

THE WORKS OF John Wesley

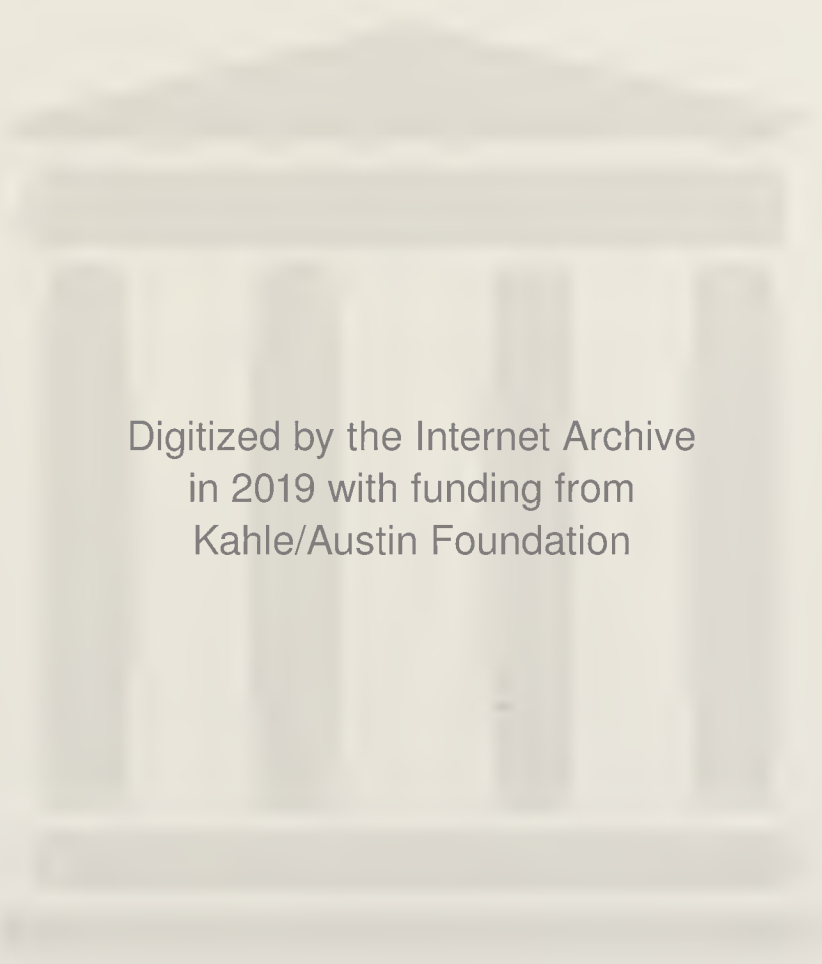


VOLUME 32

MEDICAL AND
HEALTH WRITINGS

EDITED BY
JAMES G. DONAT AND
RANDY L. MADDOX

From the beginning of his ministry, John Wesley was committed to nurturing "health of body and of soul" in his own life and in the communities he served. This volume provides a window into his concern for "health of body" by collecting all of his writings related to health and wellness. These range from his best-selling home guide to health care, *Primitive Physic*, to his interest in electrical shock therapy, to his concern for nervous disorders. This volume is of keen interest to all who are committed to recovering Wesley's holistic understanding of salvation and ministry in the present church, as well as those seeking a better understanding of medical care in the eighteenth century.



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JOHN WESLEY

VOLUME 32

MEDICAL AND HEALTH WRITINGS



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JAMES G. DONAT
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RANDY L. MADDOX

 Abingdon Press™
Nashville, Tennessee

THE WORKS OF JOHN WESLEY VOLUME 32:
MEDICAL AND HEALTH WRITINGS

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THE BICENTENNIAL EDITION OF THE WORKS OF JOHN WESLEY

THIS edition of the works of John Wesley reflects the quickened interest in the heritage of Christian thought that has become evident during the last half century. A fully critical presentation of Wesley's writings had long been a desideratum in order to furnish documentary sources illustrating his contribution to both catholic and evangelical Christianity.

Several scholars, notably Professor Albert C. Outler, Professor Franz Hildebrandt, Dean Merrimon Cuninggim, and Dean Robert E. Cushman, discussed the possibility of such an edition. Under the leadership of Dean Cushman, a board of directors was formed in 1960 comprising the deans of four sponsoring theological schools of Methodist-related universities in the United States: Drew, Duke, Emory, and Southern Methodist. They appointed an Editorial Committee to formulate plans and enlisted an international and interdenominational team of scholars for the Wesley Works Editorial Project.

The works were divided into units of cognate material, with a separate editor (or joint editors) responsible for each unit. Dr. Frank Baker was appointed textual editor for the whole project, with responsibility for supplying each unit editor with a critically developed, accurate Wesley text. The text seeks to represent Wesley's thought in its fullest and most deliberate expression insofar as this can be determined from the available evidence. Substantive variant readings in any British edition published during Wesley's lifetime are shown in appendices to the units, preceded by a summary of the problems faced and the solutions reached in the complex task of securing and presenting Wesley's text. The aim throughout is to enable Wesley to be read with maximum ease and understanding, and with minimal intrusion by the editors.

This edition includes all of Wesley's original or mainly original prose works, some select examples of his extensive work as editor and publisher of extracts from the writings of others, and one volume devoted to his *Collection of Hymns* (1780). An essential feature of the project is a bibliography outlining the historical settings of the works published by Wesley and his brother Charles, sometimes

jointly, sometimes separately. The bibliography also offers full analytical data for identifying each of the two thousand editions of these 450 items that were published during the lifetime of John Wesley, and notes the location of copies. An index is supplied for each unit and a general index for the whole edition.

The Delegates of the Oxford University Press agreed to undertake publication, but announced in June 1982 that because of severe economic problems they would regretfully be compelled to withdraw from the enterprise with the completion in 1983 of volume 7, the *Collection of Hymns*. Abingdon Press offered its services, beginning with the publication of the first volume of the *Sermons* in 1984, the bicentennial year of the formation of American Methodism as an autonomous church. The new title now assumed, however, refers in general to the bicentennial of Wesley's total activities as author, editor, and publisher, from 1733 to 1791, especially as summarized in the first edition of his collected works in thirty-two volumes, 1771–74.

Dean Robert E. Cushman of Duke University undertook general administration and promotion of the project until 1971, when he was succeeded as president by Dean Joseph D. Quillian Jr., of Southern Methodist University, these two universities having furnished the major support and guidance for the enterprise. During the decade 1961–70, the Editorial Committee supervised the task of setting editorial principles and procedures, and general editorship was shared by Dr. Eric W. Baker, Dean William R. Cannon, and Dean Cushman. In 1969 the directors appointed Dr. Frank Baker, early attached to the project as bibliographer and textual editor for Wesley's text, as editor-in-chief also. Upon Dean Quillian's retirement in 1981, he was succeeded as president of the project by Dean James E. Kirby Jr., also of Southern Methodist University. In 1986 the Directors appointed Richard P. Heitzenrater as general editor to begin the chief editorship of the project with the *Journal and Diaries* unit, with Dr. Baker continuing as textual editor. Dean Dennis M. Campbell of Duke University was elected president of the project in 1990. Dr. Campbell was succeeded in 2003 by Dean Russell E. Richey of Emory University; who was succeeded in turn in 2017 by Dean Craig C. Hill of Southern Methodist University. In 2003 the directors named Randy L. Maddox as associate general editor, to work alongside Dr. Heitzenrater. When Heitzenrater retired in 2014, Maddox became general editor.

Other sponsoring bodies have been successively added to the original four: Boston University School of Theology, the Con-

ference of the Methodist Church of Great Britain, The General Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church, The United Methodist Board of Higher Education and Ministry, and the World Methodist Council. For the continuing support of the sponsoring institutions the Directors express their profound thanks. They gratefully acknowledge also the encouragement and financial support that have come from the Historical Societies and Commissions on Archives and History of many Annual Conferences, as well as the donations of private individuals and foundations.

On June 9, 1976, The Wesley Works Editorial Project was incorporated in the State of North Carolina as a nonprofit corporation. In 1977 by-laws were approved governing the appointment and duties of the Directors, their officers, and their Executive Committee.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The earliest steps toward production of this volume were taken by Dr. Frank Baker in the mid-twentieth century, as he traversed the United Kingdom and North America, visiting archives, libraries, and bookstores, in search of original editions of John Wesley's publications. Over time Baker amassed most of the various printings of Wesley's medical writings that are gathered here, and began preparing critical text for *Primitive Physic* in particular.

Meanwhile, Dr. James G. Donat, who completed a Ph.D. on the history of medicine at University College London in 1986, came across a few editions of *Primitive Physic* held at the Wellcome Institute Library in London in the mid-1990s, sparking his interest in all of Wesley's medical writings. As Donat dug into this topic he became aware of Dr. Baker's work. When an initial letter of inquiry went unanswered, Donat flew to Durham, NC, to meet with Baker. Over tea, Donat agreed to translate some letters written to Baker by German soldiers whom Frank and his wife Nellie had hosted on Sundays at their church while the soldiers were prisoners of war held in England during WWII. In exchange Baker showed his collection of Wesley items to Donat and provided copies of the extant editions of *Primitive Physic* that Donat had not yet seen. They also began discussion of which edition of *Primitive Physic* to include in the Bicentennial Edition of Wesley's *Works*, with Donat raising the possibility of a collated text reflecting all editions. Unfortunately, this budding cooperation was cut short by Baker's death in 1999.

After some delays and transitions, the Editorial Board of this edition invited Dr. Randy L. Maddox to team with Dr. Donat, and produce a volume that included *all* of John Wesley's major medical writings. Donat did much of the early detail work, and contributed the expertise of his training in the history of medicine. Maddox shaped the final form of the volume, and added input from his exposure to the range of Wesley's writings. The result is a volume that contributes to the History of Medicine and Wesley Studies alike.

Both Dr. Donat and Dr. Maddox wish to express gratitude for support received through Duke Divinity School to sustain their work on this volume. We also want to acknowledge the following

libraries for providing copies and approving publication of title pages from first editions of the indicated volumes:

Drew University, Methodist Library
Collection of Receipts

Duke University, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea
Primitive Physic

Victoria University (Toronto), E. J. Pratt Library
The Desideratum; or, Electricity Made Plain and Useful
Thoughts on the Sin of Onan
Advices with Respect to Health

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Independent Scholar
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SIGNS, SPECIAL USAGES, ABBREVIATIONS

- [] Square brackets enclose editorial insertions or substitutions in the original text, or (with a query) doubtful readings.
- ... An ellipsis indicates a passage omitted by the preparer of the original source—for this purpose Wesley generally employed a dash.
- [...] An ellipsis within square brackets indicates a passage omitted silently by Wesley from a text he was quoting, to which the present editor is drawing attention.
- / A solidus or slant line marks the division between two lines of text in the original manuscript.
- ^{a,b,c} Small superscript letters indicate footnotes supplied by Wesley.
- ^{1,2,3} Small superscript numbers indicate footnotes supplied by the editor.
- Cf. Before a scriptural or other citation by Wesley, indicates that he was quoting with more than minimal inexactness, yet nevertheless displaying the passage as a quotation.
- See Before a scriptural citation indicates an undoubted allusion or a quotation that was not displayed as such by Wesley, and that is more than minimally inexact.

Wesley's publications. Where a work by Wesley was first published separately, its title is italicised; where it first appeared within a different work such as a collected volume, the title appears within quotation marks.

Book-titles in Wesley's text are italicised if accurate, and given in roman type with capitals if inaccurate. If a title consists of only one generic word that forms a major part of the original title, it is italicised; but if it is inaccurate (such as 'Sermons' for a volume entitled *Discourses*), it is printed in lower case roman.

Abbreviations. In addition to common abbreviations like c[irca], ed[itio]n, n[ote], orig[inal], and st[anza], the footnotes in this volume utilise the following abbreviated forms for items referred to repeatedly:

<i>AM</i>	<i>Arminian Magazine</i> (London, 1778–97).
<i>BCP</i>	The Book of Common Prayer, London, 1662.
<i>Bibliography</i>	Forthcoming bibliography in this edition (vols. 33–34), which has a different numbering system from Richard Green's <i>Wesley Bibliography</i> .
<i>CW</i>	Charles Wesley.
<i>JW</i>	John Wesley.
<i>MARC</i>	Methodist Archives and Research Centre, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester, Manchester, England.
<i>NT Notes</i>	John Wesley, <i>Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament</i> , 3rd corrected edition, Bristol: Graham and Pine, 1760–62.
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (2003).
<i>OED</i> (1989)	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
<i>Tyerman, John Wesley</i>	Luke Tyerman, <i>Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley</i> , 3 vols. (2nd edn.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872).
<i>WHS</i>	<i>The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</i> (England, 1898ff).

INTRODUCTION TO JOHN WESLEY'S PRACTICE AND PUBLICATIONS OFFERING MEDICAL AND HEALTH ADVICE

*We had rather to sit at the feet of the venerable
Wesley as a divine, than as a teacher of physic.¹*

So opined John Stamp in 1845 in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, after mentioning in a memoir of Charles Atmore some medical advice that Atmore had received from John Wesley. Stamp was a leading minister in the largest branch of the British church, eventually serving as President of Conference. As such, a few might be surprised by his reservation about Wesley's authority on any topic. But twenty-first-century readers are more likely to be mystified by his comment—on several levels. To begin with, they may not know that 'divine' was the common term at the time for a clergyman; while a teacher of 'physic' was someone who offered advice on medical matters. Learning this, many may wonder why anyone would have considered sitting at the feet of Wesley, a clergyman and leader in the Methodist renewal movement, as a teacher of physic. By contrast, those who notice the prominence of medical advice in Wesley's writings may wonder how this interest came to be considered so eccentric by his followers within a few decades of his death. Since the present volume is devoted to Wesley's publications of medical and health advice, a key task of this introduction will be to trace Wesley's practice of offering this advice, placing it in historical context. We will also explore general characteristics of the advice that Wesley offered, and consider the reaction of his contemporaries and later scholars to this dimension of Wesley's ministry and publications.

The Historical Precedent for John Wesley's Practice of Offering Medical and Health Advice

A helpful place to begin considering Wesley's practice of offering medical and health advice is the term 'physic' in the title of his

¹ John S. Stamp, footnote to 'Memoir of the Rev. Charles Atmore', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 68 (1845): 10.

Primitive Physic.² A central assumption of early Western medicine was that human health is dependent upon maintaining balance in the various constituents of our *nature*, reflecting the balance of *nature* more broadly. This assumption was first articulated in Greek, where a key term for ‘nature’ was φύσις (*phusis*). Moving through Latin into English, a plural form of this term—‘physics’—came to name study of the natural world in general. In the eighteenth century the singular form ‘physic’ was also in common use, focussed on study of *human* nature. Specifically, the term designated study of and resulting advice about maintaining or restoring health in humans. It could denote medicinal substances, but it also referred to health-promoting practices or habits.³ Similarly, a physician (or ‘teacher of physic’) was a person knowledgeable of human nature (ideally gained through a university degree), who gave advice on how to cure disorders, and was particularly concerned to commend regimens of diet and exercise that promoted well-being. The adoption of this regimen was left largely to the patient; while the administration of specific cures was often left in the hands of surgeons and apothecaries (vocations based more on apprenticeship than university education).⁴

The eighteenth-century ideal in England of persons receiving medical advice from university-trained physicians was just that—an ideal. The effort to put it in place had been long underway, and it would be well into the nineteenth century before physicians with such training were available across the whole of the country. A large percentage of people in Wesley’s time had little access to professional physicians, particularly those in the villages scattered across the island and the poor in larger cities. They relied for medical care mainly upon family and friends, guided by whatever communal traditions were most influential. These traditions were a mixed bag, containing effective treatments gained by hard-won experience, intermingled with both ineffective but innocuous treatments and

² JW initially used ‘physick’, at a time when preference for this spelling was beginning to decline in British culture. Recognizing this fact by 1773, he changed to the spelling ‘physic’ when including *Primitive Physic* in his collected *Works*. We will use the shorter spelling.

³ See the first two main definitions of ‘physic’ in *OED* (1989).

⁴ See Harold J. Cook, ‘Physick and Natural History in Seventeenth-Century England’, in Peter Barker & Roger Ariew (eds.), *Revolution and Continuity: Essays in the History and Philosophy of Early Modern Science* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 63–80; and Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 128.

harmful—even deadly—options. As such, sufferers were also a ready market for anyone hawking a newly discovered ‘cure’. While a few of these powders and elixirs proved beneficial, many were concoctions of unscrupulous quacks.⁵

Worry that reliance upon unqualified practitioners was causing harm to English citizens helped create the eighteenth-century ideal of university-trained physicians. The earliest surviving expression of this worry is a petition by a small cadre of London physicians in 1421, asking Parliament that no one be allowed to practice medicine who lacked proper (i.e., university) qualifications.⁶ While members of Parliament were likely sympathetic, they surely realized that this was impractical at a time when there were so few persons with such qualifications. There is no record that the petition was even considered. The first formal action by Parliament on the topic was a 1511 statute that placed regulation of the providers of medical care in the hands of bishops of the Church of England—each in his own diocese.⁷ As John Raach has commented, the Church was apparently considered ‘the one institution whose influence was extensive and potent enough to be effective in suppressing quacks and licensing the members of the medical profession’.⁸ To be sure, the Royal College of Physicians was soon established (in 1518) and took over authority for licensing physicians in London. But its influence remained restricted to London well into the eighteenth century, with the task of insuring proper medical care across the rest of England remaining in the hands of the Church.⁹

How did the Church of England attempt to fulfil this task, particularly in the multitude of villages where there were few with any university training? Simply issuing licenses to those qualified did

⁵ See Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine, and Society in England 1550–1860* (London: The Economic History Society, 1987); Roy Porter, ‘The Patient in England, c. 1660–1800’, in Andrew Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 91–118; and Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720–1911* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁶ See Justin Colson & Robert Ralley, ‘Medical Practice, Urban Politics, and Patronage: The London “Commonality” of Physicians and Surgeons of the 1420s’, *English Historical Review* 130 (2015): 1102–31.

⁷ Statute 3 Hen. 8, c. 11: An Act concerning Physicians and Surgeons.

⁸ John H. Raach, ‘English Medical Licensing in the early Seventeenth Century’, *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 16 (1944): 267–288; here, 277–78.

⁹ Note how 3 Hen. 8, c. 11 is reproduced in the standard text of church law in the early eighteenth century: Edmund Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani; or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubrics, and Articles of the Church of England* (London: J. Baskett, 1713), vol. II, ch. 1.

not seem enough. A broader possible response is evident in George Herbert's influential treatise on the pastoral role, *A Priest to the Temple; or the Country Parson* (1652). Herbert contended that a faithful country parson should desire to 'be all to his parish; and not only a pastor but a lawyer also, and a physician'.¹⁰ After a brief exhortation for pastors to provide free legal advice to parishioners when they had no other access, Herbert dwelt at length on the importance of offering care for those in the flock who were sick. He insisted that parsons should see their role (and/or perhaps that of their wife) as including the provision of medical advice and care in their parish, whenever a physician was not available. To prepare for this role of priest/physician, Herbert charged pastors to study at least one book on anatomy, one on physic (he suggested that by Jean Fernel), and a volume describing the health benefits of local herbs.¹¹

An important assumption undergirded Herbert's recommendation. The near illiteracy of some village priests was one of the complaints used to justify the break of the Church of England from Rome in the sixteenth century. The initial turmoil following that split (which left many parishes without clergy for a time) did little to resolve the situation. But things improved over time. By 1600 nearly a quarter of clergy serving churches held at least a BA degree from Cambridge or Oxford (with the percentage highest in areas near the universities). By mid-century, when Herbert was writing, the average had risen to about two-thirds.¹² At this point the resident in the scattered villages of England most likely to have a university education was the priest. Moreover, the priest's BA curriculum covered the range of the liberal arts—from classical languages and literature, through history and law, to mathematics and natural philosophy (study of the physical and biological world).¹³ Thus, Herbert could assume that most country parsons were prepared to study works on anatomy and physic on their own.

Herbert ended his exhortation for country parsons to provide physic with a significant limitation. Just as a parson should be chari-

¹⁰ George Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple; or the Country Parson* (London: T. Garthwaite, 1652), 94. This is the focus of chapter 23 in Herbert, titled 'The Parson's Completeness'.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 96–101.

¹² See Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558–1642* (Leicester University Press, 1979), 1–23.

¹³ See Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Vol. IV, Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 211–357.

table, he should also be just; he ought 'not to encroach on others' professions, but to live on his own'. Thus a country parson ought not offer medical advice beyond his own parish, unless the recipient is too poor to pay a physician.¹⁴ By this limitation Herbert, a moderate Calvinist, may have hoped to allay resistance to his emphasis from other Calvinist clergy. The Calvinist stance dominant in the Church of England through the second half of the sixteenth century came under challenge in the early decades of the 1600s. One focus of debate became the model of the priest/physician.¹⁵ The strongest advocates of clergy offering medical advice tended to be radical Lutherans or reactionary anti-Calvinists. These writers suggested that clergy had significant time available after fulfilling their priestly duties and encouraged them to fill this time with charitable work, including offering medical and health advice. Some Calvinists countered that care for the *souls* of parishioners—through preaching and counseling—should be the constant concern of clergy; those with time for other duties were guilty of negligence. These Calvinists did not dismiss the importance of medical care. But they saw it as a distinct vocation, equally deserving the full attention of the practitioner. There should be priests *and* physicians, but not priest/physicians.

With the foundation laid by their BA studies, and opportunities for voluntary study of physic during their BA (or while pursuing the MA, which was increasingly expected for ordination as an elder), by the mid-1600s a number of university graduates were prepared for and inclined to adopt the role of priest/physician that Herbert commended.¹⁶ But they were equally prepared to pursue one or the other role as their sole vocation, if personal conviction or broader pressures pushed in this direction. And this was a time of significant pressures! The number of students taking medical degrees at Oxford more than doubled in the 1630s, reflecting in part reduced opportunity for Calvinist-leaning clerics to obtain a living during William Laud's tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury. The outbreak of civil war and triumph of the parliamentary party produced another wave of potential priests studying medicine instead (this time those more inclined to Arminian theology and the BCP liturgy).

¹⁴ Herbert, *Priest to the Temple*, 100–101.

¹⁵ See particularly David Harley, 'John Hart of Northampton and the Calvinist Critique of Priest-Physicians', *Medical History* 42 (1998): 362–86.

¹⁶ See the example of John Ward, a student at Christ Church, Oxford in the 1650s, detailed in Robert G. Frank, 'Medicine', Tyacke (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 505–58 (p. 511); and the broader generalization in A. W. Sloan, *English Medicine in the Seventeenth Century* (Durham: Academic Press, 1996), 138–40.

