Gray (one hearth). Clearly, some of these women came from desperate circumstances, particularly once alternative means of support were truncated by epidemic. Indeed, it is significant that many of these women were likely to receive payment for nursing several times during the epidemic. Marjery Stiffany was paid seven times; Jane Singleton and Elizabeth Lee five times; Anne Millet and Sarah Hilliard three times; and Marie Cole and Elizabeth Taylor were each paid twice. Very clearly, those in the most deprived circumstances were those most likely to take up nursing and those condemned to repeat this undoubtedly unpleasant task. Indeed, the records of St Margaret show that of the 324 named nurses, 103 were listed as having received aid connected to plague during the 1665 epidemic—though if this aid was due to their being part of a quarantined household, having suffered plague or through the financial difficulties caused by epidemic is impossible to tell. That one-third of these nurses was paid from the parish coffer supports the suggestion that nursing was often a task carried out by the desperate.

There are several notable exceptions to the idea that nurses were wholly chosen from among the poor, however. Mary Snow was quite comfortable in her St Peters Street home of six hearths while Katherine Lewis was even more so in her Bell Court home of eight. Tentative marital connections provide an even more astonishing picture. Dorothy Heard was possibly the wife of Robert Heard, whose dwelling in Round Yard had a full 14 hearths. Elizabeth Cuthbert's potential nine-hearth home in Bow Street was likely very comfortable indeed. Of these women, only the women who headed their own household—Mary Snow and Katherine Lewis—nursed more than once during 1665 to 1666.¹⁶⁶ The married women, notably, were each paid only once. These exceptions to the rule support Champion's arguments that single women were those most likely to be coerced into nursing by their economic circumstances. These wealthy women who nursed only once likely support his supposition that neighbours tended to nurse for neighbours.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666>> [accessed 10 April 2017].

¹⁶⁷ Champion, *London's Dreadful Visitation*, p. 94.

Likewise, tracking the names and locations of the infected tend to give us a more diverse view than the simplistic ‘poor treating the poor’. Undoubtedly, some of the names that are possible to trace belonged to some of the parish’s most deprived inhabitants. ‘Heyyons Nurse’ was likely treating John Heynes in his one-hearth house in White Horse Yard; the ‘Nurse at Goodw Kings’ may have been treating Katherine King in her home of one hearth in Duffields Alley. However, more affluent patients were also included on the parish’s roster of those to be treated. Susanna Holding lived in a home of eight hearths; Robert Whale’s home had six; Richard Yates had five; and Anne Pitman—possibly the wife of Barth. Pitman—lived in home of seven hearths, suggesting that plague nurses were assigned those households with the most immediate need rather than the most clear economic needs.

Nurses in St Margaret were undoubtedly competent medical caregivers. The specificity of these records means that various levels of care—and the language assigned to these tasks—are made clear. In the week of 11 January 1666, a Nurse was paid for caring for the Yates family and ‘washing of Linnen’; Marjery Jones was paid for ‘looking to the Widd Twine being vizited’. Another nurse was paid for ‘keepine’ Elizabeth Brigandine. In the week of 23 November 1665, was paid for ‘watching wth Joⁿ Fleming being distracted 2 nights’.¹⁶⁸ Thus, it is significant that those assigned to care for plague patients were all labelled as a ‘nurse’; it implies that these nurses were to provide care that went above and beyond the tasks of cleaning, cooking, and looking after their patients. It also becomes clear that those with proved medical experience were among the ranks of St Margaret nurses. Jane Allaway served as a nurse five times throughout the epidemic; the records also list her payments for services as a midwife two times. Jane Allaway is a vivid example of Deborah Harkness’ assertion that women played established roles in healthcare in early modern London.

St Margaret also gives an idea of how high demand for the services of nurses resulted in a more diverse core of caregivers. Moote and Moote observe that ‘Nurses were in great demand. Young women who had lost their spouses (and bread winners) to plague swelled the ranks of the normal nurse pool of long-time widows on parish relief.’¹⁶⁹ This statement is born out in the records of St Margaret, which not only show the employment of increasingly more widows of time, as indicated by Moote and Moote, but also the increasing employment of goodwives—married women—as well. Men were also, less frequently, employed as nurses. In the week of 12 October, Richard Crosley, a warder, was paid ‘for nurseing Jon Dickons’. A majority of nurses seem to have been elderly parishioners; however, it is clear that during plague, younger women—both widowed and married—and men joined the ranks of nurses.

Serving as a nurse could, naturally, be a high-risk task. Assessing the possible mortality of plague nurses is challenging as quarantined households are listed by the head of house. However, several vivid examples emerge. Jane Allaway, the midwife-nurse of the early summer of 1665, is listed among the sick in the week of September 18 and disappears from the records

¹⁶⁸ WCL, SMW/E/1/47.

¹⁶⁹ Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague*, p. 229.

after October. She was not the only nurse to suffer in her trade. Barbara Wharfe was paid only once as a nurse, in the week of 21 August 1665; by the week of September 4, she is listed as having plague. Perhaps the most vivid example is that of Margery Stiffany, who on the 10 July 1665 was paid for ‘her Extraordinary Paynes in looking after y^e Visisted’—significant praise in records that are mostly a list of names with minimal detail. She appears again as a nurse in the week of 21 August and then again 28 August. The latter week, however, includes another strange entry: four shillings were paid to ‘The Bear^f for Margery Stiffanny’. Thereafter, she receives no mention. That she succumbed to the plague seems to be the most reasonable assumption we can make from the records. In comparing named nurses to entries in St Margaret burial register over the course of the epidemic, I found an overlap of only 17 names;¹⁷⁰ plague nursing was undoubtedly dangerous, but the inclusion of many nurses (18 were listed in the pesthouse, 103 as having received plague-related aid) among the sick before their stint as a nurse may explain the low death rates amongst this group.¹⁷¹

We get the sense from the parish records that nurses were only placed within quarantined houses when they were needed, and removed once that need had passed. With this in view, we can conclude that nurses were unlikely to have been quarantined with their patients in practice. Additionally, nurses did always serve consistently throughout an epidemic—their employment was often off-and-on. Additionally, a more inclusive picture of plague nurses is given. While it is clear that the majority of nurses were older parish pensioners, we also see married women, young widows and men included amongst the ranks of plague nurses. Additionally, we can also see that plague nurses were paid a variety of rates—the services and experiences of some women were more highly regarded, and commodified by the churchwarden accordingly. Nurses cannot always have been quarantined with their patients, and can only have been assigned when a quarantined household was in dire need. Finally, service as a plague nurse was a perilous task.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has, I hope, made several things very clear. The practice of quarantine was obsessed with labelling and dividing London’s metropolis, making apparent to Londoners which areas of the city were safe and uninfected and which were dangerous. Londoners found loopholes to manipulate the orders which prescribed quarantine; servants in particular were sent away or kept in small, separate rooms in the garden. If necessary, quarantine could be escaped. While quarantine appears to have been strictly held during the beginning of the 1665 plague, by the autumn of that year, the volume of plague sick, in addition to competing, urgent demands on the

¹⁷⁰ WCL, St. Margaret’s Westminster Burials, SMW/PR/6.

¹⁷¹ Benedictow has shown that historic plague epidemics in Italy had a morbidity of between 44 and 55 per cent. It seems likely that those who had had plague earlier in the 1665 outbreak would have been among those whose circumstances were reduced to the point that plague nursing became a condition of their parish relief. O. J. Benedictow, ‘Morbidity in Historical Plague Epidemics’, *Population Studies*, 41:3 (1987), 401-31.

parish meant that quarantine was a hit-and-miss experience. By the end of the epidemic, the sick lay in the streets—the exacting hold of quarantine had relaxed its grip (section 7.2).

This chapter has also shown how individual practitioners interpreted the signs and symptoms of their patients differently, and how these practitioners comported themselves from the ‘safe’ space of their own home to the questionable space of the street to the ‘unsafe’, ‘infected’ space of the quarantined homes of their patients changed depending on their knowledge of the disease (section 7.3).

The greatest majority of medical care during the Great Plague of 1665, however, would have come from nurses. This chapter has shown how the reputation of nurses in contemporary literature was false; nurses as women were competent providers of practical medical care. Objections to nurses came from their status as strangers, their social background and the fact that their patients had no context from which to judge their medical proficiency (section 7.4). Additionally, the case studies of parishes across the metropolis have questioned common assumptions in addition to giving a picture of the dangerous experience of serving as a plague nurse. These case studies have given important detail to the argument that plague nurses played an important role in the system of parish poor relief and that they provided valuable medical care to the sick and afflicted (section 7.4).

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to describe medical responses to London's last Great Plague in 1665 and explore how centuries of change—the Civil Wars, the incorporation of various medical groups, the challenge to Galenic hegemony by chemists—transformed the practice of plague medicine in that fateful year.

8.1 Rise of the Readymade Medicine

On surface level, medical responses to plague seemed largely unchanged over the course of the early modern period. Beliefs about the cause and propagation of plague can be split into two categories: the supernatural and the natural. In our period, God was believed to be the root cause of any outbreak of epidemic disease; plague was no exception to this rule. Plague was viewed as a universal judgement against London for its many sins and transgressions; this, to early modern plague writers, accounted for the virulence and breadth of the contagion. However, plague was also seen as being caused by corrupt air, though whether this taint was caused by the conjunction of heavenly bodies or by an unclean urban environment was contested in plague literature. Corruption imbued the air with pestilential poison which was ingested into the body via the lungs or the pores (section 2.3).

Beliefs about how to prevent and cure plague addressed these perceived causes. Repentance had nearly always been the first preventative recommended in vernacular medical plague pamphlets; by 1665, however, the authors of vernacular medical literature spent more time discussing the medical preservatives they recommended. These preservatives, across the entire early modern period, were concerned with the purification of the air. It was recommended that fumes and fires be lit in homes and in the street; sweet and strong-smelling herbs and flowers be strewn across the home; and that these herbs be chewed and smelled when in the street. Medicinal preservatives, often eaten as or combined with foodstuffs in a breakfast meal, were taken to preserve the body and to cause mild sweats to resist the inhalation of plague poison. The data here suggests that laxative purges were used more frequently in the sixteenth century than the seventeenth; it would seem that early modern practitioners and lay people observed they were of little effect in cases of plague and so cut them from preventative regimes. Cures were taken in the form of diaphoretic herbs and drugs; this was seen as aiding the body's natural attempts to expel plague poison (sections 2.5, 2.6, 6.3 and 6.5).

This thesis has acted as a corrective to the tendency of historians to treat medical plague literature, particularly that of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as a homogeneous whole. Chapter Two has argued that a closer look at the vernacular medical plague literature of London sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century epidemics shows that there were changes in the types of herbs, minerals and drugs being recommended as parts of prophylactics and therapies for

plague over the course of the early seventeenth century. The enumeration and analysis of these ingredients shows that readymade and commercially obtained ingredients were increasingly important to plague medicine. In particular, treacle—a strictly regulated manufactured drug—was increasingly important in all areas of plague medicine. While beliefs about the nature, spread, prevention and treatment of plague remained largely unchanged over the course of the early modern period, the remedies recommended to combat and cure the disease were undergoing significant change. This study has used quantitative data to illustrate the increased importance of commercially obtained ingredients and drugs over the course of the seventeenth century (sections 2.4 to 2.8).

This research has been taken further in Chapter Six. Plague medicine shows that commercially obtained, imported and proprietary drugs were increasingly the resort of Londoners; nowhere is this more evident than during the Great Plague of 1665 (sections 6.2 to 6.5). The ingredients recommended in recipes resembling kitchen physick would have become exorbitantly expensive during the plague, but there is the distinct possibility that they could be purchased throughout the metropolis, from apothecary's shops, some street markets and the city's wandering herb women. A cheaper, even more abundant option was the huge array of proprietary nostrums and drugs being peddled by booksellers and retailers in London's every nook and cranny. The city's trade in proprietary medicines, which this thesis argues grew over the course of the seventeenth century, exploded during times of epidemic contagion; in 1665, miracle remedies and prophylactics multiplied apace with plague deaths. They were expensive options; however, they would likely have been many Londoners' only therapeutic recourse (sections 6.7 and 6.8).

8.2 Theory versus Practice

In its argument for the increasing availability of and recourse to proprietary and commercially obtained medicines and drugs, my thesis has attempted to bridge the gap between theory and practice. The plague recipes included in manuscript recipe collections have been neglected in histories not just of the Plague of 1665, but also early modern plague generally. These collections likewise show a predilection for readymade medicines—in this case, medicines that came in the form of waters, which could be distilled and brewed at the maker's leisure and then stored until they were needed (sections 2.9 and 6.6).

There is further work to be done in terms of the various ingredients—grown, gathered or purchased—that early modern recipes included. My thesis has focused on their perceived benefits, but more can be done to assess the actual therapeutic benefits of these ingredients to explain the increasing significance of some ingredients and the decreasing of others.

8.3 Plague Print Culture Revealed

My thesis' description of the print culture of the medical plague broadsheets and pamphlets produced over the course of the 1665 to 1666 epidemic in Chapter Four has, I hope, made an important contribution to our understanding of printed plague literature. Like the

increasing penchant for readymade medicines, these printed works similarly suggest a medical economy which was increasingly geared towards consumerism and commercial gain. This is apparent in several ways. First and foremost, there was the timing and subject of these pamphlets; stationers who were looking to fill a hole in profit created by economic disruption produced them. Astutely, these publishers and printers opted to print these works in ephemeral pamphlet format, ensuring that their financial risk was minimal and guaranteeing a return on investment. This ephemeral format was similarly advantageous because it ensured that in the case of another plague year, the print trade could once again profit, as most pamphlets would be used to tatters or discarded once the threat had passed. Secondly, half of these pamphlets were overt advertisements for medical wares and services; due to a spike in demand for these services during a plague epidemic, print afforded practitioners and nostrum-sellers a unique opportunity to market their wares (section 4.4).

It should not be forgotten, however, that this print was not merely promotional, but also informational. Plague print played a vital role in the medical economy of London during 1665 not only because it advertised medical wares and services, but also because it made medical information about the disease widely available. This information, through reading, borrowing and recitations of the content, would have been widely available to Londoners who critically synthesised new information into their pre-existing knowledge and then applied it (section 4.6). Plague print and the members of the print trade who produced it were entrenched in the medical marketplace. They formed complex networks and partnerships and made deals with one another and with medical practitioners to produce pamphlets for profit. Indeed, they were distributors of medical goods, offering proprietary medicines and nostrums from their shops along with the pamphlets and broadsheets they sold (section 4.5). These findings have implications for the historiography of the early modern medical economy; printers, publishers and booksellers need to be more readily recognised as purveyors of medical goods and services.

I hasten to note that the print culture of plague literature has only begun to be described in my thesis. Further work can be done to track changes in the form and content of vernacular medical plague pamphlets over the course of the early modern period; moreover, future work could be inclusive of other reactions to the disease, including the religious, governmental and literary. The work done here to show the networks of publishers, printers, booksellers and practitioner-authors responsible for the creation of medical plague print can extended over time to provide for comparison and contrast, but can also be cross-referenced with the parish priests and preachers who gave sermons and the poet-playwrights who entertained and fascinated with lurid descriptions of London in plague time. Further work can better study plague pamphlets as artefacts in their own right, construct networks of creators and see how various genres of plague print interacted and overlapped.

8.4 *The Impact of Chemical Medicine*

This thesis has also attempted to shed light on the involvement of the Society of Chemical Physicians in the medical economy during the Plague of 1665, putting forward a new hypothesis for their failure in Chapter Three. The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the slow incorporation of chemical medicines and therapies into pre-existing Galenic practice; however, the more aggressive creed of anti-establishment Helmontianism proposed that Galenic medicine and corporations should be replaced altogether (sections 3.2 and 3.3). In answer to this call, the Society of Chemical Physicians made a bid for incorporation just before the virulent summer of 1665, engaging the College of Physicians in a pamphlet war defending their new, pure medicines (section 3.4). In terms of plague medicine, the iatrochemists of the Society injected medical theory with new concepts that failed to replace older beliefs. Their true innovation was their medicines, complex preparations and proprietary drugs that had to be purchased. Indeed, the fact that these medicines often claimed to be pleasant or universal leads the College to accuse the Society of quackery (section 3.5). Their accusation was not unfounded; the Society never placed restrictions on its membership and George Starkey's quarrels and disagreements with a variety of popular nostrum-sellers shows that chemical medicines were easily duplicated and offered for mass sale. To a King who was already sensitive to anti-establishment rhetoric, the inability of the Society to distinguish itself from the rest of London's irregular practitioners contributed to its eventual failure (section 3.6).

8.5 *Allin Re-evaluated*

Chapter Five has more firmly rooted John Allin's medical practice, alchemical experiments and attempts to create the Philosopher's Stone in his times, dispelling the stigma of previous studies which have depicted him as out-dated or perplexed. During the middle of the seventeenth century, interest in panaceas, and particularly in the Philosopher's Stone, had never been higher. This was evident in two ways. Firstly, the pamphlets authored by the Society of Chemical Physicians show that their belief that all diseases had one cause—a fearful *Archeus*—transferred to the belief that these diseases could also be treated with one medicine, a panacea which was prepared chemically so as to include the pure and exclude the dross (sections 5.2 to 5.5). Advertisements for panaceas specifically marketed at those concerned about plague further showed the widespread belief in panaceas. These nostrums and drugs not only claimed to cure many, if not all, of those diseases and ailments seventeenth-century Londoners were most concerned about, but also professed to treat every person regardless of temperament, age, sex and condition (section 5.6). This research has further claimed that these panaceas were used and, indeed, were essential in times of plague when demand and flight made practitioners scarce (section 5.7). Mapping the locations at which these proprietary medicines and panaceas could be purchased has shown that they were available across the metropolis throughout the duration of the epidemic. Self-dosing early modern Londoners, many of whom had no access to the supplies and ingredients necessary to make their own medicines, instead bought them (section 6.8).

8.6 *A Closer Look at Plague Nurses*

The public health response to the disease, explored in Chapter Seven, was obsessed with the separation of the sick from the well through use of quarantine. This procedure was relatively new and had only been enforced from the 1636 epidemic; in 1665, it was a deeply unpopular practice that was criticised by polemicists for causing unnecessary deaths. The research in this chapter has reaffirmed previous studies which have argued that 1665 saw the failure of the quarantine system, illustrating this argument with contemporary accounts of frequent escapes from quarantine; the removal of servants to garden houses and pesthouses; and the sick wandering the streets of London with the well who were brave enough to venture forth (section 7.2). The medical practitioners, licensed and unlicensed, who provided care in houses that were quarantined did so with their own unique understanding of the disease and protected themselves with many of the same preventatives they prescribed (section 7.3). However, the greatest majority of care came from parish-assigned nurses. This thesis has argued that these women were competent medical caregivers in their own right and that their negative reputation came from polemical writers who were keen to discredit quarantine and male medical practitioners who were keen to discredit the validity and quality of their care and services (section 7.4). This argument was highlighted by a case study of the parish records of three London parishes; of these, the most detailed, St Margaret Westminster, has allowed for the construction of a prosopography. The biographical details salvaged here speak to a work force made up both of very poor, one person household—women who were more likely to be paid for nursing many times throughout the epidemic—and some of comfortable and wealthy married women of the parish, who possibly served as nurses for friends, neighbours and family members. Some of these women had proven medical experience; even those who did not, however, were respected for the care they gave their patients (section 7.5).

8.7 *The Triumph of Hope*

Finally, what has emerged most strikingly from my thesis is the optimism and confidence expressed by medical practitioners and laymen alike that plague could be prevented and cured. Medical practitioners advertised their services, laymen bought wonder drugs, the metropolitan government attempted to stem the infection and local parishes installed carers with the sick in the hope that they would soon become well. We can end, as we began, with the words of John Allin, who, despite claiming that lighting open fires in the streets, ‘will not doe y^e work of stopping gods hand’,¹ also exhibited clear optimism that plague could be countered with medicine, telling Fryth of a supposed preventative and assuring him that ‘phaps I may... get the true p^eparation of it & send you’.² At the end of that pestilential year, John Allin marvelled, ‘I thinke my selfe as well as I have been a long time’.³

¹ ESRO, FRE 5465 (7 September 1665).

² ESRO, FRE 5462 (24 August 1665).

³ ESRO, FRE 5462 (14 December 1665).

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Anonymous, *An approved antidote or cordiall medicine, that by Gods favour cureth the pestilentiall feaver, or plague, with other contagious agues or feavers, beginning either hot or cold, and that at once taking, or at the most at twice, and hath no tast nor smel: and the quantity at one time to be taken is but 8 graines, and the vertue therof, will not decay in 40 yeares, and it is to be used as followeth.* (London: 1650; STC2 R231697)

Anonymous, *An advertisement from the Society of Chymical Physitians, touching medicines by them prepared, in pursuance of his Majesties command, for the prevention, and for the cure of the plague.* (London: 1665; STC2 R213124)

Anonymous, *A Direction concerning the plague, or pestilence, for pooore [sic] and rich* (London: 1625; STC S3167)

Anonymous, *A passing gode lityll boke necessarye [and] behouefull a[g]enst the pestilence* (London: 1485; STC S111595)

Anonymous, *Especiall obseruations, and approved physicall rules; which haue (heretofore) beene well tryed and experienced, in the last heauy and grieuous time of the pestilence. And, vpon the good and benefit then ensuing by it: thought meete to bee now published, in this dangerous contagion of the plague. Seruing as soueraigne antidotes, for preseruacion of all such as are not infected; as also for them that bee already visited.* (London: 1625; STC S119939)

Anonymous, *Famous and effectual medicine to cure the plague* (London: 1670; STC2 R40576)

- Anonymous, *Food and physick, for every housholder, & his family, during the time of the plague. Very useful, both for the free, and the infected. And necessary for all persons, in what condition or quality soever. Together with several prayers and meditations, before, in and after infection. Very needful in all infections and contagious times. And fit as well for the country, as the city. Published by T.D. for the publick good.* (London: 1665; STC2 R4395)
- Anonymous, *The Kings medicines for the plague. Prescribed in the year, 1604, by the whole Collodge of Physitians, both spiritual and temporal. Generally made use of, and approved in the years, 1625, and 1636. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1665; STC2 R179477)
- Anonymous, *London's Lord have mercy upon us* (London: 1665; STC2 R220359)
- Anonymous, *London's Lord have mercy upon us* (London: 1665; STC2 R224592)
- Anonymous, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs. A speciall remedy for the plague* (London: 1636; STC S105188)
- Anonymous, *Lord have mercy upon us preservatives and medicines as well before infection as afterwards, according to the judgement of the best physitians* (London: 1636; STC S2845)
- Anonymous, *Lord have mercy upon us. This is the humble petition of England unto Alm[ig]hty God, meekely imploring his divine bounty for the cessation of this mortality of pestilence now raining amongst us: vvith a lamentable list of deaths triumphs in the weekly buritals of the city of London, and the parishes adjacent to the same. M. P.* (London: 1636; STC S102336)
- Anonymous, *The observations of Mr. Lillie. and many famous and learned divines, touching the present visitation of the plague of pestilence; with a prayer to be used in all families, for sheathing of the sword of the destroying angel, and to divert Gods heavy judgments: as also several excellent receipts & approved medicines as well for curing the plague. as for preventing the further infection: as hath formerly been approved of in the year, 1625. when thirty five thousand four hundred and twenty eight died of the prstilence; but by the blessing of God, and the singular operation and vertue of these following receipts the vemone of this raging distemper was expelled, and not one died; as appears by the wonderful miracles of mercy recited in the margent. With the number that now dies weekly of the present visitation, both in city and suburbs.* (London: 1665; STC2 R216877)
- Anonymous, *The plagues approved physitian. Shewing the naturall causes of the infection of the ayre, and of the plague. With divers observations to bee used, preserving from the plague, and signes to know the infected therewith. Also many true and approved medicines for the perfect cure thereof. Chiefely, a godly and penitent prayer unto almighty God, for our preservation, and deliverance therefrom.* (London: 1665; STC2 R220438)
- Anonymous, *The Red-Crosse: or, Englands Lord haue mercy vpon vs. [A lament]able relation of many visitations by the plague in times past, as well in other countries as in the city of London, and the certaine causes thereof: with a true number of all those that dyed in the last grea visitation, at the comming in of King Iames: and also the number of all those that haue dyed this present visitation; with two speciall medicines against the plague.* (London: 1625; STC S469829)

- Anonymous, *The shutting up infected houses as it is practised in England soberly debated. By way of address from the poor souls that are visited, to their brethren that are free. With observations on the wayes whereby the present infection hath spread. As also a certain method of diet, attendance, lodging and physick, experimented in the recovery of many sick persons.* (London, 1665; STC2 R221470)
- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets collected by the elaborate pains of four several students in physick, and digested together, viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and smal pox. Physical experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1653; STC2 R231044)
- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets, collected by the elaborate paines of four severall students in physick, and digested together; viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and small pox. Physicall experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1652; STC2 R207034)
- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets, collected by the elaborate paines of four severall students in physick, and digested together; viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and small pox. Physicall experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1653; STC2 R41664)
- Barbette, Paul, *Thesaurus chirurgiæ: the chirurgical & anatomical vworks of Paul Barbette, M.D. practitioner at Amsterdam. Composed according to the doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and other new inventions of the moderns. Together with a treatise of the plague, illustrated with observations. Translated out of Low-Dutch into English. The third edition. To which is added the surgeon's chest, furnished both with instruments and medicines, all useful: illustrated with several copper-plates: and to make it more compleat, is adjoynd a treatise of diseases that for the most part attend camps and fleets. Written in High-Dutch by Raymundus Mindererus.* (London: 1676; STC2 R20651)
- Barker, Sir Richard, *Consilium anti-pestilentiale: or, Seasonable advice, concerning sure, safe, specifick, and experimented medicines, both for the preservation from, and cure of this present plague. Offered for the publick benefit of this afflicted nation, by Richard Barker, med. Lond.* (London: 1665; STC2 R28348)
- Belson, John, *Remedies against the infection of the plague, and the curing thereof, and rules which are to be observed therein. The remedies doe consist as followeth, 1. A little bagg to hang about the neck. 2. A celestial water. 3. A fume. 4. A cordial tincture. Composed by John Belson, esquire* (London: 1665; STC2 R172712)
- Bèze, Théodore de, *A learned treatise of the plague: wherein the two questions: whether the plague be infectious, or no: and whether, and how farr it may be shunned of Christians, by going aside? are resolved. Written in Latine by the famous Theodore Beza Vezelian.* (London: 1665; STC2 R31585)
- Bèze, Théodore de, *A shorte learned and pithie treatize of the plague, wherin are handled these two questions: the one, whether the plague bee infectious, or no: the other, whether and how farre it may of Christians bee shunned by going aside. A discourse very necessary for this our tyme, and country; to satisfie the doubtful consciences of a great number: written in Latin by the famous & worthy diuine Theodore Beza Vezelian; and newly turned into English, by John Stockwood, schoolemaister of Tunbridge.* (London: 1580; STC S104577)

- Boghurst, William, *Loimographia: an account of the great plague of London in the year 1665* (London: Shaw and Sons, 1894)
- Bolnest, Edward, *Medicina instavrata, or; A brief account of the true grounds and principles of the art of physick. With the insufficiency of the vulgar way of preparing medicines, and the excellency of such as are made by chymical operation. Whereto is added, a short, but plain discourse, as a light to the true preparation of animal and vegetable arcana's. Together with a discovery of the true subject of the philosophick mineral mercury, and that from the authorities of the most famous of philosophers. As also some small light to the preparation and use of the said mercury, in the dissolution of minerals and metals, for a physical use. By Edvvard Bolnest. Med. Lond. Also an epistolary discourse upon the whole, by the author of Medela medicinæ.* (London: 1665; STC2 R33237).
- Boraston, William, *A necessarie and briefe treatise of the contagious disease of the pestilence, with the causes, signes, and cures of the same. Collected and newly composed for the benefit and comfort of the vulgar sort. By W. Boraston ...* (London: 1630; STC S106525)
- Bradwell, Stephen, *Physick for the sicknesse, commonly called the plague. With all the particular signes and symptoms, whereof the most are too ignorant. Collected, out of the choycest authors, and confirmed with good experience; for the benefit and preservation of all, both rich and poore. By Stephen Bradwell, of London physician.* (London: 1636; STC S106184)
- Bradwell, Stephen, *A vvatch-man for the pest. Teaching the true rules of preservation from the pestilent contagion, at this time fearefully over-flowing this famous cittie of London. Collected out of the best authors, mixed with auncient experience, and moulded into a new and most plaine method; by Steven Bradvvell of London, Physition. 1625.* (London: 1625; STC S115636)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuuel, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence unto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbs Carduus Benedictus, and angelica, which are very medicinabl[e], both against the plague, and also against many other diseases / gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physitians.* (London: 1578; STC S229)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes carduus benedictus, and angelica: whiche are verie medicinable, both against the plague, & also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physicians.* (London, 1578; STC S106315)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes carduus benedictus, and angelica: whiche are verie medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned phisitions.* (London, 1579; STC S120283)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes Carduus Benedictus, and Angelica: vvhich are verie medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned phisitions.* (London, 1580; STC S91183)

- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans iewell: (So called bicause of the great commoditie that may come vnto the poore, by the vse, and practise of the documents, and instructions therin contained: and bicause both the booke, and the contents therof are cheape, and easie to be gotten, and practised of the poorest.) Now the second time set foorth, somewhat augmented by the author. It containeth a treatise of the pestilence, together with a declaration of the vertues of the hearbs carduus benedictus, and angelica: (which are very medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases:) gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physitions: prooued by the practise of the author, and of many other since the first edition: which was in the yeere of the Lord, 1580.* (London, 1592; STC S120286)
- Bright, Timothie, *A treatise, vwherein is declared the sufficiencie of English medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicines. Whereunto is added a collection of medicines growing (for the most part) within our English climat, approoued and experimented against the iaundise, dropsie, stone, falling-sicknesse, pestilence.* (London: 1615; STC S106575)
- Bright, Timothie, *A treatise: wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicine.* (London: 1580; STC S111137)
- Brooke, Humphrey, *Cautionary rules for preventing the sickness published by the order of the lord mayor* (London: 1665; STC2 R37163)
- Bullein, William, *Bulleins bulwarke of defence against all sicknesse, soarenesse, and vvoundes that doe dayly assaulte mankinde: which bulwarke is kept with Hilarius the gardener, & Health the phisicion, with the chirurgian, to helpe the wounded souldiours. Gathered and practised from the most worthy learned, both olde and new: to the great comfort of mankinde: by VVilliam Bullein, Doctor of Phisicke. 1562.* (London: 1579; STC S107134)
- Bullein, William, *A comfortable regiment, and a very wholsome order against the moste perilous pleurisi whereof many doe daily die within this citee of London, and other places: and what the cause is of the same, doen by William Bulleyn, December. 8. Anno salutis 1562.* (London: 1562; STC S118844)
- Bullein, William, *[A dialogue both pleasant and piety-full, against the feuer pestilence.]* (London: 1564; STC S109495)
- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the feuer pestilence, with a consolacion and comforte againste death. Newlie corrected by William Bullein, the authour threof.* (London: 1573; STC S118849)
- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasant and pitifull, wherein is a godlie regimete against the feuer pestile[n]ce, with a consolacion and comfort against death. Newlie corrected by W. Bullein, the author thereof.* (London: 1578; STC S113053)
- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimete against the feuer pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death. Newly corrected by Willyam Bulleyn, the autour thereof.* (London: 1564; STC S255)
- Bullein, William, *A newe boke of phisicke called ye gouernment of health, wherin be uttred many notable rules for ma[n]s preseruacio[n], with sondry simples [and] other matters, no lesse fruitful then profitable: collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better understanding of thunlearned [sic]. Wherunto is added a sufferain regiment against the pestilence. By VVilliam Bullein.* (London: 1558; STC S91243)

- Bullein, William, *A newe booke of phisicke called ye gouernment of health, wherin be vttered many notable rules for ma[n]s preseruacio[n], with sondry simples [et] other matters, no lesse fruitfull then profitable: collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of thunlearned. Wherunto is added a sufferain regiment against the pestilence. By VWilliam Bullein.* (London: 1559; STC S104800)
- Bullein, William, *The gouernment of health: a treatise written by William Bullein, for the especiall good and healthfull preseruacion of mans bodie from all noysome diseases, proceeding by the excesse of euill diet, and other infirmitie of nature: full of excellent medicines, and wise counsels, for conseruation of health, in men, women, and children. Both pleasant and profitable to the industrious reader.* (London: 1595; STC S107022)
- Burges, Dr., *Doctor Burges approoued medicine against the plague* (London: 1635; STC S106183)
- Castle, George, *The chymical Galenist: a treatise, wherein the practise of the ancients is reconcil'd to the new discoveries in the theory of physick; shewing, that many of their rules, methods, and medicins, are useful for the curing of diseases in this age, and in the northern parts of the world. In which are some reflections upon a book, intituled, Medela medicinæ. By George Castle, Dr. of physick, lately fellow of All-souls Colledge in Oxon.* (London: 1667; STC2 R21752)
- Charles II, *Rules and orders to be observed by all justices of peace, mayors, bayliffs, and other officers, for prevention of the spreading of the infection of the plague. Published by his Majesties special command.* (London: 1666; STC2 R206381)
- City of London, Court of Aldermen, *The orders and directions, of the right honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to be diligently observed and kept by the citizens of London, during the time of the present visitation of the plague. As also, rules and instructions, to all brewers, butchers, fish-mongers, victualling-houses, hackney-coaches, brokers, and the rest of the inhabitants, both in city and suburbs. With diuers excellent receipts, as well for the cure of the plague, as for preventing the further increase and infection thereof, by Gods blessing and assistance: set forth and approved of by the learned Sir Walter Rawleigh, Mr. Culpepper, and diuers other famous physicians and doctors; and now published for the use and benefit of all his Majesties liege subjects.* (London: 1665; STC2 R232156)
- Clapham, Henoah, *An epistle discoursing vpon the present pestilence. Teaching what it is, and how the people of God should carrie themselues towards God and their neighbour therein. Reprinted with some additions. By Henoah Clapham.* (London: 1603; STC S117509)
- Clarke, Thomas, *Meditations In my Confinement, When my House was Visited with the Sickness: in April, May and June, 1666. In which time I buried two children, and had three more of my family sick.* (London: 1666; STC2 R32618)
- Cock, Thomas, *Advice for the poor by way of cure & caution. Being very sensible that it is impossible for all the physitiens now in London effectually to attend the cure of this sickness in person; and that the necessities of people are such, that it requires all that can be done for them both in person and paper; ... The use I make of it my self in practice is when people come to me, I bid them read the paper, and do as they are there directed in the cure; and by this meanes I do relieve and help them more then otherwise (had I twenty hands) it were possible for me to do. By T. Cocke.* (London: 1665; STC2 R15569)
- Cock, Thomas, *Advice for the poor by way of cure and caution* (London: 1665; STC2 R215203)

- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meat, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Physicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1612; STC S114681)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan Maister of Artes, and Bachele of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1596; STC S108447)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meat, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan, Master of Artes, and Bachelor of Physicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1605; STC S108448)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6 Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus: by Thomas Coghan master of Artes, & Bachelor of Phisicke. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford.* (London: 1584; STC S105007)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan Maister of Artes, and Bachelor of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1589; STC S108446)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Coghan maister of Artes, & Bachele of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1588; STC S112813)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health. Chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that haue a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford. By Thomas Coghan Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Physicke.* (London: 1636; STC S91478)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The haven of health. Chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that haue a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford. By Thomas Coghan Master of Arts, and Batcheler of Physicke.* (London: 1636; STC S108449)

Colmenero de Ledesma, Antonio, *Chocolate: or, An Indian drinke. By the wise and moderate use whereof, health is preserved, sicknesse diverted, and cured, especially the plague of the guts; vulgarly called the new disease; fluxes, consumptions, & coughs of the lungs, with sundry other desperate diseases. By it also, conception is caused, the birth hastened and facilitated, beauty gain'd and continued. Written originally in Spanish, by Antonio Colminerero of Ledesma, Doctor in Physicke, and faithfully rendred in the English, by Capt. James Wadsworth.* (London: 1652; STC2 R4428)

Corporation of London, *London's dreadful visitation: or, A collection of all the bills of mortality for this present year: beginning the 27th. [sic] of December 1664. and ending the 19th. of December following: as also, the general or whole years bill: according to the report made to the King's most excellent Majesty, by the Company of Parish-Clerks of London, &c.* (London: 1665; STC2 R233540)

Croll, Oswald, *Bazilica chymica, & Praxis chymiatricæ or Royal and practical chymistry in three treatises. Wherein all those excellent medicines and chymical preparations are fully discovered, from whence all our modern chymists have drawn their choicest remedies. Being a translation of Oswald Crollius his Royal chymistry, augmented and enlarged by John Hartman. To which is added his Treatise of signatures of internal things, or a true and lively anatomy of the greater and lesser world. As also, The practice of chymistry of John Hartman M.D. augmented and enlarged by his son. All faithfully Englished by a lover of chymistry.* (London: 1670; STC2 R881)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publick good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in several sciences, more especially in chyrurgery and physick. viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pills, purges, and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers, the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works. By Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1662; STC2 R174427)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publicke good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in severall sciences, more especially, in chyrurgery and physick, viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pils, purges, and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers; the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works. By Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1655; STC2 R22796)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publike good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in severall sciences, more especially, in chyrurgery, and physick, viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pils, purges and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers; the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works: by Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1657; STC2 R23851)

- Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's school of physick. Or The experimental practice of the whole art. Wherein are contained all inward diseases from the head to the foot, with their proper and effectuall cures, such diet set down as ought to be observed in sickness or in health. With other safe wayes for preserving of life, in excellent aphorismes, and approved medicines, so plainly and easily treated of, that the free-born student rightly understanding this method, may judge of the practice of physick, so far as it concerns himself, or the cure of others, &c. A work never before publisht, very necessary for all that desire to be rightly informed in physick, chyrurgery, chymistry, &c. By Nich. Culpeper, late student in physick and astrology. The narrative of the authors life is prefixed, with his nativity calculated, together with the testimony of his late wife, Mrs. Alice Culpeper, and others. The general contents of this work are in the next page. With two perfect tables very useful to the reader.* (London: 1653; STC2 R9312)
- Culpeper, Nicholas, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London dispensatory further adorned by the studies and collections of the Fellows, now living of the said colledg. Whereunto is added, 1. The vertues, qualitties, and properties of every simple. 2. The vertues and use of the compounds. 3. Cautions in giving all medicines that are dangerous. 4. All the medicines that were in the old Latin dispensatory, and are left out in the new Latin one, are printed in this fourth impression in English with their vertues. 5. A key to Galen's Method of physick, containing thirty three chapters. 6. What is added to the book by the translator, is of a different letter from that which was made by the colledg. 7. In this impression the Latin name of every one of the compounds is printed, and in what page of the new folio Latin book they are to be found.* By Nich. Culpeper Gent. Student in physick and astrology; living in Spittle-fields neer London. (London: 1653; STC2 R2908)
- Culpeper, Nicholas, *The English physitian enlarged: with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: ... Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation: containing a compleat method of physick, whereby man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1 The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, julips, or waters, of al sorts of physical herbs ... 7 The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted.* By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrology: living in Spittle Fields. (London: 1653; STC2 R19808)
- Davis, Nicholas, *The resolution of those physitians presented by the Colledge to the right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of this city of London, for the prevention and cure of the plague.* (London: 1665; STC2 R231328)
- Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2001)
- Dekker, Thomas, 1603. *The vvonderfull yeare. Wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the plague. At the ende of all (like a mery epilogue to a dull play) certaine tales are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose to shorten the lines of long winters nights, that lye watchin in the darke for vs.* (London: 1665; STC S91632)
- Dekker, Thomas, *Villanies discovered by lanthorne and candle-light, and the helpe of a new cryer called O per se O. Being an addition to the Bel-mans second night-walke: and laying open to the world of those abuses, which the bel-man (because he went i'th darke) could not see. With cantin songs, and other new conceits neuer before printed.* (London, 1620; STC S109512)

- Diemerbroeck, Ysbrand van, *Several choice histories of the medecines manner and method used in the cure of the plague. Written by that famous (and in this disease) incomparable physitian, Isbrandus Diemerbroick; a professor of physick. And now translated into English, with his own annotations upon ever history. Wherein not onely the choicest antidotes are set down in his cures, but also several things which prove mortal to all that use them.* (London: 1666; STC2 R216350)
- Dixon, Roger, *A directory for the poor, against the plague and infectious diseases. Published for the common good.* (London: 1665; STC2 R213275)
- Donne, George, *The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence* (London: 1625; STC S3336)
- Drouet, Pierre, *A new counsell against the pestilence, declaring what kinde of disease it is, of what cause it procedeth, the signes and tokens thereof: with the order of curing the same.* (London: 1578; STC S108183)
- England and Wales, *Certaine statvttes especially selected, and commanded by his Maiestie to be carefully put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; with his Maiesties proclamation for further direction for executing the same. Also certaine orders thought meete by his Maiestie and his Priuie Counsell, to bee put in execution, together with sundry good rules, preseruatiues, and medicines against the infection of the plague, set downe by the Colledge of the Physicians vpon his Maiesties speciall command: as also a decree of the Starre-Chamber concerning buildings and inmates* (London: 1630; STC S125901)
- Featley, John, *A diuine antidote against the plague; or Mourning teares, in soliloquies and prayers As, 1. For this general visitation. 2. For those whose houses are shut up of the plague. 3. For those who have risings or swellings. 4. For those marked with the tokens. Necessary for all families as well in the country as in the city, in this time of pestilence. By John Featley, chaplain to His late Majesty.* (London: 1665; STC2 R231239)
- Fenton, Roger, *A perfume against the noysome pestilence prescribed by Moses vnto Aaron. Num. 16. 46. Written by Roger Fenton, preacher of Grayes Inne.* (London: 1603; STC S105577)
- Fioravanti, Leonardo, *A ioyfull iewell. Contayning aswell such excellent orders, preseruatiues and precious practises for the plague, as also such meruelous medcins for diuers maladies, as hitherto haue not beene published in the English tung. First made and written in the Italian tung by the famous, and learned knight and doctor M. Leonardo Fiorouantie, of his owne ingenious inuentions. And now for the carefull commoditie of his natiue country, translated out of the Italian by TH.* (London: 1579; STC S118891), pp. 1-40.
- Fuchs, Leonhart, *A worthy practise of the moste learned phisition Maister Leonerd Fuchsius* (London: 1563; STC S108646)
- Fuller, Thomas, *Exanthematologia: or, an attempt to give a rational account of eruptive fevers, especially of the measles and small pox* (London, 1730), quoted in Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullogh, *Care of the sick* (London: Croom Helm, 1979) p. 57.
- Gadbury, John, *London's deliverance predicted in a short discourse shewing the cause of plagues in general, and the probable time (God not contradicting the course of second causes) when the present pest may abate, &c. / by John Gadbury.* (London: 1665; STC2 R24344)

- Gadbury, John, *The prophecie of one of His Maiesties chaplains, concerning the plague and black-patches: with Mr. Gadburies happy and joyful predictions, for the decrease of the plague both in the city and suburbs; the time when; the manner how; by God's permission, and according to natural causes; the effects and motion of the planets, and what every week may produce for the thrice-happy and welcome abatement of this sad and dismal pestilence; and the city of London to be wholly acquit thereof about (or before) Christmas.* (London, 1665; STC2 R220559)
- Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* trans. by Owen Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague, in this calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismes, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick. Colleg. Lond* (London; 1665; STC2 R544)
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London: being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptoms, remedies and preservation from the plague, in the calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismes, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick, Colleg. Lond.* (London; 1665; STC2 R28669)
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London; being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague, in this calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismes, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick,* (London; 1665; STC2 R16663)
- Gerard, John, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes. Gathered by Iohn Gerarde of London Master in Chirurgerie very much enlarged and amended by Thomas Iohnson citizen and apothecarye of London* (London: 1633; ESTC S122165)
- Glauber, Johann Rudolf, *A description of new philosophical furnaces, or A new art of distilling, divided into five parts. Whereunto is added a description of the tincture of gold, or the true aurum potable; also, the first part of the mineral work. Set forth and published for the sakes of them that are studious of the truth. By John Rudolph Glauber. Set forth in English, by J.F. D.M.* (London: 1651; STC2 R202215)
- Graunt, John, *Reflections on the weekly bills of mortality for the cities of London and Westminster, and the places adjacent; but more especially, so far as it relates to the plague, and other most mortal diseases that we English-men are most subject to, and should be most careful against in this our age.* (London: 1665; STC2 R9023)
- Godskall, James, *The Kings medicine for this present yeere 1604. prescribed by the whole colledge of the spirituall physitions, made after the cobby of the corporall kings medicine, which was vsed in the city the former yeere. Giuen as a new yeers-gift, to the honorable city of London, t be taken in this yeere for the soule, as the other was for the bodie. Herevnto are intermixed, first, the wonders of the former yeer, his triumphs, two funeralls, two coronations, two preachers. Secondlie, Londons and Englands newyeers-gift, to offer vp vnto the Lord for his new-yeers-gift, containing King Dauids sacrificing after the ceasing of the pestilence, necessarie to teach vs the duty of our deliuerance. The whole collected out of the first booke of Chr. ch. 21. Made and vvritten by Iames Godskall, preacher of the vvorde.* (London: 1604; STC S118768)
- G. D., *The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence... Remedies after a person is infected... G.D.* (London: 1636; STC S91761)
- Goeurot, Jean, *[A new booke entyteled the regiment of lyfe: with a syngular Treatise of the pestilece]* (London: 1543; STC S92714)

- Goeurot, Jean, [*The regiment of life.*] (London: 1546; STC S105685)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The kegiment [sic] of life, wherunto is added A treatyse of the pestilence, with the booke of children newly corrected and enlarged by T. Phayer.* (London: 1546; STC S5111)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1550; STC S109504)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life. VVhereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the book of children. Latelye corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phayre.* (London: 1596; STC S103193)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of children, newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phaire.* (London: 1553; STC S117696)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, wherevnto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of children, newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phaire.* (London: 1560; STC S108644)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life. Whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the book of chylidren. Newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phayre.* (London: 1578; STC S108623)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of lyfe, wherunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of speciall remedies (experimented) for all diseases, griefes, impediments, and defects often happening in yong children, newly corrected [and] enlarged by Thomas Faier.* (London: 1567; STC S117697)
- Harvey, Gideon, *A discourse of the plague. Containing the nature, causes, signs, and presages of the pestilence in general. Together with the state of the present contagion. Also most rational preservatives for families, and choice curative medicines both for rich and poor. With several waies [sic] for purifying the air in houses, streets, etc. Published for the benefit of this great city of London, and suburbs, by Gideon Harvey M.D.* (London: 1665; STC2 R9710)
- Harvey, Gideon, *The family-physician, and the house-apothecary. Containing I. Medicines against all such diseases people usually advise with apothecaries to be cured of. II. Instructions, whereby to prepare at your own houses all kinds of necessary medicines that are prepared by apothecaries, or prescribed by physicians. III. The exact prices of all drugs, herbs, seeds, simple and compound medicines, as they are sold at the druggists, or may be sold by the apothecaries. IV. That it's plainly made to appear, that in preparing medicines thus at your own houses, that it's no onely a far safer way, but you shall also save nineteen shillings in twenty, comparing it with the extravagant rates of many apothecaries. By Gideon Harvey, M.D. Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty.* (London: 1678; STC2 R13943)
- H. C., *Londons Lord have mercy vpon vs. A true relation of five modern plagues or visitations in London, with the number of all the diseased that were buried: viz: the first in the yeare of Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1592, the second in the yeare 1603, the third in that (never to be forgotten yeare) 1625. The fourth in Anno 1630. The fift this now present visitation 1636, which the Lord of his mercy deliver London and England from.* (London: 1637; STC S116685)

- van Helmont, Jan Baptiste, *A ternary of paradoxes. The magnetick cure of wounds. Nativity of tartar in wine. Image of God in man. Written originally by Joh. Bapt. Van Helmont, and translated, illustrated, and amplified by Walter Charleton, Doctor in Physick, and physician to the late King.* (London: 1650; STC2 R202397)
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion. With a caveat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preservative from the plague. First published for the behoofe of the citie of London, in the two visitations 1603 & 1625. And reprinted for the benefit of the said citie now visited, and all other parts of the land that may or shall hereafter be: by Francis Herring ... Whereunto is added certaine directions, for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited.* (London: 1636; STC S104003)
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisments for this time of pestilentiall contagion: with a caueat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preseruatiiue from the plague: first published for the behoofe of the city of London, in the last visitation, 1603. And now reprinted for the said citie, and all other parts of the land at this time visited; by Francis Hering, D. in Physicke, and Fellow of the Colledge of Phisitians in London. Wherevnto is added certaine directions, for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited.* (London: 1625; STC S92954)
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisments for this time of pestilentiall contagion: with a caueat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preseruatiiue from the plague: published for the behoofe of the city of London, and all other parts of the lan at this time visited; by Francis Hering, D. in Physicke, and Fellow of the Colledge of Phisitians in London.* (London: 1603; STC S92953)
- Herring, Francis, *A modest defence of the caueat giuen to the wearers of impoisoned amulets, as preseruatiiues from the plague: wherein that point is somewhat more largely reasoned and debated with an ancient physician, who hath mainteined them by publicke writing: as likewise that vnlearned and dangerous opinion, that the plague is not infectious, lately broched in London, is briefly glansed at, and refuted by way of preface, by Fr. Hering D. in Physicke. Reade without preiudice; iudge without partialitie.* (London: 1604; STC S116668)
- Herring, Francis, *Preservatives against the plague, or directions and advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion. VVith certaine instructions for the poorer sort of people when they shall bee visited: and also a caveat to those that weare about their necks impoisoned amulets as a preservative against that sicknesse. First publisheed for the behoofe of the city of London, in the two visitations 1603. and 1625. and reprinted for the benefit of the said citie, now visited, and all other parts of the land, that may or shall hereafter be. By FrancisHerring Dr. in physick, deceased.* (London: 1641; STC R230654)
- Herring, Francis, *Preservatives against the plague or, Directions & advertisements for this time of pestilential contagion: With certain instructions for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited: and also a caveat to those that were about their necks impoisoned amulets as a preservative against that sickness. Published in the behoofe of the city of London; now visited, and all other parts of the land, that may or shall hereafter be visited. By Francis Herring Dr. in physick.* (London: 1665; STC2 R10799)
- Heyden, Hermann van der, *Speedy help for rich and poor. Or, Certain physicall discourses touching the vertue of whey, in the cure of the griping flux of the belly, and of the dysentery. Of cold water, in the cure of the gout, and green-wounds. Or wine-vineger, in the preservation from, and cure of the plague, and other pestilential diseases: as also in the prevention of the hydrophobia, or dread of water, caused by the biting of a mad dog. &c. Written in Latine by Hermannus Vander Heyden, a physician of Gaunt.* (London: 1653; STC2 R30733)

- Heydon, John, *Psonthonphanchia: or, A quintuple rosie-crucian scourge for the due correction of that pseudo-chymist and scurrilous emperick, Geo. Thomson. Being in part a vindication of the learned Society of Physitians. By J. Heydon Gent. Philonomos, a servant of God, and secretary of nature.* (London: 1665; STC2 R26439)
- Hobbes, Stephen, *A nev v treatise of the pestilence, containing the causes, signes, preseruatiues and cure thereof. The like not before this time published [sic]. And therefore necessarie for all manner of persons, in this time of contagion. S. H. Studios in phisicke.* (London: 1603; STC S117905)
- Hodges, Nathaniel, *Loimologia: or, an historical account of the plague in London in 1665: with precautionary directions against the like contagion. By Nath. Hodges, M.D. And Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians, who resided in the City all that Time. To which is added, An essay on the different causes of pestilential diseases, and how they become Contagious: with remarks On the Inseccion now in France, and the most probable Means to prevent it. Spreading here. By John Quincy, M.D.* (London: 1721; STC2 T61368)
- Hodges, Nathaniel, *Vindiciæ medicinæ & medicorum: or An apology for the profession and professors of physick. In answer to the several pleas of illegal practitioners; wherein their positions are examined, their cheats discovered, and their danger to the nation asserted. By Nath. Hodges, M.D. Coll. Lond.* (London: 1665; STC2 R13220)
- I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague vvherine is shewed, the naturall cause of the plague. Preservations from the infection. Way to cure the infected* (London: 1603; STC S123186)
- James I, *By the King a proclamation against inmates and multitudes of dwellers in strait roomes and places in and about the cities of London, and for the rasing and pulling down of certain new erected buildings.* (London, 1603: STC S123933)
- Johnson, William, *Agyrto-mastix, or, Some brief animadversions upon two late treatises one of Master George Thomsons, entituled Galeno- pale, the other of Master Thomas O'Dowdes, called The poor mans physitian : with a short appendix relating to the Company of Apothecaries by William Johnson, chymist to the Kings Colledge of Physitians in London.* (London: 1665; STC2 R43321)
- Kellwaye, Simon, *A defensatiue against the plague: contayning two partes or treatises: the first, shewing the meanes how to preserue vs from the dangerous contagion thereof: the second, how to cure those that are infected therewith. Whereunto is annexed a short treatise of the small poxe shewing how to gouerne and helpe those that are infected therewith. Published for the loue and benefit of his cuntrye by Simon Kellwaye Gentleman.* (London: 1593; STC S109245)
- Kemp, William, *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence. Collected by W. Kemp, Mr. of Arts.* (London: 1665; STC2 R6407)
- Kendall, George, *An appendix to The unlearned alchymist; wherein is contained the true receipt of that excellent diaphoretick and diuretick pill, purging by sweat and urine; commonly known by the name of Matthew's pill. With the exact manner of preparing and making of it, and the particular nature and virtue of the several ingredients, as also of the pill. By G. Kendall, M.A. Oxon.* (London: 1664; STC2 R8493)
- Kephale, Richard, *Medela pestilentia: wherein is contained several theological queries concerning the plague, with approved antidotes, signes and symptoms: also an exact method for curing that epidemical distemper, humbly presented to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of the city of London.* (London: 1665; R26148)

- Kingston, Richard, *Pillulæ pestilentiales: or A spiritual receipt for cure of the plague. Delivered in a sermon preach'd in St. Paul's Church London, in the mid'st of our late sore visitation. By Rich. Kingston M.A. and preacher at St. James Clerken-well.* (London: 1665; STC2 R4398)
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague. Shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by wholesome fumes, drinkes, vomits and other inward receipts; as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to be obserued of euery housholder, to auoide the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his countrey.* (London: 1603; STC S122521)
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague. Shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by holsome fumes, drinkes, vomits, and other inward receipts: as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to bee obserued of euery housholder, to auoid the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his country: and now newly enlarged by the same author, with remedies for the newe pestilent feuer.* (London: 1594; STC2 S122523)
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague: shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by wholesome fumes, drinks, vomits, and other inward receipts: as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to be obserued of euery housholder, to auoide the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his countrey, and now newly enlarged by the same author, with remedies for the new pestilent feuer.* (London: 1592; STC2 S91539)
- Lockyer, Lionel, *An advertisement, concerning those most excellent pills called pillulæ radijs solis extractæ. Being an universal medicine, especially in all chronical and difficult distempers, as by the ensuing discourse will most clearly appear. Truly and only prepared by Lionel Lockier, licensed phisitian.* (London: 1664; STC2 R222234)
- Lodge, Thomas, *A treatise of the plague: containing the nature, signes, and accidents of the same, with the certaine and absolute cure of the feuers, botches and carbuncles that raigne in these times: and aboue all things most singular experiments and preseruatiues in the same, gathered by the obseruation of diuers worthy trauailers, and selected out of the writings of the best learned phisicians in this age.* By Thomas Lodge, Doctor in Phisicke. (London: 1603; STC S108807)
- Mathews, Richard, *The unlearned alchymist his antidote, or, A more full and ample explanation of the use, virtue and benefit of my pill, entituled, An effectual diaphoretick, diuretick, purgeth by sweating, urin. Whereunto is added sundry cures and experiences, with particular direction unto particular diseases and distempers; with a catalogue of peoples names, with their dwellings which have used and known the use of the same: also sundry plain and easie receipts which the ingenious may prepare for their own health.* By Richard Matthew, and are to be had at his house by the Lyons Den at the Tower, next Gate to the By-Ward. (London: 1660; STC2 R214133)
- Maynwaringe, Everard, *The catholic medicine, and soverain healer. Rectifying and assisting the depraved functions, of infirm and diseased bodies; for reducing and curing, in all cases. Enabling thereby to digest, expectorate, transpire, open, dissolve, discuss, evacuate, cleanse, purifie, allay, ease, heal, strengthen, and restore; the decayed parts, of unsound and distempred bodies. Confirm'd by demonstrations of fact; in eminent cases performed. Communicated to the world, as the most happy, comprehensive, expedient; preventive and curative; against the diseases of humane nature.* By a strict examiner of medical art. (London: 1684; STC2 R18244)

- Maynwaringe, Everard, *Medicus absolutus. Adespotos. The compleat physitian, qualified and dignified. The rise and progress of physick, historically, chronologically, and philosophically illustrated. Physitians of different sects and judgements, charactered and distinguished. The abuse of medicines; imposture of empericks, and illegal practisers detected. Cautioning the diseased, in the use of medicines; and informing them in the choice of a good physitian by Everard Maynwaringe Doctor in Physick.* (London: 1668; STC2 R32063)
- Meager, Leonard, *The English gardener: or, A sure guide to young planters and gardeners in three parts. The first shewing the way and order of planting and raising all sorts of stocks, fruit-trees, and shrubs, with the divers ways and manners of ingrafting and inoculating them in their several seasons; ordering and preservation. The second, how to order the kitchin-garden, for all sorts of herbs, roots, and sallads. The third, the ordering of the garden of pleasure, with varietie of knots, and wilderness-work after the best fashion, all cut in copper plates; also the choicest an most approved ways for the raising all sorts of flowers and their seasons, with directions concerning arbors, and hedges in gardens; likewise several other very useful things fit to be known of all that delight in orchards and gardens. Fitted for the use of all such as delight in gardening, whereb the meanest capacity need not doubt of success (observing the rules herein directed) in their undertakings. By Leonard Meager above thirty years a practitioner in the art of gardening.* (London: 1683, STC2 R214166)
- le Medde, Theodore, *Elixyrlogia, or, A compendious discourse wherein the eminent and effectual virtues and properties of the universal elixyr are set forth not only for the particular use of them that would prevent the contagion of the plague ... but for the general cure, remedying, and certain prevention of most acute diseases incident to mankind* (London: 1665; STC2 R41364)
- M. R., *The meanes of preventing, and preserving from, and curing of the most contagious disease, called the plague: with the pestilential feaver, and the fearfull symptomes, and accidents, incident thereunto. Also some prayers, and meditations upon death.* (London: 1665; STC2 R217714)
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter: wherein the method of curing broken bones, and strains, and dislocated joynts, together with ruptures, vulgarly called broken bellies, is fully demonstrated. Whereunto is added The perfect oculist, and The mirrour of health, treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases incident to men, women and children. Also, the acute judgement of urines. Written originally by Friar Moulton, of the Order of St. Augustine. Now revised, Englished and enlarged by Robert Turner philomathēs.* (London: 1657; STC2 R208418)
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged: being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added The perfect oculist, The mirrour of health, and The judgement of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton. Englished and enlarged by Rob. Turner Med.* (London: 1665; STC2 R180773)
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged. Being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added, The perfect oculist, mirrour of health, and judgement of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton. Englished and enlarged by Rob. Turner Med.* (London: 1665; STC2 R222704)
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged: Being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added, The perfect oculist, mirrour of health, judgment of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton, Englished and enlarged by Robert Turner Med* (London: 1666; STC2 R228564)

Moulton, Thomas, *[This is the myrour or glasse of helth, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence: and it sheweth howe the planettes raygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght: with the natures and exposicions o the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for manye diuers infyrmytes and diseases, that hurteth the body of man.]* (London: 1531; STC S94243)

Moulton, Thomas, *[This is the myrroure or glasse of helth]* (London: 1536; STC S94242)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helth, a great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from sycnesses [and] dysseases. And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposicyons of ye .xii. sygnes, deuied by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And after foloweth of all [the] euyll [and] daungerous dayes of the yere, and sheweth the remedies, for dyuers infyrmytyes [and] dyseases, [that] hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1540; STC S104399)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helth. A great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, yt wyll kepe theyr body from syckenesses, and dyseases: and it sheweth how the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposicions of the .xii. sygnes deuied by the .xii. monethes of the yere. And after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for dyuers infyrmyties and dyseases, that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1547-9; STC S94248)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helthe, a great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body fro[m] syckenesses [and] disseases, and it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposicyons of ye .xii. sygnes deuied by the .xii. monthes of the yere, and after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for dyuers infyrmytyes [and] diseases, yt hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1545; STC S104406)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helthe: a great treasure for poore men, necessary and nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from syckenesses and dysseases. And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye and the nyght, with the natures and exposicions of the .xii. sygnes. deuied by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for dyuers infyrmyties and dysseases [that] hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1555; STC S104397)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helth, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence: and it sheweth howe the planettes raygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght: with the natures and exposicions of the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for manye diuers infyrmytes and diseases, that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1531; STC S104303)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body frome ye syckeuesse [sic] of the pestilence, and it showeth how the planetes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyght, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. synes. deuied by ye .xii. monthes of the yere, and sheweth the remedies for many dyuers infyrmytes and dyseases that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1548; STC S112923)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery persone to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr bodye from the syckenes of the pestilence? And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne in euery houre of the daye and nyght, with the natures and exposicio[n]s o the .xij. signes, deuyded by the .xij. monthes of the yere, [and] sheweth the remedies for many diuers infirmities [and] dyseases that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1540; STC S112921)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glass of healthe necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that will kepe theyr bodye from the syckenesse of the pestylence, and it sheweth howe the planettes do reygne in euery houre of the day and night, with the natures and exposicions o the .xii. sygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for dyuers iufyrmyties [sic] and diseases that hurtethe the bodye of man.* (London: 1566; STC S112925)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne euery houer of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. signes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed [sic] the remedies for manye dyuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S108113)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyries and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S100047)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and expocio[n]s of the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94245)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94244)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary & nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, & it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of th .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurreth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94246)

Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in they wyll kepe they body from the [...]ekenes of the pestylence. And it be weth howe the planettes reygne in euery houre of the daye aud [sic] the nyght with the natures and exposycions of the .xii. bygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And the weth the remedies, for many dyuers in[...]mptes and dyseases the hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1560; STC S94247)

- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrrour or glasse of helth necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wil kepe their bodye from the syckenesse of the pestilence, and it sheweth howe the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and expositio[n]s of the xii sygnes, deuyded by the. xii. monethes of the yeare, and shewed the remedies for many dyuers infirmities and dyseases that hurteth the bodye of manne.* (London: 1560; STC S120736)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrrour or glasse of helth, necessary [and] nedefull for euery person to soke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence. And it sheweth how the planettes reygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght, with the natures and exposycions of the. xii. sygnes, deuyded by the. xii. monthes of the yere, and after foloweth of all the euyll [and] daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies, for dyuers infyrmytes and dyseases, that hurteth the bodye of man.* (London: 1536; STC S94241)
- Nedham, Marchamont, *Medela medicinæ. A plea for the free profession, and a renovation of the art of physick, out of the noblest and most authentick writers. Shewing The publick advantage of its liberty. The disadvantage that comes to the publick by any sort of physicians, imposing upon the studies and practise of others. The alteration of diseases from their old state and condition. The causes of that alteration. The insufficiency and uselessness of meer scholastick methods and medicines, with a necessity of new. Tending to the rescue of mankind from the tyranny of diseases; and of physicians themselves, from the pedantism of old authors and present dictators. The author, M.N. Med. Londinens.* (London: 1665; STC2 R19741)
- O'Dowde, Thomas, *The poor man's physician, or The true art of medicine, as it is chymically prepared and administered, for healing the several diseases incident to mankind, by Thomas O Dwode Esq; one of the groomes of the chamber to his sacred Majesty King Charles the Second.* (London: 1665; STC2 R218541)
- Nash, Thomas, *Haue vvith you to Saffron-vvalden. Or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp. Containing a full answere to the eldest sonne of the halter-maker. Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull doctor. The mott or posie, in stead of omne tulit punctum: pacis fiducia nunquam. As much to say, as I sayd I would speake with him.* (London, 1596; STC S110085)
- Paracelsus, *An excellent treatise teaching howe to cure the French-pockes: with all other diseases arising and growing thereof, and in a manner all other sicknesses. Dravvne out of the bookes of that learned doctor and prince of phisitians, Theophrastus Paracelsus. Compiled by the learned Phillippus Hermanus, phisition and chirurgion. And now put into English by Iohn Hester in the spagiricall arte, practitioner.* (London: 1590; STC S108576)
- Paré, Ambroise, *A treatise of the plague, contayning the causes, signes, symptomes, prognosticks, and cure thereof. Together with sundry other remarkable passages (for the prevention of, and preservation from the pestilence) never yet published by anie man. Collected out of the workes of the no lesse learned than experimented and renowned chirurgian Ambrose Parey.* (London: 1630; STC S103146)
- Patrick, Simon, *A brief exhortation to those who are shut up from our society and deprived at present of publique instruction. Which may be useful to others also who have any feeling of Gods judgments. By Symon Patrick rector of St. Paul Covent Garden.* (London: 1665; STC2 R217129)

- Pechey, John, *Collections of acute diseases. Taken from the best authors that have written most accurately of some particular acute diseases. Very useful for surgeons that attend on the army, or go to sea. And for others that can't procure, or have not leisure to peruse large volumes. The first part contains all that the learned and experienced Dr. Sydenham has written of the small pox and measles, being the most exquisite description of the nature, and several kinds of these diseases, with the manner of their beginning, increase, state, and declination; as also of the various symptoms that accompany them; together with the most exact method of managing the sick, and properest remedies to be exhibited to them.* (London: 1687; STC2 R227651)
- Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (2012) <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/>> [accessed 24 April 2017]
- Philagathou, *The method of chemical philosophie and physick. Being a brief introduction to the one, and a true discovery of the other. Namely, of diseases, their qualities, causes, symptoms, and certain cures. The like never before extant in English.* (London: 1664; STC2 R214177)
- Piercy, John, *An advertisement of concern to the city and nati[on]. These are to signifie, that the famous and most approved lozenges, made by John Piercy, Gent. whose ability and skill is so well known, for these 27. years and upwards,...* (London: 1665; STC2 R231449)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions, aswell for the cure of the plague, as for preuenting the infection; with many easie medicines of small charge, very profitable to his Maiesties subiects; set downe by the Colledge of Physicians by the Kings Maiesties speciall command. With sundry orders thought meet by his Maiestie, and his Priuie Councell, to be carefully executed for preuention of the plague. Also certaine select statutes commanded by His Maiestie to be put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; together with His Maiesties proclamation for further direction therein: and a decree in Starre-Chamber, concerning buildings and in-mates.* (London: 1636; STC S2216)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions, aswell for the cure of the plague, as for preuenting the infection; with many easie medicines of small charge, very profitable to his Maiesties subiects. Set downe by the Colledge of Physicians by the Kings Maiesties speciall command. With sundry orders thought meet by his Maiestie, and his Priuie Councell, to be carefully executed for preuention of the plague. Also certaine select statutes commanded by his Maiestie to be put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; together with his Maiesties proclamation for further direction therein: and a decree in Starre-Chamber, concerning buildings and in-mates.* (London: 1636; STC S108814)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection* (London: 1665; STC2 R9802)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines for the plague, prescribed for the yeare 1604. by the whole Colledge of Physitians, both spirituall and temporall. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1636; STC S102949)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines for the plague. Prescribed for the yeare 1604. by the whole Colledge of Physitians, both spirituall and temporall. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be vsed all England ouer.* (London: 1630; STC S102947)

- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The King's medicines for the plague. Prescribed for the year, 1604. by the whole Collodge [sic] of Physitians, both spiritual and temporal. Generally made use of, and approved in the years, 1625, and 1636. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1665; STC2 R217563)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Pharmacopoea Londinensis, in qua medicamenta antiqua et nova vsitatissima, sedulo collecta, accuratissimè examinata, quotidiana experientia confirmata describuntur. Opera Medicorum Collegij Londinensis. Ex serenissimi Regis mandato cum R.M. priuilegio.* (London: 1618; STC S102952)
- Sanford, John, *Gods arrowe of the pestilence. By John Sanford Master of Artes, and chapleine of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.* (London: 1604; STC S102391)
- Sherwood, Thomas, *The charitable pestmaster, or, the cure of the plague, conteining a few short and necessary instructions how to preserve the body from infection of the plague, as also to cure those that are infected. Together with a little treatise concerning the cure of the small pox. Published for the benefit of the poore of this city and not unmeet for the rich, by Thomas Shervvood practitioner in physick.* (London: 1641, STC R6113)
- Simpson, William, *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale. Or, A short discourse of the plague its antidotes and cure, according to the placets of the best of physicians, Hippocrates, Paracelsus, and Helmont. By W Simpson, Philo-Medico-Chymic.* (London: 1665; STC2 R221491)
- Sprakling, Robert, *Medela ignorantiae: or A just and plain vindication of Hippocrates and Galen from the groundless imputations of M.N. wherein the whole substance of his illiterate plea, intituled Medela medicinæ is occasionally considered. By Robert Sprackling doctor of physick, Coll. Lond. Licensed, Feb. 24. 1664/5 Roger L'Estrange.* (London: 1665; STC2 R219132)
- Starkey, George, *A brief examination and censure of several medicines, of late years extol'd for universal remedies, and arcana's of the highest preparation; being indeed some of the trivial toys, by mistake cryed up for what they are not, others dangerous virulent venoms falsely commended for rare wonder-working mysteries; namely, Lockyers pill, Hughes pouder, Constantines spirit of salt, with several other of that kind, by which the art of pyrotechny is in danger of being brought into reproach and contempt. From the injury of which the pretenders true chymistry is vindicated, and the disguise pluckt off from counterfeit artists, who are discovered to be a pack of ignorant sciolists, an vain-glorious boasters of what they know not, nor can perform. By George Starkey, who is a philosopher by the fire.* (London: 1664; STC2 R457)
- Starkey, George, *George Starkeys pill vindicated from the unlearned alchymist and all other pretenders, with a brief account of other excellent, specifick remedies of extraordinary virtue, for the honour and vindication of pyrotechny.* (London: 1660; STC2 R292)
- Starkey, George, *Natures explication and Helmont's vindication. Or A short and sure way to a long and sound life: being a necessary and full apology for chymical medicaments, and a vindication of their excellency against those unworthy reproaches cast on the art and its professors (such as were Paracelsus and Helmont) by Galenists, usually called Methodists. Whose method so adored, is examined, and their art weighed in the ballance of sound reason and true philosophy, and are found too light in reference to their promises, and their patients expectation. The remedy of which defects is taught, and effectual medicaments discovered for the effectual cure of all both acute and chronical diseases. By George Starkey, a philosopher made by the fire, and a professor of that medicine which is real and not histrionical.* (London: 1657; STC2 R13346)

- Starkey, George, *Pyrotechny asserted and illustrated, to be the surest and safest means for art's triumph over nature's infirmities. Being a full and free discovery of the medicinal mysteries studiously concealed by all artists, and only discoverable by fire. With an appendix concerning the nature, preparation, and virtue of several specifick medicaments, which are noble and succedaneous to the great arcana. By George Starkey, who is a philosopher by fire.* (London: 1658; STC2 R469840)
- Starkey, George, *A smart scourge for a silly, sawcy fool. Being an answer to a letter, at the end of a pamphlet of Lionell Lockyer, (quondam and lately) Botcher, now (tandem aliquandò, nuper quidem) drest up with the title of licensed physician. New vamp't with a coat of armes, the three bores heads. Whether bought, begg'd, or stollen, it concerns not the author. By G.S. M.D. and philosopher by the fire. In a way of epistolical discourse to the unknown writer of that letter.* (London: 1665; STC2 R770)
- Sydenham, Thomas, *The compleat method of curing almost all diseases. To which is added, an exact description of their several symptoms, Written in Latin, by Dr. Thomas Sydenham ; and now faithfully Englished.* (London: 1694; STC2 R34635)
- Taylor, John, *The fearefull summer: or, Londons calamitie, the countries discourtesie, and both their miserie. Printed by authoritie in Oxford, in the last great infection of the plague, 1625. And now reprinted with some editions [sic], concerning this present yeere, 1636. With some mention of the grievous and afflicted estate of the famous towne of Newcastle upon Tine, with some other visited townes of this kingdome. By Iohn Taylor.* (London: 1636; STC S118217)
- T. C., *A godly and learned sermon, vpon the 91. psalme. Declaring how, and to what place, a Christian man ought to flie in the daungerous time of the pestilence, for his best safetie and deliuerance. By T.C. VVher-unto are ioyned, certaine fruitfull prayers, very necessarie for the time of infection.* (London: 1603; STC S117370)
- T. C., *[An hospitall, for the diseased. ... gathered by T.C.]* (London: 1584; STC S91273)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receites, for the restitution and preseruation of bodily health. Very necessar for the time of common plague and mortality: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Newly augmented and enlarged. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1630; STC S116144)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherein are to be found most excellent approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, for the restitution and preseruation of bodily health. Verie necessarie for the time of common plague and mortalitie: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1610; STC S104866)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherin are to be found most excellent approved medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receites, for the restitution and preservation of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortality: and for other times when occaison shall serue. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1638; STC S118398)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as vvell emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruation of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times, when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1598; STC S115043)

- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinks, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times when occasion shall serue. Newly augmented and enlarged. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1595; STC S108207)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinkes, and other comfortable receits, for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Verie necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1619; STC S115959)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found moste excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinkes, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruacion of bodely health. Very necessarie and profitable for this time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1578; STC S126046)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased wherein are to bee founde moste excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplasters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinkes, and other comfortable receptes, bothe for the restitution and the preseruacion of bodily healthe : very necessary for this tyme of common plague and immortalitie, and for other tymes when occasion shall require : with a newe addition* (London: 1579; STC S126047)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to bee founde moste excellent and approoued medicines, aswell emplasters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinkes, and other comfortable receptes, bothe for the restitution and the preseruacion of bodily healthe. Very necessary for this tyme of common plague and immortalitie, and for other tymes when occasion shall require. With a newe addition. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1579; STC S4169)
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherin are to be found, most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue: as also notable potions or drinkes, and other comfortable receiptes, bothe for the restitution, and the preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for this time of common plague and mortality, and for other times, when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1580; STC S118738)
- T. C., *An hospitall, for the diseased. VVherein are to be founde most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions, or drinkes, and other comfortable receiptes, both for the restitution, and the preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for this time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times, when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1587; STC S264)
- T. D., *Food and physick, for every housholder, & his family, during the time of the plague. Very useful, both for the free and the infected. And necessary for all persons, in what condition or quality soever. Together with several prayers and meditations, before, in, and after infection. Very needful in all infectious and contagious times. And fit as well for the country, as the city. Published by T.D. for the publick good.* (London: 1665; STC R33433)

- Thayre, Thomas, *An excellent and best approoued treatise of the plague. Containing, the nature, signes, and accidents of the same. With the certaine and absolute cure of the feuers, botches, and carbuncles, that raigne in these times; and aboue all things, most singular experiments in the same: gathered by the obseruations of diuers worthy trauilers, and selected out of the best learned physitions in this age. Likewise is taught, the true and perfect cure of the plague, with secret and vnknowne preseruatiues against all infection; and how so withstand the most dangerous accidents, which may happen this fearefull contagious time. Generall rules of life to be obserued by all men this plague time. Directions for the commons, country-men and strangers that be necessitated to come into the city. ...* (London: 1625; STC S103487)
- Thayre, Thomas, *A treatise of the pestilence: vvherein is shewed all the causes thereof, with most assured preseruatiues against all infection: and lastly is taught the true and perfect cure of the pestilence, by most excellent and approoued medicines. Composed by Thomas Thayre chirurgian, for the benefite of his countrie, but chiefly for the honorable city of London.* (London: 1603; STC S101271)
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Appendix 1
Transcription of John Allin's Letters from London
East Sussex Record Office
Frewen Letters FRE. 5421-5634

FRE 5421

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^rsent
in
Sussex / 2

Loveing Friend,

London. Jan. 8. 1662/3

Since the Reciept of yours this day at noone, I tooke an occasion of perusing van Helmont; and doe conceive the piece (beeing cheifely by way disputation & argument, not practicall in directions or prescriptions) doe not deserve so greate a price, though divers new & strange (phaps criticall) notions, not few here to be found, might here and there be pickt out of it, and therefor at p^rsent can give no encouragement to so greate an expense: I intend to give George Starkey a visitt before my returne, which I hope wilbee next weeke; but whither by sea in Tho. Brooke or by land I cannot tell: I suppose you heard before now of the imprisonment of M^r Edmund Calamay, y^e last Tuesday, I this day hearde that a B^{pp} who favoured some such things neere him, was this weeke imprisoned and last night one M^r Bagshaw at y^e gatehouse just as hee came up out of the country, before his bookes were off but of y^t of the B^{pp} I will inquire further. I am glad you did effect your buisines, I thinke to apply my studyes that way when I come home. In the meane while with most hearty respects p^rsented to yo^rselfe, yo^r wife, M^r Jeake, and the rest of all our neighbours, I Committ you to god & rest.