When the Puritan parliament proved unable to bring stability, the monarchy and episcopacy were restored. This was enforced in 1662 by ejection from their living of nearly 2,000 clergy (mainly staunch Calvinists) who refused to embrace the Act of Conformity. Several of those ejected turned to offering physic to support themselves. And current students in the universities with dissenting convictions, who may have been previously inclined to ministry, now went into medicine.¹⁷

The impact of the division spawned by the 1662 ejection between dissenting churches and the universities (which required students to affirm allegiance to the Church of England) grew larger over time. The predominance of dissenters going into medicine was such that by the middle of the eighteenth century a majority of leading physicians were within their ranks.¹⁸ This made it harder to attract faculty in medicine at the universities, contributing to a notable decline on this front through the 1700s.¹⁹ This decline also reflected a growing shift toward training physicians through a *combination* of academic study and clinical work, which found a warmer reception at the time in settings outside of Oxford and Cambridge.²⁰

Meanwhile, dissenting churches set up their own academies for training clergy. These were small, lacking the range of faculty to support voluntary study in physic, even if this had been desired. And by the later 1600s most dissenters took for granted the separate vocations of pastor and physician. As a result, echoes of Herbert's ideal of the priest/physician were scattered and weak in their ranks. One of these faint echoes can be heard in Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory*. Baxter was an influential moderate among the dissenters. At the end of this volume he offered a list of books that one desiring to prepare for ministry should own. His core list, for those with limited funds, was restricted to books on scripture, theology, and church history. But for those who could afford it, Baxter included among books of the next rank of importance a couple of texts on physic, including Herbert's favourite: Jean Fernel.²¹

¹⁷ See Frank, 'Medicine', 511–13.

¹⁸ William Birken, 'The Dissenting Tradition in English Medicine of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Medical History* 39 (1995): 197–218.

¹⁹ Detailed in Charles Webster, 'The Medical Faculty and the Physic Garden', L. S. Sutherland & L. G. Mitchell (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Vol. V, The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 683–723.

²⁰ Jonathan Reinartz, 'The Transformation of Medical Education in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the History of Education Society* 37 (2008): 549–66.

²¹ Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London: Robert White, 1673) 922–23; see topic V in the second list.

With the removal of the staunchest Calvinist voices, the Church of England after 1662 was decidedly Arminian and ‘high-church’ in commitments (a stance that defenders championed as truly ‘Anglican’). The ideal of the priest/physician found stronger resonance in this setting. To cite a key example, Gilbert Burnet, appointed Bishop of Salisbury in 1689, published in 1692 *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care*. This became the standard handbook of Anglican pastoral care for several decades. Burnet insisted that, in addition to reverent leadership in regular worship, clergy should spend a significant portion of their time in charitable work among the needy in their parish. In particular, he suggested that

The study and practice of physic, especially that which is safe and simple, puts the clergy in a capacity of doing great acts of charity, and of rendering both their persons and labours very acceptable to their people. It will procure their being soon sent for by them in sickness, and it will give them great advantages in speaking to them of their spiritual concerns when they are so careful of their persons.²²

Before turning to trace John Wesley’s embrace of the concern to care for both soul and body that Burnet commended, the precedent among his ancestors should be noted. The account can begin with his great-grandfather Bartholomew Westley (1596–1672). While no official record has been located, Bartholomew was almost certainly a university graduate, and may have supplemented the basic curriculum with some study of physic. Appointed a curate at Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire in 1635, and renewed in 1641, Bartholomew was named rector of Charmouth in 1646. He was known to provide medical advice as part of his pastoral care while serving these parishes. He was also known to be a supporter of the Puritan revolt, and in 1662 suffered ejection from his living when he refused to embrace the Act of Conformity. From that point Bartholomew apparently abstained from preaching, supporting himself through the last decade of his life as a physician.²³

John Westley (1636–71), son of Bartholomew and grandfather of our main focus, took both the BA and MA from Oxford. He

²² Gilbert Burnet, *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1692), 183; see also, 194–201.

²³ See Adam Clarke, *Memoirs of the Wesley Family* (London: J. Kershaw, 1823), 15–23; and A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised; being a revision of Edmund Calamy’s Account of the Ministers and Others ejected and silenced, 1660–62* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), 521.

was appointed rector of Winterbourne Whitchurch, Dorsetshire, in May of 1658. Among the few sources that survive about John Westley's ministry there is no mention of him offering advice in physic. On the other hand, these sources make clear that he shared his father's loyalty to the Puritan cause and was similarly ejected from his living in 1662. Unlike his father, John chose to continue covertly as a minister. He was jailed more than once for such activity and his early demise came through an illness contracted while in prison.²⁴

Like his paternal grandfather, John Wesley's maternal grandfather was a clergyman who sympathized with the Puritans and suffered ejection from the Church of England in 1662. But the fortunes of the two men diverged significantly from that point. Samuel Annesley (1620–96), a moderate Calvinist, was able to carve out space to serve publicly as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in London. The eulogy offered at his funeral stressed how widely Annesley was esteemed as a preacher and for his charity to the poor.²⁵ But there is no mention of offering health advice as a notable aspect of Annesley's ministry. Given the tendency in dissenting circles to distinguish the vocations of priest and physician, and the watchful eye of the Royal College of Physicians in London where Annesley ministered, it may well not have been. Yet it should be noted that Annesley's substantial library contained around twenty volumes on medicine.²⁶

This brings us to Samuel Wesley (1662–1735), John Wesley's father.²⁷ Samuel's father and grandfather had both died by the time he reached his teens. It is unclear how much he was impacted by their precedent. Moreover, it was a mixed precedent; while Bartholomew Westley modelled a priest/physician, there is no evidence that John Westley challenged the separation between the two vocations

²⁴ Clarke, *Memoirs*, 23–49; and Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 521.

²⁵ Daniel Williams, *The Excellency of a Public Spirit: Set forth in a Sermon ... at the Funeral of that late Reverend Divine Dr. Samuel Annesley* (London: John Dunton, 1697), 137–40. See also Clarke, *Memoirs*, 233–43.

²⁶ See Edward Millington, *Bibliotheca Annesleiana; or a Catalogue of Choice Greek, Latin and English Books, both Ancient and Modern, ... being the library of the Reverend Samuel Annesley ... sold by auction on Thursday the Eighteenth of March, 1696*. The medical volumes, by such authors as Boyle, Culpepper, Digby, and Helmont, can be found on pp. 7–8, 18.

²⁷ See Clarke, *Memoirs*, 60–233; Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1866); and Arthur Alan Torpy, *The Prevenient Piety of Samuel Wesley Sr.* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009). Samuel dropped the 't' from the spelling of his last name when he left the dissenters to enroll at Oxford University and join the Church of England.

that had become common in dissenting circles. With his marriage in 1688 to Susanna Annesley (1669–1742), Samuel gained in his father-in-law another role model who offered little overt challenge to this separation. Surviving reports of Samuel Wesley's life in ministry suggest that he followed suit. Concern for the spiritual state of his parishioners (and for their support of the monarchy!) is clear, but there is no mention of Samuel offering them medical and health advice. Similarly, the course of studies that Samuel prescribed for one serving as his curate stressed study of Scripture, early church authors, and Anglican and dissenting divines; with only the slightest mention of medical-related texts.²⁸ The assumption underlying both Samuel's practice and his study recommendations may be indicated in 'An Essay upon all Sorts of Learning' published in 1692.²⁹ Likely penned by Wesley, the essay sketches the range of topics that serious young students should engage. Among these is 'Physic and Surgery', a section introduced by the concession that it will be of present use only 'to such as are not well'. But the author encouraged study of these topics anyway, because there will surely come a time when the student suffers illness.³⁰ This implied that (other than for physicians) the purpose of studying physic is to provide advice for oneself, and perhaps one's family. Accordingly, one of the few occasions of Samuel Wesley offering health advice that survives is John Wesley's memory of his father's exhortation when he entered Oxford University: 'Fail not, on any account whatever, to walk an hour every day.'³¹

To summarize, while John Wesley likely knew of his great-grandfather's precedent for including the provision of medical advice within pastoral duties, his more immediate role models fit largely within a conception of the clerical office that focussed on the cure of souls, leaving labour for the cure of bodies (other than their own and those of their family) to the purview of other vocations,

²⁸ Samuel Wesley, *Advice to a Young Clergyman* (London: Rivington & Roberts, [1735]), 22–55; here, 23. JW took the lead in publishing Samuel's manuscript, adding a preface.

²⁹ The essay stands at the front of *The Young Student's Library: Containing Extracts and Abridgements of the Most Valuable Books printed in England and in the Foreign Journals, from the Year Sixty-Five to This Time* (London: John Dunton, 1692), i–xviii. This project was led by Samuel's brother-in-law, John Dunton. While his name is not given, Samuel is believed to be the author of the opening essay; see Tyerman, *Samuel Wesley*, 150–51.

³⁰ *Young Student's Library*, ix–x.

³¹ JW letter to Miss Agnes Gibbes, May 1785, *Methodist History* 6.3 (1968): 59 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

like physician, surgeon, and apothecary.³² If William Jacob is correct, the example of Wesley's father and grandfathers was fairly representative of English clergy across the eighteenth century—many may have helped laity obtain medical care from professionals, but few offered medical advice themselves (despite Burnet's recommendation).³³

The Emergence and Growth of John Wesley's Practice of Offering Medical and Health Advice

Through the first twenty years of John Wesley's life there is little to suggest that he would grow restive with confining the pastoral role to cure of souls, embracing a ministry that included care for the bodies of his flock, like that encouraged by Herbert and Burnet. During his BA study at Christ Church, Oxford (1720–24), for example, Wesley engaged the standard curriculum, including a text on natural philosophy, but nothing specific on physic.³⁴

The first surviving evidence of Wesley reading in the area of physic is in a letter to his mother in late fall 1724, after he had completed the BA and was beginning work on the MA. He summarized for her the rigorous regimen of temperance and exercise championed by George Cheyne in his newly published *Essay on Health and Long Life*.³⁵ Wesley's interest at this point appeared to be mainly for his own health, as one of those targeted by Cheyne—persons of a studious nature. A little over twenty years later, Wesley would digest much of Cheyne's advice and place it in the preface (§16) of *Primitive Physic*, addressed to a general audience.

In July 1725, as part of his MA studies, Wesley translated from Latin a treatise by Robert Boyle championing simple remedies and explaining their efficacy in terms of Newtonian physics.³⁶ It was likely this assignment that led Wesley to Boyle's collection *Some*

³² JW's uncle Matthew Wesley (1664–1737), the younger brother of Samuel, opted for a vocation in medical care, as a prominent London apothecary; see Clarke, *Memoirs*, 49–59.

³³ William M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 226–27.

³⁴ See John Cammel English, 'John Wesley's Studies as an Undergraduate', *WHS* 47 (1989): 29–37. The text on natural philosophy was Caspar Thomesen Bartholin (1655–1738), *Specimen philosophiae naturalis* (Amsterdam: Henry Wetstein, 1697).

³⁵ JW to Susanna Wesley, Nov. 1, 1724, 25:151 in this edn.

³⁶ Robert Boyle, *De Specificorum Remediorum cum Corpusculari Philosophia Concordia* (London: Samuel Smith, 1686); see his Oxford diary, July 9, 1725 (vol. 17 in this edn.).

Receipts of Medicines, which he read about the same time and ‘transcribed many of them for my own use’.³⁷ A ‘receipt’ in this context was a summary of ingredients and procedures for making a medicinal preparation. Wesley’s transcription was likely into a notebook dedicated to the topic of physic, like other notebooks he compiled at the time of extracts in poetry, prayers, and the like.³⁸ Whatever the venue through which they were passed along, receipts drawn from *Some Receipts* comprised nearly a quarter of the entries in Wesley’s *Collection of Receipts*, published in 1745.

Through the end of 1726 Wesley read at least three more volumes on physic: Daniel Le Clerc, *The History of Physic*; George Cheyne, *A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers*; and Kenelm Digby, *Choice and Experimental Receipts*.³⁹ His memory of the purpose of this reading twenty years later was that he made ‘anatomy and physic the diversion of my leisure hours, though I never properly studied them’.⁴⁰ This was in part because on March 17, 1726, Wesley was elected a fellow of Lincoln College, and anticipated his future would unfold in this academic role.

On February 14, 1727, Wesley received his MA degree from Oxford. As he settled into his role at Lincoln College, he anticipated work on the Bachelor of Divinity, a further degree expected of college fellows. This work was put on hold in August 1727, when Wesley was persuaded to take temporary leave from Oxford to assist his ailing father, by serving as curate in Epworth and Wroote, Lincolnshire. This was John’s first experience in full-time parish ministry. He would continue in the role until November 1729, receiving ordination as elder in September 1728. Unfortunately, the portion of his manuscript diary covering most of this period has been lost, so we have little record of either his pastoral practice or his reading. His own summary, given years later, was ‘I preached much, but saw no fruit of my labour’.⁴¹

Wesley left Epworth in late 1729 because he had been recalled to his role of tutor at Lincoln College. As he prepared to return to training future priests, more deeply aware of the difficulties of this

³⁷ See JW, ‘To the Editor of *Lloyd’s Evening Post*’, c. Jan. 23, 1776 (in Appendix D); and the bibliography for details on *Some Receipts*.

³⁸ Many of these are part of the ‘Colman Collection’ in MARC (MA 1977/503); see particularly MS Poetry Miscellany (Vol. 1), and MS Prayer Manual (Vol. 8).

³⁹ For further details, and citation locations in the Oxford diary, see the bibliography.

⁴⁰ JW, *Plain Account of ... Methodists*, XII.2, 9:275 in this edn.

⁴¹ JW, *Principles of A Methodist Farther Explained* (1746), VI.1, 9:222 in this edn.

role, Wesley recorded in his diary on October 19, 1729 reading in Burnet's *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*. In mid-July of the following year he worked through Herbert's *Country Parson*.⁴² This is the first time in surviving records that Wesley encountered these two major voices of the previous century urging priests to include offering physic as part of their pastoral care. Since his current role was that of tutor, rather than pastor, there is no evidence of Wesley immediately appropriating the model of priest/physician. What can be found is record of him passing on to his students the advice he received from his father about walking regularly.⁴³ Similarly, beyond expected inquiries about health and wishes for good health, there are few health advices in the letters that passed between John, his parents, and his siblings through his years at Oxford.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most relevant letter is one to his mother, where John reported that Rev. Lionel Kirkham, rector of Stanton, Gloucestershire—and father of Wesley's close friend Robert Kirkham—assured him 'on the word of a priest and a physician' that walking in the open air was the best way to prevent gout.⁴⁵ It is unclear whether this was a reference to Rev. Kirkham as both 'a priest and a physician', or of Rev. Kirkham adding his voice to that of a physician. Either way, a priest was giving health advice.

When John Wesley returned to Oxford in 1729, in addition to his duties at Lincoln College, he became mentor to a small group of devout students in the larger university that had gathered around his brother Charles. This group became known for their seriousness in personal devotions, attendance at the sacrament, and works of charity. The charitable work included offering schooling for poor children around Oxford and visiting those in the city's prisons. It also involved giving needy families 'physic', though John Wesley's defence of this action was likely using the term in the sense of supplying *medicines* that the families could not afford, rather than offering medical *advice*.⁴⁶

In early April 1735, his father near death, John Wesley once again journeyed to Epworth to take charge of the parish and the fam-

⁴² For both items see vol. 17 in this edn.; the reading of Herbert is clearest on July 21–23.

⁴³ See the letter of Richard Morgan Jr. to his father, January 12, 1734, 25:366 in this edn.

⁴⁴ See Susanna Wesley's suggestion of how John should treat a bout of repeated bleeding at the nose in her letter to JW, May 14, 1727, 25:218 in this edn.

⁴⁵ JW to Susanna Wesley, June 11, 1731, 25:282–83 in this edn.

⁴⁶ See JW to Richard Morgan Sr., Oct. 19, 1732, sec. III, 25:340 in this edn.

ily (his older brother Samuel Jr. being unable to leave his school in Tiverton). Scholars debate how seriously John considered staying in Epworth, but the question proved moot. Samuel Sr. died April 25, and within two months the living was assigned to Rev. Samuel Hurst. Rather than returning directly to Oxford, John went to London, to fulfil his final obligation to his father—shepherding the elder Wesley's extensive commentary on Job through the press.⁴⁷ This proved fateful, because while in London John Wesley was recruited to become a missionary priest to the colony James Oglethorpe had helped found in Georgia.

By Wesley's later account, he spent the few months before his departure in October 1735 for Georgia in part studying 'more properly' works in anatomy and physic, because 'I imagined I might be of some service to those who had no regular physicians among them'.⁴⁸ (It is hard to miss in this comment an echo of George Herbert's rationale for priests to study physic.) During his first year in Georgia (1736) Wesley read at least three further works: Thomas Sydenham, *Complete Method of Curing almost all Diseases*; John Tennent, *Every Man His Own Doctor*; and Daniel Turner, *The Art of Surgery*.⁴⁹ The volume by Tennent is of particular interest, because it was published in North America and emphasized medicinal herbs native to that land (as Herbert encouraged).

Accounts of his pastoral practice while in Georgia suggest that Wesley put this reading to good use, embracing the role of priest/physician. In a journal-letter sent back to his friends in Oxford in September 1736, for example, Wesley described how a current wave of illness meant that he was spending every afternoon (from 1:00 to 5:00) visiting the sick in Savannah, where there were 'above five hundred sheep that are (almost) without a shepherd'.⁵⁰ Similarly his published *Journal* for June 1737 mentioned that Thomas Causton (the storekeeper and chief magistrate of Savannah) was seized with a slow fever, then adds: 'I attended him every day (as I did any of my parishioners who were in any painful or dangerous illness) and had a good hope, from the thankfulness he showed, that my labour was not in vain'.⁵¹ To be sure, neither of these accounts specifically mention giving medical advice, but the implication seems warranted by the intent that Wesley stated prior to his departure from England.

⁴⁷ Samuel Wesley, *Dissertationes in Librum Jobi* (London: William Bowyer, 1736).

⁴⁸ JW, *Plain Account of ... Methodists*, §XII.2, 9:275 in this edn.

⁴⁹ For further details, and citation locations, see the bibliography.

⁵⁰ JW to George Whitefield, Sept. 10, 1736, 25:472 in this edn.

⁵¹ JW, *Journal*, June 25, 1737, 18:183 in this edn.

However thoroughly Wesley engaged the role of priest/physician while in Georgia, it was short-lived. By December 1737 he was on-board ship headed back to England, smarting from his struggles with a recalcitrant parish. There is every indication that Wesley intended to resume his academic life at Oxford. But business frequently took him to London through the spring of 1738, and while there he once again encountered a different call. Along with his brother Charles, John was caught up into the pietist/evangelical revival emerging in England. John's embrace of this revival was marked by his experience on May 24, 1738, on Aldersgate Street, of his heart being 'strangely warmed'.⁵² Though it was not immediately evident, his heart was also drawn to a new mission. Wesley would never be in Oxford again for more than visits. Likewise, he would never serve again as a parish priest. He was drawn instead into a leadership role in the revival.

For the first few months after that night on Aldersgate Street, Wesley tried to share his new-found emphasis on *experiencing* the Holy Spirit's assuring witness of God's love through the channels open to any ordained priest in the Church of England who held no parish. He served as guest preacher in churches around London and beyond, and spoke to informal societies outside of normal church hours. But resistance to the revival soon stiffened within the Church of England, shutting off use of their pulpits. This led Wesley, within a year of aligning with the revival, to follow his younger co-worker George Whitefield in adopting the 'more vile' practice of preaching to the public in fields and other settings outside of the parish church (and without the permission of the parish priest!).⁵³ While Wesley tried to vindicate this practice by appeal to his status as a fellow of Lincoln College, it was viewed by most others—including his older brother Samuel—as a violation of his pledge to respect the authority of fellow clergy in their parishes, bordering on active schism.⁵⁴

At this outset, and through the remainder of his life leading a wing of the evangelical revival, John Wesley contested the charge that actions he had taken amounted to schism from the Church of

⁵² JW, *Journal*, May 24, 1738, 18:249–50 in this edn.

⁵³ See JW, *Journal*, Apr. 2, 1739, 19:46 in this edn.

⁵⁴ See JW's comment to Bishop Butler on Aug. 16, 1739 (19:472 in this edn.) and Samuel Wesley Jr. to Susanna Wesley, Oct. 20, 1739, in Joseph Priestley (ed.), *Original Letters by the Rev. John Wesley and his Friends* (Birmingham: Pearson, 1791), 108–12.

England.⁵⁵ But he also added increasing fodder for the charge. He quickly recognized that many of the people being reached in the fields and drawn into the Methodist fold were not active in parish churches. Wesley's pastoral concern pushed him beyond simply exhorting them to start attending. He began incorporating activities usually fulfilled by parish priests and churches, like catechizing and home visitation, into Methodist life and practice. Of particular note, Wesley's strong conviction of the value of regular reception of the Lord's Supper drove him to find ways of providing it in Methodist gatherings—such as renting in 1743 a former Huguenot chapel on West Street in London, claiming for himself the waiver earlier granted Huguenots from the Church of England for holding sacramental services in the chapel.⁵⁶

As Wesley exerted his full priestly role among his Methodist followers, is there evidence that he approached this as priest/physician, like he had the parish in Savannah? One of the first ministry structures that Wesley created in the Methodist society in London was 'a regular method of visiting the sick' carried on by volunteers within the society, set up in April 1741.⁵⁷ It is hard to imagine that Wesley encouraged these volunteers to play a role that he had avoided. More likely, he was organizing them to carry on this ministry as his time in London was being reduced by the demands of the spreading movement. But if Wesley visited the sick in their homes during these earliest years of the revival, offering medical advice, there is little surviving record of the practice. It is possible that Wesley saw no need to mention his efforts. Or he may have hesitated to publicize a practice that could be perceived as further usurping the role of the parish priest.

With the Wesleyan branch of the evangelical revival beginning to spread across England, Wesley convened a conference of key leaders in London in late June 1744, to consider what teachings and practices ought to characterize the connexion in all of its settings. 'Visitor of the sick' was among the offices determined to be important in *every* society.⁵⁸ The duties of this office were elaborated as:

1. To see every person within his district thrice a week. 2. To inquire into the state of their souls, and advise them as occasion may require.

⁵⁵ For perhaps the final instance, see Sermon 121, 'Prophets and Priests', §§15–21, 4:80–84 in this edn.

⁵⁶ See JW, *Journal*, May 29, 1743, 19:326 in this edn.

⁵⁷ JW letter to CW, Apr. 21, 1741, 26:55–56 in this edn.

⁵⁸ Minutes, June 28, 1744, Q. 7, 10:138 in this edn.

3. To inquire into their disorder, and procure advice for them. 4. To inquire if they are in want, and relieve them, if it may be in kind.
5. To do anything for them which he can do. 6. To bring in his accounts weekly to the stewards.⁵⁹

Visiting the sick in their homes was also specified as a key task of the ‘assistants’ (lay preachers upon whom Wesley was increasingly relying) as they itinerated from one society to the next.⁶⁰

One question these guidelines for visitors of the sick and assistants left unaddressed was the most helpful source from which to ‘procure advice’. In a few cases they might have access to physicians. Lacking this, they were dependent upon communal traditions. As pastor of the flock, Wesley took it upon himself to provide a resource that was informed by professional opinion, while targeted to the situation of his people—many of whom were poor and in rural settings. In the months following the conference in London he compiled receipts drawn from such authors as Robert Boyle, John Allen, and Thomas Sydenham, as well as from multiple conversations. The fruit of this effort was published as *A Collection of Receipts for the Use of the Poor* in early August 1745 in Bristol, as Wesley and his key associates gathered for a second conference. One of the agreements made at this gathering was to ‘keep a little stock of medicines at London, Bristol, and Newcastle, according to the *Collection of Receipts*’.⁶¹ With the pamphlet guide and a stock of medicines, visitors of the sick in these three main hubs of the Methodist connexion would be well provisioned.