Your Loveing Friend

John Allin

Cutt off & deliver to my maid

John Allin

y^e pceedings agst the
quakers ministers & others
meeting about Tanton, at Assizes were
very rigid.

FRE 5423

To M^r Philip Frith

at Rye

These recv^d

M^r Fryth

London. Nob^r. 20: 1663

I have with much inquiry found out Irvins
medicina magnetica but wee differed in prize, y^{ere} beeing
no body in the shop but onely a boy and he said for 16d you
shall not need to transcribe any thing of it because I intend
to bring it with mee : here is Mathewes Booke which because
you have the former & there seemes to bee no addition besides
a long discourse of her beeing cheated in her calling; and
in that discourse y^e receipt of y^e pill as it was made in 1659
which you may transcribe; and I will keepe y^e books to my
selfe: y^e Bpp is in pay 26 of it new discourse: I have here inclosed
also a newes book to bee communicated: I have left yo^r letter
for M^r Greenwood, but he was not in towne: I have no
newes worth y^e communicateing. y^{ere} is pclamation for about
14 psons of y^e North country to [illegible] & surrender them^s
within 14 dayes or else to be taken & confesse guilty of that
Northern plott: y^e state of this city in generall is not sickely: I
would willingly heare how it is at Rye: letters may
bee directed to my b^r Peter Smiths at y^e Sword in hand
in Cornehill. I have no more to add at p^rsent besides
respects presented to all freinds & that I am

Your Loveing Freind John Allin

FRE 5424

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
2 Sussex
Post p^d

Loveing Friend

London. Dec. 13th. 1664.

I know not how to performe any service for you
any wayes comparable to the trouble about my goods w^{ch} I
I left upon you to send away to mee & to dispose of for mee. The
chair in my study I intended for M^r Mayor, to w^{ch} his wife assented
for which you may take 3s or what you can handsomely psuade
her to; for hee hath given mee his horse here for my first stage.
the old drawing table & 6 stooles if y^ey cannot be sold together
for 32: or 30s at y^e least I thinke must bee sett up for
a better market: my fire range w^{ch} y^e appretenances of
purse sifting pan & hanger. my selling price is 45s: the
other things I hope you know how to distinguish, which to come
by carrier & w^{ch} by sea; & w^{ch} to remayne there: at p^rsent
I have not found out a chamber, nor yet whereabouts to
choose to bee; because my friends here are devided in y^eir counceles
whither I should take to solliciting for others, or studying phisick
for my selfe agst the Spring: considdering that every one in y^t pfession as times
are must either bee singularly excellent above others
or else bee wilbee nothing. but of y^e result you shall know
so soone as I can informe you: my p^rsent affliction is greate
about my children, feareing Eliz. is very ill, so y^t none will
let me know how shee is. I pray faile not to visit y^m (especially
if ill) once every day: as touching Elixir in y^t distemp I have
left enough wth M^r Bennett for y^m all, & for Maudlin too, if shee
needs any; I would not y^t any of them want any, or of them
where my children are: as for newes, likelyhood of warre pceed.
a proclamation or declaration about it beeing everyday expected;
having beene in the presse ever since Fryday. last lords day, here
a meeting of Capt. Riffins company surprised in Syths came
about 20 carried to the counter, & a greate many [illegible]

afternoone to Newgate from [illegible]

(second page)

[illegible] Com^{ds} for a prize office are now about making here; & y^e mode of raising of y^e 250 thousand pounds; w^{ch} will bee by a certaine petition sett upon every county; that pportion to bee found by compareing y^e former rates of the taxes in former times: 1stly the books for subsydyes in the 3 or 4 of Charles I: & 2dly; the tax for ship money in his time also: & 3dly the monthly assesments in the late confused times. here is at p^rsent a greate Sessions; clippeing coynes & Robberys abound; but what wilbee done to the quakers this Session not yet to be knowne. I pray p^rsent my respects to M^r Bennett M^r Miller & their wives. M^r Jeake M^r Palmer M^{rs} Thomas, whose letter I have sent to Oxford, M^{rs} Byndlos, whose buisines I doe not forgett, M^{rs} Beaton. T Carew his wife & month. G. Shoesmith & all our neighbours; to M^r Gillart & his wife wth excuses for my not seeing him to Madling & her husband: & to all in general; And in especiall manner to yo^r good wife & family to w^m I am so much engaged y^t I know not how to expresse my selfe but y^t I thinke my selfe bound if I know how to expresse it to bee wholly

Yours to my power, and
if it were possible beyond it
John Allin

I pray let mee heare by y^e
next post, how my children
Maudlin & all doe wth you.
& take care of my children
y^t they want nothing fitting
for them in y^{eir} condition of
having y^e small p. if it should please god they should all
have them: for matter of M^r Greenefields accompt &c
send mee up y^e copy of y^e books you tooke some together
wth my [illegible] & I will pfect an acct for you.

FRE 5425

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in Sussex

Mr Fryth

Dec. 23. 1664

Yo^rs of y^e 20th rec^d & thankes returned, These lines
are further to let you know in answer, that nothing here is reckond
more certaine y^{en} warre wth Holland of w^{ch} you may make your
advantage they haveing totally spoyled all our interest in Guinney
& put all to y^e sword; taken shippes & all, one onely escaped to
bring the newes about 3 or 4 dayes since: & if I had a newes
booke to send to you, you would find therein a printed pclamation
to expose their shippes & goods to y^e condemnation of y^e Admiralty
& then to sale: I have herewith by Slomans brother, sent
Jn^o. Ockles Tobacco pipe mould wire & other things desired
after much adoe to find the man who is removed since
to an house in round court neere the steppes in French
alley cut of Golden lane. they cost w^t he sent, besides
w^t I spent &c. w^{ch} shalbee nothing to him: I have sent herewth
a Whartons Almanacke for George Whattell . I pray
deliver it to him; onely take forst a silke capp for
my son John, out of it: I have also herewith sent you
as a token, a new piece of phisik called Tutela sanitatis.
I pray accept of y^t at y^e present. I looked for y^e broadbox
by P. Holmes but found none this weeke; I pray fayle not
by y^e next carryer; because I have somewhat thereof p^rsent use
the books if you cannot secure y^m for mee at yo^r house
I hope y^ey may at M^{rs} Thomas's under Cocke & Key: &
y^e locke of my study you will serve to set upon my
doores: you say nothing of sending my cole Irons at Eliz. Lewis
her house w^{ch} was blacker: I will endeavour to get y^e quaker
peice for you, let Jn^o take a pill or two. my respects presented I rest
in hast Yours J. Allin

FRE 5426

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex
Rye
Post
p^d

Loveing Friend, London Dec: 27. 1664.

I thinke I have given answer to y^e most of what you have written hitherto to mee, by my letters last weeke, that on Satureday night by Sloman wth the pticulars therewth sent, I hope you have rec^d neverthelesse I thought fit by these lines to let you know I have this day hired my lodging in Horsedowne, 2 chambers for about 18d p weeke together. for the furnishing whereof I shall want my cushioned chairs besides both for my little tables if neither of y^m bee sold; y^t on my study was allways resolved to be sent up; I wish heartily for my shelves &c. for the setting up my books, & my coale Irons if not sold: & none for all the things that are to come as fast as they can come: I shall want my study furnished very much, not knowing whereon to write; not how to set a house in order. on Friday morning last, after I had wrote my letter w^{ch} was done in hast at the carryers, I heard W^m Wakely was come & have since found him wth his vessel at Battlebridge not far from my Lodgeing. continue to direct yo^r letters for mee to Cornehill till further order: amongst my old paper books of accts there is one long and narrow booke in pachm^t covers w^{ch} was sometimes a day books to the spinning schoole; and a little almost square box wth such attempts of y^e schoole; wth stood up the floore in my study: if you could putt them up wth my books y^t none of y^t payes bee lost, I wish they may come y^t I may give some of y^e ptinders some pticular notes they desired mee; & I have not paps here sufficient for the purpose: wee have no newes here yet further then w^t I mentioned before, save onely that here seemes to bee another blazing starr seene every cleare night of a greate deale higher altitude y^{en} y^e former w^{ch} was more famous: this to bee seene all the evening: about 7 of y^e clocke about southeast of about 60 grade alt. y^e other never seene above 12 grad: high in our Horizon this wth the burr towards northeast: this not seene till wth in this Sennight. I cannot enlarge but wth respects p^rsented I yo^rselfe wife & all my freinds

I rest Yours assured Friend John Allin

let Jn^o Allin take a pill or 2:

FRE 5427

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Rye

Post

p^d

M^r Fryth

London Dec. 29. 1664

Yors of the 27th Instant wth y^e 2 boxes by Fr. Holmes

I have rec^d for w^{ch} I returne you thankes and for
your care of my little ones, upon whom my hearte
is very much: & am glad to heare y^t John mends upon takeing
the pills; but would not that the pills should continue
to bind him too much, which without some intermission
I am afrated they will effect upon his leane constitution
for your pfer to pay M^{rs} Beaton this weeke I thanke you
and shall give you the acc^t of y^t glasses &c p. next, & hope
to have y^e next weeke a way to order y^e money for her:
though since my comeing up I have rec^d nothing to what
I did hope for; and have not money to pforme my necessary
occasions at y^e p^rsent : if M^r Mayor had not my study chair
I pray send that up wth y^e rest of the goods desired
by the first opportunity by the sea: concerning my range
I pray speake to Widdow Dad to try what Capt. Dolves
of Hasting will doe in y^t thing, shee told mee hee had a mind
to buy such an one. I wish Maudlin had had a pill or two
more, w^{ch} I thinke her bashfullnes prevented her asking
of M^{rs} Bennett though I ordered shee should have what
of y^e nature shee wanted, & before y^t I left is spent let
mee know w^t is needfull & I will send it downe tomorrow
I am to take my things out of y^e boate & then I shall the
better know what I shall want; If y^e boates should come

fpr London sooner I pray omitt not to send all y^e things I
have already in my former letters mentioned; & I pray Mrs Beaton
this Saturday six shillings for mee & putt accompt if you
had Tutola Sanitatis before I sent it to you; returne it to mee wth
my bookes & I will send you another for it: my respects to you yours
& my friends p^rsent I rest Yours at Command John Allin

(marginal)

my blessing on my children: I have
not had a line from M^r Bennett nor
any one of Rye besides your selfe since
I cam away.

FRE 5428

To M^r Phillip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in Sussex
. on Satureday
night

M^r Fryth Jan. 6 1665.

I have mett yo^rs at the Spurr & the inclosed for w^{ch} I thanke you, &
the next weeke shall send you downe againe Tutola Sanitatis and his
discourse of the Scurvy. I have not time to psue y^e noates nor scarce
to write these lines; tell the widdow Byndlos. I have spoken wth Woodward
last weeke, & there is nothing more to bee done till the next terme, and
no doubt but all will bee finished. my respects to her & Widdow Thomas
if my cole Irons bee worne out: Lewis hath burnt y^m out and
have reason to pay for them if this bee not fitt for services I
must buy another payre w^{ch} I am loath to doe. my bookes & things to
bee sent I pray fayle not the first opportunity. & thinke of it to
call to send mee up at y^e same time my 3 volumes
of Senertus his workes w^{ch} I want. I have taken chambers
where I told you at Horse Downe, so now direct your letters for mee
to bee left at the 3 Sticks upon Hourse Downe, at a strongwater
means, about 2 doores from my lodgeing: William Wakely
is comeing down this tide to Greenw^{ch} to take in ballast &

so for home: they are all well & desire to bee remembered to y^{er} familys
& W^m & I to Maudlin: hoping shee is well: old G. Baxter cluckes
with a cold hee hath taken here: I have beene so upon settling
& getting my quarters since Monday y^t I came thither that
I could not now send you y^e accts & things I intended. time
enough I hope next weeke: my respects to all you mentiond
their respects to me & to y^e rest of my neighbours & freinds
I am to make hast back to dinner where I am now invited
at y^e strongwater mans, an honest good neighbour, such another house
as yours was, where I can bee free at pleasure. I am very
thankfull for my freinds thoughts & care of me, & to you
abundantly for your love, I pray pay M^{rs} Beaton this
weeke againe, & putt to accompt: & for feare of failing other
wise (time enough), the next weeke also: I have wrote
to M^r Bonbrigg to speake to M^r Young to gett my money
of Collens & pay her weekely: but how y^t may heed I can
not tell.

(second page)

you did not tell mee how John^s capp fitted him
for newes here is none, but that y^e warr goes on; some say
that y^e Speaker & Swallow friggatts, & 4 Hollanders have
mett & both are spoyled; 60 men killed, y^e captaine be
one: some say the Assistance is one y^t is spoyled: lately
Hull man (Yarmouth man; 2 colliers; and a vessell
of eight Gunns from Ireland taken: 3 others forced to spare
20th lesse . lately Secretary Morris his sisterne of water
turned into bloud in one night, continued so 2 or 3 dayes
wth all y^e water came into y^m. wⁿ y^e next neighbours had
no such matter. Tangier lately like to have beene lost
by a mutiny amongst y^mselves; y^e where beeing Irish
& y^e Deputy English: & an affront betwixt soldiers
and one Irish y^e other English; y^e Irishman did the wrong y^e
Deputy governor punish him for it; y^e Govenor Comitt
y^e Deputy & afterward would try him for his life, at w^{ch}
y^e soliders drew sides. But it was at last composed by a Capt.
W^m Greyland waited for y^t disaster wth 12000 men.
some whisperings as if y^e quakers with speciall commission
betrayed for their lives beeing found hereafter banished.
This last starr & the first are not the same differing

much in height places & motion: y^e noting mortality
as y^e warr as is judged here. I cannot enlarge, most
heartly respects p^resented wth thanks I rest.

Your Loveing Friend

John Allin

I cannot read over w^t I have
written, if you can picke
English out of it its well.

FRE 5429

To M^r Fryth

At Rye

These p^resent

M^r Frith

Horsedowne neere y^e 3 Stills. Jan. 13. 1665

The last weeke I sent you a letter by P. Holmes
w^{ch} I know not whither you have rec^d for want of answers
I returned you thanks for yo^r love &c, & desired you to pay
M^{rs} Beaton for mee the last weeke & this, & hope you will
for further answer to yo^r last I can onely tell you that
the newes about M^r Greenfeild reordination & admission
into the living, they are not yet come up but either
are in a little box amongst my semon notes or else in a kind
of a list clockebagge wth other papers w^{ch} are not
come: & some other paps I want also to pfect y^t accompt.
which you shall have so soone as they comes: I have herewith
sent you Tutela Sanitatis, & his piece about y^e Scurvey, 1d
for newes, here is just now hott discourse of peace againe
wth y^e Duch, w^{ch} is y^e rather believed because Major Holmes
went last Monday to Tower, as is p^etended for goeing beyond
his Comission agst the Hollander as Guinne. but its believed
by some it is for embezaling 3 Chests of gold dust
worth 100000l w^{ch} he give no acct of, & coming
away thence wthout order, & leaveing hereby all
y^e interest there to bee lost. some talke of a greate p^resent
Embassadour thence; but an eminent Duch merchanters
assurance of my friends friend on Wednesday last
That there was no overtures of peace from thence.

some thinke wee now desire it most, that there may
bee more opportunity to psecute at homes
(marginal)

W^m Wakely & Michael Jacob are frozen up at Greenw^{ch}
but are all well & desired to bee remembered home
(second page)

The B^{pp}s putt hard & its thought will carry it for
annulling y^e Acts agst Starr chamber & High
comission courte: y^e Act for y^e Sabeth about
halfe a crowne for not comeing to devised
service at y^{eir} owne parish church. y^e first bill
to be passed, & an additionall act about Conventicles
to disable any Capt. or master fed goeing o the
American parts who shall refuse to convey thither
condemned quakers or others for transportation.
some late petty verball contents in Scotland
& tumultuous agitations at Edinburgh
(upon w^{ch} severall ministers are gone to Holland
thence) hath disturbed their councells their
& hereto: Pr. Rupert is dead of a gangrene
in his head, accruing from y^e case of a
nayle on shipboard on y^e place of an old wound.
divers things hath lately appeared in the
shires & west of England which seene but
ominous, of w^{ch} p next . there hath beene
lately lost in the straights 4 frigatts 2
utterly & 2 scarce worth the saveing, w^{ch}
when stranded there by storms of weather
whilst their commaners were fudling on shoare.
one ship wth poison & men & all Cost bound
for Tangier: y^e Speaker frigatt disabled by foule
weather; & y^e Royall navy not able to swimm.
but sinkes her low tiere of guns under
water though not leaky . &c.: trouble their
loads at courte, wth y^t ominous matter of
secretary Morris his cisterne of water
turned to blood in a night &c. as I told you
in my last. I cannot now enlarge but
desireing to heare from you according

to all y^e benefactors to mee & mine & in speciall desire
my remembrances, thereof unto M^r Marshall M^r Miller
M^r Key M^r Shinner M^r Jeake M^r Boys M^r Curtis M^r Mayor
M^{rs} Thomas & M^{rs} Byndlos: Goodwife Shoosmith; &c. and by noe
meanes forgetting yo^r selfe & good wife, who are more than
others forced to labour in your love towards mee & mine; for
w^{ch} y^e lord reward you, & so I rest

Yor assured loveing freind

John Allin

(marginal)

remember mee to Maudlin, & tell her I read
her letter, & shall endeavor to send her husband
word to bee carefull of y^e men of warre; but
I thinke hee know w^t was done by Dr. Bauber

FRE 5431

To M^r Fryth at

Rye

These

p^rsent

Loveing Freind

Jan 27th 1664

Yours of the 23th by Eliz. Bowman I rent and
accordingly went yesterday morning with her to M^{rs} Caseby,
to whom wee delivered yo^r letter, & after reading of it
I kept to her & acquainted her wth the contents of yor
desires in myne, to which her reply was onely that shee
was glad to heare of yo^r wellfare, but sorry for your con—
tinued troubles in the world; shee treated us nobly, wth
sacke and ale, & invited us to call upon her agayne; asks
when the principall should bee p^d to w^{ch} Eliz replied
that for want of returnes from Ireland it could not
bee at y^e time before expected, to w^{ch} shee made no reply
but seemed to bee well enough pleased. o^r Anatomy at
the hall ended but on wednesday last since which time
I have spent my time about y^t buisines: I hope now
every day for my things & hope you will forgett nothing.
any shelves, bords, falling table, &c. in my study.

with my bookes &c. I am glad to heare my children are
well, but I cannot heare yet that Jn^o thrive any whitt
upon it, I thanke you & all my freinds for your & their
abundant love to me & them, for which yo^r recompences
are to bee from above. most hearty respects heartyly
p^resented to you all in hast I rest

Your assured Lo: Freind

John Allin

I know not one would of newes

this weeke. you should advise me of y^e Rx.

of my letters: The inclosed require an answer by this next post, I pray deliver it at y^e 1^l receipt

FRE 5432

To M^r Philip Fryth

at his house in

Rye

These p^resent

in Sussex / Rye

(note above address)

let me know if you did

receive myne by Jn^o Smith

& deliver y^e inclosed to

M^r Tutty

Loveing Freind

London. Jan. 31. 1665

The day before yesterday I read yo^rs of y^e 26th instant
wth the inventory inclosed of what is shipt in M^r Key & M^r Oake,
wherein is wanting y^e little table w^{ch} stood below stayres, because I
shall want both tables for my 2 chambers. yesterday I spake with
M^r Rocke w^o tells mee that on Satureday next hee expects to take
copy of the libell, & before then hee had not matter sufficient to
write to you, I promised to call on him within a few dayes agayne,
& so will; if you lett mee know how I may serve you by
so doeing for you did not acquaint mee wth his buisines. & so
I do not understand it. this day I have beene with M^r Striplings
man (hee not beeing at the office) & have minded him both of
Alice Cottons buisines (in w^{ch} hee did appeare this last terme

but they y^t informe agst her (hee tells mee) have not yet called
for a plea to it; which hee will putt in; not guilty, & please
minority: if I will but give him my hand so to doe and
afford him money. y^e information will bee 5 sheetes of paper
I pmised to call agayne in 3 dayes & heare w^t is done.
& let him have money for you if anything bee pceeded
in. but hee want but 3s last terme & their appearance
is 4d 3d) & in Mrs Byndlos her buisines; wherein
he pmise mee to stop evry further pceedings and
to plead to Act, for her: M^r Woodward not beeing of
that courte had implyd him, & so I intend to follow him.
I wonder how you did the buisines at Lewis, y^t M^r Bennett
should bee undone & carryed away to Dover Castle not with-
standing: I pray give mee accompt of it. I am in an
excessive trouble about him & what comes of John Allin upon
it: An habeus corpus to remove himselfe if there now any error
in the significant will take of the peneltyes or forfeitures
(second page)
(when pleaded) of the statute; but not y^e imprisonm^t
till the church be satisfyed to take of y^e excommunicated
as M^r Woodward now tells mee. I am so troubled
for him th^t I know not wht to say; but I pray
let mee heare y^e whole buisines. I can
not now enlarge, but onely p^rsent my hearty
respects to you yo^r wife M^{rs} Bennett &c.
as if named & so I rest
the best way had beene to
keepe out of their cluches

Your Loveing Freind
John Allin

FRE 5433

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake
at Rye
These p^rsent
on Satureday night

M^r Jeake

Febr. 3^d. 1665

Yours of the 29th past I read yesterday, and shall by the first opportunity gett advise about the mode & charge of dealing wth M^{rs} Eliz. Norton on the behalfe of M^r Gee, & give you a timely accompt hereof; but at p^rsent Eliz. Bowman, & I can desire no meanes to know where shee lodge; & wee feare shee is cheated of all her estate, however wee can neither find her nor it; nor can expect to find her till Eliz. B. bee come into y^e country agayne, that there bee no suspicion of an thing to bee done to her. I thanke you for your intimation of my childrens health and yo^rselfe & all my freinds for their care of them: I am so troubled at the thoughts of the surprizall of my deare freind M^r Bennett that I am not yet recovered into a fitt composure of Spirit to salute him here wth a few lines, which I intend to as soone as ever I can learne how they may bee conveyed to him safe: And as to her It shall bee my designe to doe what I can possibly for her in this her solitary condition; wherein I hope shee hath learned to bee content, knowing that there is no condition can befall one that is blessed of god that can bee for harme but shall in the end be turned to the utmost good; and that shall bee at gods appointed time; & his everlasting arms underneath will bee sufficient to support the weakest of creatures in the meane while: It may possibly bee darker yet before the morning come of that day of the fathers promise, & y^e saints hope the cloudes begin to thicken; & y^e designe of the Evill one seeme to bee for to multiply o^r sorrowes, & make out bands strong; but wee know who hath sayd it That hee that Leadeth into captivity shall goe into captivity & here is the petition & faith of the saints: the lord helpe us to watch one houre & keepe our garm^{ts}, that wee may bee found so doeing & ready for him at his comeing: I cannot write to her at this time, but within a few dayes I will gaine so much time as to send a few lines to her; y^e Good lord bee her & our eternall refuge & our exceeding greate rejoyceing so shall wee bee able to bid defiance to the adversary, & be more y^{en} conquerors even while wee looke like broken pott shards upon the dunghill. I have no newes to write of, this weeke I have not had y^e least opportunity to enquire after any: y^e Parliam^t was about an Act of Explanation of act of Indempnity, & so to bring more in to judgment but it's though it will just passe my most hearty respects p^rsentd to yo^r selfe M^{rs} Bennett M^r Miller Goody Shoemith &c. as if named, desireing yo^r prayeres, I rest Yours John Allin

FRE 5434

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex Rye

Loveing Freind Febr. 4th. 1665

I have not had y^e opportunity of seeing M^r Rocke since my lst, but I have beene this afternoone at M^r Striplings office when I found him, & examined the buisines of Alice Cotton & find that there is no rule yet given him for pleading to y^t information; but when hee shall have a rule (w^{ch} is a day set for pleading or judgem^t yon an intictment) hee will doe as is desired, plead the generall issue not guilty & give her minority in evidence. I desired to know what money hee should want & hee is very farre in y^t pticular; & would not name any sum till hee see what will be pceeded further in y^e case; but being to call upon him againe about monday or tuesday, I shall then offer him what money hee want; I spake to him about M^{rs} Byndlos her buisines, & wee are resolved to putt a period to it this terme if possible, to w^{ch} end I thinke I must waite upon him on monday: & then it must cost mee a pint of wine wth him upon some bodyes acct: I have no great newes to signify: but o^r coutiers begin to end their vapouring over the Hollander, and to have some serious thoughts what to doe, at least they judge none the worke will not bee so slight as they some times deemed it would have beene: y^e 12 saile w^{ch} this weeke was seene by our our fleete, all of them retyred in to Dunkirke safe; they are to have six saile y^e best y^t y^e king of Denmarke can set our for their aide: and many 100000 livres of the French. they have voted no English manufacture to bee brought there: & y^t they will omitt their Greenland fishing this yeare, & all other trade (besides y^e getting home w^t is out) for eighteene months. to raise money they have raised y^e interest of money to eight pcent (w^{ch} was but at three there before) by w^{ch} means they have money more their enough, & draine England also of money here to transfer all thither: because here its but 6: I long to heare of M^r Bennetts returne home; w^{ch} I heard of

But am in doubt of y^e truth of it: I heare you were at Lewis
on monday night & hope to heare all things about it from you.
my deare respects to him her, yo^rselfe wife and the rest of
all freinds as if pticularly named, I omitt you to god & rest

Yor Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5435

To his Loveing Friend

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

wth a parsall

M^r Fryth

Febr. 10th. 1665

I rec^d yo^rs last night late, and have herewth
sent you by Sloeman an halfe bent, w^{ch} y^e man I bought
it of pmised to exchange for another if it bee not fitt
or give y^e money backe if not liked, I thinke it is strong
enough if not too strong, it cost 3s: I heare
that y^e ship you mention is not lost; & I had thought
I had mentioned it before, you are not to feare
Alice's buisines. I have given M^r Stripling 5d
money & warrant to plead as directed, but they have not given him a rule to
plead, so y^t it may bee they will doe nothing,
however bee each undertaken they shall doe nothing
p^ejudiciall upon a nihil dicit:. neither shall any
thing prejudice nott Byndlos. but wee must
pceed to gett a quieta est: M^r Jeake M^r Bennett
M^r Miller &c. are well; but wee can not see the
full state of y^e buisines being difficult to meeth
wth parties etc. no newes of M^{rs} Norton nor
like to be till terme bee ended . I will give
acc^t to him you wott of when shall any
thing worthy, in the meane while in greate
hast my respects presented I rest.

Your Loveing Friend,

John Allin

Let me know where you packt
my linnen Towells left foule. I have but (2)
and want them.

FRE 5436

To M^r Philip Fryth
at his house in
Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth & Loveing Freind Febr. 16. 1665

Haveing this opportunity of conveyance
by M^r Withered I thought fitt to lett you know
that M^r Bennett M^r Jeake & my selfe are all well
and desire to bee remembered to you & all o^r Freinds.
I heare nothing yet of M^{rs} Nort but shall lay out
to find her: William Wakely came up yesterday in
y^e morning tide & hee desires to bee remembered at home
& I could wish y^t you would speake a word to
Goodman Brenden on W^m Wakelys behalfe y^t
hee may bee continued muster for this whole yeare
all voyages as y^e old man pmised him at y^e first
but old Jn^o Parker is so peevisish upon every small
occasion that hee is heady to say all his owne
& hee will lay the vesell up & doe this & that
& there is no ruling him with reason it bee
never so p^ejudiciall; the times are now hard
& W^m hath shipt his company for mackerell
season, & might bee much damkefyed if hee
should not goe y^t voyage if any one can: but
if you have G. Brenden in a good mood onely
cast a word as it were be accident & gaine his
consent to W^m, beeing master as handsomely as you
can y^t he may not pceive much in it to prevent
y^e old mans & his son Edwards desire agst W^m

you will know now hereafter in y^e meanwhile

having no newes to mention, I Comitt you to God

& rest

Your Loveing Freind John Allin

(Marginal)

~~I have sent M^r Tutty by M^r Withered~~

~~a Whartons almanacke tell~~

~~him of it, y^t hee may not keepe it for~~

~~his owne use, I send it not~~

FRE 5437

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in Sussex on Satureday night

Loveing Freind

Febr. 24. 1665

Yors of the 20th I rec^d & have since met with G. Brenden
& spake to him for W^m Wakely. yet thanke you for yo^r willingnes to speake
to him also. in the terme their was no rule given for pte agst Alice Cotton
& so wee onely watched them that nothing bee done agst her without
pleading, w^{ch} is enough. I spent a p^t of wine upon y^e Attorney
for her acct. y^e 20d of M^r Burkes I have rec^d & given
him a receipt for so much for your use, which I shall
give you accompt of: yesterday & 2 or 3 dayes this weeke
M^{rs} Caseby called at my lodgeing, shee asked mee when
I heard from you, to w^{ch} I answered lately, but you put nothing in y^t
concerning her; shee desired mee to p^rsent her love to you & yo^r wife,
but earnestly to write to you you about the money w^{ch} shee wants
very much, & could affoord to bee a little impatient about it,
shee your 15 dayes were out, & 15 more since; shee told
mee shee would call agayne next weeke to heare an answer,
shee then expects her money, I pray if you can make
any shift to gett it one way or other, doe not displease her
too much in y^e use y^t have beene so long due: I doe not
understand your buisines of y^e old sequestration; nor how buisines of y^t
nature should come to be revived: some strange appearances have beene
lately: in Scotland at a greate downe downe within this month appeared a greate army

of men, w^{ch} came to the towne & demanded free quarter, y^e offenders of y^e Towne demanded of y^e soliders to show them whence y^ey came, & what order they had for free quarter, to w^{ch} they replied y^ey neither shew y^m one or the other; but worded it to w^{ch} y^m that free quarter was granted them. but before y^e morning about 2 of y^e clocke appeared a light as large as the son (y^e report say y^e son itselke) & continued a greate while together; till at last both light & soldiers together at y^e same time vanished away: since y^t, at Northampton w^{te} the walls are taken downe, y^e castle remayning in y^e night many beeing upon the watch the Castle gates opened of them selves with out hands at w^{ch} they all (second page)

admired and endeavored all the could to shutt the gates agayne, but all the strength they could make was not able to prevayle for the shutting the gates: after some time that were thereby as it were p^epared for w^t might follow, there came this voice itterated 3 times over. Warr Warr Warr such as never was yet. after that y^e gates were pliant to open & shutt as at other times: on monday last was sennight at night, was seene by (some say) hundreds for about an heare together flames of fire as it were throwne fed W. H. to St James; & thence backe againe to S^t Hall: & then disappeared; upon y^e top of this, came yesterday y^e Guinney newes of the Duch lyeing as 'tis so about 1500 tyed backe to backe & throwne overboard: y^e make y^t brought y^e newes of it y^ey say was a Swede, & y^ey would not suffer a man to bee saved. y^e king was yesterday at Gravesend to speake wth a messenger to breake his legg, in posting up wth y^e newes & lay here; to know y^e certaynty I cannot enlarge. W^m Wakely is ready to sayle somewhere this day tide is y^e wind pmitt hee & his company, & all o^f neighbours are well, I have gotten a greate ague, w^{ch} tooke mee last night above an houre but am pritty crancke this morning, my respects to yo^rselfe good wife & all my freinds as if pticularly named; I am endeavoring to gett a bible for the old woman &c. I rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5438

To his very loveing Freind
 M^r Philip Fryth at
 his house in Rye
 These p^rsent
 in
 Sussex

M^r Fryth & Loveing Freind

March. 2. 1665

The last weeke amongst other things I wrote to you about
 M^{rs} Caseby's buisines & told you shee would call to me for answer,
 & I am sorry y^t I have none for her; & wonder I heare not of you
 this weeke; I pray doe not forgett that busines by no meanes.
 I thinke I mentioned y^e reciept of y^e 20d of M^r Burkes for yo^r use,
 w^{ch} was rec^d so soone as I shewed the letter. I shall speedyly doe
 something about y^e old womans bible, I spake for one about a fortnight
 since: but truely I have had no time yet to mind yo^r wives worrstead
 all the last weeke I was so ill I could not enjoy myselfe, much lesse doe
 buisines, I had 2 greate shakeing fitts of an ague on Thursday and
 Saturday nights last weeke, y^e last night of w^{ch} I had 2 watchd wth
 me, & sweate lustily for 10 houres: since y^t I have mist my
 ague through mercy, but can not gett my cold & cough away yet.
 I have been all this weeke in London. » ♂ ♀ dayes spent upon an
 anatomie. I had hoped to heare what y^e buisines of y^e old sequestration
 meane, whither about y^e lveing or not; & whither in D^r Twines time
 or Russells time, wⁿ M^r Greenfeild was Mayor; because you call it
 his buisines. Touching which is Russell stirr, know that y^e liveing
 was not sequestred from him; but Resigned by him into the hands
 of the Patronage, who thereupon p^rsented mee as voyd by resignation;
 & I doe beleive y^t I have somewhere still among my writeings
 both Russells p^rsentation & his resignation indorsed on the
 backe side: but whither y^t be the buisines, or y^e sequestration of M^r
 Auth. Norton, w^{ch} hee presented, I cannot understand; neither can I say anything
 to y^t point, yet I beleive all that & more is obliterated by the
 act of Indempnity & all such matter ought not to move trouble.
 I lacke to heare w^t Dann now say & did since M^r Bennetts returne &c.
 If weather favour ☉ in ♀: you know what I would faine might bee gotten.

if it is were but a small quantity: I hope my family there & yours are well; but know
nothing of if from you, however my respects & love p^resented to them both, with all
freinds & rest

Yor assured Freind, John Allin

(marginal)

I pray forget not

M^{rs} Caseby

FRE 5439

To his loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at his house in

Rye

These p^resent

in Sussex

on Satureday night

M^r Fryth

March. 10th. 1665

for the more security of the inclosed I have caused
it to come to your hands, & I pray bee carefull to send
it as directed, so some as you receive it. there is a receipt
for money w^{ch} M^r Crouch is to recieve by my assignment
for a pte of a debt I ow him; & I would not that it should
say, are my letters to you secure; I wish I knew they came to hand:
I have wrote these weekes past & y^t earnestly for M^{rs} Caseby
& have not had one would in answer since from you; at w^{ch}
I could wonder; I pray fayle not p next: 3 posts & two
carryers in a weeke need not all misse a line from you:
a freind of myne now in towne, an Ipsw^{ch} man, wth whom
y^e woad man have sometimes dealt, wants now a parsell
of good woad, for w^{ch} if hee likes it & y^e prise he will give ready
money; there is a yeares tyths due to mee: for y^e first yeare
I should have had 20s. & an hatt: beeing in a manner but a little y^ey
did sow for seed: but y^e 3. last yeares, they & Brett had about
7 acres; the tythes of w^{ch} might bee better than y^e tythes of
wheate, w^{ch} might be 8s p land acre: I wish I had but 5s p acres
p and of them: however something in pte, would have some
savour wth mee see what you can doe for mee that way, to
fayle to send up I carryers next weeke a ball of y^{eir} best

woad, for an example: (yet let not y^e sample be better than
the parsell:) wth their prise & quantity; to deliver it at Rye
as order shall bee given: & I will show it my freind & returne an
answer: I heare M^r Palm^r hath a parcell in his collar: I pray doe
not fayle to cause this sample to bee sent & left wth John Buckley
for mee to: & if you can obtayne y^t I may hedge in that
way some pte of my debt, doe so for mee: I pray doe not fayle to
send this sample, & answer for M^{rs} Caseby: so in greate hast w^h respects
p^rsented I rest
Your Loveing Freind John Allin

FRE 5440

M^r Wickenden

I have herewith sent you a writt of cautious admittance
sighed by Lt Chencellors Speciall warrant directed to y^e Constable
of Dover Castle for to gett allowed on the behalfe of Abraham
Bennett of Rye; & to get a warrant of super sedeas made out
upon it for his freedome: if they breake it open it must
bee allowed at their perills: but it there should bee any scruples
made upon it because y^r party was not in durance at the
Teste of the writt, I suppose I need not prompt to you an
answere, for you know y^e Teste of y^e writt signify nothing
in pointe of time, upon writts of error the Teste of the
writt it may bee before any verdict given, yet allowed
but what can any one alledge why they should proceed so
take one, then y^ey cannot keepe wⁿ once taken, but must
be this writt deliver immediately, for y^e writt holds in force
for one whole yeare after the Teste, & there can bee not
more pceedings agst the party in yo^r courte without
a new originall: all that I would further pticularly hint
is that you write the writte sender the fee of allowance
& demand a warrant for y^e man to bee at rest & not meddled
wth any further upon his acct, so hoping you will use you
descretion for the helpe of poore men under affliction

I comitt you to God and rest

Lon. M^{ch} 17 1665

Your loveing Freind,

though unknowne

John Allin

FRE 5441

To his very loveing Freind

M^r Samuel Jeake

these p^rsent

at Rye

in Sussex

M^r Jeake & Loveing Freind

March. 17. 1665

After some search in the Cursitors & Crowne office, about neighbour Bennetts & y^e Woodford buisines wee find that there is & is to bee no remarkes of any preeding upon a significant of an excommunication in the crowne office agst any that lively in the jurisdiction of the Ports but it pceed by a mittimus info y^e Constable of Dover Castle: & there upon y^e court at Dover castle to pceed in all poynts at the king bench here may doe: but they ought to teste their warrants and make them returneable at Dover as he writt here in y^e Kings bench, or else its error: Thrale at y^e cursitors office beeing out of towne wee can find neither significant not any hint of amittimus upon it to Dover castle agst y^e Woodfords but expects the certainty so soone as ever hee come to towne, to get a Proctor in Bennetts buisines, to enter an appeale & give absolution, w^{ch} absolution wee could not get them undertake to & cure wthout path of canonical obedience, wee then pceed y^e same way & obtayned the same writt for him as for M^r Bennett: which according to the judgem^t of all cursitors in the office ought to be allowed though the party were not in durance at the Teste of the writt for the Teste of y^e writt (beeing after the Teste of the warrant agst him) is good enough, even as it is ordinary in writts of error & they take out y^e writt, so the plays a mouth before the tryall & verdict given, w^{ch} they carry down the tryall wth y^m a readines & serve it upon y^e other side so soone as the verdict is entred: 2dly a man that y^e writt concernes my happen to bee taken & imprisoned before y^e writt can bee served of it may bee in the serveing the writt & then a super sedes captioni, would not deliver y^e prisoner beeing taken, & this will.

(second page)

3dly. This writt de cautione admittance, holds in full forme and power for one whose yeare, as much as at the 1st day of Thse: & y^e significantly last good no longer then for one yeare. as all the cursitors office agree in. lastely this writt seeing y^e kings writt of as many force as the former mittimus; must bee allowed neither they will or no, at their perills, if they breake it open; & before y^t they know not what it concernes & therefore it the see of allowance bee tendred in courte with the writt, w^{ch} is best to bee done by Wickenden an Attourney in that courte & hertoo, on Abe. Bents behalfe, y^ey will not know him to deny it for why should they take him, when they must deliver to some as over taken & may not dare to keepe him: & therefore I have wrote also line to M^r Wickenden about it. which if Abr. comes home to Rye directly & not by y^e way of Dover you may peruse and advise about it: on Wednesday night last, there comes on Pinfold a Proctor at Drs comons, unto the Cursitors office, I made enquiry of Harris, a sub- Cursitor for Kent, whither hee had made a mittimus to Dover for one Bennett of Rye with an allowance in it to take bayle; to w^{ch} hee answered y^t hee never made such a writt wth allowance of bayle; but some times make writts for psons imprisoned to bee delivered: what y^e meaneing of his enquiry is wee cannot understand, not imagine upon whose instigation he should enquire: for he sayd hee came thither on purpose about it: but hee showed him no writt one not other to so desired wth y^e answer aforesaid: about Eliz. Norton: wee can not yet trace her, but I was told shee was seene about a fortnight since neere Morre Feilds nothing shall bee wanting in y^t case. that I can advise to doe or gett done in it so soone as I can, I will send the cobby of y^e significant (if any bee) & mittimus agst the Woodfords: &c. but it in the meane while they should bee taken, w^{ch} I hope yey will all carefully p^rsent : or y^t they should desire a cautious admittance; I should never advise any of them to come up here; w^{ch} greatly agument y^e charge & it may as well bee done what their psonal p^rference if they doe but returne money & what they will have

done, shallbee carefully pformed by him, who wth most
hearty wishes for the peace of Zion; which hee also
beleive will shortly bee accomplished, & hearty respects
p^resented to yo^rselfe , & y^m: M^r Miller, M^r Marshall,
M^r Ger; M^r Shinner, G. Shoesmith & Thomas. neighbor
Carew &c. I comitt you all to God & rest

Your thankefull as obliged
Freind John Allin

FRE 5442

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^resent
in
Sussex
wth a small parcell

M^r Fryth

March. 17. 1665

Yo^rs of the 9th instant came to hand last weeke after y^e
carryers coming out of towne M^{rs} Caseby w^o waited yo^r answer
from weeke to weeke, at last received it by her son, who came
often for it, but say shee resented it, I cannot say, haveing beene so
implied about Abrahams buisines, of w^{ch} hee will give you
an accompt. I have here wth sent you foure ounces of
creme tartars cost 8d for the little table, I care not now
if you sell if there for 5s: about M^r Greenefields, business: they
can neither cite you not me justly for y^e legacy: besides y^e money
must first bee put that is due, for the paym^t of y^e debts:
before legacies. 2dly y^e churchwarden of Leafemarsh what
ever hee bee can lay as claymes to y^t legacy: for it is to bee
disputed of at y^e discretion of y^e executor; & wee must
have order from him before wee can pay y^e legacy for y^e
paym^t of the debts wee have order if wee had that money.
for the busines of the houses, if all former acquittances
were lost the last acquittance discharge in law all arreares
or else there might bee suing ad infinitum, seaven
yeares hence, for every yeare successively: but for that

you must returne answer at y^e visitation; & then also, if
y^e Act of Paliam^t for he establishment in his place, made y^e
next Parliam^t after his Mat^{ies} returne is enought to
have y^t of the B^{pp} to booke. I wish I know whether you
recd my last letter, & w^t newes about the Nord
came of my letter to M^r Crouch: I pray also let mee
heare how my children doe.

(second page)

For newes; Abraham Bennett can tell you
more then I can write even all I have
heard, for thats beene with me every
where as I wth him: its sayd there was
above 400 in all left in the London, men
women & children together, & were it not
for the losse of their lives, that losse of
the shipp willbee made up by y^e city in
a very shorte time: some believe there
will yet bee no warr, others that there can
bee no peace, but these things are above
us, onely to desire to bee fitt to serve
god cheerefully in either. I cannot
now enlarge but wth respects p^rsented
to yo^r selfe, good wife & family M^r
mayor M^r Palme &c. W^m Wakely
& Maudlin, &c. I comitt you to god & rest.

Yor Loveing Freind

John Allin

I cannot yet gett
a bible for y^e old woman
but one printed 1661: 12s prise &
6d if [illegible] but I count y^t too deare
and not of y^e edition shee desire with
Bezas annotations.

I pray deliver y^e enclosed

FRE 5443

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth

March. 24. 1665

I know not well how to omitt writing to you
if it bee but to sollicite a few lines from you how
all my freinds & children doe: since my last I see M^{rs}
Caseby who is much afflicted about her money, beeing so
disappointed of her expectation, shee hath written this weeke
to M^r Tutty for the speedy paym^t of y^e principall.
I wish you would write to her about the interest
& let mee convey the letter to her & w^t argum^ts you
shall prompt mee to plead w^h her to pacify her about
the forbearance I will manage as well as I can on
yor behalfe: y^e next weeke I hope to gett a bible
for y^e old woman to contemplt: you write mee nothing
about y^e weed quantity & price &c: I pray let mee
heare how y^e buisines of Abraham Bennett stands
& w^t done at Dover about it. I cannot enlarge
but w^h most hearty respects presented to your
selfe good wife & all my freinds w^h love to all
my children I Comitt you all to God & rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

no newes of Eliz. Norton
nor hopes yet.
Have a speciall care
in your next monday's weeke
for elections &c.

FRE 5444

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye, with
a booke These
in

Sussex

with care on Satureday night

M^r Fryth

London. March. 31. 1665.

If you doe not write to me quickly I shall forgett how many weekes since I have read I line from you, thought I thinke I have not missed one to you; I begged heartyly of you in my last inclosed last weeke in M^r Gilliard's box to heare how y^e buisines went with Abraham

Bennett

& how my children doe; & for Mrs Caseby, her son was with mee this morning to know whither I had an answer from M^r Tutty concerning the payment of the principall in May next but the furthest, about w^{ch} both shee and I wrote to him y^e last weeke but I have no line from him quicken him thereto: you shall w^h this receive a booke for G. Shoesmith wth M & S upon it: I think it is worth y^e staying for, for goodnes & prime, yet I did gett it so soone as I could: it cost 11s & 2d I then spent & 2d postage to the carryers: here is no newes, but a new blazing starr, hath appeared every day since monday morning wⁿ it was seene first rising about North East at one of 2 of y^e clocke in the morning, & is continueing till day light hides it; it is more famous then y^e last was seene here in the evening. here is some talks agayne of peace, to bee affected by an Embassy from France; y^e plan beeing the Queene mothers brother; which is sayd to bee arrived at Dover and coaches gone hence for him; but nothing of y^t natue is at all beleived: my heart respected presented to you, yo^r good wife, M^r Marshall, M^r Jeake, y^e old woman, M^r Miller, M^r Bennett, Th. Carew M^r Mayor all their wives, M^{rs} Thomas & M^{rs} Byndlos, M^{rs} Beaton my love to all my children; and to all the rest of my freinds to Maudlin and her husband &c. M^r Palme: so hoping to heare from you to all interests and purposes. I comitt you to god & rest I wrote to M^r Allen Grebell, I pray mind of an answer.

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5445

To his loveing Freind

of mauna &c. may bee well this spring: but
I leave it to you; so y^t hee have no minde all.

FRE 5446

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
these p^rsent

M^r Fryth & Loveing Freind

London Apr. 14. ♀. 1665

Yours of the 10th instant I have rec^d and I did expect another
from you which is not yet come to hands with order about M^{rs} Caseby's
buisines; which is a thing I am much afflicted for y^e poore woman knoweth
not what to say or thinke, I did advise you to write to her yo^r slfe about
your owne disappointm^ts; which on your parts would have much
contented her in this her stay for the interest money. but now I hope that
will not bee long. but not shee is much troubled at M^r Tutty's not
paying in the principall at the end of y^e terme w^{ch} was Febr. 13. last.
then by his daughter E. Bowman, hee putt her off till may. and now
would putt her off till michs: hee had pmised it to another in may,
& y^t disappoyntment very much trouble her. but shee will not stay
till michs: shee telleth mee that shee hath not all this while beene well dealt
with all for she neither had use not principall, not yet her owne
security for it, not know not well what it is or where it is. nor
hope it is drawne: neither will M^r Tutty write a line to her himself
in answer to any of her not my letters to him in y^e case: shee
would bee more troubled if shee knew w^t Tutty hath done; though
I heare that to bee so; certainly, other wife, then by yo^r hint; yet I dare
not say so to her: hee is not losse then a sworne serve in y^e kings
house; of his owne meniall servants, & so beyond any ptection
of a Lords retinue. I pray write yet to M^{rs} Caseby,
& send the money too as soone as you can. I herewith send you the Bpp's
certificates y^t M^r Greenfield was both canonically made
Deacon to Preist too: which you may use as you see occasion.
& use for the tenths, his Executors ought not, nor hee if hee soone
alive were not to bee charged to show further then y^e last receipt
& if they doe force y^t money from you it is illegally done: but
then I hope they will force others also to pay him; & make
Eldred allow for the time of his preaching till his death; which

the statute came both allow & require. 28. H. 8. 11: and
sayth moreover, if the tythes of the vacancy bee not sufficient to
pay y^e curate, y^e next Incumbent shall pay y^m, within 14 dayes
after his induction: so y^t if hee had beene but a curate, hee
should have been put for y^e time of his preaching: but hee was
settled by Act of Parliament after y^e king came in. I have herewith
sent you 3 iiij. Elix. magnus. which I did gett for tenn shillings. 2 things
I fretted, 1t that yey were too moist, & will suddamely loose much in weight
therefore I pray weiye them. 2d. I objected y^t they were moystened with
turpentine, & w^{ch} was not soo good as Amber: I had y^m at y^e same place
w^{ch} are not there to bee had. I spake M^{rs} Ginge about the [illegible]
[illegible] they had none y^e in seed [illegible]

(second page)

I spake G. Gaunt about y^e band w^{ch} shee will speake
of to the pty concerned. there is 7d flower seedes
ijd Barill seed 2d purslaine 1d Lapines: I have also sent
you Lockiers boxes & booke, w^{ch} I had from his owne hands
cost 6s I have also rec^d the 20s of Jn^o. Burkes: I was
wth Stripling y^e other day also about M^{rs} Byndlos buisines
w^{ch} next weeke wee intend to finish & to order to watch in
Alice Cottons buisines. nothing is forgotten or left undone
y^t I can thinke of & possibly effect. I am at p^rsent streigned
in time because of another anatomy: my most hearty
respects to yo^r good selfe wife & all freinds as if they
were named so I rest
Yor Loveing Freind
John Allin

I sent all by M^{rs} Mason

FRE 5447

To M^r Phlip Fryth

at

These

in

p^rsent

Sussex

M^r Fryth

Aprill 27. 1665.

Except it was this last weeke. I have not missed
 to write every weeke to you (as I remember) since I came; & you
 I was so ingaged about y^e time of M^r Millers & y^e carryers comeing downe in
 M^{rs} Byndlos her buisines y^t I could not then write; but now you
 have failed mee these 2 weekes together. when I was in more
 then ordinary expectation to heare from you, both what newes
 you made at y^e visitation, of w^{ch} I thought you could not
 possibly have beene silent all this while; but especially
 about M^{rs} Caseby, w^{ch} troubles mee more y^{en} a little; & y^t
 upon severall acc^ts. 1st because I gave you a pticular hint to
 write a few lines to her, w^{ch} I know would give some content.
 (I would have delivered it to her with as greate care & caution
 on yo^r behalfe as I could. 2. because you have not given
 her nor mee to give her) an accompt upon what security
 her principall money depend, for shee hath neither band
 nor morgage nor any thing else to show for her money
 nor knew not w^t it is, nor in whose name, w^{ch} troubles
 her very much, as I gave you to understand by my last.
 3dly because you have putt mee & so her for divers weekes
 into expectation of a bill for y^e 12l interest; & to tell you
 y^e truth, since my last to you M^r Tutty have written to her
 that you have told him y^t y^e interest was put to her, and
 desired mee to give him accompt whither it bee so or no,
 & truely I date not write to him agayne till I heare from
 you for y^t reason, because I cannot give him acct of that
 pticular w^{ch} he expect to know: all those things layd together doe
 much trouble mee, as it doth M^{rs} Caseby: because I cannot write to
 M^r Tutty, I pray tell him y^t I rec^d his letter; delivered y^e inclosed, & did
 speake to his cuzin Ellis; who thinkes hee shall bee for Sussex next weeke
 & at his returne intend, according to his desire to call on him at Rye.
 I pray bee mindfull to tell him
 I would faine heare how my children doe, all that I
 can meete wth tell mee John looks very badd, but
 yet is lively; I would know if hee hath taken any
 thing this spring & w^t operation it had, wth him.
 I rec^d the stockings & yarne by M^r Key. & thanke
 Maudlin for her care. I shall take to my course to
 doe as much for her. I heard yesterday there are
 2 houses shutt up about Drury lane for the

John Allin

FRE 5449

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

Thse

p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

May. 18th. 1665

Yors of the 12th Instant I recd, and accordingly went to M^r Ralph Norton on tuesday & rec^d 12l of him, which I gave him a receipt for yo^r use, & have since sent the same 12l to M^{rs} Caseby and have her receipt for so much for 2 yeares interest for 100l in M^r Tuttys hands and ending about 14th of Febr last past: when I have a better opper- tunity to send it then by y^e post you shall have it: I am glad there is so much satisfaction in y^t buisines, but shee asked mee if you had mentioned any thing to mee concerning the nature of y^e security taken of M^r Tutty for y^e principall. I answered her, no; but I wish you would acquaint her or mee fully in y^e buisines, I hope there is a band at least to show for it; but M^r Tutty told her it was a Morgage, if I mistake not. how ever it would doe well to satisfy her. I did invite her downe to yo^r house & told her you would fetch her att Tunbridge, but shee sayth shee cannot come: yor wives brother I thinke its Theophilus, y^t is so greate wth Monke, is now in towne; if you will write, M^{rs} Caseby will deliver your letter: M^{rs} Caseby looke for M^r Tuttys comeing to London this month. I thinke long to heare how Jn^o & Hannah doe; I pray send me word by y^e post. & I will send what shallbee given them all after y^e measles bee gone. I pray send M^r Grebell the enclosed ticket to soone as you have it for I know he looke for a letter & I have not what to write worth writing till next post. tell M^r Gee I heare at Loddondale house that M^{rs} Elizab. Norton was taken this weeke.

Tell Edward Martin or yo^r neighbour Abraham
Bennett to tell him, that there is no significant
yet returned to y^e office agst him not y^e Woodfords.
If these raines makes out materia prima to grow
gather a little, & send it to mee in a letter.
but rather send your letters by y^e post then by
freinds or carryer, for they make mee pay
3d for delivery of a letter out of y^e bourough
by a porter, & I pay but 2d the other ways.
I cannot now enlarge but wth many hearty respects
to all freinds p^rsented , yourselfe good wife &c. as if
particularly named, I comitt you to god & rest

Your Lo: Freind
John Allin

FRE 5450

To M^r Fryth at
Rye
These
p^rsent
in
Sussex
wth a parcell
on Saturday night

M^r Fryth

May. 26. 1665

Yo^rs recd, and I have herewith sent you by y^e carryer
1 box of pills 4d one quarte of canary seeds, & 1/2 pint of lupines
cost together 1d while $\frac{3}{4}$ j. 2d. for y^e lentills I
went to divers seeds men, Apothecaryes & Druggsters shops
but could heare of none: some doubled what you meant
whither they be ciches cicers or tares: if you doe
explayne your meaning & send yo^r letter by tomorrow night
post, phapps I may have the letter time enought to send
then downe by Edward Burne, who is here wth his wife
& will come out about monday or tuesday next: I was
in greate trouble about my children, till your letter

came; & now I am not thoroughly satisfied about their health though you speake hopefully of them: I have therefore sent downe a purge for them all, excepting onely the makeing up: & such things as you may have good there, & could not bee so well sent: you must add ʒj. of y^e 5 opening rootes to the bigger paper, whereon are the seeds & flowers &c. & then infuse them in about 10 or 12 ʒ of chicory water & set them to infuse & simper at a small fire till it bee wasted away to ʒ

& then straine it, and dissolve y^e mauna sent and ʒ x of syrrop of roses solutive, adding ʒ ij of small cinamon water: & let all the children take y^e quantities there, increaseing Jn^os Dos as you find his strength or difficulty of body to worke on. y^ey must take it in a morning, & keepe house & have some broth. choose your time to give it to them & let mee heare how it workes; for their encouragement to take that.

(second page)

I have sent them a deare pennyworth of spring rootes ʒ iiij. at j^s I pray let it be distributed amongst them so y^t Jn^o may have y^e bigger portion as his need is. for newes wee have none here to communicate; y^e Dutch fleete are set to bee sent. (30 sayle and to have given us the slip. & are gone to y^e Northward. y^e sicknesse is set to encrease in Holland as it also doth here; y^e bill mentioned 3 last weeke & 14 this weeke, but its rather believed to bee treble the number. at y^e upper end of the Towne psons hight & low are very fearefull of it, & many removed : one house if not two are lately shut up in Chancery Lane & now about Cripple gate: I pray desire M^{rs} Thomas to returne answer to y^e last I sent her, about putting off of her brasse money, & what sorte of bibles for biggness shee meaneth. & tell M^{rs} Byndlos y^t I hope to see an end of her busines on monday or tuesday next. however shee need not feare any damage. my respects to them all to M^r Bennett & M^{rs} &c.: my hearty respects to yo^r selfe and

yor good wife, my love to my children, M^{rs} Beaton & all
my freinds: M^r Long sayth he sent you divers letter but hath
not had any line from you since hee came thence, much
wondering at it: I pray see y^t done for my children
& let mee heare from you after it, I Comitt you all to God
& rest
Your assured loveing Freind
John Allin

FRE 5451

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^rsent
in
Sussex 1

M^r Fryth
June. 17. 1665.

I have rec^d none from you since I sent yor
things last, I hoped to have heard agayne from you
of y^e wellfare of you & yo^rs & myne, but I must
yet expect it & how y^e purge wrought. I cannot
now englarge, onely let you know that M^r Tutty
was. (& I know not whither still is) in towne, and was
wth M^{rs} Casby, & pacified her anger conceived
agst him, yet sp as y^t hee hath pmised that the
security w^{ch} you have taken below for her shall
bee speedyly sent up to her. I mett w^h M^r Eldred
& M^r Sampson, of Peasemarsch &, spake to them about
M^r Greenfields buisines; & they tell mee y^t if the
parishioners doe not (as they thinke y^ey will not) pay
wthout compulsion they must have it. & if so you had
best try what every one will doe speedyly without
suite & if not I thinke wee had best psecute them
here at the Assizes: & M^r Bowery tell me it is desired
by M^r Greenfields y^t the bookes be speedyly sent up
& here is one y^ey say will give money for them all
that are unsold: my respects to you yo^rs & my freinds
all as it named, wth love to my children. I comitt you

to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind

M^r Stripling will mee y^t hee

John Allin

thinkes Alice Cotton must have a tryall

next Assizes. but more of y^t p next.

FRE 5452

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

In

Sussex

M^r Fryth

June. 24. 1665

I long to heare from you, and in answer
To my last this day sennight this may let you
know through mercy I am well: and further that
yesterday Jn^o White told mee y^t M^r Norton told
him there was an exchequer writt comeing
out agst you, but for what or upon whose acct
I cannot informe you; wee putt in an answer
to Thomas's Information agst Alice Cotton
this terme, but I thinke hee doth not pceed to any
tryalll wth her this terme. but I shall reckon
wth M^r Stripling on monday, upon y^t buisines
& M^{rs} Byndlos & give you both an acct shortely.
In the meane while respects p^rsented to you both,
yor wife, and Thomas &c. I rest in hast
but ever

Your Loveing Freind,

John Allin

FRE 5453

To M^r Philip Frith

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Mr Frith

July. 1. 1665

Yors of y^e 28th past I recd, & thanke you y^t I see I am not quite forgotten; & Although I here inclosed send you y^e copy of M^r Striplings reasonable bill in Alice Cottons busines, yet I have spent money about it of w^{ch} I will with other things give you a pticular acc^t when required. I onely send this bill of M^r Striplings that you may know what is done, there beeing no order for tryall this terme, y^t is all that is needfull: y^e state of city for Sicknesse I suppose M^r Boys brought the increasing bill; w^{ch} makes many flee out of towne; but whither I shall come downe or no yet I'm not resolved; if I should it woud putt Dann &c. 1000 times more in a rage, & David Chose to fall into the hand of god rather then men: M^{rs} Caseby tells mee shee hath sent for her security by young M^r Norton. Shee would be glad to get 50l or what she could yea, all if possible of M^r Norton her neighbour: shee also tells mee that hee is not well pleased y^t you have neither sent his money nor any answer to his letters since I had 12l of him for yo^r use: doe not loose yor freind for want of writeing now & then a line or 2: I am contented my children should take y^e purges yet in some moderate day: I pray speake to Maudlin to send me aout 4 dozen dried dabbs : & 200: of y^e best dried whiteings shee ran gett by y^e next boate. & to yo^r selfe wife, & all freinds as if named, let mee heare from you: my love to my children: 20 sayle of Burbado ships come home: 11 saile of Mavis. 4 of Virginia, & about 20 of Newfoundland vessells with all they have ashore taken by Dr Ruytter. & all y^eir fish. hee gone siince to Monado's farewell.

Yors Jn^o Allin

Saffron is p 3 4s6d

at first asking

FRE 5454

NOTE: contains many symbols, nonexistent in unicode

Mr Allin

& Alice Cotton ad ... Edw. Thomas & vendir vin &c.

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.....

30 Julii 1665

Recd. of M^r Allin the full of his bill

Geo. Striplely

I put him 13s & hee rec^d 3s onely at y^e first

notice to give apparam John Allin

FRE 5455

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Samuel Jeake

at Rye

These p^rsent

in Sussex

on Saturday night

M^r Jeake

July 7 ♀: 1665

One M^{rs} Ann Casby y^t lives hereabouts, did about Febr. last was 2 yeares, at the instance of M^r Philip Fryth, (her uncle by marriage of his new wife) let M^r Tutty have 100l & trusted her uncle to take the security of M^r Tutty for y^e money, shee hath but lately attayned 2 yeares use for the money, & that not without a greate deale of writeing about & trouble: but to this day shee can neither pcure her money to be p^d nor her security for y^e money nor copy of it to bee sent up: not yet can well tell what her security is; M^r Tutty tells her it is a morgage of an house but M^r Fryth speake of no more then a band; & what ever it be shee sent last weeke to M^r Fryth to send it up by M^r Ralph Norton to her; but that it not done: so y^t shee knowes not what to thinke of y^e matter, either what her security should bee, or whither there be any or no: now shee thinke, you might happily have y^e making of it, bee it morgage or band, or both (though shee feare neither) shee have therefore engaged mee to write

these lines to you, & hereby shee intreates you to bee pleased
 by y^e next post to give her an accompt what you know
 or can know of this matter for her further satisfaction,
 for it is a considderable sum, & must molest, for that
 from either M^r Fryth or Tutty; shee depends much upon your
 answer to guider her Spirit: & I hope you will not fayle her
 notice y^t I write to you about it, doe it so, & let mee have
 yor answer. I have no newes to communicate, y^e Sicknesse increases
 daily much about y^e city. y^e generall bill yesterday was 1006: and
 of y^e plague: 470: but rather feared to bee, nearer 700: y^e fleete is
 fitting out anew, y^e soveraigne to bee one: 'tis said now y^t neither Duke
 of Y. nor P. Rupt goes any more, but send with Admiral Pen vice Ad: Askew neere Admiral
 my most hearty respects p^rsent to yo^rselfe, M^r Bennett, M^r Marshall, M^r Miller
 & to all friends as if named. I rest
 Yours J. Allin

FRE 5456

To his Loveing Friend

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in Sussex

on Satureday night

M^r Fryth

July. 7. 1665. ♀

I am sorry that I had not a line from you this weeke nor
 yet from any friend to heare of your welfares at Rye, but above
 all I am sorry that you should put M^{rs} Casbey to so greate a non
 plus what to thinke about her buisines wth M^r Tutty because you
 sent not the security by M^r Norton to her according to her desire
 and yo^r pmise in my letter to send it at any time: truly shee now
 feares her money that shee did before & y^t was too much
 feare shee hath had already: shee had often times desired to know pfectly
 how things were, but yet cannot understand it: shee once thought her
 security had been in Land; M^r Tutty told her it was in y^e morgage
 of an house & y^t it should be sent up at his returne home; you now
 tell M^r Norton of a band, or y^t you expect 50l or 60l will suddenly
 bee put her & for y^e rest shee hereafter have a judgement

shee is in doubt whither there bee any security for y^e money at all unlesse what you are ashamed to shew and such as shee may not dare to trust to; or else you would either have sent y^e originall or cobby of y^e security by M^r Norton, or at least a letter to have told her clearely how y^e case stands, w^{ch} shee thinke yor selfe concerned to know, & now I move to make inquiry after it, when shee is thus putt off from time to time without any manner of satisfactions or clearenesse in the case: shee is so much yo^r reale freind that I would not have you to disoblige her in any thing especially in this matter wherein she stands so deeply engaged and have done so for these 2 yeares & 3 quarters allmost, & to this day cannot understand y^e matter. I pray for something satisfying for her: & truly I thinke shee would bee the better satisfied is shee had a cleare understanding how things are howsoever it is.

I have made this my greate request at this time, next to my desire to know how my children & freinds doe, & to p^rsent my hearty respects to yo^r selfe & all friends as if named, wth love to my children; & so I rest Yors J Allin

FRE 5457

To M^r Philip Fryth
ar Rye
These
p^rsent

Mr Fryth

July. 26. 1665

This day I rec^d yo^rs by A. T. of the 25th instant, and have accordingly rec^d of Jn^o. Burkes for yo^r use 20s & by y^e to A. T.

I have now sent you Elixir. 3iiij. 20s 3j. 4s8d.

Cremor Tartaris and one little discourse of y^e plague

3d. I thanke you for yo^r invitation, w^{ch} is more than I have had from any one besides yo^r selfe; so that I know not what to doe.

I am loath to thinke of frightening my freinds w^h my presence, or of burthening them by my stay not knowing where to bee recd. If I had thought of comeing. I confese the sickenes

doth increase & spread, though none very neere mee yet thanks bee to god: I heare y^e generall bill this weeke will bee about 2500: & the pticular of y^e plague neere 2000:

but I know not the certainly till the morning. I thanke god
I goe about my buisines without an slavish feare of it,
yet my body too apt for such a disease, which prooves
very mortall where it comes, many whole families of
7 8 9 10. all in a family totally swept away.
I wish I had some of my things I have now here at Rye
for my childrens sake, it it might please god to spare
them; but I know not how to get them rec^d there received.
I expect to heare from M^r Grebell by Richard Oake, or Tho:
Oake: & whither I shall come or no. but waite to heare what
god shall further speake that way by y^e mouth of friends
and act accordingly: yet I thinke there is no fleeing from gods
hand, & truely this sicknes so highly pesidentiall in some places
speakes it to be more a judgem^t than any thinge els:, and
true repentance is the best antidote & pardon of sin the
best cordiall; my reall love to you & yo^rs & all freinds p^rsent I rest

Yours John Allin

I have sent my children some gingerbread.
more by y^e next or else by Satureday post. vale.

FRE 5458

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth Aug. 5. 1665

I rec^d yo^rs of the 2^d instant, & thanke you
most heartyly for yo^r invitation; when other
freinds are all silent: & if yo^r letter had come to
hand on thursday as it should have done, or yet on
friday before I tooke my leave of Richard Oake
(then ready to sayle about 5 at y^e afternoone) I would
have sent some things w^{ch} I could now wish were
were at Rye with my other things for my children,
how ever it shall please god to deale wth me here:
through mercy I am yett well. & the Sickenes not very neere

mee, though in the parish; & if M^r Mayor will give
Thomas Oake liberty license to take my goods & pson on board
when he cometh up wth M^r Grebells planke, &
that my freinds bee not afrayd of mee; phaps
I may thinke of comeing downe with him: yet
I thinke I am as safe here, while the lord call mee
here to stay for newes, this came y^e full and
not to bee contradicted newes of De Ruyters getting
into Holland wth all his prizes & treasure safe:
many letters heare this day at the change confirmes it.
this last weekes bill of mortality through mercy did not
increase like the former weekes, beeing but 229 in
all increase: & y^e sicknes in some places then decreased, though
this wee feare (as wee then also did) an higher increase.
on Thursday one Colonell Danvery was fit to be taken
and refused by some in Cheapside, which may happily
bring some displeasure upon the City for it, though
y^e city I thinke could not but helpe it, beeing a thing suddenly
done: yesterday 55 quakers were sent on board
by soldiers & hoisted into the ship & this day I heare
the comon seamen have left the ship upon it.
I pray let mee heare now often from you
& you shall doe from mee; for I see no body els
will write to mee: In hast with hearty love
p^rsent to yo^r selfe, wife &c. I rest.

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

now looke for
some materia prima

FRE 5459

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

M^f Fryth

Aug. 11. 1665

I returne you hearty thanks for yo^r last, & hope
you will not forgett what you say; but let mee
heare from you at least every weeke once: whither
they have shutt you up as you say they threatened, or
whither your wife bee delivered lett mee heare: I
perceive M^f Bennett & others are afrayd of mee,
& truely I doe not thinke to fright them, for I shall
Not, if I come, thinke my selfe safer there then here,
whilst my call is to stay here: yet I am troubled at the
approach of the sicknesse neerer every weeke, and at
new Burying place w^{ch} they have made neere
us: &c. wth some peins of indiscretion used in not shutting
up: but rather makeing greate funeralles for
sure as dye of the distemper. which yet I thinke god
will not putt an end to till sin bee lost & supressed
more then it is: but god seemes to psue a designe w^{ch}
doubtlesse hee will effect before hee hath done: this nicke
of time is very dangerous to write to any supposed newes.
time will discover what is in the North. feild pieces
are gone that way out of the tower, with other
carbines &c. god know what is the reason of it &
some say the K. is gone that way. but I must not
enlarge: let mee heare from you if you will by
every post. I shallbee glad to heare of my childrens
your & all the rest of my freinds welfare in hast

I rest

Yor Loveing Freind, J. All

This weekes bill was 4030: in all

2817: Plague.

142: in all 64: Plague

in our Parish

I thinke to send some
things by T. Oake if I come
not my selfe.

FRE 5460

To M^f Philip Fryth

at Rye
These
in p^rsent
Sussex 2

M^f Fryth

August. 18th. 1665.

I cannot be silent but must write these few lines
to heare form you because I cannot heare from any one
else: through mercy I am hitherto well; & all our next neighbours,
but the sicknes increaseth 5319. this weekes bill in generall.
& 3880 on the bill of the plague: of w^{ch} disease M^f Symond Porter,
M^f Millers brother in law dyed last tuesday: and M^f Snells
mayd where Jn^o. Byndlos lived is now sicke of it but they
hope shee may doe well: I am afrayd to write to M^f Miller
of it least hee should bee afrayd of my letter, but I pray let
him know of his brothers deathe because I know hee stands con-
cerned in it: let my respects bee p^rsented to him & his, to M^f
Bennett his wife & his family: my love to & blessing on all
my children; my respts to M^{rs} Beaton, M^f Jeake, M^f Marshall
the old woman &c. to all freinds as if pticularly named.
M^{rs} Byndlos M^{rs} Thomas &c. no lesse then as much
they have dealt with you; or how god deales with you
then will gett some to my freind send me word; as I
also meane: to doe, if I my selfe should bee ill, the
lord fit mee & all of us for what he intends
to us. Amen. I am

Your very Loveing Freind,

Its veryly beleived that 11 of 18
of y^e Dutch East Indy ships if not all
bee gotten safe unto Bergen in Norway
& ours puruseing them in the harbour
have rec^d damage fro their castells. 700 men
slyne & 3 frigatts lost besides others shattered as its said & believed
though some say wee have taken 6 of their E. India men.
Every houre now an engagm^t of fleets
is lookt for

FRE 5461

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth

Aug. 19th. 1665.