Wesley’s *Collection of Receipts* was equally a resource for his itinerant lay preachers in their visitation of the sick—a dimension of their role highlighted again in Bristol.⁶² But the record of this second conference suggests that Wesley expected more of his assistants than of local visitors of the sick. Note particularly the list of books recommended to be held in libraries at the three Methodist hubs for use by the assistants. It covers the range of topics studied at the BA level in the university by those preparing for ministry. The one addition, beyond what Wesley studied for his own BA, is a set of texts on physic: Drake’s *Anatomy*, Quincy’s *Dispensatory*, Allen’s *Synopsis*, and Cheyne’s works.⁶³ Wesley clearly hoped that

⁵⁹ Minutes, June 29, 1744, Q. 9, 10:143 in this edn.

⁶⁰ Minutes, June 29, 1744, Q. 3, A. 12, 10:141 in this edn.

⁶¹ Minutes, Aug. 3, 1745, Q. 8, 10:160 in this edn.

⁶² Minutes, Aug. 3, 1745, Q. 3, 10:159 in this edn.

⁶³ Minutes, Aug. 3, 1745, 10:163–64 in this edn.

the lay assistants would become equipped to go beyond mere reliance on *Collection of Receipts* in offering medical advice. He was prodding them to embrace the model of priest/physician in every dimension allowed someone lacking ordination (a status that excluded the dimension of presiding in sacraments). At least some of Wesley's assistants embraced this ministry of *preacher/physician*; as evidenced, for example, by the injunction that John and Charles Wesley conveyed to the assistant James Wheatley, when he was accused of improper relationships with women in his circuit, of abstaining 'both from preaching and from practising physic'.⁶⁴

Wesley's concern to attend to the health needs of those engaged by Methodist field-preaching and gathered into Methodist societies was clearly growing. It pushed him beyond merely offering advice as he happened to visit the sick in their homes, to experimenting with a web of lay visitors of the sick among the Methodist society in London, to standardizing this practice across the connexion, to charging and equipping his lay assistants to advise on health matters as they traversed their circuits, to publishing *A Collection of Receipts* as a guide for local visitors of the sick and assistants alike, to calls for providing free dispensaries of basic medical supplies in the three largest centres of Methodist activity. In early December 1746 Wesley's concern pushed him one step further—to embracing openly the role of priest/physician.⁶⁵ As he described this development later (in an account that had just detailed the positive contribution of the lay visitors of the sick):

I was still in pain for many of the poor that were sick. There was so great expense, and so little profit. ... I saw the poor people pining away, and several families ruined, and that without remedy. At length I thought of a kind of desperate expedient. 'I will prepare, and give them physic myself.' ... I took into my assistance an apothecary, and an experienced surgeon; resolving at the same time not to go out of my depth, but to leave all difficult and complicated cases to such physicians as the patients should choose. I gave notice of this to the society, telling them that all who were ill of *chronical* distempers (for I did not care to venture upon *acute*) might, if they pleased, come to me at such a time and I would give them the best advice I could, and the best medicines I had.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ JW and CW to James Wheatley, June 25, 1751, 26:465 in this edn.

⁶⁵ JW, *Journal*, Dec. 4–5, 1746, 20:150–51 in this edn.

⁶⁶ JW, *Plain Account of ... Methodists*, XII.1–3, 9:275–76 in this edn.

What made the launch of this semi-public clinic ‘desperate’ was not just the fact that Bishop Burnet’s exhortation for Church of England clergy to offer physic was nearly half a century old. Burnet addressed his charge to priests working within their parish; Wesley was taking up the role outside of a parish assignment. Moreover, he launched this venture in London, where it was more likely to catch the disapproving eye of the Royal College of Physicians. One factor that may have bolstered Wesley’s readiness to take the step was his recent recruitment of John Jones, who held a degree in medicine from Oxford, to assist at the Foundery.⁶⁷ Jones had the training to carry on the venture Wesley had launched when Wesley left London for his next circuit around the connexion.

Wesley’s first excursion out of London after launching the clinic at the Foundery was actually a brief visit to Bristol in mid-January 1747, where he tried to establish a similar venture. His letter to a friend describing this launch stressed the difficulty they encountered in obtaining sufficient medicines.⁶⁸ The effort in Bristol proved short-lived, in part because the Bristol Infirmary already operated a free dispensary.⁶⁹

The free clinic and dispensary for members of the Methodist society (and others) in London was more successful. Within four months of its launch Wesley estimated that he had seen ‘six or seven hundred of the poor’, and that nine in ten of these were ‘remarkably altered for the better’ within six weeks—if they followed his advice. Indeed ‘many were cured of diseases under which they had laboured for ten, twenty, forty years’.⁷⁰ Wesley’s account two months later was more modest. After reviewing the records, he estimated that about six hundred persons had sought help over six months, of which: ‘More than three hundred of these came twice or thrice, and we saw no more of them. About twenty of those who had constantly attended did not seem to be either better or worse. Above two hundred were sensibly better, and fifty-one thoroughly cured.’⁷¹ His

⁶⁷ John Jones (1721–85), a native of Haverfordwest, was one of JW’s most scholarly helpers. He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford in 1736, receiving his BA in 1739, his MA in 1742, and a BMed in 1745. Converted under Whitefield, Jones gravitated to Arminianism and preached for the first time at the Foundery on Nov. 30, 1746 (see 20:150 in this edn.).

⁶⁸ JW to Ebenezer Blackwell, Jan. 26, 1747, 26:225–26 in this edn.

⁶⁹ See A. Wesley Hill, *John Wesley among the Physicians* (London, Epworth Press, 1958), 11–13, 46–48.

⁷⁰ JW to ‘John Smith’, Mar. 25, 1747, §11, 26:235 in this edn.

⁷¹ JW, *Journal*, June 6, 1747 (20:177 in this edn.). JW gives slightly different numbers in *Plain Account of ... Methodists*, XII.6, 9:276 in this edn.

summary at the end of a year continued in this vein. The count of those who came repeatedly remained at three hundred, of which 'about one hundred' took the advised medicine regularly and submitted to a proper regimen. Of these, more than ninety 'were entirely cured of diseases they had long laboured under'.⁷²

While Wesley celebrated this initial success in London, he surely recognized the limits of this means of addressing the health needs of his flock. Few of the Methodist societies popping up across Britain would ever be large enough to sustain a free dispensary; and few had a local member like John Jones, qualified to advise patients. Indeed, it proved impossible to sustain the venture even in London. It closed within a couple of years, after Jones was transferred to teach languages at Kingswood School (in 1748) and the expense of the free dispensary proved more than even this large Methodist society could bear.⁷³

The Dimensions of John Wesley's Mature Practice of Offering Medical and Health Advice

The closing of the clinics in Bristol and London in no way signalled a retreat by Wesley from his concern to provide physic for the poor. It did contribute, however, to a change in how he pursued this concern through the last four decades of his ministry. His efforts came to focus on: 1) publishing reliable and accessible resources for his Methodist societies; 2) encouraging members of the societies to take more responsibility in caring for themselves and others; 3) owning more publicly his practice of giving medical advice; and 4) carrying on his personal ministry of physic increasingly through correspondence.

The transition began at the height of the success of the London clinic. One of the points Wesley recognized as he surveyed results in May 1747 was that successful treatment depended not just upon patients taking the medicines prescribed, but upon their embracing the regimen (of diet, exercise, etc.) that he recommended. By his estimate, only one in four were faithful to the regimen, and these were the ones most likely to see improvement.⁷⁴ This prompted Wesley to action. Even though plenty of copies of the third edition of *Collection of Receipts* remained available, he undertook a thorough revision and

⁷² JW, *Journal*, Jan. 16, 1748, 20:204.

⁷³ It was still open in early 1749, when JW published *Plain Account of . . . Methodists* (see XII.6). But it had apparently been closed for some time by 1754, when JW published the extract of his *Journal* with the account of its founding; see *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1746, 20:151 in this edn.

⁷⁴ JW, *Plain Account of . . . Methodists*, XII.6, 9:276 in this edn.

expansion of this resource. He doubled the number of disorders for which advice was given and worked through the suggested remedies, cutting out nearly a third and adding about 550 new items. Most importantly, Wesley added a substantial preface that offered theological warrant for individuals caring for their health, and that outlined a regimen of diet and exercise (drawn from George Cheyne) to promote general well-being. Thereby Wesley transformed *A Collection of Receipts* into a true book of physic, which he renamed *Primitive Physic; or an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*.

There is no evidence of Wesley advertising *Primitive Physic* outside of his connexion.⁷⁵ But it found a ready audience within the connexion and beyond. It went through over twenty editions before his death, totalling some 40,000 copies. As such, it stands among Wesley's most frequently republished works. It stands alone in terms of the number of times that Wesley returned to the work to revise and add material. A summary of the intermittent times of revision, and the published sources Wesley drew upon for the revisions, can be found in the introduction to *Primitive Physic* below. We would comment here only that the amount of research Wesley devoted to *Primitive Physic* suggests a parallel to his fifty-volume *Christian Library* (1749–55). In both endeavours Wesley distilled the fruits of his broad reading for the benefit of his Methodist people, seeking to provide them reliable guides to spiritual and physical health.

Just as Wesley published more than the *Christian Library* offering spiritual guidance, his health-related publications grew beyond *Primitive Physic* (and its nascent form, *A Collection of Receipts*). Over the following years he issued such works as *A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* (1748); *The Desideratum, or Electricity Made Plain and Useful* (1760); *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan, chiefly extracted from [Tissot]* (1767); *Advices with Respect to Health, extracted from [Tissot]* (1769); 'Extract from [William] Cadogan on the Gout' (1774); and 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders' (1786). All of these appear in this volume.

The reliability of some of Wesley's suggested remedies in *Primitive Physic* was called into question in late 1775 (we will trace that debate a bit later). There was much less room to question Wesley's commitment that these remedies be accessible. As he elaborated in a 1755 postscript to the preface of *Primitive Physic*, this meant in

⁷⁵ JW advertised *Primitive Physic* in lists of his publications circulated among Methodists. But an electronic search of the Burney Collection (the largest collection of eighteenth-century English newspapers, held in the British Library) found no mention of the work until it appeared within the title of William Hawes's *Examination* in 1776.

part that, like Robert Boyle, he gave preference to simple medicines: 'easy to be known, easy to be procured, and easy to be applied by plain, unlettered men'.⁷⁶ It meant as well that he wrote out the receipts in plain English (not the Latin of professional medical treatises) and used popular rather than technical names for most herbs.⁷⁷ Finally it meant that Wesley produced and sold his health advice as cheaply as possible. When *Collection of Receipts* was published, it sold for two pence. *Primitive Physic* was priced initially at one shilling; climbing by 1789 to a shilling and six pence.⁷⁸ By contrast, *Domestic Medicine*, William Buchan's popular self-help medical guide, cost six shillings when it appeared in 1769. As one scholar put it, Buchan targeted the upwardly mobile 'middling ranks' of society, while Wesley aimed to meet the needs of 'literate workers'.⁷⁹

Wesley did assume that the sufferer—or someone among their support network—would be able to read, if they were to draw upon *Primitive Physic*. This was just one of the ways in which he was prodding his followers to take more responsibility in caring for themselves and one another, rather than relying solely on either God (for divine healing) or professional care-givers.⁸⁰ In the preface to *Primitive Physic*, after rehearsing a standard attribution of suffering and death to human rebellion in Eden against God, Wesley's first emphasis (in §3) was that God neither abandoned us to the resulting infirmity nor rendered us purely passive in its treatment. Instead, God graciously included a role for us in restoring and maintaining health—through exercise and diet. Likewise, while Wesley assumed that God infused creation with medicines to heal injuries and illness,⁸¹ he chose to emphasize (in §6) the subtle way in which God

⁷⁶ See below, *Primitive Physic*, Preface, Postscript I, §2.

⁷⁷ Note the contemporary appeal in the anonymous tract, *A Cheap, Sure, and Ready Guide to Health; or, A Cure for a Disease Call'd the Doctor* (London: J. Roberts, 1742), 1: 'There should be no mystery in physic, any more than religion. We have religion and law in a known tongue, and should have physic in the same.'

⁷⁸ The present equivalents for such prices are notoriously difficult to compute. Following suggestions of John J. McCusker, *How Much is that in Real Money?* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2001), they might work out to about \$2, \$12, and \$18 respectively (with Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* rising to \$72).

⁷⁹ Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 185.

⁸⁰ This point is highlighted in Daniel Skinner and Adam J. Schneider, 'Listening to Quakery: Reading John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* in an Age of Health Care Reform', *Journal of Medical Humanities* (2016) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10912-016-9418-0>.

⁸¹ Cf. Ecclesiasticus 38:4, 'The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth'.

helped ordinary persons discover many of these medicines. And after praising physicians who showed particular concern to identify simple medicines for the poor (in §12), Wesley placed responsibility squarely in the hands of the patient for using these medicines properly, or knowing when to consult a physician (in §15). He then concluded the preface (§16) with his extract from Cheyne of 'plain, easy rules' to be followed by patients to help retain health.

Qualities like this explain why *Primitive Physic* is given a prominent place on lists of 'self-help' health manuals that proliferated in eighteenth-century England.⁸² One of the things that distinguished it from most other manuals on the list was its price and implied main audience. Another distinctive factor was its origin as a *communal* resource. Like its predecessor *Collection of Receipts*, Wesley particularly intended the new *Primitive Physic* to resource his itinerant lay assistants and the local visitors of the sick, as they ministered within the scattered Methodist societies. But his vision was broader, as evidenced by his later encouragement of lay assistants to get a copy of *Primitive Physic* into the home of every family.⁸³ This shift toward individual Methodists and their families was heightened by the controversy that broke out in 1775. Satirical critique of his efforts in medical care put Wesley in a bind. Highlighting public structural forms of this effort threatened to undercut the spiritual and theological leadership he and the itinerant preachers were providing the movement. So Wesley made a strategic retreat. When the next edition of the 'Large' *Minutes* (the official guide for Methodist practice) was released in 1780, it was pruned of references to the local visitor of the sick, and of the instruction for lay assistants to visit the sick regularly as they travelled the circuit.⁸⁴ This move did not indicate a decline in Wesley's concern for the

⁸² Cf. Mary Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth Century Bristol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Porter, 'The Patient in England'.

⁸³ See 'Large' *Minutes*, §65 (added in 1763) 10:867 in this edn.; JW, *To the Societies at Bristol* (Nov. 7, 1767), §5 (vol. 28 in this edn.); JW to Christopher Hopper, Nov. 20, 1769 (vol. 28 in this edn.); JW to Joseph Taylor, Sept. 9, 1782 (vol. 30 in this edn.); and many more.

⁸⁴ This can be seen most easily in *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, Vol. 1 (London: John Mason, 1862), where the editions of the 'Large' *Minutes* are placed in parallel columns. The office of visitor of the sick made it into these *Minutes* only in the form of an instruction for class leaders to inform them of any sick members; this reference, present from the earliest edition through 1770, is missing by 1772, with the larger expectation of class leaders reporting on who is sick disappearing in 1780ff (see pp. 454–55). The charge for the lay preachers to visit the sick is present through 1772, but missing in 1780ff (pp. 552–53).

sick, or his expectation for those in his societies to embody this concern in their lives and ministry. Visiting and assisting the sick remained an expectation of all Methodists in the *General Rules*.⁸⁵ Indeed, Wesley reinforced this expectation in 1786 with a published sermon that extolled visiting the sick as a 'plain duty' for all that are in health.⁸⁶ He also kept updating and issuing *Primitive Physic* as a resource for this ministry.

In the later decades of his life Wesley also began to own more publicly his personal practice of giving medical advice. Through the earliest years of the revival his published *Journal* was more likely to spotlight spiritual healing than physical. A common topic was persons in whom evangelical preaching had evoked a strong sense of guilt—where the 'medicine which healed them' was an assurance of God's forgiveness.⁸⁷ On some occasions Wesley added that physicians had misdiagnosed the person's guilt or 'low-spiritedness' as a physical malady, and proved unable to provide relief; what the patient needed was the Great Physician.⁸⁸ When persons with serious physical ailments like smallpox are mentioned in Wesley's *Journal* during these early years of the revival, his most frequent comment stressed how those who had an assurance of God's love modelled a 'good death' of calm resignation to God.⁸⁹ This is not to suggest that Wesley encouraged them to *seek* death. There is never a suggestion of neglecting the aid of physicians and medicines in physical maladies, just encouragement to pray as well for God's healing touch.⁹⁰ But prior to 1750, when Wesley specified in his *Journal* that he 'visited' the sick, he never mentioned giving them medical advice.⁹¹

Commendation of specific medicines first appeared in Wesley's *Journal* in accounts of treating his own maladies.⁹² Starting with an entry in 1750 (in an instalment published in 1756), Wesley also began to record publicly giving advice about treatments for their

⁸⁵ *General Rules*, §5 (9:72 in this edn.), remained unchanged through JW's life.

⁸⁶ JW, Sermon 98, 'On Visiting the Sick', 3:385–97 in this edn. (esp. §4, p. 386).

⁸⁷ See, for example, JW, *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1738 (19:23 in this edn.); May 1–2, 1739 (19:54–55); Sept. 21, 1739 (19:98–99); Oct. 25–27, 1739 (19:110–11); and Sept. 10–11, 1740 (19:167–68).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 21–22, 1739 (19:32); July 13, 1739 (19:79); Oct. 13, 1739 (19:103); June 17, 1742 (19:279); and Feb. 20, 1745 (20:53).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1740 (19:149); and Mar. 23, 1741 (19:188).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1741 (19:239); and Dec. 25, 1742 (19:305–6).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1740 (19:149); Sept. 10–11, 1740 (19:167–68); Mar. 23, 1741 (19:188); Mar. 1, 1746 (20:115); and Apr. 23, 1748 (20:220).

⁹² *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1747 (20:153–54); and Apr. 24, 1749 (20:268).

ailments and injuries to persons he encountered as he travelled among his scattered flock.⁹³ Some of these encounters were hap-
penstance, but there is evidence that Wesley also set aside specific
times to advise the suffering poor as he moved from one society
to the next.⁹⁴ Public embrace of his work as priest/physician was
capped in 1759 by the addition (for the first time) of his name as
author, when Wesley released the 8th edition of *Primitive Physic*.

One further notable aspect of Wesley's mature practice of offer-
ing medical advice is his provision of advice at a distance. He proved
unwilling to restrict advising followers and friends about their in-
dividual health concerns to times when he could meet with them.
And they proved ready to seek his advice. Consider the example of
Abraham Brames, a Methodist class leader and society steward in
Rochester, Kent. In mid-October 1780 Brames suffered a bout of
dysentery. During that time Wesley visited Sevenoaks, Kent, about
twelve miles southwest of Rochester. While in Sevenoaks Wesley
learned of Brames's ailment, likely through an envoy, and wrote
out an advised regimen of diet and drink. There is no address on
the sheet, or anything else to suggest that it was part of a letter. It
stands, instead, as the only known surviving manuscript in Wesley's
hand intended solely as a prescription (for a copy and more details,
see Appendix B).

What survives in more abundance through the later decades of
Wesley's ministry are letters wherein he offers health advice to
friends and the Methodist faithful. One of the first instances is a
letter to his future wife, Mary (Goldhawk) Vazeille, in June 1750,
where Wesley advised her to ride more often, in order to confirm
bodily health.⁹⁵ A letter to John Downes the following year stressed
the need for a regular regimen of diet and exercise to maintain
health.⁹⁶ This emphasis on regimen was echoed in letters to Joseph
Cownley, Samuel Furly, and Lady Darcy (Brisbane) Maxwell over
the next few years.⁹⁷ It also became common for Wesley to com-

⁹³ Ibid., Apr. 25, 1750 (20:333); Jan. 20, 1753 (20:444); Apr. 7, 1755 (21:4); Apr. 27, 1755 (21:9); Apr. 5, 1756 (21:48); Oct. 11, 1756 (21:79); Feb. 16, 1757 (21:86); etc.

⁹⁴ See particularly his *Journal* comment on June 14, 1773 (22:376–77 in this edn.): 'I preached in the evening at Lisburn. All the time I could spare was taken up by poor *patients*.'

⁹⁵ JW to Mary (Goldhawk) Vazeille, June 19, 1750, 26:429 in this edn.

⁹⁶ JW to John Downes, Dec. 10, 1751, 26:480–81 in this edn.

⁹⁷ See JW to Joseph Cownley, Sept. 17, 1755 (26:589 in this edn.); JW to Samuel Furly, Mar. 24, 1757 (27:75–76); and JW to Lady Maxwell, July 5, 1765 (27:438–39).

mend specific remedies like electrifying or a buttermilk diet; or to warn against such treatments as blisters or Peruvian bark (when taken as a powder).⁹⁸ To provide a broader sense of the frequency and texture of Wesley's medical advice in correspondence, we have gathered in Appendix C excerpts from a set of letters he penned to Alexander Knox, of Londonderry, Ireland, between 1775 and 1790.

In order to offer good advice, of course, a physician needs to understand the ailment or injury that the patient is suffering. Thus we find Wesley writing Elizabeth Ritchie in January 1775: 'I beg, if you love me, you will send me a minute account how you are, both in body and mind.'⁹⁹ Wesley stayed with the Ritchie family in Otley, Yorkshire, on occasion, and in May 1774 initiated an ongoing correspondence with Elizabeth, as she became more active in the Methodist society. The 1775 request was Wesley's second solicitation of details about Ritchie's health, as evidenced by the beginning of her letter to him of August 19, 1774: 'I am sorry I have ever given you cause to complain of me. My not speaking to you about my health was chiefly owing to my want of thought at the time I was with you.' Wesley's first request was likely in his letter of July 31, 1774; but we know this letter only through an excerpt that Joseph Benson included in his edition of Wesley's *Works*, and Benson typically excluded such personal comments. Through whatever means the request was conveyed, it led Ritchie to pledge: 'If the Lord hath inclined your heart, dear sir, to care not only for spiritual health but also for my natural strength, I am willing to tell you all I can, and will endeavour to use the means you prescribe.' She then provided a fulsome description of struggles over the past three years with consumption, diarrhoea, headaches, and a scurvy-like condition. Wesley's later request for a 'minute description' was in response to Ritchie's letter on January 10, 1775, where she only mentioned in passing that she had been very ill recently with something like a violent colic.

There can be little doubt that Wesley made similar inquiries about the health of other correspondents, and that some obliged with descriptions of their condition. It is difficult to document these responses however, because much of Wesley's in-correspondence through the later decades of his life survives only as published in the *Arminian Magazine*. From the few cases where the full text of

⁹⁸ See JW to Joseph Cownley, Apr. 23, 1757 (27:81 in this edn.); JW to Mary Bosanquet, July 25, 1761 (27:269–70); and JW to Jane Lee, May 26, 1763 (27:334).