Yours of the 15th instant I recd, for which I thanke you, I am glad to heare of the safety & welfare of yo^r wife & little ones, I pray god continue it: I had written my last to you, before I rec^d yors & so could say nothing to it then. the sicknesse seemes to bee increasing still since the last bill: what god will doe with us we knowe not, but anger is gone out from the lord, & there is no better remedy than to repent & returne to him that smiteth. Wee can not expect any good now from any place, till what iniquity is found in our tabernacles bee putt farre away. what is the buisines in Scotland or Northwardthere is yet no cleare discovery here. & therefore neither safe to make inquiry nor to relate: but I believe no greate matter: y^e last Lords day here was both in the Suburbs of this city & in country places also, divers meetings broken up, & severall of them carryed to prison, besides divers considerable psons ministers others at Clapha taken out of their houses in that stormy day, & after drenching in the rains they were carryed to prison, but most of them since at liberty againe: the newes yet holds about our Losse at Burgen in Norway, of many hundreds of men if not (3) frigatts & said about 9 others: some reports since but uncertaine of any engagements of y^e fleetes, but certayne that y^e Dutch are out, seeking out our fleetes; and an engagem^t suddenly expected: wee lost many Castle shippes & others, yet not fully know ne both by y^t last storme.
(second page)

my hearty respects to you yo^r good wife
& all friends p^rsented, my love to my children:
I would faine heare whither M^r & M^{rs} Bennett had my letters by Abraham Tadiham. & my children their ginger bread. through mostly I am well. let

me heare from you how all doe &c. I Committ
you all to god & rest Yo^r Loveing Friend
John Allin

FRE 5462

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^rsent
in
Sussex

(on the envelope)

M^r Rowland at y^e
Cross Keyes in maidston
3 quarts sarke as much
Clarett without Capt
Whithouse

M^r Fryth

Aug. 24. 1665

I hoped to have met with a line from you to day at the
post house but fayled of my expectation; onely I write bee
as good as my word in writeing so long as it pleases god that I have a
liberty so to doe; I am through mercy yet well, in midst of death
& that too approaching neerer & neerer: not many doores off,
& the pitt open dayly within veiw of my chamber window, the
Lord fitt mee & all of us for our last end. surely if my freinds
bee afrayd of my letters, I would not bee afrayd of theirs.
I shall long to heare how you & yo^rs doe, not hearing now
from you: the sicknes yet increaseth this bill is 249 more
than y^e last. viz. of all diseases 5568: of the plague: 4237:
but rather in verity 5000. though not so many in the bill of y^e plague
M^r Snells mayd is not yet dead, but scarce any hopes left of life.
& since her nurse w^{ch} came to looke to her fell sicke there too:
but some thinke yet that the nurse may recover: here are many
who weare Amulets made of the poison of toads. which
if there bee no infection, workes nothing: but upon any infected
invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, w^{ch} a plaister heales, & so they

well: phaps I may by y^e next get the true p^eparation
of it & send you: here are almost every day some meetings
& other persons without meetings carryed to prison, y^ey know
not for what. & these nights the trained bands in the
city have beene raised to watch: no publike discourse
yet, not anything certaine of Scotland; our shippes
even all 15 or 17 saile that followd y^e Dutch East Indy
men into Burgen in Norway are much shattered & disabled,
I heare Capt. James Cadman was one of the six Capts killed y^ere
for w^{ch} I am very sorry. I pray send mee word whither
John Carew bee still in that ship or no. & w^t newes
you heare of y^m: the sicknes at Yarmouth Dover & Southampton
I heare is much increasing yet: 3 houses, laste weeke shutt
up in Dover more &c. my respects p^resented & love to all freinds
& my children, yo^rselfe good wife &c. I rest your Loveing Freind

John Allin

I saw this day some prima materia in the streets.

FRE 5463

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^resent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth

Aug. 29. 1665.

I had not written to you till Thursday, when I might
have given you an acct of this weekes bill of mortality
but that I am willing you should know of yo^rs of y^e 26th
came not to hands till yesterday morning, when it was too late
for any thing you desired: yet I would willingly heare w^t
worke you have made of the busines: y^e sicknes here
is very much increased this weeke I feare y^e bill will bee
neere double the former: & truely I know not how to
thinke it should lessen, when as the greatest thing done
to stoppe it, viz. takeing y^e phanatickes out of their owne
houses, & sometimes caught meeting & carrying them to in-

fected prisons, of w^{ch} wee have none free) willbee found
in the end to heighten it, thought its s^d major
of y^e soldiers hath threatened by that meanes quickly
to drive y^e plague away: I must not enlarge
neither have I any thing to write of newes.
remember that there will bee little prim. materia
found after a rainy but most in a dry night after a
rainy day or weather: the wind southwest. let not
that discourage further experiements. you may
try some [illegible] w^h raine water& some with urine onley
keepe what you gett severally: I meane from urine
or water: my respects and love to all freinds & children
as if p^ticularly mentioned yo^r selfe good wife &c.
I am engaged a little tomorrow in y^e keeping of a day
as I have beene on sabbath day lately with 2 or 3 freinds.
& therefore have not time to enlarge, but rest

Yor Loveing Freind

John Allin

Mr Benbrigge told me that M^s Eliz Norton
is dead in Newgate; & so is his brother
Rich Norton at y^e Tower; will this
day sennight buried fryday as he told mee.
M^r Snells mayd is dead also my brother Peter Smith
Is not well: I thanke you for yo^rs of the 27th instant just now recd.

FRE 5464

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These 2

p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

h. 5. Sept . 1665.

Yors of the 30th past I recd, & thanke you heartyly y^t
you doe so much let mee heare from you & how things goe
with you, though heartyly sorry, thinkings bee as they are, but that

may bee an advantage another time, w^{ch} now is but a greife; y^e
sicknese increased very much last bill, viz. 1928 increase.
y^e totall 7496 of the plague 6102: since that bill I have
not p^ticularly hear any thing neither still increasing or not
but feare by the dolefull & almost universall & continuall
ringing & tolling of the bells it doth increase. I am sure it
approacheth to mee, I meane my concernem^ts, for it hath
pleased god to take from mee the best friend I have in
y^e world, & one wherein my children stood as much con-
cerned as my selfe wth reference to what they should have
expected from the relations of my wife. it is my brother
Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lords day last in
the morning towards evening a little ill, then tooke
something to sweate, w^{ch} y^t night brought forth a stiffnes
under his eare, where he had a swelling y^t could
not be brought to rise & breake, but choacked
him, he dyed thursday night last. y^e lord awaken
mee to prepare for what else hee intends towards
mee, I know not what now to doe in reference to my
children or my concerns here; but it y^e lord give
mee a little time to advise, I will write to you
agayne, in y^e meane while I blesse you I am well,
was not wth my brother after to see what it would bee.
as little else upon every distemp here can be expected.
it is a greate mercy now counted to dye of another disease
my love to my children, to yourselfe wife
and freinds I rest

Your assured freind
John Allin

FRE 5465

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
2 p^rsent
in
Sussex

M^r Fryth

Sept. 7th 21. 1665

Yors of the 3^d instant I rec^d & returne you thanks for it. I cannot forgett
to write at least once every weeke to let you know of my health so
long as it pleaseth god to continue it. but the increaseing sicknes
hath now drawne very nigh mee & god knoweth whither I may
write any more or no. it is at the next doores on both hands of
mee; under the same roofe, though none of the family through mercy:
y^e women y^l was my landlady at the first is now dead & buried
yesterday, I beleive it is of the sicknes. but I have no place of
retireing neither in the city nor country; none in heaven nor
earth to goe unto, but God onely, the lord lodge mee in
the bosome of his love & then I shallbee safe what ever be done.
If y^e lord should take mee away before I can write againe
let some enquiry to bee made after my deske, in w^{ch} wilbee
found my keyes and what little cash &c. I have left or
shall nor spend in my sicknes; together with any notes
of accompt &c. in a privy drawer after y^e extracting
of two drawers out of one pole: is a little gold & rings &c.
w^{ch} I would my children might enjoy withall things
I have left as equally as it may save y^l my son
shall have my bookes: which if hee live may
benefitt him. there is in my deske a little booke
now written, I intituled it liber veritatis: it is the
true use of the elixir magnus for phisicke pfitt
or delight: given to a freind by a true master of the
arte to a freind; whence I transcribed it, I would have
M^r Jeake to have that & you to transcribe it: but bee
sure to keepe it both of you as a secrett: If I live, I hope
to have some materia prima from you: if you could inclose
a little Dust in a letter, I shallbee glad to recieve it.

(second page)

through mercy I am well & our whole family
yet: y^e lord continue it, & fit us for our change.
this weekes bill is increased 756 the total is
8252 of the Pl. 6906: & in our parish 439:
about 128 increase in our parish. & it is
truly still increasing. these 3 dayes hath beene

sea cole first made in the streetes about every
12th doore, but that will not doe y^e work of
stopping gods hand. nothing but repentance will
doe that, of w^{ch} no signe yet, but oppresesion &c. yet
increasing. let mee heare from you so long
as I am capable to receive a line. my most
hearty respects to yo^rselfe , good wife & all my
friends, whose letters would bee glad to receive
though they will not receive myne: my dearest
love to & blessing on all my 3 babes; y^e lord take
care of them, I am afflicted in respect of them
esp. since my brother Peters death, who had
some trust reposed in him about 200l was
to be given my children by my father Smith will.
which now what will come of it I know not.
I cannot now enlarge, but will continue to
write when I can, In y^e meane while I comitt
you all to god, beg all yo^r prayers for me & rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5466

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth,

Sept. 14th. 1665

Your kind & loveing letter of the 9th instant I have recd
for which I returne you many thanks & blesse god that I have one freind
left at Rye y^t will communicate with me in receiving & answering of letters.
This sicknes though more dye because more are infeced, yet thanks bee
to god, not so mortall as at the first, for more recover of it now then
formerly: it is increasing in our parish about about 39 this weekes bill, beeing 4785
though if wee know how to trust the bills it is decreased in the generall.
The generall bill is 7690: buryed this weeke, whereof of the plague 6554:

yet in the city it did increase, beeing 1154: of the plague. 896: y^e last week. 1118: Pl. 854

I have hired my chamber: where now I am & have beene all this while but untill mich^s, & so am looking out for new quarters, where I may have two roomes, & one for stills to worke in, in the winter, if the lord give life, where I intend to see up divers chymicall stills, if the lord please, & one furnace amongst the rest for the maine worke if you can furnish me with materia prima: but whither it willbee neere where now I am, or about Cornhill, or in the city, I cannot yet resolve you; but shall by y^e first, & if I should there or here bee sicke, it shallbee my care to gett some freinds to write you: at the p^rsent, M^r Richd Roffey at the 3 Stills whither my letters come, may informe you or any one of mee, so long as they bee well, if not, I hope I shall, if the lord afford mee so much time, gett some body to write to you, or if you should bee ill yet somebody to informe mee of it, & to whom I may write, for truely it is a greate affliction y^t I know noe friend in Rye besides your selfe that will receive a letter from me or write to mee. about the bookes I intended for y^e presse, a stationer is to come to morrow morning to my chamber to see them & treat me about the printeing of them: the result of which I will shortely give you. our freind D^r Starkey is dead of this visitation, wth about 6 more of them chymicall practitioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists and in a sorte over this visiation sicknes, which is more a a judgem^t then a disease, because they could not resist it by

(marginal, p. 1)

Newes this day, of 18 dutch more takeing

1 East Indy merchant burnt. 3 taken

y^e east most men of war of 40 gunns and

upwards one of 70 gunnes

(second page)

their galenicall medicines, w^{ch} they were too confident y^t their chymicall medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could here of to dissect which y^ey had & opened to search the seate of this disease &c., upon y^e opening whereof, a stench ascended from the body & infected them every one, & it is said they all are dead since, the most of them distractedly madd. whereof G. Starkey

is one: I heare also y^t above 7 score D^rs, Apothecary, & surgeons are dead of this distemp in & about y^e city since this visitation. God is resolved to staine y^e pride of all glory, there is no boasting before them, much lesse agst him. touching an Inventoy of what is at Maudlins or here, the papers in my deske I thinke will show what I know of it, cheifly of y^t at Maudlins, what is in the chest of drawers locke up: but what is in the greate chest of bedding pillowes &c. of w^{ch} Maudlin had y^e key at first, & is yet at Rye, I must gett you to make an inventory; & of y^e bedstead and bedding & loose things that are there, wth Mandlin can best give you accompt of: as to a will, I know neither: what to make a whill of, not w^m to leave in trust in the case; for if creditors should exact what I ow to them I know not what willbee left: yet I shall as neere as I can also leave some notes of my debts too but I will send my deske to some freinds so soone as I shall bee sicke, if the lord please, & y^t may bee safe for any one of my freinds to take & search; & y^t I shall give you accompt of. wee have no newes but publike so communicate about y^e 13 dutch prizes fit to bee lately taken, viz. 4 men of warr. 2 East Indy men & 7 other merchants shippes You see I have not roome to enlarge; my respects to all freinds, your selfe & wife whose recovery & health I shall long to heare of, my love to my children I rest

Yours, J. Allin

(marginal, p. 2)

This exchange hath pduced more newers of about 18 more dutch taken. 2 or 3 of y^m East Indie men & one of them would not bee taken but burnt her selfe, y^e rest ships of 40 gunns & upwards & one of them 70 gunns: they fell into out fleete, as s^d & believed instead of their owne & Sr Christooher Mimms they say is wth or fleete pursuing the rest of their fleet &c.

(heading)

Since the exchange, my head aketh very much, what it may prove to god onely know; but every little ache may bee a summons into another world

FRE 5467

To M^r Samuel
Jeake at his
house in
Rye
These
2 p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Sept. 20th. 1665.

Yours of the 14th Instant with that undeserved & unexpected character of yours & the rest of my freinds love inclosed and since the money of John Bourkes, I have recd., & desire to returne most hearty thanks to every one of them benefactors in y^t contributions in pticular, who you mention: I cannot but admire y^e infinite goodnes of the lord, towards mee, that hee still bee setting so many wheeles on worke, for such a pooree unworthy, unbeleiveing unfruitfull wretch as I am, that can deserve nothing but to drinke of his displeasures; to thinke that hee should bee emptying of the vialls of his wrath upon others, & yet heapeing coales of love upon my head; I must begg your prayers that all this kindnes may have some suitable returnes of thankfullnes, holynes, faith & love, faithfullnes & fruitefullnes from mee. or else I must expect that these pleasant things will but end in bitternes: I heartyly thanke you & blesse god for your seasonable & no more then necessary memorandums , of a principall worke in this day of visitation, my soule needs them from every one: & I desire none may fall to the ground. It is some regeshing to mee, to thinke you are yet willing to receive a line from mee It was an affliction to mee, that I know not to whom I might send a letter with acceptance (except M^r Fryth onely) I am afrayd that some of my freinds there, are this day too much afrayd, where not feare need to bee, for were my penn infectious, my hand would soone let it drop. I thinke the saints should rather bee afrayd of others horroure; wee should not sympathize as not with the affections of a wicked mans love & joy; so neither with their passions & postions of feare and fearefull expectations of pursueing wrath: gracious M^r Cobb (one w^m god sometimes employed in the worke of comforting & supporting others in this darke & gloomy

day of the lord, who yet fell by this sicknes, & last lords day entered

(marginal p.1)

Though I was a little ill when I wrote to M^r Fryth last, yet though mercy I have beene more then orginaryl well ever since. though death emcompaseth me round on every side: ye^t our family are all well. I pray tell M^r Allen Grebell I did acquainte M^r Castell immediately with his desires when I first received them. vale millies vale et valete omnes.

(second page)

into his fathers bosome, out of this nasty kennell of this filthy world did so sweetely & courageously behave himselfe under it that hee very rejoycingly embraced the sight of the token, gladly & heartyly kisseing of y^m with his mouth so soone as ever he saw them, beeing upon his armes & hands y^t he could reach unto his mouth, the very thoughts of this one example might serve to heighten all our love to him, who stands by his servant, & comforts them in all their tribulations & supports them in all their sufferings: and I am sure perfect love would cast out all that fond & foolish feare: there is nothing but ignorance will sugger one to bee afrayd of an ignis fatuus. if wee ded but rightly understand o^f fathers desine, in this dispensation, wee should not bee thus moved, though the pillats of eath & haven too should bee shaken, seeming that those things must bee, that those things which cannot bee shaken may remayne. god is but removeing this, to make roome on eath for a better generation. but why doe I thus enlarge in respect of others, when y^e lord know I had herd speake to my owne soule, &stant in need of all your awakenings that you cane give mee that I my selfe, may learne to make my habitation in the secret places of the most high: clouds are gathering thicker & thicker and I thinke veryly the day of the lord will yet prove more blacke: whither the lord will make good that world spoken by a child her concerning the increase of y^e plague till 18317 dye in a weeke (which all indeavours are used to conceale;) though wee still goeth or in reality to increase it: & that word too ot a yeares time of great & sad persecution; spoken by y^e same mouth; after death have once cooled it, in this visitation: time will shew: but wee

had need have out garments girt about us & bee in a readines
 for the comeing of the Lord. you may communicate what I say as you thinke
 meete, to w^{ch} my hearty thankes to you all, in particular, yo^r selfe, M^r Bennett
 M^r Marshall, M^r Miller, M^r Key,
 (maringal)
 M^r Benbrigge, M^r Shinner, John Smith, Abr. Bennett, M^r Fryth, to w^m I will write next, wth
 thankes
 for his this day received. Edward Martin, M^{rs} Thomas, M^{rs} Cadman, M^{rs} Martha Grebell, Goody
 Shoosmith
 & M^{rs} Harsnett: not forgetting any of the rest of my freinds, but begging all your prayers
 for mee; wth my love to & blessing on my children, I leave you all to god & rest. Yours, John
 Allin

FRE 5468

(to Philip Fryth, no address)

Loveing Freind

Sept. 20th 1665

Yors of the 16th instant I have rec^d & give you hearty thankes
 for that particular accompt you gave mee of yo^r affayrse. If I can possibly
 gett time I thinke to write you againe on thursday, but I thought it not amisse, for the inclosed's
 sake, to write a few lines now, and to give you my thoughts of the death of Tolhurst's sister.
 According to yo^r description of her, there hath not one of those thousands yet dyed here with all
 the signall characters of this psent Plague more evedent than she had, wch this inclosed will in
 parte confirme to you; I shall onely add a little of my owne thoughts in general as to the first
 seizing of this distemper upon one, and then give a word about the curative parte. For the 1st. If
 the infection be taken by the scent of smelling, and ariseth from the ill and more grosse savour of
 a foggy infected aire, or the corruption of an infected person or place, then it ordinarily seizeth
 onely at the first upon the meninges of the braine by y^e meanes of the peccus mammillaries or
 papillaries, as the exterior parte of the smelling nerves are called, and so suddenly afflicts y^e party
 with an inveterate headache, which suddenly also creepes all over; but if the vapour or aire by the
 scent rec^d as aforesd wth headach, but is by the the very rootes of the smelling nerves carried into
 the substances of the braine, and immediately putts the party into a kind of frenzy, which is very
 difficult to reduce, especially if the vigour of the infection by pcured or heightened by a
 melancholy feare, sudden fright, or strong imagination. If the infection be received by the halitus
 or breath, it now immediately afflicteth the heart, y^e root of the vitall spirits, and distemper can
 appeare, either spotts or tumors, but allways invades y^e party with sudden and sharpe fainteing

fits; and for that nature, which is never idle, but always buisied about its owne pservation, attractes all the heate (yt nature can afford) towards the hearte to resist the venom of the infection, hence ariseth that universal chillness yt invades the external and extreme parts of the body like an ague, nd must be attended with all speedy and wary proceedings. If any one contracts the infection to himself by a sudden or over heateing of the blood, as by over hot or too much strong liquors, or too sudden and violent motions, or yet over chill the blood by cold or small liquors, or too fast cooling after such violent motion, one whereof exhausts the spts, the other suffocates y^m by contraction, both which I may call a surfett of spts rather then of humours, then the liver is first afflicted, and the natural spts principally hurte, hence want of appetite to eate, and want of concoction if they eate. When it is be y^e blood over heated, then sharpe choler abounds in the gall, and that overflows; and yt afflicting the mouth of the stomacke causeth a nauseousnesse and pvocation to disease; by the communication of the veines and neveres, the diaphragma being one organ yt assists the breath; then also, by the communications of strings from y^e diaphragma to the pericardium, that and the hearte is also speedily afflicte, and hence also (as very quickly in any infection with the plague which way soever happening) arise greater fainting ffits. If this infection bee contracted by chilling the blood as aforesd, then is there bread a kind of choler adust, or yt kind of melancholy, which the spleene being the chiefe receptacle of and thereby swelling, there thence arise a greate difficulty of breathing, and as if it were a narrowness of the breast by the dilation of y^e parts within; and as it were a kind of weight there pressing doune and oppressing yt parte, and almost suppressing both the breath and the spirits at once. If the infection be bred in one through the putrefaction of tumours abounding in the body, as sometimes it is—and allways this distemp tends speedily to such a putrefaction, through corrupt ailments or want of digestion, -then are the stomacke and guts primarily afflicted, whence ariseth a greate looseness, which quicklye wasts and consumeth all, and carry life away too in a shorter time. Concerning y^e external effects of this internall infection, there are these 3, with one or more of all of wch this distemp is usually attended, botches, blaines, and carbuncles, to which I may add a fourth, spotts comonly called tokens, and are very symptomatical, never ariseing till the full state of the disease, even when deathe stands at the doore; for very few or none live that are so markt. For the Botches or pestilential bubos, they usually arise but in 3 places, whereof the principal emunctorys of the body are behind of under the ears when the braine is afflicted; under each arme when the ehart of vitals are inflicted; in the groynes principally when the liver is afflicted. The blaines and carbuncles may and dor arise generally in any parte of the body, necke, face, throate, backe, thighs, armes, legs, &c., and all of them very hard and obstinate to be dealt withal, and must have severall pceedings with them; and it any of them, after once appearing, either fall or retire backe againe, it is a very bad and dangerous symptome. The botches sometimes rise to a very greate buiggnes, choake or kill with paine, there being no roome for them to bee extended: if they rise something in an oblongish forme, and red at the first, it is so much the better then if round though as they grow to more maturity they will tend to a more round forme, as they come to ripen, especiall on the top; if they rise white it argues coldness and want of heate and spt to drive them

out, and must bee y^e more carefully helpt forwards with internal drivers and externall drawers. The blaines rise first like blisters, but not puffy, as it sweld with wind or water but hard, not yielding to the touch; but if they come forward to any maturity (wch they are very difficult to bee brought to, and many dye if they have blaines), there willbee a very hard and knotty bunch of corrupt matter in them. The carbuncles, though yt it may bee rise onely like a pinn's head, yet psently rise up to a pointed boile, very hard; sometimes firey read, sometimes black, and sometimes blewish in places; red the best, y^e others worst. All of these riseings, if they bee accurately observed at the first (but especially the carbuncles and blaines), have a particular symptome annexed to them, viz., they are generally circled about with red or blew circles, sometimes with both; sometimes they are broader then a bare circle, one withine another: y^e red colour argue the small blood affected or choler abounding; the blewish argue the arteriall blood from the hearte affected; the blacke choler adust or melancholy, ; white, the putrefactions of cold and crude humours most. For y^e spotts or tokens, wch most generally are fforerunnrs of certaine death, they do more generally this yeare then formerly appear in divers parts of the body, formerally usually and almost onely to be found upon y^e region of the hearte and liver, or the breast, or agst it on the backe; but now on y^e necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called tokens; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrowne; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one. If they bee observed at first riseing sometimes eith a red circle without, and blew wthin; sometimes with ablew circle without and red within; sometimes one more bright red, the other blewish or darker, sometimes blacker; y^e blew from y^e arteriall, y^e red from y^e venall blood affected, the blacke from melancholy as is aforesd. Of y^e swellings, or mixt as the infection is mixed more or lesse, these usually come forth about the state of the disease, when nature hath done its utmost to expel, but cannot conquer; which endeavours to expel y^e utmost, send forth these externall symptomes of it; and generally wh these come out y^e party seemes not so sicke as before, but dye psently, wthin a day or 2 at y^e utmost after. Many times this distemper strikes y^e vitals so immediately, yt nature hath not time to putt forth either spotts or blotches, and then it is the highest infection, most pply called the Pestilence, and not the Plague; but done be a more immediate stroake of the destroying Angell. But, if such bodyes bee kept a little length of time after death, sometimes spotts will then arise wch did not before, especially whilst any warmth remayne in the body; but how many are therefore deceived, because either they view the body onely immediately when dead, or bury them whilest warme; others, wickedly to conceal y^e hand of God, will drive them in agayne, and keepe them in wth colde and wett cloths.

FRE 5469

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

I sent you a long scrawle this day sennight; if you could read it; & did hope to have made good my promise to finish that discourse now, but I have ever since beene in such an hurry about seeking new quarters, either in the city or else where; that I am utterly p^evented so doing & have not yet gotten any roomes but where I am I think I must bee: & I am where y^e lord hath hitherto amidst 100s dyeing weekely preserved mee: & yet through mercy am in health the lord be prayed. I sent yo^rs on Saturday night of y^e health of Mrs Key & her soul & curse their losse & greife heartyly: I would hope for answer from you shortly. The lord hath decreased this weekes bill 1835: there dyeing this weeke but 6460: 5533: & in our parish there was 50 deceased: but it still very hotte neere mee: I feare it will increase wth you: I pray let mee heare: for newes the booke tells us that y^e Bpp of munster & y^e states of Holland have had a brush at land. & y^e states y^e better & y^t the king of France joynes wth Holland agst the Bpp. Here is private newes y^t the king of Spaine is dead: & France is now engaging for that dominion: o^e courte is now at Oxford where the paliam^t is expected to sett y^e 9th next month. Some say De Ruytter is now come to sea w^h a very considerable strength. w^{ch} putts us to a hurry to get our shipps out agayne. M^r Ralph Norton hath lately buried his wide of the sicknes: I wish if y^e lord please shortly finish my discourse & send you: you may send mee as much prima materia as you can gett by Paul Holmes. my love to & blessing on my children, w^h my hearty respects to yo^r selfe good wife & all y^e rest of my Freinds as if named. In much hast, but in more reality, I rest
If you send any prima materia in a glasse
I pray cover it over w^h paper and
double seale it up that nothing of it bee seene

Your assured Freind

John Allin

FRE 5471

To his Loveing Friend

M^r Philip Fryth

in
Sussex

Deare Freind

Sept 30 1665

I Cannot but bee sensible of yo^r & brother Key's so sudden and sharpe surprizall & dispensation of god towards you both, in the losse of your sister & her son both in one day: I confesse it is but ingenuity in any child, to bee troubled when his father frowne, but I would not have you forgett the exhortation w^{ch} speaketh to you as unto children; neither to despise his chastenings, not yet to fainte under his rebukes: I persuade my selfe, that upon serious termes, you would not bee without chastisem^ts (whereof all are pertakers, who are beloved as Children; & you also know it is not fitt, that wee should bee our choosers when & how & how much wee should meete withall of such dispensations: neither can they doe us hurte when thy are ordered by our fathers hand, wee know not for his owne pleasure as earthly fathers will sometimes doe, but for our pfitt, that wee may bee pertakers of his holyness. it all things should at all times runn well with us here; wee should bee too ready to build tabernacles to our selves on this side heaven when god can not gett or keepe our affections off from closeing in with this lower world, he wisely crumbles these lumps of earth to peices; & now snatch this comferte, & y^en that comeferte from us; & why? but that wee may mind our fathers house more. besides, you know y^t David, when y^e will of god was determined, hee changed his deportm^t & was no more sad, considerind there was no bringing his Child backe againe; hee should returne to that, not that to him: nay I am sure, you cannot wish them y^t are gone here again from our fathers house, where you cannot but much rather long to bee with them: wee find that our Saviour wept twice very remarkably over Jersuaem once for their not knowing & improveing their day of grace whilest it lasted; & so farre wee may this day bewaile our improvm^t of our times & talents for god amongst o^r freinds whilest wee enjoy them; I cannot blame
(second page)

you, though I thus speake but I cannot but blame my selfe in y^t particular, whilest I was with you & them too, & it is matter of Lamentation to mee this day, that I beene so unprofitable a servant where ever yet I came, the lord pardon it to mee.

y^e other occasion of christ, weepeing was over Lazurus in the grave; when hee was to raise him from the dead. some thinke it was because hee should returne to such an evill world. who would & did afterward seeke his life: but might it not bee to thinke, what a place in his Fathers bosome hee was to leave to become a spectacle of gods power for y^e healing of others unbeliefe. however, it may not bee amisse for you to weigh one thing wth another & you will be the better fitted to blesse god when hee takes as well as when he gives: at least you will not so much grutch her happy enjoym^ts now as to have y^e least wish for her backe againe: I am truely sorry for your losses in it: but yet, you know when these cisternes are all broken; there remaynes a full fountaine & everlasting spring of consolation fro above when those nether springs are drawne dry y^e supper springs faile not. & so long you can never faile of strong consolation: the good Lord unveile him selfe to your hearte, fill you with y^e gladsome entertainm^ts in the bosome of his Love: furnish you with all grace sutable & necessary in every condition; and wittnes his love, even in this dispensaton towards you; let spareing mercy bee more previous to us & improved by us: & knowing the thoughts of god. Even that he houseth his servants from a stormy day; & gathereth his sheaves into his floore; let us with patience possesse our soules & rest satisfyed in the good will of him that possesse our soules & rest satisfyed in the good will of him that dwelt & still dwelleth even in a burning bush: I have not written this as if you needed it from me, but onely to stirr up your pure mind by way of remembrance.

(third page)

Deare freind I hope y^e lord is not wanting to open his mind to you in this dispensation; & to supporte your Spiritts under it: the Good lord make up all these breaches with the wittnesse of his owne love & teach every soule concerned in this losse to make up all in himselfe: my hearty respects p^resented to you, & yo^r br Key: G. Shoesmith, M^r Miller & all freinds with you, wishing the increase of all grace & a more full acquaintance and free communion with the god of all consolation & father of all our mercyes: in his everlasting armes I leave you. and all your interests both in this & for a better world & rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5473

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Octobr. 5th. 1665

I can doe no more at this since (notwithstanding all my
endeavours to gratify yo^r desires in a further discourse of y^e plague
which yet is begunn) but let you know that I will if the lord please speedyly collect my thoughts
& finish

y^e discourse of his sicknes & send you; but I hinted in my last what
a care & hurry I have beene in that I could not yet doe it.; the sicknes is now
still decreasing: about 740 this bill: being in all but 5720
whereof the plague 4929: no considerdable newes stiring
ye publicke book not speakes of y^e king of Spaines death, and
y^e French courtes being in mourning for it: & that y^e French
hath advanced 6 regiments of soldiers agst y^e Bpp
of Munster on the behalfe of Holland: I sent a letter
to you & M^r Bennett on Saturday night, I long to heare
of your recovery and wellfare: beeing in London all this
day, I know not whither I have a letter from you or no
I pray let mee heare of you my hearty love to you &
your good wife with all my freinds in pticular as
if named; my love to my children, in greate haste

I rest

Your Loveing Freind

I live still where I did

John Allin

FRE 5474

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Octobe 7th 1665.

Yours of the 3^d Instant I recd. but not till too late to goe and buy 4 3 of Elixir for you; & to send it by Paul Holmes this weeke; which I see you want & would have done it for you: but I thinke to doe it in a readines agst the next weeke, if the lord continue my life & health, as hitherto hee hath done in y^e midst of death, blessed bee his name: the sicknes is now very hot, at the next house to use one way: but hath beene neerer; though none of our family hath beene ill at all yett, through mercy: what with some employm^t on Lords dayes at at other dayes some times, in this scarcity of ministers; many beeing dead, though more fled: I am streightened in time, yet get as much time to write to my freinds as I can: I sent a letter last week to M^r Grebell, & since that speake wth M^r Castell at Deptford, who yet know not what to doe, there beeing no hopes yet of convoy for the planke boate to come up: if any boate come, It will save mee some little money here; if you send up my hanging Iron; & riddeling pan; w^{ch} belong to my grate: for that I must buy mee a small grate here to use; my five Irons beeing so burnt up, & uselesse: let mee heare next time you write how y^e fishing trade this yeare: at Yarmouth, Colchester, Ipswich the sicknes is very much; & now pretty much at Norwich. Southampton reported to bee almost depopulated: I thinke I told you y^t at New England shipp of greate value was taken by a Dutch cap this yeare: though Capt. Peirce from thence in company at the same time, escaped & is safe at Debtford, in whom I have a small venture, y^t I sent thither by him of 3 dozen worstead stockings, w^{ch} I hope may pcure tenn pounds. one of y^e kings Com^{rs} y^e was sent to NE & all this whole quires of accusations agst that country, was taken in y^e shipp: wch was a singular pvidence for NE:

(second page)

because they received such open obstructions & affronts fro that country in their buisines: the Com^{rs} setting up a courte of appeales at Boston contrary to their Pattent; & summoned y^e courte of Boston (then sitting) to appeare before y^{em}: y^e courte of Boston did by pclamation published, interdict all psons to appeare

before y^e s^d Com^{rs}. & not to owne y^{em} so long as their Patent lasted.
& so quite spoyled their pceedings there as they did also afterwards
by policy in another place of y^l country though out of y^{eir} Pattend.
this is all for newes. & of this you must bee private except to Freinds.
I have inclosed two receipt, y^e one desire M^r Young to call for when
collens payeth him the last of the 3 pounds: I pray speake to M^r
Young in my name returne him thanks for his care to receive
it for mee: & withall pray him to give mee a discharge for y^e
accompt that was betwixt him & mee, before I came away: I
should have had it then, but comeing away in an huddle. I
forgatt to take it; but I then put him in comodities what
hee was then willing to accept for y^e whole accompt & pmised
mee a discharge: I pray gett that of him for mee: & then will
the 3l come to my use wthout any stoppage: y^e receipt for 30s
I pray doe you take & gett y^e money for mee of M^r Sampson:
I spake to him of it once here in London; & hee pmised mee
paym^t, as formerly: but yet I have not received it: hee knowth
it is just so much for a yeare & halfe due to me: w^{ch} with
halfe a yeare y^l M^r Elmer received makes 2 yeares at [illegible]. 62:
which was the just accompt for y^l farme: I pray gett it as soone
as you can: I am glad M^r Bennett rec^d my letter; my hearty respects
to yo^r selfe, wife M^r Bennett & M^{rs} M^r Jeake y^e old woman &c. &
to all my freinds as if named, wth love to my Children I rest

Your Loveing Freind

I cannot yett gett time to goe so farr
as Hartshorne's errant require.

FRE 5475

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

14. Oct. 1665

Yors of the 5th instant I rec^d & thanke you for yo^r paines
and care for mee; I am sorry to find you so despondent & heartless
concerning yo^rselfe ; when you have encouraged mee so often I would

not have you give way to melancholy: though thoughts of death should sent to fitt us for another world yet they should not distract us here & unfitt us for duty whilst wee live. I find y^t Johns cold between times afflict him still, & is attended wth vomiting: you know the cough is some times an accident, attendant upon other diseases as the pleurisy, for a very &c.: & then, although something may bee administered for y^e alleviations & easing the paine &c., y^t attends upon y^e straineing of nature: yet then the principall cure of the cough, depends upon y^e pper applications of remedies to the disease, w^{ch} is the originall cause thereof:

The cough (beeing of its owne nature, a violent indeavour of the lungs, to cast out that which is obnoxious to nature) when it is single by it selfe; takes upon it y^e nature of a disease: whose cause is sometimes externall as y^e too cold aire drawne in by y^e breathing or peircing the pores of y^e body, about the breast & region of the lungs &c.: that willbee removed by the externall addition of warme clothes to those partes: & drinking often a little fountaine water within little sugar candie boyled in it: &c. sometimes y^e cause is more inward & difficult to deale withall: & from thence the cough y^t may bee said to bee 2fold a dry cough; when nothing scarce it brought forth by it: or a moyst when some w^t is raised, but with very greate difficulty & straining and the matter tough & viscous: & so it is in effect but a dry cough too. That more absolute dry cough, is most actually cause by y^e sharpnes & drines of the aspera Arteria: (always so in feavers) when the lungs are offended with sharpe fumes & vapours few the braine diseases of else where ariseing: then must y^e sharpe Artery bee softened & appeased with Syrup of Liquorish, pendies &c. sometimes y^e cough is caused by a thin distillation from y^e braine; or other thin humour: & then the matter that should bee brought away, slides & slips aside, & evades the endeavors of y^e lungs to spitt it out; then must the humours be thickened & stayed, by diacodium; or with syrrop violat. Jujubinat. or the like: If y^e humour be grosse thicke & viscous. it must directed cutt & thinned w^h syrup of maiden oximed or tablettts prescribed in a asthma.

(second page)

How it with my son, cannot sufficiently understand to p^escribe: but by reason of his vomiting so after it or wth it, I rather thinke his cough to bee a symptome of wormes y^{en} a single distemp of it selfe: & therefore you may doe well to give him some water with y^e infusion of Rubarb. Rhei: or a little of y^e powder contra vermes in the dispensatory: but yet with care of cold beeing a little purging in Hester

of oyles you have divers oyles of Ivie peniroyall mint Hysop &c.
which may bee either a few dropps in other convenient liquors dranke
or taken with figgs pper troches &c. may doe well both for
his cough & wormes too: if you can gett any of those oyles: y^e
nature & use of them you may here find better then for mee
to transcribe: I have scarce time to write what I doe; but
thinkeing it needfull to pay something I have beene thus forced
to give you in generall termes, this shorte cutt for the cough;
leaving you to use singly or mixt, what I have fit for John
according to the evidences of his distemp. I have had occasion
& shall have to goe 2 or 3 times this weeke to Deptford, & [illegible]
to preach in publike next Lords day, & therefore cannot on [illegible]
thanke M^r Bennett for his letter I recd. This weekes bill may [illegible]
by 2: decreased in all. 5068. Plague 4327: there is 104 decreased in
our parish this weeke through mercy yet many sicke about us
in out end of y^e parish: you may guesse at a scarsely of men now
by this last weeke but 4 of 5: & 25 of 40; could gett together.
though more now bee in other places mett: doe not scatter any
words of this. & when you have read it, transcribe it & study it util
you understand it. but blott these 5 last lines quite out here.
the Holland fleete hath beene upon out coasts this sennight wth out
controll. & hve burnt downe parte of Southould by men
they landed there: disturbed our fishing at Yarmoth, taken
some others & taken some 1000s ferkins of batter, for their fish
they have been catching. through mecy I am yet well. my respects
to you & all freinds love to my children &c. I rest

Your Loveing Freind

J. A:

(marginal)

I could not heare this weeke of Holines his beeing in towne
that I might send you some Elixir

FRE 5476

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

2 in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Octobe. 19th. 24 1665

Upon the 16th instant late, I rec^d yo^rs of the 11th which I did not hasten to answer till now, because I had wrote to you y^e 12th instant an answer to yo^rs of the 4th, concerning Jn^os Cough, w^hin I had given a generall accompt of y^t distemp; wth some p^ticular reflections upon his particular case as far as I could read it in the darke. I long to heare how it is now with him: yesterday I went for some Elixir for you; & soe by the way called & made enquiry of y^e neighbours concerning M^r Charles Knight late of Woodstreete: to satisfy Hartshorne: tell him that hee went into the country to Banbury about y^e beginning of the sicknes here, & the first weeke after hee went downe there, dyed; his brother hee knew was dead before: there hath beene nobody at the shop for above 2 months, so make any further enquiry of any thing: though I avoyd to walke in no street where my necessary buisines calls mee, yet I doe not make it my worke to walke up and downe y^e streets this sicknes times. & truely of late I have had more then ordinary buisines other wayes; y^t I could not goe up so farre into the city to make this enquiry before now: my venture in Capt Peirces hands is in Beaver; which when there shallbee safe for it, will yeild the more because 1500l's worth sterling of that comodity was taken by the duch cap in Guillams ship this yeare from New England: but how much my venture will reach to Capt did not rell mee, nor will know, but hee is a sure factor, w^{ch} will make the most hee can for mee, for any advantage & if I should dye before I receive it: hee may bee heard of & y^t buisines done for my children, by M^r Spencer Pigott Apothecary & my very good freind at the green dragon & Talbot in Cannon Streete. I have beene thinking since my former to you, whither y^e sending up my riddleing pan, from my grate there may not hinder its sale. because y^t is a very useful appendix to it, & cannot bee there made so well so that I had best leave that there still. but for my hanging Iron; yt any country smith may make to every ones fancy: & I like my owne best, & therefore desire you to send that by Richard Oakes. I hope you doe not forgett materia prima now in this speciall season to gett it for vertue too: ☉ in ♀,

(second page)

When my money from Collen is received: I would pray

that M^{rs} Osmonton may have 40s of it for so much I ought
her when I came away at the foote of an accompt betwixt
us, which M^r Jeake cast up: & I pray take her receipt
in full discharge for mee: the other 20s I ow to y^e widdow
Rason: w^{ch} if M^r Croath hath not payd her out of Holmans
money, & I pray let her have y^t, & take a discharge from
her in like manor for mee. wee have had this weeke,
god bee prayesed, a very mercifull abatm^t in the bill of
mortality, viz. 1949: ecreased this weeke, y^e whole bill
beeing 3219 whereof of y^e plague 2665: but yet it doth
creepe into fresh houses still: & this weeke y^e house is visited
at the 3 still, where my letters were wonted to bee left:
for y^e future direct them to bee left at one M^r Lewis
Bouldeus house: a handlers shop neew y^e kings head
upon Horsely Downe: where I still drinke in a morning.
& whither how I meane if god give mee leave to send
my deske in case I should bee sicke: which every night
pduces feares of; y^e lord fitt mee for what his good
will & please is. I have this day left at the spurr Inn
a gally pott wth ʒ iij of Elixir for you, to bee sent
on Saturday night by Paul Holmes who I beleive
come so neere yo^r towne as y^e checquer upon y^e Hill.
I praye thinke of it to send thither for it, then or
on Monday: y^e state of yo^r freinds y^t I know continue
still well, for ought y^t feare: my hearty respects
p^rsented to yo^rselfe, wife, love to my children; and
to all my freinds as if named: in hast I rest

Yor assured freind

John Allin

12500001 voted receinds of mercy
& rodde for the Children of
mens wrath

FRE 5477

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye

These p^rsent
in
Sussex 4

Deare freind October. 26. 1665

I can doe no more at p^rsent but thanke you for
yours of the 29th instant & inclose the bill as desired
& let you know that through the lord's mercy, I
& the family I am in, are all continued in the same
measure of health as former. my freind at the 3
stills is like to doe well: here is raine now: you know
w^t I meane. this days newes say y^e french have taken
2 and sunke one of our ships. one of them of 20 gunns
or upward: the rod for whipping mee & others out
of towne is allmost bundled up: 1250000l is now doubled.
the booke sayth the Poland divisions are makeing up by
Lubomizskey's submission: that y^e swinds have 9000
in readiness for action: but not knowing where: so
thinke agst Munster: who is very potent w^ever Holland
thinke of it. the books also say that y^e prince Elector
Palatine: & y^e Elector of Mentz: are full on to blowes.
I cannot enlarge. but w^h my love to my little ones
& my respects to yo^rselfe wiefe, M^r & M^{rs} Bennett,
Miller & M^r Jeake M^r Marshall & all friends
in greate last I rest

Your assured Freind,
John Allin

FRE 5478

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Novemb^r. 2^d. 1665
Yours of the 28th past I rec^d & returne you thanks

for it: I pray bee not long without writeing, because I know
not how shorte my time may bee: last Tuesday I walked to Deptford
& soone after my goeing out, I had a greate paine in my left groine
which held mee all that day, & made mee come limping home
& continued with mee all night, & therefore durst not stirr out
yesterday, beeing windy & wett: but through greate mercy, I was
not troubled with it last night, nor this day hitherto: I pray
helpe mee to bee thankful: by excuse mee that I cannott
enlarge: I have enclosed the bill, as you desired lasy weeke:
& I went this day to the Spur to see for your pott of Elixir
which they tell mee there was certainly sent last weeke
by one Holland, who was some times Pauls man, but now
for himselfe: I hope you may have rec^d it by this time
For Starkys booke agst Lockyerys pill, I never saw that, but
an answer to it, which I will send you& when I can
heare of the other that also: I heare y^e Parliam^t is risen
but for how long prorogued I heare not: y^e bills for
money, & uniformity (upon y^e forfeiture of estate) I
heare are past. the sicknes though decreasing the
generall, yet in our parts of our parish I thinke
it now encrease againe, & proves this weeke very
mortall: my head aketh at p^rsent y^e lord fitt mee
for what he intends towards mee: my deare respects
to yourselfe wide & all freinds as if named; wth love
to my little ones p^rsented I rest

Your assured Freind,

John Allin

Touching Ed. Martin here is nothing to
Bee done here by reason all are at such a distances
the next weeke if I live & bee well you shall heare more of it
(marginal)

remember

prima

materia

FRE 5479

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Deare Freind

Nob^r. 8^h. 1665

Yesterday morning & not before, I recd. yo^rs of the
5^h instant for w^{ch} I returne you thanks, & should have writt
to you on Tuesday night to answer yo^r desires & kindnes
if I had had yo^rs for now: through mercy I am yet very well.
though never without dayly feares: and truely not wthout cause.
if I either consider the evill of myne owne heart or yet
if there bee any truth in y^e language of the starrs: for Mars
is comeing to my ascendany in my nativity: w^o was then
Lord of the eighth: & in my revolution for this yeare Lord
of the Asc: _ in this course of pgressse & regredation hee
will continue within the compasse of my Ascendant in
my nativity till 1st July next: I had thought to send M^r
Jeake the scheames with y^e directions & pfections for this
yeare for his judem^t but I have not time now: the
newes upon y^e exchange something agree wth yo^rs about the
Tangier fleete Capt. Allen sent a letter of 5 taken and y^e
rest under persuite by y^e Hollander: The Act for our
publicke offender, is not yet printed y^t I cannot give you y^t
pfect acct yet. the bill inclosed will confirme my last
about increase: w^{ch} I wonder is no higher, when out
pvocations are so much heightened: y^e sicknes increase at
Norw^{ch}. 42 there last weeke. & at Colchester haveing beene
at neere 200 weekely there is this last weeke risen to neare 200.
yesterday M^r Lockyers meeting escaped takeing by y^e sherifes men narrowly
But I heare this Lord Mayor sayth y^t hee will doe as little
that way as possible: other, may doe enough: 2 virginia
men lost by storme: Poland peace vanished, y^e army will
not doe any thing till full satisfaction recd: tis fit the
Holland, have surrounded Munsters army in waters and
with men: little likely hood of peace there: by M^r Key you
will receive y^e bookes If I can gett them
(marginal)

My deare love to my little ones + respects to M^r Jeake y^e old woman, yo^rselfe wife
M^r & M^{rs} Bennett M^{rs} Beaton & all freinds as if named, I rest

Yors Allin

Send as much prima materia as you can gett.
gathered in \mathfrak{M} by it selfe: it in \mathfrak{X} by it selfe.

FRE 5480

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Samuel Jeake

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind Nove. 14. 1665.

Knowing your willingnesse at all times to acquainte mee
with any thing for my good, I have given you y^e trouble of pusall
of the inclosed, w^{ch} you may please to cutt off & keepe by itself.
& I pray give mee yo^r thoughts thereof, by y^e first. for newes
I have nothing worth yo^r knowledge, it is yet a dyeing time wth us:
though this bill is hoped to have decreased this weeke: M^r Lynguard
& his wife, w^o was M^r Benbrigge's sister: & their child, all dead and
buried: if they know it not let them know so much. wth my
respects to them: the Act for sure non conformists ministers & others
w^o since y^e Act of oblivion were preachers any where, not to come
to or bee found in any city towne corporate or Borough, that
sends burgesses to the Parliam^t, or wthin 5 miles of them, or of the place
of their former abode; upon the penalty of 40l to be sued for: and
for not takeing y^e new oath; or abjuration of y^e covenant; a little
altered from y^t for corporations; to be.tendred to them upon any office
of this act, by any 2 justices of y^e peace; y^e punishment of 6 months im
prisonment what wthout Bayle or mayne prise; or for schoole masters and
M^{rs}s; or taking boarders to be taught, & not conforming: under
both y^e former penaltys: after 24th of march next comeing:
as also y^e bill of attainder for 3: in Holland & others y^t shall bee
named by a proclamation: not comeing in to England by the
1st Feb for y^m named or wth in 3 calendar months after naming

in such pclamation at any time dareing the Dutch warres
I supposed you may have heard of they beeing now publicke.
The French will have no concerne but warr wth o^r 3 kingdomes
the newes feared yet to bee too true of y^e greater parte of our
Tangier fleete to bee taken. my most indeared respects to
to you & all freinds as if named & love to my children: desiring
your prayer, for mee; I leave you to god & rest

Yo^r Loveing Freind

J. Allin

I feare M^r Fryth is sicke I had
no letter this monday.
I am yet through mercy well. but you
see what I may have cause to feare.

ad * ♀

FRE 5481

By compareing these scheames one with another, and with the
directions & pfections of this yeare, there seemes to bee a very sickely
if not a mortall day, very neere approaching to mee: S^r, I would
not be afraid of these things, further then to p^epare for the worst;
so neither would I omitt that knowledge or cognizance of such a thing
if god please to cast it in: I desire your thoughts upon y^e whole.
as to these 3 things. what when & in what parts y^e danger will in
probability bee: 2^dly the time when: & 3^d the meanes, if any, how
to prevent. according to my observation, but with little judgem^t,
The directions of the Ascend. to spicar. ♄, not yet past: to Arcturus shortly
comeing: of ♃ ad ♄ ☉ s: in a firey signe. ☉ ad nebulos in oc draconis.
newely past, * ♀ ad lat. shortly to come: ♄, ad * ♀ lord of y^e Ascendant
in the Asc. viz. ♄ 18 ad Crater. et comam Benjices: ♃ * ♀ at lat.
not fully over. ♀ ad [illegible] ♀ in ♃: y^e most of y^m sickely directions: with
the generall [illegible] of pfections: & y^e dangerous pfections of the
Asc: ☉: ♃: the one in [illegible]: my Eighth house: & the other ♃ in [illegible]: the 6h house
at y^e time of the transit of ♀ & in the 6h house at the revolution: & ♃
then on y^e 6th: & in the revolution: ♃ my 8th upon y^e cuspe of y^e 6th.
♃ in it posited in the 6th house. violent starrs upon y^e cuspe of y^e Asce.
♀ Lord of it & the 6th: & then for the transit. considdering how this
time 13 yeares it hath allmost cost mee my life by y^e small pox

then by a transit of ♄ through my Ascend: & on y^e cuspe about y^e middle of my then sicknes: & ♃: lady of y^e 8th in the ascendant neere a conjunction wth ♃ & ♄ in y^e Asc. ♃ lord of my Ascendant upon y^e cuspe with the ☉: combust: may signify death & y^t sudden & ♄ a fiery signe wth fixed starres of y^t nature in the 8th: & nothing that I know of to mollify all this: If the scheame of the transit should bee y^e scheame of all decumbiture: the ♃ lady of the 8th beeing intercepted in her * to ♀ lady of the 10th: may cutt off y^e use of phisicke; with a fatall stroake: but Herein I have no greate judgem^t, but desire your thoughts wherein I pray bee speedy. as I have before stated my questions first: perhaps an horary scheame upon your receipt of this letter may helpe you. Novemb^r 14th. ♄ neere 4 houre post meridion.

Addition of astrological tables

FRE 5482

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Nove. 16. 1665

Yo^rs of the 11th instant w^{ch} I should have rec^d on monday I rec^d not till yesterday, as you may perceive by mine to M^r Jeake on tuesday night; by w^{ch} you may perceive what seem to bee comeing towards mee; yet I thinke I was about one houres time mistaken in the scheame for the transit of ♄ on the cuspe of and all my Asc. neverthelesse y^t scheame, though all the cuspes will bee altered to other houses will not pmise much better then the former for: set will be Lord of y^e 8th: in ♄ a fiery signe in the 2th. ♄ on the cuspe of and all my Ascend. intercepted in the 8th: ♃ lord of my Asc. & of the 6th house at y^e time of the transit of ♄ combust in y^e 12h. wth y^e Lord of y^e 8th & applying to the lord of y^e 8th: noteing sicknes increasing till death: beside ♄ exactly squareing wth y^e pars mortis in 20♄: in my revolutionall scheame: let M^r Jeake see this letter & see if there were not such a mistake in my former: & let me have

his thoughts of all (if this come time enough to hand) by the first post:
you will see a little decrease in this bill: but truely god seemes now
in divers family to visit the 2^d time after they have beene all
well 8 or 8 weekes: & fresh houses in divers places: besides some
whole familys swept away, that have returned to y^e city allready:
As to the Acts this sessions of Parliam^t, I gave M^r Jeake y^e substance of
all them w^{ch} concerne y^e non conformist ministers or phanatickes any way:
But I know not how to send them by y^e post: they will cost so much: but
there is not the least addition in any act y^t I can see or heare that
reach all prisons: & so no cause for you to feare or shift places or use
w^{ch} you so to boast & insult over you: if you can but weaker former
shockes: all will bee well enough: I am sorry to heare M^r Wayles
is so sickely: & Jn^o. Thomas ill: let mee heare further by y^e next
& let them know that M^r Barton & his family are well & desire
to bee remembered to them. & so doe I to them all & y^e widdow
Byndlos & Jn^o &c.: as I also doe to all my freinds in particular
as if named: I know not what to thinke my babes will doe: but If
all things to M^r Jeake; If I know what to doe for him to answer
his trouble & that hee would please to take if trouble upon
him for me I have no more newes to communicate, but wth respects
yor selfe wife &c. I committ you to God & rest Yors. J. Allin

FRE 5483

To Philp Fryth
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

(note)

Let Hannah have her
mothers bible y^t is with
my bookes: my Love to y^{em}
I had forgotten this till my
letter was seaed, I thought
I had mentioned so much in my last.

Loveing Freind
November. 23. 1665. for Hor. 3 fere. P.M.
Yours & M^r Jeakes of the 14th Instant I rec. and returne

you both many thanks for yo^rs and although I am now writting
at the incidence of a pfectionall [illegible] of ☉ & ♃: yet through good
mercy I am very well; & yet have had since 10 in y^e morning a
little stith under my right breast, not yet fully dispersed, but I hope
well: wee have fotten a new newesmonger from Oxford which
outvid Roger; 3 times p weeke, wthout repetition of once thing
twice. I sent one to M^r Bennett on tuesday night, & now one
to yo^rselfe ; if they come by other hands send me word, & I
shall not send them againe; otherwise if they will joyne about
it, I will send 2: on tuesday nights & one on thursday nights
which will bee all in a weeke because I love not to goe to London
on Satureday night; they are 1s each here: i have still inclosed the
bill as formerly desired: I think long to heare of M^r Key
& the Oakes: & of my prima materia, w^{ch} I hope you
have not forogtten. the cold pincheth soarely here, beeing
that coale are about 40s p Chaldron: but are long
I must be forced (if I live so long) to a country climate,
I thinke it must bee Sussex ward; but where I doe not know
if you can learne some place for mee somewhat above five
miles from you; with honest people; you may doe well
to let mee knowe of it: where I may also practise physicke,
I have no newes more yⁿ what is in printe save onely y^t
it is said y^e French lately made an attempt upon Guarnise
& Jersey Islands; but repulsed wth y^e losse of diversmen
& 2 men of warr spoyled: my hearty respects to yo^r selfe
yor good wife, M^r Jeake, G. Shoemith & all freinds as if
named, p^rsented . In hast I rest

Your Loveing Freind

Allin

FRE 5484

To his very loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsented

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Novb^r. 28. ♀. Hora. 4th P.M. 1665

I have just now rec^d yo^rs of the 25th instant, & am sorry to heare you are under a fitt of melancholy, but I hope to heare otherwise p next: this day beeing the transit of ♀ to y^e cuspe of my Asc: I have kept home all this day; to avoyd cold as much as my bee: but I have had some aking paines & have fancyed some little swellings of the almonds under my eares: and at this time & all this Day & last night under my right eare & about my throate: I know not what it may prove; but through mercy free from all headach: sicke fitts or shiverings, comon symptomes of this distemp: perhapps this may grow over, when the ☽ to sepearate a little further ♀ & ♀ from my Ascend. otherwise I shall be jealous: I thinke to finish my will this night; & desire M^r Jeake would take a little care for y^e good of my little ones as executor, though I have nothing worthy of his care & paines to leave him: truly I am better in health & so have been all this while, then I could possibly have expected. I would faine heare of M^r Key: and the Oakes comeing up wth the planke & prima materia: for newes: the Gazette proved but twice a weeke, & not thrice as expected: wee have nothing to comunicate beyong that, but that the French hath lately taken 3 rich prizes in the streights, thought to bee of the Smyrna fleete; but then comeing from Zant & carryed them as prize into Marseilles: the seamen & soldiers too, that were on board allmost every where ready to run madd for want of money, & y^e buisines at Portsmouth about them, not fully comeing for their owne land hath this last weeke beene printed: but since then, came a letter from D^r Serarius, confirming not all pticulars before related but the takeing & keepeing of y^e city Mecha by a strange & numerous people: my hearty respects to yo^rselfe good wife M^r Jeake & all freinds as if named wth my blessing on my childre I rest

Your loveing Friend

John Allin

I pray let mee heare from you
when you can.

FRE 5485

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philp Fryth
These
4 p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Nov^r. 30. 1665.

The goodness of you have hitherto p^eserved me in health though not without some running pains here and there now and then to awaken mee to bee wary: in my last on tuesday night I told you what paines afflicted the Almonds under my eares which since is much abated. last night I thought I had beene suprizd in my left groine; wth a bubo but it please god to ease and removed when in bed: sometimes if I sett stopping now I feele a little grutching turn; but my life Liberty and health are all in the hands of our Sovereign disposer of all things; the Lord make mee fitt for w^eever hee intends towards mee: I can make no additions of newes to my last before the enclosed, w^{ch} can tell you little, only let you have satisfation to know what wee know here; I have another letter to write, and a long way home therefore cannot enlarge: my most hearty respects to yo^rselfe good wife, M^r and M^{rs} Bennett, M^r Jeake M^r Key and G. Shoemith; and all as if named, heartyly presented with my love to my little ones desiring God to p^eserve you all: & you all to prayse god on my behalfe, I comitt you and all your affayres to God and remayne Your assured loveing Freind, J. Allin

FRE 5486

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philp Fryth
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Dec. 5. 1665

I am this day to walke a mile or to 2 see and make a freind, and least I should be p^evented sending by this poste so guilty of frustrating of yo^r expectation & my freinds, though I

have little newes to add besides the inclosed: it is that y^e Arch.B^{pp}
is dead at Oxford: at least very dangerous, haveing had 2 fitts
of an Apoplexie. y^e 3^d carryed it. how out buisines at Drs
Comons are payed a while: some talke of further losse in
the streights by the french, about 14 sayle, but no certainty
Last Lords day my Ld Mayor order shutt up 4 Church doores
where the phanatikes so called were wanted to preach: but
they all, & some others y^t did not formerly, did never the lesse
get other places & preach that day publickely. in one place
a fellow came in, & would read & preach to p^event: where
there had like to have beene a disturbance. The courte
is about removed to Hampton courte: credit allmost spent at Oxford
their learning then cannot feed so many extravagants as
attend. it is a sad time, & things looke w^h a most sad face
for want of money for o^r Seamen & Soldiers; & truly
for y^t I thinke here is little hope: beeing all growne poore.
y^e seaman talke zs it the solideres some 1000d are to give over
sea to Munster: out I have not time to enlarge: through
mercy I remayne yet well, but not without some paines
about my throate & eares w^{ch} make mee feare something worse.
my blessing on my little ones & hearty love to yo^rselfe
good wife & all my freinds as if named in hast I rest

Your loving Freind

John Allin

I am glad to heare by M^r Bennett
that Mrs. Cadman is safe
at Deepe & Ed. Beale is about
to bee redeemed some.

FRE 5487

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philp Fryth
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Dec. 7th 1665

Yors of the 2nd Instant I rec^d & returne you thanks for
it: through mercy I continue well, saveing only a could, attended
with a little cough this moist weather, & but that I know there
was no cause for it, I should have feared the cruel Frechman
had pluckt mee by the nose it was so soare: & not yet quite
gone: the generall account of the bill you have in the Gazette
but truely some fresh houses in divers parish are still visited
besides more of them that come to Towne or are implied
in the airing of others houses: I am glad to heare young Michael
is safe, & with him as safe home: sorry to heare that Jn^o. Breadon is
so ill at Plymouth; if the land of the liveing y^e Lord restore
him to health & returne him home to his fathers house w^{ch} will
want him. I thanke you for your thoughts of mee & care
for mee, & desire to heare more of y^t when you know further.
I am about to gett a Provinciaall License to Practise & hope
to obtaine it: though of late they are loath to make any so fully
universall, but for 2 or 3 diocesses onely. the management
of the navall forces this yeare is ill resented above & therefore
for the future is onely committed to the Duke of Albemarle: here is
a private rumour as if the seamen gotten into some frigats at the
spotthead by Portsmouth; in order to their goeing to the straights,
now stand upon their guard in them, contesting for their pay
before they goe: but I hope not so: therefore make no word of it:
I have no other newes to communicate besides the inclosed: I am
glad to heare my freinds & children are well & desire to bee
remembered kindly to them all; and to yo^r selfe & wife in p^{ticular}
wishing you all wealth & happiness here & hereafter, I rest

Your Loveing Freind Jlin

I heare of an order to receving
nine pounds for my stocking
venture to N.E.: I hoped for tenn but it fall shorte: yet am glad of y^t.
I long for M^r Key's & Rich. Oakes comeing up &c.

FRE 5488

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philp Fryth

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Dec. 12 1665

I hope after my return this night from London home to meete wth a few lines from you, longing to heare of your health; which I hope these lines will find you in the enjoym^t of as through mercy I am at the writing thereof, but have this day beene much afflicted till now wth the head ach; not without some feares of the Issue: wee have divers psons & families at their returne home to the city have mett with what they flee from: inso much that I feared & heare this weekes bill hath an increase. for other newes I know not w^t to add to y^e inclosed, besides that I heare there is a new blazing starr seene last weeke 4 or 5 nights together about North East: the newes of the Jewes & Isrealites in the gazett is not to bee dispised, notwthstanding y^e writers commonly upon it. wee have 3 rich East Indy shippes gatt safe home to Portsmouth; there is a greate presse now in the river for seamen: I would not that this newes should hinder the accesse of my planke &c. on board the Oakes: I long to see some Ryemen here: but If I can see you before they convers much with the world here, I will advise you about your safety: If it may bee the will of god to p^eserve them: I am about to gett a provincial lycense to practise physick & hope to attayne it: I hope for prima materia by M^r Key: yet cover y^e glasse all abuo^t wth paper that colours may not bee seene: There is some talke of an Indulgence towards us: to abate y^e severity of the late Actt or Acts: thought will bee granted: I cannot enlarge but with most hearty respects p^rsented to yo^r selfe good wife, M^r Jeake, y^e old woman: all freinds as if pticularly named wth my love to & blessing on my children I caomitt you to god & rest Yours Jllin

FRE 5489

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philp Fryth

These p^rsent

in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Dec. 14. 1665

Since my last on Tuesday night I have no newes to add to the inclosed; by w^{ch} you will also perceiv y^e sicknes is now agayne increasing: as by y^e totalls doth appeare, but yett is increased in the sicknes 33. & wholly in the city: divers fresh houses since the resturne of fresh psons either, visited and swept. I long to heare of the Oakes wth the planke, & M^r Key wth prima materia: at the writeing thereof I thinke my selfe as well as I have been a long time, yet not long can I bee without symptomes none of the best: I shall thinke of sevenoake and make some enquiry as I have opportunity about it, and doe some thing to make ready for are move towards March though its thought there will bee noe need of y^t, before y^e time come: by reason of some indulgence fit in that case to bee almost granted. I would beare up some for land soldiers. some say for the B^{pp} of Munsters service, & in the country its said here that the presse landmen for that end also. my venture of stockings come to nine pound; I hop't for tenn but the Capt make it up another way; so that I shall not complaine: but I have not rec^d y^e money yet; onely M^r Gibbons is to pay mee; & yet is sure enough. John Burkes was not at home yesterday, & so I did not deliver yor inclosed note for 25d: but I doe not understand upon what acct. some but not so much, was layd out for you: my Love to & blessing on my little ones: wth most hearty respects to all freinds, yor selfe & good wife more especially: I pray let mee heare w^t further newes of M^r Wakely & Allen Eades, &c. so Comitting you all to god I rest in hast but in reallyty

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5490

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philp Fryth

These p^rsent

in

Loveing Freind Dec. 20. 1665

I cannot bee silent though I scarce know what to say, save, that through greate mercy, I am very well to this day and for newes I have not much to add to the inclosed: besides that our Eastland fleete at about 27 or 28 sayle, with their convoy are not come safe home, & some of them up the river. I heard also that the king in France is nowe beeing excommunicated by y^e Pope havinge beene twice admonished already: & the King in France is raising about 80 or 100000 men agst the spring before w^{ch} time its thought there will bee a fatall breach betweene them. 2: & an utter falling of from Rome: notwithstanding the late act of y^e Parliam^t of Paris w^{ch} you will find in the gazett here is a talke (phaps more then talkes) of a presse for 30000 men to goe from here for Munster. lately from Southampton by very good hands its communicated, y^t since y^e visitation here (w^{ch} was very soare) the time for y^e election of a new mayor here, beeing come or at hand, divers (it not all) the electors mett & resolved that hee should bee the new mayor. w^{ch} could bee so valerous as to overcome the rest in drinkeing & to that end saw about the buisines: in w^{ch} engagem^t the Devill (w^o pmoted the disigne) would not bee absent; but to encourage it, the devill appeare (one relation sayth one, y^e other relation say twine) as a fidler visibly: but yet to thair afrightm^t and dispersion for a time; but at last sayth one of the Crew, I am devill prooffe & plague prooffe too; come w^t will of it, let us goe on in our buisines; & as they were pceeding in y^t mode againe the devill did agayne appeare, & some of his flesh from his bones & after that left him so in a languishing dyeing condition: this was wrote from very good hands out of the country; & by one on purpose that the relation might bee sent to Capt. Feshenden &c.: there is no newes yet of money for seamen, though many are thieving & dyeing; & others did not like the hanging of y^e seamen at Portsmouth: I hope yet for a letter from you: M^r Castle wonder his planke is so long in comeing: when there is no need of convoy now: I long for the Oakes & Key: to wm with yo^r selfe deare wife M^r Jeake M^r Bennett & all freinds I p^rsent hearty respects & rest

Yours J. Allin

(marginall)

my love to my children. &c.

FRE 5491

To his Loveing Freind

M^f Philp Fryth

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 4

Loveing Freind Dec. 21. 1665

This is my 4th letter since any came from you, y^t is yet come to hand, which makes mee feare you are sicke or else some evill befallen to myne w^{ch} you are not willing to communicate: & therefore I now earnestly desire a line from you through mercy I continue very well: for newes I cannot ad much: in my last I gave you acc^t how the devill turned fiddler lately at Southampton; I shall now tell you a stange story frome Northampton, but very true. There was a Mayor lately there also to bee chosen; and w^{ch} was a barbour & Innsolder for mercy of another stampe; yet now so farr complying with the times as to keepe in; & one y^t was resolved not to psecute the fanatickes by some fanaticke was was chosen now mayor: much opposed by 2 of that corporation principally, viz. contempt grow so high as that it was brought before the privy counsell at Oxford to be decided after the convention of y^e new mayor; wth y^e old & other opponents the case was decided thus. that the councellor & other opponent not wth standing all their high threates agst the fantatickes & markt place at Northampton: & to bee disrobed & disinfranchised to their open shame & Earle Manchesters court returned the new mayor to his place in state: w^{ch} things the fantatickes there endeavour to gratify & magnify by their constant meetings upon all occasions at the Mayors house, w^{ch} is their constant bed freind so farr as not to psecute them. matter of joy & wonder. 30000 men raising, some say to guard our fronteirs upon y^e sea, some for Munster: my deare Love to & blessing on my children, with respects to your selfe & wife, M^f Jeake M^f Bennett G. Shoemith M^f Miller & all freinds as if named; y^e 2 widdowes & your children &c. comitting you all to god I rest

Your assured Freind Jllin

FRE 5492

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philp Fryth

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Dec. 26. 1665

After I had sent both my letters last weeke, yo^rs came to hand for w^{ch} I thanke you; & for your newes in it, though I suited one of yo^r storyes w^{ch} are from Northampton then, yet I have no such to add now; onely that I may not leave you quite voyd of yo^r expectation so long as any newes is, I will tell it you; o^r Lord Mayor hath beene ill this fortnight & some say, that hath had & still hath the sicknesse: private newes sayth that the Duke of Ormond is dead suddenly in Ireland: & y^t Munster is as bad as defeated utterly; at least wise forced to retreate from Holland to secure his owne country: the totall of the generall bill this yeare, is of all diseases 97306: whereof of y^e plague 68596: here is no newes yet of money for the seamen: by y^e masters are this day with other officers of the navy, appeareing at Greentown, beeing summoned thither to give acct of their men what is become of them, beeing they want so much: yet some say y^t 2 dayes since some thousands of them were at Debtford to looke for pay; but instead of meeting wth any, yey were kept up at y^e Swords pointe by Monke's life guard. through mercy I remayne yet very well: though I have a bad pfection this might of a Π of \odot & σ : for Almanackes all greate aready but Lylyes. w^{ch} is ready if not yet abroad: for Starkeys bookes I cannot yett gett you: but doe not forgett them: M^r Castle lookes for his planke in the Oakes: I hope to have a fresh perticular at the parcells from M^r Grebell when they could: & long for their comeing as for prima materia. I am afraid your sicknesse grow upon you, because I have no letter this day my love to & blessing on my children, with hearty respects

place of Ed. Beales imprisonment in Holland)
must also bee inserted in his certificate: wth y^e time of
his continuance there: his charge &c.): & that Dutch man
must undertake for his owne release to send y^t order of
Exchange to Holland, for for Edwards release there; upon whose
arrival here; hee shall in like manner be released here;
this I thought necessary to write to you, to acquainte his wife
with all, that the buisines bee no longer putt off: you may
putt her to the charge of the postage of his letter: it beeing
her concernem^t most: the newes of Southampton is since
after confirmed: heres was this day upon y^e change published
a generall embargoe agst all English shippes goeing
beyond sea: wthout passes under hand & seale of y^e Duke
of Yorke or of Albermarle: the newes I send in M^r Grebells
letter on Thursday night: my love to my little ones: respects
heartly to yo^rselfe , yours & all the rest of my freinds p^rsented
I rest
Your Loveing Freind, John Allin

FRE 5494

To his very loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^rsented
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind, Jan. 2. 1666.