⁹⁹ JW to Elizabeth Ritchie, Jan. 17, 1775 (vol. 29 in this edn.).

a letter survives to compare with the version in *Arminian Magazine*, it is clear that Wesley almost always elided this personal information. As such, the best sources for letters to Wesley describing health challenges are among the papers of his correspondents, if they kept record-copies of the letters they sent to him. Elizabeth Ritchie is one for whom a significant set of copy-letters survives in her papers. To provide the reader with a richer sense of this type of material, we have included in Appendix C sections of letters between 1774 and 1780 where Ritchie commented on health concerns (including the quotes in the previous paragraph).

The Theological Grounding of John Wesley's Commitment to Offering Medical and Health Advice

While there was historical warrant for John's Wesley's enduring commitment to offering medical advice through his decades of leadership in the evangelical revival, it ran counter to a growing concern for specialization of professions.¹⁰⁰ As such, it provided fodder (as we shall see) for ridicule among his detractors. What sustained his commitment despite such pressure? Part of the answer is simply a deep concern for the needy. Works of mercy had been integral to the piety of the group who gathered around the Wesley brothers at Oxford, and John highlighted this concern as a central aspect of *The Character of a Methodist* from early in the revival:

A Methodist does good unto all men—unto neighbours, and strangers, friends, and enemies. And that in every possible kind; not only to their bodies, by 'feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting those that are sick or in prison', but much more does he labour to do good to their souls, as of the ability which God giveth.¹⁰¹

But the ground of Wesley's commitment went deeper than this. His actions sprang from a foundational theological conviction. Efforts to minister to the *bodies* of persons might be merely instrumental in design—to create the opportunity of ministering to their *souls*. While Wesley undeniably cared about the spiritual life of

¹⁰⁰ See Irvine Loudon, 'Medical Practitioners 1750–1850 and the period of Medical Reform in Britain', in Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society*, 219–47; and Roy Porter, 'The Eighteenth Century', in Lawrence Conrad (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 371–475.

¹⁰¹ JW, *Character of a Methodist* (1742), §16, 9:41 in this edn. (alluding to Matt. 25:36).

those he encountered ('much more does he labour to do good to their souls'), he pushed back against theological developments that helped make the counterposing of care for the body and care for the soul common in his day. The story of these developments is too long to rehearse here. Suffice it to say that while central streams of biblical witness (in both Testaments) portray God's saving concern as embracing the whole person, who remains at home within the larger created (or recreated) order, later Christian piety and teaching widely shifted hope for the fullness of God's saving work to 'heaven above' and focussed it almost exclusively on human souls.¹⁰²

Such a shift in conception of God's ultimate saving concern (eschatology) was bound to impact assumptions about Christian life in the present world. It fostered a model of spirituality that adopted pilgrimage as a dominant metaphor—where Christians understand themselves as currently placed in an alien and dangerous setting, tasked with making their way home.¹⁰³ Cast in these terms, the challenge for Christian life became less the need to contend with the *temporary corruption* of our nature or God's ideal creation, and more the *temporary endurance* of this probationary setting. Life in this world became less God's blessing than our dominant challenge; and death less a curse than a desired release into a more ideal state (heaven above).

The most influential articulation of this model of Christian life in Wesley's setting was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). This popular Puritan allegory traced the journey of a pilgrim (named 'Christian') negotiating the many wearisome obstacles that comprise life in this world—all of which tend to distract from his heavenly goal, the Celestial City. The gifts divinely provided for Christian were a guide for his journey and a certificate permitting entrance when he arrived at the heavenly gate. Put in theological terms, God's present saving work was restricted mainly to revelation and justification (removal of the guilt that renders us unworthy to enter heaven). There is little mention of possible healing for

¹⁰² For summaries of this contrast, and efforts to reclaim the full biblical hope, see N. T. Wright, *Surprised by Hope: Rethinking Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Church* (New York: Harper One, 2008); and J. Richard Middleton, *A New Heaven and New Earth: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013).

¹⁰³ See the detailed discussion of this model in its Puritan form in Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Discipline in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 54–90.

Christian's distempered soul or afflicted body on this side of the heavenly gate.

As he immersed himself in the evangelical revival, Wesley became convinced that the mediocrity of moral life and the ineffectiveness in social impact of Christians in eighteenth-century England was due in large part to the prevalence of this restricted conception of present salvation among Christian laity and clergy alike. In response, Wesley championed a conception that made healing *in this life* more central:

By salvation I mean, not barely (according to the vulgar notion) deliverance from hell, or going to heaven, but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health ... the renewal of our souls after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy, and truth.¹⁰⁴

Wesley's dissatisfaction with the vulgar (i.e., common or popular) notion of salvation, for minimizing biblical affirmations of healing in this life, remained clear throughout his ministry. If there was any change it was a progressive broadening of the dimensions of healing that he affirmed to be available now. In the early years of the revival Wesley focussed on assuring his followers that present Christian life can be more than a life-long struggle as a forgiven but beleaguered pilgrim. God calls us to journey along *The Scripture Way of Salvation*, a journey in which the gracious forgiveness of our sin is interwoven with (some significant degree of) gracious healing of the damages that sin has wrought in our character and life.¹⁰⁵ Wesley's emphasis on this point proved as central as his disavowal of unconditional election to the split that emerged between Wesleyan and Calvinist branches of Methodism. Most of his Calvinist coworkers rejected the extensiveness of Wesley's hope for God's healing of our sin-distorted character in this life.¹⁰⁶

What about hope for healing of our afflicted bodies? Here too Wesley pushed against the general tone of Puritan piety, which re-

¹⁰⁴ *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, Pt. I, §3, 11:106 in this edn.

¹⁰⁵ See JW's classic 1765 sermon by this title, 2:155–69 in this edn. For JW's shifting views on the possibility of 'perfection' in this life see the tracts in 13:3–199 in this edn.

¹⁰⁶ See George Whitefield's letter to JW, Sept. 25, 1740, 26:31–33 in this edn.

maintained prevalent in his day.¹⁰⁷ A good sense of this piety can be gained from Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, which included a section on the 'practice of piety in glorifying God in times of sickness'.¹⁰⁸ Bayly's volume was one of the most popular of the seventeenth century, read much more widely than any treatise on physic. The readers included John Wesley.¹⁰⁹ Bayly's most central (and repeated) point was that Christians should recognize that illness and affliction do not beset us by chance; they are sent providentially by God—in part as punishment for our sins, but even more as a type of physic administered by the divine Physician.¹¹⁰ The purpose of this divine physic is to draw forth our repentance, and to 'wean our hearts from too much loving this world and worldly vanities'.¹¹¹ The most important response to affliction is to sanctify it, by giving thanks for it and allowing it to have this twofold effect.¹¹² This is not to say that Bayly, or other Puritans, discounted the help of physicians. As part of their rejection of the *miraculous* efficacy of sacraments and relics, they stressed God's use of ordinary 'second causes' in effecting providence.¹¹³ Thus Bayly ruled out neither prayers for healing nor solicitation of medical advice. But he cautioned: 1) this concern should be secondary to drawing from our affliction the spiritual benefit of reconciliation; 2) our trust for healing must remain grounded in God, not the human physician or medicine; and 3) we should not desire restored health *over* death, but trust that the eventual outcome is God's providential will.¹¹⁴

The most relevant example of how widespread these emphases remained in John Wesley's day are the strong echoes in hymns of his brother Charles. Consider the hymn framed as a prayer by parents whose child has small-pox (written after Charles and Sarah Wesley lost a son to this disease). The hymn invokes God's saving concern in the first stanza, then affirms:

¹⁰⁷ For a broader treatment of what follows, see David Harley, 'Spiritual Physic, Providence and English Medicine, 1560–1640', in Ole Grell & Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Medicine and the Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 101–17.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis Bayly, *The Practice of Piety; Being the Substance of Several Sermons Preached at Evesham* (London: Andrew Crook, 1613), 792–855.

¹⁰⁹ JW recorded reading this work in late January 1733 in his Oxford diaries, and published an excerpt titled 'Reflections on the Sabbath Day' in *AM* 4 (1781): 542–46.

¹¹⁰ See particularly Bayly, *Practice of Piety*, 792–93, 797, 824–26.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 799, 826.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 805–6, 831.

¹¹³ See Harley, 'Spiritual Physic', 112.

¹¹⁴ Bayly, *Practice of Piety*, 803–5, 815–17, 818.

Love inflicts the plague severe,
 Love the dire distemper sends:
 Let thy heavenly messenger
 Answer all thy gracious ends:
 Give us power to watch and pray
 Trembling at the threaten'd loss:
 Tear our hearts from earth away,
 Nail them to thy bleeding cross.

The following stanzas walk a fine line, leading the parents in surrendering to God's will, while simultaneously authorizing their weeping (by the example of Jesus) as they wait for God's final purpose (life or death) to become clear.¹¹⁵ In this and many other hymns Charles Wesley presents submission to God's loving design as more important than seeking renewed health—though he never disparages the longing for healing or seeking medical care, for the Great Physician often heals through physicians and medicine.¹¹⁶

As his ministry proceeded, John Wesley proved less hesitant than Charles (and reigning Puritan piety) to assure sufferers of God's desire to provide healing *now*. Consider his advice to Alexander Knox in 1778: 'It will be a double blessing if you give yourself up to the Great Physician, that he may heal soul and body together. And unquestionably this is his design. He wants to give you . . . both inward and outward health.'¹¹⁷ While he does not underline the word, Wesley surely intended 'unquestionably' to be emphatic. He was aware of Bayly's caution against assuming that God's will included restored health in this life. And he had been seeking to counter what he considered to be undue hesitance on the part of Knox (who had been sickly from infancy) for some time—exhorting him from the beginning of their correspondence 'to expect that God will do nothing but good both to your soul and body'.¹¹⁸

In this advice to Knox, Wesley was not implying that everyone who prayed and partook of their medicines with faith would be healed; nor conversely that if one were not healed, it was because

¹¹⁵ 'For a Child in the Small-Pox', *Family Hymns* (1767), 76–78.

¹¹⁶ See esp. 'For One that is Sick', #2, st. 1, *HSP* (1749), 1:261; and 'The Physician's Hymn', *HSP* (1749), 2:248–50.

¹¹⁷ JW to Alexander Knox, Oct. 28, 1778 (transcribed in Appendix C).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1775.

they lacked faith. He had long rejected such suggestions.¹¹⁹ Wesley was also clear that, whatever degree of health we might regain and enjoy in this life, it would fall far short of the full transformation of our bodies in the resurrection.¹²⁰ But this points to the fork where Wesley's mature emphasis diverged from the majority of his peers. While they broadly continued to accept the model of eschatological hope focussed on blessed souls in heaven above, over the last quarter of his life Wesley found this model imbibed in his upbringing called into question by the biblical witness of God's saving concern extending to the whole person, soul *and* body—and indeed to the entire created order.¹²¹ If the body does not matter eschatologically to God, it may make sense to view healing of the body as a secondary concern for God, and for us, now. But as Wesley grew more convinced that God's ultimate healing work extended to *both* soul and body, he encouraged his followers more strongly to expect both dimensions of God's healing work in our present lives. Reflecting what he believed to be God's own desire, Wesley desired for those he engaged that they might 'be easy and happy, in soul and in body, in time and in eternity'.¹²² His ministry of providing medical and health advice was one way in which Wesley sought to emulate now the God 'whose mercies are over all his works'.¹²³

Broad Characteristics of John Wesley's Medical and Health Advice

Having placed Wesley's practice of offering medical and health advice in historical context, traced this practice through his ministry, and highlighted its key theological grounding, we turn to sketching some broad characteristics of the advice he gave—as an aid to readers in noticing connections as they work through the publications gathered in this volume.

¹¹⁹ E.g., JW, *Journal*, Sept. 10, 1740, 19:167–68 in this edn.

¹²⁰ See JW, Sermon 62, 'The End of Christ's Coming', §III.1–4, 2:480–82 in this edn.

¹²¹ For more details on this, see Randy L. Maddox, 'Nurturing the New Creation: Reflections on a Wesleyan Trajectory', in M. D. Meeks (ed.), *Wesleyan Perspectives on the New Creation* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 2004), 21–52.

¹²² JW letter to Agnes Gibbes, May 1785, *Methodist History* 6.3 (1968): 59 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

¹²³ Ps. 145:9. See JW's appeal to such imitation, in regard to our care for animals, in Sermon 60, 'The General Deliverance', §III.10, 2:449 in this edn.

Affirmed both Divine and Medical Healing

The first broad characteristic is that Wesley refused to counterpose divine healing and use of medicines. On the one hand, he was aware of deist writers who emphasized natural accounts of the origin of disease and commended solely medical forms of healing, portraying appeals for divine healing as superstitious.¹²⁴ Wesley remained convinced of the possibility of divine healing, and highlighted apparent instances in his publications—partly to rebut deism.¹²⁵ But even in such apologetic settings, Wesley resisted polarizing spiritual and natural accounts of the cause or cure of physical ailments.¹²⁶ And in his publications devoted to medical advice Wesley was quick to add: ‘as God is the sovereign disposer of all things ... I earnestly advise everyone, together with all other medicines, to use the medicine of medicines—prayer’.¹²⁷

Turning the potential opposition around, assertions of the spiritual superiority of relying solely on divine healing—refusing all medical treatment—were rare in Christian tradition up through Wesley’s time.¹²⁸ On the few occasions when he encountered this extreme, he excluded it.¹²⁹ This extended beyond seeking healing when one was ill, to methods of trying to prevent illness. Here again a contrast with his brother is enlightening. When Charles Wesley was asked in late November 1753 why his wife Sarah had not been inoculated against smallpox, he responded that he ‘left everyone to his own conscience; but for my part I looked upon it as taking the matter out of God’s hands, and I should choose (if it depended on

¹²⁴ This challenge is highlighted in Roy Porter, ‘Medicine and Religion in 18th Century England’, *Ideas and Production* 7 (1987): 4–17.

¹²⁵ For some examples in his *Journal*, see Dec. 20, 1742 (19:306 in this edn.), Nov. 12, 1746 (20:145), Sept. 22–Oct. 3, 1756 (21:78), and Oct. 7, 1790 (24:191). See also Robert Webster Jr., *Methodism and the Miraculous: John Wesley’s Idea of the Supernatural and the Identification of Methodists in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington: Emeth Press, 2013), 165–94.

¹²⁶ This point is demonstrated in further detail in Henry D. Rack, ‘Doctors, Demons, and Early Methodist Healing’, in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Church and Healing* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 137–52.

¹²⁷ *Advices with Respect to Health*, Preface, §9. Cf. *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §15.

¹²⁸ See Darrel W. Amundsen, *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Modern Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), esp. 6–11.

¹²⁹ One example is JW’s abridgement of the *Homilies* of pseudo-Macarius in the *Christian Library*. He omitted Homily 48, which argued that the most spiritually mature would rely entirely on Christ for physical health and avoid physical cures.

me) to trust her entirely to him'.¹³⁰ By contrast, when John Wesley received from its author a tract seeking to alleviate objections to inoculation, he replied: 'Doubtless inoculation has already preserved thousands of lives, and I trust will preserve thousands more. In your little tract you have given a sufficient answer to the most plausible objections.'¹³¹

What about the specific case of mental or emotional ailments? Puritan thought, which dominated through the seventeenth century in England, generally considered such disorders to be rooted in spiritual causes, prescribing repentance, faith, and prayers for deliverance. As the eighteenth century unfolded, many physicians began to explain mental afflictions in natural terms and to focus on medical treatments. While some Anglicans embraced this change, others reacted with vigorous defence of the prior account. A few scholars have claimed that Wesley exemplified this defensive stance on the cause and cure of mental and emotional disorders.¹³²

In reality, Wesley shared the growing recognition of natural dimensions of emotional disorders. Consider, in particular, the severe disorders known in his day as 'lunacy' or 'raving madness'. Wesley's *Journal* account of the early years of the revival presents several instances of such afflictions solely in terms of demonic causation—and divine deliverance.¹³³ After reading a book by George Cheyne in 1742, which argued that true lunacy and madness were due to natural causes and required natural cures, Wesley's *Journal* comments began to reflect more nuance.¹³⁴ Soon thereafter he assessed a case of

¹³⁰ CW, Dec. 4, 1753, entry in journal letter covering Nov. 29 to Dec. 11, in Randy L. Maddox, et al. (eds), *The Journal Letters ... of the Rev. Charles Wesley* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2018), 324.

¹³¹ The tract was by Rev. William Turner Jr., *An Attempt to Alleviate the Principal Objections to Inoculation* (Newcastle: T. Saint, 1787). Turner included it in a letter to JW dated May 25, 1788; JW's letter of reply was dated May 29, 1788 (vol. 31 in the collection). Both letters are held in the Menninger Historic Psychiatry Collection of the Kansas Historical Society.

¹³² See, for example, Michael MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change, and Psychological Healing in England, 1600–1800', in Scheils (ed), *The Church and Healing*, 101–25; and Roy Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles* (London: Athlone, 1987), 68–72.

¹³³ See the *Journal* entries for May 2, 1739 (19:54–55 in this edn.), Oct. 12, 1739 (19:104), Oct. 25–26, 1739 (19:110–11), July 15, 1742 (19:282), and Jan. 13, 1743 (19:311–12).

¹³⁴ See George Cheyne, *The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Body and Disorders of the Mind Depending on the Body* (London: Strahan, 1742), 78–95, esp. 90. JW notes reading this volume in *Journal*, Mar. 12, 1742, 19:256 in this edn. Cheyne emphasized a sparse diet and cold baths for the cure.

raving madness to be attributable simply to a fever.¹³⁵ He also began to record instances where prayer for deliverance was not sufficient in curing lunacy.¹³⁶ Conversely, while he was initially sarcastic about the value of confining anyone in Bedlam (i.e., Bethlehem Hospital), the first public asylum in London, he came to believe that institutional care of lunatics could be beneficial, particularly at Saint Luke's Hospital, which William Battie established in 1751 with an emphasis on providing medical treatments for mental illnesses.¹³⁷ Thus *Primitive Physic* included natural remedies for lunacy (§151) from its first edition in 1747. To be sure, Wesley continued to remind readers in his later years that some physicians believed many cases of lunacy to be diabolical in origin.¹³⁸ But he came to consider many cases of insanity to be natural in origin, and assumed that they should be treated by medical means—joined with prayer.¹³⁹

Appreciated the Interconnection of Physical and Emotional/Spiritual Health

George Cheyne influenced Wesley's understanding of emotions long before 1742. We noted above that Wesley read Cheyne's 1724 *Essay of Health* shortly after it appeared, and included an extract of Cheyne's advice on diet and exercise in the 1747 Preface to *Primitive Physic*. Cheyne devoted Chapter VI of his *Essay* to the 'passions', a term for emotional states that arise in response to events

¹³⁵ *Journal*, Sept. 24, 1742, 19:299 in this edn.

¹³⁶ See *Journal*, June 5, 1753 (20: 461–63 in this edn.); Sept. 8–11, 1755 (21:28–29); and July 2, 1766 (22:48). Note as well *Journal*, Apr. 27, 1752 (20:421), where JW describes a woman as *either* raving mad *or* possessed, and then makes clear that it was demonic possession, since a prayer for deliverance was effective.

¹³⁷ See *Journal*, Dec. 21, 1762, 21:400 in this edn. For a comparison of Bedlam, which did not focus on medicinal treatment of patients, with Saint Luke's Hospital, see G. S. Rousseau, 'Science', in *The Eighteenth Century*, edited by Pat Rogers (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 153–207 (esp. 180–82); and Jonathan Andrews & Andrew Scull, *Undertaker of the Mind: John Monro and Mad-Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

¹³⁸ JW, Sermon 72, 'On Angels', II.13, 3:26 in this edn.; and Sermon 132, 'On Faith', §8, 4:194 in this edn. Wesley is citing Thomas Deacon (1697–1753), another priest/physician. Deacon trained under Richard Mead (1673–1754), a leading physician, who shared this view of the causes of insanity. Cf. Henry Broxap, *A Biography of Thomas Deacon* (Manchester: University Press, 1911), 21–22, 81–88.

¹³⁹ This point is well argued in Paul Laffey, 'John Wesley on Insanity', *History of Psychiatry* 12 (2001): 467–79. A good example of the elder Wesley attributing madness to natural causes is Sermon 41, 'Wandering Thoughts', II.3, 2:129 in this edn.

and agents external to the self—such as joy, grief, fear, and love. Wesley's extract of Cheyne captured the main points:

1. The passions have a greater influence on health than most people are aware of.
2. Violent and sudden passions dispose to, or actually throw people into, acute diseases.
3. Slow and lasting passions, such as grief and hopeless love, bring on chronical diseases.
4. Till the passion which caused the disease is calmed, medicine is applied in vain.
5. The love of God, as it is the sovereign remedy of all miseries, so in particular it effectually prevents all the bodily disorders the passions introduce, by keeping the passions themselves within due bounds. And by the unspeakable joy, and perfect calm, serenity, and tranquillity it gives the mind, it becomes the most powerful of all the means of health and long life.¹⁴⁰

Cheyne refused to reduce passions to an epiphenomenon of physical states, and insisted that inordinate passions cannot be cured by medicine alone. Neither did he construe passions as mere psychological dynamics; he accepted the integrity of their spiritual dimension. Thus, his model of proper care for the passions, and thereby for physical health, included attention to one's spiritual life. Wesley's agreement is evident in the following comment in his *Journal*:

Reflecting today on the case of a poor woman who had a continual pain in her stomach, I could not but remark the inexcusable negligence of most physicians in cases of this nature. They prescribe drug upon drug, without knowing a jot of the matter concerning the root of the disorder. And without knowing this they cannot cure, though they can murder the patient. Whence came this woman's pain? (Which she would never have told, had she never been questioned about it.) From fretting from the death of her son. And what availed medicines while that fretting continued? Why then do not all physicians consider how far bodily disorders are caused or influenced by the mind? And in those cases which are utterly out of their sphere, call in the assistance of a minister—as ministers, when they find the mind disordered by the body, call in the assistance of a physician?¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ JW, *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §16, VI; cf. Cheyne, *Essay*, 170–72.

¹⁴¹ JW, *Journal*, May 12, 1759, 21:191 in this edn.

The closing sentence of this 1759 comment indicates a reciprocity in Wesley's mature approach to health and healing. Not only should physicians consider spiritual dimensions of physical health, ministers should entertain possible physical dimensions in mental and spiritual disorders. The second half of this reciprocity was not derived from Cheyne's *Essay of Health*. In that 1724 work, Cheyne limited consideration of emotional life to the passions, and approached these as mental faculties in need of regulation, not as disorders to be cured. Moreover, he insisted that regulation of the passions 'is the business, not of physic, but of virtue and religion'.¹⁴² Wesley omitted this line in his extract from *Essay of Health* in the *Primitive Physic*. This was likely because Wesley had read by this point Cheyne's work *The English Malady; or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds*. Cheyne's focus in this 1733 volume shifted from 'passions' as mental faculties to 'nerves' as the point of connection between the body and mind/spirit. His main emphasis was that nervous disorders should *not* be traced to spiritual causes, like sorcery or demonic possession, but to physical causes—specifically, they result from defective connection between body and spirit when the nerves are clogged or atrophied. Accordingly, Cheyne assigned treatment of nervous diseases to physic rather than religion (the inverse of his stance on the passions). His prescription for treating nervous disorders included some medicines, but placed primary emphasis on diet and exercise.

Wesley published his own 'Thoughts on "Nervous Disorders"' in the 1786 *Arminian Magazine* (included below in this volume). Watch in these 'Thoughts' how Wesley balanced the alternative one-sided emphases of Cheyne's *Essay of Health* and *The English Malady*, by paying attention to both spiritual and physical dimensions in the cause of the range of emotional disorders, as well as spiritual and physical dimensions in their cure.

Defended both Lay and Professional Medical Treatment

The remaining characteristics of Wesley's medical advice focus on treatment of bodily ailments and injuries. We have detailed above how Wesley gave medical advice even though he was not licensed as a physician, how he encouraged his lay assistants to prepare so that they could do the same, and how he provided resources for the use

¹⁴² Cheyne, *Essay*, 171.

of his followers in general. Wesley rarely defended these practices directly. His most extended discussion was in response to an attack from a clergyman upon his support for lay preachers. Wesley explained this support by analogy with a practice that he assumed would be less objectionable:

Will you condemn a man who, having some little skill in physic and a tender compassion for those who are sick or dying all around him, cures many of those, without a fee or reward, whom the doctor could not cure? ... Will you condemn him because he has not learning? Or has not had an university education? What then? He cures those whom the man of learning and education cannot cure? Will you object that he is no physician, nor has any authority to practise? I cannot come into your opinion. I think he is a physician who heals. ... And that every man has authority to save the life of a dying man. But if you only mean he has no authority to take fees, I contend not—for he takes none at all.¹⁴³

Wesley considered the legitimacy of (sincere and beneficial) lay medical treatment self-evident. That is, as long as such treatment was not for the purpose of *profiting* from the suffering of others. Hence his emphasis that no fee was charged. One way some sought to profit in the 'medical economy' of the eighteenth century was peddling overpriced and/or ineffective potions and pills.¹⁴⁴ Wesley was quite concerned to prevent this practice from tainting Methodist ministry among the poor. Thus he not only refused to sell medicines himself, he led Conference to forbid such merchandising by his travelling lay preachers.¹⁴⁵

Wesley's concern about profiting from the suffering of others shines through as well in his scattered—but sharp—criticisms of professional physicians. For example, in a 1747 letter describing the free clinic and dispensary he had set up in London and the number of persons who had been helped, Wesley queried:

Now ought I to have let one of these poor wretches perish because I was not a *regular physician*? To have said, 'I know what will cure you.

¹⁴³ JW, *Letter to a Clergyman*, May 4, 1748, I.7–10, 9:248–49 in this edn.

¹⁴⁴ See Roy Porter, 'Before the Fringe: "Quackery" and the Eighteenth-Century Medical Market,' in Roger Cooter (ed.), *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 1–27.

¹⁴⁵ See *Minutes* (1768), Q. 22 (10:360 in this edn.); reiterated in *Minutes* (1770), Q. 7, (10:381); and retained in the 'Large' *Minutes* (10:887, 916).

But I am not of the *College*. You must send for Dr. Mead'? Before Dr. Mead had come in his chariot the man might have been in his coffin. And when the doctor was come, where was his fee? What! He cannot live upon nothing? So instead of an *orderly cure* the patient dies. And God requires his blood at my hands!¹⁴⁶

The Dr. Mead referred to here was Richard Mead (1673–1754), one of the most prominent licensed physicians of the day, and known for travelling in a fancy carriage. Wesley had no reservations about Mead's medical advice; indeed, he included more than a dozen receipts from Mead in *Primitive Physic*. What Wesley chafed against was the attempt of the Royal College to monopolize health care in and around London at a time when it included fewer than 100 licensed members—hardly enough to attend to the whole population, and for that reason out of the reach financially for the majority.¹⁴⁷

In the Preface (§10) of *Primitive Physic*, published the same year, Wesley broadened criticism beyond the fees charged by physicians to other practices that he believed were aimed at preserving their monopoly, such as publishing their medical prescriptions in Latin and giving preference to medicines that were difficult to obtain or use safely.¹⁴⁸ But his most pointed attack came in a 1760 sermon that condemned those in health care, 'whether surgeons, apothecaries, or physicians, who play with the lives or health of men to enlarge their own gain. Who purposely lengthen the pain or disease which they are able to remove speedily. Who protract the cure of their patient's body in order to plunder his substance.'¹⁴⁹

While this final indictment is sharp, it is important to recognize that Wesley was not directing it against *all* physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries—just those who were dishonest. Nor did Wesley ever question that some ailments required the advice of a professional physician. Even the first edition of *Primitive Physic*, which was designed as a self-help manual, included in the Preface (§15) a recommendation to 'apply to a physician that fears God' in difficult

¹⁴⁶ JW letter to 'John Smith', Mar. 25, 1747, §11, 26:235–36 in this edn.

¹⁴⁷ The 1746 published list of members of the Royal College of Physicians in London included just over fifty fellows, one candidate, and about twenty-five licentiates.

¹⁴⁸ Such attacks upon learned medicine for its cost and exclusivity had become a standard item in works popularizing medical knowledge by the middle of the seventeenth century; cf. Andrew Wear, 'Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700', in Conrad (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition*, 215–360 (esp. 324).

¹⁴⁹ Sermon 50, 'On the Use of Money', I.5, 2:272 in this edn.

cases. This advice was reiterated in the Postscript (§5) added to the preface in 1755, and Wesley inserted a specific encouragement to 'seek a good physician immediately' in cases of apoplexy (§7, receipt #2). In 1776 Wesley added another recommendation to consult an 'honest physician' for instances of measles (§154). And in his last major revision of *Primitive Physic*, in 1781, Wesley added a third Postscript to the preface, again exhorting patients to 'apply without delay to a physician that fears God' in complicated cases.

Wesley's published record of personal health challenges in the *Journal* provided warrant for his formal recommendations. From the beginning of the revival Wesley often emphasized how he felt strengthened or healed by God when ill or weak, in order that he might continue his travel and preaching.¹⁵⁰ But he never hid the fact that, when an ailment became serious, he sought the help of professional physicians. The first published instance was in late October 1741, when he called in John Middleton (c. 1680–1760), a Bristol physician, to advise on a severe cold. Other publicly recorded instances include the following. In April 1749 Wesley sought advice for facial swelling while visiting John Rutt (1697–1775), a distinguished Quaker physician in Dublin. In 1753, and again a year later, Wesley called in John Fothergill (1712–80), a Quaker physician in London (and a licentiate of the Royal College), about a 'consumption'. In mid-1771 Wesley had a riding accident, which resulted over time in the development of a 'hydrocele'.¹⁵¹ A flair up of this condition while in Edinburgh led Wesley to consult the trio of: James Hamilton (1740–1827), a fellow of the Royal College; Alexander Monro II (1733–1817), Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the university; and James Gregory (1753–1821), Professor of Medicine at the university. The following month Wesley read a treatise on the condition by Joseph Else (d. 1780), a London surgeon and member of the Royal Society, as he continued to contemplate treatment. The condition eventually required surgery, which was performed in January 1774 by Samuel Wathen (1720–87), a surgeon licensed by the Royal College. In June 1775, struggling with a high fever, Wesley was persuaded to seek the advice of John Law, a physician of Lurgan, Ireland, who was licensed by the Medical Society

¹⁵⁰ For just a couple of examples, see *Journal*, Apr. 15–17, 1741 (19:190–91 in this edn.); and Oct. 29–Nov. 15, 1741 (19:235–38).

¹⁵¹ A hydrocele is a swelling of the scrotum caused by build-up of fluid. See JW's later reports of the accident in *Journal*, Feb. 21, 1772, 21:308 in this edn.; and Jan. 4, 1774, 22:395 in this edn.

of London.¹⁵² In early August 1783, during the annual Conference, Wesley was afflicted with serious cramping and diarrhoea. He sent for and was attended initially by Archibald Drummond (1717–1801), a physician of nearby Rudgeway; then moved to the home of John Castleman (1734–1801), a surgeon at the Bristol Infirmary. When this condition recurred in early 1785 in London, Wesley was attended by John Whitehead (1740–1804), who served as his personal physician through his later years.¹⁵³ Wesley spoke respectfully of each of these physicians and, when praising Whitehead in particular, reminded readers of his *Journal* of the exhortation in Ecclesiasticus 38:1–2: ‘Honour the physician, for God hath appointed him.’¹⁵⁴

For all of this appreciation, Wesley recognized that most of his followers lacked the financial resources and connections that enabled him to draw upon the expertise of professional physicians. Thus he continued to offer free medical advice to the end of his days.¹⁵⁵

Embraced the Eclectic Stance of an Enlightened ‘Empiric’

While Wesley never claimed to be a professional physician, he consulted a number of medical works and was aware of the major developments and controversies in the field. This has allowed scholars to consider where Wesley’s medical approach fit within the spectrum of stances in his century. Recent considerations of this question have characterized Wesley’s approach as an ‘enlightened empiricism’.¹⁵⁶ Both dimensions of this characterization deserve comment.

The classification of Wesley’s approach as ‘enlightened’ signifies that he joined most eighteenth-century physicians in setting

¹⁵² JW misremembered the last name as ‘Laws’.

¹⁵³ For the consultations with the various physicians, see JW, *Journal*, Oct. 31, 1741 (19:236 in this edn.); Apr. 24, 1749 (20:268); Nov. 13–26, 1753 (20:481–82); Aug. 6, 1754 (20:489); May 18, 1772 (22:323–24); June 27, 1772 (22:339); Jan. 4, 1774 (22:395–96); June 17, 1775 (22:456); Aug. 5–24, 1783 (23:287); and Jan. 4, 1785 (23:340–41).

¹⁵⁴ *Journal*, Sept. 30, 1786, 23:420 in this edn.

¹⁵⁵ Perhaps the last letter penned by JW that included specific medical advice was sent to Mary (Cooke) Clarke on Jan. 18, 1791 (vol. 31 in this edn.); where he recommended that her husband Adam Clarke take dried foxglove for his current illness.

¹⁵⁶ See particularly Deborah Madden, ‘Experience and the Common Interest of Mankind: The Enlightened Empiricism of John Wesley’s *Primitive Physic*’, *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2003): 41–53; and James G. Donat, ‘Empirical Medicine in the 18th Century: The Rev. John Wesley’s Search for Remedies that Work’, *Methodist History* 44 (2006): 216–26.

aside the theoretical approach to medical diagnosis and treatment that had dominated Western cultures for over a millennium and a half. This approach, which traces back to Hippocrates (c. 460–370 BCE), was standardized by Galen of Pergamon in the first century of the common era.¹⁵⁷ It dismissed attribution of disease to spiritual or demonic causes, and had little notion of physical causes foreign to the sufferer (like germs). There was also little sense of diseases being passed from one individual to another. Instead, the Galenic tradition posited that human health depended upon maintaining *balance* among the various constituents of human nature, by means of balance with nature more broadly.

The foundation of this traditional Western approach to medicine was the metaphysical assumption that physical reality was composed of four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. The combination of these four elements also accounted for the human body—as a microcosm of the cosmos. But here attention probed more deeply, identifying the metabolic agents that circulated the four elements in the body. These agents were four vital fluids or ‘humours’, each associated with one of the elements. Earth was associated with ‘black bile’; water with ‘phlegm’; air with ‘blood’; and fire with ‘yellow bile’. There was some divergence in describing how these humours moved through the body, though most assumed the fluid moving through human blood vessels was a mixture of all four.

In this traditional Western approach ailments or disorders in the body—including in one’s emotional/psychological state—were attributed to imbalance of the humours, generally due to an excess of one or another. The key to restoring health, and maintaining it thereafter, was righting this imbalance. It should be added, however, that the balance desired was not uniform. Individual persons had distinctive ‘natural’ balances, with one or another humour holding some dominance, which accounted for differences in states of body and mind identified as sanguine, melancholic, choleric, or phlegmatic. Moreover, a person’s balance could shift over his or her lifespan.

If each person has a natural balance of humours, how was this balance thrown off? As living creatures, we must ingest air, water, and food from nature around us to sustain life and nurture growth. We must also expel the waste products of respiration, hydration, and digestion. An unhealthy imbalance of humours was attributed

¹⁵⁷ The following summary draws particularly upon Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*; and William F. Bynum. *The History of Medicine: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

in the Galenic tradition largely to unwise patterns of ingestion and/or obstructed evacuation. They detailed this account in terms of the 'six non-naturals'. As contrasted with constituent parts of our *nature* (like the four humours or our vital organs), these *non-naturals* were external quantities or bodily practices that affected health. They included: 1) air, 2) food and drink, 3) motion and rest, 4) sleeping and waking, 5) retentions and evacuations, and 6) the passions of the soul.¹⁵⁸

Having attributed ailments to improper practices of eating, activity, rest, and the like, the foundational form of treatment in this traditional approach was a regimen of diet, exercise, and other practices to help restore balance of the humours. But more drastic measures were common when patients were in the throes of a disorder. These measures aimed at evacuating problematic excessive humours. Common treatments included blood-letting and blistering (to draw the humour to the surface, then drain it). Physicians also commended emetics, laxatives, diuretics, and enemas—to provoke various evacuations.

The first serious challenge to the traditional Western approach to medicine was in the sixteenth century, by a Swiss physician popularly known as Paracelsus.¹⁵⁹ He rejected the suggestion that ailments were caused by an imbalance of naturally-occurring humours, contending that they resulted instead from external agents invading the body. He viewed these agents as seed-like in nature, and argued they were ingested through breathing, eating, and drinking. Moreover, he assumed that distinct agents carried specific disorders and required specific cures. Thereby Paracelsus shifted toward the modern understanding of infectious disease. He also questioned practices like blood-letting, urging in their place chemical remedies. But his specific remedies, which were based on alchemy and homeopathy (treating ailments with small doses of substances that cause the same symptoms in healthy persons), included such poisons as mercury, antimony, and arsenic. His full model also invoked a role of negative occult forces (*archai*) in disease that many found unwarranted. Thus one cannot draw a direct line from Paracelsus to modern medicine. It was only as later fol-

¹⁵⁸ See Antoinette Emch-Dériaz, 'The Non-Naturals Made Easy', in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650–1850* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 134–59.

¹⁵⁹ I.e., Theophrastus Phillipus Bombastus von Hohenheim (c. 1493–1541). This summary is informed by John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 67–69.

lowers stripped away such broader philosophical assumptions that Paracelsus's focus on using specific chemical remedies for distinct disorders made its way into standard medical practice.

Thus the traditional humoral approach to medical diagnosis and treatment remained dominant in England through the seventeenth century. But this century also witnessed roots of an 'enlightened' model that would displace the Galenic model through the following century.¹⁶⁰ The key metaphysical shift in this new model, led by philosophers like René Descartes (1596–1650), Robert Boyle (1627–91), and Isaac Newton (1643–1727), was stripping physical reality of its 'occult powers'—such as inherent impulses toward certain goals ('final causes'), innate attractive forces, or associations with various personality traits. Physical reality was construed as uniform and atomistic in structure, void of inherent motion or force. Discrete physical entities, like human bodies, were simply differentiated collections of inert matter. If they exhibited motion and change, this was due to external forces (including immaterial forces, like human souls or God) acting upon and through them. In other words, while this new approach typically retained a spiritual dimension within reality as a whole, the physical dimension of reality was rendered materialist and mechanical.

The traditional model of the humours could hardly survive broad acceptance of such altered metaphysical assumptions, particularly when it had already been called into question by the work of William Harvey (1578–1657)—whose close inspection of the circulation of blood challenged assumptions like that bright red blood in arteries was a different substance than darker blood in veins. Through the early decades of the eighteenth century physicians like Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) and George Cheyne (1671–1743) crafted an alternative 'mechanical' account of bodily functions, wherein blood became a single fluid and attention was focussed on the conduits (veins, windpipes, etc.) that conveyed air, water, and nutrients into, around, and out of the body. Both chronic and acute bodily disorders were attributed primarily to obstructions, contractions, or dilations of the conduits in the body.¹⁶¹ And maintenance of health was focussed on keeping the body well-tuned, rather than on balancing the humours.

¹⁶⁰ See Frank, 'Medicine', in Tyacke (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 552–58.

¹⁶¹ This is the central argument of Cheyne's *New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers* (1702). For an insightful study of Boerhaave, see Rina Knoeff, *Herman Boerhaave: Calvinist Chemist and Physician* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2002).

Significantly, while this eighteenth-century mechanical approach to medicine differed dramatically from the Galenic account at the level of theory, it retained most of the traditional therapeutic practices. Cheyne's advice in *Essay on Health* (repeated by Wesley in §16 of the Preface to *Primitive Physic*) echoed recommendations on diet and exercise common in accounts of the six non-naturals. He differed mainly in his explanations: particular foods or behaviours were advised against not because they increased one humour or another, but because they tended to hinder free circulation through bodily conduits. In acute ailments the recourse remained blood-letting, emetics, and purgatives—now valued for re-establishing circulation in the conduits.¹⁶²

By the middle of the eighteenth century this mechanical model of physic had assumed preeminence in England. But those who adopted the model often supplemented it in an eclectic manner with the growing appreciation of *therapeutic* (as compared to solely purgative) effects of various chemical medicines. There were also influential voices, like Thomas Sydenham, who warned against reliance on *any* theoretical model of physic, given how the Galenic model had misled generations of physicians.¹⁶³ These voices championed instead accumulating knowledge of effective treatments simply through trial and error—laying claim proudly to the label of 'empiric', which had been used dismissively of such an approach in early Greek medicine.¹⁶⁴

In the Preface to *Primitive Physic* John Wesley placed himself firmly among those suspicious of over-reliance on theoretical models, owned the label of 'empiric' (in §10), and praised 'good Dr. Sydenham' (in §12). For all of its clarity, this primary self-identification should not distract readers from noticing that behind Wesley's simple remedies lay 'a complex body of medical knowledge that regarded the human frame as a system of hydraulics, which needed to protect itself against obstructions'.¹⁶⁵ Wesley's clearest expression of the enlightened mechanical model was in 1763, in the chapter of *Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation* devoted to causes of disorder in the human body (included in this collection). While Wesley was abridging a work by Johann Franz Buddeus, he added a section (§6) identifying the chief causes of diseases as: '1) intemperance in meat or drink, either with regard to the quan-

¹⁶² Cf. Madden, 'Experience and the Common Interest of Mankind', 45–46.

¹⁶³ See Lindeman, *Medicine and Society*, 107–9.

¹⁶⁴ See Donat, 'Empirical Medicine', 216–17.

¹⁶⁵ Deborah Madden, 'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine': *Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2007), 211.

tity or quality; 2) want of exercise, or excess therein; 3) immoderate sleep or watching; 4) unwholesome air; 5) the diminution of some natural evacuation; [and] 6) irregular passions.’ This is Wesley’s succinct summary of the traditional non-naturals. But his most revealing comment stands at the end, where he explained that ‘all or any of these affect the temperature and motion of the blood and spirits’. There is no hint of interest in the humours, just the smooth operation of the body, which Wesley described elsewhere as an ‘exquisitely wrought machine’ created by God.¹⁶⁶

Wesley’s embrace of enlightened mechanical assumptions concerning medical care is reflected as well in his decision to publish in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1779 a letter he had received thirty years earlier from his friend John Robertson M.D. (c. 1691–1761), which included the following paragraph:

As little can I commend any hypothesis in physic, ... as in the whole of it reason and reflection are as necessary to cure diseases well as experience and observation. But speculatively-given physicians are apt to reason too subtly, and so often get out of their depth, and lose themselves—and their patients. If we knew the structure and motion of the machine we are to mend, and the proper materials and tools with which it is to be repaired, we should know as much as we can hope for. The best physician, then, is he who knows anatomy, mechanics, and hydraulics; and the nature and operations of medicines, by chemistry and other means; and reasons solely from these principles upon the phenomena [that] his attentive observations on the healthy and the sick make him a spectator of.¹⁶⁷

Robertson went on to praise Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) as exemplifying such an approach, which may explain why a set of Hoffmann’s medical works are included among a surviving collection of books owned by the Wesley family.¹⁶⁸

Wesley’s ‘empiric’ stance would have resonated with Robertson’s caution against one’s ‘attentive observations’ of patients being displaced by speculative theories. Wesley disparaged physicians who

¹⁶⁶ JW, Sermon 51, *The Good Steward*, I.4, 2:285 in this edn.

¹⁶⁷ John Robertson to JW, Nov. 22, 1748, 26:343 in this edn.; published in *Arminian Magazine* 2 (1779): 89–91.

¹⁶⁸ See Randy L. Maddox, ‘Collection of Books owned by the Charles Wesley Family in The John Rylands University Library’, *Bulletin of The John Rylands University Library* 88.2 (2006): 133–77; esp. p. 135 on why some of these books likely belonged to JW.

simply followed standard practice (*secundum artem*), rather than attending to which treatments were affective.¹⁶⁹ And he endorsed the principle that the best physician was ‘not he who *talks best*, or who *writes best*, but who performs the *most cures*’.¹⁷⁰ These commitments led Wesley to diverge even from standard practice of leading representatives of the mechanical approach—condemning routine reliance in acute disorders on blood-letting, blistering, purging, and vomits.¹⁷¹ While these practices appear among Wesley’s suggested treatments, they are much less frequent than in other medical advice texts of the time.¹⁷²

Wesley’s fullest embodiment of an empiricist approach to medicine might be the reports he collected about the results of treatment at the free clinic in London in the 1740s, or the records kept at the clinics he opened in London in the late 1750s to offer electrical shock therapy (see *Desideratum*). But the last point to make in this section is that Wesley’s empiricist orientation reached beyond his own experimentation. He stayed abreast of published reports of findings by other physicians, passing on results that he found convincing. For example, in early 1774 he determined a disorder to be a case of *angina pectoris*, a diagnosis that had just emerged in the medical literature.¹⁷³ Similarly, when consulted by Hannah Ball about a case of dropsy in 1788, Wesley commended foxglove, a remedy championed by William Withering FRS (1741–90) in a 1785 book that Wesley read soon after its publication.¹⁷⁴

Favoured God’s ‘Natural’ Cures over Emerging ‘Chemical’ Medicines

Modern readers may know that foxglove is a source for the drug digoxin. More important to Wesley, it was a broadly-available shrub.

¹⁶⁹ See JW to Charles Wesley, Dec. 26, 1761, 27:281 in this edn.; and JW, *Journal*, June 28–30, 1762, 21:371 in this edn.

¹⁷⁰ JW, *Journal*, May 9, 1767, 22:81 in this edn.

¹⁷¹ See particularly JW’s comments ‘To the Reader’, §§4–5, in his extract of Tissot’s *Advices with Respect to Health*.

¹⁷² Cf. Madden, ‘Experience and the Common Interest of Mankind’, 46.

¹⁷³ See JW, *Journal*, Apr. 19, 1774, 22:405 in this edn. JW refers to the initial essay on this topic by William Heberden, which appeared in 1772 in volume 2 of *Medical Transactions*, published by the Royal College of Physicians; and David Macbride’s *Methodical Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Physic* (pp. 426–32), published the same year.