Through mercy my health is yet continued for w^{ch}
I desire to bee very thankfull. I wrote to you on saturday night
about Edw. Beales; in w^{ch} if you send as desired about it, I will
take some paines in the buisines: here is a resporte as if the King in France
had dissolved his Parliam^t there at paris in discontent; & that they
are fortyfying the city; & some likelihood of a disturbance there.
I am afayrd that Richard Oake will bee to deliver on thursday his
planke at Debbford; & then I must bee there: & if so, I shall hardly
get to send that Gazet till saturday night post; & therefore I would
not have you troubled if it should fall out so: but If I can I

will send you next weeke Starkeys booke agst Lockieres pill,
& if you desire some almanackes: what you will Lyly's is not out.
& another new peice of the first & greate Comett, observed in N. E.:
& there printed, & here reprinted: I am this afternoone goeing
to Correct the Emprission: I have no more newes to add at the
p^rsent ; nor yet more time, but onely to p^rsent my most
hearty respects to yo^r selfe & yo^rs wth all the rest of my deare freind
wth you as if named: you give mee no answer, to y^t I mentioned
to you lately, concerning my children, y^t they may not weare &
eate out all their & my freinds kindnes before I know it: my hearty
love to & blessing on you; I long for prima materia
I comitt you all to God & rest

Your Loveing Freind
John Allin

FRE 5495

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind Jan. 4th. 1666

I long for a letter from you; but contrary to
expectation I came up from Debtford time enough to send
you the inclosed; w^{ch} I am glad I could doe: you shall
receive for Richard Oake a Cheshire Cheese marked P F:
w^{ch} I pray accept as a token from mee: Richard Oake will see
about comeing home on Sunday day next or Monday: I have
no greate newes: but here is a greate presse & all Master
of vessels under 100 tunn [illegible] lyable to it: If you
send mee by this post what I advised of concerning
Edw. Beale, I will endeavour to doe their buisines: or any
other of o^e soldiers or seamen, buisines that have ticketts
or can certify mee their case to get ticketts for
them: the post was not come in from Rye just now
so y^t I cannot answer my thing now written: I had
none from you by monday post: y^t makes mee both wonder

& feare yo^r health. I am tomorrow to goe to debtford
agayne where M^r Grebells planke delivered: by the
Saturday nights next hee shall receive a letter
from mee: there is greate talke here of a mutiny
at Paris. upon the kings there dissolving the
Parliam^t in discontent: some talke of the
Duke's beeing out: & of the losse of 6 or 7
Burbudo's men . & some Burdeaux men.
I cannot enlarge, but must conclude wth
my respects p^resented to yo^rselfe & all freinds.
I rest
Your loveing Freind, Jlin

FRE 5496

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryh
at Rye
These
p^resent
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind Jan. 9th. 1666

Yors of the 2nd & 4th Instant I have rec^d since my last to you.
for both w^{ch} I returne your hearty thanks: yo^r last forbidding my one
gazett weekly, was not rec^d till last night night after I had bought
this Monday's gazett; so that I could not prevent it this weeke; & I suppose
it is the Thursday gazett you mean; to bee continued; & so shall send
that onely for the future, will bee upon better termes then get lesse.
By Richard Oake yo^r selfe, M^r Bennett & M^{rs} Beaton, will receive
a cheshire cheese; and also Goodwife Shoemith two pounds of
tobacco & a letter from mee; & I thanke you that you minded mee
now whilst I was sending a token or two to my friends, w^{ch} I hope
they will accept of; & I would not truely have forgotten her for
20l for newes I have not much to add: the losse of one fleete of
Barbados shippes most talke of. 1. by accident fired at sea
1. foundred at sea. 2 taken by the Duch & the rest feared to
so to bee also. some say 2 more some say 5 more taken: last

Saturday y^e presse masters & constables were breaten & some y^ey
say killed by the seamen at Gravesend: w^{ch} some thinke occasioned
the king to bee that way last night: hee is shortly comeing to
London: Lords day was sennight a meeting was taken about Hackney.
last fast day the quakers were againse dealte wth all at y^e Bull at
Aldgate: last lords day M^r Barker & his church was taken at
a private meeting in Leaden hall streete; y^e women let goe, the
men fined, M^r Barker s^d to pay 40s . but none imprisoned
& another meeting was also y^e same day disturbed & removed .
but they y^t preach publickely yet let alone though some preach
very boldly: as w the newes of the 10 tribes. wee more lately of
them: but of the Jewes under the grand seignior, w^{ch} were of
the 2 1/2 tribes. & are s^d to have lately anynted a king under
Judea. D^r Holmes last weeke had a letter from D^r Serrarius
w^{ch} confirmes that, & adds that the grand segniour himselfe
hath seene him crowned; or at least wide crowned him for king
& hath made him so, overall y^e Jewes, in his his Dominions.
also one Jew y^t oppenly opposed the newes of the 10 tribes
(marginal)

was openly and immediately strucke wth death: or distraction unto death: you shall review
the Almanackes & Elixir this weeke by Sloman, if I bee well to send them: this last night
I had such a cricke & stiffenesse in my necke & all this day, that I was afrayd
that it would have beene worse wth mee, you at p^rsent it is, but god know the
issue: tell M^r Grebell I doe not forgett his p^rtection: but this other buisines at
Debtford, hath a little retarded mee in it: but hee will have accompt of all by
the next. I heare of one Turpon a butcher at Debtford now, but wth character to give
offer you write of I know not. Starkys bookes cannot yet be gotten, beeing printed
by Livewell Chapman, who & all his family is dead: Bookes, Almanackes sell so well, that
I thinke the first impression is sold all ready: that w^{ch} can bee gotten you shall have.
my love to & blessing on my children, wth most hearty respects to yo^r selfe good wife & all
my freinds as if named, I comitt you to God & rest Your Loveing Freind John Allin

FRE 5497

M^r Fryth

Jan. 10th 1666

if I receive the prima materia tomorrow
morning by Sloman I will signify so much by the
post when I send the Gazett. Last night I received

yours with the inclosed certificate about Edw. Beale
& I thinke I shall send Duke of Albermarles order
for his release of the desired person at Gravesend
upon the arrivall of Edw. Beale in England by Richard
Oake tomorrow to Gravesend, for y^t Pr Johnson
Diutures, to send to Holland: that hee may Come over
with all expedition : I shall satisfy you fully wither
so soone or no: by the morrow night post I when send
the Gazett: By Sloman you will receive 4 book or
Almanackes at 1s: I told you they were scarce: & 1
Lylly. & 1 Wharton: at 1s :& 4 peices of the Comett.
one for yo^rselfe . another for M^r Jeake: & y^e other
2 for w^m you thinke fitt: if you please to M^r Waylett
one. & to John Thomas y^e other from mee with
my respects: I caused the impression & so have those
coppyes to dispose: besides 40s if they sell well.
you will receive all so by the hands one glasse
4 3 of Elixir: as you desire I cannot now
enlarge but wth respects subscribe myselfe
as ever

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5498

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryh

at Rye

These

p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

Jan. 11. 1666.

This morning I gave to Sloman for you 4 3 Elixir
4. bookes. 1. Lylly, Wharton. Almanackes wth 4 pieces of
the Comett, as the direction sent wth them to bee disposed: I would faine know
if you rec^d my last on Tuesday night: because of the newes
therein w^{ch} I would not should bee seene; least y^t of Gravesend

p^ejudice in y^e case then they are aware of; for not understand-
ing or minding their owne buisines. for If the ticketts bee
not cast up & signed authentickly at y^e offices here & pt wth
others of the like capacity: they may want their money before
they have it, as may also they that are alive for y^e same reason.
they must either come to be here in pson to doe their owne
buisines or else impower some under hands & seales to act for
them: for 2 shillings in the pound to gett the money in; if it would
bee done in any little time it might bee enough. but I should
with any freind to buy any ticketts almost upon any formes
epecially not right out; for y^l they say no such ticketts will bee
payd to the purchasers: y^l there is greate danger both in buying
and in trusting: without a letter of Attorney wth assignement
of y^e ticket included; & y^l trust exceed not too much till
they find how the ticketts are made & signed, & will bee accepted:
most druggs rise: other comoditys. limon costs scarce and deare
I have beene at Debtford today about Ed. Beales buisines
& found such a demurr y^l they would speake y^e Duke againe
about it: I have waited at London to know result till
7 at night & find it is like to doe: I must to Debtford againe
on Monday about it, & feare must make hourney allso
to Gravesend about to the man: but Richard Oake know
I have rec^d & paid his freight according to order: and tell
(marginal)

M^r Grebell that wee live in hoped of the coming up of y^e Hoy: & that there is no
ptection to bee had without knowing who employed any vessell, w^{ch} I doe not
know in the case he wrote to mee about: lett him also know there is 321 in
M^r Cassells hands, w^{ch} hee may draw a bill for: y^e rest I recd: o^e streights
fleete have come to some greate disfavour by Storme, one vessell outward bound
for Guinney taken: last night I heare y^e King of France hath lately seized
the B^{pp} & Popes revennewes in France. I can add no more besides respects
and that I shall next weeke gett if can get Frankes age at Debtford &c. So I rest

Your loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5500

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind, Jan. 18. 1666.

Yo^rs of the 13th Instant I have rec^d wth what you sent formerly. but then next time I undertake to doe buisines for others, I thinke I will either have better instructions or bee left at more liberty, then I have beene in Edward Beales busines, w^{ch} have taken up all my time since I had it & all my paynes, & Charge till today lost: they send mee to get Exchange of Peter Johnson for him: & when I had fetcht the order from y^e Dukes about it, & have 2 journeyes on Saturday & Monday to Debtford; and Tuesday to Gravesend when I came here, found the man had beene dead these five weekes past. & Gravesend is a most cutt throat place. yesterday I came up from thence: beeing so defeated there I enquired & found another Amsterdam prisoner, a young man, but noe master of any shipp: & hee all y^e there was. but onely hee was son to the Capt of y^e vice Admirall of the East Indie prizes: whose father dyed at Gravesend: hee is one y^l before I came they had put upon him to release a capt: but upon hopes y^l hee may doe the busines I have beene this day with y^e Governour of Gravesend & Duke of Albermarle; who that grannted the order to release this young man; for Edw. Beale; upon giving y^e governor 56l band to release Edw. in Holland upon his first arrivall here: I have no more time, because this order must bee fetched from y^e Dukes tomorrow morning & this Jake; the Hoy & y^e rest of our Rye boates are come up, & I must also attend the Hoy. for M^r Grebells busines: I have send you 2 gazetts & have nothing to add. I am sorry M^r Bennett is so afrayd of my token, w^{ch} is not capable of infection, not come from any infected house.
(marginal)

but I hope he will recover his sense better, my respects to him & all freinds wth yor selfe &c. I rest in great haste
Your Loveing Freind, John Allin

FRE 5501

To his very loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^rsent 2

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Jan. 19. 1666

Yours of the 17th I rec^d & shall take care to gett y^e
pilat bill signed & payd as soone as I can bee at a little
leisure: tell M^r Grebell also y^t his last I read and shall
bee carefull doe & send as desired: I am almost mad
about Edw. Beales buisines. I have 3 dayes together
at y^e Dukes about it: & at last find they would have
about 30s fees for y^e order: & y^e passe was not made
so I tooke it not out but I shall doe the best I can and
wth all speed in the case . I have this night wrote also
to Gravesend to heare if y^e young man bee alive
for hee was not very well on tuesday: I am also afrayd
whither Edw. Beale bee alive; because I cannot heare
that you heare of him thence a long time: I have
gotten a little cold wth passing up & downe by water
& other ways: that my almonds are a little swelld
as my throate & my necke a little stiffe & bad: that
I am a little indisposed: but cannot rest an houre
or 2 for buisines & cannot enlarge: but must rest
it up & downe night & day. I had no prima materia
by Sloman. w^{ch} I wish for: a ship is come from N.E.
I had a letter from my father there dated 3 November:
Love & thanks to all freinds & children I leave
all to God & rest
by y^e next I hope to
give you further answer
to all pticulars
y^e capt of y^e little Mary is turned out & y^e capt of y^e Swallow
put into her.

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5502

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^rsent

in 2

Sussex

Mr Fryth

Jan. 23. 1666

Yors about Jn^o. Godfrey, & one from M^r Grebell,
with another from the widdow Cadman I this day received
and shall pursue the concernes of them all as fast as I cann.
though till M^r Grebells planke (I suppose this day begun to bee
delivered, bee out & Edw. Beales buisines quite done; I have
scarse time to aske my selfe how I doe; & truly I have beene
a little ill about my necke, by taking a little cold in passeing
up & down by water about Edw. Beales buisines last weeke,
on saturday night I gave you acct of it w^t was then done since
that I waite for an answer fro Gravesend about it,
not yet come to hand. but let all my freinds know that
as fast as I can I will pforme the trusts comitted to mee:
in the pilate bill is written Wry for Rye: y^t I am afrayd
it will not doe, unlesse I can meete the captaine to alter it.
& truly then is no money for y^e service yet: I know
divers here that have waited these many weekes & cannot
gett their money. but I will get it signed as soone as I can.
& the money too: & then give you account of it. I have
no newes to add to the enclosed: out bill this weeke I heare
is agayne decreased: there are lately in England
2 shippes arrive from NE: by both which I have heard
from my father, whose family is well, & the country in peace.
I have so much buisines upon mee that I cannot enlarge,
but with respects p^rsented to yo^r selfe good wife & all freinds
I comitt you all to God & rest Yor assured Freind

In^c. Allin

You say nothing yet of

Tutty's money for M^{rs} Caseby

FRE 5503

To his very loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

in 2

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Febr. 1. 1666.

I am sorry to heare of your disastrous fall, but hope to heare better word by the next, I was not well enough last Tuesday to write to you, therefore was forced to adjourne the sending y^e first Gazette to this opportunity: M^r Grebell planke was delivered the last on monday last, but could not since gett either to reckon wth M^r Castell about, neither can I yett gett to meete him, y^t I might have y^t the mony to pay to me Millers order; but gave acct of it so to the man y^t y^t should have it & hee is satisfied till I can goe hither, which can scarce bee now before tuesday next; the other night M^{rs} Caseby was wth mee, & desired mee to write about her money, w^{ch} I would intreate you to mind & hasten M^r Tutty in the buisines informally: If hee could pay M^r Grebell here 50 or 100l now, M^r Grebell my returne it out of his planke money: within this fortnight there will bee 106l and it will bee so long before y^e money I feare will bee payd by M^r Grebell here; money is so scarce a comodity here: my young dutch man, y^t is to release Ed. Beale I have gotten toward. and this day had his passe & order to give security to y^e Governor of Graves end: which I hope will be done to morrow. however I intend to write a letter to morrow to Edward Beale & send to him at Amsterdam to let him know so much, and intent the young man shall doe the like: that hee there may p^epare for coming away; and at least bee out of prison there till the young man come over thither It hath cost mee since all manner of wayes, but I am glad it now done. I hope Jn^o. Godfrey rec^d his goodes to content, by Sloman. tell George Wattle I sent him a writeing book by W^m Oake but could not gett an Alamanacke bound as desired time enough but shall doe it by y^e first opportunity: tell M^{rs} James Cadman I meane his widdow. I sent her letter this weeke to S^r Thomas Tiddeman, but cannot yett meete wth Leifetenant Piles to know more. but I p^{fesse} I wonder there is no psuading psons that stand concerned

in ticketts y^t they understand themselves no better than to trust to psons
that cannot attend more business then their owne & are not in towne
(marginal)

neither. I daresay I believe that in the issue it will revert upon mee; I payd when it bee too
late for mee to doe her that service I am wishing to doe for her. my respects to her.
tell Jn^o. Harris; the Comissions signe but once I weeke & last weeke signed now; it was
pmised mee to bee done this day. its not neglected: The Courte is this day came to White
Hall to stay. The French declaration (though nobly yet politickly givinge 3 months time unto
merchants) neverthelesse puzle us in o^r affayres . Young W^m Desborough of N.E. and Clem^t
Ireton, brother to the Alderman; y^e it on Sabath day, y^e last yesterday were carreyed
prisoners to the Tower. Through money at p^rsent I am well, (saveing onley my
cold taken in going to Gravesend) but can't enlarge: but wth respects to freinds
wth yo^r selfe wife &c. in greate hast I rest

Your Loveing Freind
John Allin

FRE 5504

To his Loveing Friend
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
2 p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

Febr 3 1666

Last thursday I packe your letter with buisines, but could give you
then no greate accompt of newes: I have forgotten whither I told you then of
Clement Ireton's brother together than beeing carryed to y^e Tower, on wednesday
and of Desborough's imprisonm^t there also, on last lords day. it is now talke
that they will begin next weeke to pay ticketts. I wonder yt w^o are concerned
make no more hast to take care of them. Tell M^{rs} Cadman yet S^r Thomas
Tyddeman is now come to London. I spake to him this day ypon y^e Exchange
& hee had rec^d onely y^e 1st letter shee sent to mee about a fortnight since.
& I am afrayd the last sent, formd him not at Chettam for y^e I feare y^t may
not come to hand: now he stays a while in Towne, shee had left I thinke
come up to him; or at least renew her mind agayne by letter: last
night I sent to Ed. Beale to Holland. & y^e young man y^t is his exchange
so y^e I hope he willbee released there & makeing ready to come away

so soone as y^e letters arrive there. I shall shortely give acct of the charges. M^{rs} Caseby was last night wth me very earnest in her buisines, and much troubled that shee hath no answer from you; I pray write to her & bee very mindfull of her: I expect Jn^o Harris Bill in signed & hope to have it this night. Tell W^m Wakely that I cannot write now but if any neighbour will give his son W^m a passage up to London to see his uncle Andrew; hee desires a sight of him. & if hee bee bigg enough for his turne, hee will keepe him here: remember mee & his brother to him & his wife. I pray forgett not to send what prima materia you have gathered up by Sloman next returne. in last weekes storme are Justice Brookes of Whitchurch, haveing y^t day s^d, hanging was too good for the Fanatickes, burning was but good enough: as he was pratelling to another Justice to joyne wth him in such psecutions agst them: Lightning from heaven. consumed him & his horse both. The Towne well, the remaynder of it be kept here in London. I have a pap of wonderfull pdictions; but I know not how to send it: yet shall venture it. Through mercy I am well; but onely my Gravesend cold sticke by mee & afflict mee & my necke much.

(marginal)

my deare love to my little ones, wth as hearty respects to yo^r selfe; and all freinds as if they were named: let M^r Jeake have a copy of y^e inclosed, & none but freinds see it. I long to heare how to doe & rest

Your very loveing Freind, JA

FRE 5505

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

Febr 6, 1666

I am troubled for want of a letter from you this monday: but I hope by thursday you will make mee amends both about one as by buisines & prima materia. let M^{rs} Cadman know I recd

hers of y^e first instant & left y^e inclosed to S^r Tho. Toddman
at his lodging in Redrife this morning for him.
they talke now of beginning to pay Dead & sicke
& wounded mens ticketts next Fryday here: first come
first served; you know it the generall rule. I can
not meete wth her husbands leiftent yet. but neglect
no buisines. I told you p last I had sent to Ed. Beale of
his exchange last fryday: but the man is not yet gone
because the Governor of Gravesend hath not beene
here to receive his security. Jn^o Harris his pilate
bill was in p to signed yesterday but not fully y^t
I could not then have: y^e clarke tells mee it is
a small portion, not above 30s but I gett what I can.
here is a report here as if the French yesterday had fetcht divers
families out of their houses in the night in Sussex &
carried them away lately; I pray write y^e truth of
it. they write from Hastings, I feare they are there in
much danger of them & want assistance. & you them
want all most as much as they: let me know y^e truly
of those affayres: & w^t soldiers are come upon you.
let mee heare whither you rec^d myne on Saturday night
for the incloseds sake. the old newes of the devill turning
fiddler at Southampton, last election is confirmed to
me by a freind lately in those parts though indeavoured
(marginal)

to bee smothered. I cannot enlarge but wth respects to every body, yo^rselfe &c.

& love to my children; I rest

Your Loveing Freind Jllin

through mercy I am at p^rsent well

but not rid of my cold yet.

.Queene Katherine miscarried last weeke

of a child. newes came to court sunday

& shee is very ill upon it: y^ey say like to dye.

FRE 5506

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

post 006—00—00

[...] 012—00—00

020—00—00

001—10—00

180—00—00

219:-10—00

269—14—00

169 10—00

050 04 00

Deare Freind

Febr. 8. 1666

Yors of the 3^d instant at last I recd, for w^{ch} I returne
you thanks though I should bee to see yo^r new land
again. tell Mrs Cadman that they beginn to pay dead &
sicke mens ticketts tomorrow. & S^r Tho. Toddeman
W^m I spake this day at y^e Exchange is carefull of
her buisines, w^{ch} shall not bee neglected if I can
helpe it. but cannot yet meete wth her husbands
leiften^t. I would not willingly engage to take up
tickett money upon y^e acct of 2s plib but thinke
that may bee enough if their ticketts bee good &
well signed: yet phapps they will not pay full.
but I will do what I can for any man of Rye.
& if It should cost mee more I would hope y^ey will
pay mee if lesse & y^t they will take as others doe
& as they pay; I will doe it faithfully for them.
& give act yet thinke I shall deserve something
for my paynes. I shall by next give acct of Jn^o
Harris's bill & Ed. Beales buisines. I pray mind
M^{rs} Caseby & my prima materia. 30000 its s^d
are in armes at Scotland: y^e acct I cannot tell.
S^r Xtopher Mims sayld from y^e Downes last thursday
to see after y^e duty & French: there is private
surmise that Munster & Holland are agreed & if so
then all y^t money is lost: my respects to yo^rselfe

& all freinds wth love to Children, I rest

Yor Lov. Freind J Allin

FRE 5507

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in 2

Sussex

Deare Freind

At this time I must make your letter y^e packe horse for every mans buisines. y^e onyon seed 2l at 10s. spinage seed ½ lib. at 6d. I thinke you may expect by Sloman for Jn^o. Godfrey, wth my respects. tell y^e Widdow Cadman, I sent her inclosed yesterday to Chattam for S^r Thomas Tiddeman. but have not mett wth their leiftenant yet: but shall bee mindfull to doe as much for her as I can: yet let her know shee p^ejudice her selfe, by delays in sending up her ticketts, to some freind wth psons to last for her & further instructions about her concernes: or else not

comeing up to looke after them, for 'tis no trusteing to greate men altogether at a distance: though I confesse a freind y^t she can trust & will bee active may doe better, wth lesse Charges, if hee have sufficient power & instructions then if shee made a journey herselfe: tell M^r Grebell that I neglect none of his concernes but cannot yet give him acct I rec^d his last concerneing y^e M^r Millers mony: none of o^r neighbours are yet come away, but expect to come away wth the little Mary Convey this weeke: I am almost madd about Edw. Beales buisines. I can have no answer yet from Gravesend about y^t man I had there granted an exchange for him whither to bee dead or alive: but hope for one speedyly. I am pmised to have Jn^o. Harris his pilate bill signed tomorrow, but yet no newes of money for y^t nor seamens acceptions. Richard Cromwell is in the pclamation wth others to render themselves from beyond sea by a day sett: warr is pclaimed in France agst us. yesterday a desperate high wind about 8 or 9 in the morning cheifly w^{ch} did much damage here: blew downe

the high boards upon the bridge: overturned barges boates and
some shippes in the river, breake masts besides what was done
to Houses. &c. D^r Spurston dead suddenly at Hackney yester
day morning & so p^evented taking the new oath. I cannot enlarge
but wth respects to yo^r selfe wife & all my freinds p^rsent
& love to my children; I committ you all to God & rest
I heare of no prima materia. Yours J.A.

FRE 5508

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind

Febr 13th. 1666

Yors of the 6th instant wth the inclosed from M^r Grebell
of the 3rd instant I rec^d on Saturday night too late to returne answer.
yor of the 8th Instant I rec^d last night wth the ticketts inclosed w^{ch}
I will take care of to gett signed fitt for pay: & then to receive
the mony so soone as I can & I thinke I have a freind at y^t courte
to receive it pahps sooner then otherwise it would be p^d. I have
now Jn^o. Harris' pilate bill in my hands signed for 30s but
when I shall gett the mony I know not: so soone as I can it
shall bee done: there hath beene no pilate bills p^d this 5 months
I have another pilate bill in my hands of longer date
for more mony. but I can doe no more then I can doe: for
M^r Grebells pte. whatever hee thinke of it, I am never out
of crashing up & downe to Debtford & city about his buisines
& all not without charge about his buisines. & I thinke I
must acquainte him wth y^e charges besides other thinges of
journeyes: or else I shallbee a looser of mony out of purse:
money is such a dead comodity, that no paines will procure it
here: I never rec^d of his money here above. Eight pounds
ten shillings w^{ch} went away to Richard Oake for freight & for
his use. I gave him accompt last weeke of the acct of all
.dueto him according to my reckoning wth Castle in a
pticular letter to himselfe, but I cannot write every post

to every body. If I save him mony towards Rye, I need no clocke
for my cure: I am sure hee never pay for a litter hither: tell M^r
Hartshorne I will answer him so soone as buisines will give way.
but truly hee haveing no concernes here wth me need not charge
wth buisines & letters too: but I doe not bid you tell him y^t; though
I wonder at it M^r Castell have pmised mee the first money hee can
pcure that M^r Millers, M^r Hartelys, & M^r Chestons buisines may
be p^d. I have been a Debtford wth him this day, & hope
for something to morrow. but I know not how to trust to it.

(marginal)

I thinke I must Chide you about M^{rs} Caseby's buisines. I pray give her a letter maybe
if nothing else can bee pcured. & send the prima materia. Tell W^m Wakely that his
brother Andrew meanes to take his son as he writes for I showed it to him but just
now: & let him bring him up wth him, for I heare hee hath another vessell, leaving
shott to bring up. lett him fitt him in clothes for y^e p^rsent . & remember mee and
his brother to him & her. I have no newes at p^rsent to add to the inclosed, nor
yet time to write. my respects to yo^rselfe & all freinds as if named, I rest.

last lords day they carryed about
180 men women & Children (besides
quakers) of one meeting to prizon.
One Wilcockes an anabaptiste & the
sicknes is increased accordingly

FRE 5509

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Samuel Jeake

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

Deare Freind

Febr. 13, 1666

Last weeke by Jn^o. Gilbert I rec^d a letter from
Tho. Samon to his father: & one of yo^r writeing to Capt.
Ridger about 45s due. I spake wth the capt about it
who doth not deny y^e money, nor contract for so much:
but sayth y^e pmise of so much pmised was conditionall

to have 1s much for a Castell voyage after wards. w^{ch} see
could not stay to pforme hee belonging to a vessell of the
kings before, w^{ch} hee know nothing of. so that he was utterly
disappointed of his service afterwards as agreed: so that
there can bee no reason as hee pleads to allow so much, but
hee will allow him 36s pmised: which is as much as
any of the rest are to have for neither men nor master
have yet rec^d any thing: but so much hee will pay mee
this weeke for him (whither hee receive it or not) if it
willbee accepted: I pray speake to Samon about it, and
give mee answer for I would doe nothing p^ejudiciall
to him without his order. This night I rec^d M^{rs} Cadmans
letter who her husbands Comission, as you write inclosed
w^{ch} shallbee delivered God wiling tomorrow to S^r Thomas
who longed to receive it: but I cannot meete with
her husbands lieften^t yet. put this letter to her or
Samon, Charge as you please. but this I thought fitt
to hint on both their accts, wth respects hearty p^rsented
to yo^rselfe them & all freinds wth love to my Children
as if named in great hast I rest

Your very loveing Freind
John Allin

FRE 5510

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsented
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind Febr. 15. 1666

I wrote more largely to you by the last, & now
have onely time to inclose y^e Gazett: to which
I can add nothing for newes but y^t now imprisoned
a meeteing of anabaptistes last lords day of
about 9 score: w^{ch} still are most in prison
of all buisineses I have a care: but must
begg your letter to M^{rs} Caseby: my respects

to all freinds & love to yo^rselfe & Children

I rest in greate hast, but in much reality

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5511

To his Loving Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Febr. 20. 1666

I had no letter from you yesterday, but hope well of yo^r welfare. I have this day rec^d 30s for John Harris; for his pilateing the Swallow Ketch: let him allow mee what hee please for my paines & Journeys about it: & give mee order how to returne him the rest: the other ticketts of Jn^o Libburne & G. Crafts. I am dispatching: but must make a journey to find out the little mary to gett a more full signing for y^e ticketts before it will passe there. I have no greate matter of newes to add to the inclosed, besides that 21 haveing on fryday & saturday last taken the new oath at middlesex sessions. it hath heightened the Spirits of psons much agst them that cannot doe the like: that they are much engaged, & seeke all opportunities to imprison all of that stamp. as they did last night one of o^r generall preachers in the time of this visitation: watching him to a meeteing no living mens ticketts, y^t are not said to bee sicke wounded or dead willbee p^d on shore: & I doubt their ticketts are none of them fitt for pay not beeing cast up & signed here Alamode: if they were on board. here is greate pressing this day, beeing the last that they are allowed to remayne on Shoare: I have recd M^r Jeakes & M^r Grebells letters which I shall answer so soone as I can: at p^rsent I can onely add that wth

my respects p^resented to yo^rselfe wife & all freinds
wth love to my children in hast I rest

Yor assured Freind

John Allin

FRE 5512

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

p^resent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Febr 22, 1666

I heard a bird sing in my eares of your comeing to towne
this weeke, & because I heard not from you at y^e usuall time I
hoped to have seene you before this time: but now I suppose those
lines will find you at home: though I have little to ad for newes to
the inclosed onely wee have heare almost dayly reports of y^e French
landing & doeing trickes in Sussex: the truth thereof let me know:
amongst others they landed wth were all taken & so spoyled of
their spoyle: Major Buttler was lately sent to the Tower: as seamen
after pressing are dayly also there secured to bee sent away on board:
no ticketts of well men willbee put on shore: but I hope shortely to
gett those dead ticketts money you sent mee up. the 201 bill of M^r
Grebells willbee put this weeke: & M^r Cotton hath his freight:
M^{rs} Caseby would faine heare some newes of her mony & interest.
a ship is now sayleing for New England. that I must write
thither this night & therefore cannot enlarge; but must wth
respects p^resented to yo^rselfe wife & all freinds as if named,
wth love to my little ones, in much hast but greate reality I rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5513

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Febr. 27. 1666

I have not had a line from you now for these two weekes; that I know not what to thinke wither you have given over writeing to mee, yet because I cannot write to every body about their concernes, I have beene forced to trouble yo^r letters wth their buisines: of some of w^{ch} I want yet to have answer: unto Jn^o. Harris his 30s here to dispose of it; w^{ch} I desired his order to whom I shall pay it. deducting onely what he please to allow mee for my paines care & journeys about it. I have no newes to communicate besides the inclosed & that the French have taken our Oath and pacquett boate (in w^{ch}) I lookt for a letter from Edw. Beale: if not for his comeing over in it: because I have not had a line fro him since I sent to him: & two pacquett dayes or weekes have passed since I first lookt for answer: the buisines of the Jewes & Israel is lately confirmed to bee a groweing providence: I have last night rec^d a letter wth a pilate bill from Michael Ducke, but not drawne so well as I could wish: yet I will doe what I can in it. I hope they pay for those letters I send you; who have accompt of their buisines in them; w^{ch} they must doe If I had time to write to every one in pticular: I pray let mee heare fro you,
In the meanwhile my heartyest respects & love p^rsented to you & yo^r good wife wth all my freinds as if named: Love to my children & thanks to Maudlin for her token by Richard Oake. So I comend you all to god & rest

Your Lo: Freind
John Allin

FRE 5515

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth

These lines by Abrahm Bennett are to let you know that I have this day rec^d 54s of M^r Jn^o Yard for John King, & would have send it by Abrahm, but that hee would not runn the riske of it: however I have sent you the newes booke to give postage y^e next day. & for additionall newes I have none; but that here is greate talke of y^e French declaration of liberty for our ptestants to come over thither upon his security to ptect psons & estates. hee tell mee that Ed. Martin & others sent mee some money w^{ch} you should have done well to have distinguished from yo^r owne returnes to mee, y^t so I might have returned my thankes accordingly: I pray let mee have prima materia as well as heare of it. my deare respects to yo^rselfe & all freinds as if named. & my love to my children. I rest

Yor Loveing Freind Jn^o Allin

I have inclosed

M^r Millers acquittance

w^{ch} I pray give to M^r Grebell

becuse it was p^d upon his order

(reverse, not John Allin's hand)

Susan Pain 20l to be put an 21 yeares of age

Eliz Pain 20l ut suprinor

Jo 20l ut sup

Lidia 20l up sup

Moses 30l ut sup

Nich Ston 5d at 12 [illegible] day

Ed Benskin ut sup

Bet Bay ut sup

Sarah woad ut sup John Sloman

Sus Eliz a doz of napkins a longe suble

cloth a paire of Holland pillow coates

which was their mothers at 21 year

Anne & Lidia a paire of Holland

pillows coats each one and a paire of new hommade sheets

Anne my gold hoope ring & Lydia my small gold rings

Jo the silver bowle: moses one twenty shilling piece

inclosed here is none: save y^t yesterday some non comf ministers were hindered in their preachings. my deare respects to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds as if named with love to my children; so I comitt you all to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

your Elixir &c. came in
a box to M^r Curtys.
wth a testm^t send to Eliz. Bueno
From W^m Naylor

FRE 5518

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

March. 13. 1666

Yors of y^e 10th insant I rec^d and in answer thereto say that I thought I had mentioned the value of all the seeds. viz. onyon seed 9s. Leekes seed 6d marjoram seed 6d collyflower seed [illegible]: as to John King mony recd; I gave you acct of y^e whole: it was from the 10th may to the 4 July which I reckon came to a shilling or hereabout more but hee would not hearken to mony. I covet no allowance from him for it: his ticket & y^e others are signed but you say nothing whither I must send them downe here; beeing not sicker not dead, will not bee p^d here: but on board: Michael Duckes pilates bill comes to but 12s. they would allow no more: let him allow mee what hee please & order me y^e paym^t of the rest. how he please: If old Leonard Samon bee come home I pray let mee heare from him an answer to myne sent to M^r Jeake about his buisines: tell Jn^o Oake his tobacco pipe mould is at the mending with Simon Couse at the sun on Bunnhill: it will cost 3s mending & if hee please he may have of him a burnishing stone to glaze his pipes for about for about ½ a crowne or 30 more. let mee have his answer about it. I know not what to say to Abe. Bennetts heate my buisines you mention: I see him but once. & then had onely the time to drinke a

pott of beare wth him & Joseph Boys. & y^e most of y^t time too was spent in writing those lines to you: I was surprized in his question, whither I had recd such & such moneyes send by him &c. to mee, by you: & of y^e summes I had returned by you I remembered no such pticulars: but y^e pticulars send by M^r Jeake, I then had not in my mind: nor have I found it since: but have a remembrance of divers pticulars wherin theirs may bee included: & beeing by a pticular bill form M^r Jeake send & not by you, I had it not in my thoughts in y^e least at that time: but did then & doe still thanke both him & you & them all once and againe for all their loves. & hope hee will now bee satisfyed with this answer: which then I was surprized by y^e suddenes of this question & little time to thinke of thinges. wee have no newes to add to the enclosed; but y^t S^r Jeremy Smith is comeing now homewards out of the straights. lett me heare from you often while I stay & may: wⁿ I am gone I must appoint another way of sending to mee, w^{ch} I shall give you accompt of. & desire you to observe: I thinke of goeing to Barking in Essex: 7 miles of downe the River Thames

(marginal)

my love to yo^r selfe & all freinds as if named, & my Children, in hast but much reality I rest
I send you a copy of D^r Wilds verses
never printed nor like to be

Your Loveing Freind
John Alin

FRE 5519

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
2 in
Sussex

M^r Fryth

March. 15. 21. 1666

Yesterday & this forenoone I was taken up with the buisines of Burges makeing for our Burrough of Southwarke which at least was effected as desired for S^r Thomas Charges brother in law to y^e D of Albermarle: neither have I now any newes to add to the enclosed: but that there are some feares how our Hamborough flee may come home: w^{te} S^r Xtopher Minns is wth 18 saile. becuse the Dutch hath sent about 40 saile

but let it bee knowne if you will y^t I goe out of London: and
let them bring their letters to you to direct & send: wth out their
knowledge: & John Gottree beeing a turner willbee (if trully) fittest
to make use of to putt the letters into the post bagg: but use you
direction for y^t as you please: I have noe newes to add to y^e
enclosed: & beeing in an hurry & greate Charges to fitt my selfe
in Grey clothes & haire to goe in &c. I cannot enlarge; but with
deare affections & respects to your selfe wife freinds as if
named wth love to my children I rest

Your Loveing Freind

Jllin

To M^r Charles Cooke
Turner, at y^e plow and
harrow in little
Eastcheape
these
p^rsent

London

FRE 5521

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

March 22, 1666

On wednesday morning I rec^d yors, & hope you recd
mine that day at night, by w^{ch} you will know how to send to me
for the future; I thinke to leave the city on Saturday next & so cannot serve
you & my freinds certainly with the newes bookes for the time to come
as formerly: not beeing certaine of beeing in the city for the time to come
but where I shall settle. I cannot yet certainly determine; the sicknes
beeing at Barking: where I intended: & at Woolw^{ch} & also at Kingston upon
Thames, about 6 or 7 houses were lately shutt up in one day: and truely I
thinke wee take no course to stay the plague: but increase it: This day y^{ere}

was a meeteing taken: about 10 or 12 of them I heare p^d them 5l a piece
 I shallbee glad to heare your transactions at Lewis succeed well: I
 had just yet John Kings bill of exchange of 50s according to Joseph
 Radfords order, before I rec^d yours: the 3s remaynder: I thanke him for;
 and shall send downe the bill of exchange, wth Jones's receipt
 upon it for Joseph's use; when Jn^o King sends mee a discharge of
 the whole: about monday or tuesday next. Ed. Beales man for exchange will
 bee dispatcht home but I hope to heare before then fro Edw. Beale
 & I hope well: I looke to see him speedily: that is to say, if or where I
 may dare to see him. for I thinke there will bee old searching so soone
 as their long looks for & desired time bee come; w^{ch} is now at hand:
 I will shortly give a more full acct of all buisines's: now I
 cannot enlarge, but must not forgett to tell you, M^{rs} Caseby lookes
 for her money from M^r Tutty speedily: & desires to heare from you about
 it: I heare shee is likely to bee engaged afresh in the world: which
 phaps may heighten her desires to settle things first. I pray doe
 not forgett to send an answer to her: I can now add no more besides
 the p^rsent m^t of my heartyest respects to all freinds as if named
 yor selfe & wife in the place w^t love to my Children I rest
 I pray observe my directions
 about writeing & let none but Your Loveing Freind
 M^r Jeake & yo^rselfe know y^t mode John Allin
 (marginal)

I through M^{rs} Cadman would have beene here before now; S^r Thomas Tiddyman told mee
 he send for mee. Tell Leonard Samon I have rec^d 36s for his sons months wages, wth a
 condition to returne it agayne if hee send not up a discharge for capt. Ledger in full
 from his son Thomas. for hee is in doubt hee may pay it agayne unlesse
 there were a letter of Attorney in the case to emperor him to rewrite: let him gitt
 his receipt afores^d in full: & send it up. & I will pay the mony then to his order vae
 y^e next weeke I le give you fuller acct of all things. let me not fayle to heare from you.
 Its very chargeable to turne colour, but worse to turne conscience

FRE 5522

To M^r Philip Fryth
 at Rye
 These
 p^rsent
 in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

March 29, 1666

Yours directed as desired I rec^d last night
so soone as ever I crept to towne, & thanke you for it: I
have no newes to give you, but that I thinke Woolw^{ch} in Kent willbee
the place of my habitation: yet is the sicknes there as well as
at Barking: & so allmost every where in the countrey: in the
city & bill this weeke is in decrease of 16 of the sicknes
beeing but 17 in all; w^{ch} is the lowest bill wee have had: but
I doubt much is smothered of it: I wrote you last weeke
that I had p^d Jones his money according to order: & would
have a discharge for it: as also of Jn^o Harris for his pilate
bill money: hee spake to Richard Oake to receive it of mee
for him: which I wonder at haveing thought y^{at} you had
put him it before, & y^t hee had allowed as you wrote mee
word, I pray dispatch y^t buisines with effect: W^m Richard
Oake spake to mee about it, I then called to mind yo^r order
to transfer. 9d layd out for yo^r onion seed to M^r Allen
Grebells acct for Jn^o Godfrey which minde mee somew^t jealous
it might bee as Richard Oake told mee: but I pray doe
you by y^e next, either send mee Jn^o Harris his discharge or
explaine how things are, I would not keepe others money
longer in my hands then needs must: I have rec^d no tickett
moneyes yet, nor Michael Duckes pilate bill mony. 12d.
but hope to doe it tomorow. I am loath to bee my owne
carver out of others mens money, I would have them say
themselves, what they all will allow mee respectively beside
my charges: & upon y^e paym^t of their remainders I shall expect
to receive their discharges as respectively. I had a letter this day
from Edward Beale

(margin)

from Holland, & hope to dispatch that buisines effectually his weeke: hee is
well & desires to be remembered to his freinds at Rye: & so doth hee unto
yo^rselfe, family and freinds as if named wth love to his Children.

in y^e next post, I thinke to say some thing

to you of my children about thier

Your Loveing Freind

taking somew^t for the wormes.

Jllin

FRE 5523

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Aprill 3, 1666

I have had but one letter from you of y^e new direction,
I hope you have not forgotten mee: & I pray mind y^e ☉in ☿:
I would gett 10 graines if I could: what you had gathered
before I know not: but other it bee gathered you must stopp
it allwayes close from aire: or else it will dissolve in its
owne menstum: you cannot well have it without some liquor
though take as little as you can & observe to stopp y^e bottle for
the reason aforesd. I have no newes of Crafts administration yet:
I have sent by Mark Chizwell according to orders: Leonard
Samons money; but lacke in sons discharge for it: & also old
John Harris his money by the same hands. according to his
letter by him to that purpose: so y^t what was layd out for
you, now rest to yo^r accompt: neither have I any order
from M^r Grebell to putt Godfrey's onyon seed to his accompt:
I have not yet rec^d his money, nor Michael Durkes nor any ticketts
moneyes. but neglect none: M^{rs} Caseby is troubled for want
of her money; & y^e more because shee heares M^r Tutty was
in Towne & neither p^d hee nor did so much as see her:
I pray let mee heare form you as desired: & I shall yet
bee able at times to doe my freinds a curtesy: but date
not bee too publike: Edw Beales is well in Holland but
a prisoner still; & must bee till I ran worke another way
for him: wch is not neglected: I sent him 40d last night
for his p^rsent release & now in all Charges besides any
journeyes and paines I am out of purse five pounds: I could
wish y^t that may be out to M^r Grebell there; & his order
to place so much w^{ch} is accompt here & so pay my selfe
(margin)

I have no newes to write but I heare y^e sicknes increase: & its s^d Munster is forced to agree with Holland upon low termes: my respects to yo^r selfe wife all freinds as if named presented wth love to my Children I rest

Your Loveing Freind Jllin

Your case of Lancetts are sent by Richard Oake. I had wrote last Saturday but y^t I was send for out of towne.

FRE 5524

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

Aprill. 14. 1666

I would withall my hearte, goe further then I Cann to meete you: but my leggs I feare will not carry me further then to Bromley, where god willing you will heare of mee at the white harte if the house bee & have beene Cleare of infection; or att the bell: but I thinke rather at y^e white harte: about 10: of the Clocke or 11 in the morning: where I meane to stay in expectation of you till three or foure of all night without your good company: & if you come by that time, I shall rejoyce to see you: or els I doubt I shall returne to Woolw^{ch} in Kent: where I shallbee at my sister Elizabeth Howlers house; had by the Kings yard to the Westward of it; just by M^r Ackeworths whose house it is. I have rec^d for Crafts Tickett Eleven pounds and one shilling: & for Lilburnes tickett. Eight pounds & nineteene shillings. in all just twenty pounds. I lacke to heare from them what they will allow mee for my paynes & how they will order mee to pay the rest: I hope you rec^d my last: I have nothing to add for newes. but y^e D. Albermarle & P. Rupert y^ey say goe on shipp board next wednesday night. & y^t its s^d Munster & Holland are agreed: my hearty

respects to yo^r selfe good wife & all friends as if named
heartly p^resented wth love to my Children, in hast I
comitt you all to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind

Jllin

FRE 5525

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^resent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

April. 17. ♂. 1666

By the last post I gave you an accompt of my intentions
to meete you or Bromely. which god pmitting I shall not faile
to doe & though I p^esume you willbee come forth before these lines come
to hands, yet I would not pmitt to let you know y^t I rec^d yo^rs by y^e
last post wth order to pay tenn pounds ten shillings for M^r Millers use
on G. Crafts acc^t: I let you know by my last what I had rec^d both on
his tickett and on Lilburnes viz 8l19s for one & 1l11s for y^e other:
that beeing y^e full of their ticketts truely Cast: upon y^e accompt
wch you give mee of Crafts poverty & sicknes I am very
well satisfied to pay to his order y^t 10l10s & now I
desire Lilburnes order of allowance & where to pay the rest
for his use. Yesterday I also rec^d y^t letter wch you sent by Edw. Brookes
& Starkey about their ticketts: but have not seene the men.
nor know how to doe it wth safety: but I have left wth Joseph Boys
an answer to their demands with ten shillings a peice if they need
so much: to bee allowed out of their ticketts respectively: but for the
delivery of the ticketts to them: they haveing putt the power of them
by their letters of Attorney in other hands: from whom I have no
order to dispose ticketts to them; nor yet what money, they may have
lett them have upon the ticketts. I thinke I may not without danger to
my selfe deliver y^em into their hands: pay I thinke its best for
them that the ticketts remayne with mee to receive y^e money
here, y^em for them to receive it on board. because on board y^ey

will pay them butt till August last exclusive: but on shoare y^ey
will pay them Cleare of when dead sicke & wounded ticketts bee
p^d, which in likelyhood may bee about a month hence: besides
having such interest in & influence upon y^e Cheife paymaster:
I shall receiv y^eir money wth the first if not before others: I
pray show M^r Jeake what I say & let mee heare what
hee thinke I may doe & what I had to doe in the Case: I cannot
enlarge but wth respects to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds p^sented: I rest

Yours, Jllin

FRE 5526

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

My Freind

Apr. 27. 1666

The disappintm^t of our expected meeteing the
last weeke hath troubled us I thinke both alinke; for I
am sure I have not had so greate a trouble upon my Spirit
a greate while as y^l occassioned: after my arrivall at
Woolw^{ch}: I found such a weakeness besides wearynes in my
leggs, that truely I could not venture to walke 2 miles
then: & I had neere 7 thence to you; & an uncouth way
to passe: but I stayd there from wednesday till fryday
about noone in hopes your horse would have brought you
thither: & y^e rather because I wisht your company there
to advise about my beeing there: but to say no more of
that: I hope you will neverthelesse write to mee againse as
before directed: on Saturday I mett wth yo^r letter and
the directions about y^e rings: w^{ch} I have now done: I
hope to content, though not altogether to order: because I had
this mornings time onely to doe it in, haveing beene at Woolw^{ch}
till last night since monday: by y^e note inclosed wth the
rings you will find the cost: onely if y^e old hoope ring
should not have beene exchanged for y^e hoope ring but

for the other ring: then you must value the hoope ring to bee
xxvj^s & y^e old one rated is 18s6d so y^t upon exchange
one for y^e other they save by it: the sealed ring comes
to 25s by it selfe: Starkey & Brookes have their ticketts: but
I under G. Beale should make a journey about her
husband both needlesse & fruitelesse: for w^t can bee done is
not undone on his behalfe: I waite to heare whither I
shall have y^e five pounds I have dispursed on his accompt
out of M^r Grebells mony. I cannot enlarge but p^rsent my
respects to your selfe wife & all freinds as if named & rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5527

To my Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

Yors wth y^e inclosed letters of Administration of G. Crafts I
recd: & if I could have mett the man I had rec^d the mony today,
but hope to have it tomorrow: I desire to know what they will allow mee
for my paynes; or whither 2s plib: as you wrote at the first; and
how I shall pay y^e rest: let their order here to pay it & allowance
bee under their owne hands: both Lilburnes & Crafts: I
had Jn^o Kings receipt w^{ch} is well enough: but as for his and y^e
rest of the ticketts I have for pay for service done at sea: they
beeing alive, I have no hopes (though they bee in the service)
to gett any of their moneyes may bee gotten here: but
I answere I can gett it as soone any body: onely I desire
lett them know so much: y^t if they will order their ticketts
to bee sent to them, y^ey may have them againe or sent to ye
order shall bee observed: let John J Parkers wife know I hope
to gett her husband tickett for him: & y^t well done in a
shorte time: I neglect it not: so soone as the shipp come home
where 'tis: I am pmissid to have it & rectified too if possible:

but they will not make another tickett till y^t bee returned:
as to my Childrens takeing phisicke for y^e wormes: w^{ch} pbably enough
they may have: I thinke I wrote formerly about it to w^{ch} beeing
in a hurry & hazard every day: I must referr you: or leave you
to your: onely I am fearefull of any minerally for them; because y^ey
bee generall enemys to the intreats. y^e last yeare receipt for
phisicke for them: as you found it worke wth their for good. you
iterate it againe: I know not w^t Jn^o Beales son you say write
by of M^{rs} Casebys buisines: which I would not have forgotten:
(margin)

I have made a new application to y^e Duke of Albermarle for Ed. Beales discharge: hereon
promised faire: I hope now to good effect: if you can gett his wife to pay that five pounds
to M^r Grebell for mee & let him order mee to pay my selfe here: however I pray
forgett not to call upon him for an answer to my letter not to him to bee sent
on thursday nights post without fayle: & doe you surprise & send it as directed to be sent
for it is a very hazardous time: y^e Parliam^t is to be progued againe till 18 September
the bill of mortality this weeke is 195 in all: 28 of the plague: 15 decreased in generall
two increased of the plague: & y^e plague allmost every where in the countrys increase.
In hast wth many respects to all respectively wth yo^r selfe wife &c. p^rsented I rest.

Yours Jllin

FRE 5528

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsented
in
Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

May. 12. 1666

Yours of the 5th & 8th instant I last night after my
comeing from Woolw^{ch} I rec^d and shall wth all speed psue
the Contents thereof to effect. I delivered y^e printed tickett in
due time and have put M^r Stripling 5d upon y^e accompt of
Alice Cotton: but you must not faile to write to him and
send him a warrant to plead on her behalfe: you beeing her
guardian: & mention the plea. whither y^e generall issue
non ayr &c. to his effect that you authorise G. Stripling

to appeare for & plead the generall issue &c. for Alice Cotton
in a suite now depending betwixt y^e s^d Alice Cotton
& Edward Thomas Plaintiffe: & this you must not faile
send to him y^e next post: hee hath appeared but
upon notice wch wee know not how soone it it may bee, must
put in an answer to his information agst her. I was with
him this day: I have bought libs of Elixir wth w^{ch} y^e Sat &c
shallbee send p next: & if you please to take my advice of an
Apothecary. send to my freind M^r Spencer Pigott at the
greene dragon & bell in Canon Streete: he will use you well
on monday god willing I will see w^t Jn^o Mann will doe
in yo^r buisines & give you acct then also: & send it you
downe againe if done as desired. for y^e accompt and
other things you shall heare more by y^e next: here is no newes
to give you: y^e plague is a little increasing: but more
feared: yet I thinke no greate danger to come: at p^rsent
beeing in hast I can onely add that wth respects p^rsent
I rest
Your Loveing Freind

The 9s left by Crafts
in M^r Millers hands for mee: may if you
please be rec^d there by him: & ordered mee
out of his mony in my hands

FRE 5529

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye 2
These p^rsent
in Sussex

M^r Fryth
May 17, 1666 24

I can write to no body but yo^rselfe by this
post; and it is to let you know that I came from
Woolw^{ch} this day to try John Mann in yo^r buisines
and find him no more unwilling to doe it; but yor
desirous to heare from you first, which he will
expect by y^e next post inclosed in myne (w^{ch} seemes

to bee a little surprized in yo^r demand, because you
sayd nothing to him of it when you saw him nor
write to him about it since: but I doe thinke hee
will doe it on Monday wⁿ I meane to waite on
him agayne if you send yo^r letter inclosed in
myne on Saturday night to y^t purpose: yo^r Elixir
& other things desired I thinke to send you without
fayle by Sloman in the morning. I can say
no more at p^rsent to any thing but wth respects
p^rsented I rest till tomorrow & ever

Yor Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5530

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

May. 18th. 1666

Last night by the post I acquainted you that Jn^o Mann
lookes for a letter from you in myne by tomorrow nights post: These
lines are to acquaint on that I have sent you ʒ iix: Elixir
Cost 20s. lib j. Saltpeter cost 13d ʒ iiij. cicers. cost
6d by Sloman. I have also delivered y^e warrant of
Attorney to M^r Stripling who will be careful in y^e buisines
I have also sent a letter here inclosed for G. Rason. w^{ch} you
may pmsise seale & deliver for mee. & let y^e money be gotten
of Cottons so soone as possible: it may bee M^{rs} Osmonton may
helpe to get it of him too beeing y^e greatest a parte of it for
hirselle: & that mony make y^e just ballance to both their
debts. 40s to M^{rs} Osin. 20d to G. Rason for w^{ch} I pray doe you
take their respective discharges for mee in full: when they
have y^t money. & send it me up. I desired you long since

to gett M^r Young to send mee a full discharge of reasonings
betweene us, wch is not yet done. I pray gett it: hee having
satisfaction before I came away: though I had not time then
to take his discharge: but hee was Contented to doe & pmised
it then. I pray speake to him for it & let mee heare w^t he say.
you say nothing lately of prima materia. I thinke to tell
M^{rs} Caseby w^t you write: but you know that a band
can be sued but once: should shee Attach goods upon it
& not enough shee might bee forced to loose y^e rest: &
that will not doe well: we have no newes to write of: y^e
king of y^e Jewes wth others. though indurance yet are not
cutt off by y^e Grand Segnior as was reported & its true that
the Jewes in these parts wholley live ever their tradeing upon
expectation of greate matter at hand. neither is y^t newes of
y^e 10 tribes of Israeles approach to bee denied: though their
progresse is not so swift as reports gave it. respects p^rsent
(margin)

I rest in hast but reality
Yor Lovg Freind Jllin

FRE 5531

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

May. 26. 1666

Yours wth the inclosed Jn^o Mann I rec^d on
monday last but beeing just you going to Woolw^{ch}
I could not then but have this day delievered it and
see the release signed where was witness besides
my selfe to W^m Buckland: & if he bee not a good
wittnesse I will goe out againe & gett him to
seale & deliver it a new, w^{ch} another wittnesse:
& send you the writeing opportunity:
M^r Buckland desire you to puse y^e inclosed sent
him from M^r Bryant: wherein there are delays

and doubts w^{ch} hee is unwilling to beare &
desires your answer to himselfe & letter M^r Bryant to him
to doe buisines wthout such delayed: niether doth
hee thinke here is so much layd out upon the
house: I have no newes to inserte but hopeing you
will give mee advise at Woolw^{ch}. beeing now
no danger; wth respects p^resented . I rest yor

Loveing Freind

Jn^o Allin

M^r Buckland thinke
to doe to Dover in
whittsun weeke if
he receive your answer &c.

FRE 5532

To M^r Philip Fryth

At Rye

These p^resent

In

Sussex 2

Loveing Friend June. 2. 1666

Last Saturday I gave you accompt of John Mann, sealig
yor release sent up before yo^r Cozen Bukland & my selfe: & write
to know whither it bee sufficiently witnessed by us two, before
I send it & I should have beene glad to heare how you all &
my children doe, w^{ch} I long for not haveing and had letter since
monday sennight to know how the sicknes is about you: I have
no newes certaine to give you; knowing no pticulars certaine
but what the reports to the gunn hath given us since yesterday
noone: beeing all this while in agem^t. just now 'tis said
betweene Pr. Rupert & the French: ^{and French beaten} thought by others
betweene Duk. Albem. & y^e Dutch who had sight each of
other off y^e goodwich yesterday about 10 in y^e morning: In my coming
from Woolw^{ch} betweene Greenewch & London about 11
of the clocke this morning I heard I beleive above 1000 gunns
but it seemes too bee about your parts so y^t you may know things
better y^en I can informe you. wee expect not to know pticulars

wth any kind of certainty till y^e fight bee over: I am in hast
at p^rsent & can onely add my respects to yo^rselfe & all freinds
as if named wth my love to my Children: desireing to heare how
you all doe. the sicknes through mercy is 20 decreased this
weeke both in city & country, & for Wollw^{ch} wee have
buried but one those 3 weekes. I rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

I hope Edward Beale is at home
before now; just now I rec^d a letter
from M^r W^m Foote at east end dated
there. June 3^d. mkt wth post office mke May 31st
that hee was well there and intended the first
convoy to come over to in England. let
me know if hee bee yet come or no. vale.

FRE 5533

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Woolw^{ch} June 7, 1666

I am glad to heare my Children are yet in health, and
yo^rselfe family & towne yet p^eserved from this sore judgement
of the noysome pestilence, which hath been so long at y^e doore
I pray god, sinn may never let it in at your gates. this day
is a greate day here, beeing a 4th rate frigatt to be launched, and
the king & queenes p^esence expected: &c: yet I will pinch a little
time to give you in another paper some few hints & secretts, w^{ch}
may prove usefull to you, & doe something more hereafter.
but I must first say some thing to yo^r letter: In reference to my
Children; I pray gett M^{rs} Thomas to make a pticular survey of
what linnen they want, and send mee with directions what
cloth & how much of each sorte I must buy for them: & although
it bee a comodity deare & scarce yet I will (if you send me answer

next post) send it downe next weeke. & yo^r writeing in it.

what you write about Th. Oakes servts tickett or those ticketts you say nothing of, I am yet mindfull of them, & let no time bee lost.

& for Joshu Parkers tickett, I wonder shee should say or thinke it to bee in the pursers hands ready, wanteing my care to take it out: it was but last weeke I spake him, & then 'twas no such thing: I have written to her husband about it: & to the Capt. of the Pearle, w^o hath it by a speciall freind of myne w^{ch} is master of y^e Pearle, & will send it mee by the first opportunity: if y^e muney were wholly to be rec^d on my owne acct, I could doe no more:

M^{rs} Caseby was very much troubled about Tutty's band & would putt it in suite here, if you will but send it up to her. at this distance from London wee have but scrapps of newes.

& scarce know w^t is certaine. Friday on y^e afternoone and Saturday all day were some fightings dayes wth y^e Dutch: & to our very greate damage: & had not Prince Rob^t wth his squadron came into the fight next day; y^t pte of y^e fleete before engaged had fighting day was monday: when at length the Dutch were totally routed, some say but 50 left swimming of about 124 w^{ch} they had engaged first & last, haveing twice recruites sent out to them to the engagem^t: & Prince Rob^t putt y^{em} by y^e harbour; and is supposed to bee still in pursuite of them: some shippes of our owne that were sometimes Dutch wee fired our selves haveing for [illegible] (marginal)

out their men that y^ey might not recruite wth them. y^e Paul Eagle & some others. y^e Swift sure, and the Prince on monday sunke by y^e Dutch. the Royall Charles, Henry, Defiance, Ann Henretta & divers others disabled partely by shott, & partely by Burning. Divers comand^rs said to bee killed

S^r Xtopher Mims one. Albermarle wounded a little with a splinter, some say S^r Jeremy Smith lost an arme. greate spoyle & slaughter of men. & I thinke no greate cause to bragg of either side, though last night was a merry night wth Tower gunns & bonfires for the victory: it may bee some may send more ptcular news fro London. I am still up there on Satureday nights & returne on mondays. I cannot enlarge but wth love respects & all comendations due, p^rsent to yo^rselfe all freinds as if named wth my Children wishing all your health I rest.

Your very Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5534

The Clove tree-----Chappel killed-----62-----300
 Seaven Oakes-----Timper-----54-----190
 The Golden Ruitter missing-----48-----180
 13 shippes: besides 718 3330

8 or nine fire shippes burnt.

(marginal)

others Comanders slaine and dead of their wounds

are S^r Xtopher Minns dead Capt Miller of y^e Plimouth dead of his wounds

Capt. Witty of y^e van Guard Dare of y^e houe other wounds. dead since.

Woode of y^e Henereta Page of y^e new Castle lost right arme

Bacon of Bristoll Slaine Major Holly: of the Antilop. lost an arme.

Morten of the princesse Jennings of the Ruby. wounded

Terne of y^e Triumph Fosen of y^e loyall subject: wounded

Coppen of y^e S^t George Harman of y^e Henry. his legg burnt

W^m Clarke. Duke of Alberm. secretary

and about 5000: men more said to bee killed & wounded in those shippes w^{ch}

are not lost: I cannot enlarge but wth respects to all respectively I rest

Your Loveing Freind Allin

FRE 5536

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

M^r Fryth

June. 30: 1666 h

By Paul Holmes I hope you will receive this
 weeke safely 8½ ells of Lockram at 18d for [illegible] for
 Hannah & 2 for Bettey: & 5½ yards of blew at 11d for aprons
 for them: and 4 ells of Holland at 3d for bibs &c. for them:
 which I pray deliver to M^{rs} Thomas & begg her contrivance
 of it for them: I expect to receive y^e money for Jn^o Kings
 and Jn^o Brookes tickett the next monday withuot fayle
 & I hope according to the ticketts w^{ch} are: 6l8s0d for JK
 & 4l18s0d for J Brooke: tell M^r Grebell or Tho Brooke

so much: & let mee have order what & where to pay for
them; wth what allowance they meane to give mee: both
T. Oake & M^r Grebell if I mistake not pmised mee 10s for Brooks
tickett: I pused y^e letter before y^e last & find nothing in it of
and despensatory to bee sent. tell mee w^t 'tis by y^e next:
concerning sending money to Joseph Coop, I shall doe my endeavor
to find out some way of doing it, when I can know certainly
what place hee is in prison. for there is a Harlem in
Friezeland, where you say hee is; but y^t is a greate way
off fro Amserdam: but there is another neere Amsterdam:
w^{ch} if y^t bee y^e place, possibly some expedient may then bee
found for sending to him or any one els there what I shall bee
ordered for them: but there no talke now to had of any of
their release: just now beeing upon a second engagem^t
of both fleets. our newes beeing y^e the Holland^{er} wth about
84 shippes of warr and 24 fire shipps off y^e North
Ireland; & our fleete in sight of them: s^d about 70
saile fitted & ready: there hath beene these 2 or 3 dayes
and nights some thousands of Landmen of all trades
prest about the city: some for sea & some for land
service; w^{ch} is no more then need if it bee seene also
said that 20000 French are at Dunkirke ready to bee
(marginal)
shipped 6000 of them wth backes breasts & potts: & 6000 more land soldiers
allready shipt on board the Dutch fleete: all the Beacons in y^e country
s^d to be forced about Cornewall last thuesday upon approach
of a fleete that way: w^{ch} some say is but shipps of o^r owne from our
Westerne plantations. y^e Governor of Dover Castle ordered last night
to take in strong pvisions in their Castle & to receive men
for a strong garison there: 60 houses s^d infected at Deale &c. I
cannot enlarge but wth respects & love p^rsent I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5537

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in 2

Sussex

M^r Fryth

July. 7th. 1666

Yors last Saturday's post promised another before this; but finding none from you since I feare you either are marched from home or else the French hath disturbed your writeing; neverthelesse I cannot forbear to let you know that I hope to heare shortly from you; of your wellfare & receipt of those things last weeke sent for my children: & what attempts or feares you have mett withall since: I have no newes to communicate, but that the presse is so exceeding hott here & elsewhere that I cannot stay long to doe any buisines: & had not come up this weeke were it not that about a month & foure dayes since a greate dogg gave mee a snap upon my left shin; & instead of beeing well is now growne worse, and humor fallen downe into it, y^t hath a tendency to mortification, which forced mee up to a surgeon: yet hope to give checke to the humour; or else it will bee dangerous to loose my legge: I cannot enlarge: but lett you know of have rec^d John Kings & Jn^o Brookes money: this day. JK 6l8s06d JB 4l18s00d & waite to know have it is to bee disposed of: I have therefore left it with M^r Cooke till order comes. & what they will allow mee for my paynes. y^e Dutch waite y^e coming for fleete to them at the tobaccos out the Gunfleete w^{ch} will not bee red till latter end of the next weeke: my love p^rsentd every where I leave you all to god & rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5538

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in 2

Sussex

Loveing Freind July. 12th. 1666,
Yours of y^e 10th Instant I have just now recd
(beeing come up to attend the cure of my legg, at W^m
Byndlos's) and have since p^d according to M^r Grebells
order, y^e sum of 4l8s for Joseph Brookes for w^{ch} here is a
receipt inclosed: I have left order to bee sent
for, when Richard Jones calls for J. Kings mony; supposing
you will direct him to call at M^r Cookes where my letters
come: & were it not for endulgeing my legg, w^{ch} must bee of
necessity to save it: I would carry it to him; if I know where
he lived: you will receive the booke at 3s6d and the
oranges at 3s6d & y^e baskett 3s: wth a pound of comfitts
to bee devided amongst my little ones: by Holmes our by
Sloman, I hope on Saturday night: as to meddling with
any more ticketts at p^rsent till my legg bee well I
cannot: w^{ch} when it willbee I know not, if ever; for
y^e inflammation & Tumour increase & so doth
my feares: especially if there bee no repelling y^e humour
before y^e dogg dayes come in: w^{ch} now approach very
neere: God enable to beare & submitt wth patience
to his will, be it life or death. at p^rsent I have no
newes to add, but y^t 'tis s^d y^e Dutch are now retired fro
their former station: some say home: our fleete thought
to bee ready this weeke: y^e sicknes very hott at Cambrdige
57 this last bill there. 10th Instant: w^{ch} is but y^eir 3^d bill
& but 11 more of other diseases: my respects & love
to all freinds as if named & love my Children
I Comitt you all to God & rest Yours Jllin

FRE 5539

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
2 p^rsent
in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

July. 14. 1666

This morning I p^d John Kings bill of enquire
of five pounds & eight shillings to Richard Jones upon
the accompt of Joseph Radford and have here inclosed.
sent a receipt for him, but in y^e meane while I have
none for my selfe for y^e whole, w^{ch} y^e returne of my
hearty thanks to him and you for so greate allowance.
I begg a line of acknowledgem^t of y^e receipt of y^e whole
from mee for my discharge: let mee know whither you
recd my last wth M^r Miler receipt: but have no discharge
from M^r Grebell or Tho Oake for Jn^o Brookes ticket.
Let neighbour Parker know y^t I have this day gotten
after long waiteing & greate paines gotten John Parkers
tickett into my hands signed; but not yet cast up.
It is now right & what is to bee done more to it shall
not be neglected: since my comeing up I hope my
legg mends, w^{ch} 2 dayes since was not without danger
of a Gangreene: I will shortely give you more
of my mind about takeing ticketts: every body is so peevish
concerning them; & yet understand neither y^t nature nor
trouble in dealeings of y^t nature, y^t I know not what
to say yet to it: I have no newes to add: some say y^e Swedes
Embassador hath made some overtures of peace for the
Dutch wth us. wch some thinke will pcure a speedy cessation:
others say y^e fleete is orders to sayle on Monday next
& thinke y^ey will certainly fight before peace or so
much as a cessation y^e Dutch are not gone home as was
said. y^e Plague very hott at Cambridge; their 3d bill of
mortality from 7th July to 10th Instant give 55 buried their 14 parishes
whereof there was 44 of y^e plague

(margin)

and 13 more of y^e plague in y^e pest house: wee have not yet done pressing here:

I can add no more besides most hearty respects to yorself wife and all freinds

as if named. wth love to my Children. writing in paine you must excuse

mee if I onely Comitt you all to god & rest

Yours Jllin

Jn^o Byndlos p^sent s his respects to you:

some debates there a respect about indulgence.

FRE 5440

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

July. 21. 1666

I know not what to thinke of this weekes totall
silence: but am apt to feare that you are not well
or that my children are not well, and you are loath
to let mee know how 'tis. I shall therefore long till I heare
from you: my legg I hope is in a mending healeing
posture: yet full of paine betweene times and apt to bee
inflamed in these dogg dayes: for newes here is yet nothing
of any engagem^t of fleetes. but our fleet set sayle on
thursday morning about 5 of y^e clocke: and wee expect
to heare of action tomorrow: at Weymouth last
tuesday betweene the houres of 10 & 2 in y^e afternoone
the tide flowed 7 times 3 times whereof was with
such strength that the shippes in the harbour were
forced to stay themselves from running on shoare with new
morage: & in 3 minutes times y^e water rose two
foote & two inches ppendicular & fell againe in as
little time: the same day in divers countyes were greate
showres of un usuall haile about 5 or 6 inches above
I have gotten Jn^o Parkers tickett, now cast up & signed
but cannot yet tell how to gett any mony upon
it here are so many dead ticketts yet to bee p^d:
I shall long to heare from you: & whither you
recd the booke & auranges: my respects p^rsented
to yo^r selfe all freinds as ig named wth love
to my little ones, I leave you all to god & rest

Yours Jllin

doe not write my name in yo^r next.

the sicknes rages in y^e countreyes.

FRE 5541

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

July 28, 1666

Yours rec^d for wch I thanke you and am heartyly sorry
yor surprizall in yo^r comfortable enjoym^ts by your owne
wives & Childs illnes: but hope to heare better newes p next.
I have sent by Paul Holmes the things desired of w^{ch}
the note inclosed will give you y^e quantities & prizes.
except onely. Sal. necotiani. nothing could not now bee
obtained; but rather then you shall want it long I
will gett some made for you agst the next returne
after you shall renew yo^r desire of it: for newes, w^{ch} I
know you long for, I wish I could satisfy you: but I believe
no man here know how to satisfy themselves about it: things
are so certaine that wee know when the fight began
nor when it will have end: some say it began on
monday about noone: others that it began first on tuesday
morning & prevented y^e continuance of it y^t day by a
unexpected & unusuall storme at sea: others that it began
not till wednesday morning: which many dare wittnesses
can testify y^t they were then certainly engaged: & so likewise
confirmed to continue all y^t day thursday. & all day
yesterday by intervalls heard here about London: & some
say y^e gunns were heard this day also: scarce any thing
of pticulars to bee beleived: generally thought true that
Elizabeth Friggatt comein into Harw^{ch} disabled on Wednesday
night: brought newes that 4 Dutch flaggshippes were then
on fire: & our Resolution also & losse: some mutterings of
such losses on our side w^{ch} god forbid should bee true: as
y^t the Rainebow, London, soveraigne should bee disabled.
the mary & defiance lost: y^e warr [illegible] damaged by
an accident &c. but nothing of this certayne: but that

FRE 5544

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Sept. 1. 1666

Yors of the the 30th past I just now received
and am glad to receive a line from you, for from none
else can I tell how to expect a line from, to heare how
yor selfe, my Children or other freinds doe: but I
much afflicted to thinke that you looke upon yor
case so desperate, and had rather your should bee
mistaken in yo^r judgem^t in that pticular y^{en} other
wise; I wish I knew how it hath beene wth you
& if myne or any other advise here may doe
you good I will take it for you; & rather y^{en}
them also: for newes I know not how to trouble
you: we have the sad certaine newes or six some say seaven
Hamborough shipps of greate burden & value
halfe of w^{ch} were burnt in the harbour there and
halfe taken by the Dutch since our burning theirs
at the Vly: our fleete 'tis s^d moves out of Southold
Bay. 3 dayes since; Colonells Majors & Captaines:
or in generall Comission officers are this weeke
send on board the fleete: upon some; secret designe
some thinke to surprize Elsnore: & so our fleete
is gone Northward while y^e Dutch fleete is in
Margarget rose: or was there last night:
cannot enlarge but wth respects to yo^rselfe wife
& all freinds & love to my Children I rest yo^rs whilst Jllin
(margin)

The sicknes is this weeke broken out much about 4 houses in Woolw^{ch}; where
wee have not had one dyed of y^l disease visibly this 12 weekes. god keep safe

Your Loveing Freind

Jllin

I feare an ulcer in one of my kidneys
& an Empyectma in my stomache:

FRE 5546

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

	d – s
A trendle mending	0 – 8
a chaire – mending	0 – 4
3 single stenes	0 – 03
setting up a bed stedle	00 – 06
trunkell bed cording	00 – 02
makeing 4 bords	<u>00 – 08</u>
	<u>02 – 07</u>
	<u>00 – 10</u>
	3 – 05
Bottle	0 – 0 – 6
Jacke & spit	0 – 3 – 10
grindstone	<u>0 – 03 – 00</u>
	0 – 7 – 04
puling Downe two stedles	
at willm dodds--	[illegible]
Due per goods --	0 = 7 – 4:
physicke --	<u>0 – 4 – 7</u>
	0 = 11 = 11:
my worke --	0 – 03 – 05
2 bedstedles--	0 – 00 – 06

more-- 0—15—00
 2 Rayles & sprockes 0—01—00
0 = 19: - :11
 00: 11: - 11
 00 = 08 = 00

Loveing Freind Sept. 29th. h 66

Yours of the 25th Instant I recd, and am glad to heare from you, but sorry to see you so heartlesse & hopelesse of a recovery, the lord bee assistant to you: you doe not say what things you would exchange for damaske & red rose water: so that I can not say what may bee done upon y^t accompt: but If you will I will buy some for you: the Days wee now live is darker, but now Like to bee very much darker: yet y^t darkeness willbee light, for things looke directly now allmost in y^{eir} pper colours. some whisperings of newes speake greate & strange things upon y^e stage: some feare a massacre. 'tis now said that D. Alberm. comission is taken from him. & hee goeing off y^e stage: so is S^r Jn^o. Robinson out of y^e Tower & some say Colonel legg others y^e Lt Baltimore a pp to save it: there are 3 millions of mony voted some say to bee raised by Loane: some by Excise on bread flesh cloths &c. there bee some likely good of division in the P house, betweene courte & country partyes: one desireing a comittee to bee chosen to Examin y^e buisines of beginning & continuance of this dreadfull desolation: & y^e other opposing it: & no likelyhood of any good intended towards the building of the cirt: want of mony: & better regulation of y^e paym^t of Seamens ticketts breed desperate ill blood among them concerned in the last night y^e women at y^e pay office were ready to teare all dread they broake some of their windows. truly I am not well; & this day very bad with inward greate trembling & burning at my hearte, & fainteing: I can not enlarge: let these hints of newes bee well managem^t. y^t is not divulged to any but sure freinds & burne the letter. newes of o^r fleete since last storme on tuesday night they were then gone Northward. y^e Sovereigne is disabled & in at Portsmouth.

my most hearty respects to yo^r selfe wife and all freinds as if
named, wth love to my children I leave you all to God & rest
Yours Jllin

FRE 5548

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind Octob^r. 27. 1666

Yors of y^e 18th instant I have received & returne you
thankes for the same: for I never gett a ltter from Rye
but from yo^r selfe: Feares and y^t not groundless are so many
about London of a sudden massacre from y^e papists that I
am forced every h^to repaire home though I come up
but on thursday: so y^t I have not had time to write, nor yet
to receive yo^r letter till yesterday: I have wth much adoe found
out a freind that had D^r Cockes paper—w^{ch} I gave 3d
for & have inclosed: I hope it may bee usefull: yet others
experience sayth that more moderate sweating y^en 15 houres
w^{ch} hee prescribeth, is more convenient for feare of
weakening y^e naturall spiritts, w^{ch} is y^e life of man at such
a time: better oftner; & not so much together: & y^t not
without some very good cordiall to bee taken often in
the time: last monday night, cane those Ld Douglas's foot
companyes y^t landed at Rye (now compleated) into y^e borrough
of Southwarke to quarter there: w^{ch} stinkes y^e inhabitants
in to feare; & made some to apply to y^e Comittee of Parliam^t to gett
removed: but gett no further answer then y^t there was no danger
of them &c. but I heare y^t last night some votes passed agst the
papists: w^{ch} they willbee stood upon to bee signed before any
more bee done about money: the inclosed paper was throwne
about y^e streetes of the city on monday last at night.
some say next fryday is y^e day. some y^t 25th next month will bee the

saddest day y^t England ever say: & y^t 28th Decembr. worse:
one papist was observed to say that hee would dine all the
p^testants left in England next X^tmas day for 6d the
Seamen are every pay day very mutinous for y^eir money.
& boates away the soldiers: & what that will come to none know:
(marginal)

I hope you doe rememebr that ☉ is in ♀: for prima materia. I cannot
enlarge; but would hope of yo^r recovery yet, I pray give not way to melan-
choly: I was yesterday wth Jn^o Booker: & hee was very buisy about his Almanacke
but it was not finished: he showed mee French verses printed: 100 yeares since
in a booke called Nostre Dame. about y^e burning of y^e city of London now: & of a massacre
to succeed it: got some body to gett what prima materia can bee gotten: and
keepe it stopt from aer. my hearty respects to all freinds with love to my childrens
& both to yo^r selfe wife & c. I leave you all to God p^tection & blessing, I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5549

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

Yors of the 20th instant I rec^d and
shall next weeke endeavour to give answer;
about linnen for my children, but must stay
till latter end thereof, because I must remove
all my things on Monday next for Woolw^{ch}.
because I cannot pay rent in two places
any longer: I shall hope to see you as you
say & then give you yo^r writeing
sealed as desired: I cannot enlarge
haveing no newes to add besides respects
to yo^r selfe family & all freinds with
love to my children & rest

Yor Loveing Freind

John Allin

I gave you accompt
last weeke of Edw.
Beales buisines & shall
take care of his letters
but his from Rye and
to Holland will cost
about 2d. vale.