¹⁷⁴ See JW to Hannah Ball, Apr. 12, 1788 (vol. 31 in this edn.). The book was Withering’s *Account of the Foxglove, and Some of Its Medical Uses* (see bibliography).

He noted in the Preface (§11) of *Primitive Physic* that his receipts favoured naturally-occurring plants and roots over all ‘chemical, or exotic, or compound medicine’. This is borne out on inspection. The first edition of *Primitive Physic* commends about 225 distinct remedies; of which 184 were made from plants, 17 were derived from animals, and 24 were naturally-occurring minerals.¹⁷⁵ This dominance swam against the stream of emerging professional medicine, including the practice of most apothecaries.¹⁷⁶

Wesley was not swimming alone. In support of his preference of simple medicines over compound, Wesley cited the authority of Hermann Boerhaave (Preface, §14). He could as easily have cited Robert Boyle, whose discourse touting the advantages of simple medicines Wesley studied while at Oxford. The reasons Boyle offered were largely scientific, stressing that simple medicines made it easier for medical observers to determine which ones had the desired effect or undesired side-effect. Boyle also mentioned that they were easier to procure and use. Wesley would have appreciated all of these reasons, but particularly the final ones.

If this explains his preference for simple medicines, what was Wesley’s objection to exotic cures—which are often simple in nature? For some of his peers the objection reflected a notion that diseases native to a country were best cured by remedies found in that country.¹⁷⁷ Wesley does not seem to have shared this assumption. For example, while he urged that it be taken in solution, he was content to commend ‘Peruvian bark’ to British readers for some ailments.¹⁷⁸ His receipts include several other non-native plant extracts and substances; but in almost every instance Wesley also mentioned locally-accessible alternatives. His main concern about exotic cures was that their foreign origin rendered them less available, less affordable, and less familiar of use among the poor.

This leaves the question of why Wesley favoured natural organic cures over their purified chemical ingredients. The issues of availability and cost surely played a role again—roots might be dug in the forest for free, while chemicals must be purchased from the apothecary. But Wesley hints at two theological assumptions in the

¹⁷⁵ Eunice Bonow Bardell, ‘*Primitive Physick*: John Wesley’s Receipts’, *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979): 111–21.

¹⁷⁶ See Juanita G. L. Burnby, *A Study of the English Apothecary, From 1660 to 1760* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1983).

¹⁷⁷ See Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, 309–10.

¹⁷⁸ *Primitive Physic*, §56, receipt #1; §103, receipt #2; §197, receipt #1; §234, receipt #1.

Preface to *Primitive Physic* that may have reinforced this practical concern. The first is his Anglican-bred ‘primitivism’ (see §4). Just as Anglican apologists assumed that Christian life and doctrine were purest at the origin of the Christian church, and sought to emulate these times, Wesley privileged the primitive origins of physic and praised the Native Americans for most closely preserving the pristine practice.¹⁷⁹ Closely related to this is a second assumption concerning theodicy. Wesley refers in §6 to the ‘Author of nature’, who taught humanity the medicinal value of plants after sin introduced sickness and death into creation. This calls to mind his frequent insistence that God would not have allowed the potential damages of human sin if God had not already graciously prepared ways to heal these damages.¹⁸⁰ In light of these convictions, Wesley may have viewed the privileging of chemical medicines over plants as a failure to trust in God’s long-standing provisions for the effects of sin.

Explored God’s Most Ubiquitous Natural Cure: Electricity!

Wesley’s emphasis on long-valued natural cures must be balanced by recognition that he became an enthusiastic supporter of one of the most recent alternatives to traditional therapies: electrical shock. His advocacy for and experimentation regarding the possible healing benefits of electricity are explored below in the introduction to *The Desideratum*. We will limit comment here to sources of Wesley’s enthusiasm for electrical shock therapy. By his own admission, the evidence of its effectiveness was often ambiguous. Two other factors contributed to his interest. First, electricity was part of God’s creational provision, like other natural cures. Indeed, Wesley characterizes electricity in the opening paragraph of *Desideratum* as the ‘soul of the universe’, the created power permeating otherwise inert nature. Second, with an anticipated spread of inexpensive electrifying machines, this therapy would be ubiquitous and cheap.

Emphasized Preventative Care: The ‘Cool Regimen’

Our final cluster of comments on Wesley’s characteristic advice about health focus on his commended regimen for maintaining

¹⁷⁹ See Madden, ‘*Cheap, Safe, and Natural Medicine*’, chapter 2.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Sermon 59, ‘God’s Love to Fallen Man’ (2:423–35 in this edn.); and Sermon 63, ‘The General Spread of the Gospel’, §27 (2:499 in this edn.).

health. We noted earlier that the last section (§16) of the Preface to *Primitive Physic* was an extract of George Cheyne's adaption of the non-naturals. We would highlight now the characteristic eighteenth-century British stamp reflected in Cheyne's adaptation (and echoed by Wesley). A stance known as the 'cool regimen' gained near consensus status in eighteenth-century British health-advice manuals. A basic assumption of this regimen was that the key to promoting health was to harden the body by exercise and moderate diet, and to bring it into harmony with its environment. Since the environment in England was cool, this meant that people needed to get plenty of fresh *cool* air, drink plenty of *cool* water, take *cold* baths, favour *cool* vegetables in their diet, and so on.¹⁸¹ A survey of Wesley's advice on regimen, in the Preface to *Primitive Physic* and beyond, illustrates this reigning cool regimen.¹⁸²

Proper Diet, Stressing Cool Vegetables and Water

The longest section of Cheyne's advice in *Essay of Health* focussed on diet. His general call was for temperance, particularly avoiding overly spicy dishes and excessive consumption of meat, while commending water as one's drink. In essence, as Cheyne later admitted, he was advising his patients and readers—mostly from the upper class—to eat the diet and embrace the lifestyle of the middle and lower classes. By repeating Cheyne's advice (in Preface, §16, II), Wesley reinforced the wisdom of this diet among the lower classes.¹⁸³

Cheyne actually held up a vegetarian diet as the ideal, as well as total abstinence from alcohol. Wesley committed himself to this ideal on two different occasions, though in each case he returned to moderate consumption of meat and wine after a couple of years.¹⁸⁴ His advice to readers in later years echoed Cheyne's less idealistic

¹⁸¹ See Ginnie Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-Help and Advice in the Late Eighteenth Century', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 249–82.

¹⁸² Note JW's critique of a physician who persisted in treating citizens of London with the 'hot regimen' when it was clearly ineffective (*Journal*, Aug. 16, 1748, 20:239 in this edn.); and his commendation of Tissot for avoiding this (*Advices with respect to Health*, Preface, §3).

¹⁸³ See Cheyne, *English Malady*, iv–v; and the analysis of Bryan Turner, 'The Government of the Body: Medical Regimens and the Rationalization of Diet', *British Journal of Sociology* 33 (1982): 254–69.

¹⁸⁴ See JW, *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London*, §14, 11:344–45 in this edn.; and *Journal*, Dec. 29, 1746, 20:152 in this edn.

call for temperance, specifically protesting suggestions of abstinence from wine.¹⁸⁵ The main situation in which he continued to commend vegetarianism was for weight loss (see *Primitive Physic*, §104).

Regular Exercise, Particularly in the Fresh Air

The second longest section of Cheyne's *Essay of Health* was devoted to exercise. He insisted that a due degree of regular exercise was indispensable for health and long life, adding that the value of exercise was enhanced when it was done outdoors in fresh cool air.¹⁸⁶ Wesley not only repeated this advice in his Preface (§16, IV), but expanded on it repeatedly in later setting. Consider two examples found in the collection that follows:

Not that any one particular kind of exercise is necessary for all persons. Indeed Dr. Cheyne supposes the natural exercise of walking, where the strength suffices, to be preferable to any other. But it should be used every day, not less than an hour before dinner, or after supper. Where the strength will not admit of this, the want of it may be supplied by riding two hours at least on horseback every day, before dinner or supper. If neither of these can be borne, the end of both may be answered by riding in a carriage. . . . Those who cannot afford this may use a chamber-horse, which will suit every constitution.¹⁸⁷

Every day of your life take at least an hour's exercise, between breakfast and dinner. If you will, take another hour before supper, or before you sleep. If you can, take it in the open air; otherwise, in the house. If you cannot ride or walk abroad, use within a dumb-bell or a wooden horse. If you have not strength to do this for an hour at a time, do it at twice or thrice. Let nothing hinder you. Your life is at stake. Make everything yield to this.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ See 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', §§6–7; and 'To the Reader', §§5–6, in JW's extract of Cadogan's *Dissertation on the Gout*. William Stroup, 'Meat, Ethics, and the Case of John Wesley', in Regina Hewitt & Pat Rogers (eds.), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Society* (Lewisburg: PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 267–80, overstates JW's support for vegetarianism. More balanced is Charles I. Wallace Jr., 'Eating and Drinking with John Wesley', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 85.2–3 (2003): 137–55.

¹⁸⁶ For more on the broad conviction of the benefits of open country and fresh air in health manuals of the time, see Andrew Wear, 'Making Sense of Health and the Environment in Early Modern England', in Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society*, 119–47.

¹⁸⁷ 'Extract from Dr. Cadogan's *Dissertation on the Gout*', 'To the Reader', §10.

¹⁸⁸ 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', §10.

These quotes leave no doubt as to the importance Wesley placed on exercise. But they may raise questions about some forms of exercise that he commended.

To begin with, riding was broadly recommended in Wesley's day, even referred to as 'Dr. Horse', due to belief that the bouncing action helped to clear the lungs, improve circulation, and raise a healthy sweat.¹⁸⁹ The potential loss of this benefit in bad weather, or because of advancing age, is what led to development of an aerobic alternative to be used indoors—what Wesley referred to as a 'wooden horse' or 'chamber horse'. The wooden horse was the inexpensive version, 'a double plank nine or ten feet long, properly placed upon two trestles', upon which one bounced.¹⁹⁰ The chamber horse was a permanent piece of furniture, a chair with high arms on both sides and a seat that would rise on springs, allowing the person to bounce up and down. Wesley purchased one for his London house in his later years (it is still present there). As he neared death he encouraged his niece Sarah to borrow it and use it at least half an hour daily.¹⁹¹

The other exercise equipment Wesley mentioned was a dumb-bell. This was not the set of weights known by this term today, but a form of upper-body aerobic exercise that mimicked the action of tolling a church bell. The earliest dumb-bells were simply bells with their clapper removed so that they made no sound (i.e., were 'dumb'). Eventually a model was developed that could be used at home. A rope was run through a hole in the ceiling into the attic of the house, where it wrapped around a free-spinning cylinder with counter-balanced weights attached on rods. As one pulled down on the rope, unwrapping it and spinning the cylinder, the weights gave the cylinder sufficient momentum to wrap the rope back up in the opposite direction (like a yo-yo), ready to be pulled down again.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Porter, 'Eighteenth Century', 419–20; and Cheyne, *Essay of Health*, 95. Francis Fuller devoted an entire chapter to the health benefits of riding in *Medicina Gymnastica; or, A Treatise concerning the Power of Exercise* (London: Knaplock, 1705), 165–206.

¹⁹⁰ JW to Mrs. Christian, July 17, 1785 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

¹⁹¹ See JW to Sarah Wesley, Aug. 18, 1790 (vol. 31 in this edn.).

¹⁹² JW may have learned of this device from a description in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (1746): 478. For a picture and discussion of one of the few remaining examples, see Conrad Volk, 'The Dumb-Bell at Knoke: A Seventeenth-Century Exercising Device', in *National Trust Studies 1981*, edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1981), 133–38.

Appropriate Rest and Sleep

On the traditional topic of sleep, Cheyne suggested a standard of eight hours a night. His discussion made clear this limit was intended to prevent sleeping *too much*, rather than too little. Here again we can sense the status of Cheyne's main audience. Poorer classes were least likely to have the luxury of sleeping late! But Cheyne's deepest concern was persons of any economic class who withdrew from life in depression, lingering in bed.¹⁹³

Wesley shared Cheyne's concern about the link between sleep patterns and mental health. He revised the standard for sleep slightly in the Preface to *Primitive Physic* (§16, III), suggesting seven or eight hours. In later years he reduced the standard a bit more, particularly in reference to struggles with depression:

I would allow between six and seven hours, at an average, to a healthy man; or an hour more, between seven and eight hours, to an unhealthy man. And I do not remember that in threescore years I have known either man or woman who laid longer in bed than this, (whether they slept or no), but in some years they complained of lowness of spirits. The plain reason of which seems to be, while we sleep all the springs of nature are unbent. And if we sleep longer than is sufficient, they are relaxed more than is sufficient, and of course grow weaker and weaker.¹⁹⁴

In a related sermon Wesley charged that sleeping too much was not only the chief cause of all nervous diseases, it was the cause for the recent *increase* in nervous disorders in Britain.¹⁹⁵

Cleanliness and Cold-Bathing

There are two final commendations about regimen, which move a bit beyond the specific focus of the non-naturals, that Wesley appropriated from Cheyne and amplified in his own advice: cleanliness and cold-bathing.

In the first case, Cheyne concluded his comments related to 'air' with a passing comment that his readers should 'observe all the

¹⁹³ Cheyne, *Essay of Health*, 87–88.

¹⁹⁴ 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', §7.

¹⁹⁵ Sermon 93 (1782), 'On Redeeming the Time', II.4, 3:326–27 in this edn. See also the extended discussion of this topic in JW's letter to his niece Sarah Wesley, July 17, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

cleanness and sweetness in their houses, clothes, and furniture suitable to their condition'.¹⁹⁶ Starting with the echo of this advice in the Preface to *Primitive Physic* (§16, I.3), Wesley's repeated emphasis on cleanliness became legendary, drawing the attention of all who study the topic. Indeed, Wesley is sometimes credited with inventing the maxim 'cleanliness is next to godliness'.¹⁹⁷ While he definitely did not create this rabbinical proverb, Wesley did cite it often when exhorting his followers to maintain cleanliness in their person, clothing, and housing.¹⁹⁸ He once distilled this advice in a letter to a lay preacher as: 'Do not stink above ground!'¹⁹⁹ The health benefits of cleanliness are now well recognized, though Wesley was likely concerned as much with the public perception of Methodists.

By contrast, Wesley's commendation of cold-bathing was primarily for the assumed health benefits, with any sanitary effect or contribution to tidiness an incidental extra. Here again Wesley embraced a practice that Cheyne had commended, this time in loose connection to the topic of exercise.²⁰⁰ Cheyne emphasized how cold-bathing helped harden and acclimatise a person. Wesley went further, contending that it could cure several disorders and inhibit many hereditary ailments.²⁰¹ Since he believed these benefits were under-appreciated, Wesley not only listed cold-bathing as a remedy for several disorders within *Primitive Physic*, he appended to the volume a compilation of the ailments supposedly cured or prevented. Wesley's championing of this treatment is credited by some for the popularity of cold-water therapy at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ Cheyne, *Essay of Health*, 28. On this general topic see Virginia Smith, 'Physical Puritanism and Sanitary Science: Material and Immaterial Beliefs in Popular Physiology, 1650–1840', in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy, 1750–1850* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 174–97.

¹⁹⁷ See Keith Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in early Modern England', in Anthony Fletcher (ed.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 56–83, p. 65.

¹⁹⁸ See especially 'Large' *Minutes*, Q. 41, pt. 6, 10:890 in this edn. (repeated in revised form as W. 44, 10:921 in this edn.); Sermon 88, 'On Dress', §5, 3:249 in this edn.; and Sermon 98, 'On Visiting the Sick', II.6, 3:392 in this edn.

¹⁹⁹ JW to Richard Steele, Apr. 24, 1769 (vol. 28 in this edn.).

²⁰⁰ Cheyne, *Essay of Health*, 102–3, 108; echoed by JW in Preface, §16, IV.10.

²⁰¹ The phrase 'it prevents abundance of diseases' in §16, IV.10 is JW's addition, not found in Cheyne, *Essay of Health*, 108.

²⁰² Cf. Smith, 'Physical Puritanism', 180.

Contemporary Reception of John Wesley's Practice of Offering Medical and Health Advice²⁰³

Wesley's practice of providing medical care and advice drew little negative attention through its first three decades (a fact some later writers, apparently unaware of the Anglican precedent in this regard, find surprising²⁰⁴). To be sure, Anglican opponents characterized the Methodists as 'young quacks in divinity' from the earliest years of the renewal movement.²⁰⁵ But this used the term 'quack' in its general sense of pretending to knowledge that one does not have; there was no specific criticism of offering medical advice in the attacks.

One of the particular accusations aimed at the Methodists was that they were fanatics or enthusiasts. Nathaniel Lancaster framed this accusation in his 1767 satirical poem *Methodism Triumphant* through extended ridicule of the claim of Wesley and others to offer 'ancient remedies' for healing 'distempered souls'.²⁰⁶ While forceful, Lancaster's ridicule was analogical, focussing on evangelistic practices rather than treatment of physical ills.

A common evidence cited by Lancaster and others to prove the fanaticism of Methodists was their reliance on *miraculous* healing.²⁰⁷ We noted earlier that in Wesley's case this implied no criticism of seeking *medical* care. Indeed, William Warburton, a bishop and leading critic, mentioned Wesley's offering of medical advice in an (ironic) positive light, suggesting that he took up these efforts merely to demonstrate that he placed more emphasis on works than did George Whitefield. Warburton also proposed that Wesley drew upon his Oxford training in producing *Primitive Physic* (in principle, apparently, a positive venture) primarily to counter earlier statements that seemed to imply that he disdained human learning.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ This section draws on Randy L. Maddox, 'Reclaiming the Eccentric Parent: Methodist Reception of John Wesley's Interest in Medicine', in Deborah Madden (ed.), *Inward and Outward Health: John Wesley's Holistic Concept of Medical Science, the Environment, and Holy Living* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 15–50. Readers can find more details there.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Revd. John Wesley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), 1:564.

²⁰⁵ One of the earliest examples is Tristram Land, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, Designed to Correct His Mistaken Account of Regeneration* (London: J. Roberts, 1739), 5.

²⁰⁶ Nathaniel Lancaster, *Methodism Triumphant* (London: Wilkie, et al., 1767), 26, 62.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Lancaster, *Methodism Triumphant*, 51; and William Warburton, *The Doctrine of Grace* (London: A. Millar, 1763), 138–39.

²⁰⁸ Warburton, *Doctrine of Grace*, 251–52.

Something closer to criticism of Wesley for offering medical advice emerged in the early 1770s, in a debate between the Wesleyan and Calvinist Methodists. In 1771 John Fletcher published his *Second Check to Antinomianism*, in which he tried to defend Wesley against the charge of giving inconsistent *spiritual* advice by drawing an analogy with how physicians might dispense hot medicines to some patients and cool to others, depending on their condition.²⁰⁹ Richard Hill, a Calvinist Methodist, challenged the appropriateness of the analogy rather sharply: ‘Unless Mr. Fletcher can prove that the ability of the physician may be consistent with him sometimes administering a plentiful dose of hemlock or rats-bane, I fear we cannot allow Mr. Wesley any other title than that of an empiric, or quack doctor.’²¹⁰ In his reflections on Hill’s response, John Wesley singled out this quote as an example of the ungentlemanly tone of the work.²¹¹ Responding in turn to Wesley, Hill made clear that he was not attacking Wesley for giving medical advice, he was simply playing with Fletcher’s analogy for Wesley’s spiritual advice. Then Hill extended the analogical critique in a long satirical poem about Wesley as a quack offering spiritual ‘nostrums’!²¹² Whatever the tone of this piece, it still did not breach the boundary of analogy and criticize Wesley specifically for offering medical advice.

The first clear instance of that breach came in early 1775, from the pen of Augustus Toplady, a more rancorous Calvinist interlocutor with Wesley. In the preface of his response to Wesley’s tract *Thoughts upon Necessity*, Toplady drew a direct comparison between the dangers of Wesley’s ‘spiritual medicines’ and a ‘quack remedy’ that Wesley recommended in the *Primitive Physic* for gout (§120)—applying raw beef steak to the part affected. Toplady noted that Dr. Edward Townshend, dean of Norwich cathedral, died of gout in 1765, even though he had followed this advice. While Toplady admitted that he had no evidence Townshend had found the advice in *Primitive Physic*, he insisted that this instance ‘demonstrates the unskilful temerity wherewith the compiler [Wesley] sets himself up

²⁰⁹ John William Fletcher, *A Second Check to Antinomianism* (London: New Chapel, 1771), 22–23.

²¹⁰ Richard Hill, *A Review of all the Doctrines Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley* (London: Dilly, 1772), 29.

²¹¹ Wesley, *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill’s ‘Review ...’*, §3, 13:437 in this edn.

²¹² See Richard Hill, *Logica Wesleiensis; or The Farrago Double Distilled. With an Heroic Poem in Praise of Mr. John Wesley* (London: Dilly, 1773), 44–51.

as a physician of the body'.²¹³ While Toplady was challenging Wesley's qualifications for issuing medical advice, it is also obvious that this was not his primary concern—he invoked the issue in passing, in hopes that it would help discredit Wesley in their ongoing debate over predestination.

As 1775 drew to a close, Wesley came under direct attack for another receipt in *Primitive Physic*, recommended for 'one poisoned' (§177, receipt #1). This attack led to a running battle of printed exchanges, stretching over more than a year. We have gathered the texts of these exchanges in Appendix D, where readers can look for documentation and greater detail of the following summary.

The onslaught began with a letter to *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* by a person using the pseudonym of 'Antidote', published December 25, 1775. The author mentioned happening upon the prescription in *Primitive Physic* for one poisoned that read 'give one or two drams of distilled verdigris'. He then exclaimed: 'I could scarce believe my eyesight for some time, nor can at present by any means account for the ignorance and presumption of a man who deals out as an antidote one of the most active poisons in nature, in such an enormous dose.' Antidote went on to note that the proper dose of this drug would have been one or two *grains* (a grain being about 1/60th of a dram), and exhorted Wesley to recall 'these *firebrands of death* that you have scattered so plentifully through the land' (i.e., copies of the *Primitive Physic*), suggesting that otherwise he would bring it to the attention of the Royal College of Physicians.

Wesley responded quickly with a letter thanking the 'gentleman', though wishing he had drawn this obvious 'mere blunder of the printer' to Wesley's attention in a more obliging manner. Wesley insisted he had written 'grain' rather than 'dram'. Wesley ended his letter by begging everyone that had a copy of *Primitive Physic* to insert a correction in their copy.

Wesley's response was attacked immediately by a writer using the pseudonym 'Fly-Flap' (i.e., fly swatter), who argued that, instead of apologizing, Wesley's letter was 'a most crafty piece of evasion and only worthy of an unfeeling quack, regardless of and sporting with the health and lives of his fellow creatures'. The writer dismissed the suggestion that the wording could have resulted from

²¹³ Augustus Montague Toplady, *The Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity Asserted; in opposition to Mr. John Wesley's Tract on that Subject* (London: Vallance & Simmons, 1775), vi–viii.

a printer's error and challenged Wesley to show any edition of the work in which the error was not present.

In the same issue of *The Gazetteer* was a second, longer letter protesting Wesley's 'despicable apology', under the pseudonym of 'Civis'. The author argued that Wesley ought to have reviewed personally every edition of *Primitive Physic* issued, and contended that the only reason he did not was his 'thirst for gain'. He then added: 'Or did more important avocations (political ones perhaps) render you totally forgetful of your duty in this particular?' Civis concluded by admonishing Wesley to publish the correction of the 'poisonous prescription' in papers throughout the kingdom and to revise *Primitive Physic* immediately.

Another letter signed 'Antidote' was published in the January 10 issue of *The Gazetteer*. This time the author said that he owned the 8th edition (1759) of *Primitive Physic*, which also contained the 'famous poisonous recipe', contradicting Wesley's 'artful' suggestion that the error had crept into only a few editions.

This was followed three days later by a letter from 'A Friend to Truth'. This writer suggested that Wesley's confession of the 'fatal blunder' of his printer was a reaction that betrayed Wesley's 'usual levity' about such serious matters. He continued: 'How many thousands may have fallen by it is not easily estimated; but is hoped this, with other *fatal* blunders and mistakes in politics, will at last teach this Reverend Methodist gentleman, scholar, Christian, physician, and politician, to be more serious' and stick solely to preaching and spiritual writings.

Wesley's answer to this flurry of attacks came in a letter to the editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*, published on January 26, 1776. He began with the observation: 'The *Primitive Physic* might have escaped, had it not been for the *Calm Address*' (more on this later). Wesley then sketched the process that led to the publication of the *Primitive Physic*, insisting that his only motive had been to benefit others. He rebutted several accusations—such as that he considered all physicians to be ignorant knaves, or that he rejected all Galenical medicines. Most of all, he challenged the tone of the letters and their many exaggerations, asking: 'Who can account for these palpable, barefaced falsehoods, advanced without rhyme or reason? Only on this supposition: a red hot American will say anything to blacken one that loves King George.'

After Wesley had written this reply, but before it appeared in print, another attack was published in *The Gazetteer*, this time signed 'XXX'. The writer proposed that the real reason for the

'blundering prescription' was that Wesley mistook a 'dram' for a 'grain', because he did not recognize that apothecaries use a unique type of Troy weights. Broadening the charge, he suggested: 'People who ... generally *run as they read*, and fling books aside as soon as they fancy themselves possessed of what they were *prepossessed* in favour of *before*, are perpetually falling into great errors. Mr. Wesley's whole progress in life stands as a proof that he is one of that species of readers.' XXX closed by again challenging Wesley to point out a single edition of *Primitive Physic* without the error.

The next day *The Gazetteer* carried yet another letter from 'Antidote', with the heading 'O thou man of God, there is death in thy pot' (2 Kings 4:40, revised). The writer first claimed that intervening letters (since the first) under that pseudonym were by another author; but he went on to say that he considered Wesley's reply to date unsatisfactory and evasive (Wesley's longer answer did not appear in print until the following day). He then bluntly dismissed the suggestion that the use of 'drams' in the prescription was a printer's error. More pointedly, drawing on the analogy of 2 Kings 4:38–41, Antidote charged that Wesley had raised a false alarm that there was a dearth of physic in the land, and then ostentatiously produced his great pot of *Primitive Physic*; which actually was a deadly mix, leaving the people now in need of a 'holy hand to cast in the healing meal, that there may be no harm in the pot!' The writer closed with the suggestion that Wesley's wisest course of action would be to stop offering medical advice.

Wesley replied to these further volleys over his prescription for one poisoned in a letter published on January 31 in *The Gazetteer*. He opened with a sarcastic entreaty to continue publishing their letters—since it was helping more people become aware of *Primitive Physic*. He next insisted that he had given public answers to Antidote and the others. Then Wesley turned to XXX's characterization of him as one who 'reads as he runs'. While admitting that he read while journeying, since his time at home was usually spent in writing, Wesley insisted that his study of Scripture was methodical and asked for some latitude given his age (he was seventy-two).

Let us pause at for a moment in the sketch of this battle to note a few details. First, the suggested dosage of 'one or two drams' appeared in the 2nd edition of *Primitive Physic* (ca. 1750), which was the first to contain this receipt. The dosage remained unchanged through the 16th edition (1774), current during the debate. Hence there was no edition to which Wesley could point that did not contain the error. Second, Wesley almost certainly took this receipt

(with its mistaken dosage) from a published source.²¹⁴ If there is blame, it did not lay with his printer, but on Wesley's failure to catch the mistake in the source. Third, whatever the source of the mistaken dosage, Wesley revised it to 'one or two grains' in the 17th edition of *Primitive Physic*, published in late 1776, as encouraged by his critics.

Concerning the motives attributed to Wesley by his critics, the suggestion by Antidote that Wesley exaggerated the dearth of physicians in order to create a market for *Primitive Physic* fails to recognize Wesley's focus on the poor and those in the scattered villages. The charge that Wesley was motivated to publish by desire for financial gain is equally unconvincing, given the difference in price between *Primitive Physic* and William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* noted previously. There is little reason to doubt Wesley's claim that his main motive was to share his knowledge of medical matters with those in need.

Reversing the table, what about the motives of Wesley's attackers? He charged that they latched onto this minor mistake in *Primitive Physic* and caricatured it, not because of a deep interest in the health of his readers, but as a tool in their attempt to discredit his public stand in support of King George. Some background will help put this suggestion in context. From the beginning of their disputes with the British government about taxation and representation, through mid-1775, Wesley had shown public sympathy for the stance of the British colonists in North America. Then Samuel Johnson's tract *Taxation no Tyranny* (and the declaration of independence by the colonists in July) changed his mind. In September 1775 Wesley published *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (digesting Johnson's tract, without acknowledgment), publicly adopting the government's side in the dispute. Released when excitement over the colonies was at a fever pitch, Wesley's 'turncoat' *Calm Address* caused a furor. The next three months witnessed numerous critical letters to the editor in London magazines (particularly those with Whig connections) and no less than sixteen tracts published against Wesley.²¹⁵ Caleb Evans, a dissenting preacher and Whig, took the lead in attacking Wesley, seeking to discredit *Calm Address* by exposing it as 'plagiarized' from Johnson—who could be dismissed as a pensioner (or paid propagandist) of the government.

²¹⁴ Boyle Godfrey, *A Treasure of Useful Discoveries* (Dublin, 1746), 159–60.

²¹⁵ A good summary can be found in Donald Henry Kirkham, 'Pamphlet Opposition to the Rise of Methodism' (Duke University Ph.D. thesis, 1973), 290–314. JW's writing related to this dispute are gathered in vol. 15 of this edn.

Against this background, readers should note the frequent allusions to *Calm Address*, Caleb Evans, and Wesley's political ambitions in the various letters attacking *Primitive Physic*. It is also significant that most of the letters appeared in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, which remained a strong supporter of the American colonists' cause after the war began, reflecting its largely mercantile readership.²¹⁶ Wesley's *Calm Address* was a prime target for *The Gazetteer*, which included a couple of Caleb Evans's final letters attacking Wesley just prior to Antidote's opening volley in the debate of the receipt for one poisoned.²¹⁷ It is not hard to see how Wesley might suspect that the primary motivation for attacking his receipt was not medical but political—to *poison the (ink) well* of his *Calm Address*.

Whatever its original motive, the attack upon Wesley's receipt for one poisoned played out just as a broadened basis for enforcing specialized training and certification of medical practitioners was being put in place. In 1773 John Coakley Lettsom, a Quaker physician and philanthropist, founded The Medical Society of London—the first *general* medical society of note in England.²¹⁸ Unlike the Royal College of Physicians, this Society invited surgeons and apothecaries into membership as well. This act of inclusion was a major step in consolidating and intensifying efforts to define the boundaries of 'professional' medicine—by drawing the line at these two groups.

The debate over Wesley's receipt for one poisoned helped make him a target in these intensified efforts. Actually, the initial debate was largely ignored by broader London society, with few of the letters in *The Gazetteer* being picked up and reprinted in other newspapers (as was commonly done with prominent topics). But it drew the attention of William Hawes, a London apothecary, who published an advertisement in *The Gazetteer* on February 3, 1776, (three days after Wesley's last letter) announcing a book he was preparing that would analyse all of the prescriptions in *Primitive Physic*, exposing their many follies and dangers. Hawes thanked Antidote for his 'humane and sensible letter' pointing out the dangerous prescription for counteracting poison, which Hawes credited for convincing him of the need for his book.

²¹⁶ See Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 25–27, 31.

²¹⁷ Caleb Evans, 'To John Wesley', *The Gazetteer* (Dec. 7, 1775), 2; and Caleb Evans, 'To John Wesley', *The Gazetteer* (Dec. 23, 1775), 2.

²¹⁸ See Penelope Hunting, *The Medical Society of London, 1773–2003* (London: Medical Society of London, 2003).

In other words, Hawes appeared on the scene as the ‘holy hand to cast in the healing meal’ that Antidote had called for a week earlier. It is tempting to view Antidote’s call as an intentional teaser, setting up Hawes’s announcement. The possibility could even be considered that Hawes was ‘Antidote’. We know that Hawes was an elder in Abraham Rees’s presbyterian Church of St. Thomas in Southwark. Like most dissenting ministers, Rees was a Whig and strong supporter of the colonists in their revolt. Hawes’s comments in the preface of his published *Examination of the Revd. Mr. John Wesley’s Primitive Physic* make clear that he shared this stance. He spoke disparagingly of Wesley’s character and conduct as a politician, specifically endorsing Caleb Evans’s attack upon Wesley.²¹⁹

Divergence from Wesley on the most burning political issue of the day may help explain the tone of Hawes’s book, which a review in *Gentlemen’s Magazine* characterized as filled with ‘sourness and rancour’. But disdain for Wesley—as a minister—having the audacity to offer medical advice is also evident. This is particularly noticeable because there was little in *Primitive Physic* that merited contemporary criticism. The majority of Wesley’s suggested cures were commonplace, taken from recent authorities. He was more cautious than most concerning questionable treatments like bleeding and purging. As Deborah Madden has argued, the result is that Hawes’s *Examination* became a ‘petty, hair-splitting exercise’ that only occasionally rose above ‘sectarian, political, and even *ad hominem* denunciation of Wesley’s text’.²²⁰

Wesley’s initial response to Hawes’s *Examination* was a brief letter in *Lloyd’s Evening Post* in mid-July, thanking him for publicity, which increased the demand for *Primitive Physic*. Hawes replied immediately to this cynical dismissal with his own public letter, which compared Wesley to the ‘most mercenary quack that ever disgraced a stage in Moorfields’ and ranked him among ‘the most base and unworthy of mankind’.

Within a week Wesley published a more serious response to Hawes. He made clear his belief that Hawes was motivated to attack *Primitive Physic* by his strong disagreement with Wesley’s *Calm*

²¹⁹ William Hawes, *An Examination of the Revd. Mr. John Wesley’s Primitive Physick* (London: J. Dodsley, 1776), iii–iv.

²²⁰ Deborah Madden, ‘Contemporary Reaction to John Wesley’s *Primitive Physic*: Or, the Case of Dr. William Hawes Examined’, *Social History of Medicine* 17 (2004): 365–78; see 368–69.

Address. He rejected the suggestion that he lacked basic medical knowledge, stressing the numerous medical sources he had consulted. Wesley then worked through Hawes's *Examination*, answering several specific criticisms. He ended the letter by thanking Hawes for drawing some problematic prescriptions to his attention and noted that he was preparing a new edition of *Primitive Physick* that would address these cases.

Hawes's answer to this letter appeared two weeks later. He rejected the suggestion that disagreement with Wesley's political stance motivated him to do the *Examination*. He rebuffed Wesley's assumption that he should have recognized the sources of Wesley's receipts, noting that Wesley typically did not cite his sources—in keeping with his 'character as a plagiarist'! Hawes contended that Wesley should have responded sooner in correcting the dangerous remedies, charging that the reason he did not call in the earlier unsold copies was fear of financial loss. He closed with the suggestion that instead of issuing a revised copy, Wesley should simply cease publishing medical advice.

While the initiating tempest in *The Gazetteer* had not been broadly noticed, Hawes's *Examination* was reviewed in several London journals. Some of the reviews echoed the tone of the book, with one calling for Wesley to be hanged!²²¹ Others expressed appreciation for the medical insights of Hawes's volume, if sometimes questioning its tone. Most concurred with the *Critical Review* that this case proved the need for respecting professional specialization. As a formal expression of this sentiment, the recently-formed Medical Society of London issued Hawes, the apothecary, public thanks for his efforts to restore 'true medical knowledge'.²²²

In principle, admonitions to restrict himself to his pulpit (in the words of *Civis*) need imply no deprecation of Wesley in his appropriate professional field. But these public satirical attacks on Wesley's efforts in medical care by critics of his political views were soon taken over by persons who differed with Wesley on theological issues—whether Anglicans wary of his dissenting tendencies, or Calvinists scornful of his Arminian and perfectionist stance. A letter in *The Gazetteer* in early July 1776 by 'Public Applause' was perhaps the first to weave together this threefold attack:

²²¹ The suggestion of hanging comes at the end of the review in the acerbic *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* 3 (1776): 412–13.

²²² Cited in Public Applause, 'To Mr. Hawes, Author of *An Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physick*', *The Gazetteer* (July 7, 1776), 1–2.

There has, I doubt not, always been impious divines, seditious quacks, and ignorant and profligate politicians, who have each committed horrid mischiefs in their different professions. But I never till this era found all these enormities united in *one* person, who attempted to poison the soul by religious doctrines, the body individual by quackism, and the body politic by a Jesuitical and daring attempt to vindicate the violent measures of government to tax three millions of unrepresented free-born Englishmen.

By early 1777 active debate about Wesley's *Primitive Physic* subsided. But the linking of his efforts of offering medical care to satirical attacks upon his role of providing spiritual and theological leadership for his Methodist people created the bind that led Wesley (as noted earlier) to strip the next edition of the 'Large' *Minutes* of references to local visitors of the sick and instructions for his lay assistants to visit the sick. Thereby Wesley bowed to the emerging specialization that would permeate modern Western cultures. This specialization became both a source and the reinforced result of the explosion of knowledge over the last two centuries. While it has had many benefits, it also spawned disciplinary insularity and reductionist approaches to issues. And it weakened among Wesley's ecclesial heirs the *balance* that characterized his approach (at its best) to issues of health.²²³

Later Evaluations of John Wesley's Practice of Offering Medical and Health Advice

Echoes of Hawes's professional disdain for Wesley's efforts in medicine continued to reverberate for some time. When Robert Southey, a prominent British author, published his generally sympathetic biography of Wesley in 1820, he judged the *Primitive Physic* as revealing a 'lamentable want of judgment and perilous rashness'.²²⁴ An essay (apparently) by a physician published on both sides of the Atlantic in 1906 contended that *Primitive Physic* could only strike modern readers as evidence of a hiatus in Wesley's faculties, which was 'natural and inevitable in a theologian of that day,

²²³ For reflections on this history see Elmer Brooks Holifield, *Health and Medicine in the Methodist Tradition* (New York: Crossroad, 1986); and Harold Y. Vanderpool, 'The Wesleyan Methodist Tradition', in Ronald Numbers & Darrel Amundson (eds.), *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 317–53.

²²⁴ Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley* (London: Longman, et al., 1820), 2:347.

and not unfamiliar even in some of the theological intellects of the present'!²²⁵ Similar judgments appear in some historical studies through the mid-twentieth century.²²⁶ As a result, many of Wesley's twenty-first century ecclesial descendants view his medical interests as eccentric, if they are aware of these efforts at all.²²⁷

But there has been a growing counter-voice to echoes of Hawes as well, reclaiming this dimension of Wesley's ministry. In 1846, the year after John Stamp expressed the reserve about Wesley's medical advice that opened this introduction, Thomas Marriott published an article in the same British Methodist magazine noting that it was the centenary of Wesley's opening the health clinic in London.²²⁸ While Marriott did not explicitly rebut Stamp, his survey of Wesley's efforts to provide medical care had an appreciative tone. His became the first in a string of publications that have looked with more favour upon the *Primitive Physic* and upon Wesley's medical efforts more generally.²²⁹

The majority of these publications are brief and fall in the vein of bemused interest on discovering this dimension of Wesley's work. By no means are they all by Methodists or other descendants of the Wesleyan revival. The earliest examples in North America come from the pen of John Plummer, a Quaker physician in Richmond, Indiana.²³⁰ As this suggests, many in this vein come from medical practitioners of various types. Their general tone can be illustrated by the conclusion of a 1902 essay in *The British Medical Journal* about the *Primitive Physic*:

Such are a few of the quaint ideas and practices dealt within this old book of popular medicine. It is only fair, however, to note the fact

²²⁵ Burton G. Thomas, 'John Wesley on the Art of Healing', *The British Medical Journal* (Apr. 28, 1906): 987–88; reprinted in *American Physician* (Nov. 1906): 295–98. The published name is probably a pseudonym.

²²⁶ E.g., John Harold Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1950), 96; and Lester S. King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 34–39.

²²⁷ See, for example, the description of *Primitive Physic* as 'a strange mix of old wives' tales and recent insights' in John Munsey Turner, *John Wesley: The Evangelical Revival and the Rise of Methodism in England* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2002), 41–42.

²²⁸ Thomas Marriott, 'Methodism in Former Days: Medicine and Medical Advice', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 69 (1846): 359–64.

²²⁹ See the bibliography, and more detailed references, in Maddox, 'Reclaiming the Eccentric Parent'.

²³⁰ John T. Plummer, 'John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*', *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 15 (1858): 282–86.

that the author's strong common sense guarded him from many of the more absurd and disgusting prescriptions of his day.²³¹

Some make this point more strongly, contending that 'Wesley's treatment of diseases was at least as reconcilable with common sense as that of the contemporary regular practitioner, much more so in most cases'.²³² A few studies slide over into panegyric, championing Wesley as an exemplary amateur physician.²³³

The string of publications on Wesley and medicine has been laced with occasional more rigorous studies that explain and evaluate Wesley's general practice and specific receipts in their historical context. While noting the limitations and tensions of his efforts, these studies concur in judging *Primitive Physic* as better than most of the popular medical works of the age.²³⁴

Finally, a recurrent theme in recent studies has been appreciation for the precedent that Wesley provides for help in countering the insular and reductionist tendencies of modern specialization, seeking balanced and integrative models of health and healing.²³⁵

²³¹ Anonymous, 'A Medical Tract by John Wesley', *The British Medical Journal* (Mar. 29, 1902): 799–800.

²³² William Renwick Riddell, 'Wesley's System of Medicine', *New York Journal of Medicine* 99 (1914): 64–68; here, 68.

²³³ The most developed example is A. Wesley Hill, *John Wesley Among the Physicians* (London: Epworth, 1958).

²³⁴ See George Dock, 'The *Primitive Physic* of Rev. John Wesley', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 64 (1915): 629–38; George Sebastian Rousseau, 'John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 16 (1968): 242–56; Clifford Wayne Calloway, 'John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*: An Essay in Appreciation', *Proceedings of the Mayo Clinic* 49 (1974): 318–24; John Cule, 'The Rev. John Wesley: "The Naked Empiricist" and Orthodox Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 45 (1990): 41–63; and the studies by Donat and Madden cited earlier.

²³⁵ See particularly Philip Wesley Ott, 'John Wesley on Health as Wholeness', *Journal of Religion and Health* 30 (1991): 43–57; Randy L. Maddox, 'John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing', *Methodist History* 46 (2007): 4–33; Melanie Dobson Hughes, 'The Holistic Way: John Wesley's Practical Piety as a Resource for Integrated Healthcare', *Journal of Religion and Health* 47 (2008): 237–52; and Karen D. Scheib, 'Christian Commitment to Public Well-Being: John Wesley's "Sensible Regimen" and *Primitive Physic*', in Ellen Louise Idler (ed.), *Religion as a Social Determinant of Public Health* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 113–32.

*A COLLECTION OF RECEIPTS
FOR THE USE OF THE POOR*
(1745)

An Introductory Comment

The broad background and commitments that led to Wesley's publication of *A Collection of Receipts for the Use of the Poor* in 1745 were explored in the general Introduction to this volume. The pamphlet was an important resource through which Wesley exercised his vocation of priest/physician within the early Methodist revival, as it spread from Bristol and London into the many villages and cities covering the British landscape. It embodied his concern to provide the poor with safe and accessible medical advice.

A few specific aspects of *A Collection of Receipts* deserve further comment, to aid in appreciating its content. A good place to begin is with the title term 'receipts'. All three editions of the pamphlet that Wesley published actually used the archaic spelling 'receits', but he adopted the modern spelling when he brought the collection into *Primitive Physic* in 1747. In keeping with the editorial principles of this edition, we have standardized to this spelling. But whatever the spelling, the use of 'receipt' in this title is puzzling for modern readers, because this term is used most commonly now to denote a record of the amount of something received, particularly of money in a financial transaction. One must scan down to the fourth-ranked cluster of possible meanings in the *Oxford English Dictionary* to locate the sense of the term in eighteenth-century medicine: 'a statement of the ingredients and procedure necessary for making a medicinal preparation. . . . More generally: a remedy or cure.' *A Collection of Receipts* was Wesley's first published gathering of recommended remedies for ailments.

Turning to the term 'collection' in the title of the pamphlet, one question that it naturally raises concerns the source(s) from which the various receipts were drawn. Wesley does not cite a single source in any of the three editions of the pamphlet, which has led some to assume that he was simply compiling popular folklore. However,

thirty years after publishing *A Collection of Receipts*, when *Primitive Physic* came under attack, Wesley stressed the role of published sources in response to the question: 'But how came this tract into the world?'

Above fifty years ago Mr. Boyle's *Remedia Parabilia, or Remedies Easy to be Procured* fell into my hands.¹ I transcribed many of them for my own use, adding a few more from books or conversation, and afterwards from a treatise I found in Carolina entitled *Every Man his own Physician*.² After proving the virtue of many of these, near forty years since I published *Receipts for the Use of the Poor*.³

The annotated text of *A Collection of Receipts* below confirms Wesley's description in this response. Over half of the 244 receipts included have been traced confidently to published sources (based upon significant replication of terms, quantities, etc.). Several of the remaining receipts are likely also dependent upon published sources, as yet unidentified. Others would be drawn from Wesley's 'conversation' with family, friends, followers, and the like.⁴

Another aspect of Wesley's account of the origin of *Collection of Receipts* confirmed by this annotated edition is his reliance upon Robert Boyle. Over a quarter of the receipts (66 of 244) can be confidently traced to Boyle.⁵ The next most prominent published source, in terms of number of receipts included (at least 38), was a two-volume overview of medical advice by 'the most celebrated

¹ I.e., Robert Boyle, *Some Receipts of Medicines, For the most part Parable and Simple. Sent to a Friend in America* (London: [s.n.,] 1688). JW does not mention this specific book in his Oxford diary (which begins in April 1725). He does record translating the Latin version of Boyle's essay championing simple remedies, and their capability with a Newtonian approach (*De Specificorum Remediorum*) on July 9, 1725, which may have pointed him to *Some Receipts*.