FRE 5550

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth at
Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Nov 10th 1666

I rec^d yo^rs of the 5th Instant with the inclosed ticketts & prizes
with which I will deale as effectually & speedily as I cann:
& hope I shall bee able to get a tickett for Michael Jacobs
time in the Bristoll: but I wish you had more exactly mentioned y^e
beginning & y^e end: but I will doe w^t I can in it. I thinke y^e Bristoll frigg^t
lyes at Woolw^{ch} to mend, & then I shall y^e better doe it: If
Jn^o Parker send up order where to pay his mony for y^e Hamborough
merch^t I hope to bee able y^e next weeke to pay it to his order:
your apprehensions of feare & danger from that y^t are amongst you I doubt
are not causelesse, though no arriveing to that height yet wth ours
here are come to: and still increaseing every day. last night was
a night of feare danger & watching; Scotland yard at adjoynes
to whitehall beeing in flames & the stables there burnt downe,
& divers buildings blowne up to stop y^e pceedings of it y^e streetes
in the Borough were as light as candles could make y^m & every
one at his doore watching & expecting what might happen
the morning. but about 2 of y^e clocke in the morning wee
went to bed. & through mercy were disturbed no more; but yet
I have not beene abroad this morning to heare w^t newes.
but am hastening home, scarse lookeing upon it safe to stay

y^e, nor next; nor any nights of such a number. some say y^e Act
agst the Bpp: is lost, not to bee found agayne, unlesse brought
in a new. you said nothing of any prima materia this time.
If I want any more phaps about y^e ticketts you send, I will
give you accompt of it. but truly there is no mony scarce to be gotten
at the pay office till the seamen that are now at some shall
bee put off for there hands so many of them about y^e doore
every day, that there is no comeing at them: my heatyest respects
+ love to yo^r selfe wife wth the rest of my freinds in pticular
as ig named + love to my Children, I Comitt you & them all
to y^e ptection of y^e Almighty in whose bosome alone is our safety & rest

Yours Jlin

FRE 5551

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Novemb^r. 16: 1666.

Yors of the 10th Instant I have recd, & by one of y^e same date
I answered yo^rs of the 3th. w^{ch} I hope is since come to yo^r hand: since y^e receipt
of yo^r first I have beene on board the Bristoll. but could find neither
Capt nor Purser, not any that could doe any thing in the buisines
of grannting & making a tickett for Marke Jacob: but I shewed to the Leiften^t what
cards I had to play for the pcuring one; & argued y^e case,
for a runn away; & they beleieved no tickett would ever be made out
any one before his time: I tooke notice there where the Purser lodged, but
can not yet fine him, but hope to doe it be & by: by the next, I pray get
away: & let me know it without fayle: & if his freinds hath taken out any
letters of Administration (as they must doe to receive it) send it up to me
p next: Thomas Brooke John Brookes son found mee out at Woolw^{ch}
but at last came away (I thinke home) without takeing his tickett
contrary to my advise: & endeavours for him: for I stayed him a
while, & told him it was better to gett a faire discharge & tickett
with him. & I would helpe him in it, rather then to loose all his time:

I went on board his ship (y^e coronation at Woolw^{ch}) twice for him,
doe nothing for him. but put my selfe to 1s more charge
about him & beeing so simply come away I believe hee will
never gett: but I hope his father will not lett mee loose
my mony for my kindnes. I pray speake to him about it, & let mee
know what he sayth: If John Parker send mee order how to send
his mony to him, I hope the next weeke I shallbee able to answer
his desires. I have beene at a greate deale of expenses & trouble in
it, but his father gave mee tenn shillings toward it: & his tickett comes
to 12l4s00d lett him allow mee what hee please further: I beleive
y^e 10s is most spend in journeys &c. about it: & send mee order where to pay
the rest: I have rec^d Starkeys three ticketts of John Byndlos and
shall aske him for the letter of Attorney when I see him againe,
(marginal)

I heare of no allowance or pay for prisoners time in Holland but 40s generally allowed
for Cloaths: I heare not of any such thing as 5l allowance for common seamens
wices though able: but I will further enquire. & doe what I can & as soon as
I can in what I am betrusted in y^e meane while wth most
hearty respects p^rsent to yo^r selfe & family, love to my Children +
respects to all freinds as ig named in hast home, because dangers &
feares here attend us every night, especially . h. ☉. my nights, I rest
Yours Jllin

FRE 5552

To his Loveing Freind
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Decemb^r. 1st. 1666.

The last weeke beeing so desperately windy & stormy
I could not come to London, so that I could not receive yo^rs then
sent, till yesterday & at night I rec^d a 3^d with 2 pilate bills &c.
the concernes of all which letters should bee pursued to y^e uttmost
& an accompt given to you by the first I can: immediatly upon
the receipt of Jn^o Parkers order, I send his mony to M^r Burkes.

I sent 1114s his tickett came to 1214s his mony y^t his father
gave mee towards charges was all spend into a bent 6d. I tooke
twenty shillings to my selfe & thinke I deserved more for my
many extraordinary journeys & paynes about it: but I am
satisfyed & hope hee willbee so too: or els hee is unworthy:
for it would have been all lost: what M^{rs} Cadman desire
about her man Shrubbs tickett is now so long since that
I know not how to meddle in it: there is scarce any doing
buisines of later or p^rsent concernes: y^e seamen are here
so numerous & tumultous about their pay. I have not
recd a penny this month till this weeke at y^e pay office.
& cannot yet gett my last ticketts signed. but neglect nothing
that I can possibly doe: I doe heare that 51 is allowed to an
able Seamans widdow, if slayne in the service. I am now
hastning home; feares & dangers encrease every day: & the
buisines in Scotland for w^t I can heare proves formidable.
there is no hopes of peace, but rather a likelyhood of more
warr wth Sweedland & Spayne: my hearty respects to yor
selfe & all freinds as if named, & love to my Children:
If the raines abate prima materia willbee thicke agayne.
in hast I comitt you all to god & rest

Yours Loveing Freind

Jllin

I will yet endeavour to gett a
tickett for Tho. Brookes & hope next week
by a freind to worke it. I will send yo^r things.

FRE 5553

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

M^r Fryth

Dec. 9th: 1666.

I had no letter from you this weeke: nor
indeed possibility of sending your things p Carryer
as intended, but hope not to fayle you next weeke:

the buisines in Scotland is not ended as reported
& the Toryes some say old rebells are at their old
worke in Ireland: & what troubles are impending
the lord onely know; y^e lord fitt us & furnish us
wth grace sufficient to doe or suffer his good pleasure:
I have had a letter from my father in N: England
where all things are yet well. one ship thence is
since their arrivall in England cast away, & all
y^e men they say lost but two: y^e mast ships are safely
arrive also. I hope prima materia will grow better
y^t I may have some: I take care of all y^e ticketts
&c.: & so soone as I can accomplish anything to purpose
I will give you acct of it; in y^e meanwhile
wth most hearty respects to yo^r selfe wife & all
my freinds there as if named wth love to all my
Children I comitt you all to god & rest
Yours in all love Jllin

FRE 5554

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex
Delver this with a gallipott of physicke
on a Satureday night wth care

Loveing Freind Decemb^r. 14th. ♀ 1666.

Yors of the 11th Instant I have rec^d & thanke you for it:
In answer to it I have sent you this morning by Sloman (for you doe
not order me w^m to send by) at y^e Greyhound ʒ iiij of Elixir and
I have sent you but ʒ iij of Cremor Tartaris because I had not
your letter at hand when I bought it & so had forgotten y^e quantity
♀ dulcis: ʒss. j^s vj^d. all w^{ch} you might have had sooner, if
you sent sooner for them in w^{ch} thing you were faulty, for now
especially, buisines is more difficult to bee done: sometimes letters

come time enough to hand to mee, not beeing all wayes in towne: I have sent 2 letters you sent to Robt Moore on board the Bristoll but have yet no answer, nor can I yet find the Purser to try him whither hee will make a Tickett or no for Mark Jacobs but I hope to find him this day: & If I find him refractory. I will appeale to the Com^d in the buisines: last night Robt Wakely brought my Richard Hustons tickett, w^{ch} I willtake care of wth the rest: but I cannot expect my money for any of y^e ticketts send mee up till after the time & y^e paym^t of some other ticketts already in y^e office: but I will neglect no time nor paines: I cannot enlarge, beeing to attend all this day at y^e pay office, here is abundance of discourse of peace of a true wth Holland for 3 yeares. but y^e contrary feare: Robt Wakely escaped very narrowly pressing yesterday: y^e Gazette say y^e rebell Scots are all routed. & divers of then y^t are taken to bee signed: my hearty & deare respects p^rsent to your self wife & all freinds as if named, wth love to my children. I leave you all to god & rest

Yours, Jllin

FRE 5555

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

M^r Fryth Dec. 14th. ♀. 1666

Since my last sent this morning by y^e Carryer at y^e Greyhound, wth ̄ iiij. Elixir ̄ iij Cremor Tartars: & ̄ss ̄ Dulcis. 12s6d wth postage. I have gotten out the allowance of the two pilate bills, & hope to gett that money by the next returne, and desire they will each send mee an order how to pay it & what allowance they will give mee, & a discharge: here is to Robert Browne & shall & crew given five pounds. and to Robert Batton & Crew given forty shillings. I pray let each order my allowance & how to pay y^e

residue & have a discharge. y^e posture of y^e seamen
are so mutinous at p^rsent y^t I can scarce gett
any thing upon ticketts till after y^e time:
I could not meete y^e purser of y^e Bristoll frigatt
this day as endeavoured to get Mark's tickett for y^t
ship but to meete him in the morning & if I find him
refractory I will apply to y^e Courts for a tickett
for him: I cannot enlarge, y^e Scotts Riott is not over,
however y^e publike newes speakes it but putts ours
to their trumps. my respects p^rsented wth love to my
Children is all at present from

Yors Jllin

remember prima materia

FRE 5556

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Last weeke I was so hurried I could not
write; but now lett you know y^t I did my
endeavour to gett R. Battens & Brownes money
but cannot yet doe it but hope not to faile of
it next weeke: however I called at y^e Cheesemongers
to let y^m know y^t I would pay y^e money there so soone
as I could possibly receive it: & y^t satisfied: I have
since rec^d yo^rs wth y^e inclosed from W^m Wakely
w^{ch} I will pursue as fast as I can: there are
about 20 or more of y^e riotous rebells in
Scotland hanged & executed. some talke but
all that dye, doe so resolutely for y^e coven^ts but some
say there is a body of y^m yet in beeing: y^e newes about
the Gottenburg fleete is various: some say
now arrived: some talke y^t 40000 swedes
have now invaded Holland but I may not enlarge

I am sorry my freind M^f Key is dead, glad to
to W^m as to yo^r selves I deserve hearty respects
close to bee p^resented & rest

Yours Jllin

Dec. 29. 1666. h

FRE 5557

To

M^f Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^resent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Jan 5 h 1667

I rec^d none from you this weeke but hope
you are well, yet am I much troubled at y^e feares w^{ch}
upon y^e French to newes of Shipping at Brest 40000
soldiers doth surprise us concerning yo^r coasts: y^e Lord
keepe you. I pray let mee heare from you as
often as you can: I am sorry to heare my Children wants
shoes: I know not how to send you money: but I lent
Robt Wakely 10s when hee was here I pray let him
pay y^t there & let it bee layd out for my children;
in what they want & I pray deale faithfully with
mee & let mee know punctually how things are: for
I am deprived of seeing y^{em} & no freinds will write
faithfully to mee if you doe not: they are so slacke
at paying here Rye Seamen y^t I have not gotten
Brownes pilate money yet but called this day to let
the Cheesemonger know y^t I am mindfull of it for
Naltons buisines: neither have rec^d any mony
yet for any tickett belonging to Rye, not can expect
any upon y^t acct till weeke after next: but am carefull
& will bee faithfull: Robt & W^m Wakely should have
sent mee a cobby of y^{eir} brothers will and inventory

but they say nothing whither Barrett did deny to
enlarge but feare yo^r sudden surprize & our
case is like to bee bad enough here: a lettter taken
upon lately by a dogg in a letter case about y^e catholikes
startles many; but defiance awaken y^e honest.

(margin)

I can add no more besides respects to yo^r selfe & all freinds wth love to my children

I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5558

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

January. 10th. 1667

I thinke long to heare of yo^r health & welfare
as of my Children & Freinds, but have fayled of my
expectation this fortentight. I hope, if you bee able to
write you will not forgett mee long, I would know
if you have fitted yo^r selfe with almanackes or not
& then I will supply you: I have sent M^r Joynes Receipt
for 6l2s inclosed & thanke R. Browne & Gatton
for y^e allowance: I could not get y^e money till
last night, nor forbear to send y^e receipt that they
may have their money put them accordingly: but
I cannot yett gett my mony upon y^e ticketts
but now hope shortely y^e glutt of Seamens
paym^t of them y^t come to demand by letters
of Attorney wch is my case: through mercy
I am well & hope where so of you & our freinds there
In y^e meane while respects p^rsented wth
love to my children, I rest

Yours, Jllin

these p^rsent

in Sussex

Loveing Freind

Jan. 25. ♀: 1667.

I have not fayled you any weeke of writeing to you, how ever my letter seemed to fall shorte of yo^r hands I rec^d yo^rs with Ed. Beales tickets of w^{ch} y^e rest I will take care. I have this day had 2 tickets in the office above 15 weekes & y^e mony not yet recd. last weeke I wrote to you to tell Richard Tew hee should give me order where to pay him mony & what allowance hee would give mee y^e whole 14l11s but I heare yet nothing of it. I have sent you Booker & Gadbury's almanacke wth much adoe to gett y^em neither could I have unbound: accept of y^em from me: I have sent M^r Jeake a Lily. wth a letter, to w^{ch} I refer you for newes. y^e next weeke I hope to write to M^r Bennett & some others those pleuricke aches you write disturbing y^e spleene, which must bee diseased; & y^t kind of melancholy purged: but more of y^t shortely; its a kind to y^t disease in our bills call y^e riseing of y^e lights. If you can pcure so much, send by y^e first opportunity a bushell or 2 of mustard seed. it is very good mchandize where I live: but contract sure for y^e delivery of it to mee, or my order, let others gett it away: if you give 4s or 6s or 8s p bushell for it, there willbee pfitt enough in it, & will order you y^e mony: so it bee good. or if you send any for your owne adventure I will give you accompt of itt. I pray also send mee my Iron Morter & pestell with it. remember mee to all my Freinds as if named, & to my children; of w^m you say nothing about y^t 10s I ordered Robt Wakely to pay you for y^{em}. i. e. I writt to you to receive it of him as there is nothing yet can bee pfected in yeir buisnes: but not forgotten. my hearty respects p^rsent to yo^r selfe & wife, G. Shoemith &c. to w^m I will send one to also shortely. I wish you each if y^e lord please here, how ever, everlasting happiness hereafter & rest

Your Loveing Freind

Jllin

FRE 5561

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye
These p^rsent
2 in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

Jan. 26. 1667.

Because I wrote to you & M^r Jeake yesterday of y^e carryer and inclosed yo^r letters in yo^r Almanackes: I had thought to have comanded my pen silence, till next weeke, but haveing yesterday payd Joseph Boyle for Richard Tew. & deducted 2s for my paines. I thought to give you notice of it: & if hee bee not satisfyed with my deduction, w^{ch} is what I have of others, I will repay what he please but I assure you I could not have had his money so soone by farr but by an accident & a greate freind to boote: for I have not yet recd one penny for others yet: another cause of my writeing is this, to give you a receipt for such psons as are so taken wth paines in y^{eir} sides & difficulty of beathing: &c. Take olei lini. lib j. and Sal nitri ʒ j. or 3jss: & shake them often & well together: then sett them to settle for about 12 houres or more y^e sal niter, will precipitate y^e feces of y^e linseed oyle, & make it pure & cleare: onely when you have so done, have a care in your powring our for use, y^t you doe not disturbe the feces at y^e bottom: but take onely the cleare: Then take of this oyle so p^epared, & oyle of sweete Almonds newly drawneana ʒ ss. a little lesse or about a little more as the patients are in capacity: & give it them first & last morning & night for 6 dayes together: it will seldome or never faile you for the opening such obstructions: It is a little nauseous to take but it doe their worke. if there bee a plethora & other indications for bleeding, then take a branch or y^e mediana (but not y^e mediana itsef) for y^e mediana is branched betweene the cephalica & Hepatica: & y^e fairest of one of those branches take: & that will facilitate y^e worke much: but if taken timely the other will doe y^e worke without bleeding, I did not know but y^t your selfe or others may need to take this before I should write againe therefore I would not omitt it now I have no newes to add to what I wrote yesterday: but onely y^t I heare y^e Parliam^t have voted, that the city of London was burnt by a comon enemy supposed to bee a popish this upon y^e reporte from y^e comitted of Examinations

my respects p^resented hearty to ever one wth love to my children

I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5562

To his Loveing Friend

M^r Philip Fryth

At Rye

These p^resent

In

Sussex 2

Loveing Friend

London. Febr. 1. ♀: 1667

If I mistake not I gave you accompt last weeke of my Receipt of Edw Beales tickets of which I will take care as of others but there wants a letter of Attorney to impower mee To act for him, wth att the office is now very strictly required of us. I have this day rec^d both yo^rs of y^e 24th & 29th past, in one whereof You write to know what I can doe for Robt Battens pay in the greate mary, (w^{ch} ship suppose to bee y^e old speaker, & is now in the docke at Woolw^{ch}) but you sent mee no ticket for his pay not letter of Attorney to act for him; nor yet say whither I must pcure a ticket for him; w^{ch} if that bee the shipp I thinke I can doe for him, But must have a letter of Attorney in y^t case as in whatsoever for y^e future: I would have you let Jn^o Boyle know I have received his tickett for y^e Sloman w^{ch} I will psue to gett pfected; butt must have also a letter of Attorney to act for him in yo^r last, you advise mee there is noe mustard seed to bee gotten at Rye (w^{ch} is y^e best of seeds) so y^t I doubt y^e trouble of buying at & sending from Dover may bee more then will countervaile our pfit. Yet if y^e seed there bee good which I also feare) and that it could bee pcured to bee sent up at 3 or 4d p bushell price, wthout mch trouble, a bushell of 2: might not bee amisse: for Robt Wakely money I leave yet received nothing here to deduct it, though I am not unmindfull of his buisines: yet for y^t you have not rec^d that not Tho. Brookes money lent him, at Woolw^{ch}: I will in y^e next tickett mony for Rye when I pmitt it send 20d to my Children: y^t their shoes & other necessarys may bee put for; wth other contributions fall short of: yet with many thinkes returned to all my freinds for what they doe for mine; w^{ch} is done

to mee: I write to M^r Bennett now, & hope to write to M^r or M^{rs}
Gillart next weeke. I am sorry to find y^e ptestants in so deepe a sleepe
wth others also watchfull. I heare yet ports commisions [illegible]
their trained bands are seized on & remanded at such a time as this.
The Lord bee an hideing place for you all: I have added a little
newes in M^r Bennetts letter w^{ch} I cannot transcribe againe: my hearty
respects p^rsent to you yo^r good wife wth all freinds, leaveing you all to God I

Yours Jllin

FRE 5563

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Febr. 9th. 1667.

Yors of y^e 4th & start with the enclosed I recd: in answer
I have plyed the com^{dr} of y^e navy these 3 weekes with position
for a ticket for Marke Jacobs service in the bristole but can
yet get no answer, yet am not without hopes of attayning
if all things goe not to ruin first: for our feares as of danger
heighten; yesterday I heare y^e Govenor of Dover castle hath beene
complained of for forbidding use of y^e ports malitia in case
of y^e Frenches arrivall; & for that hath recd. a Clocke out no
contrary order: the next wednesday nothing beeing y^e 13th instant is much
talkt of for a dreadfull bloody day: some say bragged of beforehand
by y^e papists what they will doe that day: however such things are
feared Plymouth at y^e furthest; & the like in Ireland: yesterday the
parliam^t was progued by his matio, to the 24th August some say
10th of october next: his matio told them there were some overtures
of peace, wch he hoped they would not bee angry if concluded before
their meeting agayne: for y^e concernes I have from y^ey are all
under motion for affecting so soone as possible: but 'tis not to
bee imagined how things of that nature of are interrupted by the
mutinousnes of the seamen. yet I rec^d a small ticket yesterday
for Edw. Brookes for y^e Triumph of 3117s6d tell him of it

& let mee know what I must doe with the money: as for what you write about an hott still I will give you accompt of shortely: but cannot yet enquire: & truely I feare all things will bee quite naught. the Lord fitt us to suffer what he pleases: & to doe his worke faithfyllly. my hearty respects & love to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds wth you as if named. & love to my little ones leaveing you all in the Almighty hand & armes where onely safety is to bee had haveing not whither I may write againe, if things feared come to passed, yet if life bee left I will & remayne

Yours Jllin

FRE 5564

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These 2
p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Febr. 16 1667.

There was 2 things I had thought would have pdured a line from you this weeke besides y^e opportunity of neighbours to send by; 1st the disposall of Edw. Brookes tickett money for the Triumph of w^{ch} I gave you accompt p last. the other is for ye disposall of yo^r 2 bottles on board Richard Oake; w^{ch} I have not yet taken up, because I want advice what to doe: hee brought my mortar &c. on shoare at Woolw^{ch} for mee I thanke you for sending him. through mercy y^e 13th day is past & wee yet alive, but o^r feares are not gone butt still growing here upon the approach of soldiers to greate numbers, about y^e suburbs wch wee understand not: greate talke is now of peace some say concluded with Holland, but not wth France: I cannot enlarge now I have seene M^r Grebell M^r Shinnor & young Mrs Cadman by some of o^e neighbours I will send you twenty shillings for my children, my love to them. respects to yorself wife Mr Jeake old woman M^r Bennett M^r Miller yeir wives &c. to all as if named, leaveing you all to God I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5565

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Febr. 21. 1667.

This morning I fetcht your Ayn Rofar
out of Richard Oake & carryed it to M^r Pigott: but you
gave mee no price of it, nor advice this fortnight about
it, hee talked of 2d6d or 8 groates parcell in exchange
for medicines. let mee heare p next what yo^r price
of it is & what medicines you desire in lieu of it.
I thinke you have Basilius Valentines his last
will & Testam^t. if you will prte from it I
will give you any content you will desire for it
for I know not where to gett it since y^e fire, and
I shall want it much. I hope this spring will favour
us in y^e getting some prima materia, if the
pvidence of God p^event but our feares of disurbance
or desolution otherwise: w^{ch} god of his mercy
prevent; if you will pte from y^t booke & at our
feares bee delayed for till y^e carry or returne
again to London I pray send it mee; and
direct it as you use to write. my love to my little ones
wth hearty salutes to all freinds. some of w^m I meant
to have written to had our neighbours returned by land
before my returne to London this weeke. I heare nothing
how to send Ed. Brookes money. my hearty salutes
to you & yo^r good wife &c. I leave you all to God & rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5566

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind March. 2^d. 17. 1667.

I have at last I thinke rec^d all yo^r letters you mention
have since pd Ed. Brookes mony to 3110s6d: & 7s allowance to my selfe to Jos. Boyce I shallbee
carefull of Robert

Brownes pilott bill & so I shall doe what I can in Tho. Dainels buisines
for Robt Batten: but know not whither y^e tickett bee yet payd or not &
if put I doubt past recovery. I went to questione & found neither y^e man
Hon. Tumson (w^{ch} is gone to Newcastle) not his wife at Rome, but heard by
a neighbour there; that hee had both left a letter of Attorney & deed of
guift too there for y^t tickett: that Daniell had lodged there & money & other
wayes was layd out for him & that the tickett was but about fifteen pound
whereas y^e letter of attourney to mee speakes it to bee twenty one pounds and
fortene shillings: neither am I heare certainly where y^e tickett
is: 'tis s^d here y^t Daniel putt it into y^e office himselfe. & whither tooke
it out againe I know not: I feare y^t buisines much: but will doe
what I can to prevent it, at least my endeavour shallbee to gett
so much of it as Batton, band come to; wn I can heare of y^e tickett.
your Elixir & seeds I hope to send you next weeke: & accompt of yor
aqu. Ros. & things for it: & such a copper head & all things to it, as
will have 4 gallons I heare will cost about foure pounds: but if
you desire me I will speake for one to bee made els not to bee gotten.
I thinke I remember you owne sent a letter to me for Suff: w^{ch} I sent assuredly
or shall send another when soever you send one. I rec^d Bazil Valentine
but whither my owne (further then you please to call it so) or yours Truly
I cannot now say: but however thanke you for it: for I cannot now tell
where to find it since y^e fire to bee gotten at any rate: but I would willingly
allow you reason for it. I would not damage yo^r health in getting some
prima materia, but otherwise I very much covett some. ☉in ♁: next
weeke I expect a universall license ad practicandus: & this weekey
mett with you an after to goe to Oxford with a freind: for one yeare to worke in
y^e university chemicall laboratory: if my freind take y^e master shipp
of y^t worke I shall goe his assistant: a fortnight phaps I may heare more:

in the meane time not a word of it: 'tis too ture y^t wee have lost o^r Burbados
fleete, taken & carryed into France. 17 sayles wth their convoy: some say 24: I
see no likelihood of peace nor knownot whence any good should come except
from above. my hearty respects to yo^r selfe & freinds with love to my children I rest.

Yors Jllin

FRE 5567

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

wth a parcell on Saturday night

& Gallipott

Loveing Freind

March. 8th. ♀. 1667.

These lines are onely to give you accompt of my health
through mercy, & that I should bee glad to heare of yors, w^{ch} this
weeke yet brings mee no newes of. I have herewth sent p carryer
℥ iij. Elixir at old prize marjoram seed & Bazill as you wrote for 2d
and sugarpease ... & y^e charge of postage because my time
could not possibly afford mee so fetch y^e Elixir &c. to y^e Carriers.
is about 1d which at p^rsent I hope you dispense withall & will get
it up another way for a Copper still. there is no likelihood to gett one to
content without bespeaking one: w^{ch} when you order, shall bee done: giving
y^e quantity you would have it sold: if it bee above 4 gallons it will bee
both too bigg & too deare: w^{ch} anyone wth apportenances will cost be—
tweene 3 & 4 yo^r bottles I thinke to send as you desire by Richd Oake
& y^e accompt & where for yo^r waters having no time yesterday
to make up y^t acct: beeing then about my license ad practicand)
& pmises thereof failed, not holding to bee done without subscribing
in such sorte as no man may come neere y^m: for a Physitian hath
nothing at all to doe either wth abrenuntiation of y^e Coven^t not
with y^e adopting of ceremonies. & so I left them. I have rec^d a small
tickett 3l7s6d p W^m Starke in the Triumph; I hope shortely to leave
y^e other ticketts: hee or shee w^m it concernes may please to give a generall order how to
send the money: & to have a discharge: the talkes of peace

growes every day hotter & hotter, through y^e weather colder &
colder at 4l p chaldron: I can not heare y^t D. Buckingham
is yet taken: not his steward secured as was reported: but they
are lookt for : my hearty love to all my freind, & children in
greate hast, saluting your selfe & wife in much reality I must rest
Yors Jllin

FRE 5568

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

March. 16. 1667

Recd yo^s of the 12th Instant with I thinke all yo^r former
I have rec^d but yet can give you no further answer to any of
their concernes then I have done formerly, yet am as diligent to
all intents & purposes as I can so farr that this bad weather
with crashing too & againe and waiteing all day at y^e pay office
though to no purpose all this weeke, I have gotten such a cold
in my head y^t I can scarce hold up my head to write: and
am afrayd of loosing my left eye it I cannot remove y^t distemper
upon y^e breakeing up of y^e weather which yet I hope I shall doe:
but I am much troubled to heare how it is with my son: & know
not well what to direct because I cannot guesse how it may bee
before this letter come to hand: by yo^r relation, one Judgeth is to
arise from obstruction in the spleene: & thinke that a good pectorall
dicocion, wth good store of pipings to restore his spirits and
two or 3 drops of oyle of sulphur in a draught may doe him
good: another freind judge the originall cause to bee wormes
& advise to take ℥j. syrupi magistralis wth ℥j. puls. ad lumbrices
in a draught of posset drinke: both to purge choler & evacuate wormes.
hee, also in case his owne Childrens blood abound as many times
seane persons may bleeds them in the arme wth one 2 leeches
to y^e quantyty of 2 or 3 ℥ of blood: all which in convenient
seasons (whereof without sight I cannot judge) may bee done

ye vacuation of blood by vomit if blackish; my pceed from
ulcerous lungs: to which it may bee good to use syrup ...
with y^e quanty of 2 or 3 ℥. of blood: all which in convenient
I cannot determine anything possible, but must leave him to you
& my good freinds, who I make no doubt but will take y^e best
advice y^e towne will afford to which I shall not bee wanting to
contribute my charges with all my heare for it is a greate affliction
to mee that I no more for him: in my absence
(marginal)

wth syrup of wild poppies ℥j. or ℥ ij wth

his lohoch if hee bleed much: or else
some however is good: if y^e cause be wormes
y^e pectorall decoction will feed them
(second page)

I pray take M^r Wayles advice & for dispensatory
prescriptions, if you have yem not, let him make them right
if you judge together y^t he is capable of takeing y^m or that
they bee fitt for him: for I know not how y^e case many now
stand. my hearte yerne for him. y^e lord helpe him wee
are here in danger of every day. last saturday or sabath daynight
some say y^e Tower was neere bloweing up. wthin some fingers
length of y^e match bursting out to a traine: last thursday
morning an empty house where no man lived was
blowne up wth gun powder neere B^{pp} gate & neere to a
a greate lost of hay: & last night 2 houses more were
talkes of peace is risen yesterday up a fresh: my deare
respects to M^r & M^{rs} Bennett for all their loves to & care
of my son: I thinke to send them a small token of tobacco
wth yo^r bottles by Richd Oake: if all things hold safe
heere so long: my love to my little ones: hearty respects
to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds as if named. I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5569

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent

in
Sussex 4

Loveing Freind

March. 23. 1667. h

I thanke you for yo^r care of my son, & am glad to heare of his recovery: I yesterday rec^d Richd Thurston mony 14l03s00d & put M^r Joseph Boyes for him 12l15s: y^e rest I hope he will allow me: I also put to him for Elizabeth Kate, of W^m Starkey mony for y^e Tryumph. 3l10s6d reserveing 7s w^{ch} made 3l17.06d wth w^{ch} I hope she will bee satisfyed as others are I rec^d 30d this weeke for Robt Brawnes pilateing y^e freezland w^{ch} I waite for order to pay: I have sent you also by Richard Oake one bottle of Linseed oile 2l &c. according to y^e note inclosed & yo^r 2 stone bottles. also 2l of tobacco for M^r Bennett & 2l for M^r Jeake & 2l for will doe Shoesmith & ½ lib. for W^m Wakely: w^{ch} I hope you will take care to p^rsent wth my respects: y^ere is no still to bee had without bespeaking. I desire to know if you meane to have a tubb & worme wth it & brasse lockes & all things to it. & in yo^r next letter draw up the forme of w^l still you would have for I thinke you you are mistaken in yo^r quotation of Febr. or els my booke differ from yors: if you meane a blind head or buckett or tubb: yo^r forme or figure will show: this weeping weather. will make us I hope laugh with prima materia: I thinke not to goe to Oxford nor my freind neither. one day talke of peace & another day no peace I thanke god I am somewhat better. I cannot now enlarge, but wth love to my Children, & respects to all freinds as if named I have sent your Enchiridion
Physica. Restitut. by. R. Oake

I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5570

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in
Sussex 2

Mr Fryth & Loveing Freind March. 30. 1667

I long to heare allways of yo^r health & welfare, but at least once in a weeke I would hope you will not be silent if you able to write: I know not this weeke what to thinke y^t I have no lines from you, when I must needs desire to heare of my son John: concerneing when I heare that hee hath voided a stomacke worm, as M^r Boyd his letter to his son mention wormes gesterated in the stomacke are in clusters & not single: I rather eare it to be a worme ascending through the stomacke out of the bowells. & if so I doubt but a forerunner of his end: for I neer know any yet that lived: 'tis like the fleeting of mice & ratts from an house a little before its falling: nay, the values of y^e intestines (when wormes ascend) must needes bee broken or eaten to make y^eir way into the stomacke: a freinds Child here, dyed y^e next day after such an accident. I am much troubled about him, but know not how to direct for want of advice how it is: also I am troubled that I heare not how you doe: I wrote to you about your desire still: to give y^e forme of it, in yor next. as for wormes ꝯ dulcis gr. 6 8 or 10: and pulver ad lumbricos. ꝯ j more or lesse & Aloii Rosata as much, made into a pill or 2: according to y^e strength of ye party, with syrup Absynth or almost any other syrup: both safe & Excellent agst the wormes of any sorte or place I would begg of you to heare how my son doth every post so long as hee shall continue very ill; except on Fryday morning. post of w^t you send on Saturday night will bee as some with mee as the other because of my goeing out of towne on saturday morning & returneing Monday or Tuesday: I am now in hast & cannot enlarge: but I can heare of no certaine of peace, notwithstanding y^e preparation to a trusting respects to yo^r selfe wife &c. presented I rest Yors Jllin
(marginal)

I pray deliver the
inclosed wth speed

FRE 5571

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex / 2

Loveing Freind

Aprill. 6. 1667

Yors of the 2d Instant I have rec^d & thanke you for it
I have according to direction therein given, put to M^r Jn^o Byndlos
for Robt Browne 26s & thanke him for his allowance
about y^e still, I will againe examin y^e booke & give you you further
accompt next weeke: & as for materia prima, wee must waite
for some showres to make it grow: I am almost in the mind
the buisines may come to something about my goeing to ...
but it will bee midsummer before wee shall fall to worke there
if peace & quietnes continue amongst us. notwithstanding
all the talkes of peace & treaty, I feare none wth Holland
will bee efected & some say there were 45 sayle of them
sene this weeke, about y^e foreland & wee are chaining up
Quinborough & Harw^{ch} harbours as I heare, besides building
some castles hereabout I rec^d Salmons tickett: & y^e old man
hath sealed the letter of Att: sent mee up wth it. & it shall bee
taken care of: I pray tell W^m Oake the Burser of y^e Unity
have not seat any tickett for his son Wm yet; & I thinke
hee really meaneth that hee shall have none notwth
-standing his faire promises: I cannot enlarge at y^e p^rsent
but wth love to all my little ones, respects must heartyly
p^rsented to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds as if named, I rest

Yor loveing Freind, Jllin

William Wakely would desire you to tell Alice Bishop
that hee bought 14l of sugar & sent her by Jn^o Parker
which cost 7s: w^{ch} is more then hee have for to doe it
wth: w^{ch} is shee should pay to W^ms wife.

FRE 5572

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex / wth 2

Loveing Friend Woolw^{ch}. Apr. 20th. 1667

Yors of the 16th Instant & two letters the next weeke I have recd to have by reason of beeing at home here could not well receive answer till now; nor indeed now so fully as I intend y^e next weeke. there hath been nothing done since wednesday before Easter in the paym^t of any seamens ticketts or bills. nor cann wee tell when there will: it is pleaded for reason, y^ey cannot yett gett any money I have beene at London this weeke. to see after buisines, but was glad to hasten some to saver charges this weeke as well as the last: and as to buisines of which neverthesse I must give accompt 1st the case of Thomas Daniels directed here the affair say which hee say in his letter of Attourney which hee sent to mee wth R. B. bond makes it to bee 21114s00: I can neither find my such tickett in the office, nor yet in the hands of that Tamson in nightingale whither I was to doe for in or money. yt Goodman is & was at sea; the women shoves a letter of Attourney wth y^e force of a deed of guist also for y^e money: but shee sayth that he never lost any tickett into y^e office, where but told them that hee had put such a tickett into y^e office, nor yet none such can yet bee found. I watch y^e buisines as well as I can to prevent her catching either money or tickett: & shee pay further if I will give her 20d w^{ch} is due to her as she say (seeing my authority) will quitt her looking after it; but I have no such pticular order to doe so: neither will I doe any such thing (if I had order) without either seeing & haveing the tickett fayrely in my possession; or money for it: & shee also saith y^e tickett cometh but to 15l00 money: w^t to doe in it I know not, but them concerned in it know w^t I say & give further directions. tell Wm. Oake y^t notwithstanding y^e faire pmises of y^e Leitenant & Purser at the Unity or a tickett for his son Williams service on y^t ship, yet I can get none for him not yet a line in answer from the Leiutenant about nor can I yet meete with y^e Purser to speake him fare to fare: all that I can heare is that hee would send mee to Lord Bronker w^o had some ticketts from on board ship y^t were made out for some home when hee was there: but say not that there was ever

any ticketts made out for W^m Oake which is worse y^en say nothing:
Tell Maudlin Wakely that wee hope her husband is safe at Newcastle.
before this time hee went away about Wednesday was sennight before her
letter to him came to hand: but the content of it so farr as 'tis in my power
shallbee psued: though I thinke there willbee but little good done wth Parrall
about her brother Andrew Wakelys goods. Parrat is so much a knave, I shall
doe my best. I am promised answer to my Petition for a tickett for Marke
Jacobs service in the Bristoll. but whither it willbee so or no, or w^t it willbee
when it comes. I cannot say, I have nothing to doe but mind others buisines, which
is myne at p^rsent . & hope to finish what is in my hand before my goinge to Oxford.
& then I shall recommend my freinds to somebody to doe it for y^em y^t I hope will bee
carefull in it. the case of my goinge to Oxford I thinke I gave you pte to
understand before; but mroe fully thus. The university of Oxford is about
to erect a Chymicall Laboratory for p^eparations of medicines or
what they please it will cost them 2000l before y^ey begin, & halfe
as much yearely for five yeares in materialls utinsels salary &c. a freind of myne
hath taken the working of it for them. hee is to have 200l downe
& 160l per Ann. & 20l more for an assistant to w^{ch} hee will
add another 20l & make mee his assistant: all charges theirs
no prescription of theirs but wee are to know & see y^e compo—
sition of: 2 glasses in every 12 to be wrought by freind
is to have for himselfe to worke what hee pleaseth: wherein I
shall have a share goinge hopefully to as much advantage
as any other way: wee shall have y^e whole Art of workeing
in chymistry to practise if y^e as y^e grand Elixir bee not intended
besides. I thinke security it to bee given this weeke by pticular psons
on behalfe of y^e university &c.: for my freind would not accept y^e body of
& paym^t of salary &c. for my freind would not accept y^e body of
y^e university for security: I have no freinds here agst it knowing
no such way for improvem^t for mee. it is talked as if wee & France
are already agreed: but not so thought of Holland: y^e Embassadors
are to goe next weeke. though none expect a peaceable issue of y^eer
voyage. I am sorry for your danger & feares, y^e lord divert y^m
I am afrayd Joan is not so well as you intimate, my love to all my
children & respects heartyly to yo^rselfe wife & all freinds p^rsentd I rest

Yours, Jllin

FRE 5573

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
2 p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Woolw^{ch}. Apr. 27. h₂:1667

Least you should also wonder what is the matter if you had
have no from mee this weeke I thought good to send lines to
let you know if I was up at London. but one night this weeke because
there was no buisines to bee done there yet nor know I when there will
for paym^t either of bill tickett, neither could I then meete with
any letter from you or any or sight of or M^r Tho Miller Junieur; for
both w^{ch} I am very sorry: but I hope you will have a letter from
mee this last weeke w^{ch} I was forced to send from hence as now
I doe. I hope you are all well. I long to heare of my children
& freind. here is no newes to communicate there was on ☉day
last was sennight found about the Temple church a warning
dropt for protesants imitating y^e designe of Rome to burne
ye remainder of y^e city before before y^e next sessions of Parliament
& y^t y^e French are to land an army at Dover & thereabouts
&c. I may not write it now: I suppose T. M. will bring y^e
coppie downe wth him. I cannot enlarge but hope to meete
yor letters at London next weeke in y^e meane while
my respects to yo^r selfe with love to my children
& hearty respects to all freinds as if named I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5574

To M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Woolw^{ch}. May. 4th. 1667 h₂

Yours of the 20th past I rec^d & hope that the lord doth carry you through what he hath sett before you with some measure of comforte & patience y^e good lord furnish both you & mee and all the more abundant of manner if grace which in this evill day will bee all needfull & none of that coyle will bee to bee spared. I am sorry I have no better accompt of buisines to give you yet, to have not yet begunn agayne to pay, nor know wee when they will. but I have some private hope something may bee done next weeke by way of beginning to pay: & I assure you none of any buisines by still. but is all in motion to its end as opportunity will pmitt. when I leave off I shall give you accompt & advice what my freinds shall doe: but If that doore seemes to be shutt againe, for my freind & the university agreem^ts differed in pointe of security to be given for pformance of convenants & paym^t of salary: they refusinge to him pticular security by lands as was propounded & all things els concluded before: if y^e university should come on againe cleare in that poynt, wee shall goe yet, els not. & then I shall bee able to serve you heere so long as y^e lord continue health & peace: y^e many attempts of fireing y^e city this weeke in servall places, troubles every head that thinke of it; & wee feare they will not rest till the rest bee burnt. M^r Pigott liveth in St James Dukes place; by y^e church I am glad to heare my children & freinds are in health: but Jn^o you say does not thrive, in yo^r next if you can let me heare what hee hath taken & how it wrought & whither hee have since any way voided more wormes: & where hee comlpaynes most. my love to my little ones for whose use I promised & intendended to have sent 20s long before now, but truely I have (second page) not gotten the money It hath cost mee these 2 months so waite upon others buisineses. my hearty respects to yor selfe, wife, & all freinds as if pticularly named: I have some while since seene some y^e greate Elixir perfect. I wish I had some prima materia when any to bee had & you able to gather it: I was forced to come yesterday beeing no thing to bee downe at London besides expenses about a fortnight since Draiton in Shropshire a little market towne was in greate pte burnt downe about 53 houses

dry all whole to dry them till they will
perfectly pulverise: which seive & set up
(second page)
the ponder in a glasse, closet stopt to keepe
for use of that give about y^e quantity of what
will lye upon a greate morning or evening in
a glasse of rich wine, manage if you can get
this is good for the young: I pray let me heare
from you: how you & they doe. wth y^e rest of my
freinds: I know not yet whither any habitation
informe you certainly I will give you accompt
of it; & in y^e meane while wth respects p^rsent
to your selfe wife & all freinds as if named I rest
for newes I leave you
to M^r and M^{rs} Bennett
Yours John Allin

FRE 5576

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth at
Rye
These p^rsent
For conveyance, leave this ltr
at y^e post house in crutched Fryars
London

Loveing Freind
Woolw^{ch}. May. 25. 1667
Yors of the 21th Instant I have rec^d for w^{ch} I thanke you
& have accordingly endeavoured to send you ʒ iiij of Elixir by the
carryer, w^{ch} I hope you will receive, on monday if not this night: I have
little more at the p^rsent to add, but that 'tis uncertaine till next weeke
whither wee shall yet goe to Oxford, I wish for it before anything here
that I can doe towards getting: If I goe not that way I shall come
neerer London: where yet I thanke there are not fewer dangers then
feares attending: on y^e last Lords day at Burnt wood
was taken about 3 or 9 Irish men & women upon Suspicion of
Endeavouring to fire that towne: & beeing carryed many letters
of bad importance as to y^t nature & sword to bee added, very closley

sowne to & in the folds of their garm^{ts}, some about y^e women so
privily hid as might bee judged to bee free from their search. y^e letters
were sent up (divers without opening) to London, for w^{ch} many of the
towne & country were & are offended wth the Justice, y^t did not see
more of y^e contents of y^m before they went. but the persons are
yet in Chelmesford prison no certainty yet, some say no likelihood
of peace with either French or Dutch: the Earle of Southampton
is dead & that place of Lord High Treasurer of England at p^rsent
supplied by Comissioners: the 2 young Dukes of y^e Duke of Yorks
family are very sick. I shall bee glad to see you: In the meane while
wth most hearty respects p^rsent to yo^r selfe good wife all freinds as
if p^ricularly named: to M^r & M^{rs} Bennetts & Elizabeth Burne: let them
know I have sent 2 little drumms by Henry Mann of our Towne, one
the biggest for my son John: the other for Ed. Burnes little one: as I thinke
M^{rs} Bennett told, but shee know certainly. I have also by Hen. Mann
sent a small cheshire cheese, of 1110d wth E.B.: upon it for M^{rs} Beaton
to whom I p^rsent my respects, wth love to all my children wishing
you also may bee had in the hollow of the Lords hand, in this his day,
& to bee furnished with all grace suitable to all occasions of doeing or of
suffering, I comitt you all to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind
Jllin

FRE 5577

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

At Rye

These

2 p^rsent

In

Sussex

Loveing Freind

June. 20th. 24: 1667

At the long runn I rec^d yo^rs of the 8th Instant I rec^d & by this
time I thinke you may long to heare from mee: but you must know
I have beene forced to a suddaine remove from my former habitation
at Woolw^{ch} that it hath beene a buisy as well as chargeable time

with mee: besides since that I suppose you cannot but have heard
the noise of our publike troubles feares and dangers upon y^e
approach of the Dutch fleete so neere us: which hath putt us here
almost into an uproare, haveing heard little besides the noyse
of drumms & clattering of armes for now above these tenn
dayes: that I have not gotten my things in order yet since my
arrivall that my new quarters which are now at Ratcliffe
Crosse, at y^e signe of the 3 marriners a pastry cookes house
where I have 2 chambers and a cellar chymney to worke
in, if peace may but ensue: w^{ch} yet wee have no signe of:
although the gazette tells us that the Dutch fleete are gone, yet others
say that they have some recruites from Holland & are fortifyeing of
Sheare nesse upon y^e Ile of Shepey agst us our reports & feares
of a French fleete & army have beene & to some still is occassion
of feare & danger, because least too many should bee found
amongst us ready to Joyne with them if they come: but
there are some hopes left that the papists & their Colleagues
in England are goeing downe till: especially if it bee
Lt High Constable in England: its s^d Old Blacke Tom
is sent for & come up to Courte in order to employ as
also they say Manchester Massey S^r W^m Waller, Colonel Ressiter
& some other old blades are newly betrusted to raise soldiers.
& Ingolsby 10 troopes of horse: you cannot be also
this time ignorant that in [illegible] y^e Dutch hath done.
in Chattan [illegible]

(second page)

viz. burnt the unity. Matthias & Chales y^e 5th
mrch^tman: the Royall James: Royall Oake & loyals London
and taken & carryed off wth them y^e Royall Charles:
w^{ch} they make the bearer of their standard neither
can you but suppose wee have beene doeing something
all this while to p^event their knocking at our doores.
at Woolw^{ch} wee have reared divers battereys & greate
gunns from shore, & sunke y^e golden Phoenix the
House of Sweeds y^e welcome, Delft & other shippes
in the river there: & at Blacke wall wee have
sunke 5 ships more: one of y^e kings leaden with
10000l worth of supplyes of Cordage &c. for y^e frigatts about Bristoll.
y^e rest mrch^tmen. & there as at Woolw^{ch} wee keepe constant

guard wth soldiers. Besides greate gunns mounted:
& 10 saile of fire shipps are made ready to send to
the Dutch fleete. St Jeremiah Smith hath laso taken about
11 Dutch light mrch^ts bound Eastward yet have wee
much adoe to secure our selves at some, there hath lately
beene taken many fire workes & some boyes &c. imployed
to fire but yet now also comes to nothing y^e remaynder here: the lord bee out guard, for
else more mischeif even of y^t nature will attend us.
they begin to talke of paying Seamen againe tomorrow,
if you have any ticketts to send the sooner y^e better
onely you must remember letters of Attorney wth y^m
bee not knowne where I live but direct yo^r letters next
for mee, wthout nameing my name y^e outside. to
M^r Edward Burtt at his house in the
new buildings goinge onto Tower Hill out of Crotched Fryars.
wth y^e old disstinction over London.
I shall long to heare from you & see you when I cann.
my love to my little ones & hearty respects to yo^r selfe
wife & every freind in pticular that aske for mee
p^rsented I comitt you all to god & rest Jllin
(marginal)

The newes of trusting new levies wth old men is at an end and
other feares attending of D. Alb. laying downe &c.
Haveralll in Suff. 60 houses & y^e church lately burnt.

FRE 5578

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
pst pd 2d These p^rsent
in Sussex

Loveing Freind

Yors of the 16th Instant I am at y^e old place of direction from till
yesterday yo^r of y^e 17th by M^r Greenfold I found accidentally at London
on tuesday last for I saw him not, beeing just before come away from
Woolw^{ch}, yo^rs of y^e 25th I mett with at y^e new place of direction
yesterday morning to all w^{ch} I have not much to say yet in

answer; I will advise about M^r Greenfeilds buisines, next time
I can meete with my freind: for newes I have nothing considerable
to acquainte you with St George Carterett is leaveing his office of
Treasuerer for the Navy; till w^{ch} office & the appurtenances bee a little
settled there willbee no money payd neither for bills nor ticketts.
the Gazette newes, about constituting a comitee of y^e privy councill
for examination of wrongs done y^e seamen, & receiving y^eir complaints
(a remedy phapps worse then the disease) & of revealling y^e Parliamt
to sett 25th of y^e next months: about 6 weekes before y^e time of their
progration willbee out, I shall not need to write of but thus hint it.
I suppose you may also have heard of y^e Dutiyes second approach
wth in shott of Gravesend on wednesday & thursday last, they are
now all gone to y^e buoy in the Noore, or Lower: yet it did
occassion a new alarme here, wth an additionall fortification
at Woolw^{ch} & below: they have at Woolw^{ch} planted above
100 greate gunns very advantagiously to secure any attorneys
of so neere an approach, if the Dutch or French should dare
to offer it. wee have there also about 25 fire ship: & very
frigatts ready to joyne wth others when wee get any others
fitted: six mrch^t shippes are now taken up for men of warr
here in the River, & are now fitting for y^e purpose: y^e Royall Exchange
a ship laden for NEngland so had beene so farr other voyage as the
Downe: [illegible] Baltamore: Loyall Subject. Society & the
Lewis: 2 w^{ch} last were fitted & in pte if not altogether laden for
to goe to y^e West Indies: but truly I thinke o^r danger is more at home,
& towards y^e end of every weeke o^r feares beginns. & hold 2 or 3 nights at least.
(second page)

I walked this day to Woolw^{ch} & am but just
come home though 'tis late & so cannot enlarge: y^e Duke
of Buckingham tis said hath surrendered himselfe to his Ma^{ty}.
& since went to the Tower in his coach, but they did
not stay him there. hee dined in state yesterday in
the city, & is much lookt upon by y^e people as hee
passeth: wee are every day beating up y^e Drummers
for to list an army &c.: & wee keepe pretty good guards
constantly every night: & I thinke y^e Hollander is
much awakened us phaps for y^e better. Tell Maudlin
I have not heard one word from her husband since
hee went hence: but I suppose hee is at Newcastle after

still wth the rest of the fleete: coales here were
sold last tuesday for 7l10s p chaldron. y^e city
is exceeding straitned for firing: yet I would not have
houses burnt for that end. my hearty love to all
freinds as if pticularly named, yo^rselfe & wife in a
speciall manner wth my love to my children p^rsent
I comitt you all to God, under whose wings onely
is shelter to bee found, & so I rest

Your Lo: Freind

Jllin

let mee heare still at least
once a weeke from you
& you shall have y^e litle from mee

FRE 5579

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

p^d 2d Sussex

Loveing Freind

July. 13. h: 1667

Yours of y^e 30 & 7th instant I have rec^d but cannot
satisfy you in all things for answer at p^rsent firstly I went
& found out Jn^o Howard that have y^e doeings wth those stones
you wrote of: hee sayth M^r Benbrigg that of him about
15 shillings for charges about y^m, but nothing for lyeing
which hee say was agreed for at first for 18d p [illegible]
hee intend to come to Rye about monday come sennight & y^{em}
you may know his mind further. otherwise hee will call upon
mee & give me further answer for you. senna y^e best at
6d p ʒj: & Rubarb y^e best about 12s p lib. y^e worst about
5s p lib. one asked. 16d per ʒj. cittron pills I am
told: if Italian may yeald about 3s p lib. if West Indian
scarse one: not worth sending up: for newes I have neither
time not matter to write. but Rich. Truebody w^o came twice
this weeke to towne will better informe you. for y^e table

I am not willind to lend but to sell it: send me word
what they will give; or make y^e most of it. for I have
need enough: not one penny of money yet to bee payd
to poore seamen. I cannot not enlarge at p^rsent for
feare my letter come too late to reach you this post:
Love & respects heartyly p^rsent to yo^r selfe wife all
freinds as if named wth my Children I leave you all
to god & rest

Yours Jllin

(other side, list of names, not Allin's handwriting)

FRE 5580

To his very loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These

2 p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind July. 27: 1667

I rec^d none from you since my last to you yet I
must salute you with these few lines at p^rsent to let you
and the rest of my freinds know that thorough money I
am in health which is more then divers of my freinds in joy.
I have 2 freinds w^m I went to visit them this day sennight at Woolw^{ch}
& both of them then very well, but now I know not whither they
bee either if y^e man of his wife alive: it is a sickely time
especially with Children, many of whom dye, & some men
suddainly; I should bee glad to heare of my freinds and
Childrens health & wellfare wth you: besides the casualtyes
of sicknes wee know not our danger otherwise every night.
I suppose you may have heard by this time of that dreadfull
& desperate fire in the Borough of Southwarke not farre
from the Spurr Inn: wherein divers persons were burnt and
spoyled, about 40 familyes distended of their habitations and
some that now have beene twice burnt out of their houses quite

undone, that had a considerable meanes of a lively hood
before: there are evidences enought of its beeing set on fire;
but neither the Cheife actors bee taken or no, or what willbee
the effect wee cannot say: That morning y^e Parliam^t mett,
but were ordered to adjourne till monday next; neverthelesse
after y^e they made a motion that in case peace (as 'tis said
& beleived is in the concluding) bee confirmed; that the King
bee desired to disband y^e new raised army: notwithstanding which
a little after Exchange time yesterday, y^e drummes beate up
for more volunteers to bee listed & entred into p^rsent pay.
The newes yesterday's & Thursdayes engagement wth the Dutch, I
am not able to give you certaine information: the generall discourse
is that S^r Joseph Jordan came wth 14 sayle out of Harw^{ch}
on wednesday & that hee on one side & the few frigatts &
fire shipps wee had in the Thames have made a shift too
destroy all o^r y^e most of their fireshippes. some say wth y^e losse
of our Diamond frigatt besides a few fireshippes.

(second page)

wee are kept from weeke to weeke in hopes y^e Seaman,
Treasurer for y^e navy will begin to pay y^e seamen
but as yet they begin not, next weeke wee yet hope
there will bee on pay day, in w^{ch} I shall not as at
all times as I am able I shall not forgett y^e concerns
that are upon mee; though I professe this so long
& Chargeable attendance on that imployment
without any receipts, I thinke will never bee
are concerened, while I live to make but a salve:
for my expences about it all ready past: but God
onely knowes how little while this miserable life
will last, the lord fitt us for a better; my deare
respects to yo^r selfe wife M^r Jeake M^r & M^{rs} Bennett
M^r & M^{rs} Miller, Tho: M^r Marshall: widdows Byndlos
Thomas Beaton, Shoesmith &c. p^rsented with love
to my children I comitt you all to God & rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5581

To M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye
This p^rsent
in Sussex
wth a gallipott

Loveing Freind August. 9th. 1667.

Yors of the 4th instant I recd, and am glad to
heare from you, but sorry to heare you are ill, but
I hope your feare exceed the cause of feare: I herewth
send you 3 iiii. of y^e Elixir at y^e old price of 10s: as
to the state of affayres here, every nights p^eservation
not wthstanding housekeepers voluntary & nightly
watch, call for renewed thankfullnes. W^m Freeland
Sword seeme to attend us, besides y^e sickelynes of
the Season, y^e bill increasingly weekely though none
set downe of y^e plague. gripeing of y^e gutts is very
briefe: no peace yet pclaimed. some thinke 'tis lost.
professing seamen every day, but yet not a penny of pay.
I shall never overgrow my expenses in my so
long waiteing upon that occasion & got nothing
I am but fainte & ill, yet through mercy abroad.
I am glad to heare Jn^o thrives & y^e rest of my chil-
dren & freinds are well to them all in pticular
wth yo^r selfe wife &c. I desire to be remembered
and in hast remayne

Yours, Jllin

FRE 5582

To his loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These
p^rsent
in
Sussex p^d 2d

Aug. 29. 24.1667

After my thanks returned for your last lines & condoleing your
& your wive's with M^{rs} Thomas & her chidrens illness hoping to
leave better newes p next & of the writeing to your on Satureday
nor tuesday (beeing both dates p^rsented by y^e accesse of freinds and
some buisines for them y^t are sicke here) with a little accompt of
the peace, as farre as I have rec^d & can remember, thought not yett
extant in publike here: not till the 4th Sept next will or chanell
bee free from Danish incursions; nor till the 24th Sept: will
the seas bee free from y^e Channell mouth to let ships out
or home. for which presseing of men is now & then yet in use.
to equipp a fleete to fetch home o^r shattered fleete y^t went
towards S^t Christophers, where & at Guinnea some say & more thinke
wee may have lost 1000^s of men: & to meete whom y^e Dutch speakes this peace
wth them to bee everlasting wth more strictnes to bee observed
then heretofore. the admiralls of the men of warr, on both sides to bee
sworne to the keeping of them before admittance into their places y^e Dutch
to make their usuall complements at their meeting his ma^{tios} shipp
in the British seas. freedome of trade universally according to the
statutes & lawes of their respective dominions no letters of marke or
reprizall to be granted by either side to any forreigne Prince or
state: each others harbours free for men of warr of either side, to
the number of eight without leave & asking leave for more. all
places fortes & on shoare taken since the 10th of may last any
where to bee restored: all taken before y^t may be kept: each to
assist other by Land or sea agst their enemyes: no private
acts of hostility to bee a breath of the peace: not letters of reprizall
to bee granted till satisfaction bee denied y^e like for publicke
acts of shipp of warr; not to determine y^e peace, not no seizure of
shipp to bee made till after 6 months publike notice. all ships
taken in the British seas after 26 August or yesterday of elsewhere
respectively to bee restored without forme of processe or
any mannter of Dammage to the owners. the custome use or
to be Civill to each other in their searches &c.

(second page)

since the publication of the peace on Saturday, here hath like
to have beene a breach at home made upon y^e credit of
a Grandee by y^e demanding (wth signes of displeasure) of he
broad seale & purpose of state &c. wth some say is still to bee
kept (through grate mediations) till a faire triall can

bee had by his peeres at next Session of Paraliament
if so long hence there bee any need of such a thing.
some thing others feare, there willbee a snare layd for the
compliance of some Presbyt. by some overtures of indul-
gence prepareing for y^e next sessions also. of which
there hath beene some private hint or two given.

I cannot enlarge; but shall long to heare againe
how it pleaseth god the deale with you yours &
my freinds & little ones. my hearty respects to freinds,
& love to my little ones, I leave you all to God & rest

I know no how well to send Yours Jllin

by y^e carryer, but hope for safety
by y^e post. will wakely arrived
here last weeke, but I have not
yet seene him. phapps hee hath
taken a voyage for Deepe &c.

FRE 5583

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Sept. 12: 241667.

Yours last weeke, come this weeke w^{ch} M^r Harris brought, I
have received, but I have not seene M^r Harris since though I sought
him upon y^e exchange yesterday. phaps I may heare of him there
tomorrow; & if I doe, I will bee carefull not to pejudice you in that
buisines of Xtopher Neile. but for you copper still & worme knowing
where to have them in a little time I thinke it best that you please
your selfe in it; I will take care to see it shipt y^e 1^t opportunity
I looke for your comeing up as you said, & therefore doe not forgett
it, but if you should not come at all; then I will buy you a still
+ send it, through I have much rather have you psent: such an
one as you would have will cost a little more then 3 pounds.
here is no payment yet of seamen, neither can I learne when

occasions: I could not pay the last 10s for yo^r Elixir
neither can I for this, but yet hope to send you 3^{iiiij}
tomorrow by the carryer from y^e Spurr; but looke
for no letter with it, because I know not how
write againe this time. I thanke god I am indifferently
well at p^rsent . for newes all waite the Sessions of y^e Parliamt
I am in some hast & therefore cannot now Enlarge, but
wth hearty respects p^rsent to yo^r selfe, wife and all
my freinds as if pticularly named, wth love to my
children, I leave you all to God & rest

Your loveing Freind

Jllin

FRE 5585

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Lo: Freind

Octob^r. 19th. 1667

Yours of the 8th I rec^d, but am very soone to find both yor
pticular state & the state of the place in generall to bee in so bad a
plight: & no losse my owne, but the decay of freinds. I had hoped now
for Col. Morleys comeing up w^{ch} might have afforded mee some small
releife, but that it seemes is now quite lost, besides y^e falling off of
freinds wth you mention but name none: your pott of Elixir
had six ounces in it, because the pott would hold it, to save y^e trouble
sending so often, I added the 2 ounces: but I have payd for none of it.
& indeed to speake the truth, I was never at so low a pinch for money
since I saw you: I sent some medicines this yeare to Virginia
for a venture to about 6l value, & the Dutch hath gotten them
& 'tis so long since I rec^d any tickett money, yet have beene forced
dayly to bee at expences in attendance: & in p^eparing ticketts, that
I know not what to doe, whither my freinds believe it or no:
for the shelves I wrote for I know not what boards you meane: but

what I could find either in M^r Greenfields owne hand or in
the booksellers letters: but for the prizes in generall I have
gotten 2 freinds to sett downe in different prizes for y^m all.
for lightfoots Harmony. Tho. Carew as I remember I had
it when I came away, & M^r Bennett one booke or two
in folios which were M^r Greenfields. & I thinke they
were Sam Clarke of the 10 persecutions & the
moderne pfections: or one peice of y^e lives of
divers divines &c.: you may aske him what hee had,
hee is so honest, there is no feare of them. but upon
accompt hee must allow for them: the 2 papers of prizes
differs about 2 in the generall; but more in some particulars.
& I thinke both are out: there is 2s6d difference in Sibs: y^e cost in y^e margent
will rectify that: there is 4s diffe in Gouge on y^e Hebrewes: it is a good
booke: & may be worth the highest prize. I remember M^r Horne of Broad
would once faine have had it for 26s Willsons dictionary is a very
good booke. cost 16s but in that they both agree in their prizes: Boltons
works cost 18s. 10s or 8 either is the little both beeing but the it cost
Manton on James is a good booke & sells well. 4s is nearest y^e truth of
its worth: they were sold for more: Diodate is a good booke I could
never find it at 2d hand under 15s but 6s is too little by halfe
11s is neerer the worth but not enough. their prizes of Colehill, and
Prestons since overthrow differ much for so little value: you must
rectify yt by yo^r indigent: If you can gett 4l together for y^m all it will
doe well: & they willbee both well bought & well sold all things considered
but none of them will sell as they have apprized them: & so yey
both say: I am sorry you are so ill, I shall bee glad to heare better news
+ shall yet hope to see you here shortly: M^r Miller hath a parcell of very
I gave him; enjoyning him not onely to show them to you &c. but that you
may if you desire cobby them. most hearty respects p^rsentd to yor
selfe wife, all freinds as if named & love to my children I rest yours JA
(marginal)

this letter should have
beene sent on 2l
but could not bee
finished.

FRE 5587

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

post paid

2d

Loveing Freind

Nob^r. 30. 1667.

Yors of the 20th instant I rec^d this day and am glad to heare of you & the rest of my freinds safe arrival at home & of my childrens & freinds wellfare at Rye but am sorry your head is in so greate a molestation. know I what times it did most affliction on whither shooting or aking paynes & in what parte of y^e heard & what other symptomes you know are. I could the better let you know my thoughts, and as to M^r Mason agst next weeke, I will thinke of something & probably send her something by y^e carryer. I have rec^d for W^m Starkeys service in the Fairefax: 6l3s6d and per Mark Jacob in the same shipp. 1117s6d for y^e paym^t of both w^{ch} I waite an order to W^m to pay it: 2s p lib. I expect as common: but you know what I told you, my long waiting hath done: what & Wm they will order mee to pay, shall bee put upon receipt of such order: the Houses of Parliam^t seeme to bee both resolved one (y^e L^ds) con. y^e Comons pro. an impeachm^t of Lt Chancelor besides other both houses (ye king beeing p^rsent) about the matter: next tuesday will bee y^e greate debate about it, w^{ch} some thinke will ptest the dissolution of y^e Parliam^t ye Commons are very stiffe, for yeir priviledges &: I cannot enlarge & its thought that day will bee fatall to the fall or rise of man, till that bee disided wee can espect no good, if then. I can not enlarge. I am very sorry I could not see you againe y^e next morning & send some what to my poore little ones my love to them & to yo^r selfe wife M^r Jeake

done. but I hasten it all I can.

let mee heare from you

FRE 5589

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in 2

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Dec. 31. ♂. 1667

Haveing missed writeing to you this day Sennight by y^e accesse of freinds & some other buisines I was in like manner p^rsented from writeing on thursday & saturday beeing in the country. yours of the 17th instant give me some order for y^e paym^t of what moneys were in my hands for Rye, which with little varation, I have observed for I put all the money I had unto M^r Jos Boys to save y^e trouble of giving to M^r Bindlos beeing y^{en} pincht in time you did app^hend a mistake to have beene committed in the casting up of Starkeys tickett for service in the Fairefax: But I doe assure you it is right & just & cometh to no more but unto 6l3s9d: but there was a mistake indeed in mentioning Starkey at all for I had neither then nor yet rec^d his money: but onely Edward Brookes. whose time & sum of money due was y^e same and for y^e same ship & building upon yo^r letter to y^e purpose & truely thinkeing I have deserved, I did abate 3s p lib and p^d unto M^r Joseph Boys for Edw. Brookes 5l5s0d upon y^e 23th instant. in like manner I deducted & put at y^e same time to him the sum of 12l8s0d: also for marke Jacobs sercice in y^e ffaire fax: 1l11s06d & for a pilate bill for Richard Dann. y^e sum of 1l02s0d haveing beene allowed 25s but I had p^d some money out of purse besides attendance for it. But of all this I suppose M^r Boys did did an accompt before now though I was p^rsented so to doe, as I have told you: I shall bee glad to heare of your health, sorry y^t your distemp in yo^r head should remayne so long: you had best if you have any Elaterind well p^epared purge a little wth that, it takes away choler & phlegme; If there bee not an inflammation

of the meninges. frictions often & long wth hott cloths may doe
very well: take often the same of white amber & strew y^e powder
in your haire; use a little civett in blacke wooll, in your eares.

powder of Betony Rosemary & other chopt alike herbs are good:

(second page)

one comends this purge for all paine in y^e head though invereate.

Rx Aloes hepat washed ʒiij. Bryonia Mastich elect ana ʒj.

Diagrid ʒiij. confected into pills. with Juice of coleworts y^e dos from

ʒij. to ʒiiij & sayth it taketh away all pains in y^e heard & rejoyceth she

& indeed it want correctors. which you may well enough add if you

like y^e substance from Johns chilblains boyle some able to kind of

greate news to comunicate the Bpps feare a rec^d next meeting of y^e

Parliam^t its much spoken as if they would bee all rented for ever

out of the house of Lord their Baronies seized, and their revennewes

reduced to a stipend none exceeding 1000l per anno. y^e Archbpp

already out of y^e privy councill: B^{pp} Winchester put from beeing

Deane of y^e K. chappell: & y^e B^{pp} Rochester from beeing clerke

of the closet: and also by some s^d to be accused of Sodomy wth a boy.

one parson had y^e confidence to speake of it in his pulpitt last lords day.

M^r Jeakes watch & yo^r rasors are done: but I know not well by whom

to send them I know not wch carryers you imploy. M^r Jeakes watch

cost 3d more then y^e 10d he left mee. I thinke to give it to Jos. Boys.

respects to yo^r selfe wife M^r Jeake M^r Bennett, M^r Miller &

their wives. M^r Marshall & tell him or Jn^o White that I have not yet

nor can I gett his money pur upon his bill for y^t St Andrews but

was forced to take it out of y^e office againe for feare of beeing

cheated of y^e bill my love to my little ones. & all freinds

as if named I leave you all to god & rest Yours Jllin

There is talke of a new blazing starr

towards the S. W.

FRE 5590

To his loveing Freind M^r

Philip Fryth at his house

in Rye

These p^rsent

2 in

Sussex

Loveing Freind Jan. 7. ♂. 1668:

Yors of the 26 Instant I recd, & will shortely give
you an answer to it as to the prizes of w^t you mention, in
the meanwhile These let you know I am well
& hope to heare the like of yo^r selfe &c. I sent M^r Jeakes watch
by y^e hands Joseph Royce last Tuesday & yet B. Rasors
inclosed in an Almanacke I sent to M^r Bennett for
a new yeares guise. If you have not acquainted M^r Marshall
wth what parte I wrote to you last about Jn^o Whites bill for
the St Andrew. I pray doe not forgett it now for y^e case
stands stills the same & I have not time to write to him in
p^ticular at y^e present thoughts I had a letter from him to know
how y^e case stands. I have no newes to communicate, but
hoping of all your health & my childrens with
hearty respects p^resented to all as if named, in
greate haste I Comitt you to god & rest

Yors Allin

John Byndlos hath pmised
to beare my charges w Rye
about a fortnight hence
if I had but an horse to come
& returne wth him; & cannot
leave my buisines for about 20 dayes
but I know not hoe things willbee

FRE 5591

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^resent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Jan. 16. ♀: 1667.

That you may not wonder at my not writeing, although I

have not much to write, yet I am willing to satisfye you y^t through
mercy I am in an indifferent measure of health, but troubled that
my continuall attendance at the pay office prove to little effectual
for them who stand concerned in my endeavours. yet y^e necessary
of my waiteing upon y^t affaie, with one buisines more; to watch
y^e getting of some money that concernes my children, will I
beleive remove all possible thoughts of my comeing to Rye wth
M^r Byndlos which I was most willing to doe. y^e case about my
childrens money, I would not have you let it bee knowne to any
body but to M^r Jeake; to whom I intend speedly to write to about
it, my mother in law pretend there will bee about 50l for them: instead
of 200l & that 50l must bee putt into somebodys hand to bee kept
for them, and shee expects the use of y^e money too every yeare so long
as shee live: & would have mee give her a discharge for all, w^{ch}
I am not willing to doe; not yet to omitt y^e receiving of it
lastly, it should bee in their hands who will spend it & have had
too greate an hand in the spending all the rest. when I have spoken
to my mother againe about it, to understand it more fully, I will
write to M^r Jeake, upon whom my eye is fixed to bee the man
to receive it on their behalfe. you may if you thinke fitt, acquaint
him wch this much before hand, & let mee know what he sayth
to it. p^eparations for warr on the otherwise the water, & talke of it
here, makes us feare a bad spring; besides y^e inclination
to sicknes by this weather. I shall bee glad to heare of your &
my Childrens & freinds healths: have mee respectively
commend to them all as if named, I hope you forgett not
my memorandum in yo^r 2 last letter to M^r Marshall, w^m
I can gett the mony for his Kinsman White, 2 any theirs, I
will not conceale it, in y^e meane while & ever comitting you
all to God, I rest Yours, Jllin

FRE 5592

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Jan. 23. ♂. 1667

Since my last to you I have not had a line from you,
I hope it doth not arise from any anger conceived against mee,
although I heare as much from M^r Byndlos, but I am willing
to suspend my beleife of it, till you shall discover it to mee, as hee
sayth you have done to him: but I pray doe not doe about to punish
mee with yo^r silence for I long to heare from you These lines
may advise you that this weeke I have rec^d Xtoph Heales
money for service in the Monke. It should have been 14s2d: but
6s3d beeing abated for extra Chest money at 6d men from
it made it to bee but 13l15s10d out of w^{ch} allowance at 3s
deducted leaves. 11l14s6d to be put. but to whome I know
not certainly: but I thinke Robt Browne of Rye is to have
it: at the same time I also rec^d for W^m Starkeys service in
the Fairefax. 6l1s0d the beeing 2s9d deducted for extr.
Chest money: allowance as before Deducted Rest. 5l3s6d to be p^d.
If the partyes concerned will send mee their discharges. I will
pay their moneys according to their order: I have not, nor
cannot yett gett John Whites 12l for his service done
for y^e St Andrew: neither have I any p^rsent hopes of it wthout
a greate of further trouble. I pray acquainte M^r Marshall
so much. my hearty respects to him, yo^r selfe wife M^r Jeake
M^r Bennett M^r Miller their wives. M^{rs} Byndlos M^{rs} Thomas
p^rsented . I leave you all to God & rest Yors Jllin
I am afrayd I shall not come downe yet
for y^e danger of missing y^e receipt
of what I can gett for my children.
for should I bee got of y^e way it could
certainly bee otherwise disposed of. vale

FRE 5593

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at his house

in Rye

These p^rsented

in 2

Sussex

Loveing Freind Febr. 1 1668 6^H. P.M.

Just now I rec^d by M^r Jn^o Byndlos his man two bills of exchange one for 5l3s for W^m Starkey the other for 11114s6d for Xtopher Neale: for the first of Starkeys Tho: vicars had rec^d the money before and also forbidden the payment of it to any but himselfe before yours of the 25th in answer to mine about it was dated. for the other for Neale, I have pmised to pay it to M^{rs} Ann Byndlos on monday: not beeing William to pay his man, w^m I know not this night: for John Brookes beeing in the Leopard, I cannot yet heare, but will make further enquiry. tell M^{rs} Beaton I have at last found her freind M^{rs} Ann Young & delivered her letter, & shee was very glad to heare of her: but next time shee must direct her letters to the 3 hatts on Tower ditch. wee are much afrayd of an increasing sicknes this yeare. you pmised mee long since yor presse touching the small pox which are very breife & mortall wth us. I shall bee glad to see you as you say shortly. you may lye wth mee recd. I know not when the money for my children willbee recd. but I perceive I must of force gett a freind here to receive it and enquire for it, if I can gett it. I thanke M^r Jeake for his love & had rather hee than any man had it. I cannot enlarge, & have no newes to write but that through mercy I am well & wth respects p^rsent to all my freinds as if named I rest Yors John Allin

FRE 5594

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at his house

in Rye 2

These p^rsent

in

my buisines wth my mother in law concerneing my childrens
money besides my buisines about ticketts it hath so
fallen out that it hath beene cheifely on Post nights
but I was unwilling to forbear longer if it were
only to let you know of my welfare, & returne you
thankes for your noates about the small pox: and
to begg a few lines from you that I may know if
your & my childrens & freinds wellfare: and
I hope now ☉ is in ♀: you will if possible mind
prima materia: which gather as well as you can
& send up in a glasse well closed & leave the
purification to mee: but gett as much as you can:
Tho. Salamon is now in towne: & I hope to doe his
buisines tomorrow. I have not yet doe Jn^o Whites
buisines nor any others of Rye: I will not faile
to advise you of what is done so soone as anything
can bee done: In y^e meane while I begg a few lines
from you, how all doe wth you: & with my respects
p^resented to you & yors, & love to my Children not
forgetting my uttmost respects to all freinds I rest
Yours John Allin

FRE 5596

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth at his
house in Rye
These p^resent
in Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Apr. 4th. 1668.

I know not how to omitt writeing longer, nor scarce
how to write now, my stay have beene so long at the office for pay
(or more truer the place of delay) of seamen, yet in hopes all our
posts are not yet gone, I spend my 2d to write neere y^e post
I rec^d yo^rs by M^r Hartshorne & truely I thinke one before that, since
I wrote to you, but it hath beene my hard fortune to write to no
purpose upon others buisines, & that at such seasons as makes

mee misse to write to my Freinds, the things you write
for that you would buy, I am content to tell you at as
reasonable rates as I can bee judged: & for other things
I sent you last weeke (but I thinke it not before this) a pott
of 3vj of Elixir. which makes & comes to 40s all
which I yet one for to him I bought it of: I thinke the
other accompt is is an oven ballence, except those
things you desire to buy. & what they will come to, I can
not by this tell you, beeing from home, & not haveing
that accompt wth mee. I shal bee glad, & live in hope, to see
you here shortely. & to have some prima materia, haveing
had such pure warme wather after solid raines. If nature
afford it, & you health & liberty to gett any, let mee have some
I suppose you may have more certaine newes of y^e French Fleete
now out & leaden wth soldiers, then wee, though wee have various
respects of their beeing about Guernsey & the Gunfleete viz.
on wednesday night was a fire (suspected to bee by treachery)
at Tuttle streete Westminster, but ended wth y^e burning of about
4 houses & bloweing up as many. they beynn to presse seamen
but pay very sorryly; that then seemes to bee in that as much
danger as by y^e prentices . In hast wth love to all freinds & children
yor selfe wife &c. p^rsent I rest Yours Jllin

FRE 5597

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at his house in
Rye 2
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

(in other hand)
at Houghton green 4 peeces of
Land send 6 crates holds today
Shepherd per M^r Purfiend
at Iden a house & about an

acre of Land free holds to
S^r Nat Powell may

one peece Cont. 2 acres or there
about holds to M^r Treele in
playdon neere Capt. Austins
land—M^r Kilburne
The houses & about an acre of
Land to it & an [illegible] y^t
Lyes Downe in the streete
20 Free holds to M^r Treele
[illegible] part
M^r Kilburn

Loveing Freind

April. 12: 1668

Yors of the 7th Instant I rec^d this day but wonder
that you should not understand what it was that I sent to
Jn^o Burkes for you thinkeing y^t M^r Hartshorn would rather have
brought it wth him (as he promised mee) than to have left it here:
for I mentioned it by in my last of y^e 4th Instant & it was 3 vj.
of mattewes pill. which made up full forty shillings due to
the man I had it of: & hee hath other for it [illegible] per 3 then
halfe a crowne. the other accompt besides y^t: is very neere
an even ballance: for the things you desire to buy I will
shortely send you prizes, & leave y^m to you: I have
since the receipt of yo^rs called to see Capt. & Josias Teare
the capt. is in the country, Josias I mett withall, and
found Allin ill. & hee hath beene so a greate while
& his brother the captaine is againe seized upon with
a soare ague. Josias desires heartyly to bee remembered
to you, speakes very faire civilly & respectively of yor
kindness & tells mee that hee cann't yet for about
10 or 14 dayes longer pcure y^e money for you. but
about that time hee hopes to have it ready to bee put
to your order. hee had been at Dover at yo^r time
but that hee was not well; but must bee there about
y^e middle of next weeke. I have no newes to write
but that they presse much though they pay little

& that wee have an invisible enemy to encounter
wth these greate p^cparations by sea and land. I cannot
enlarge but wth love to my children & respects to yo^rselfe
yours & all freinds as if named, I comittyou to god & rest

Yours John Allin

FRE 5598

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Aprill. 25. h. 1668

Haveing not had a line from you for these 2 or 3 weekes, I feare
your not beeing in a capacity to write, and truly since my last to you
I have divers times through illnes beene p^rsented writeing as I
was of seeing M^r Miller oftner, when in towne, so my greife
besides y^e two or three dayes of late in a weeke either illness or takeing physicke
hath beene my affliction, last night, setting downe upon my
Chayre at my table in my study, & finding my chayre to stand
a little too farre off, as I stoopt to draw it neerer,
strucke my tobacco pipe agst the table, it ran into my uvula
& hath I feare much bruised it that I cannot tell how either to
eate or drinke, being desperately trouble some to me to swallow
any thing, & in the morning before I used a gargarisme since I could
scarse fetch my breath, & since truely all this day its even a
trouble to mee to speake, but it was a mercy it did not run upp
higher, & so it might have destroyed mee p^rsently. 'tis a sad & dangerous
time wee live in, yesterday I heard from such and so many hands that
I could not suspend my beleife of it any longer that 4 or 5 are
lately putt in to Newgate for a new fire intended upon y^e remaynder
of the city & borrough, before y^e end of May. its seemes some of
them hath confessed that 300 hath beene in pay ever since the
last fire so accomplish y^e firing of the rest every body feares

the abundant accesse of Frenchmen in all countyes neere
the sea; & their comeing towards London. the seamen are posted away
every day; but no paym^t at all home made for them. wee shallbee
weakened here by their absence its sayd y^e Parliam^t are are to rise
may y^e 4th. some threaten others feare may day may bee a day of
mischeife. others whitsuntide: but truely wee are in danger every night
& not feare not what this dry season may invite them to: at p^rsent I can
not find yo^r letter wherein y^e ptculars are you desire y^e prizes
(second page)

but when it comes to hand againe I will suddenly
answer you & desires therein: old Capt. Teale I saw
yesterday below stayres, but some thinke hee will
never bee able to goe abroad agayne: Jn^o is in his
owne countryes. Josias is not yet come up fro Dover.
but is very free faire & carefull of yo^r concernes
& hope y^e time will not bee long: It is a sickely time here
though I have little more to doe for it, I long to heare
how it is wth you, & how my children & freinds doe. my love
to them, respects to M^r & M^{rs} Bennett & Eliz. Burne M^{rs} Beaton
M^r Jeake M^r Marshall M^r Miller & his wife & son.
M^{rs} Thomas G. Shoemith &c. & no lesse to yo^r selfe
and your good wife; begging your prayers for us
here as wee for you there, I comitt you all to God & rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5599

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

June. 9. ♂. 1668.

Yours of the 6th Instant I rec^d last night, and am
glad to heare of yo^r safe arrivall at home, & health and
wellfare in w^{ch} you found your family & myne with
our freinds in answer thereto I have spoken wth D^r Porter

& p^resented yo^r respects to him & her, & they desire y^e like unto you: for your ignis vitus you had of him. you can scarce erre in the takeing of it. you may take it in white wine but sacke is better & hee would advise you to sacke: viz. to take 5 6 7 8 or more dropps as you find y^e operation in a glasse full of sacke first & last every day or indeed at any other time, when you find your stomacke or head opprest with those by hypocondriach vapours: & follow yo^r buisines without any regimen after it. butt hee adds, you must remember his advice about your haire: I have here inclosed a Receipt because you have allwayes a cold still fixt & I have none & the things are better to bee had with you then here, I would intreate you to distill y^e whole quantity of y^e material & distill as much for yo^r selfe, I will give you y^e use of it afterwards, & you will find it the best thing you ever had: If you can gett a glasse there to hold it for mee, I will send you that or as good againe: for the rest of your desires in y^r letter mentioned I shall not neglect it, but if possible y^e next post give you an accompt in the meane while my heatyest respects to yo^rselfe wife & all freinds, wth my love to my children. I comitt you to god & rest
Yours Jllin
o^r fleete is s^d to bee all called in againe

FRE 5600

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye
These p^resent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind June. 16. ♂. 1668

I expected to heare form you ere this an exact order & dimensions of yo^r copper Alembicke, with orders to pceede in it, which now is needfull, for that Jn^o White told me this day upon the exchange y^r hee intend homeward

about the beginning or middle of the next weeke: but as for yor
balen maria you neede no pticular copper body for the
operation, wch willbee deare if you have one; & may bee
supplied wⁿ yo^r furnace is made, with any Iron copper or
brasse kettle that is but enough to cover yo^r Alembicke
furnace: & so putt your glasse wth yo^r matter into
that kettle full of water. & therefore without pticulary
order in that case I shall not pceed. but for your Alembicke
I shall cause one to bee made y^t will distill about
2 gallons & have it tinn'd within according to your
disire, and a tub & worme p^epared for you: y^e 40d
before mentioned & money for that I hope you will
send, with your directions about sending it. I am
sow^e jealous it will weigh above 24l (beside the worme &
tubb) which you know will cost. 2s4d plib I hope you
recd my last wth y^e receipt inclosed, & will pforme it &
I will afterwards give you y^e use of it. though in generall
its for the stone. I have no newes to communicate to you:
ye new world of Englishmen, not discoursed this hundred of
yeres but lately by the Dutch; & y^e unknowne man (whose
language none understand at courte) taken up at sea
leagues from any should, when I heare further off I
will unfold to you, though wee buf wthout feares yet next
without Continuall dangers let mee know what you heare
(marginall)
my respects to yo^r selfe wife &
love to my children wth all hearty
salutes to freinds p^rsented I rest yo^rs Jllin

FRE 5601

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith at
his house in
Rye
These 2
p^rsented
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

June. 22 ♂ 1668

Before the receipt of yo^rs of y^e 19th instant yesterday, I shipt your barrell of pewter & two kettles on board Jn^o white y^e portage cost, six pence but yo^r Alembicke, I could not possibly prevayle to have finished before thursday morning next, but Jn^o White expected to come away this day; if hee should stay till then, hee shall not come wthout it, but there beeing no other boate likely to come yet, I thinke it had better bee sent by the carryer then to omitt y^e season of y^e yeare for the use of it. I went 2 or 3 times to speake M^r Sands before I could find him with in at last I mett wth him & the cooper & plumbe altogether. the weight can not bee judged of y^e Alembicke till it bee finished hee thinke about 20l the worme will cost 12s then tubb about 7s wth the hanging of y^e worme I thinke I must take of Jn^o Byndlos about 5l 10s y^e worme & Iron hoopcs of y^e barrels I thinke I must take of Jn^o Byndlos about 5l 10s y^e overplus if any bee I will give you accompt of. I can yett gett no mony for Jn^o White nor no body els. that I am much putt to it. I am sorry for y^e crossnes of yo^r affayres, about carters buisines, made worse by M^r Readers breakeing but I hope you will escape y^e next. D^r Porter desires to bee remembred to you, but thinkes you have forgatt his advice about your haire because you mend no faster: for yo^r queries about y^e ingredients for y^e water. y^e soveraigne intended it Parsley [illegible]: breake & strew (not yo^r butnett sacrificace) a bunch or 2 of filipendula so called because sold here in buches, & contains as much as you can scrape in yo^r hand, y^e radishes about 10 12 or more as they are in bignes. but must not bee sticky. y^e rootcs onely to bee used, slices, & steeped wth y^e rest as directed: y^e common parsely is to bee used herb & rootcs & all: the quantities of all things mentioned, meant to bee so much after pickeing (second page)

I suppose you have heare of the new built house in mincing lane not farre rom clothworkers hall burnt on thursday night last, endangering many others that scapt the fire before, but y^t it rained at y^e time & the wind shifted: some beleive it was done by designe to damp building, but others thinke onely a pvidence yis the 3d time y^e man hath suffered

by fire with little now then 2 years by y^c greate fire
last Aprill W^m Barbados was burnt some say to 16000
value & now: this house & ground had cost him (they
say betweene 3 or 4000l it was y^c best house but
one in London of a private house, & neere five shillings
ye roomes all wainscotted. I shall bee glad to heare
of yo^r health & recovery also out of yo^r troubles
& to heare what is become of Teates buisines
I cannot enlarge but wth my most hearty love
to yo^r selfe wife, & all freinds as if named, and
my Children, I comitt you all to god & rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5602

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind London. July 4. 1668.

Yors of the 27th past I this day recd, but fore that had
shipt yo^r still & worme, also yo^r old barrell y^t I was left
at M^r Manns, Richd Oakes vessell lyeing neere it, I gave M^r
Edward Beale fetch it on board. your tubb wth 7 iron hoopes
cost. 8s the worme 12d the copp still & head weighing 11110 $\frac{3}{4}$
cost 27s besides the charges, though I am well enough satisfied
that it cost mee more (besides charges) yet it makes mee now
sorry that I tooke up so much more then needefull at Jn^o Byndlos
which was partly through want of money to pay for it before the takeing up
of y^c money. but I hope that willbee solved shortly some other way.
I will shortly give you accompt about glasse bodyes and heades.
I have beene endeavouring my utmost about Hannah, & hope
err long to heare some good newes. but yet cannot, & its feared
either too much money will bee demanded, or els they will not
take her so young, to find her cloaths. I thanke you for all yo^r love

and faithfullnes to acquaint mee how things are, I hope you will have a recompence above: & also willbee p^eserved to runn through all your difficultyes. lett mee heare how it is like to fare wth you. for newes wee know not what god is doeing but pdigious signes are here & there frequent. a late private apparition & frightfull was heard (by one Scot Justice of y^e peace & a woman to her greate affrightmt) the noise of Drumms trumpetts, neighing of noises also in N.E. hath alarmed them as I perceive by a letter from my father this day: one other remarkable & mercifull pvidence relating to them he also mention, w^{ch} was this, that letters written the apparent dangers of ship & lives, forced the messenger to pduce them (as Jonah once himselfe) which beeing veiwed & throwne overboard they had after it an happy & prosperous voyage, which accident is the 6th time y^e letters agst the country hath from time to time miscarried (marginal)

some M^r tate Bussell in Ireland about the discovery of an intended massacre. you will heare further of shortly. I cannot enlarge respects p^rsented to yo^r selfe & all I rest Yors Jllin

FRE 5603

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Fryth

at his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

August. 1. 1668.

I hope you have before this time received by Stephen Harris Seaammens 3 j. at 18d and steele p^epared 3 v: at js.

it should have beene halfe a pound but M^r Pigott had no more then by him; & I was both to goe to 2 places for it, when I rather trust to his p^eparations: you will also next monday recieve by M^r Boyle Modela medicina. cost 3s and they though it 6d too little but y^e I also to buy there & must

make him amends another time: I gave it to Joseph
on thursday, who promised to send it in his box of parcels
to his father for you. I have about 3l a peice of a tickett
for Thomas Salmon in my hands this last Thursday recd.
but I know not where hee is or how to convey it. I can
not yet hitt of a place for Hannah, but endeavour
with my freinds every weeke, they aske 30l which
can never be raised y^e I am perplexed about it, but
not without hope y^e in time my freinds will find
out one for her. I shall bee glad to heare y^e you are
gotten our of your troubles and in a settled measure
of health: but all is in gods hands, in whose disposall
wee must be satisfied, to his care ptection guidance
& favour I commend you, wth most hearty respects p^rsent
to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds as if named & love to
my children, and so I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5604

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Aug. 15. 1668.

I had hoped to have given you by this time a better acct
concerning a place for Hannah, then yet I can, though I have
made it by buisines with my freinds to sett it forward. my
ayme is for a sempstresse by which it may please god shee may
hereafter obtaine a lively hood: my old landlady spake to her sister
who keepes a shop in that way upon y^e Exchange to mind my case,
which shee did. but yet cannot find one to suite: one asketh
twenty pounds wth her, & yet the onely maketh scarses and
hoods. others need none: one shee named to me this day that is
a quaker, whose fines shee doubt not if were it not for that

conceited opinion of hers. but whither shee need any, or will
take any girl in that sorte is not knowne, shee is a maide.
but teacheth to worke. but how otherwise fitted to take any or
shee know not, neither doe either of us know what to thinke
of it for her judgment acquainte me p next how forward shee is
with her needle that way already: I meane as to her needle
before you last I had mett with Tho. Salmon & payd him
what moneys was rec^d though but small since I have
recd of G. Beconbridges Tickett for y^e Falcon parte. I
thinke there willbee about 5 lib in my hands for them.
that are concerned. I wish EdWard Beale would thinke
well to consider my old trouble & paynes in his buisines
besides about 5s. I am yet out of purse in the case:
the tickett concernes him. D^r Porter p^rsent s his love to you
saith hee selles his Spt of salt at 2s6d though
others can afford a sorte of it for 6d I shall bee glad to
heare you have an issue out of your troubles. wee
are in feare here through somew^t carelesse of y^m. y^e French
Ambassador is to appeare in state on Bartholomew day. I
cannot enlarge but with love to children & hearty respects
(marginal)
to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds as
if named p^rsented , I rest
Yours Jllin

FRE 5605

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
2 Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

Aug. 27. 24. 1668

On tuesday last I rec^d a letter from Elizabeth Hurlston
desireing an accompt what moneys I had rec^d for her brothers ticketts

but without any order to whom I should pay it, which was that I did expect, because I love not keepe others moneys in my hands, but because that accompt I wrote to you last did not satisfye her, I give you this pticular accompt now. her brothers tickett for y^e Faulcon came to seaven months: which tickett by their rules here for pay was forced to bee splitt into two parts. y^e one pt w^{ch} ended Jan. 1 1666 came to 1^m2^w5^{dayes} the moneys to 214s6d out of which for clothes he owed to the purser deduct 1118s4d and 2s9d for the Chest makes but 3s6d payable upon y^t tickett; & that is but 3s for y^ey never pay y^e odd money, but 6d & the charge & trouble of that part will come to bee payable: The other splitt parte it bee imagined when it will come to bee payable: The other splitt parte of the same tickett was for 5^m1^w2^{dayes} amounting to 617s8d out of which 7s9d deducted per Chest rest 19s11d I rec^d 5119s6d: It cost mee money to gett & to gett it cast & splitt & put so y^e wth allowance. rest 5l in my hands, which sumtt I mentioned to you, & onely waite for order to pay it. her brothers other tickett was for y^e unity y^ere willbee too be p^d upon y^ey meddle not with 66: ticketts. onely 67 & 68 are now payd. I pray give her this satisfaction in the case. I hoped to have had a few lines from yo^rselfe y^t I might have heard here my children doe & freinds, also hoping to heare you had outgrowne some of yo^r troubles. in that satisfy mee when you can. I have not beene well for about a weeke; but cheifly cold & stiches wind, but through mercy I am a little better: its the deadest time for newes that ever I know: my love to my children & respects to all freinds as if named, & in especiall manner to yo^r selfe & wife p^rsented, I leave you all to god & rest

Yours Jllin

I forgett not a place for Hannah but cannot yett effect it.

FRE 5606

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye

These 2

p^rsented

in

Sussex

Loveing Freind

Sept. 8. ♂. 1668.

Yor last came to my hands but on Fryday last, haveing not beene at London for 4 or 5 dayes before, which was too late to send y^e Elixir by the carryer last weeke, but you shall not faile to receive it this week and for the five pounds for Elizabeth Hulston, it is this day put according to yo^r order to M^r Bolton for newes here. wee have none, I long to heare some form you: who yo^r staffe bearer this yeare, & what y^e doeings was at Dover at y^e swearing or y^e Lt Warden. I would begg of you, when you can spare an houre or two time to stop over to Winchelsea castle and in the vault them which is under ground, & arches & have I suppose gone almost round the castles, there hands in very many places under y^e arch, greate Iceickles (as it were) of Peter, which hath sowerd through the earth, I pray gett mee as much of it as can bee gotten. they may bee knock off with an hammer very easily: or else gett Thomas Shoesmith to doe for mee, and when opportunity serves by sea sent it mee. I wish there were 20l of it: but what can bee gotten I will bee thankfull for, and allow for his paines. I have lately seene some of a brave pcesse upon Tinn, almost to the pfection of gold, & hope to see it this weeke pfect. when ℥ comes in I pray rememebr prima materia, & gett what quantity you can. I cannot yet happen of a place for Hannah, & feare it will not bee before the spring, every one beeing at p^rsent unwilling to take one however I shall not bee wanting in my endeavours. I pray p^rsent my respects unto M^r & M^{rs} Bennett M^r Jeake M^r Miller M^r Marshall M^{rs} Thomas M^{rs} Beaton. G Shoesmith and all the rest of my loveing Freinds, & accept of them to yo^r selfe & wife which besides well wishes to you all & love to my Children is all at p^rsent from

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

FRE 5607

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye 2

These p^rsent

in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Sept. 22. ♂ 1668.

Yors rec^d with the newes of your now major y^e accompt
where I thanke you for. I have be this post written to M^r Marshall
I intend very speedily to write to M^r Jeake about my children.
I spake wth M^r Miller, but very unhappily mist him at his
comeing away, when wee meant to have had further talke,
but whilst I was lookeing for him at the Spurr, hee was
takeing horse at the Greyhound, I happened of M^r George Porter
standing at the gate, & had a sight of M^r Millers backe side
but hee was gone out of call: hee was speakeing to mee about
selling some things to helpe putt them out, but what I cannot determine,
I can not at p^rsent find my noates, & therefore must leave y^e to another
time, as I have written to M^r Marshall. I would also faine see if some
of y^e old debts due to me for tythes might not yet bee obtained, and
some helpe might be afforded. but I should bee willing to know
the termes how, and persons to whome such overtures are
makeing, for I would have my Children religiously as well as
handsomely brought up. I hope you have rec^d yo^r Elixir
I have no newes to communicate, & your newes is y^e Cheifest
wee have heare, though wee feare there is more breweing:
no signs of paym^t of any ticketts yet of 66 65 or 64:
their delays in that nature are abominable: and to mee
very destructive, for so long waiteing doe more then eate out
all the pfit; besides y^e wast of time more then all: my respects
to yo^r selfe wife & all freinds p^rsent^d as if named wth love to
my Children I comitt you to God & rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5608

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye
These 2
p^rsent

in
Sussex

Loveing Freind tob. 3. h 68.

I rec^d yo^rs with the inclosed catalogue
of books to bee apprized, which I presently left
with an honest man to perfect, but have not had
ye opportunity to call ypon him for it since, haveing
not been at London but once for this Sennight
& have this day also beene prevented of my goeing
thither, which is y^e reason I have mett with so bad
a piece of paper to write on. but by the next
tuesday post you will not faile to receive an
answer as to that pticulars, I thanke you for the
Niter, I intend to make some of G. Starkeyes Rich
white powder of it, which hee sold for 5l per 3
of which I have fotten a true receipt: I pray
remember prima materia. I pray advise mee
what I had best parte with all to sell for the
helping forward y^e putting out my Children
& with whom they meane to place them. my
Iron grate, & greate table, I wish were
turned into mony for that end. advise mee what
you thinke may bee gotten of Anthony Cruttenden
for an old arreare of tythes for Cadborough farme
there is above tenn pounds due. I will due what
I can but I am forced now to borrow money
to keepe body & soule together: yet I have had a patient this weeke
(marginal)

I have no newes not can enlarge but wth respects p^rsented to your
selfe Children & all as if named I committ you to god & rest

Yors Allin

FRE 5609

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in

Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Octob^r. 6. ☿ 1668.

Here inclosed you will find the prizes of the catalogue of bookes you sent, but such as if you can mend the bargaine I would with you to doe it, for hee will not without sight give the prizes set downe, neither would hee sell so: but if you please to send them up, hee will buy as hee can judge them to bee worth, & I told him hee should have the refusall of y^m if you sent them up: if you can I pray let mee heare from you how my Children and freinds fare as to health &c. I have a small barrell of speciall good tobacco ready cutt & dryed, & it hath layd upon my hands here, longer then I can spare the money, if you can helpe mee off with it, you will doe mee a curtesye & I will send it downe by some of or boates when they come. but I cannot afford it under 2s6d p lib. & it is worth more. I hoped to have had 3s here, but I can not tell how to peddle it away & therefore would putt it off to have lesse pfitt so I may gett my money in. I shall write to M^r Jeake something of my mind so soone as one buisines I am upon is over, w^{ch} is the p^rsent hindrance. I pray forgett not prima materia the world goes very hard with mee but I will doe what soever is possible for y^e putting out of my children, so y^t I may bee satisfied in the psons to whome & how my most hearty respects to yor selfe & freinds as if named with love to my children p^rsented I rest Yours Jllin

FRE 5610

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at Rye

These 2
p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

Nov^r. 3^d. 1668

Yor may now long to heare from mee haveing
been too long now silent, but truely I have not beene well
yet have not kept the house but through mercy I am
now better my illnes lay in much in my head and sometimes
a faileing of my spirits, allmost to the losse of sence, at my
first entrance into sleepe: possibly it may arise in parte from
my greate discouragements I have had by y^e reason of my
long attandance for tickett moneyes without that way or
any other wates of supplyes, that I am ever quite exhuated,
and am forced to borrow to keepe me alive. my practise is small
and indeed I cannot compasse money to set me to worke for the
preparing of such medicines as I have need of to keep by mee.
There is now another demurr about paying of ticketts, Lord Anglesey
is now turning out of his place, & betwixt change & prime
need once can tell what to doe in that case. I heare young
Sam Jeake is in towne but how long hee have beene so
or where to find him I know not, but last night he left
a note at my lodgeing to meet him on y^e exchange upon
Friday next which I intend to doe. but I wish you had given
mee notice of it, that I might have seene him sooner
I pray doe not forgett prima materia; my freinds processe
of turning 24 into ☉ prospers. of one lib of 24 hee had 3 iij.
at first, which since have increased in weight & colour
lying in a continuall flux unto 3/4 of a lib or better there is
some talke of alterations at courte. & y^t Ormonds commission
is taken from him Lt Arlington like to bee Lt high treasurer &c.
some whispering of a new new Lt high Admirall of England. Let mee
heare form you, how my children & freinds doe my love to my children & my
respects to yo^rselfe wife & all freinds as if named p^rsented I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5611

To his very Lo: Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Nob^r. 14. h 68

Last weeke I let you know that I had beene ill & since that truely very ill, on Lords Day morning I tooke 2 pills, both but 13 gr & they mett with the humor p^rsent ly & in 4 houres times I had 23 stools & was very ill y^t day & 2 dayes after but since better. I cannot write to you by the thursday posts because on y^e afternoone every weeke, wee have a meeting of some Chimists where wee are helpful each to other very much. & communicate in an concerne of phisicke freely. I did receive yo^rs of y^e 4th instant on wednesday & as concerneing M^r Blewit I know not of his beeing in towne, for hee lives as farr off as I please when I can meete with him or any other way to trye what your wadd will amount to for yo^r good I will not misse it. but you should have given mee the quantity, sorte, & prize of what you have: for Cruttendens answer to you, I can assure you that hee was none of them assigned to pay M^r Elmer: & M^r Elmer had not right to receive it & must returne y^e money; by y^e next If I have time to write it out, I will send you y^e cobby of M^r Elmers agreem^t wth me. in which are the names & sumes of money that hee was to receive p^ticularly mentioned. I am sorry to heare you have beene & still remayne so ill, I shall hope & long to heare of yo^r amenm^t Lt Angelsea beeing out of the Treasury for y^e Navy & 2 knights putt in all things at that office are in a confusion, & all officers to bee turned out & new ones to come in, so y^t no man can imagine when they will come to any settlem^t for pay. which is to my greate damage so much that I know not well how to sustaine y^e want of moneyes for to keepe body & soule together. my respects to yo^r selfe wife M^r Jeake Mr & M^{rs} Bennett M^r & M^{rs} Miller M^r Marshall, old G. Shoesmith M^{rs} Beaton & all the rest of my Loveing Freinds as if named

wth love to my Children I comitt you all to god & rest Yors Jllin

FRE 5612

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith at

his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Dec. 5. 1668

Yors of the 25th past, I rec^d last tuesday
but could returne answer no sooner I was labouring
to obtaine a place in the pay office in this generall
turns out here. but in vaine & so lost that attendance
besides the former neither now have I any hopes
to gett any money before their Jele time bee over.
I am sorry to heare of M^r Millers & the Townes
losse of it bee so in the Case of Honery Man.
within these few dayes an East Indie shipp a
new shipp & greate was lost, outward bound
betwixt this and the Downes y^e newes came but
yesterday. It was in the private Caball concluded last weeke
at white Hall to have this parliament dissolved & a new one
publikely knowne, y^e Duke of Yorks high Admiralty layd aside
& all new grannts to runn in the kings named till further bee
concluded. y^e same Duke its privately heard, intend to raise
an impeachm^t of high treason agst the grand Favourite
Buckingham, wch phapps may have a contrary effect.
ye designe lyes to have a prince of Wales declared
& that on Monmouths side: & Monke is also to bee layd
aside as generall, & some say is made Lt high Treasurer.
the glasse you sent by Jn^o White is sett up safe for mee till
I can fetch it, I thanke you for it I am pretty well through
mercy now, but last night had upon the entrance into my first
sleepe many shooting paines in head & hearke y^t I waited

long before I could gett the least peice of rest.

(second page)

There is greate pbability the things feared upon
your beate of drum^{&&} may come to passe, next
springe wee have gotten mighty busling
Lord Mayor this yeare S^r W^m Turner, w^o
turnes former abuses of City expenses and
discipline upside downe. & seemes to ayme
at a greate city formation. have already
seized Sr Richard Brownes major generall ship
over the city into his owne eight as therto
belonging, & will not allow orphans mony
to bee spent in defraying such usurping or
uselesse cases. I feare you were not well enough
in time to catch any prima materia. els I
hope I should have heard of it. y^e weather incline
to it still: yere is a new peice called secrets
Revealed putt out by the Quakers meanes
of that subject y^e best (as is s^d) written: ye
author gave G. Starkey 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ of y^e while
perfect many yeares since: my respects
to your selfe wife & all freinds with
love to my children tendred I rest

Yours Jllin

FRE 5613

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye 4
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Jan. 7th. 1669

Yors of the 29th past I have recd, & returne
manyfold thankses for your abounding kindnes therein

expressed. I have not any freinds left that offer to doe
like yo^r selfe in my extremity, which, truely is so greate
that I know not how to expresse my selfe almost to any
body. Indeed M^r Buckland putt mee a while since into
some expectation of yo^r comeing up, but this weather
these thoughts my needes freize up. I shall shortely
write to those few freinds you mention: I have seene
your hand on the outside of letters but wanted your
inside writeing: for w^{ch} I returne you many thankes.
I could not see John White to send y^e booke by: nor
yet could I gett one for you, but my owne, which
you will receive by y^e Spurr Inn carryer,
wth some advantage I hope, & meane by some
marginall markes w^{ch} I have given it upon my
owne reading. y^e author was y^e same who gave
to G. Starkye some of the white Elixir perfect.
ye prima materia if you have any gathered
send mee well inclosed wth pay (that none may
see what it is) by y^e first opportunity. I am
every day more & more confirmed in it, and am onely
to seeke in the furnace, so as to discerne the
colours & keepe the due Regiment. for other matters
of accompts &c. Excuse mee at pestent because in hast, yet all
respects p^rsented respectively I rest Yors Jllin

FRE 5614

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Thomas Miller son

at his house in Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex Rye 2

Loveing and Christian freind

Feb. 6th. 1669

Yours, signed also by M^r Marshall & M^r Jeake of the 30th past in an—
swer to myne of the 26th of the same came to my hands the 4th instant,
being the first time I was able to crawle to London since my last to you;

having been very ill of a disperate cough, gripes & looseness
not yet stopt : through mercy a little abated, and being very
weake with it am scarce able to write: yet not will my to frustrate
your expectation of my answer longer I can doe no lesse then
by these lines let you all know, that I thankfully accept the con-
sideration you tooke of what I then wrote, and am very well
satisfyed wth yo^r present answer, specially that you have considered
of such a reserve as may give the opportunity of a further
disposall of them in case pvidence should so direct: Within an
houre after I had rec^d yo^rs I had a letter from my couzen
in Sussx; who saying nothing to that perticular of takeing
my daughter Hannah, I wave that expectation till further
overtures, not presuming too hasty a pressing upon his kindnes
who is studying to doe mee & mine further good: hee hath at
p^rsent sent mee 30s (so soone as I am able to doe to receive it)
out of with I intend to buy some thinges for Mrs Beaton that
shee wrote to mee to supply her, being about so much out
of purse for them. I know not what to say more at p^rsent ,
but leave the buisines in your hands, unto the pvidence
of god, who know how to dispose of all things for the best
being willing as I have before exprest my selfe, that
something may bee done towards it, out of those goods I wrote
of before. And so with y^e presentm^t of my hearty respects & love
to your selves & all the rest of my christian freinds, wth many thanks
for all your loves, I comitt you all to God & rest

Your thankfull as obliged

Freind John Allin

I pray let mee some time heare for how
long time the children are to bee kept by them
if no other disposall of them should insue.

FRE 5615

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

in

Loveing Freind

March. 11: 1669

The last weeke I rec^d yours of the 25th past sent could not then returne you any lines, beeing at p^rsent by constant attendance upon buisines every post day as also on tuesday last & lent the same fate should p^event once in like sorte I have returned you thanks for all yo^r loves to mee & mine express -sed: & for y^t small bill of pticulars inclosed, you need not have beene so scrupulous in the apprizall of them, I would have accopted any thing for y^m you should offer; & like it is done well enough, if you thinke it not too much: if they had not beene at all valued. It not have broken any love betweene us but my time will not yet pmitt to add that to other pticulars betweene us. in which also you need not bee carefull for there can bee no greate metter. I am about enquiry after some lodgeings neerer London, where I may have more & better opportunitys every way, though It will cost deare & I find roomes are very scarce to bee found, & now quarter day is at hand & I must hasten what I can I long for some prima materia whilst ☉ is in ♏ because that is the best time in all y^e yeare. I wish now that I had your opportunityes in the country haveing advanced my knowledge at the practise ; the mercurye is to bee made without the Charge of common fire: & the whole worke may bee done in an egg shell, inclosed in an hollow oake which with the furnace makes the triple vessell: y^e matter may bee gathered more grossely at the first, and afterwards scumm'd off and seperated from its feces with some kind of cunning: & then will it bee like unto the heare of frost a little crispn: & that is to be kept close from aire to keepe it from dissolving If it should please god to affoord us to see one another againe I could tell you more: if you can remember what I have now written about it, cancell y^e writeing. because a letter is too publike a place to scatter such hints in y^e last weeke afforded some kind of newes here y^e imprisonm^t in the Tower of one Lft Saywell and S^r W^m Coventry as Lft upon a challenger given to

the Duke of Buckingham: then y^e affront given
to y^e Lord Mayor. wth w^{ch} y^e court of Aldermen
beeing invited to dinner at y^e Inner Temple, had his
sword & sword bearer beaten downe, for haveing it
carried wth its point upwards into y^e p^etended priviledged
please. so y^e y^ey tasted none of their dainties butt
affronts onely, to appease wth some forces both of horse
& foote were sent from whitehall all to y^m, after twice
sending but ended without more blowes. & some of y^e
Templers since sent to Newgate. since y^t I heare y^e
King recieved some damage by y^e overturne of
his coach goeing in speed this weeke towards Newmarkett
but in what sort I cannot tell you till I heare
further when you know let mee heare what is
done about y^e sale of some of my goods, &c. I cannot
enlarge but wth respects p^rsented to yo^rselfe , & wife
& to all freinds as ig named wth love to my children
in greate haste but much love I rest

Yors Jllin

FRE 5616

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Apr. 3. 1669

I am sorely afraid that you are not able to write
haveing for so long a time, waited in expectation of a few
lines from you, w^o was never wanted to stay so long: we have
brave season for prima materia, I had here the same op-
portunities to gather it which are in the country. wee are
getting some vessells ready to putt it to worke, made by
one, who made one for an person w^{ch} did dye possessed
of that treasure. If I had y^e freedome of speech with you

I would communicate something worth y^e knowing about
it, but not fit to bee putto writeing. The world continues
at the same rate of hardnes with me, or rather worse,
for now all is exhausted & nothing comes on but troubles.
the wind begin this weeke to bluster, & wee are now
in feare of a sudden & some storme of persecution and
suppression of y^e long enjoyed but two little improved
indulgence of meetings for y^e Pvidence of god. some ptticular
orders are given out allready, a yesterday y^e buisines
was to bee afore the Councill, y^e result whereof I cannot
yet heare, but Ld Mayor Sherifes & Leiftent of y^e Tower
I heare were all sent for yesterday to y^e Councill, and
it is supposed it may have a tendency to y^e worke
our refuge is onely in y^e Lord, whose name is as a strong
Tower. y^e first opportunity of conveyance I will sent my son John
an Accidence & bible, though not new, for I am not able to
purchase one. not and close to weare. I pray tell John Whites
wife that her husbands buisines is not done, so seene as it is
shee shal heare from mee. my hearty respects to yo^r selfe wife
M^r Jeake M^r & M^{rs} Bennett M^r Marshall &c. with love to my Children
remembered I rest
Your assured freind Jllin

FRE 5617

To his loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye
These p^rsent
2 in
Sussex

Loveing Freind
May. 8th. 1669

Yors of the 21th past I rec^d & accordingly
am raised in my hopes to see you shortely as also to receive
some prima materia, to which this yeare that beene & is
very much inclined: the right use whereof I pray god
direct us in, for I am very much in need of it. I have

2 ticketts, one of marke Jacobs, y^e other of W^m Starkey, both
for the victory, wherein they were slaine wth are now
come almost to the pitch of paym^t, but I cannot find
any letters of attourney for them from Markes his father
or W^m Executors or executrix giveing mee y^e power
to receive their moneyes, w^{ch} (though it bee small, beeing
they lived but a little above 2 months in that shipp
before they were slayne is now much lookt after,
for want of w^{ch} I would not willingly have y^{eir} slip away,
I thinke it therefore needfull that I receive next weeke
by some meanes, letters Attorney respectively from
their relation, y^t I may receive their moneyes now whilst
the Iron is hott: I pray advise then of it, & if you bring
then not up next weeke send them. I am yet but crazy. yet
going abroad through mercy. I cannot enlarge, but with
respects to yo^r selfe & wife p^rsent & no lesse to all my freinds
as if named, & love to my children, I comitt you all to god
& rest
Yours Loveing Freind Jllin

(marginal)

Greate summes of money I heare
are afford by the French y^t
wee may breake peace wth y^e Dutch

FRE 5618

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith at
his house in Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind
July. 24 7. 1669.

Yesterday I sent you a Sthrodors in English
by Moone I thanke who carryes for Sloman which I hope
will come safe to yo^r hands but y^e time expected, but I
could wish that it could performe what it pmises viz.
to bee a true translation you have need compare it with

the latin peice, in whatsoever parte you intend to use, for
 though I had not above 2 houres time to compare, yet
 I found divers materiall words of y^e author left outs,
 & divers of the characters in the author mistaken by the
 translator, as sulphur put for Tartar & y^e like
 which may put y^e operator upon unspeakable errors
 for the due time of gathering Rosasolis whether y^e dew or
 y^e herb. besides the generall time of ☉ transmitting of ♃
 it beeing y^e herb of the ☉: the Dew is best gathered
 at noone when it is his hourse viz. upon monday a little before 11th till noone & hee will be then in
 the 10th house. viz. y^e house of medicine. and if hee
 the ☽ be both free from y^e infortunes especiall if Retrog.
 & haveing dominion in the sixth house with the
 ascendant fortunate if for a pticular opertation:
 I could wish for both herb & dew so gathered.
 if you can make a good quantity of y^e extract of Elula
 according to Rulandus w^{ch} I thinke Schroderus hath: both D^r
 Pratt & my selfe will endeavour to recompense it to you in
 some other prepatations in y^e latin copie is thus: Rx y^e rootes of the
 lesser spurge as they are sold in the shops what quantity you please, boyle them
 over a gentle fire with simple water always scumming it so long as any
 spume arise: then straine y^e water & keepe it neete on other water; and
 boyle the gathered water, ^{gently} to the thicknes of honey. then poure on y^e Spit
 wind to a finger height above. y^e matter keepe it in a close vessel.
 (marginal)
 for some time in an hott place, then gently abstract the
 Spit of wind & y^e extract will remayne behind.
 wellfare y^e execution of y^e matter tomorrow agst both
 meetings & ministers. yet they intend to continue steadfast
 Love & respects p^rsent in hast I rest Yors John Allin

FRE 5619

To his Loveing Freind
 M^r Philip Frith
 at Rye
 These p^rsent
 in

Sussex 4

Loveing Freind

Aug. 28. 1669

Yesterday after some yeares waiteing I rec^d for marke
Jacobs ticket for y^e victory w^{rein} hee was slaine y^e sum of five & forty
shillings & 6d. one shilling for casting: & 6d for y^e doore keep beeing deducted
rest 44s w^{ch} at y^e 2d p lib. (if y^ey will allow no more) [illegible] 39s: 04d
for him: I also rec^d for W^m Starkeys tickett for y^e sance ship. eight and
fifty shillings: 1s6d as in y^e other deducted for casting & doore keep rests then
six & fifty shillings & 6 pence. at 2s p lib (if no more bee allowed) it will
leave one one & fifty shillings for him: I leave it to you to gett allowance: I
pray acquainte them speedily with it, & by y^e next post let me receive
order, with discharges, for y^e paym^t of it for I know not to w^m to pay it.
I have wrote to you twice, but have not rec^d one line from
you since I saw you: It would doe well that you should passe your
accompt with M^r Bennett, for hee thinkes himselfe not p^d for
M^r Greenfelds buisines: till his & your accompt bee ballanced:
It is an hott time here for weather & actions: I know not certainly
whither y^e king bee gone his pgrasse towards Plymouth or no yet:
they have I heare imprisoned here D^r Anslow. & warrants are
out for others; & M^r Vincent no live by mee, hath beene served by one:
y^ey pceed upon y^e pclamation: The ☉ happens to bee octipied this
yeare nothing a degree of his & y^e D^s radicall places, & wthin a day
of my revolution; ☿ by transit Aflicting my radicall apendant
♃ by transit opposing to a degree his owne radicall place, &
y^e M. Cali: about y^e same time comeing to an [illegible]: of ☿ in my
radix. according to Keplers way of directing: all w^{ch} considered
makes it dubious whither I may not meete wth a fatall fever
before y^e end of October next. but gods will bee done; if it should prove so
I hope my freinds will bee my childrens freinds still & p^eserve and
make y^e most of what I shall leave for their advantage. the
most y^t I shall ow here willbee to M^r Pigott y^e apothecary: M^r Hodges
my taaylor in St Katherines courte. & to James Newton. 40d I borrowed lately
to keepe body & soule for a little time: for other things then victuall I get not,
scarse that.

(marginal)

I cannot now enlarge, but wth hopes to heare
from you as desired I p^rsent my respects

to yo^r good selfe & wife & remayne

Your Lo: Freind Jllin

FRE 5620

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye These

p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

Nob^l. 2. ♂. 1669:

I am much mistaken if I have not written to you since I rec^d any line from you, neverthelesse I cannot but blame my selfe for not writeing to you oftner, but the truth is my affaires have been so retrograde in y^e world since I saw you, that I have too little comferte in my life & scarce knew which way to turne mee or W^m to speake to: there hath arisen some differences betweene my p^rsent Landlord & my selfe; which cost money side abundance of vexation of spt: y^e issue was y^t I should have liberty to pvide another place; which I have beene endeavouring this month, but yet cannot obtaine to my mind: which doth pplex mee night & days to thinke y^t I cann neither stay with comferte, nor yet remove wth comferte. haveing so little practise where I am: & without hopes of more unlesse I knew how to reduce psons so better conditions to make a civill answer for mee when I am at home or abroad: haveing beene severall times denied to psons when I have beene in my chambre. but I cannot relate to you all pticulars. I pceive by M^r Jeake you desire from mee to know how y^e acct stand betwixt us: I know not will how to doe it without yo^r helpe: for I thought I had had a copy of o^r last acct: but cannot find any; but I am sure I gave it you in a little peice of pay: w^{ch} I pray transcribe: you know also as well as I what you have rec^d from mee since: I thinke there was 4 [illegible] of elixir since y^e receiting, which is yet owing for, to him I had it from: If you have made any of it pfect if you could sent mee a little

for my owne use: it would bee a kindnesse: if my p^rsent troubles
will pmitt you shall have y^e next acct of y^e bookes at M^r Croches
of this weeke, however y^e next I have heard you were very ill
at one time, but am glad to heare it is now better with you.

(second page)

I am sorry to heare my freinds dropp away so fast it is
but a sickely time here, & in divers places in Holland very
much. although they doe not call it the plague. when you can
let mee heare from you know all doe. In y^e meane while. beeing
new in hast haveing but 2 dayes time more to determine: whither
to doe: or stay where I am; my hearty respects p^rsent to your selfe
& good wife M^r & M^{rs} Bennett old G. Shoemith, M^{rs} Thomas and
to all my freinds as if named with my love to my children I
comitt you to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

If I remove & take an house,
I shall want to take a boy,
which I would have to bee a
schollar: but of y^t more
heerafter. vale

FRE 5621

To his loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
2 Sussex

Loveing Freind

Dec. 20th. 1669

Your first letter came not to hand till Fryday night and
on Saturday I was till 11 at night at an anatomy at surgeons hall, so
y^t I could not till now returne your thankes for y^t & yo^r 2d since rec^d as
I must heartyly doe & am glad to pceive your amendment & to heare
how my children did, wch I longed for & shall deliver to know as
often as conveniently I may, hopeing you will not forgett to see them
as you write. the things you sent Sloman I rec^d safely, and wish yt
the brond box with the rest of boxes had come with them but this

weekes hopes for y^m p Carryer. the things you mention I shall hope
for by sea so soone as may bee though now I feare a longer star
because I heare there is a fresh embargo upon or owne shipps.
to y^e things y^e come by sea you may please to add to these afore
mentioned my 4 greene cussions chayres & my little trunke
because I still want chayres to furnish my roome & seates to
sett on: but I have not yet gotten a roome but am in hope
shortely to bee pvided, in the meane while I am at my brothers
I have many things to say but cannot now: for newes here is
not much. y^e cheife discourse is of a blazing starr as famous
as y^e in Nov 1608 or greater. I thinke ¼ of y^t city was last night
setting up to see it: it was seene by y^e king & queene on
last saturday morning. looked upon to bee ppitious to us but
ominous to France & Holland: rising about east & setting
Southwest. about 2 or 3 in y^e morning: it is said y^t the
French hath putt an embargo upon or shipps in France, upon
acct of their wines, stopt heere in the Hollanders; w^{ch} stopps
trading wth them by y^e Dutch, y^t bills of exchange for them will
not bee p^d to y^e French till they bee released: one Smyrna
Dutch vessell is also to bee taken after 6 houres fight. & 30
of y^m & 10 of us killed in the skirmish. y^t letter on y^e other halfe
sheete cut of, seale superscribe & deliver to M^r Bennett for mee
I write thus to save 2d. my most hearty love to yo^rselfe , wife,
& y^e rest of yo^r family my neighbours p^rsented, wth thanks to you & ym
y^t helped my things on board &c. I rest

Your thankefull as obliged

Assigned John Allin

FRE 5622

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

22 Jan 1670

I have beene very buisy in removeing & settleing

my selfe in my new quarters, which I thinke may prove
for continuous; but how advantagious they may happen
to bee, I am not yet able to judge, haveing had little enter-
& spoyled my cold waters. but my neighbours & freinds
give mee good hopes the Spring may make amends for
all: I shallbee very glad to heare of your health. as of
my childrens & the rest of my freinds. how young Samuel
Jeake doth, whither any better in his sight & as to y^e noise
of his head, since i sent him somewhat. it is now a long
& too long a time since I wrote to or heard from you, and
nobody els besides yo^r selfe will write. I pray let mee
have a line from you: direct yo^r letters to bee left
for mee at the crosse daggers & horne in Morefeilds
next doore to Long Alley End. I have no newes
to acquainte you with. butt long to heare of your
restoration to some measure of health againe after
your long affliction. I doubt you have forgotten D^r
Porters advice about your haire cutting, for y^e easing
of your head. there hath beene some of y^e greate Elixir
that is lately found out to have beene Embezelled away
at Westminster: about 2 yeares since: but none can
obtaine backe agayne any of y^e perfect. y^e K & Prince
Rupert have both some of y^e other, which was not
perfected to y^e rest. & they have y^e operators at worke upon
it: I cannot enlarge at p^rsent . but begg a line from you,
with love & respects p^rsent to yo^rselfe my children & freinds

I rest Yours Allin

FRE 5623

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex / 2

Rye

Loveing Freind

Febr. 10th. 1670.

Yors of the 25th I received, and according to
your directions, I went next day to y^e lawyer & Capt you mentioned
on behalfe of yo^r freinds & after some waiteing I mett with
the Attorney, & found the parties concerned were with him at y^e same
time of my waiteing for him: & therefore haveing no more acct
nor directions in the case; I thought it needlesse to say or write
more of it, till a further opportunity, yo^r sicknesse & illnes I must
condose, & y^e letter coming not to hand till after o^r clubb, I was disirous
to gaine y^e oppertunity of another clubb to take advice for you,
which in reference to yo^r Hemoroids: not haveing scarce the
liberty of communications the secret; nor any of y^e medicine
by me, was forced to forbear; but now (not doubting of yo^r secrecy)
I will venture to communicate it, & it is no more then the
fatt of a bitch, (puppeys grease will not be strong enough)
and a little Saccharum h₂i in powder wrought together
into an oyntm^t & so the parts anoynted wth it as it dryes to
anoynt againe viz. will do it: I know not whither you
have an ordinary medicine of G: lent figgs, splitt in
halves & toasted; & with warmed brandie wine steeped
& one halfe after another applyed as hott & you can indure it; till
they coole & bee all applyed: if the paine returne, reiterate
the medicine: it willbee very hard for you to leave off housekeeping
after so long a continuance in that way, neither can you well &
comfortabled pceed chimically &c. if you should so doe: & for glasses
of Glanders furnaces, I have lately heard were what you can
desire may bee had. I shall long to heare how you doe and
children & freinds to wm all I p^rsent my love & respects respect-
ively as to yo^r selfe & wife many thanks for yo^r Elixir
recd this day but no better, in hast I comitt you all to god & rest

Yours. Jlin.

FRE 5624

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Frith
at his house in
Rye
These p^rsent

in
Sussex 2

Loveing Freind Feb. 22. ♂ 1670

I rec^d yours of the [illegible] Instant I newly rec^d after, I wrote last to you, wherein the greatest part of yours was answer I take notice you have made amend with Jacob for mee, for w^{ch} thanke you; & I pray putt it to your accompt with me as I shall doe to myne with you. I am very much troubled to heare you continue so very ill still. I thinke to send you some doggs & Saccharum h² on friday next, if I can have any conveyance for it, by Joseph Boyce or otherwise, I have lately gotten a little to pleasure you, hoping it may doe as to yo^r Hemeroides, if other meanes have failed all this while, you know bleeding with Leaches in those parts is good. if they bee onely outward, then this oyntm^t applyed & kept to plaister when renownedd when drye will doe it. if they bee swelled inwardly, then you must make a kind of suppository of sinne to putt up: armed with this oyntm^t & often renewed. it will take them quite away in a few dayes. a little of it will doe at a time: a decoction or Electuary of Juniper or bay berries: but with all something must be taken purgative to open y^e spleene & mesarick veine. wherein lyes y^e faeculency of blood yt doth offend. Martin Rulandus saith his oyle or balsom of sulfur by anointing, never failed to cure y^e bling Hemoroides I shall thinke long till I heare from you againe, to know how you doe & my children: whither Betty hath or yet scapes y^e small pox which you say was in W^m Wakelys family. also would I heare of the wellfare of all my children and freinds. & I have none to write to mee but yo^rselfe: I thinke I have found where to have any chymicall glasses ready at any time if you need them. others practice in phisicke now comes in this warme weather, but I must beeing a stranger waite longer for mine, but every one incourage to hope well: & so I doe, for the seeme to promise enough. I cannot enlarge beeing streightned in time at p^rsent & so
(maringal)
with all hearty respects p^rsent to selfe family & all my freinds as if pticularly named & love to my children I comitt you all to god & rest Yours whilest my owne

FRE 5625

To his very Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

4 in

Sussex Rye

Loveing Freind

March. 17. 24 1670

Since yo^rs of y^e 22th past I have not had y^e opportunity to take accompt of y^e glasses you mention, to give you y^t prize besides I was very ill all the last weeke & now my practise begins to mend upon me, I am forced to give attendance especially at first more then ordinary: yet I have not much to doe but to waite: last weeke I tooke 11s. & this week 19s which is more then I have done for $\frac{1}{4}$ of a yeare & more: but I hope well of this place. & hope y^e next weeke to satisfy you to y^e full: I want much yo^r sone Franke, beeing y^e season of the yeare is come for prima materia. ☉ beeing in ♁: and after this raine, it will abound: if I know how to gett a good quantity, I could now tell how to deale with it. how matters goe in y^e pcesse of former materials I refer you to my letter to M^r Jeake; allwayes remembering the former pmise of privacy. I cannot now enlarge beeing clubs time + I would make y^e best use of it I can. I long to heare of yo^r health, if the Lord please, as much as of any freind. yet I long to heare of all their healthes and especially of my children: If you can write, let mee heare from you; as I intend you shall heare from mee the next weeke: I lacke some prima materia for my owne private worke. I cannot add more at p^rsent, besides respects to yo^r selfe wife, love to my children & respects to all freinds as if named & so leave you all to god & rest

Your Loveing Freind Jllin

FRE 5626

To his Loveing
Freind M^r Samuel
Jeake Senior at
his hose in
Rye
4 These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

March. 17. 24 1669/1670

Yors of the 23th past and received answer before this time had I had y^e conveniency to goe & view the phylosophicall nest, to have a fresh account & sight of the eggs; last monday I went thither accordingly. you may please to remember there there were 2 nests, both fed with sawdust; y^e one in sand the other in Balneo: That in balneo consist of 4 eggs much of y^t satisfaction about 1/3 full at first all of y^e phylosophical matter but diversly gathered: one y^e middle most that then and still doe looke like sacke or yellow oyle, was pt of y^t matter gathered at Rye w^{ch} M^r Fryth sent mee. y^e other eggs (as well as y^t at first) turned black like pitch after 40 or 50 dates with a kind of shining superficies in whitish spotts like fishes eyes: y^e one of y^e other glasses looke now on y^e top of greyish white supficies, another of y^{em} looke blackish againe but seemes to be so swelled as if y^e glasse was almost full: y^e 3rd or y^e other wee cannot come well to see what it is: y^e holes to see through were too little, & one so ill placed wee could not well hold a candle to it: they were all luted up at one time with one lute viz melted rozen thickened with y^e powder of chalke & calcined eggshells. in which whilest hott, dip your corkes first fitted to y^e topp & immediately putt in & covered with a limmon cloth, spred with y^e same lute on y^e inside. & so tyed downe fast with threads. but you must bee very quicke, for it drye so fast, yt it will scarce admitt the doing of it. there was no election of time in y^e gathering: but in y^e luteing up the glasses, wee looke as good aspects as wee good betwixt y^e superiors ☉ & ☿ especially at y^e kindling y^e fire (after y^e lute of y^e furnace was drye, wch was made of common loam & horse dung, powdered sifted & mixed) y^e ☽ & ☿ is good appliction to ☉ & as good as wee good so y^e superious They in balneo have stood this day about 300 dayes: y^e other furnace wth sand had a large ... glasse wth about a gallon & 1/2 of the same matter. which have stood this day about 285 dayes. of wtch y^e colours _c. it have beene

like melted pitch & then with fishes eyes. in severall shapes & numbers
now a whitish grey surface: y^e heate of fire to y^t have beene never above
the second degree of fire, lesse by halfe a degree. y^e 1^t. 100 dayes not
above the ... point of 4: of y^e first degree of fire. y^e Balneo
have never beene above y^e first degree of fire & at y^e first not
so much. and accordingly must y^e quanttity of saw dust bee used, w^{ch} is
not removed above once in 24 houres: wee have a quarie
enough us about y^e first preperation of y^e matter how to separate
(second page)

The dropss dreggy dusty impurities which may attend it in the time
of the gathering: but this who all conclude it must not bee to used by
fire, because its sealing up for good & all: & y^e first time must not
be culinary of any sorte: & therefore lesse chargable. indeed when
the phylophicall ☿ is p^epared & it come to bee formented for
procese with mettall, then it requires a culinary fire:

I could tell you if I were neere you what greate things have
beene done onely by the cold fire of the earth. but I neither can
now, nor may at once comitt w^t may bee s^d to writeing: If
what I have said putt you upon quaries let me know them
if you can say any thing to what I have related tell mee.
allways remember privacy. I thinke if I were in y^e country I
could gather it without sullage or need of seperation more then
nature make. ☉ in ♀ or ♁, it the time for the matter.

I cannot enlarge but wth respects to yo^r selfe, son, y^e old
woman, M^r & M^{rs} Bennett & all freinds with my love to my children
wishing you all health & happiness, In hast at p^rsent I
rest

Your Loveing Freind
thankfull for all yo^r kindness
Jllin

remember yo^r, M^r Fryths
& my owne engagements
of privacy, yet freedome
amongst ourselves in this buisines
transcribe w^t you please of this letter
in characters. & burne y^e other

FRE 5627

To his very Loveing Freind
M^r Philip Fryth
at Rte
These p^rsent
in
Sussex / 2

Deare Loveing Freind

March. 31. 1670

I am very much troubled that I could not Answer yo^rs of y^e 24th
instant according to yo^r desire by W^m Oake, forasmuch as after I recd
yours on y^e satureday night, I had no opportunity to see & advise about them
till monday morning, at w^{ch} time I advised wth D^r Pratt in the case really intending
to have tryed M^r Cadman for mony & to have sent y^e things but when wee came
to consider yo^r letter, wee could not determin what to send you till wee
[incomplete] againe from; for trust you mention 2 Pellicans; which are very rare
4 or 5s a peice & none quite out of use: a blind head being altogether
food for any use & cheaper: you 2^{dly} mention an Alembicke & in another place
a cacurbit & head: & they are both one: & will cost about 2s6d for pintes.
seperating glasses are also growne out of use: & a 4d glasse tunnell wth your
finger at y^e bottom will doe as well. you name 4 receivers but not
for what to bee joyned to. for if they bee for retorts they much bee large
bolt heads with short neckes, & if for quarts they will cost 5s a peice, &
if for pints, 4: if they bee to joyne to alembicks about 18d a peice
for glaubers 2d fornace, D^r Pratt sayth it [illegible] y^e trouble
& charge send it downe & then it will sa... [illegible] 2 dayes
but knowing y^e forme of it you had better [incomplete]
that will bee more usefull & lasting for your [illegible]
you have my advice is that you measure y [illegible]
by girting them about with a broad pap [illegible]
low as y^e verge of y^e head will reach [illegible]
to have more bodyes of the same [illegible]
those heads may serve yo^r occasion [illegible]
want a very little Alembicke for s [illegible]
there may bee also bigger bodyes w [illegible]
same heads. as for formenting glasse [illegible]
your uncutt bodyes 10s: which are like [illegible]
lesser mouths to be stopt wth corke [illegible]
heads 1s. I wonder you left out 7d ret [illegible]
w^{ch} you can not bee: for all sublim [illegible]

according to the next & best method of [illegible]
[illegible] for lapis prunella will doe bett [illegible]
[illegible] y^t name [illegible]

[illegible] what you [illegible] for [illegible]

(marginal)

blind heads. [illegible] W^m Oake could not stay but till tuesday & you see our reasons to make a
demurr: w^{ch} was

onely to accomadate your occasions that [incomplete] you needlessly with w^t should not bee so
usefull:

Aloes succotria about 2s or 2s6d p lib Gum Amoniac about 5s for y^e other parts of you
[incomplete]

you will heare further phaps y^e next post its thought that high Act will this day bee signed.

I cannot enlarge but with most hearty respects p^rsent to yo^rselfe wife M^r Jeake, M^r & M^{rs}
Bennet

love to my children wishing you all health & happines I rest

Your Loveing freind,

Jllin

FRE 5628

To his Loveing Freind

M^r Philip Frith

at his house in

Rye

These p^rsent

in

Sussex 2

Loveing Freind

July. 28. 24 1670:

Yors of the 9th instant I rec^d and although this comes too late
for an answer to that, yet better late y^en not at all. It is such a cloudy day now
that wee have scarce light or liberty to write one to another, & yet have
nothing to doe but to looke upon one another with a kind of astonishm^t to thinke
what will follow next as to the generall, we are now continually alarmd wth the
talke of fireballs, and fires too visible; last weeke a woman at Ratcliffe
taken by my old landlord there; that had hands up such fireballs neere a
seiling in a baskett: & she threatened more then y^t would ensue within a few
dayes: y^e next day beeing thursday was a man taken in Southwarke wth y^e like

threatenings. & behold a treacherous & dreadfull fire begins on monday morning about the
george Inn the particular effort whereof you have or will have sent downe
to some wth you, from spectators & neighbours, better y^{en} I can give you; onely
I received a very formall accompt of its beginning which perhaps y^e have not
it should some that one designed for Bromely that morning, went thereabout to
hite an horse, but failing of y^t, hee went to y^t Inn to see if he could a roome in
the yard or an outward roome to see if the wach night spare a roome for him
whilst hee was drinking by himselfe, comes ½ a dozen men supposedly French men
& calls for ½ a dozen canns of beer; & sents for y^e other ½ dozen, which whilst
y^e transfer went to draw, 3 or 4 hastens downe y^e yard to y^t place where y^e fire
began; & returned in hast to their company, drunke up their beere, & pd for it
of halfe a flight shaft. y^t place was all over of a flaming fire, w^e
none was before: but none of y^e men taken. y^e fire at y^e end of Bartholemew
came next to the Exchange, though supposed casuall, was yet feirce and
dreadfull. a man his 2 children & his Childs nurse burnt all to deah.
y^e but last lords day morning: on monday night happened a fire in
Petticoate lane, but did not much harme; that night such thunder
& lightening here, never y^e like (as all say) heard or seene before; on tuesday
last y^e neighbourhood was called out of their beds to bee upon y^e watch, for that
so no lately lodged in our parish, with visible accompt for w^h, y^e latter true, but
not that of fireballs yet: yesternight I heard at our neighbours y^e constables
house y^t one was taken yesterday y^t it was either confest or produced that
had 17s pdiem to distribute fireballs & its threatened y^t blowes neither
stricken next lords day: but God is the kepper of Israel for my owne ptcular
it is rather worse & worse. I never had so sad a time as since midsommer
(second page)

and on monday was sennight, when I had but 6d in y^e world
my landlady cause mee to bee arrested for
last 4ters rent & 5s6d I owed her besides, in all 40s & 6d.
& put me to 10s charge although shee things enough in her
owne possession besides all y^e goods in my house; & formed mee
to give her further security; greatly to my damage: & I
not taken 5s for physicke, nor can I tell how to get bread
much lesse to pay debts, or get cloths; w^{ch} the want of
which infringe my credit much: & must needes therefore
hinder my practise. but however these dogg dayes wee
can expect nothing: besides y^e confusion & distempd thoughts
of all men here at p^rsent : putt by all trade; & none
will pte with all money all most upon any accompt

w^t glasses you want may bee had when you send for them.
I am translating Penotus his receipts & collections of Rx^s
in chymistry, & if you send up y^t little treatise, (I suppose
of chymical spts you meane) it may bee printed wth it;
if approved by our society so to bee. our freinds desire to bee
remembered to you: my hope to heare of you amendm^t in
health & improvem^t of yo^r glasses viz. my hearty love to
yor selfe & wife, M^r Jeake, M^r & M^{rs} Bennett, old G. Shoemith
& all my freinds as if pticularly named, wth love to
my children, wishing all yo^r peace health & wellfare
I comitt you all to god & rest

Yor Loveing Freind

J. A.

I pray let me here from you.

FRE 5629

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake sen
at his house
Rye 2
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind

October. 13. 1670

Since my good freind M^r Fryth dyed, I have not had
the happines to receive one line from Rye neither know I
to whom to write to receive an accompt of my childrens &
freinds wellfare; unlesse your selfe will please now &
then to gratify me wish a letter, and accept of a few
lines form mee. I have seene some further pducts of
what you said in balneo and in sand; viz. both virgins milk
& dragons blood & the greate bay salt out of both: but nothing
to perfection; but what may give some solid hopes of future
good deo voente. D^r Pratt & D^r Stacy both desire their respects
to bee p^rsent to you one told mee this weeke y^t Rye was very sickly
I pray doe mee y^e favour as to afford mee a few lines by
way of accompt how my freinds & children stand in health

or sicknes: I have beene in more then ordinary discom-
-pose to any buisines, for want of any thing to doe, p^rsent ly
to keepe body & soul together, & truely I have beene
very ill all this weeke & this beeing my revolutionary
of 47 yeares; it puts mee in mind w^t hapened at 29
when I had liked to have marched off by y^e small pox;
what fitt of sicknes or death attends mee I know
now y^e will of god bee done, my hearty respects to yor
selfe (M^r & M^{rs} Bennett M^r Boyle M^r Curtys &c.
wth my love to my children p^rsented, I at p^rsent have
leave to subscribe my selfe as I allwayes mean to be

Your Loveing Freind I rest Jllin

FRE 5630

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake
son at his house
in
Rye
These p^rsent
in Sussex

Loveing Freind May. 3. ☿: 1671.

I have here inclosed those bands for your couzon Welsh w^{ch}
I rec^d of M^r Lee & cancelled; I perceive M^r Lee did expect
to have heard from M^r Welsh againe, in some way or other
of gravity, as I hinted in my first answer after y^e money
was p^d: for hee since called at my house to have gotten
with mee, but it was not my happ to bee within: so y^t
I guesse it might bee to inquire about such a thing. I hope yo^r son
have long since have lost his ague, if not, or any else bee
much afflicted, this plaine & easy medicine have beene often
tryed. for a man or woman take 2 for a children but one
red herring take y^e bones out well: yem how it os them
up in a thin clotch, with y^e heads uppmost & y^e fleshly pte
towards y^e body, bind it of them upon y^e reines. and apply
playsters of burgundy pitch to y^e wrists. this keepe on till

well, or els renew as occasion serves. I have not lately
seene y^e pocesse of y^e matter. but I heare it foes on well
my most hearty respects p^resented to yo^r selfe son M^r Bennett
Mrs Miller Mrs Thomas & all my loving Freinds wth you, &
love to my children I rest

Your Loveing Freind

John Allin

I thinke it may be convenient
that I have a letter or receipt
for the bands I send downe.
For yo^r sons hearing if it yet be
defective, take a lease of colds foote
& bruise it betweene yo^r fingers &
wⁿ Juicye make a bind of send
of it. & putt at into y^e eare troubled
& stop it after wth wooll. renew it as it as
occassion serve in a few dayes as it will
helpe.

FRE 5631

To his very Lo: Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake Son
at his house in
Rye
These p^resent
2 in
Sussex

S^r & Lo: Freind

I have neither negleted nor forgotten yo^r desires
but I find it somewt difficult to effect so soone, for that
ye old fashioned bells with beakes are out of use, & of ye
new sorte, none to bee found bigg enough for yo^r expectation.
neither any seperating glasses of yo^r bisnes. & y^e best
workeman in those sorte of glasses is removed from his old
station, & will worke but am hee please & at his owne rates
The bell wth a glasse plate & barres to sett it upon
will scarce come under 6s shillings. & y^e 3 sepating

glasses one of a gallon, as much more, & there will be
needfull besides 2 turnells of glasses to use wth them
if you send me word yo^r mind in it I will gett them made
on purpose wth all the speed possible. inter alin, when
we discoursed last together wth M^r Byndlos you spake
of a dieureticke, which twice pcured a plentifull
effusion of urine, If you can remember it I pray
hint it in yo^r next. I have not roome to enlarge
abut wth most hearty respects to yo^r selfe & son, Mrs
Bennett, my love to all my children p^rsent I rest
Aug. 19th. 1673. Your Lo: Freind John Allin

FRE 5632

To his Loveing Freind
M^r Samuel Jeake son
at Rye
These p^rsent
in
Sussex

Loveing Freind Febr. 3. ♂. 1673/4

I hope you have rec^d yo^r long lookt for glasse
before now safe at home, as they were so safe packt up and
putt on board Richard Oake. although I have not had any
opportunity, I may say health, so much as to give you
any accompt of pticulars or to fetch my money, the pticulars
you will receive by M^r Boyes: the sum is sixteene shillings & six
pence: The pticulars send are a broad dish with a pipe in y^e midst
which is most conveniently to bee fixt levell upon a stoole covered
wth sifted wood askes for y^e bitter security of the glasse & an
hold in the middle of fix a glasse in the middle: over $\frac{1}{4}$ pipe
the oyle through y^e pipe of y^e glasse underneath y^e stoole to receive
upon y^e glasse so fixt it to bee set a little white glasse wth
ye bottom upwards, upon which is to stand y^t earthen dish
which is to hole the brimstone in fine powder:
on 3 sides of that middle glasse are to bee layd y^e three
squared glasses on this maner sketch : which are to be are
up y^e bell: so y^e nothing but glasse shall touch y^e oyle.

goe: & in the meane while to gaine some thing
 thence towards my transportation & discharge of
 some engagements here; so yt my Attorney may not
 doe more then after my directions in neither selling
 nor discharging more then is fitt, & yt I or my
 heires expect or Assignes may call to a certaine
 accompt for the same: It must not bee longer
 neglected, I pray soone as you possibly can send
 mee a copy of w^t I sent, keeping that originall
 (as it is now) haveing lost y^e true one to yo^r selfe: all
 hearty respects p^resented to yo^r selfe love to my Children not forgetting all
 (marginall)
 nor any of my freinds but saluteing yem as if pticularly named, I rest
 The bill of mortality increased last weeke. 141: & amounted Yours, ever as obliged
 to GBB: this weeke it increased: but none of y^e plague noted John Allin

FRE 5634

To M^r Sam^u: Jeake
 son: at his House in
 Rye in
 Sussex

S^r:

I beg your pardon that I have not writ to you
 since my Arrival in Towne. I being a stranger &
 not haveing an opportunity till now, I have not yett
 recd. my money, but as soone as I doe, if you please
 to direct what way I shall sent it, or to pay it to
 any one here. I will obey your orders, my Father
 was gone a weeke before I came, and I have heard
 nothing of him since; I like the City very well, and
 I doe not doubt but by the Grace of God--
 I may doe well here, soe with my Service to your
 selfe and Son, your Cozen Mary, M^r Miller and
 his Brothers, and to all the rest of my freinds I
 remaine

Your humble Servant
 John Allin

My aunt Fowler presents
her Service to you. Shee is
now in a faire way of
ammedmt. pray when you
write direct your letters to
her house in Throgmorton Street

London 11th: May 1680

Appendix 2.1

Books Consulted in Sample of Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1550-1664

Listed below are the full citations for the printed works consulted in Chapter Two's sample of vernacular medical literature about plague. As only one edition for each work was sampled, the edition included is marked 'sampled' at the end of the citation.

- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets collected by the elaborate pains of four several students in physick, and digested together, viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and smal pox. Physical experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1653; STC2 R231044), sampled
- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets, collected by the elaborate paines of four severall students in physick, and digested together; viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and small pox. Physicall experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1652; STC2 R207034)
- A. M., *A rich closet of physical secrets, collected by the elaborate paines of four severall students in physick, and digested together; viz. The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and small pox. Physicall experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments, by a late English doctor.* (London: 1653; STC2 R41664)
- Anonymous, *A Direction concerning the plague, or pestilence, for pooore [sic] and rich* (London: 1625; STC S3167), sampled
- Anonymous, *Especiall obseruations, and approued physicall rules; which haue (heretofore) beene well tryed and experienced, in the last heauy and grieuous time of the pestilence. And, vpon the good and benefit then ensuing by it: thought meete to bee now published, in this dangerous contagion of the plague. Seruing as soueraigne antidotes, for preseruation of all such as are not infected; as also for them that bee already visited.* (London: 1625; STC S119939), sampled
- Boraston, William, *A necessarie and briefe treatise of the contagious disease of the pestilence, with the causes, signes, and cures of the same. Collected and newly composed for the benefit and comfort of the vulgar sort. By W. Boraston ...* (London: 1630; STC S106525), sampled
- Bradwell, Stephen, *Physick for the sicknesse, commonly called the plague. With all the particular signes and symptoms, whereof the most are too ignorant. Collected, out of the choycest authors, and confirmed with good experience; for the benefit and preservation of all, both rich and poore. By Stephen Bradwell, of London physician.* (London: 1636; STC S106184), sampled

- Bradwell, Stephen, *A watch-man for the pest. Teaching the true rules of preservation from the pestilent contagion, at this time fearefully over-flowing this famous cittie of London. Collected out of the best authors, mixed with auncient experience, and moulded into a new and most plaine method; by Steven Bradvvell of London, Physition. 1625.* (London: 1625; STC S115636), sampled
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuuel, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence unto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbs Carduus Benedictus, and angelica, which are very medicinabl[e], both against the plague, and also against many other diseases / gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physitians.* (London: 1578; STC S229), sampled
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes carduus benedictus, and angelica: whiche are verie medicinable, both against the plague, & also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physicians.* (London, 1578; STC S106315)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes carduus benedictus, and angelica: whiche are verie medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned phisitions.* (London, 1579; STC S120283)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell, that is to say, A treatise of the pestilence. Vnto the which is annexed a declaration of the vertues of the hearbes Carduus Benedictus, and Angelica: vvhich are verie medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases. Gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned phisitions.* (London, 1580; STC S91183)
- Brasbridge, Thomas, *The poore mans ieuell: (So called bicause of the great commoditie that may come vnto the poore, by the vse, and practise of the documents, and instructions therin contained: and bicause both the booke, and the contents therof are cheape, and easie to be gotten, and practised of the poorest.) Now the second time set foorth, somewhat augmented by the author. It containeth a treatise of the pestilence, together with a declaration of the vertues of the hearbs carduus benedictus, and angelica: (which are very medicinable, both against the plague, and also against many other diseases:) gathered out of the bookes of diuers learned physitions: prooued by the practise of the author, and of many other since the first edition: which was in the yeere of the Lord, 1580.* (London, 1592; STC S120286)
- Bright, Timothie, *A treatise, vvherein is declared the sufficiencie of English medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicines. Whereunto is added a collection of medicines growing (for the most part) within our English climat, approoued and experimented against the iaundise, dropsie, stone, falling-sicknesse, pestilence.* (London: 1615; STC S106575), sampled
- Bright, Timothie, *A treatise: wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicine.* (London: 1580; STC S111137)
- Bullein, William, *[A dialogue both pleasant and piety-full, against the feuer pestilence.]* (London: 1564; STC S109495), sampled
- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the feuer pestilence, with a consolation and comferte againste death. Newlie corrected by William Bullein, the authour threof.* (London: 1573; STC S118849)

- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasant and pitifull, wherein is a godlie regimete against the feuer pestile[n]ce, with a consolation and comfort against death. Newlie corrected by W. Bullein, the author thereof.* (London: 1578; STC S113053)
- Bullein, William, *A dialogue bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimete against the feuer pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death. Newly corrected by Willyam Bulleyn, the autour thereof.* (London: 1564; STC S255)
- Bullein, William, *A newe boke of phisicke called ye gouernment of health, wherin be uttred many notable rules for ma[n]s preseruacio[n], with sondry simples [and] other matters, no lesse fruitful then profitable: collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better understanding of thunlearned [sic]. Wherunto is added a sufferain regiment against the pestilence. By VWilliam Bullein.* (London: 1558; STC S91243)
- Bullein, William, *A newe boke of phisicke called ye gouernment of health, wherin be vtred many notable rules for ma[n]s preseruacio[n], with sondry simples [et] other matters, no lesse fruitfull then profitable: collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of thunlearned. Wherunto is added a sufferain regiment against the pestilence. By VWilliam Bullein.* (London: 1559; STC S104800)
- Bullein, William, *The gouernment of health: a treatise written by William Bullein, for the especiall good and healthfull preseruacion of mans bodie from all noysome diseases, proceeding by the excesse of euill diet, and other infirmities of nature: full of excellent medicines, and wise counsels, for conseruation of health, in men, women, and children. Both pleasant and profitable to the industrious reader.* (London: 1595; STC S107022), sampled
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meat, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Physicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1612; STC S114681)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan Maister of Artes, and Bachele of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1596; STC S108447)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health, chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meat, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan, Master of Artes, and Bachelor of Physicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1605; STC S108448)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vpon fiue words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6 Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus: by Thomas Coghan master of Artes, & Bachelor of Phisicke. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford.* (London: 1584; STC S105007)

- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vppon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Cogan Maister of Artes, and Bachelor of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1589; STC S108446)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health: chiefly made for the comfort of students, and consequently for all those that haue a care of their health, amplified vppon fiue wordes of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labour, meate, drinke, sleepe, Venus: by Thomas Coghan maister of Artes, & Bachele of Phisicke: and now of late corrected and augmented. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence: with a short censure of the late sicknesse at Oxford.* (London: 1588; STC S112813)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The hauen of health. Chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that have a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus. Hereunto is added a preseruacion from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford. By Thomas Coghan Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Physicke.* (London: 1636; STC S91478)
- Cogan, Thomas, *The haven of health. Chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that have a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus. Hereunto is added a preservation from the pestilence, with a short censure of the late sicknes at Oxford. By Thomas Coghan Master of Arts, and Batcheler of Physicke.* (London: 1636; STC S108449), sampled
- Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publick good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in several sciences, more especially in chyrgery and physick. viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pills, purges, and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers, the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works. By Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1662; STC2 R174427)
- Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publicke good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in severall sciences, more especially, in chyrgery and physick, viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pils, purges, and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers; the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works. By Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1655; STC2 R22796), sampled

- Culpeper, Nicholas, *Culpeper's last legacy: left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publike good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in severall sciences, more especially, in chyrurgery, and physick, viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrups, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pils, purges and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers; the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works: by Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* (London: 1657; STC2 R23851)
- Donne, George, *The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence* (London: 1625; STC S3336), sampled
- Drouet, Pierre, *A new counsell against the pestilence, declaring what kinde of disease it is, of what cause it procedeth, the signes and tokens thereof: with the order of curing the same.* (London: 1578; STC S108183), sampled
- Fioravanti, Leonardo, *A ioyfull iewell. Contayning aswell such excellent orders, preseruatiues and precious practises for the plague, as also such meruelous medcins for diuers maladies, as hitherto haue not beene published in the English tung. First made and written in the Italian tung by the famous, and learned knight and doctor M. Leonardo Fiorouantie, of his owne ingenious inuentions. And now for the carefull commoditie of his natiue countrey, translated out of the Italian by TH.* (London: 1579; STC S118891), pp. 1-40, sampled
- Fuchs, Leonhart, *A worthy practise of the moste learned phisition Maister Leonerd Fuchsius* (London: 1563; STC S108646), sampled
- G. D., *The signes that doe declare a person to be infected with the pestilence... Remedies after a person is infected... G.D.* (London: 1636; STC S91761)
- Goeurot, Jean, *[A new booke entyted the regiment of lyfe: with a syngular Treatise of the pestilece]* (London: 1543; STC S92714)
- Goeurot, Jean, *[The regiment of life.]* (London: 1546; STC S105685)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The kegiment [sic] of life, wherunto is added A treatyse of the pestilence, with the booke of children newly corrected and enlarged by T. Phayer.* (London: 1546; STC S5111)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1550; STC S109504), sampled
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life. VVhereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the book of children. Latelye corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phayre.* (London: 1596; STC S103193)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of children, newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phaire.* (London: 1553; STC S117696)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life, wherevnto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of children, newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phaire.* (London: 1560; STC S108644)

- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of life. Whereunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the book of chyldren. Newly corrected and enlarged by Thomas Phayre.* (London: 1578; STC S108623)
- Goeurot, Jean, *The regiment of lyfe, wherunto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the booke of speciall remedies (experimented) for all diseases, griefes, impediments, and defects often happening in yong children, newly corrected [and] enlarged by Thomas Faier.* (London: 1567; STC S117697)
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion. With a caveat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preservative from the plague. First published for the behoofe of the citie of London, in the two visitations 1603 & 1625. And reprinted for the benefit of the said citie now visited, and all other parts of the land that may or shall hereafter be: by Francis Herring ... Whereunto is added certaine directions, for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited.* (London: 1636; STC S104003), sampled
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisments for this time of pestilentiall contagion: with a caueat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preseruatiue from the plague: first published for the behoofe of the city of London, in the last visitation, 1603. And now reprinted for the said citie, and all other parts of the land at this time visited; by Francis Hering, D. in Physicke, and Fellow of the Colledge of Physitians in London. Wherevnto is added certaine directions, for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited.* (London: 1625; STC S92954)
- Herring, Francis, *Certaine rules, directions, or advertisments for this time of pestilentiall contagion: with a caueat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preseruatiue from the plague: published for the behoofe of the city of London, and all other parts of the lan at this time visited; by Francis Hering, D. in Physicke, and Fellow of the Colledge of Phisitians in London.* (London: 1603; STC S92953)
- Herring, Francis, *Preservatives against the plague, or directions and advertisements for this time of pestilentiall contagion. VVith certaine instructions for the poorer sort of people when they shall bee visited: and also a caveat to those that weare about their necks impoisoned amulets as a preservative against that sicknesse. First publisheed for the behoofe of the city of London, in the two visitations 1603. and 1625. and reprinted for the benefit of the said citie, now visited, and all other parts of the land, that may or shall hereafter be. By FrancisHerring Dr. in physick, deceased.* (London: 1641; STC R230654)
- Heyden, Hermann van der, *Speedy help for rich and poor. Or, Certain physicall discourses touching the vertue of whey, in the cure of the griping flux of the belly, and of the dysentery. Of cold water, in the cure of the gout, and green-wounds. Or wine-vineger, in the preservation from, and cure of the plague, and other pestilential diseases: as also in the prevention of the hydrophobia, or dread of water, caused by the biting of a mad dog. &c. Written in Latine by Hermannus Vander Heyden, a physician of Gaunt.* (London: 1653; STC2 R30733), sampled
- Hobbes, Stephen, *A nevv treatise of the pestilence, containing the causes, signes, preseruatiues and cure thereof. The like not before this time pubished [sic]. And therefore necessarie for all manner of persons, in this time of contagion. S. H. Studios in phisicke.* (London: 1603; STC S117905), sampled
- I. W., *A briefe treatise of the plague vvherine is shewed, the naturall cause of the plague. Preservations from the infection. Way to cure the infected* (London: 1603; STC S123186), sampled

- Kellwaye, Simon, *A defensatiue against the plague: contayning two partes or treatises: the first, shewing the meanes how to preserue vs from the dangerous contagion thereof: the second, how to cure those that are infected therewith. Whereunto is annexed a short treatise of the small poxe shewing how to gouerne and helpe those that are infected therewith. Published for the loue and benefit of his countrie by Simon Kellwaye Gentleman.* (London: 1593; STC S109245), sampled
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague. Shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by wholesome fumes, drinckes, vomits and other inward receits; as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to be obserued of euery housholder, to auoide the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his countrey.* (London: 1603; STC S122521), sampled
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague. Shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by holosome fumes, drinckes, vomits, and other inward receits: as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to be obserued of euery housholder, to auoid the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his country: and now newly enlarged by the same author, with remedies for the newe pestilent feuer.* (London: 1594; STC S122523)
- Learned Phisition, *Present remedies against the plague: shewing sundry preseruatiues for the same, by wholesome fumes, drinckes, vomits, and other inward receits: as also the perfect cure (by implaisture) of any that are therewith infected. Now necessary to be obserued of euery housholder, to auoide the infection, lately begun in some places of this cittie. Written by a learned phisition, for the health of his countrey, and now newly enlarged by the same author, with remedies for the new pestilent feuer.* (London: 1592; STC S91539)
- Lodge, Thomas, *A treatise of the plague: containing the nature, signes, and accidents of the same, with the certaine and absolute cure of the feuers, botches and carbuncles that raigne in these times: and aboue all things most singular experiments and preseruatiues in the same, gathered by the obseruation of diuers worthy traualiers, and selected out of the writings of the best learned phisicians in this age. By Thomas Lodge, Doctor in Phisicke.* (London: 1603; STC S108807), sampled
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter: wherein the method of curing broken bones, and strains, and dislocated joynts, together with ruptures, vulgarly called broken bellyes, is fully demonstrated. Whereunto is added The perfect oculist, and The mirrour of health, treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases incident to men, women and children. Also, the acute judgement of urines. Written originally by Friar Moulton, of the Order of St. Augustine. Now revised, Englished and enlarged by Robert Turner philomathēs.* (London: 1657; STC R208418), sampled
- Moulton, Thomas, *[This is the myrour or glasse of helth, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence: and it sheweth howe the planettes raygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght: with the natures and exposicions o the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies for manye diuers infyrmytes and diseases, that hurteth the body of man.]* (London: 1531; STC S94243)
- Moulton, Thomas, *[This is the myrroure or glasse of helth]* (London: 1536; STC S94242)

- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helth, a great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from sycnesses [and] dysseases. And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposycyons of ye .xii. sygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And after foloweth of all [the] euyll [and] daungerous dayes of the yere, and sheweth the remedyes, for dyuers infyrmytyes [and] dyseases, [that] hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1540; STC S104399)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helth. A great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, yt wyll kepe theyr body from syckenesses, and dyseases: and it sheweth how the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposicions of the .xii. sygnes deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedyes for dyuers infyrmyties and dyseases, that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1547-9; STC S94248)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helthe, a great treasure for pore men, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body fro[m] syckenesses [and] disseases, and it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye [and] the nyght, with the natures [and] exposicyons of ye .xii. sygnes deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere, and after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedyes for dyuers infyrmytyes [and] diseases, yt hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1545; STC S104406)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the glasse of helthe: a great treasure for poore men, necessary and nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from syckenesses and dysseases. And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne euery houre of the daye and the nyght, with the natures and exposicions of the .xii. sygnes. deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And after foloweth of all the euyll and daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedyes for dyuers infyrmyties and dysseases [that] hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1555; STC S104397)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helth, necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence: and it sheweth howe the planettes raygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght: with the natures and exposicions of the .xii. sygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And sheweth the remedyes for manye diuers infyrmytes and diseases, that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1531; STC S104303)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body frome ye syckeuesse [sic] of the pestilence, and it showeth how the planetes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyght, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. synes. deuyded by ye .xii. monthes of the yere, and sheweth the remedyes for many dyuers infirmytes and dyseases that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1548; STC S112923)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrour or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery persone to loke in, that wyll kepe theyr body frome the syckenes of the pestile[n]ce? And it sheweth howe the planettes reygne in euery houre of the daye and nyght, with the natures and exposicio[n]s o the .xij. signes, deuyded by the .xij. monthes of the yere, [and] sheweth the remedyes for many diuers infirmites [and] dyseases that hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1540; STC S112921)

- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helthe necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that will kepe theyr bodye from the syckenesse of the pestylence, and it sheweth howe the planettes do reygne in euery houre of the day and night, with the natures and exposicions o the .xii. sygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monethes of the yeare, and shewed the remedies for dyuers iufyrmyties [sic] and diseases that hurtethe the bodye of man.* (London: 1566; STC S112925), sampled
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne euery houere of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. signes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed [sic] the remedies for manye dyuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S108113)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyries and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S100047)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and expocio[n]s of the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94245)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary [and] nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, [and] it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurteth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94244)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary & nedeful for euery person to loke in, that wyll kepe their body from the syckenesse of the pestilence, & it sheweth how the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of th .xii. sygnes, deuided by the .xii. monethes of the yere, and shewed the remedies for manye diuers infyrmyties and diseases that hurreth the body of manne.* (London: 1546; STC S94246)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in they wyll kepe they body from the [...]ekenes of the pestylence. And it be weth howe the planettes reygne in euery houre of the daye aud [sic] the nyght with the natures and exposycions of the .xii. bygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monthes of the yere. And the weth the remedies, for many dyuers in[...]mptes and dyseases the hurteth the body of man.* (London: 1560; STC S94247)
- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrroure or glasse of helth necessary and nedefull for euery person to loke in, that wil kepe their bodye from the syckenesse of the pestilence, and it sheweth howe the planettes do raygne in euery houre of the daye and nyghte, with the natures and exposicio[n]s of the xii sygnes, deuyded by the .xii. monethes of the yeare, and shewed the remedies for many dyuers infirmities and dyseases that hurteth the bodye of manne.* (London: 1560; STC S120736)

- Moulton, Thomas, *This is the myrrour or glasse of helth, necessary [and] nedefull for euery person to soke in, that wyll kepe theyr body from the syckenes of the pestylence. And it sheweth how the planettes reygne, in euery houre of the daye and the nyght, with the natures and exposycions of the. xii. sygnes, deuyded by the. xii. monthes of the yere, and after foloweth of all the euyll [and] daungerous dayes of the yere. And sheweth the remedies, for dyuers infyrmytes and dyseases, that hurteth the bodye of man.* (London: 1536; STC S94241)
- Paré, Ambroise, *A treatise of the plague, contayning the causes, signes, symptomes, prognosticks, and cure thereof. Together with sundry other remarkable passages (for the prevention of, and preservation from the pestilence) never yet published by anie man. Collected out of the workes of the no lesse learned than experimented and renowned chirurgian Ambrose Parey.* (London: 1630; STC S103146), sampled
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions, aswell for the cure of the plague, as for preuenting the infection; with many easie medicines of small charge, very profitable to his Maiesties subiects; set downe by the Colledge of Physicians by the Kings Maiesties speciall command. With sundry orders thought meet by his Maiestie, and his Priuie Councell, to be carefully executed for preuention of the plague. Also certaine select statutes commanded by His Maiestie to be put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; together with His Maiesties proclamation for further direction therein: and a decree in Starre-Chamber, concerning buildings and in-mates.* (London: 1636; STC S2216), sampled
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions, aswell for the cure of the plague, as for preuenting the infection; with many easie medicines of small charge, very profitable to his Maiesties subiects. Set downe by the Colledge of Physicians by the Kings Maiesties speciall command. With sundry orders thought meet by his Maiestie, and his Priuie Councell, to be carefully executed for preuention of the plague. Also certaine select statutes commanded by his Maiestie to be put in execution by all iustices, and other officers of the peace throughout the realme; together with his Maiesties proclamation for further direction therein: and a decree in Starre-Chamber, concerning buildings and in-mates.* (London: 1636; STC S108814)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines for the plague, prescribed for the yeare 1604. by the whole Colledge of Physitians, both spirituall and temporall. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1636; STC S102949), sampled
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The Kings medicines for the plague. Prescribed for the yeare 1604. by the whole Colledge of Physitians, both spirituall and temporall. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be vsed all England ouer.* (London: 1630; STC S102947)
- Sherwood, Thomas, *The charitable pestmaster, or, the cure of the plague, conteining a few short and necessary instructions how to preserve the body from infection of the plague, as also to cure those that are infected. Together with a little treatise concerning the cure of the small pox. Published for the benefit of the poore of this city and not unmeet for the rich, by Thomas Shervvood practitioner in physick.* (London: 1641, STC R6113), sampled
- T. C., *[An hospitall, for the diseased. ... gathered by T.C.]* (London: 1584; STC S91273)

- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receites, for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessar for the time of common plague and mortality: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Newly augmented and enlarged. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1630; STC S116144)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherein are to be found most excellent approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Verie necessarie for the time of common plague and mortalitie: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1610; STC S104866)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. VVherin are to be found most excellent approved medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receites, for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortality: and for other times when occaision shall serue. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1638; STC S118398)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as vwell emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times, when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1598; STC S115043)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times when occasion shall serue. Newly augmented and enlarged. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1595; STC S108207)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found most excellent approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receits, for the restitution and preseruacion of bodily health. Verie necessary for the time of common plague and mortalitie: and for other times when occasion shall serue. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1619; STC S115959)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to be found moste excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receipts, both for the restitution and preseruacion of bodely health. Very necessarie and profitable for this time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1578; STC S126046)*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased wherein are to bee founde moste excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplasters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receptes, bothe for the restitution and the preseruacion of bodily health: very necessary for this tyme of common plague and immortalitie, and for other tymes when occasion shall require : with a newe addition (London: 1579; STC S126047), sampled*
- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherein are to bee founde moste excellent and approoued medicines, aswell emplasters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receptes, bothe for the restitution and the preseruacion of bodily health. Very necessary for this tyme of common plague and immortalitie, and for other tymes when occasion shall require. With a newe addition. Gathered by T.C. (London: 1579; STC S4169)*

- T. C., *An hospitall for the diseased. Wherin are to be found, most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue: as also notable potions or drinckes, and other comfortable receiptes, bothe for the restitution, and the preseruatiue of bodily health. Very necessary for this time of common plague and mortality, and for other times, when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1580; STC S118738)
- T. C., *An hospitall, for the diseased. VVherein are to be founde most excellent and approoued medicines, as well emplaisters of speciall vertue, as also notable potions, or drinckes, and other comfortable receiptes, both for the restitution, and the preseruatiue of bodily health. Very necessary for this time of common plague and mortalitie, and for other times, when occasion shall require. Gathered by T.C.* (London: 1587; STC S264)
- Thayre, Thomas, *An excellent and best approoued treatise of the plague. Containing, the nature, signes, and accidents of the same. With the certaine and absolute cure of the feuers, botches, and carbuncles, that raigne in these times; and about all things, most singular experiments in the same: gathered by the obseruations of diuers worthy trauilers, and selected out of the best learned physitions in this age. Likewise is taught, the true and perfect cure of the plague, with secret and vnknowne preseruatiues against all infection; and how so withstand the most dangerous accidents, which may happen this fearefull contagious time. Generall rules of life to be obserued by all men this plague time. Directions for the commons, country-men and strangers that be necessitated to come into the city. ...* (London: 1625; STC S103487)
- Thayre, Thomas, *A treatise of the pestilence: vvherein is shewed all the causes thereof, with most assured preseruatiues against all infection: and lastly is taught the true and perfect cure of the pestilence, by most excellent and approoued medicines. Composed by Thomas Thayre chirurgian, for the benefite of his countrie, but chiefly for the honorable city of London.* (London: 1603; STC S101271), sampled
- Turner, Peter, *The opinion of Peter Turner Doct: in phisicke, concerning amulets or plague cakes, whereof perhaps some holde too much, and some too little.* (London: 1603; STC S102037), sampled
- Vicary, Thomas, *The English mans treasure: with the true anatomie of mans bodie: compiled by that excellent chirurgion maister Thomas Vicary Esquier, Sergeant Chirurgion to King Henry the 8. To King Edward the 6. To Queene Mary. And to our soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. And also chiefe chirurgion to Saint Bartholmewes Hospitall. Whereunto are annexed many secretes appertaining to chirurgerie, with diuers excellent approoued remedies for all diseases the which are in man or woman, with emplaisters of speciall cure, with other potions and drinckes approoued in phisicke. Also th rare treasure of the English bathes: written by William Turner, doctor in phisicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefit of his friends and country-men in England by VWilliam Bremer practitioner in phisicke and chirurgerie.* (London: 1596; STC S105692)
- Vicary, Thomas, *The English mans treasure: with the true anatomie of mans bodie: compiled by the excellent chirurtion M. Thomas Vicary Esquire, sergeant chirurgion to King Henry the 8. To King Edward the 6. to Queene Mary. And to our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth. And also chiefe chirurgion to Saint Bartholmewes Hospitall. Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chirurgerie, with diuers excellent approoued remedies for all diseases the which are in man or women: with emplaisters of speciall cure: with other potions and drinckes approoued in phisicke. Also the treasure of the English bathes: written by William turner, Doctor in phisicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefit of his friends and country-men in England, by William Bremer practitioner in phisicke and chirurgerie.* (London: 1599; STC S95672)

- Vicary, Thomas, *The English mans treasure. With the true anatomie of mans bodie: compiled by that excellent chirurgion M. Thomas Vicary Esquier, Sergeant Chirirgion to King Henry the 8. to King Edward the 6. to Queene Marie, and to our late soueraigne ladie Queene Elizabeth. ... Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chirurgerie, with diuers excellent approued remedies for all captaines and souldiers, that trauell either by water or by land: and for all diseases, ... with emplaisters of speciall cure: with other potions and drinks approued in physicke. Also th rare treasure of the English bathes: written by William Turner, Doctor in Phisicke. ... by William Bremer, practitioner in physicke and chyurgerie. And now sixtly augmented and enlarged, with almost a thousand approued waters and medicines, ... as also oyntments and plaisters, ... By G.E. practitioner in physicke and chyrurgerie. With a necessary table, for the readie finding out of any secret therein contained.* (London: 1613; STC S119117)
- Vicary, Thomas, *The English-mans treasure with the true anatomie of mans body / compiled by that excellent chyrurgion Mr. Thomas Vicary ... ; whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chyrurgerie, with diuers excellent approued remedies ... ; also the rare treasure of the English bathes, written by William Turner ... ; gathered and set forth for the benefite and cure of the poorer sort of people ... by William Bremer ...* (London: 1626; STC S538)
- Vicary, Thomas, *The English-mans treasure. With the true anatomie of mans body: compiled by that excellent chyrurgion Mr. Thomas Vicary Esquire, Sergeant Chyrurgion to King Henry the 8. to K. Edvard the 6. to Queene Mary, and to our late soveraigne Qu. Elizabeth. ... Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chyrurgery, with divers excellent approved remedies for all captaines and souldiers, that travell eyther by water or land: and likewise for all diseases which are eyther in man or woman: with emplaisters of especiall cure: with other potions and drinkes approve in physicke. Also the rare treasure of the English bathes: written by William Turner Doctor in Physicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefit and cure of the poorer sort of people, who are not able to goe to the physitians: by William Bremer, practitioner in physicke and chyurgerie.* (London: 1633; STC S119121)
- Vicary, Thomas, *The English-mans treasvre. With the true anatomie of mans body: compiled by that excellent chyrurgion Mr. Thomas Vicary Esquire, sergeant chyrurgion to King Henry the 8. to King Edvard the 6. to Queene Mary, and to our late soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, and also chiefe chyrurgion to St. Bartholmewes Hospitall. Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chyrurgerie, with divers excellent approved remedies for all captaines and souldiers, that travell either by water or land: and likewise for all diseases which are either in man or woman: with emplaisters of especiall cure: with other potions and drinkes approved in physicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefit and cure of the poorer sort of people, who are not able to goe to the physitians: by William Bremer, practitioner in physicke and chyurgerie. And now ninthly much augmented, corrected an enlarged, with almost a thousand approved waters and medicines, meet and necessary for physicke and chyurgerie: as also oyntments and plaisters, with especiall and approved remedies for the plague, and pestilent feaver, which never came to light before this present; by W.B. practitioner in physicke and chyurgerie. With a necessary table for the ready finding out of any secret therein contained.* (London: 1641; STC R13290), sampled

Vicary, Thomas, *The Englishmans treasure, or treasure for Englishmen: vvith the true anatomye of mans body, compiled by that excellent chirurgion Maister Thomas Vicary Esquier Sergeant Chirurgion to King Henry the 8. to King Edward the 6. to Queene Mary. and to our soueraigne lady Queen Elizabeth. And also cheefe chirurgion to S. Bartholomewes hospitall. Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to chirurgery, with diuers excellent approued remedies for all diseases the which are in man or woman, with emplasters of speciall cure with other potions and dringes approued in phisike. Also the rare treasure of the English bathes, written by William Turner, Doctor in Phisicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefit of his friendes and countrimen in England by William Bremer practitioner in phisicke and chirurgery.* (London: 1586; STC S111543)

Vicary, Thomas, *The Englishmans treasure: with the true anatomie of mans bodie: compiled by that excellent chirurgion maister Thomas Vicary Esquier, Sergeant Chirurgion to King Henry the 8. To King Edward the 6. To Queene Mary. And to our soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. And also chiefe chirurgion to S. Bartholmewes Hospitall. Whereunto are annexed many secretes appertayning to chirurgerie, with diuers excellent approued remedies for all diseases the which are in man or woman, with emplasters of speciall cure, with other potions and dringes approued in phisicke. Also the rare treasure of the English bathes: written by William Turner, doctor in phisicke. Gathered and set forth for the benefite of his friendes and countreymen in England by William Bremer practitioner in phisicke and chirurgerie.* (London: 1587; STC S102494)

Appendix 2.2

Glossary of Common Medicinal Ingredients in Plague Recipes

The items in this glossary are taken from the normalized species tables from chapter 5. To create this list, I took the 30 most frequently recommended ingredients from the species table for Air, Preventative, Curative and Outward remedies, collated and defined the terms. Sources for this glossary include the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*; John Gerard, *The herbal or Generall historie of plantes* (STC xxxx); and Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*. Traded and imported goods can be found online in the 'Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820' by Nancy Cox and Karin Dennehl, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/traded-goods-dictionary/1550-1820>> (accessed 21 February 2017).

Several of the items on the list were considered recognizable enough not to define here. These included: beer, bread, butter, dung, egg, grease, honey, leaven, lemon, oil, orange, salt, soap, soot, sugar, water and wine.

Agaric: A fungus typically found on larch trees, used in laxative preparations.

Aloe: at aromatic resin or wood found in trees native to South-East Asia; known for bitter taste and purgative action; thought to help the stomach and liver.

Angelica: Aromatic plant indigenous to Europe but cultivated in England from 1568; roots considered particularly good against poison and plague.

Amber or Ambergris: Ash-coloured wax-like substance produced in the intestines of a sperm whale; found floating in tropical seas and used for perfumery and medicinal purposes.

Ammoniac: Also *Gum Ammoniac*, a yellowish green resin of bitter taste which is obtained from the juice of the *Dorema ammoniacum* plant, native to Libya.

Aqua vitae: Latin for *water of life*, an alchemical term applied to ardent spirits or unrectified alcohol, a compound medicine.

Bay: berries and leaves of the Bay tree, native to the Mediterranean.

Benjamin: A balsamic resin taken from *styrax* tree, native to Sumatra and Java; used in medicine and perfumery.

Benzoin: A fragrant, resinous used in medicine and perfumery.

Betony: A plant from the mint family with spiked purple flowers, attributed with medicinal and magical virtues.

Bezoar stone: A concretion from the stomach of an animal (commonly goats) or an artificial stone made of clay, resin and musk viewed as a general antidote to poison and disease

Bole Armeniac: earth from Armenia used mainly in medicinal preparations (particularly for diarrhea); valued cheaply.

Borage: A plant with bright blue flowers and a stem and leaves covered with prickly hairs; valued for its use as a cordial to strengthen the heart.

Bramble: Blackberry bush, common in England; the blossoms, leaves, berries and root were ascribed with various medicinal qualities; leaves in particular valued in plague preparations

Brimstone/Sulphur: used as a purgative for air and body

Bugloss: A plant with blue flowers

Butterbur/Pestastites: An English plant with large soft leaves; the leaves were used medicinally for its diaphoretic and diuretic qualities; dried and powdered, the leaves were considered a 'souveraigne medicine against the plague and feuer, because it prouoketh sweat'. Also considered good against worms.

Camphor: resinous substance produced by some Asian trees; used in pharmacy as an anti-aphrodisiac.

Carduus Benedictus: Also known as 'blessed thistle'. A thistle with leaves, seeds and juice considered to have a number of healing properties. The juice was considered 'singular good against all poison'.

Ceruse: White lead, a compound of carbonate and lead hydrate.

Chamomile: An aromatic herb resembling a daisy found in England used medicinally in a variety of manners, including digestive complaints.

Cinnamon: The inner bark of an East Indian tree which has been dried in the sun; used as a spice; medicinally, used for its aromatic and restorative qualities; considered good for digestion.

Citron: A large yellow citrus fruit of Asian origin.

Clove: Dried flower buds used as an aromatic spice.

Coral: A hard calcareous substance from the sea, regarded as a precious stone

Cypress: A coniferous tree native to the eastern Mediterranean

Diachylon cum gummi/ Diachylon plaster: A kind of ointment composed of vegetable juices; later, lead became a key ingredient; used as a plaster

Dragon: The plant *Dracunculus vulgaris*, also called dragonwort.

Elder: A tree whose bark, berries, flowers and leaves were ascribed with medicinal uses and qualities; the leaves in particular were used in outward preparations for plague sores that had ruptured.

Fenugreek: Seed of the pea family ascribed with cleansing properties.

Fig: Fruits of the fig tree; taken internally for a laxative effect and used externally for suppurating boils.

Frankincense: Gum resin from the Frankincense Tree used in medicines and for burning as incense; *olibanum* an alternative name

Galbanum: A gum obtained from *Ferula*, a genus of giant fennel, native to Persia.

Gallia Muschata: A readymade medicinal preparation containing musk, mastic, camphor, rosewater

Garlic: A plant with a bulbous root; eaten, it was considered to thin out 'thick and grosse humours'; considered good against poisons and called by Galen 'the husbandman's Treacle'.

Gentian: A tall, yellow-flowered plant with a bitter taste, often used in compound medicines for agues and digestive complaints.

Gum Arabic: A resinous product used as an ingredient in mithridate and Venice treacle.

Hartshorn: shavings or raspings from the antlers of a stag

Hyacinth: a precious stone, blue in colour.

Juniper: A genus of evergreen shrubs and trees; the wood and berries were used medicinally in a variety of ways; the berries in particular were used for digestive complaints.

Laudanum: Medicinal preparation in which the chief ingredient was opium.

Lavender: A small shrub with pale purple flowers

Lily: Any plant or flower of the genus *Lilium*; the roots were frequently used in outward preparations to break plague sores.

Linseed: Seed of flax, often used as a medicament in poultices.

Mace: A spice consisting of the fleshy surrounding of the seed in the fruit of the nutmeg tree; see *nutmeg*

Mallow: A common European plant whose leaves and roots were used in soothing preparations for plague sores that had broken or otherwise ruptured.

Marigold: A plant with golden flowers; the flowers and leaves were often distilled and used to treat inflammation and as a painkiller.

Marjoram: Any of the aromatic herbs and low shrubs which make up the genus *Origanum*, used medicinally both internally in medicines and externally in ointments.

Marshmallow: A shrubby plant grown in marshes with pale pink flowers. See also *mallow*.

Mastic: A resin produced by the bark of the mastic tree; considered useful against venomous bites.

Musk: A strong-odoured substance secreted by a gland of the male musk deer; used in perfumery and medicine.

Mustard: Powder made from the crushed seeds of certain plants of the family Brassicaceae; used in a variety of medicinal preparations, in plague remedies it was typically used in ointments to draw the bubo.

Myrrh: A gum resin produced by various Arabian and African trees; used as an ingredient of incense and in medicinal preparations as a diuretic.

Nutmeg: The kernel of the seed of an evergreen tree native to Indonesia, used grated or ground as a spice or in medicine; used to sweeten the breath and relieve flatulence.

Onion: The edible rounded bulb of *Allium cepa* used in a wide variety of plague remedies; stamped with salt, rue and honey it was considered a good remedy against the bite of a rabid dog; roasted and applied hot, it would break boils and plague sores.

Orange: Any of various kinds of citrus fruit with a reddish-yellow rind and an acidic pulp.

Orris: Any of the iris of *Iris germanica*; the root was often used in perfumery and medicine.

Pearl: A round, white gem produced by small marine oysters of the genus *Pinctada* cultivated in Japan and China; regarded as a precious stone.

Pitch: A black resinous substance which is hard when cold and semi-viscous when heated. Used medicinally to treat coughs, arthritis and as an ingredient of ointments.

Plantain: Any plants of the genus *Plantago*; low-growing plants; leaves often used as a poultice for wounds.

Posset: A drink of milk curdled with ale or wine.

Rhubarb: An expensive plant imported from China which produced the medical rootstock known by the same name; used as a purgative.

Rose: a wide variety of rose species were used including damask rose; rose leaves and flowers were used as simples; roses were also the main ingredient of a number of compound preparations such as conserve, cordial, honey and syrup which were frequently recommended in plague recipes.

Rosemary: Large evergreen shrub native to southern Europe; the aromatic leaves are used in cookery, perfumery and medicine.

Rue: Also called ‘Herb Grace’ or ‘Herb of Grace’; a southern European plant with a bitter, acrid taste; believed to have a huge range of medicinal uses; the leaves eaten with walnut kernels and figs were believed to protect against bad air, plague and poison; also frequently used as a diuretic and carminative.

Saffron: The dried, orange-red stigmas of *Crocus sativus*; used in plague medicines as a sudorific.

Sage: An aromatic herb of the genus *Salvia*; believed to benefit the head and brain.

Saunders: fragrant wood from Asia with red, yellow and white varieties.

Scabious: Any plant of the genus *Scabiosa*; formerly believed to aid the cure of certain skin diseases.

Scordium: A plant formerly used as a sudorific and antidote for poisons; also called water-germander.

Setwall: The root of the East Indian plant *Curcuma Zedoaria*, with medicinal uses.

Sorrel: Any plants of the genus *Rumex*; the leaves were commonly used for skin complaints while the roots were used for their purgative properties.

Storax: A fragrant gum-resin; either resin of the tree *Styrax officinalis* or the balsam of the tree *Liquidambar orientale*

Terra Sigillata: A reddish earth obtained from Lemnos and manufactured into sealed troches; considered an antidote; also referred to as terra lemnia.

Tormentil: A low-growing herb used in medicine; believed to be particularly effective against plague and other pestilential diseases ‘for it strongly resisteth putrifaction, and procureth sweate’; the leaves and roots were often used in plague preparations.

Turpentine: The oily resin from coniferous trees; commonly used in outward applications.

Theriac-type compound: This category includes the two variants of treacle, London and Venice treacles, as well as diascordium and mithridate. Theriacs were compounded of over fifty

ingredients and known for its sudorific qualities and as an antidote for poison; also called 'theriac'.

Unguentum Basilicon: A mildly antiseptic ointment, one of the cheaper ointments valued approximately 8d-12d per pound.

Vinegar: A liquid produced by the further fermentation of alcoholic liquor; regarded as a preservative against pestilence.

Violet: A wild-growing plant with purple, mauve or white flowers and a distinctly sweet smell; frequently made into a syrup.

Vitriol: Native or artificial sulphates of metals used medicinally; any combination of sulphuric acid with any metal; a shortened form of 'oil of vitriol'.

Walnut: The nut of the common walnut tree; taken with a fig and rue, it was believed to be an antidote for poison and a preventative for plague.

Wormwood: A bitter plant whose leaves and tops are used in medicine; in the early modern period, used in a variety of medicinal preparations, including antidotes against poison.

Zedoary: The tuberous root of an East Indian plant; properties resemble those of ginger; can also refer to the plant itself; use in decline by the end of the seventeenth century.

Appendix 2.3

Total List of Ingredients for Fuming and Airing in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, c. 1550-1603

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended for correcting miasmatic air and fuming clothes in Tudor vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. ‘N’ is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 121 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author’s name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
rose (water)	36
vinegar	33
clove	31
benjamin	27
aloes (lignum)	21
laudanum	20
cinnamon	18
juniper	18
rosemary	18
rose	17
storax calamita	17
frankincense	15
angelica (root)	14
storax	14
musk	13
rue	12
marjoram	11
myrrh	11
nutmeg	11
citron (rind)	10
rose (vinegar)	10
storax liquida	10
amber	9
camphor	9
mace	9

Ingredient (continued)	n
violet	9
juniper (berries)	8
lavender	8
mastic	8
rose (red)	8
zedoary	8
calamint	7
spikenard	7
thyme	7
gum draggagant	6
lemon	6
mint	6
nenuphar (flowers)	6
olibanum	6
sage	6
bay	5
bay (leaves)	5
gallia muschata (powder)	5
saffron	5
saunders (all)	5
saunders (yellow)	5
ambergrise	4
angelica	4
balm	4
betony	4
calamus aromaticus	4
cypress (wood)	4
gentian (root)	4
ireos	4
pennyroyal	4
rosemary (dried)	4
wine (white)	4
wormwood	4
zedoary (root)	4
alipta muschata	3
cinnabar	3
citron	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
clove (powder)	3
incense	3
juniper (wood)	3
orange	3
orange (rind)	3
quince	3
rosin	3
saunders	3
saunders (white)	3
turpentine	3
vine (leaves)	3
willow (branches)	3
willow (leaves)	3
apple	2
arsenic (christalline, pure)	2
caraby	2
carnation	2
civet	2
coal (withy)	2
colophine	2
cypress	2
cypress (bark)	2
dittany (white)	2
egg (shell)	2
enula campana (root)	2
galingale	2
gentian	2
herbs (sweet)	2
laurel	2
lemon (rind)	2
Maluasie	2
marjoram (water)	2
myrtle	2
orange (peel)	2
origanum	2
rose (dried)	2
rose (leaves)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
rose (nenuphar)	2
rose (red, leaves)	2
saunders (red)	2
setwall	2
vinegar (white)	2
water	2
waterlily	2
wine (malmsy)	2
agrimony	1
aloes	1
amber (red)	1
angelica (leaves)	1
angelica (powder)	1
antimonicum	1
armoniacum	1
arrace (roots)	1
ash (wood)	1
bay (oil)	1
benjamin (red)	1
benzoin	1
bole armeniac	1
boughs (fresh)	1
boughs (green)	1
broom	1
bugloss	1
bugloss (flowers)	1
carduus fanctus	1
carlina	1
chamomile	1
charcoal	1
cinnamon (water)	1
citron (pill)	1
coriander	1
draggagant	1
elecampane (root)	1
emerald	1
enula campana	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
enven (white)	1
fat	1
fennel	1
fir	1
flowers	1
flowers (sweet)	1
frankincense (dried)	1
frankincense (white)	1
Gallia	1
garlands	1
garnet	1
gaul	1
gum draggagant (mucciladge of the infusion of)	1
herbs (fragrant)	1
hyacinth	1
hyacinth (eastern)	1
hypericum	1
isope	1
juniper (oil)	1
laurel (leaves)	1
laurel (tree)	1
lavender (water)	1
lemon (juice)	1
lemon (peel)	1
mace (oil)	1
mallows	1
mil	1
mint (leaves, dried)	1
mirra	1
much??a	1
muscadine	1
musk (of Levant)	1
musk (oriental)	1
myrtle (leaves)	1
nenuphar	1
neps	1
nettles	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
oak (leaves)	1
oak (wood)	1
oil	1
onion	1
orace (root)	1
orange (pill, powder)	1
orange (pill)	1
orange (seeds)	1
orrage	1
<i>our Quintassence (Fioravanti)</i>	1
paradise (grains of)	1
pearl (oriental, powder)	1
pellemountaine	1
perfume	1
perial	1
<i>pills (I.W.)</i>	1
pimpernel	1
pink	1
pitch	1
pitch (black)	1
pomanders	1
pomecitron (bark)	1
pomecitron (rind)	1
pomegranates	1
poppy (white, seed)	1
rial	1
rose (complete ointment)	1
rose (oil)	1
rose (red, water)	1
rose (water, musk)	1
rose (white, vinegar)	1
rose of the pine	1
rosemary (leaves)	1
ruby	1
rushes	1
rushes (green)	1
sapphire	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
saracolla	1
saunders (both)	1
sorrel (water)	1
spike	1
storax liquida (oil)	1
sugar	1
sugar (candy)	1
ta??is??	1
tigname	1
tormentil	1
theriac-type compound (treacle)	1
venedicta (root)	1
vinegar (distilled)	1
vinegar (red rose)	1
violet (water)	1
water (cold)	1
water (common)	1
water (sweet)	1
waterlily (flowers)	1
waterlily (white)	1
wax	1
wax (virgin)	1
wax (white)	1
willow (boughs)	1
wine	1
wine (claret)	1
wormwood (juice)	1
zedoary (powder)	1

Appendix 2.4

Total List of Ingredients for Fuming and Airing in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1604-1664

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended for correcting miasmatic air and fuming clothes in early Stuart vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. ‘N’ is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 138 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author’s name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
clove	39
rose (water)	38
vinegar	37
storax	22
benzoin	20
camphor	20
cinnamon	20
laudanum	19
rue	17
theriac-type compound (treacle)	16
wormwood	16
musk	14
frankincense	13
rose (vinegar)	13
juniper	12
marjoram	12
rosemary	12
angelica (root)	11
nutmeg	11
saffron	11
zedoary	11
juniper (berries)	10
lavender	10
myrrh	10
cypress	9

Ingredient (continued)	n
juniper (wood)	9
rose	9
sage	9
saunders (yellow)	9
aloes (lignum)	8
angelica	8
citron (pill)	8
orris (root)	8
storax (liquid)	8
ambergrise	7
balm	7
bay (leaves)	7
gum draggagant	7
mace	7
benjamin	6
mint	6
rose (leaves)	6
rose (red, leaves)	6
tormentil	6
turpentine	6
violet	6
aqua vitae	5
brimstone	5
calamus aromaticus	5
cypress (wood)	5
orris	5
amber	4
bay (berries)	4
calamint	4
clove (powder)	4
gentian (root)	4
myrtle (leaves)	4
nenuphar (flowers)	4
pennyroyal	4
rosemary (dried)	4
saunders (white)	4
scordium	4

Ingredient (continued)	n
thyme	4
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	4
zedoary (root)	4
ash (wood)	3
broom	3
cinnamon (powder)	3
citron (peel)	3
coriander (seed)	3
gentian	3
infusion of tragacanth	3
mastic	3
pitch	3
rose (red)	3
rosin	3
saunders (all)	3
spikenard	3
storax calamita	3
valerian	3
vine (leaves)	3
waterlily (flowers)	3
wax	3
wine	3
bay (berry, decoction)	2
broom (wood)	2
cedar (wood)	2
citron (rind)	2
clove (decoction)	2
clove (oil)	2
coal (withy)	2
cypress (nuts)	2
elecampane (root)	2
enula campana (root)	2
fir	2
flower de luce	2
gallia muscata	2
goat	2
gum arabic	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
lemon	2
lemon (rind)	2
lovage	2
marigold	2
mastic (oil)	2
olibanum	2
orange (rind)	2
perfume	2
pineapple	2
rose (oil)	2
rosemary (leaves)	2
sage (oil)	2
savoury	2
setwall	2
setwall (root)	2
spike (oil)	2
St. John's wort	2
tamarisk (wood)	2
tar	2
thyme (wild)	2
turpentine (Venice)	2
unicorn (horn)	2
vinegar (white)	2
water	2
water germander	2
wine (white)	2
alipta muschata	1
aloes	1
<i>also Pomanders to smell too (Donne)</i>	1
amber (oil)	1
amber (white)	1
ambergrise (powder)	1
angelica (seed)	1
antidotal powders	1
bay	1
bay (berries, decocted, vinegar)	1
bay (berry, shells)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
bay (oil)	1
benzoin (powder)	1
bezoar (stone)	1
bolus (fine)	1
borage	1
bugloss (flowers)	1
camphitis	1
camphor (powder)	1
carnations	1
chamomile	1
cordial	1
costmary	1
cotton	1
dittany (white)	1
fennel	1
fir (pieces)	1
gunpowder	1
herbs (sweet)	1
hyacinth	1
hysop	1
ireos	1
Iuncus odoratus	1
Iuncus odoratus (powder)	1
ivory	1
juniper (berries, decocted, vinegar)	1
juniper (berries, decoction)	1
juniper (decoction)	1
laurel (leaves)	1
lemon (pill)	1
lignum	1
lignum (rhodium)	1
lozenges	1
<i>Lozenges or Troeisks (Bradwell)</i>	1
mace (powder)	1
Maluasie	1
marjoram (powder)	1
masterwort	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
milk (breast)	1
mittle (seed)	1
mugwort	1
musk (civet)	1
musk (powder)	1
myrtle	1
nutmeg (powder)	1
oak (leaves)	1
ogany	1
Olibanum Labeanum	1
onion	1
orange (pill, powder)	1
orange (pill)	1
orris (powder)	1
Perfumes to burne, wherewith to ayre Cloaths	1
Pomanders	1
<i>Pomanders (Bradwell)</i>	1
poplar (leaves)	1
<i>prepared Tablets to weare about your necke (Donne)</i>	1
primroses	1
prune (dried)	1
quince (dried)	1
rhubarb	1
rose (leaves, dried)	1
rose (musk)	1
rose (powder)	1
rose (red, leaves, dried)	1
rose (red, pills)	1
rose (spirit)	1
rose (white, vinegar)	1
rosemary (decoction)	1
rue (decoction)	1
rue (juice)	1
rue (seed)	1
rushes	1
rushes (green)	1
saffron (powder)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
sage (decoction)	1
saltpeter	1
saunders	1
saunders (red)	1
spike	1
storax (red)	1
sulphur	1
sulphur (basalm)	1
<i>Sweet Waters for Spunges (Bradwell)</i>	1
Sweet Waters to be cast on a hot Fire-shovell to perfume a Chamber	1
tobacco	1
tormentil (root)	1
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	1
Trochisks	1
ubery	1
vine	1
vinegar (wine, white)	1
vinegar (wine)	1
violet (powder)	1
virginia snake root	1
water (fair)	1
waterlily (flowers)	1
waterlily (leaves)	1
wax (tallow)	1
wax (virgin)	1
wax (yellow)	1
willow (leaves)	1
wine (muscadine)	1

Appendix 2.5

Total List of Ingredients for Medicinal Preservatives in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, c. 1550-1603

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of medicinal preservatives in Tudor vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. ‘N’ is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 197 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author’s name in bracket

Ingredient	n
saffron	44
bole armeniac	30
myrrh	28
wine (white)	27
cinnamon	26
sugar	22
vinegar	22
rhubarb	18
rue	18
fig	17
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	16
cloves	14
rose (water)	14
sorrel (water)	13
theriac-type compound (treacle)	13
angelica (root)	12
scabious (water)	12
zedoary	12
lemon (syrup)	11
walnut	11
wine	11
aloes	10
tormentil	10
agaric	9
gentian	9

Ingredient (continued)	n
honey	9
mace	9
rose (conserve)	9
rose (syrup)	9
terra sigillata	9
water	9
aloes (epaticum)	8
bugloss (water)	8
juniper (berries)	8
sorrel	8
tormentil (roots)	8
ale	7
aqua vitae	7
camphor	7
carduus benedictus (leaf)	7
salt	7
scabious	7
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	7
aloes (lignum)	6
beer	6
borage	6
bugloss	6
butter	6
citron (rind)	6
citron (seeds)	6
ginger	6
honey (clarified)	6
nutmeg	6
pills of rufus	6
pimpernel	6
saunders (red)	6
sene	6
aloes (cicatrine)	5
bread	5
carduus benedictus	5
carduus benedictus (powder)	5
carduus benedictus (water)	5

Ingredient (continued)	n
carline	5
endive (water)	5
mastic	5
orange	5
rose	5
saunders (yellow)	5
wormwood	5
zedoary (root)	5
anise	4
anise (seed)	4
aristologia rotunda	4
borage (flowers)	4
borage (water)	4
bugloss (flowers)	4
citron (syrup)	4
coral (red)	4
Diacatholicon	4
fennel (seed)	4
garlic	4
imperatoria	4
lemon	4
lemon (juice)	4
musk	4
scabious (leaves)	4
sorrel (leaves)	4
sorrel (syrup)	4
valerian	4
acetositatis citri (syrup)	3
agrimony	3
arsenic (christalline)	3
benjamin	3
bezoar (stone)	3
calamus aromaticus	3
cassia	3
citron	3
coriander	3
diascordium	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
dittany	3
dittany (leaves)	3
dragon	3
dragon (water)	3
fumitory	3
manna	3
nut	3
<i>our Quintassence (Fioravanti)</i>	3
pomegranate	3
pottage	3
raisins	3
rose (red)	3
rue (leaf)	3
salt (bay)	3
vinegar (wine)	3
violet	3
wine (Rhenish)	3
ambergrise	2
angelica	2
aristologia longa	2
aureae	2
bay (berries)	2
betony	2
bole armeniac (powder)	2
borage (conserve)	2
burnett	2
carduus benedictus (water)	2
cinnamon (powder)	2
citron (juice)	2
cloat leaf (root)	2
confection of Hamech	2
devil's bit	2
Diamargaritum Frigidum	2
Diaphenicon	2
dictamnus albus	2
dittany (white, roots)	2
dittany (white)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
egg (yolk)	2
elder (flowers)	2
elder (leaves)	2
electuary de ovo	2
gold (leaf)	2
hartshorn (shavings)	2
lady thistle	2
matfellow	2
mel rosarum	2
mercury	2
mirabolanes	2
morsus diaboli	2
nux vomica	2
oil (salad)	2
olibanum	2
oxymel (simple)	2
<i>Petra Philosophall (Fioravanti)</i>	2
pomecitron (seed)	2
purslain (water)	2
quicksilver	2
rhubarb (pill)	2
rose, violet, succory (syrup)	2
rosemary	2
sage	2
scordium	2
setwall	2
sorrel (seed)	2
spikenard	2
stag's heart (bone)	2
terra lemnia	2
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	2
theriac-type compound (minardus treacle)	2
Triasandalum	2
unicorn (horn)	2
vinegar (white wine)	2
violet (oil)	2
vitriol (oil)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
walnut (kernel)	2
water (fair)	2
wax	2
wine (malmsy)	2
wine (sweet)	2
wormwood (water)	2
wormwood (wine)	2
??ytteron	1
adders	1
agaric (troscated)	1
aggregatine (pills)	1
ale (iecordia)	1
ale (pills)	1
ale (posset)	1
aleberries	1
almond	1
aloes (elect)	1
aloes (fine)	1
aloes (optima)	1
aloes (pills)	1
aloes (yellow)	1
amnia??m	1
angelica (flowers)	1
angelica (root, powder)	1
angelica (water)	1
antimony	1
aqua composita	1
aristolochia	1
arsenic	1
arsenic (red)	1
balm (flower)	1
balm (water)	1
basalmo arteficiato	1
Benedicta laxatiua	1
betony (white)	1
birthwort (round)	1
bistort	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
bole	1
bole armeniac (electuary)	1
borage (flowers, conserve)	1
borage (juice)	1
borage (leaves)	1
borage (sugar?)	1
borage (tops)	1
bramble (leaves)	1
bramble (red, leaves)	1
bread (white, toast)	1
bread (white)	1
broom	1
bugloss (juice)	1
bulgoss (sugar?)	1
burr (lesser)	1
calam	1
calamint	1
Calamus aromat Ciperus	1
canel	1
capares (bark)	1
cardiaca (juice)	1
carduus benedictus (juice)	1
catta patre	1
centuary	1
chicken rump	1
chicory (root)	1
chicory (syrup)	1
citron (rind, syrup)	1
citron (seed, powdered)	1
clove (oil)	1
cochiaie	1
colewort (juice)	1
colewort (red, juice)	1
coleworts	1
cordial electuary (as prescribed by a physician)	1
coriander (seeds)	1
Cotula Foetida	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
currants	1
Diacarthami	1
Diagredium	1
Dialkermes	1
Diamargariton	1
Diamargaritum Frigidum (powder)	1
Diambrae	1
Diaprunis	1
Diarhodon Abbatis.	1
diasene	1
Diatrion santuli	1
dittany (seed)	1
dittany (water)	1
dragon's blood	1
duybybes	1
ebony	1
egg (shell)	1
egg (white)	1
elecampane	1
elecampane (root)	1
electuarium de mucibis	1
Electuarium Succo rosarum	1
electuary of gems	1
emblicke	1
emerald	1
endive (syrup)	1
enula campana	1
enula campana (root)	1
Epithimum	1
featherfew	1
fennel (barbary)	1
fennel (red)	1
frankincense	1
gallingale	1
germander	1
ginger (burnt)	1
ginger (grated)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
ginny grains	1
goat flesh (water, distilled)	1
guidos electuarie theriacal	1
gum bdellium	1
hartshorn	1
hartshorn (powder)	1
helleborus niger (powder)	1
holy thistle	1
hyacinth	1
hypericum	1
ireos	1
isope	1
ivory	1
ivory (shavings)	1
juniper (berries, green, juice)	1
Laserpitium	1
lavender (flowers)	1
lemon (yearth)	1
lettuce	1
lettuce (juice)	1
lettuce (seed)	1
licorice	1
lozenges	1
lue artetica	1
maiden hair (syrup)	1
mallow (root)	1
mallows	1
Manus Christi	1
marigold (juice)	1
melon (syrup)	1
milk	1
milk (butter)	1
Muccilage of Tragagant	1
mustard (seed)	1
mutton (broth)	1
myrrh (pills)	1
Nardi Italicae	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
nut (confection)	1
oil (olive)	1
olives	1
orange (pill)	1
orpiment	1
<i>our Aromatico (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Certoe magistrate (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Electuary angelcia (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Magno licore (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Pilulae Aquione (Fioravanti)</i>	1
ox (gaul)	1
oxymel	1
Oxysaccharum	1
pearl (croci)	1
pearl (seed)	1
pearls	1
pellemontaine	1
pennyroyal	1
peony (root)	1
petasitus	1
petasitus (root)	1
pimpernel (root)	1
pimpinella	1
polipede	1
powder imperial	1
prune (damask)	1
purslain (seed)	1
quinces	1
quinque radicibus (syrup)	1
rine white sufur	1
rodomel (syrup)	1
romaine	1
rose (juice, electuary)	1
rose (nenuphare)	1
rose (red, dried)	1
rose (red, powder)	1
rose (sugar)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
rose (vinegar)	1
rosemary (flower)	1
ruby	1
rue (tops)	1
sadraea	1
saffron (pills)	1
sage (dried)	1
sage (leaves)	1
sage (oil)	1
sal gemma (salt)	1
salt (sea)	1
sapphire	1
saunders	1
saunders (all)	1
saunders (pill)	1
savoury	1
scorpion (oil)	1
sena (infusion)	1
senuae	1
serpent (venemous, fat)	1
smallage	1
sorrel (conserve)	1
sorrel (sauce)	1
sorrel (wild)	1
spike	1
sticados (syrup)	1
storax	1
storax calamita	1
sublimate praecipitate	1
succory	1
succory (root)	1
succory (syrup)	1
succory (wild)	1
sugar (candy)	1
sugar (rosat)	1
sulphur (oil)	1
syrup	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
tallow (sheep)	1
Taxus Barbatus	1
tisan (water)	1
toads	1
tormentil (powder)	1
tormentil (water)	1
theriac-type compound (Diateseron)	1
theriac-type compound (Husbandman's treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (treacle of Levant)	1
theriac	1
tunica (flowers, conserve)	1
turpentine (clear)	1
valetius	1
vinegar (posset)	1
vinegar (red rose)	1
vinegar (red wine)	1
vinegar (rose, wine)	1
violet (flowers)	1
violet (syrup)	1
violet (water)	1
vitriol	1
water (pure)	1
wine (burnt)	1
wine (claret)	1
wine (sack)	1
wine (spirit of)	1
wine (viper)	1
wine (white, vapor)	1
wood agallochum	1
worm (seed)	1
wormwood (malmsy)	1

Appendix 2.6

Total List of Ingredients for Medicinal Preservatives in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1604-1664

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of medicinal preservatives in early Stuart vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. ‘N’ is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 219 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author’s name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
theriac-type compound (treacle)	71
rose	52
rue	50
wine	48
saffron	46
bole armeniac	43
vinegar	43
aloes	41
angelica	35
tormentil	33
sorrel	31
citron	26
cinnamon	25
myrrh	25
sage	24
zedoary	23
hartshorn	22
sugar	22
fig	21
wormwood	21
lemon	20
scabious	19
cloves	18
bread	17
bugloss	17

Ingredient (continued)	n
saunders	16
mace	15
salt	15
water	14
borage	13
elecampane	13
juniper	13
mastic	13
nutmeg	13
terra sigillata	13
diptam	11
gentian	11
pearl	11
dragon	10
rhubarb	10
ale	9
butter	9
camphor	9
carduus	9
bay	8
carduus benedictus	8
ginger	8
aqua vitae	7
coral	7
elder	7
marigolds	7
pimpernel	7
rose (conserve)	7
valerian	7
aristolochia	6
betony	6
bramble	6
citron (seeds)	6
violet	6
walnut	6
Confection of Alkermes	5
Diamargariton Frigidum	5

Ingredient (continued)	n
garlic	5
juniper (berries)	5
pepper	5
pomecitron	5
rosemary	5
scordium	5
wood sorrel	5
balm	4
beer	4
burnett	4
butterbur	4
cassia	4
diascordium	4
egg	4
enula campana	4
milk	4
olibanum	4
orange	4
St. John's wort	4
waterlily	4
wine (white)	4
agaric	3
ambergriese	3
ammoniacum	3
angelica (root)	3
bay (berries)	3
bezoar	3
bole oriental	3
brimstone	3
bugloss (conserve)	3
bugloss (flowers)	3
carduus benedictus (water)	3
chamomile	3
citron (pill)	3
coral (red)	3
fennel	3
frankincense	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
gentian (root)	3
honey	3
hyacinth	3
ivory (shavings)	3
lemon (syrup)	3
mint	3
<i>my Contrapestilential Vineger (Heyden)</i>	3
oil	3
pills of rufus	3
Pillutae Ruffi Pestilentiales	3
posset ale	3
rose (water)	3
rue (leaves)	3
saunders (yellow)	3
scabious (water)	3
terra lemnia	3
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	3
agrimony	2
almond	2
aloes (lignum)	2
anise	2
aristolochia longa (root)	2
aristolochia rotunda (root)	2
celandine	2
centuary	2
chicken	2
cordial water	2
coriander	2
cypress	2
devil's bit	2
dictamnus	2
electuary de gemmis (powder)	2
emerald	2
endive	2
eringoes	2
gold	2
hartshorn (shavings)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
ivory	2
lettuce	2
may weed	2
Mel Anthosatum	2
mugwort	2
orange (pill)	2
oxymell	2
pennyroyal	2
pillulae pestilentiales	2
plantain	2
pomegranate	2
posset drink	2
powder imperial	2
savoury	2
setwall	2
sorrel (seeds)	2
sorrel (water)	2
southernwood	2
succory	2
sulphur	2
unicorn (horn)	2
vitriol	2
abrotanum	1
acetositate	1
agaric (troches)	1
Alexipharmacum Spagiricum	1
amber	1
anise (seed)	1
Antidotus magna Mathioli	1
Antiloimon (electuary)	1
Aqua Bezoartica Langii	1
Aqua Calestis Mathioli	1
ash	1
astrabacca	1
barberries	1
beaver	1
bolus	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
britannica	1
broth	1
broth (pullet)	1
bugloss (root)	1
capon	1
carduus (water)	1
chelidonia	1
cherry	1
cherry (water)	1
chicken rump	1
chicory	1
cicotrine	1
citron (juice)	1
citron (rinds)	1
clister	1
Confectio de Hiacyintho	1
Confectio Liberans	1
consoilida maior	1
contrayerva	1
coraline	1
corcino	1
cordial (temperate)	1
cordial electuary (as prescribed by a physician)	1
Crocus metallorum	1
cuckpinte	1
Diacatholicon	1
Diaphenicon	1
dittany	1
dris	1
dung	1
earth	1
Electuarium de Ovo Imperatoris	1
Electuarium Succo rosarum	1
electuary de ovo	1
Elixir proprietatis	1
featherfew	1
fennel (seed)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
fraxinella	1
fumitory	1
gold (leaf)	1
granatis	1
gum amoniacum	1
hart	1
hartshorn (powder)	1
holy thistle	1
houseleek	1
hypericum	1
imperitoria	1
lady thistle	1
lavender	1
liquorice	1
maiden hair	1
maiden hair (syrup)	1
mallows	1
mandragories	1
manna	1
mars	1
masterwort	1
meadowsweet	1
mellilot	1
milk (breast)	1
Mithridatium Damocratis	1
Morsis Diaboli	1
mullet	1
mullet (leaves)	1
mustard	1
myrtle	1
myrtle (berries)	1
nut	1
nut (fistick)	1
onion	1
parsley	1
pease (decoction)	1
peony	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
pineapple	1
pineapple (kernels)	1
pittymorrel	1
pomecitron (juice)	1
pomecitron (rinds)	1
pomecitron (syrup)	1
Potus Pestilentialis Paracelsi	1
prunella	1
prunes	1
Pulvis Contra Pestem Montagnanae	1
Pulvis Pestilentialis	1
Pulvis Vitalis	1
purslaine	1
rattlesnake root	1
rhubarb (powder)	1
rosa solis	1
rose (honey)	1
rose (red, leaves)	1
rose (sugar)	1
ruby	1
sanguis draconis	1
sapphire	1
saunders (red)	1
saxifrage	1
scordium (leaves)	1
scorpion	1
seeds	1
sene	1
<i>seuerall Antidotes for the preseruation of mans body from the Plague (A direction concering the Plague)</i>	1
snakeweed	1
sorrel (sheep's)	1
spikenard	1
stork	1
succory (syrup)	1
suppository	1
swine	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
<i>that admirable Preservative against the Plague (Rhodokanakes)</i>	1
<i>this Electuarie which I shall keepe alwaies ready for you (Donne)</i>	1
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	1
theriac-type compound (diatesseron powder)	1
Trochisci Alhaudal	1
valerian	1
valerian (root)	1
vervaine	1
vine	1
vinegar of squills	1
violet (conserve)	1
virginia snake root	1
virginia snake weed	1
wine (malmsy)	1
wine (sack)	1
wormwood (wine)	1

Appendix 2.7

Total List of Ingredients for Cures in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, c. 1550-1603

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of curative remedies in Tudor vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 130 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredients	n
scabious (water)	35
wine (white)	23
bole armeniac	22
saffron	20
sorrel (water)	18
theriac-type compound (treacle)	18
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	18
vinegar	16
rose (water)	14
zedoary	13
tormentil	12
bugloss (water)	11
cinnamon	11
coral (red)	11
gentian (root)	11
juniper (berries)	11
lemon (syrup)	11
rue	11
scabious	11
carduus benedictus (water)	10
myrrh	10
sorrel	10
sugar	10
terra sigillata	10
citron (seed)	9

Ingredient (continued)	n
tormentil (root)	9
aloes (lignum)	8
gentian	8
rosemary	8
sage	8
saunders (red)	8
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	8
angelica	7
carduus benedictus	7
citron (rind)	7
clove	7
endive (water)	7
rhubarb	7
angelica (water)	6
bole armeniac (powder)	6
bugloss (conserve)	6
dittany (root)	6
ginger	6
mace	6
mastic	6
pimpernel	6
rose (conserve)	6
wine	6
aqua vitae	5
benjamin	5
betony (water)	5
burnett	5
nutmeg	5
rosemary (flowers)	5
spikenard	5
water	5
wormwood	5
zedoary (root)	5
acetositatis citri (syrup)	4
agaric	4
aloes	4
angelica (root)	4

Ingredient (continued)	n
bay (berries)	4
betony	4
borage (conserve)	4
borage (flowers)	4
borage (water)	4
diamargariton (powder)	4
frankincense	4
gallingale	4
gold (leaf)	4
hartshorn	4
lemon (juice)	4
manna	4
olibanum	4
posset ale	4
rose	4
saunders (yellow)	4
stag's heart (bone)	4
tormentil (water)	4
ale	3
aloes (epatick)	3
aristolochia rotunda (root)	3
bread (crust)	3
bugloss (flowers)	3
cardamom	3
carduus benedictus (seed)	3
devil's bit	3
diacatholicon	3
dittany	3
dittany (leaves)	3
honey	3
ivory (shavings)	3
mint	3
mustard (seed)	3
onion	3
pearl	3
pearls (oriental)	3
rose (juice, electuary)	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
rose (vinegar)	3
scorpion (oil)	3
sorrel (seed)	3
sorrel (syrup)	3
St. John's wort	3
sticados	3
Theriacal of Guidon (powder of the electuary)	3
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	3
valerian (root)	3
water (running)	3
anise	2
antimony	2
aristolochia longa (root)	2
assarum	2
balm	2
balm (water)	2
beer	2
betony (leaves)	2
bezoar (stone)	2
borage	2
bugloss	2
camphor	2
carduus benedictus (flowers)	2
carpobalsami	2
cassia	2
citron	2
confection of Hamech	2
decoction of Guaicum	2
diamargariton frigidum	2
dittany (white)	2
dragon (crops)	2
dragon (roots)	2
ebony (shavings)	2
elder (flowers)	2
elder (leaves)	2
electuary de ovo	2
enula campana (root)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
featherfew	2
gratia dei	2
gum armoniack	2
hart (heart, bone)	2
helleborus niger	2
honey (clarified)	2
ireos	2
marigold (flowers)	2
marjoram	2
milk (breast)	2
mugwort	2
musk	2
musk (of Levant)	2
nut	2
onion (white)	2
orange (rind, dried)	2
oriola	2
<i>our Balm Artificial (Fioravanti)</i>	2
<i>our Quintaseence (Fioravanti)</i>	2
pearl (seed)	2
pennyroyal	2
pepper (long)	2
pepper (white)	2
<i>petra philosophall (Fioravanti)</i>	2
pills of rufus	2
pomecitron (rind)	2
radish (root)	2
reupnticke	2
rose (red, leaves)	2
rose (red)	2
rue (leaves)	2
sage (leaves)	2
saunders (all)	2
saunders (powder)	2
saunders (white)	2
scabious (juice)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
scabious (leaves)	2
scordium	2
sene	2
setwall	2
succory (water)	2
sugar (candy)	2
terra lemnia	2
theriac-type compound (treacle of Gene)	2
unicorn (horn, shavings)	2
unicorn (horn)	2
vervain (juice)	2
vinegar (white wine)	2
vinegar (wine)	2
violet	2
violet (conserve)	2
violet (leaves)	2
violet (water)	2
walwort	2
waterlily	2
wine (claret)	2
wine (malmsy)	2
abaunce	1
adders	1
aggregatiue pills	1
agrimony	1
ale (clarified)	1
almonds	1
aloes (cicatin)	1
amber	1
ambergrise	1
angelica (root, powdered)	1
anise (seed, oil)	1
apple	1
aristolochia	1
arrage (seed)	1
arsenic	1
ash (bark, inner)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
ash (tree, salt)	1
assarabacca (root)	1
aurea	1
balm (flowers)	1
balsamina	1
bardana	1
basil	1
basil (seed)	1
bay	1
bay (oil)	1
bedellium	1
ben (red)	1
ben (white)	1
beronici tunici	1
betony (flowers, conserve)	1
betony (powder)	1
borage (flowers, conserve)	1
bramble (leaves)	1
bramble (red, leaves)	1
bread	1
bread (brown)	1
broom	1
broth (chicken)	1
broth (mutton)	1
bugloss (flowers, conserve)	1
bugloss (juice, syrup)	1
burnett (water)	1
butterbur (root)	1
calamint	1
calamus aromaticus	1
calcanthum	1
comedrios	1
capres (root)	1
carduus (seed)	1
carduus benedictus (leaf, dried)	1
carlina	1
carlina (root)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
caraway (seed)	1
castrabecca	1
celandine	1
celandine (juice)	1
celidony (herb)	1
celidony (root)	1
chama pilis (leaves)	1
chamomile (flowers)	1
channepiteos	1
chicory	1
china (root)	1
citron (bark)	1
citron (juice)	1
citron (pill)	1
citron (syrup)	1
citron (water)	1
cloves (scarlet, powdered)	1
Cochiae	1
colophinie	1
comfrey (root)	1
consolida magore	1
coperas (powder)	1
cumin (seed)	1
daisy (white)	1
dates	1
detan (water)	1
diacarthamum	1
diamargariton	1
diaphenicon	1
diaprunis	1
diaprunis solitive	1
diarrhodon	1
diarrhodon abbatis	1
diascordium	1
dictamnus albus (root, shavings)	1
diptamus creticus (root)	1
dittany (root, powdered)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
dragon	1
dragon (water)	1
drake (blood, dried)	1
duck (blood, dried)	1
egg (hen)	1
egg (shell)	1
egg (white)	1
electuarium de gemmis	1
electuary de Citro solitive	1
electuary of succo rosarum	1
emerald	1
endive	1
enula campana	1
fennel (seed)	1
fig	1
fig (dried)	1
galbanum	1
gillyflowers	1
ginger (grated)	1
girasole	1
goose (blood, dried)	1
grape	1
grape (seed)	1
grape (syrup)	1
grape (water)	1
grease (barrow)	1
great valerien (root)	1
gruel (water)	1
gumedera	1
hartshorn (shavings)	1
hellebore	1
herb eriscinum	1
honey (common)	1
honey (oil)	1
honey (white)	1
houseleek	1
hyacinth	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
hypericum (flowers)	1
hypericum (leaves)	1
idle (berries, dried and powdered)	1
imperatoria	1
ivory (races)	1
ivy (berries)	1
juniper (berries, powdered)	1
kid (blood, dried)	1
lady thistle	1
lemon (seed)	1
lettuce (water)	1
lily (Florentine, root)	1
luto sapiencie	1
mandragories	1
manus christi	1
marigold	1
marigold (flower, juice)	1
marigold (juice)	1
matfelon	1
mel rosarus	1
mellegte	1
milk	1
milk (butter)	1
millefoile	1
millium	1
mint (Greek)	1
mirabolans	1
mugwort (seed)	1
mutton	1
nard	1
nard (seed)	1
nepes (garden)	1
nepes (wild)	1
nut (Indian)	1
oil (old)	1
oil (olive)	1
oil (salad)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
orange (dried)	1
orange (pill)	1
orange (rind)	1
orange (seed)	1
orpiment	1
<i>our Electuary Angelica (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Pillule Aquilone (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>our Sirupo Solutino (Fioravanti)</i>	1
Palma Christi	1
pearl (orient)	1
pearls (both sorts)	1
Pentaphillon (herb)	1
peony	1
pestastis	1
petimortel	1
pimpinella (root)	1
pine (grains)	1
plantain (water)	1
pomecitron (juice)	1
pomecitron (seeds)	1
pomegranate	1
posset drink	1
powder de gemmis	1
powder imperial	1
precious stones (five)	1
radish	1
radish (roots, juice)	1
rapes	1
ribes (syrup)	1
romaine	1
rosa solis	1
rose (dried)	1
rose (red, dried)	1
rose (red, flowers)	1
rose (red, water)	1
rose (syrup, solitive)	1
rose (syrup)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
rose (white, wine, vinegar)	1
rose (white)	1
rosemary (leaves)	1
ruby	1
rue (juice)	1
rue (seed)	1
rue (vinegar)	1
saffron (powder)	1
salt (common)	1
sandalwood	1
sanguis draconis	1
sapphire	1
sarcocola	1
saunders	1
scabious (root)	1
scamonea	1
scordium (juice)	1
scorpion	1
silver (leaf)	1
sorrel (decoction)	1
sorrel (juice)	1
southernwood	1
spe. diamargarit. cal. & frig.	1
spearmint	1
squintantum	1
St. Johns wort (oil)	1
stone (precious, juice of preservative)	1
stones (precious, fragments)	1
storax calamita	1
sugar (rosat)	1
sulphur	1
sulphur (pill)	1
tamarinds	1
terra sigillata (red)	1
thistle (root)	1
thyme	1
toads	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
tomato	1
tornep (seed)	1
theriac-type compound (Diatesseron)	1
theriac-type compound (fine treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (minardus treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	1
turbit	1
turpentine	1
turpentine (Venice)	1
unguentum album camphoratum	1
urine	1
valerian	1
verbascus (root, dried and powdered)	1
vermillion	1
vervain	1
vervain (root, dried)	1
vervain (root)	1
violet (flowers, conserve)	1
virginia snake root	1
viticella	1
vitriol (oil)	1
vitriol (Roman)	1
walnut	1
walnut (green)	1
walnut (oil)	1
walwort (flowers)	1
water (clean)	1
water (clear)	1
water (fair)	1
waterlily (flowers)	1
wax	1
wax (yellow)	1
wine (red)	1
wine (Rhenish)	1
wine (sweet)	1
wine (white, Gascon)	1
wine (white, Rochelle)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
wormwood (vinegar)	1
wormwood (water)	1
zarsa parilla (root)	1
zedoary (powder)	1

Appendix 2.8

Total List of Ingredients for Cures in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1604-1664

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of curative remedies in early Stuart vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. ‘N’ is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 153 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author’s name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
theriac-type compound (treacle)	42
vinegar	30
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	29
wine (white)	28
rue	21
saffron	16
rose (water)	14
bole armeniac	13
scabious (water)	13
sugar	13
sorrel	12
juniper (berries)	11
myrrh	11
sorrel (water)	10
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	10
aqua vitae	9
cinnamon	9
rosemary	9
angelica	8
betony (water)	8
carduus benedictus	8
carduus benedictus (water)	8
angelica (root)	7
angelica (water)	7
<i>burnett</i>	7

Ingredient (continued)	n
camphor	7
dragon (water)	7
nutmeg	7
sage	7
scabious	7
tormentil	7
borage	6
gentian (roots)	6
gold (leaf)	6
hartshorn	6
lemon (juice)	6
lemon (syrup)	6
posset ale	6
tormentil (root)	6
theriac-type compound (treacle of Gene)	6
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	6
vinegar (wine, white)	6
vinegar (wine)	6
wormwood	6
aloes	5
bugloss (water)	5
butterbur (root)	5
carduus (water)	5
citron (seed)	5
clove	5
coral (red)	5
diascordium	5
electuary de ovo	5
ivory (powder)	5
mace	5
marigold	5
mugwort	5
onion	5
pimpernel	5
rose (conserve)	5
scorpion (oil)	5
wine (muscadine)	5

Ingredient (continued)	n
ale	4
bugloss	4
celandine	4
frankincense	4
hartshorn (powder)	4
mallows	4
marigold (flowers)	4
rose (syrup)	4
sorrel (syrup)	4
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	4
water	4
aloes (lignum)	3
betony	3
bezoar (oriental)	3
bramble (red, leaves)	3
bugloss (flowers)	3
carduus	3
cochinele	3
devil's bit	3
Diamargariton frigidum	3
egg (yolk)	3
elder (leaves)	3
electuarie de gemmis	3
fig	3
gentian	3
gillflowers	3
ginger	3
hellebore (white)	3
ivy (berries)	3
mastic	3
Ovum Philosophorum	3
pepper (long)	3
posset drink	3
radish (root)	3
rhubarb	3
rose (sugar)	3
rue (seed)	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
saunders (red)	3
saunders (yellow)	3
sugar (candy)	3
terra sigillata	3
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	3
theriac-type compound (old treacle)	3
unicorn (horn)	3
valerian	3
violet (flowers)	3
violet (leaves)	3
walnuts	3
water (running)	3
zedoary	3
antimony	2
ants' eggs (from under pine trees)	2
ash (bark)	2
balm	2
balm (water)	2
bay	2
borage (conserve)	2
borage (flowers)	2
borage (water)	2
bread (wheat)	2
broom (leaves)	2
bugloss (conserve)	2
burr (seeds)	2
calchanthum	2
carduus benedictus (flowers)	2
carduus benedictus (juice)	2
caudle	2
chamomile	2
china (roots)	2
citron (rind)	2
citrus (syrup)	2
Confection Alchermes	2
copperrose (white)	2
cypress (root)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
Diagridum	2
Diaratholicon	2
dittany (leaves)	2
dragon (crops)	2
dragon (roots)	2
dung (horse)	2
elder (flowers)	2
elecampane	2
elecampane (root)	2
endive (water)	2
enula campana (root)	2
featherfew	2
garlic	2
guaiacum	2
hart (heart, bone)	2
hartshorn (shavings)	2
kermesberries	2
lavender	2
manna	2
meadowsweet	2
mellilot	2
mercury (powder)	2
mustard	2
oil (salad)	2
orange (juice)	2
pearl (oil)	2
pearl (seel)	2
pills of rufus	2
plantain (water)	2
powder imperial	2
prune	2
rose (red, flowers)	2
rose (red, leaves)	2
saffron (oriental)	2
sage (leaves)	2
salt	2
scammonie (powder)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
scordium	2
scordium (leaves)	2
sorrel (root)	2
sorrel (seeds)	2
sorrel (wood, syrup)	2
southernwood	2
sulphur (oil)	2
sulphur vinum	2
tamariske (bark)	2
thyme	2
vervain	2
walnut (oil)	2
water (warm)	2
wine	2
wine (claret)	2
wine (malmsy)	2
wine (red)	2
zedoary (root)	2
<i>a certaine Elixar, or a water for them that are infected' (A direction concerning the Plague)</i>	1
abounce	1
agaric	1
alebru	1
<i>Alexicacus Spirit of Salt of the world (Rhodokanakes)</i>	1
Alexipharmacum Spagiricum	1
ambergrise	1
<i>an excellent Curative for the Plague (Rhodokanakes)</i>	1
anchovy (pickled)	1
angelica (powder)	1
angelica (root, powdered)	1
anise (seed)	1
antimony (soul of reverberated)	1
apple	1
aqua vitae (thrice distilled)	1
aristolochia	1
aristolochia longa	1
arsenic	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
asarabecca	1
astrabacca	1
balm (flowers)	1
barley (french)	1
basil (seed)	1
bay (berries, powdered)	1
bay (berries)	1
bay (leaves, dried)	1
bay (oil)	1
beer	1
beets	1
betony (leaves)	1
bezoar	1
bezoar (Peru)	1
bezoar (stone)	1
bezoar water	1
bistort	1
blackberries (tops)	1
bole armeniac (powdered)	1
bramble (leaves)	1
bread	1
bread (brown)	1
bread (crust)	1
bread (manchet, fine)	1
bread (roasted)	1
bread (white)	1
briony	1
broom	1
broom (root)	1
broth	1
broth (mutton)	1
burnett (water)	1
butter (sweet)	1
camphor (troches)	1
cardamom	1
cardiaca	1
cardopatia	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
carduus (decoction)	1
carduus (seed)	1
carduus (water, liquor)	1
carduus benedictus (leaves)	1
carduus benedictus (seeds)	1
caraway (seed)	1
cassia	1
castoreum	1
celandine (essence)	1
celandine (juice)	1
celandine (root)	1
centuary	1
chervil	1
chicory	1
citrin amber (transparent)	1
citron (bark)	1
citrum	1
citrum (spirit)	1
colsfoot (root, water)	1
Confection de Hyacintho	1
cordial (flowers)	1
Cordial and Antidotal Confections, Powders, and Drinks, that the Heart may be thereby corroborated	1
cordiander	1
Crab (eyes)	1
creticus	1
Diacatholicon	1
Diamargariton	1
Diamargariton cal.	1
Diarrhodon	1
Diarrhodon abbatis	1
dicaiton (root)	1
ditany (root, powdered)	1
dittany	1
dittany (root)	1
Doronicus	1
dragon	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
egg (shell)	1
electuary of hierapicra	1
emerald	1
endive (syrup)	1
eringo	1
euphiborium	1
fennel	1
fennel (seed)	1
galanga	1
gem (cordial species)	1
gem (spices)	1
gem (tincture)	1
gentian (dwarf)	1
ginger (grated)	1
ginger (white)	1
grain of paradise	1
grapes (sour)	1
grease (swine)	1
gruel (water)	1
guiacum (decoction)	1
heartsease	1
hollyhock (flowers)	1
honey	1
honey (wine)	1
hyacinth	1
hyacinth (confection)	1
hypoglostum	1
idle (berries, dried and powdered)	1
ivory	1
Ivy (berries, powdered)	1
juniper (berries, oil)	1
juniper (berries, powdered)	1
lemon (posset)	1
liquor	1
liquorice	1
liquorice (shaven)	1
mace (ale)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
Magisterium perlarum & Corrallorum	1
magistrantia	1
mallow (juice)	1
mandragories	1
manus christi	1
marigold (flowers, juice)	1
marigold (leaves)	1
marjoram	1
masterwort	1
matfellow	1
Matthiolus his great Antidote	1
Melissaphylli Fernelii	1
milk (breast)	1
milk (butter)	1
mint	1
morsus diaboli	1
mosch	1
mosch (fragrant)	1
mugwort (ashes)	1
mustard (seed)	1
mutton	1
<i>My Electuarie (which I call Antiloymon) (Bradwell)</i>	1
<i>My Plague Powder (Bradwell)</i>	1
<i>My Powder of Life (Bradwell)</i>	1
myrrh (red)	1
<i>Now after many and seuerall medicines both in Physicke and Chirurgery, which are necessary in this sicknes, as Cordials, Iulips, cooling waters Con serues, Oyles, Oyntments, smelling or smooking balls, as Pomanders, Quilts, with other Chirurgicall medicines for Carbonckles, Antraxs or other swelling as Byles, and Impostumes. The Professor hath Poultesses, Balsomes, Oyles, Plaisters & all things else belonging to this dissease, besides it is necessary for euery one to be solible in his body, or to take some conuenient purge by directions from the Physitions. (A direction concerning the plague)</i>	1
Nux Vomicae (shavings)	1
Ocimum	1
Of a part of mans body, cut small	1
oil (linseed)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
oil (warm)	1
onion (white)	1
Ophirizum (diaphoretick liquor)	1
Opium Thebaicum	1
our Mysterium	1
paris (herb, dry berries)	1
paris (herb)	1
parsely (seed, decoction)	1
pearl (orient)	1
pepper	1
petastis (roots)	1
pimpernel (root)	1
plantain	1
Potus Pestilentialis Paracelsi	1
precious stones (five)	1
prunella	1
prunella (water)	1
Pulvis Gasconiae	1
quicksilver	1
rhubarb (powder)	1
Rhubarb ponticum	1
rose	1
rose (red, water)	1
rose (vinegar)	1
rosemary (flowers)	1
ruby	1
rue (juice)	1
rue (leaves)	1
rue (oil)	1
rue (vinegar)	1
saffron (Austrian)	1
sage (brown)	1
sage (decoction)	1
sage (red)	1
sal nitrum	1
salt (bay)	1
sapphire	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
saunders (all)	1
scabious (juice)	1
scabious (leaves)	1
scabious (root)	1
scorpion (powder)	1
scorzonera (roots)	1
sellerwod (root)	1
sene	1
serpentary (roots)	1
setwall	1
setwall (root)	1
solsq...	1
sorrel (juice)	1
sorrel (wood, juice)	1
spearmint	1
species Cordiales temperatae	1
St. John's wort (flowers)	1
St. John's wort (powder)	1
stone (magic)	1
sugar (red)	1
sulphur (spirit)	1
sulphur (yellow)	1
swallow wort	1
swine (bladder)	1
tamarinds	1
Thebiac opium	1
<i>this red powder (Donne)</i>	1
tragacanth	1
theriac-type compound (alexandrine treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (liquor of camphorated treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (liquor of treacle)	1
theriac-type compound (old mithridate)	1
Trochisci Galliae Moschatae	1
turpentine	1
turpentine (Venice)	1
unicorn (horn, shavings)	1
urine	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
valerian (great, root)	1
valerian (root)	1
vervain (juice)	1
vervain (root, dried)	1
vervain (root)	1
violet (syrup)	1
viper (flesh, confections made of)	1
viper (powder)	1
vitriol (roman)	1
walwort (seed)	1
water (warm)	1
water germander	1
waterlily	1
waterlily (flowers)	1
wine (distilled)	1
wine (red, in which crude steel is quenched)	1
wine (red, old)	1
wine (sublimed)	1
wormwood (salt)	1
wormwood (vinegar)	1
xxxtine (water)	1

Appendix 2.9

Total List of Ingredients for Outward Medicinal Preparations in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, c. 1550-1603

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of outward medicines focused on the cure of the plague's botches, boils and carbuncles in Tudor vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 130 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
egg (yolk)	27
mallow	16
fig	14
rose (oil)	14
honey	12
onion	12
scabious	11
vinegar	11
water	11
butter	10
linseed	10
theriac-type compound (treacle)	10
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	10
grease (swine)	9
chicken rump	8
leaven	8
leaven (sour)	8
salt	8
wax	8
ammoniac	7
chamomile	7
lily (root)	7
mustard (seed)	7
violet	7
barley (flour)	6

Ingredient (continued)	n
bole armeniac	6
ceruse	6
chamomile (oil)	6
galbanum	6
lily (white, roots)	6
raisins	6
rose (honey)	6
rose (water)	6
turpentine	6
aloes	5
aqua vitae	5
grease (capon)	5
lily (oil)	5
saffron	5
salt (common)	5
scabious (juice)	5
unguentum basillicon	5
barley (meal)	4
flour (wheat)	4
garlic	4
hollyhock (root)	4
lily (white, oil)	4
linseed (powder)	4
myrrh	4
onion (white)	4
aristolochia rotunda	3
aristolochia rotunda (root)	3
camphor	3
deer (suet)	3
diachylon magnum (plaster)	3
elder (leaves)	3
fenugreek (seed)	3
gauls	3
hollyhock (roots)	3
incense (white)	3
lily	3
mallow (leaves)	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
oil (olive)	3
pomegranate	3
pomegranate (flowers)	3
rue (leaves)	3
sanguis draconis	3
sarcocolla	3
soap (black)	3
soot	3
sorrel	3
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	3
turpentine (Venice)	3
vitriol (oil)	3
walnut	3
wine (white)	3
<i>Balsalmo arteficato (Fioravanti)</i>	2
borage	2
borax	2
bramble (leaves)	2
bran	2
bread (crumbs)	2
bread (leavened)	2
bread (loaf)	2
calamenth	2
cantharides	2
cole (leaf)	2
comfrey	2
crow's foot	2
diachylon	2
dill	2
dittany (white)	2
dough	2
dung (culver)	2
fenugreek	2
fenugreek (meal)	2
fig's fire	2
gold (letharge)	2
hollyhock	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
lead (burnt)	2
lily (Florentine, root)	2
lily (white)	2
mallow (root)	2
mastic	2
mellilot (flowers)	2
nut (old)	2
olibanum	2
orange	2
pitch	2
plantain (water)	2
rose (vinegar)	2
rue (juice)	2
sapphire	2
snails (with shells)	2
St. John's wort (oil)	2
sulphur (oil)	2
terra lemnia	2
wheat (meal)	2
wine	2
wine (sweet)	2
wool	2
wormwood	2
agrimony (lesser)	1
ale (grounds)	1
alome (burnt)	1
antimony (crude)	1
anxungia porcina	1
apostolorum	1
apple (crabs)	1
arceus linament	1
aretorte	1
aristolochia	1
arsenic (christalline)	1
barrow's mort	1
bean (meal)	1
bear foot	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
bedellium	1
benjamin	1
betony	1
boar (brain)	1
boar (testicles)	1
bramble (red, leaves)	1
bread	1
bread (white, crumbs)	1
brimstone	1
briony	1
briony (white, root)	1
broth (mutton)	1
bugloss	1
butter (fresh)	1
butter (unsalted)	1
calcanthum	1
Cauda Equina	1
centuary	1
<i>Cerote Magistrale (Fioravanti)</i>	1
ceruse (plaster)	1
chamomile (flowers)	1
chamomile (leaf)	1
cheese	1
citron	1
colewort (juice)	1
comfrey (greater)	1
comfrey (root)	1
coral (white)	1
cress (root)	1
crevishels	1
crystal	1
currant	1
daffodil (juice)	1
daisy (juice)	1
daisy (root)	1
danwort (roots)	1
dentalis (stone)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
dermillion	1
diacaletheos (plaster)	1
diachylon magnum	1
dill (ash)	1
dill (flowers)	1
dittany (root)	1
dough (sour)	1
dragon (water)	1
dung (dove)	1
dung (goose)	1
dung (hen)	1
dung (man)	1
dung (pigeon)	1
dung (sparrows)	1
egg (white)	1
elecampane (root)	1
fat	1
feather	1
fenugreek (flour)	1
fenugreek (powder)	1
fig (cataplasm)	1
fig (dried)	1
fig plaster	1
flax (seed)	1
flour	1
frankincense	1
galbanum ammoniacum	1
gaul (ox)	1
gauls (beaten)	1
gentian	1
gratia dei	1
grease (barrow)	1
grease (capon)	1
grease (goat)	1
grease (hen)	1
gum draggagant	1
helleborus niger	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
helleborus niger (leaves)	1
henbane	1
hollyhock (leaves)	1
honey (common)	1
ivy	1
kellebackeron (plaster)	1
leeches	1
lemon (juice)	1
letharge	1
lettuce	1
lily (white, roots)	1
lime	1
linseed (flour)	1
linseed (oil)	1
liquor (barrow)	1
lupin (flowers)	1
lye	1
<i>magno licore (Fioravanti)</i>	1
<i>Magnolicore dressing (Fioravanti)</i>	1
mallow (water)	1
marble (white)	1
marsh (root)	1
Marshmallows	1
master???ster Bakerone	1
mel rosarum	1
mellilot	1
mercury (sublimated)	1
milk	1
milk (goat)	1
milk (stilled)	1
mustard	1
mustard (white, seed, powdered)	1
myrrh (oil)	1
nettle (seed)	1
nut	1
oak (ash)	1
Omphacine	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
opponax	1
orobus (flour)	1
<i>our Quintassence (Fioravanti)</i>	1
peach (kernel)	1
pepper	1
<i>pillilae aquilone (Fioravanti)</i>	1
plantain	1
pomegranate (rind)	1
pomegranate (wine)	1
poppy (oil)	1
purslaine (seed)	1
quicklime	1
quicksilver	1
quince (seed)	1
robbery (herb)	1
rose	1
rose (red, syrup)	1
rose (red)	1
rosemary	1
rosin	1
rosin (munification of)	1
rue	1
sage (juice)	1
sal gemma (salt)	1
salarmoniack	1
salt (bay)	1
sandrack	1
saunders (red)	1
scabious (water)	1
senuie (seed)	1
silver (letharge)	1
smallage	1
smallage (juice)	1
snail (horns)	1
snails (black)	1
snails (without shells)	1
snails calus vise	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
soap (white)	1
spurge (juice)	1
St. John's wort	1
starch	1
suet (sheep)	1
tallow (goat)	1
tallow (sheep)	1
tarter (oil)	1
terra sigillata	1
tormentil	1
theriac-type compound (treacle oil)	1
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	1
turpentine (clear)	1
turpentine (white)	1
Tutia (plaster)	1
unguent de bolo	1
unguentum de cerusae (decocted)	1
unguentum viridum	1
valerian	1
valerian (root)	1
verbascum	1
vermillion	1
viburnum (inner rind)	1
violet (leaf)	1
violet (oil)	1
vitriol (German)	1
vitriol (Roman, water of)	1
vitriol (Roman)	1
walwort (white)	1
water (rain)	1
water (running)	1
wax (white)	1
wax (yellow)	1
wine (black)	1
wine (red)	1
wormwood (juice)	1
yarrow (root)	1

Appendix 2.10

Total List of Ingredients for Outward Medicinal Preparations in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1604-1664

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of outward medicines focused on the cure of the plague's botches, boils and carbuncles in early Stuart vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 144 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
egg (yolk)	28
theriac-type compound (treacle)	24
linseed	20
lily (root)	18
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	17
vinegar	16
leaven	15
lily (oil)	15
fig	14
salt	13
mustard (seed)	12
onion	12
Unguentum Basilicon	12
butter	10
scabious	10
chicken rump	9
grease (swine)	9
mallow	9
barley (flour)	8
marshmallow (root)	8
sorrel	8
turpentine	8
Diachylon (plaster)	7
garlic	7
grease (hog)	7
rose (oil)	7

Ingredient (continued)	n
water	7
aqua vitae	6
chamomile	6
elder (leaves)	6
fenugreek	6
rue	6
rue (leaves)	6
barley (meal)	5
lily (white, root)	5
oil	5
turpentine (Venice)	5
Unguentum Aegyptiacum	5
betony	4
bramble (red, leaves)	4
egg	4
egg (white)	4
flour (wheat)	4
grease (barrow)	4
henbane (leaves)	4
honey	4
leaven (sour)	4
mastic	4
mellilot (flowers)	4
raisins	4
rose (honey)	4
rose (water)	4
scorpion (oil)	4
aloes	3
bread (crumbs)	3
bread (loaf)	3
cantharides	3
chamomile (oil)	3
Diachylon cum Gummis	3
dung (pigeon)	3
hypericum (oil)	3
mallow (leaves)	3
myrrh	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
radish (root)	3
smallage	3
snails (with shells)	3
sorrel (leaves)	3
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	3
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	3
violet (oil)	3
walnuts	3
wax	3
aloes (powder)	2
alome (burnt)	2
anise (seed)	2
aqua fortis	2
arsmart	2
bearfoot	2
beet (leaves)	2
bramble (leaves)	2
briony	2
butter (fresh)	2
butter (sweet)	2
chamomile (flowers)	2
colewort (red, leaves)	2
coltsfoot (juice)	2
danwort	2
devil's bit	2
dough (sour)	2
elecampane (root)	2
euphorbium	2
fennel (seeds)	2
flammula	2
frankincense	2
Galen's poultis	2
gauls	2
houseleek (juice)	2
ivy (leaves)	2
leaven (rye, sour)	2
linseed (mucliage)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
mallow (decoction)	2
marshmallow (mucilage)	2
milk (cow)	2
milk (goat)	2
mullet (rinds)	2
mustard	2
nightshade	2
oil (salad)	2
olibanum	2
olive (oil)	2
onion (white)	2
orpiment (red)	2
pellitory of spain	2
pepper	2
plantain (water)	2
pomegranate	2
pomegranate (pill)	2
populeen	2
purslaine	2
rosemary (leaves)	2
sage (leaves)	2
saunders (red)	2
scabious (leaves)	2
soot	2
spurge	2
spurge (juice)	2
St. John's wort (oil)	2
sugar	2
terra lemnia	2
terra sigillata	2
travelers joy (middle bark)	2
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	2
Unguentum Dialthaea	2
Unguentum Rosatum	2
valerian	2
virgin's bower	2
water (sea)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
waterlily (oil)	2
wine	2
agrimony	1
ale (grounds)	1
alkakengie (fruit)	1
ammoniacum	1
anethum	1
angelica	1
antimony	1
aristolochia rotunda	1
asarum	1
bacon	1
bay	1
bay (oil)	1
Bedelium	1
bole armeniac (defensative)	1
bolus (fine)	1
bread (leavened)	1
bread (wheat, crumbs)	1
bread (white, toast)	1
butter (salted)	1
cabbage (leaf, red)	1
camphor	1
carduus benedictus	1
cauteries	1
celandine	1
celandine (juice)	1
centuary (lesser)	1
chervil	1
citrin amber	1
colewort	1
colophonie	1
comfery (greater)	1
coral (red)	1
coral (white)	1
crow's foot	1
diachylon magnum	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
dog (puppy)	1
dough (wheat)	1
dung (goose)	1
earthworms	1
egg (hen)	1
egg (turkey)	1
elder (flowers)	1
fenugreek (seed)	1
galbanum	1
galbanum ammoniacum	1
grease (capon)	1
guaiacum (decoction)	1
haematires	1
hart (marrow)	1
hollyhock (root)	1
juniper (berries)	1
Lapis Calaminaris	1
leather	1
leaven (old)	1
leeks	1
letharge	1
lily	1
lime (unquenched)	1
line	1
Linimentum Arcei	1
liquor (barrow)	1
lousestrife	1
lovage	1
magnet	1
mallow (root)	1
mans	1
marigold	1
marshmallow	1
mellilot (plaster)	1
milk	1
muscilage	1
nut (filberd)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
oak (stick)	1
oatmeal	1
ofbit	1
oil (scalding)	1
opopnax	1
paris (juice, herb)	1
peacock (feather)	1
persicaria	1
pimpernel	1
pitch	1
plantain	1
plaster of Oxicroceum	1
prunella	1
pyrola	1
quicksilver	1
rocket (seed)	1
rose (pill)	1
rose (syrup, dried)	1
rose (syrup)	1
rosemary	1
saffron	1
sage	1
sal nitrum	1
salt (bay)	1
salt (powder)	1
sanguis draconis	1
sarcocolla	1
scabious (ground)	1
scabious (root)	1
scabious (water)	1
Serapinum	1
smallage of lovage	1
snails (black)	1
snake (skin)	1
soap	1
solatrum (water)	1
soot (chimney)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
sperma ceti	1
spike	1
storax	1
thyme	1
Tithymallus	1
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	1
turpentine (clear)	1
una inerisa	1
unguent ime	1
Unguentum Apostolorum	1
Vesicatorie	1
violaria	1
w???lees	1
water (warm)	1
wax (white)	1
wine (Rhenish)	1
wormwood	1
wormwood (syrup)	1

Appendix 2.11

Wellcome Library Receipt Books Consulted in Sample of Domestic Recipe Literature, 1606-1651

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book, English recipe book, 17th Century and later, 1648-early 19th century (MS.8575)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Acton, Grace, 1621 (MS.1)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Baber, Jane, 1625 (MS.169)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Bulkeley, Elizabeth, 1627 (MS.169)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Catchmay, Lady Frances, 1625 (MS.184a)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Corloyn, Mrs., 1606 (MS.213)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Jackson, Jane, 1642 (MS.373)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Parker, Jane, 1651 (MS.3769)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Townshend Family, 1636-1647 (MS.774)

Appendix 4.1

Books Consulted in Sample of Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665-1666

Listed below are the full citations for the printed works consulted in Chapter Four and Chapter Six's sample of vernacular medical literature about plague. As only one edition for each work was sampled, the edition included is marked 'sampled' at the end of the citation.

Anonymous, *Food and physick, for every housholder, & his family, during the time of the plague. Very useful, both for the free, and the infected. And necessary for all persons, in what condition or quality soever. Together with several prayers and meditations, before, in and after infection. Very needful in all infections and contagious times. And fit as well for the country, as the city. Published by T.D. for the publick good.* (London: 1665; STC2 R4395)

Anonymous, *The Kings medicines for the plague. Prescribed in the year, 1604, by the whole Collodge of Physitians, both spiritual and temporal. Generally made use of, and approved in the years, 1625, and 1636. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1665; STC2 R179477)

Anonymous, *London's Lord have mercy upon us* (London: 1665; STC2 R220359), sampled

Anonymous, *London's Lord have mercy upon us* (London: 1665; STC2 R224592), sampled

Anonymous, *The plagues approved physitian. Shewing the naturall causes of the infection of the ayre, and of the plague. With divers observations to bee used, preserving from the plague, and signes to know the infected therewith. Also many true and approved medicines for the perfect cure thereof. Chiefely, a godly and penitent prayer unto almighty God, for our preservation, and deliverance therefrom.* (London: 1665; STC2 R220438), sampled

Barker, Sir Richard, *Consilium anti-pestilientiale: or, Seasonable advice, concerning sure, safe, specifick, and experimented medicines, both for the preservation from, and cure of this present plague. Offered for the publick benefit of this afflicted nation, by Richard Barker, med. Lond.* (London: 1665; STC2 R28348), sampled

Belson, John, *Remedies against the infection of the plague, and the curing thereof, and rules which are to be observed therein. The remedies doe consist as followeth, 1. A little bagg to hang about the neck. 2. A celestial water. 3. A fume. 4. A cordial tincture. Composed by John Belson, esquire* (London: 1665; STC2 R172712), sampled

Brooke, Humphrey, *Cautionary rules for preventing the sickness published by the order of the lord mayor* (London: 1665; STC2 R37163), sampled

- Cock, Thomas, *Advice for the poor by way of cure & caution. Being very sensible that it is impossible for all the physitiens now in London effectually to attend the cure of this sickness in person; and that the necessities of people are such, that it requires all that can be done for them both in person and paper; ... The use I make of it my self in practice is when people come to me, I bid them read the paper, and do as they are there directed in the cure; and by this meanes I do relieve and help them more then otherwise (had I twenty hands) it were possible for me to do.* By T. Cocke. (London: 1665; STC2 R15569), sampled
- Cock, Thomas, *Advice for the poor by way of cure and caution* (London: 1665; STC2 R215203)
- Diemerbroeck, Ysbrand van, *Several choice histories of the medecines manner and method used in the cure of the plague. Written by that famous (and in this disease) incomparable physitian, Isbrandus Diemerbroick; a professor of physick. And now translated into English, with his own annotations upon ever history. Wherein not onely the choicest antidotes are set down in his cures, but also several things which prove mortal to all that use them.* (London: 1666; STC2 R216350), sampled
- Dixon, Roger, *A directory for the poor, against the plague and infectious diseases. Published for the common good.* (London: 1665; STC2 R213275), sampled
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague, in this calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismses, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick. Colleg. Lond* (London; 1665; STC2 R544)
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London: being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptoms, remedies and preservation from the plague, in the calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismes, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick, Colleg. Lond.* (London; 1665; STC2 R28669)
- Garencières, Theophilus, *A mite cast into the treasury of the famous city of London; being a brief and methodical discourse of the nature, causes, symptomes, remedies and preservation from the plague, in this calamitous year, 1665. Digested into aphorismes, by Theophilus Garencieres doctor in physick,* (London; 1665; STC2 R16663), sampled
- Harvey, Gideon, *A discourse of the plague. Containing the nature, causes, signs, and presages of the pestilence in general. Together with the state of the present contagion. Also most rational preservatives for families, and choice curative medicines both for rich and poor. With several waies [sic] for purifying the air in houses, streets, etc. Published for the benefit of this great city of London, and suburbs, by Gideon Harvey M.D.* (London: 1665; STC2 R9710), sampled
- Herring, Francis, *Preservatives against the plague or, Directions & advertisements for this time of pestilential contagion. With certain instructions for the poorer sort of people when they shall be visited: and also a caveat to those that were about their necks im poisoned amulets as a preservative against that sickness. Published in the behoofe of the city of London; now visited, and all other parts of the land, that may or shall hereafter be visited. By Francis Herring Dr. in physick.* (London: 1665; STC2 R10799), sampled
- Kemp, William, *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence. Collected by W. Kemp, Mr. of Arts.* (London: 1665; STC2 R6407), sampled
- Kephale, Richard, *Medela pestilentiaë: wherein is contained several theological queries concerning the plague, with approved antidotes, signes and symptoms: also an exact method for curing that epidemical distemper, humbly presented to the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of the city of London.* (London: 1665; STC2 R26148), sampled

- le Medde, Theodore, *Elixyrlogia, or, A compendious discourse wherein the eminent and effectual virtues and properties of the universal elixyr are set forth not only for the particular use of them that would prevent the contagion of the plague ... but for the general cure, remedying, and certain prevention of most acute diseases incident to mankind* (London: 1665; STC2 R41364), sampled
- M. R., *The meanes of preventing, and preserving from, and curing of the most contagious disease, called the plague: with the pestilential feaver, and the fearfull symptomes, and accidents, incident thereunto. Also some prayers, and meditations upon death.* (London: 1665; STC2 R217714), sampled
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged: being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added The perfect oculist, The mirrour of health, and The judgement of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton. Englished and enlarged by Rob. Turner Med.* (London: 1665; STC2 R180773), sampled
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged. Being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added, The perfect oculist, mirrour of health, and judgement of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton. Englished and enlarged by Rob. Turner Med.* (London: 1665; STC2 R222704)
- Moulton, Thomas, *The compleat bone-setter enlarged: Being the method of curing broken bones, dislocated joynts, and ruptures, commonly called broken bellies. To which is added, The perfect oculist, mirrour of health, judgment of urines. Treating of the pestilence, and all other diseases. Written originally by Frier Moulton, Englished and enlarged by Robert Turner Med* (London: 1666; STC2 R228564)
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *Certain necessary directions as well for the cure of the plague as for preventing the infection* (London: 1665; STC2 R9802), sampled
- Royal College of Physicians of London, *The King's medicines for the plague. Prescribed for the year, 1604. by the whole Collodge [sic] of Physitians, both spiritual and temporal. Generally made use of, and approved in the years, 1625, and 1636. And now most fitting for this dangerous time of infection, to be used all England over.* (London: 1665; STC2 R217563), sampled
- Simpson, William, *Zenexton ante-pestilentiale. Or, A short discourse of the plague its antidotes and cure, according to the placets of the best of physicians, Hippocrates, Paracelsus, and Helmont. By W Simpson, Philo-Medico-Chymic.* (London: 1665; STC2 R221491), sampled
- T. D., *Food and physick, for every housholder, & his family, during the time of the plague. Very useful, both for the free and the infected. And necessary for all persons, in what condition or quality soever. Together with several prayers and meditations, before, in, and after infection. Very needful in all infectious and contagious times. And fit as well for the country, as the city. Published by T.D. for the publick good.* (London: 1665; STC2 R33433), sampled
- Thomson, George, *Loimologia A consolatory advice, and some brief observations concerning the present pest* (London: 1665; STC2 R220876), sampled

Thomson, George, *Loimotomia: or The pest anatomized in these following particulars, viz. 1. The material cause 2. The efficient cause 3. The subject part 4. The signs of the pest. 5. An historical account of the dissections of a pestilential body by the author; and the consequences thereof 6. Reflections and observations on the fore-said dissection. 7. Directions preservative and curative against the pest. Together with the authors apology against the calumnies of the Galenists: and a word to Mr. Nath: Hodges, concerning his late Vindiciæ medicinæ.* By George Thomson, M.D. (London: 1666; STC2 R1148), sampled

W. J., *A collection of seven and fifty approved receipts good against the plague. Taken out of the five books of that renowned Dr. Don Alexes secrets, for the benefit of the poorer sort of people of these nations.* By W. J. gent. (London: 1665; STC2 R218505), sampled

Wharton, Thomas, *Directions for the prevention and cure of the plague Fitted for the Poore Sort* (London: 1665; STC2 R221989), sampled

Appendix 6.1

Total List of Ingredients for Fuming and Airing in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended for correcting miasmatic air and fuming clothes in in 1665's vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 92 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
vinegar	22
camphor	16
clove	14
rose (water)	14
rue	13
frankincense	12
angelica (root)	10
juniper	9
rosemary	9
brimstone	8
cinnamon	8
laudanum	8
myrrh	8
nutmeg	8
rose	8
wormwood	8
zedoary	8
bay (leaves)	7
storax	7
aloes (lignum)	6
angelica	6
citron (pills)	6
rosemary (dried)	6
amber	5
juniper (berries)	5

Ingredient (continued)	n
juniper (wood)	5
marjoram	5
mastic	5
pitch	5
saunders (yellow)	5
vinegar (wine)	5
gallia muscata	4
gum arabic	4
mace	4
musk	4
saltpeter	4
tar	4
thyme	4
valerian	4
violet	4
amber (oil)	3
bengroin	3
coal	3
enula campana (root)	3
gentian	3
gum draggagant	3
lime	3
mint	3
saffron (English)	3
sage	3
saunders (red)	3
setwall	3
spikenard	3
aloes (wood)	2
aqua vitae	2
balm	2
bay (oil)	2
benjamin	2
benzoin	2
comfrey	2
emerald	2
hyssop	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
incense	2
<i>incense (Belson)</i>	2
lavender	2
masterwort	2
onion	2
rose (red, leaves)	2
rosin	2
saunders (white)	2
scordium	2
setwall (root)	2
storax calamita	2
sulphur	2
sulphur (flour)	2
turpentine	2
vine (leaves)	2
vinegar (white wine)	2
water	2
water germander	2
willow (coals)	2
Abimmundo spiritu liberat	1
alafaetida	1
alafaetida (oil)	1
almond (oil)	1
amber (red)	1
amber (yellow)	1
ambergrise	1
amulets	1
angelica (leaves)	1
angelica (seed)	1
arsenic (white)	1
arsenic (yellow)	1
ash (wood)	1
assafaetida	1
basalm	1
Bengewine	1
bettony	1
Beusoni	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
bolus (fine)	1
bread (brown)	1
brimstone (powder)	1
Calami odoravie	1
calamint	1
calamus aromaticus	1
castor	1
cedar (Virginia)	1
cedar (wood)	1
charcoal	1
cinnabar (mineral)	1
cinnamon agallochi	1
citron (seed)	1
civet	1
contrayerva (root)	1
cypress	1
cypress (bark)	1
cypress (wood)	1
diambre	1
dittany (root)	1
dittany (white)	1
elder	1
Electrum minerale immaturum Paracelsi	1
euphiborium	1
fennel	1
<i>fumes (Cock)</i>	1
gold	1
gum dragon	1
gunpowder	1
hyacinth	1
Hyacinthus citrinus	1
Ivise Florientiana	1
ivory (box)	1
Juncus odoratus	1
larder coltsfoot	1
laurel (leaves)	1
lavender (flower)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
lawn (cloth)	1
lemon (peel)	1
libdany	1
<i>lozenges (Cock)</i>	1
marjoram (sweet)	1
marjoram (water)	1
mercury (sublimed)	1
Millissophilie	1
mittle (seed)	1
Muscate Zedorie	1
musk (tegrame)	1
myrrh (powder)	1
myrtle (leaves)	1
myrtle (tree)	1
Nucise Odoratee	1
opponac	1
orange (pills)	1
origaen	1
pearls	1
pennyroyal	1
petasitis	1
<i>Pomanders, (to be smelt to) to prevent the Infection of the Plague, prepar'd according to the Advice of the Colledge of Physitians; And are to be sold at the Sign of the Grey-Hound in St. Pauls-Church-Yard; the price is one shilling.</i>	1
prune (dried)	1
quicksilver	1
quinces (dried)	1
rasise (raw pitch)	1
rose (damask)	1
rose (oil)	1
rose (red)	1
rose (spirit)	1
rose (vinegar)	1
rosemary (leaves)	1
rosemary (powdered)	1
rue (vinegar)	1
saffron	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
sapphire	1
Sapphirus lazureus	1
savoury (winter)	1
scents	1
silver	1
silverweed (American)	1
sorrel	1
stones (precious)	1
storax (liquid)	1
storax (red)	1
sulphur (basalm)	1
Syici Nardiradicise	1
tamarisk	1
<i>the said little Purse (Belson)</i>	1
timioma	1
toad (dried, powdered)	1
tobacco	1
tobacco (leaf)	1
tormentil	1
unicorn (horn)	1
Virginia snake root	1
waterlily	1
waterlily (flowers)	1
wax (virgin)	1
wheat (flour)	1
willow (branches)	1
wine (malmsy)	1
wine (muscadine)	1
wine (sweet)	1
wormwood (oil)	1
zedoary (root)	1

Appendix 6.2

Total List of Ingredients for Medicinal Preservatives in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of medicinal preservatives in 1665's vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 164 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
rue	33
wormwood	18
vinegar	16
sage	14
zedoary	14
saffron	13
myrrh	12
wine (white)	12
fig	11
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	11
bread	10
salt	10
vinegar (white wine)	10
walnut	10
angelica	9
juniper (berries)	9
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	9
angelica (root)	8
butter	8
nutmeg	8
bole armeniac	7
cinnamon	7
rose (water)	7
scabious	7
sugar	7

Ingredient (continued)	n
theriac-type compound (treacle)	7
ale	6
beer	6
pills of rufus	6
aloes	5
balm	5
clove	5
garlic	5
saunders (yellow)	5
sorrel	5
sorrel (wood, conserve of)	5
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	5
aloes (epatick)	4
aloes (lignum)	4
brimstone (flour)	4
camphor	4
hartshorn	4
manna	4
oxalise (seed)	4
pearls	4
saunders (white)	4
sorrel (sauce)	4
sorrel (wood, syrup)	4
sulphur (oil)	4
tormentil (root)	4
virginia snakeroot	4
vitriol (oil of)	4
water	4
water (spring)	4
antimony	3
bezoar (water)	3
bramble (red, leaves)	3
butterbur (root)	3
carduus	3
carduus benedictus	3
cinnabar (native)	3
contrayerva (root)	3

Ingredient (continued)	n
diascordium	3
dragon	3
elder (leaves)	3
elecampane	3
elecampane (root)	3
gentian	3
ginger (white)	3
hyacinth	3
masterwort	3
milk	3
Petastis (root)	3
pimpernel	3
posset (ale)	3
salt (spirit of)	3
saunders (red)	3
scabious (water)	3
scordium	3
setwall	3
terra sigillata	3
tobacco	3
tormentil	3
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	3
unicorn (horn)	3
valerian	3
vitriol	3
walnut (kernels)	3
amber (white)	2
astrabacca (leaves)	2
bay (berries)	2
bay (leaves)	2
bole oriental	2
borage	2
borage (conserve)	2
brimstone	2
celandine	2
citron (peel)	2
citron (pill)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
citron (syrup)	2
contrayerva	2
coral	2
coral (red)	2
Diatrio Santalon (powder)	2
emerald	2
endive (water)	2
enula campana (root, powdered)	2
gentian (root)	2
gum amoniacum	2
hartshorn (shaving)	2
lemon (juice)	2
lemon (syrup)	2
mace	2
masterwort (root)	2
mastic	2
mint	2
mugwort	2
orange (pill, dried)	2
oxymel of squills	2
posset (drink)	2
prunella (salt)	2
rattlesnake root	2
rose (vinegar)	2
rosemary	2
rue (leaves)	2
sage (flowers)	2
sage (leaves)	2
sorrel (leaves)	2
sorrel (seeds)	2
sorrel (water)	2
sorrel (wood)	2
sulphur	2
tormentil (powder)	2
theriac-type compound (diascordium)	2
valerian (water)	2
vinegar (wine)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
vitriol (Roman)	2
wine (malaga)	2
wine (malmsy)	2
wine (Rhenish)	2
wormwood (wine)	2
agaric	1
agrimony	1
ambergrise	1
ammoniacum	1
angelica (stalks, candied)	1
angelica (stalks)	1
angelica (water)	1
apple (pap)	1
aqua mirabilis	1
Aqua Petasitis Composita	1
aqua vitae	1
aristolochia	1
aristolochia (electuary)	1
arras (root)	1
barberries (juice)	1
barley (water)	1
bay (berries, juice)	1
beaver (cod)	1
beer (small)	1
beer (strong)	1
betony	1
betony (water)	1
bezoar (eastern)	1
bezoar (stone)	1
blood stone	1
bole armeniac (electuary)	1
bolus (fine)	1
borage (water)	1
brandy	1
bread (toast)	1
bread (white)	1
brimstone (oil)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
broth	1
bugloss	1
burdock (seeds)	1
burnett	1
butterbur	1
buttermilk	1
carduus (seed)	1
carduus (water)	1
carduus benedictus (seeds)	1
cassia (pills)	1
celandine (juice)	1
celandine (root)	1
<i>Celestial Water (Belson)</i>	1
centuary	1
citron	1
citron (bark)	1
citron (oil)	1
citron (peel, candied)	1
citron (pill, candied)	1
citron (seed)	1
cochinele	1
conserves	1
convenient liquors	1
cordial (temperate)	1
cordial electuary (as prescribed by a physician)	1
Diatressaron	1
distilled waters	1
dittany (water)	1
dittany (white)	1
Doronicie	1
<i>Dr. Trigg's great Cordial, or Medicine against the Plague</i>	1
dragon (water)	1
dris (root)	1
earth (sealed)	1
egg (shell)	1
egg (yolk)	1
elixir proprietatis	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
elixir vitae	1
enula campana (root)	1
fig (dry)	1
garlic (juice)	1
gillyflowers	1
ginger	1
granats (prepared)	1
hartshorn (burnt)	1
herbgrass	1
honey	1
honey (boiled)	1
<i>hot medicine of Doctor Burgess (Cock)</i>	1
<i>hot medicine of Doctor Dixon (Cock)</i>	1
<i>hot medicine of Sir Walter Raleigh (Cock)</i>	1
Hyacinth (confection)	1
imperial water	1
ivory (scrapings)	1
ivy (berries)	1
juices	1
juniper	1
juniper (berries, dried)	1
juniper (berries, powdered)	1
juniper (flowers)	1
kermes (juice)	1
<i>Lady Allen's water (Cock)</i>	1
lettuce	1
lettuce (water)	1
liquorice	1
lovage	1
marigold (flowers)	1
marigold (leaves)	1
meadowsweet	1
mercury	1
mercury (crude)	1
musk	1
mustard (seed)	1
nants (berry)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
Ocinum (seed)	1
oil	1
oil (salad)	1
oil (zant)	1
orange (peel)	1
orange (pill, candied)	1
pearls (prepared)	1
pease (decoction)	1
peony	1
pepper (long)	1
pestilence wort	1
<i>pilulae communes</i>	1
<i>pilulae pestilenciales</i>	1
plantain	1
poppy (flowers)	1
posset	1
posset (vinegar)	1
radish (root, juice)	1
raisins	1
rhubarb	1
ros (solid)	1
rosa solis	1
rose (conserve)	1
rose (red, conserve)	1
rose (sugar)	1
rose (tincture)	1
rue (goats)	1
rue (seed)	1
rue (vinegar)	1
sack (spirit)	1
saffron (English)	1
sage (red)	1
salt (bay)	1
sapphire	1
snakeweed	1
sorrel (wood, leaves)	1
stag (heart, bone)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
Succi avantii Coragares	1
succory	1
succory (water)	1
sugar (white, candy)	1
sulphur (basalm)	1
sulphur (common)	1
sulphur (of Mars)	1
syrups	1
termperate cordial species	1
<i>Tinctura Polyacaea (Thomson, Loimologia)</i>	1
tormentil (water)	1
theriac-type compound (Diatessarum)	1
theriac-type compound (diatesseron, powders)	1
Trochisci Alhaudal	1
<i>Tutelaes (pills, Thomson)</i>	1
tyromony	1
unicorn (horn, east)	1
<i>Universal Elixyr (le Medde)</i>	1
venus (flowers)	1
vervain	1
vinegar (syrup)	1
violet (water)	1
vitriol (spirit)	1
wine	1
wine (canary)	1
wine (claret)	1
wine (muscadine)	1
wine (spirit of)	1
wine (sulphurated)	1
wormwood (malmsy)	1
zedoary (electuary)	1

Appendix 6.3

Total List of Ingredients for Cures in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of curative remedies in 1665's vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 174 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
theriac-type compound (treacle)	26
vinegar	24
theriac-type compound (treacle water)	23
theriac-type compound (diascordium)	20
wine (white)	16
camphor	14
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	14
rue	13
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	12
theriac-type compound (Andromachus treacle)	11
theriac-type compound (diascordium fracastorii)	11
lemon (juice)	10
sorrel	10
sugar	10
water	10
wormwood (salt)	10
bole armeniac	9
saffron	9
sage	9
angelica	8
posset (drink)	8
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	8
hartshorn (burnt)	7
rose (conserve, red)	7
vinegar (white wine)	7

Ingredient (continued)	n
vitriol (oil)	7
butterbur (root)	6
carduus benedictus	6
hyacinth (confection)	6
scabious	6
terra sigillata	6
carduus (water)	5
cinnamon (water)	5
citron (juice)	5
coral (red)	5
dragon (water)	5
marigold (flowers)	5
posset (ale)	5
scabious (water)	5
tormentil	5
tormentil (root)	5
wine	5
angelica (root)	4
aqua vitae	4
balm	4
beer	4
borage	4
bugloss	4
burr (seeds)	4
carduus	4
crab (eye)	4
hartshorn	4
ivy (berries)	4
nutmeg	4
orange (juice)	4
pomegranate (syrup)	4
rose (water)	4
scordium	4
scordium (salt)	4
sorrel (water)	4
sorrel (wood, juice)	4
wormwood	4

Ingredient (continued)	n
ale	3
ash	3
bezoar	3
bezoar (oriental)	3
bramble (red, leaves)	3
burnett	3
cinnamon	3
citron (seed)	3
dittany	3
elder (leaves)	3
elecampane	3
electuary de ovo	3
gentian	3
ginger (white)	3
myrrh	3
pepper (long)	3
rosemary	3
salt	3
scordium (syrup)	3
sorrel (wood, syrup)	3
sorrel (wood)	3
vinegar (white)	3
walnuts	3
zedoary	3
angelica (extract)	2
angelica (water)	2
bay (berries, powdered)	2
betony (water)	2
brimstone (flour)	2
butterbur	2
calendula (vinegar)	2
carduus (seed)	2
carduus benedictus (extract)	2
carduus benedictus (seeds)	2
carduus benedictus (water)	2
caudle	2
celandine (root)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
cochinele	2
contrayerva	2
Cucheneely	2
devil's bit	2
dittany (white)	2
egg (shell)	2
elecampane (root)	2
fennel	2
fig	2
fitches (red)	2
gascoine powder	2
ginger	2
gruel (water)	2
hartshorn (powder)	2
hartshorn (shavings)	2
juniper (berries)	2
juniper (oil)	2
knot grass	2
marigold	2
marigold (leaves)	2
masterwort	2
mustard (seed)	2
onion	2
orange (peel)	2
pearl	2
plantain	2
pulvis liberantis	2
radish (root)	2
rue (juice)	2
rue (vinegar)	2
saffron (tincture)	2
saxifrage	2
sorrel (juice)	2
species liber artis	2
Species of Diatrium Santalorum	2
succory	2
terra sigillata (troches)	2

Ingredient (continued)	n
<i>Tinctura Polyacaea (Thomson, Loimologia)</i>	2
unicorn (horn)	2
valerian	2
valerian (great, root)	2
vervain	2
Virginia snakeroot	2
walnuts (green)	2
wine (canary)	2
wine (claret)	2
wine (malaga)	2
wine (malmsy)	2
<i>a Cordial Tincture (Belson)</i>	1
<i>a Sudorifick Electuary</i>	1
ale (small)	1
aloes (epaticum)	1
amber	1
amber (oil)	1
<i>An Excellent Preservative against the Plague, Pestilence, and all Infectious Diseases, Noisome Smells, and Corrupt Air, Sea-fogs, Kentish and Essex-Agues, Scurvy and Dropsies (Kephale)</i>	1
animonium diaphoreticum	1
anise (seed)	1
<i>another antidote</i>	1
aristolochia (root)	1
aristolochia rotunda	1
barley	1
bay (berries)	1
beer (small)	1
betony (decoction)	1
bezoar (powder)	1
bezoar (vinegar)	1
bezoar (water)	1
blackberry (tops)	1
borage (water of the decoction)	1
bread (crust)	1
briony	1
broth (chicken, mace)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
broth (mutton)	1
bugloss (conserve)	1
burnett (green)	1
capon	1
cardamom	1
carduus (decoction)	1
carduus (posset)	1
carduus (salt)	1
carduus (water, liquor)	1
carduus benedictus (leaves, powdered)	1
carduus benedictus (leaves)	1
carduus benedictus (salt)	1
carroway (seed)	1
caudle (oatmeal)	1
celandine	1
centuary	1
cherry (black)	1
chicory	1
citron	1
citron (juice, syrup)	1
citron (pill)	1
citron (root)	1
citron (syrup)	1
<i>clear white liquor (Barker)</i>	1
coal	1
contrayerva (root)	1
coral (white)	1
crab (claw, tips)	1
crowsfoot	1
currant (jelly)	1
cypress (root)	1
dandelion	1
diagridum	1
dictamnium	1
dittany (root, powder)	1
<i>Dr. Trigg's great Cordial, or Medicine against the Plague</i>	1
dragon	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
earth (sealed troches)	1
elder (flowers)	1
elixir vitae	1
emerald	1
endive	1
endive (water)	1
enula campana	1
enula campana (root)	1
euphorium	1
flowers (cordial)	1
gold (leaf)	1
gruel	1
hartshorn (jelly)	1
helsevor	1
hollyhock (flowers)	1
hyacinth	1
<i>Lady Kent's powder</i>	1
lemon (juice, syrup)	1
liquor of the inner ring of an ash tree	1
lovage	1
mace (ale)	1
marigold (flowers, juice)	1
marjoram	1
masterwort (root)	1
mastic	1
meadowsweet	1
milfoil	1
milk	1
milk (breast)	1
mint	1
mugwort (powder)	1
mutton	1
Myva Cidoniorum	1
oil (old)	1
oil (salad)	1
onion (white, juice)	1
opium	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
opium (thebiac)	1
orange (juice, sour)	1
orange (juice, syrup)	1
orange (peel, candied)	1
orange (pill, powdered)	1
orange (pill)	1
orange (seed)	1
orange (sour, wine)	1
ostutii (root)	1
<i>our Antidote (Garencieres)</i>	1
<i>our cordial water (Garencieres)</i>	1
oxalis	1
oxalis (water)	1
oxymel of squills	1
parseley (root)	1
pearl (oriental)	1
pellitory of spain	1
pennyroyal	1
pestilence wort	1
pestilence wort (compound water)	1
pills of rufus	1
pimpernel	1
plague water	1
plague water of Matthias	1
plantain (root)	1
pomecitron (seed)	1
pomegranate (flower)	1
pomegranate (root)	1
poppy (flowers)	1
posset (urine)	1
pullte (salt)	1
<i>Pulvis Pestifugus (powder, Thomson, Loimologia)</i>	1
pulvis saxonicus	1
quince (jelly)	1
rape	1
rhino (horn)	1
rose (conserve)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
rose (red, water)	1
rose (sugar)	1
rosemary (flowers, conserve)	1
rue (extract)	1
rue (green)	1
rue (seed)	1
saffron (oriental)	1
salt (bay)	1
salt (spirit of)	1
sanctie (seed)	1
sandal (red)	1
sapphire	1
saunders	1
saunders (powdered)	1
saunders (scrapes)	1
scabious (decoction)	1
scabious (juice)	1
scabious (root)	1
scordium (dried)	1
scordium (leaves)	1
scorpion (oil)	1
seduaria	1
sellerwood (root)	1
setwall (water)	1
sloe (juice)	1
<i>some pestilential pills</i>	1
sorrel (seed)	1
spikenard	1
St. John's wort (flowers)	1
stag (heart, bone)	1
sugar (candy)	1
sugar (white)	1
sulphur	1
sulphur (common)	1
sulphur (oil, spirit of)	1
sulphur (oil)	1
sulphur (spirit)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
syrup (sharp)	1
tartar (salt)	1
thistle (white, roots)	1
thistle (white)	1
thyme	1
theriac-type compound (treacle of Gene)	1
theriac-type compound (treacle vinegar)	1
ungent pop alabanst	1
urine	1
valerian (root)	1
verben (juice)	1
verben (root, dried)	1
verben (root)	1
vinegar (citron)	1
vinegar (clear)	1
vinegar (of Squills)	1
vinegar (red wine)	1
vinegar (warm)	1
vinegar (wine)	1
viper	1
viper (troches)	1
vitriol (salt)	1
walnut (flour)	1
water (common)	1
water (warm)	1
wine (muscadine)	1
wine (spirit of, tartarised)	1
wormwood (liquor)	1
wormwood (vinegar)	1

Appendix 6.4

Total List of Ingredients for Outward Medicinal Preparations in Vernacular Medical Plague Literature, 1665

This list reflects all the ingredients recommended as parts of outward medicines focused on the cure of the plague's botches, boils and carbuncles in 1665's vernacular medical literature about plague. The ingredient is listed first, with modifiers, types and preparations in brackets. 'N' is the number of source recipes this ingredient appears in. There were 89 total source recipes. Proprietary nostrums advertised in these pamphlets are italicized, with the author's name in brackets.

Ingredient	n
fig	12
leaven	11
salt	11
butter	10
lily (oil)	10
scabious	10
egg (yolk)	9
garlic	9
mallows	9
mustard (seed)	9
onion	8
vinegar	8
theriac-type compound (mithridate)	7
leaven (flour)	6
lily (root)	6
rue	6
sorrel	6
grease (barrow)	5
pigeon	5
theriac-type compound (treacle)	5
bramble	4
bread (loaf)	4
diachylon cum gummi	4
dung (pigeon)	4
grease (swine)	4

Ingredient (continued)	n
lily (white, root)	4
theriac-type compound (Venice treacle)	4
turpentine	4
water	4
bread (crumb)	3
chamomile (flowers)	3
egg (white)	3
elder (leaves)	3
flour (wheat)	3
rose (honey)	3
soap	3
soap (castle)	3
sorrel (leaves)	3
elder (flowers)	2
fat	2
grease (hog)	2
leather	2
leek (house)	2
linseed (powder)	2
lovage	2
mallow (leaves)	2
mellilot plaster	2
onion (white)	2
plantain	2
radish	2
rocket	2
scabious (leaves)	2
smallage	2
soot (chimney)	2
terra sigillata	2
turpentine (Venice)	2
Unguentum Apostolorum	2
Unguentum Bascillicon	2
valerian	2
violet (leaves)	2
wheat (flour)	2
<i>a cleansing ointment (Diemberbroeck)</i>	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
aconitium	1
alum (burnt)	1
ammoniac (plaster)	1
antimony (basalm)	1
asarum (leaves)	1
bacon	1
barley (meal)	1
basalm of Fuliginis	1
bay (berries)	1
bay (salt)	1
blistering plaster	1
bole armeniac	1
bole armeniac (defensative)	1
bolus	1
bread	1
brimstone (basalm)	1
brimstone (flour)	1
brimstone (powder)	1
butter (salt)	1
Cantharides plaster (blistering)	1
celandine (juice)	1
cerus	1
cloth	1
colewort (leaf)	1
coleworts	1
comfrey	1
comfrey (root)	1
coperas	1
cress (bank)	1
cress (garden)	1
cress (water)	1
crowsfoot	1
cupping glass	1
danewort	1
danewort (root)	1
Diachulum (plaster)	1
diachyl. Simpl.	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
dittany	1
dough	1
dragon (blood)	1
dung (dove)	1
dung (hen)	1
eggs	1
elecampane (oil)	1
elicampane (root)	1
flies (Spanish)	1
frankincense	1
galbanum	1
grease (capon)	1
grease (hen)	1
green plaster	1
hemlock	1
hollyhock (root)	1
honey	1
horseradish	1
ivy (berries)	1
lard	1
lead (white)	1
leeches (horse)	1
leek	1
linseed	1
lint (seed)	1
marshmallows	1
mastic	1
meal	1
milk	1
muccilag (plaster)	1
mustard	1
napellus	1
oil (olive)	1
pitch	1
pitch (burgundy)	1
plantain (leaf)	1
plantain (root)	1

Ingredient (continued)	n
plaster of Diachylon	1
plaster of Oxicroceum	1
prunes	1
rose (water)	1
rue (oil)	1
saffron	1
salt (bay)	1
salt (white)	1
sapphire	1
sarcocolla	1
scabious (root)	1
scabious (water)	1
silver (letharge)	1
soot	1
soot (from wood chimney)	1
sorrel (juice)	1
suet (hog)	1
sugar	1
sulphur	1
theriac-type compound (Andromedes treacle, plaster)	1
theriac-type compound (London treacle)	1
Unguentum Aurem	1
vesicatories	1
wax	1
wax (common)	1
wine (Greek)	1
wormwood (oil)	1
yeast	1

Appendix 6.5

Wellcome Library Receipt Books Consulted in Sample of Domestic Recipe Literature, c. 1665

Wellcome Library, Receipt-Book, 17th Century, 1669 (MS.4047)

Wellcome Library, Receipt-Book, 17th Century, 1675? (MS.4050)

Wellcome Library, English Medical Notebook, 17th Century, 1575-1663 (MS.6812)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Hudson, Sarah, 1678 (MS.2954)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Miller, Mrs. Mary, 1660 (MS.3547)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Parker, Bridget, 1663 (MS.3768)

Wellcome Library, Recipe Book of Saint John, Johanna, 1680 (MS.4338)

Appendix 7.1

The Named Plague Nurses of St. Margaret's Westminster, 1665-1666

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Butler	Mary		8
Moore	Durrence		7
Stiffany	Marjery		7
Allaway	Jane		6
Barber	Anne		6
Butler	Katherine		6
Clarke		Widow	6
Hutton	Elizabeth		6
Thomas	Elizabeth		6
Lee	Elizabeth		5
Porter	Sarah		5
Singleton	Jane		5
Blisse	Rachel		4
Cane	Joane		4
Daveis	Anne		4
Harvard	Elizabeth		4
Jones	Margaret		4
Mercer	Joane		4
Petty		Widow	4
Skerrat	Margaret		4
Watts	Anne		4
Bent	Rachel		3
Browne	Hannah		3
Clarke	Elizabeth		3
Cooke	Elizabeth		3
Crosley	Judith		3
Daveis	Jane		3
Dunbarre	Elizabeth		3
Field	Barbara		3
Gray	Jane		3
Hilliard	Sarah		3
Jones	Mary		3

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Man	Anne		3
Millet	Anne		3
Mixon	Anne		3
Moore	Elizabeth		3
Moore		Goodwife	3
Myer	Martha		3
Norman	Elizabeth		3
Owen	Mary		3
Richardson	Jane		3
Rowes	Margaret		3
Royce	Margaret		3
Snow	Mary		3
Upfall	Elizabeth		3
Watson	Mary		3
Westcroft	Elizabeth		3
Wyon	Mary		3
Arnolds	Char		2
Ashly	Mary		2
Baker	Mary		2
Barber		Widow	2
Bird	Margaret		2
Bird	Alice		2
Boyce	Hannah		2
Brampton	Letitia		2
Bringford	Elizabeth		2
Browne	Anne		2
Burnett		Widow	2
Cole	Marie		2
Cooper	Hester		2
Cooper	Elizabeth		2
Cornish	Ellen		2
Cuckoe	Elizabeth		2
Dillistone	Mary		2
Eaton	Mary		2
Ellingworth	Anne		2
Evans	Alice		2
Feild	Anne		2

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Fisher	Elizabeth		2
Fry	Christian		2
Gifford	Elizabeth		2
Gouldins		Widow	2
Grimes	Thomasina		2
Gurney	Alice		2
Harden	Mary		2
Hardwell	Elizabeth		2
Haynes	Elizabeth		2
Jackson		Widow	2
Jones	Jane		2
Jones	Judeth		2
Jones		Widow	2
Jones	Alice		2
Kembda	Izabell		2
Lewis	Katherine		2
Moore	Grace		2
Morgan	Dorothy		2
Morgan	Grace		2
Murray	Jane		2
Newman		Widow	2
Nichols		Widow	2
Noyer	Sarah		2
Nutkins	Elizabeth		2
Oxforder	Thomasina		2
Pratt	Susan		2
Reade	Joane		2
Roberts	Elizabeth		2
Rooke	Rebecca		2
Ruther	Christiana		2
Sanders	Elizabeth		2
Sheeves	Lewery		2
Skerrat	Richard		2
Strange		Widow	2
Taylor	Elizabeth		2
Tidman		Widow	2
Titman			2

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Whately		Goodwife	2
Wood	Joyce		2
???	Ruth		1
Adams	Dove		1
Adams		Widow	1
Adisen	Edith		1
Anther	Elizabeth		1
Anther	Elizabeth		1
Ardington	Edith		1
Assaby	Joane		1
Assaby		Goodwife	1
Baldrey	Marie		1
Bale		Widow	1
Barnett	Alice		1
Barrett			1
Bayle		Widow	1
Bayly	Katherine		1
Bayly		Widow	1
Bayly	Anne		1
Beale	Elizabeth		1
Bell	Barbara		1
Bell	Martha		1
Bent	Elizabeth		1
Bent	Elinor		1
Berkly			1
Best	Joane		1
Bird		Widow	1
Blanch	Elizabeth		1
Blanth	Elizabeth		1
Bornes	Blanch		1
Boyce	Anne		1
Bridger	Anne		1
Browne	Neavel		1
Browne	Sarah		1
Browne			1
Buggy	Marie		1
Burnes	Anne		1

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Burnett	Alice		1
Butler			1
Carre	Mary		1
Charles	Mary		1
Collett	Mary		1
Cooke			1
Cornish	Elizabeth		1
Crockford	William		1
Crooke	Mary		1
Crosley	Richard		1
Crosley	Susan		1
Cuthbert	Elizabeth		1
Dallisone	Susan		1
Daveis	Alice		1
Daveis	Joan		1
Daveis	Mary		1
Daveis			1
Day	Elizabeth		1
Deaver	Jane		1
Denby	Elizabeth		1
Digg	Susan		1
Dillson	Mary		1
Dixon	Anne		1
Done	Elizabeth		1
Downes	Anne		1
Dunbarre	Ellen		1
Duner	Jane		1
Durrence	Sibell		1
Eley	Elizabeth		1
Ellen	Anne		1
Evans	Elizabeth		1
Field	John		1
Fisher	Christian		1
French			1
Gee	Susanna		1
George	Alice		1
George	Elizabeth		1

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Godford	Jane		1
Gordon	Mabel		1
Grace		Goodwife	1
Grace	Susan		1
Grace		Goodwife	1
Gradsure	Margaret		1
Gray	Elizabeth		1
Hammond	Mary		1
Hand	Ellen		1
Hardcastle	Christian		1
Harrington	Alice		1
Harris	Mary		1
Hartwell	Marie		1
Harwood	Elizabeth		1
Hayes	Sarah		1
Haynes	Dorothy		1
Haynes			1
Haythorne	Margaret		1
Heard	Dorothy		1
Hempsteede	Christina		1
Henderson	Elizabeth		1
Henderson	Marie		1
Henly	Anne		1
Herbin	Jane		1
Hinkley	Amy		1
Holland	Elizabeth		1
Holland	Mary		1
Holmes	Margaret		1
Holmes	Mary		1
Hony	Mary		1
Hubbard	Joyce		1
Hubbard	Mary		1
Hunt	Elizabeth		1
Hunton	Elizabeth		1
Hutchings	Elizabeth		1
Hutchings			1
Jackson	Elizabeth		1

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Johns		Widow	1
Johnson	Margery		1
Jones	Dorothy		1
Jones		Goodman	1
Jordan		Widow	1
Kellaway	Mary		1
Kennington	Mary		1
Keyser	Anne		1
Lacey	Frances		1
Lander	Joane		1
Lane	Marie		1
Lee	Katherine		1
Lee		Widow	1
Lewes		Widow	1
Lewis	Elizabeth		1
Littleton	Anne		1
Lody	Katherine		1
Macey	Joane		1
Mackrell	Elizabeth		1
Marriott	Alice		1
Martin	Freeswood		1
Maw	Mary		1
Maw	Mary		1
Maxfield	Char		1
Miller	Anne		1
Morgan	Matthew		1
Morton	Margaret		1
Newman	Anne		1
Newman	Elizabeth		1
Nicholas		Widow	1
Nickson	Anne		1
Norman		Widow	1
Noyce	Elizabeth		1
Owen		Widow	1
Parker	Anne		1
Parker	Phillis		1
Parkhurst	Philis		1

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Payne	Frances		1
Peirce		Widow	1
Perry	Phillis		1
Petter		Goodwife	1
Petters	Jane		1
Pidyer	Mary		1
Porter	Anne		1
Powell			1
Pratt	Jane		1
Pratt	Marie		1
Pratt	Susannah		1
Preston	Anne		1
Pritchard	Anne		1
Pryer	Mary		1
Rayner	Elizabeth		1
Reade	Anne		1
Rice	Anne		1
Richardson	Joane		1
Robinson	Elizabeth		1
Robinson	Ellen		1
Robinson			1
Rose	Elizabeth		1
Rowe	Katherine		1
Rowe			1
Russell	Frances		1
Salter	Mary		1
Sanderson	Marie		1
Sayer	Elizabeth		1
Sealing	Susan		1
Shepherd	Mary		1
Skott		Widow	1
Slow		Widow	1
Smith	Marie		1
Smith	Mary		1
Smith	Katherine		1
Smyth	Marie		1
Smyth	Mary		1

Surname	Given Name	Prefix	Frequency Employed
Snow		Goodwife	1
Stanbridge	Elizabeth		1
Stateham	Anne		1
Stephens	Anne		1
Strong		Widow	1
Taylor	Anne		1
Taylor		Widow	1
Thompson			1
Thompson		Widow	1
Ticknall	Hen		1
Tidman	Mary		1
Warding	Elizabeth		1
Webster	Faith		1
Wells	Grace		1
Wharfe	Barbara		1
Wheeler	Marie		1
White	Elizabeth		1
White	Jane		1
White		Widow	1
Wilkes	Marie		1
Wilkinson	Margaret		1
Williams	Jane		1
Williams	Anne		1
Williams	Margaret		1
Willingsone			1
Willis		Widow	1
Wood			1
Wood	Jane		1
Worsley	Rebecca		1
Wotton	Mary		1
Wright	Grace		1
Wyatt	Mary		1
Yorke	Hester		1

Appendix 7.2

The Unnamed Plague Nurses of St. Margaret's Westminster, 1665-66

Unnamed Nurse as Described in SMW/E/1/47

2 Nurses

A Nurse

A Nurse

A Nurse

A Nurse

A Nurse

A Nurse a Chandlers

A Nurse at Barbara Roystons

A Nurse at Barton

A Nurse at Blyeths

A Nurse at Boltons

A Nurse at Boltons

A Nurse at Boltons

A Nurse at Boltons

A Nurse at Bottomes

A Nurse at Brunts

A Nurse at Bryons

A Nurse at Gottridges

A Nurse at Gressenthams

A Nurse at Grovers

A Nurse at Gustes

A Nurse at Harpers

A Nurse at Harthings

A Nurse at Harvests

A Nurse at Harvests

A Nurse at Headins

A Nurse at Headins

A Nurse at Hebbornes

A Nurse at Houldings

A Nurse at Hughs

A Nurse at Johnsons

A Nurse at Jon Floyds

Unnamed Nurse as Described in SMW/E/1/47

A Nurse at Jones

A nurse at Knightsbridge

A Nurse at Loyds

A Nurse at Margaret Williams

A Nurse at Marknell

A Nurse at Marshalls

A Nurse at Marshalls

A Nurse at Parrey

A Nurse at Ruberts

A Nurse at Ruberts

A Nurse at Sheeres

A Nurse at Stills

A Nurse at Vaughans

A Nurse at Vaughans

A Nurse at Vaughans

A Nurse at Vaughans

A Nurse at Watsons

A Nurse at Watsons

A Nurse at Whalets

A Nurse at Whaleys

A Nurse at Williams

A Nurse at Yates

A Nurse in Bell Alley

A Nurse to Attend

A Nurse to Nunn's Child

Anne Pitman + her Nurse

Christian Ferrier his Nurse

Christian Ferrier's Nurse

Cookes Nurse

for a Nurse to Attend

George Keate's Nurse

Goodm: Jones's Nurse

Heyyons Nurse

Humph Harrison's Nurse

Katherine Boston's Nurse

Nurse at Allens
Nurse at Daveis
Unnamed Nurse as Described in SMW/E/1/47
Nurse at Garraways
Nurse at Goodw Kings
Nurse at John ???
Nurse at John Cookes
Nurse at Olivers
Nurse at Powells
Nurse at Ramseys
Nurse at Shermans
Nurse at Taylors for 2 Weekes
Nurse at Watsons
Nurse at Widow Wildes
Nurse of Anne Thomas
The Nurse at Marshalls
To 2 Nurses
To a Nurse at Watsons
To a Nurse for keeping
To Thomas Grover's Nurse
Widd Beadle + her Nurse
Widd Headin's Nurse
ye Nurse at Reynolds
y^e Nurse at Whaleys