² John Tennent, *Every Man His Own Doctor: or, The Poor Planter's Physician* (Williamsburg, VA: William Parks, 1734).

³ JW, 'To the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*', c. Jan. 23, 1776 (in Appendix D below).

⁴ See Boyle's description of collecting receipts from conversation in *Some Receipts*, [p. vii].

⁵ In preparing the text of *Collection of Receipts*, JW drew upon a more extended version of the earlier work he read: Robert Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments; or, A Collection of Choice and Safe Remedies, for the most part Simple and easily Prepared, very useful in Families, and fitted for the service of Country People*, 4th edn., enlarged (London: Smith and Taylor, 1703). It is clear that JW was using at least this 4th edition, because he included one receipt that was first integrated into the collection in that edition.

authors', published by John Allen.⁶ Wesley's financial records show that he purchased this work shortly after its publication in 1730.⁷ By contrast, the third largest set of receipts clearly drawn from a published source (at least six) come from a book published within a year of the appearance of *A Collection of Receipts*, George Berkeley's defence of the *Virtues of Tar Water*.⁸ The authors of other books drawn on by Wesley for scattered remedies his *Collection* include John Floyer, John Hancocke, Mary Kettlby, and Thomas Sydenham.⁹

Perhaps the biggest surprise among the annotations in this edition of *A Collection of Receipts* is that the name of John Tennent (author of *Every Man His Own Doctor*) never appears as the source of a receipt. This can be explained in part by Tennent's focus on medicinal herbs common in North America. But the more central reason can be seen by comparing Wesley's suggestions for a daily ague (in Section I below) with Tennent's advice:

After the second fit, you must bleed eight ounces. The next day, purge with Indian physic [i.e., ipecacuanha]; and two days after that, repeat the same again. This must be followed by taking, every morning and evening, 20 grains of the powder of sassafras-root, mixed with 10 grains of snake-root, in two spoonfuls of the decoction of wormwood.¹⁰

Notice the multiple steps involved in Tennent's advice, as compared to the set of alternative, simple receipts in Wesley's *Collection*. Notice as well that Tennent begins treatment for an ague (and many other ailments) with letting blood, while Wesley never commends bleeding in his *Collection*. Similarly, purges and vomits play a central role in Tennent's advice, but much less so in Wesley's *Collection*. Overall, Tennent's typical prescription failed to meet Wesley's criteria, stated in the Advertisement, of including in his *Collection* only receipts that were cheap, safe, and simple.

⁶ John Allen, *Dr. Allen's Synopsis medicinae; or, A Brief and General Collection of the Whole Practice of Physick. Containing the opinions and judgments of the most celebrated authors, concerning diseases, their causes and remedies*, 2 vols. (London: Pemberton & Meadows, 1730).

⁷ It appears on a manuscript list of his personal library that JW compiled in Michaelmas 1731 (MARC, MA 1977/503, vol. 18, pp. 114–17).

⁸ George Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar Water, and Divers other Subjects* (London: Hitch and Davis, 1744).

⁹ Publication details in each case can be found in the Bibliography.

¹⁰ Tennent, *Every Man His Own Doctor*, 27–28.

This is not to say that Wesley's earlier exposure to Tennent's book had no impact upon *A Collection of Receipts*. Its influence is likely best seen in what Wesley carefully *omitted* from his pamphlet. Nowhere among Wesley's selected receipts appear mercury, opium (or laudanum), or Peruvian bark—even though these were frequently recommended in medical works of Wesley's day, including many of those upon which he drew as sources. Whether in conscious dependence or not, Wesley emulated Tennent's carefully defended precedent of avoiding these three items in medical advice for 'every man', despite their touted efficacy, because they were dangerous unless administered by a person of 'great skill and discernment' (i.e., a physician).¹¹

One other point of interest in Wesley's description of the process that led to publication of *A Collection of Receipts* is the mention of his typical practice of transcribing for his own use material of interest he found in his reading. Several manuscript notebooks filled with Wesley's transcriptions of poetry, devotional readings, and natural philosophy survive.¹² Perhaps prompted by the example of Robert Boyle, Wesley almost certainly created a distinct notebook with transcriptions of medical receipts, since they do not appear scattered in the other notebooks.¹³ This notebook would have been Wesley's reference tool when giving medical advice at the beginning of the revival. But if it existed, where is it now? Wesley's typical practice in publishing was to give printers a manuscript copy of the item to be published (or, when doing a new edition, a prior printed copy with changes inserted by hand). Very few of these source documents survive. They were discarded after the publication emerged. While he left no explicit record of the process, when Wesley decided to publish *A Collection of Receipts* he most likely worked through his set of transcriptions, marking which receipts to include and how to organize them. He then either gave the notebook to the printer, or prepared a clean copy for the printer and discarded the notebook sometime after the publication appeared.

Wesley put the finishing touches on the manuscript source for *A Collection of Receipts* after his arrival in Bristol on July 25, 1745, from a five-week-long preaching tour in Cornwall and Wales. His prefatory 'Advertisement', the last item penned, is dated August 1, 1745—the opening day of the second Conference held with

¹¹ See *ibid.*, 55.

¹² Many of these are part of the 'Colman Collection' in MARC (MA 1977/503); see particularly MS Poetry Miscellany (Vol. 1), and MS Prayer Manual (Vol. 8).

¹³ Notice Boyle's description of compiling such a manuscript 'collection', and drawing from it the materials he was then publishing, in *Some Receipts*, [i–ii].

his growing connexion of preachers. Given the short length of the pamphlet, and Wesley's favoured relationship with his Bristol printer, Felix Farley, by the third day of Conference there were apparently at least proofs to show the assembled preachers, because the question could be raised (and answered affirmatively): 'Shall we keep a little stock of medicines at London, Bristol, and Newcastle, according to the *Collection of Receipts*?'¹⁴

The initial edition published in Bristol, which ran seventeen pages in length, covered ninety-three numbered physical ailments or injuries (though the numbering only went up to XCII, since LXXVII was mistakenly used twice). In keeping with Wesley's principle of giving multiple choices, a total of 234 discrete remedies were included (though a few were not numbered separately). Wesley apparently took a stock of this printing with him when he shifted from Bristol to London in the middle of August, as there is no record of a printing by his London printer, William Strahan. By contrast, when Wesley moved from London to Newcastle in mid-September, he quickly arranged for another printing of the *Collection* by his printer there, John Gooding. This second edition was a near replica of the first, only correcting the numbering error and adjusting the page layout sufficient to reduce the length by a page.

A Collection of Receipts proved popular enough that Wesley arranged for a third printing in Bristol in 1746. While everything in the first two editions was retained, the third edition was enlarged by two new ailments and ten new receipts,¹⁵ increasing the length of the pamphlet by two pages. This was the last printing of *A Collection of Receipts* authorized by Wesley, because the following year he reworked the tract into its larger successor, *Primitive Physic*.¹⁶ Even after *Primitive Physic* appeared, the third edition of *A Collection of Receipts* continued to be offered in Wesley's book catalogues—always at the price of two pence. Only in the 1770 catalogue (*Bibliography*, No. 764) does it disappear, the remnants of the third edition having apparently been exhausted.

¹⁴ Minutes, Saturday, Aug. 3, 1745, Q. 8, 10:160 in this edn.

¹⁵ See ailments 'XXIII. Convulsive Cough' and 'XLII. The Gravel'; as well as receipts 4, 5, 60, 62, 63, 104 114, 120, 121, and 137.

¹⁶ The first edition of *Collection of Receipts* (including its error in numbering) was reprinted in 1747 in Chester, by Peter Joynson. There is little chance that this was authorized by Wesley. The date of the Advertisement is changed to 'April 10, 1747'. Wesley was nowhere near Chester at that time and on no other occasion did he use this printer. For this reason (and because it adds nothing new) we have ignored this printing in our notes and in Appendix A.

Because *A Collection of Receipts* was subsumed into *Primitive Physic*, it did not appear separately in Wesley's edition of collected *Works* (Pine, 1771–74). We include it in this edition both to illustrate the trajectory of growth toward *Primitive Physic* and to document the full range of Wesley's medical advice. In revising *A Collection of Receipts* into the first edition of *Primitive Physic* Wesley not only added new material, he dropped nearly a third of remedies (71 of 244¹⁷) found in the earlier pamphlet. *A Collection of Receipts* remains the only source in which to find these recommendations by Wesley.

For the sake of completeness, the text that follows is based on the longer third edition. We have silently corrected one numbering error (the third edition mistakenly numbers two consecutive receipts #15) and assigned numbers to six distinct remedies that were not numbered separately in any of Wesley's editions (usually short entries tagged onto another, like #21 below). A brief editorial note is given in [square brackets] at the end of most receipts, indicating if the receipt is found only in the third edition, and/or whether it was retained in *Primitive Physic*. Finally, we have noted the published source of Wesley's receipt whenever this could be determined with sufficient confidence. Readers are referred to the Glossaries in Appendix E and Appendix F for definitions of eighteenth-century medical terms Wesley used and identification of the medicinal herbs, etc., that he commended.

For a stemma illustrating the relationship of the three authorized editions of *A Collection of Receipts* published during Wesley's lifetime, and the few textual variants, see Appendix A, p. 630. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 105.

¹⁷The receipts that do *not* include the editorial note [PP] at the end.

A
COLLECTION
OF
RECEITS.

For the Use of the POOR.

Homo sum: Humani nihil à me alienum puto.

TER.



BRISTOL:
Printed by FELIX FARLEY.
[Price Two-Pence.]

A Collection of Receipts for the Use of the Poor

Advertisement

5

I suppose there are a few *infallible* medicines, but believe most of those which follow will fail as seldom as any, and much more seldom than the *costly* ones in common use.

10

From a vast number, I have selected those which are not only *cheap* but *safe*—very few of them, if they do no good, being likely to do much harm.¹

15

For most distempers I have set down several. If one does not help, another may. And they may generally be tried, one (at some distance) after another, using the easiest and simplest first.

August 1, 1745

A Collection of Receipts

20

I. For an Ague

25

1. Take a handful of groundsell, shred it small, put it into a paper bag four inches square, pricking that side that is to be next the skin full of holes. Cover this with a thin linen, and wear it on the pit of the stomach, renewing it two hours before every fit.² [PP³]

30

2. Or boil yarrow in new milk, till it be tender enough to make a plaster of it. Just before the cold fit, apply this to the wrists, and let it be on till the hot fit is over. If another fit comes, use a fresh plaster.⁴ [PP]

¹ JW is echoing Boyle's denial that he considered the remedies in *Some Receipts* to be 'infallible', claiming only that these cheap and easily procured remedies were 'good in their kind' and 'safer than many other medicines'. See *Some Receipts*, [p. iii]; *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:[xiii] (for full bibliographical details on all sources cited, see the Bibliography).

² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:8.

³ This editorial addition indicates that the receipt was carried over into *Primitive Physic*.

⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:21.

3. Or spread soft wax, about the thickness of a crown piece, large enough to cover the wrist. On this spread the leaves of the tops of rue, not yet fully opened. Let this plaster lie on the wrist five or six days.⁵ [*PP*]
4. Or slit two large figs, and spread on them white alabaster beaten to powder. Bind these to the wrists. [3rd edn. only; *PP*] 5
5. Or as much sal-prunella as will lie on a shilling, an hour before the fit. Take it three times. [3rd edn. only; *PP*]
6. Or take as much snake-root finely powdered as will lie on a shilling, in a glass of wine, just before a fit. Repeat this, if need be, once or twice.⁶ 10
7. Or from half a dram to a dram of angelica root grated, two hours before the cold fit.⁷
8. Or from a dram and a half to two drams of good stone brimstone finely powdered, in a little honey or wine, two hours before the fit. If need be, repeat it.⁸ [*PP*] 15

*II. An Anasarca, or flesh-dropsy*⁹

20

9. Apply the leaves of green dock to the joints and soles of the feet, changing it once a day. [*PP*]
10. Or fry rue in oil of walnuts, and apply it hot as a poultice to the navel, changing it once a day.¹⁰ [*PP*] 25

III. St. Anthony's fire

11. Take a decoction of elder leaves as a sweat. Applying cow dung to the part. [*PP*] 30
12. Or a cloth dipped in blood, and laid on moist.¹¹
13. Or a cloth dipped in lime water (see Art. 149), mixed with oil of elder and camphorated spirits of wine. [*PP*]

⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:53.

⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:54.

⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:54.

⁸ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:13–14.

⁹ The separate listing of this disorder ended after the second edition of *Primitive Physic*, being subsumed into 'Dropsy'.

¹⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:52.

¹¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:55.

IV. An Apoplectic fit

14. Fix a cupping-glass, without scarifying, to the nape of the neck, and another to each shoulder.¹² [PP]

5

V. An Asthma

15. Drink largely of water saturated with the smoke of sulphur.
 16. Or of toast and water, with a little nitre and sal ammoniac,¹³ especially at going to bed.
 10 17. Or take morning and evening a spoonful of juice of nettles mixed with clarified honey.¹⁴ [PP]
 18. Or, for the present relief, a spoonful of vinegar of squills. It is a gentle vomit.
 15 19. Oranges, lemons, barberries, vinegar, juice of radishes, are often helpful.
 20. Or take roots of elecampane, thinly sliced one ounce, and a handful of ground-ivy leaves. Boil them in three pints of spring-water to a quart. Strain and sweeten it with honey, and
 20 drink six or seven spoonfuls morning and evening.¹⁵ [PP]
 21.¹⁶ Or half a pint of tar-water.¹⁷ [PP]

VI. A dry or convulsive Asthma

- 25 22. Beat fine saffron to a kind of powder and take eight or ten grains, in any mixture, every night.¹⁸ [PP]

30

VII. Bleeding at the nose

23. Apply to the neck, behind and on each side, a cloth dipped in cold water, mixed with sal-prunella.¹⁹ [PP]

¹² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:33.

¹³ Orig., 'armoniac'; throughout the *Collection*.

¹⁴ Kettilby, *Collection*, 156.

¹⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:30.

¹⁶ This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

¹⁷ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 5–6.

¹⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:71.

¹⁹ Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 80.

VIII. To stanch Blood

24. Take puffballs full ripe, break them warily, and save the powder that is within. Strew this powder over the wound and bind it on.²⁰ [PP]

IX. A Bruise

5

25. Apply as a plaster chopped parsley mixed well with fresh butter.²¹ [PP]
26. Or clarified honey spread on cap-paper.²² [PP]
27. Or common treacle so spread.

10

X. A Burn

28. Apply immediately a bruised onion.²³ [PP]
29. Or a rag dipped in rum or spirits of wine. [PP]
30. Or oil and parsley stamped together. [PP]
31. Or apply oil, and strew on it powdered ginger. [PP]

15

XI. A deep Burn or scald

20

32. Take inner rind of elder and fresh sheep's dung; made it into an ointment with fresh butter.²⁴ [cf. PP]
33. Or dress it several times a day with a feather dipped in linseed oil and lime water beaten well together.²⁵ [cf. PP]

25

XII. Chilblains

34. Apply salt and onion pounded together.²⁶ [PP]
35. Or roast a turnip in the ashes, beat to a poultice; apply it hot, and keep it on three or four days, if need be.²⁷

30

²⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:9.

²¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:57.

²² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:15.

²³ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61.

²⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61–62.

²⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:43.

²⁶ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61 ('For a recent burn').

²⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:26.

XIII. A Cancer

36. Apply a poultice of hemlock, but let it not lie on so long as to raise a blister. [PP]

5 37. Or take half a dram of Venice soap twice a day, either in a pill or in wine or water. [PP]

XIV. Canker in the mouth

10 38. Take an ounce of flowers of sulphur, and half an ounce of rock alum, finely powdered. Mix these well together with pure honey, to be applied from time to time.²⁸ [PP]

15 XV. The Colic

39. A pint of cold water.²⁹ [PP]

40. Or a quart of warm water. [PP]

41. Or a pint of small beer or water, in which a red-hot flint has been quenched. [PP]

20 42.³⁰ Or as much of haws dried and powdered as will lie upon a shilling, in a cup of warm water.³¹ [PP]

43. Or from two scruples to half a dram of the yellow peel of orange, powdered, in a glass of water or in tea.³² [PP]

25 44. Or grind in a stone mortar an ounce of nitre, with half a scruple of fine saffron. Of this take about half a dram at once, in a large glass of cold water.³³

30 XVI. A stubborn Colic

45. Mix half a dram of mastic with the yolk of a new-laid egg, and take it once or twice a day.³⁴

46. Or a decoction of mallow leaves, drank largely. [PP]

47. Or camomile tea. [PP]

²⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:71.

²⁹ John Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum; or, Common Water the best Cure for Fevers, and probably for the Plague* (London: Halsey, 1722), 57–58.

³⁰ This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

³¹ Kettlby, *Collection*, 148 (JW substitutes water for white wine).

³² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:72.

³³ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:44.

³⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:40.

48. Or a bag of hot oats, applied externally.³⁵ [PP]
 49. Or root of garlic.
 50. Or aniseed oil, from 40 to 100 drops, in a little sugar. [PP]

XVII. To resolve Coagulated blood

5

51. Make a paste of black soap and crumbs of white bread, and bind it on the part for some hours.³⁶ [PP]
 52. Or grated root of burdock, spread on a rag. Renew this twice a day.³⁷ [PP] 10

XVIII. Convulsions

53. Take half a dram of mistletoe as a bolus every six hours, drinking after a draught of a strong infusion thereof. This also cures the falling sickness.³⁸ [PP] 15

XIX. Convulsions in children

20

54. Give the child, according to its age, in water or tea, from two to seven grains of volatile salt of amber.³⁹ [PP] 25

XX. Corns

55. Apply a little piece of fresh beef every morning.⁴⁰ [PP]
 56. Or boil the juice of radishes till it is thick enough to spread as a plaster. Shift it as it grows dry.⁴¹ [PP] 30
 57. Or the yeast of small beer, spread on a rag, and renewed once a day.⁴² [PP]

³⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:279.

³⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:57–58.

³⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:59.

³⁸ Cf. Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 61.

³⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:11.

⁴⁰ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123.

⁴¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:69.

⁴² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:70.

XXI. *A Cough*

58. Drink a pint and half of cold water, going to bed.⁴³ [PP]

59. Or mix the juice of boiled turnips with as much finely powdered sugar candy as will make a kind of syrup. Swallow a little
5 of this, drop by drop, from time to time.⁴⁴ [PP]

60. Or mix an ounce of linseed oil with an ounce of white sugar candy powdered, and take a teaspoonful when the cough comes. [3rd edn. only; PP]

10

XXII. *A consumptive Cough*

61. Slit ten or twelve raisins of the sun, take out the stones, and fill
15 them with the small tender tops of rue. Take these early every morning, fasting two or three hours after.⁴⁵ [PP]

XXIII. *A convulsive Cough* [3rd edn. only]

20 62. Preserved walnuts. [3rd edn. only; PP]

63. Or boil a handful of bay leaves in milk; turn this with white wine, and drink a draught of the whey. [3rd edn. only; PP]

25

XXIV. *Costiveness*

64. Rise early. [PP]

65. Or take a decoction of tamarinds in whey.⁴⁶ [PP]

30 66. Or boil in a pint and half of broth, half a handful of mallow leaves chopped. Strain this, and drink it before you eat anything else.⁴⁷ [PP]

35

XXV. *The Cramp (to prevent)*

67. At going to bed, tie your garter tight under your knee. [PP]

⁴³ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 20–21.

⁴⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:67.

⁴⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:67–68.

⁴⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:256.

⁴⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:24.

- 68.⁴⁸ Or sew the leaves of rosemary in linen, so as to make a kind of garter. Tie this under your knee when you go to bed.

XXVI. Deafness

69. Drop juice of elder leaves into the ear. [PP] 5
 70. Or, if the ear be stopped with wax, gently syringe it with sage tea mixed with white wine. [cf. PP]
 71. Or put a grain of musk, or amber, or chive,⁴⁹ wrapped in raw silk, into the ear, going to bed.⁵⁰
 72. Or ant's eggs, bruised and mixed with juice of onions.⁵¹ 10

XXVII. Diabetes

73. Drink wine boiled with ginger, as much and as often as your strength will bear. Let your common drink be milk and water. All milkmeats are good. [PP] 15

XXVIII. Dropsy

74. Drink, morning and evening, a spoonful of the juice of those artichoke leaves that grow on the stalk. [PP] 20
 75. Or abstain from all drink thirty days. If you hold on your tongue a thin, small slice of toasted bread dipped in brandy, it will ease your thirst.⁵² [PP] 25
 76. Or boil three handfuls of the *inner bark* of elder in a pint of water and a pint of milk, to half the quantity. Take half of this in the evening, and the other half in the morning. Repeat this daily till you are well.⁵³ 30
 77. Or infuse a pound of white and clean ashes of broom, and a large handful of wormwood, in two quarts of Rhenish [wine], cold; of which take a quarter of a pint in the morning, at four in the afternoon, and at night.⁵⁴

⁴⁸This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

⁴⁹Orig., 'civet'; an obsolete borrowing from French.

⁵⁰Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:54.

⁵¹Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:53–54.

⁵²Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:338.

⁵³Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 61.

⁵⁴Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 62.

XXIX. *The Earache*

78. Apply a hot roll to the ear. [PP]

79. Or put into it a roasted fig, as hot as you can bear it. [PP]

80. Or rub the ear hard for a quarter of an hour. [PP]

5 81. Or blow the smoke of tobacco strongly into it.⁵⁵ [PP]

XXX. *Earache from worms*

10 82. Drop in warm milk, and it brings them out.⁵⁶ [PP]

83. Or drop in juice of wormwood, which kills them.⁵⁷ [PP]

84. Or oil of bitter almonds. [PP]

XXXI. *A bloodshot Eye*

15 85. Mix half a dram of well-powdered tutty with an ounce of red rose water. Drop this often into the eye.⁵⁸ [PP]

XXXII. *A bruise in the Eye*

20 86. Apply, as a plaster, conserve of roses. [PP]

87. Or a paste of black soap and white bread crumbs; but take care it get not into the eye.⁵⁹ [PP]

25 XXXIII. *To clear the Eye, even from films*

88. Dry *zibethum occidentale* slowly, then reduce it to an impalpable powder. Blow this into the eye twice or thrice a day.⁶⁰ [PP]

30 XXXIV. *Hot or sharp humours in the Eye*

89. Beat the white of an egg into a water, in which mix fine sugar, and drop it frequently into the eye.⁶¹ [PP]

⁵⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:52.

⁵⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:52.

⁵⁷ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:52.

⁵⁸ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:79 (JW omits frog's spawn, Canary wine, and aqua mirabilis).

⁵⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:77.

⁶⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:11.

⁶¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:37.

XXXV. Weak or sore Eyes

90. Heat half an ounce of lapis calaminaris red hot, and quench it into half a pint of French white wine and as much white rose water. Then pound it fine and infuse it. Shake the bottle whenever you use it. I have known this to cure total blindness.⁶² [PP] 5

XXXVI. The Falling sickness

91. Drink only decoction of lignum guaiacum for a month. [PP] 10
 92. Or use an entire milk diet for three months.⁶³ [PP]
 93. Or rub the limbs thoroughly, and then use the cold bath daily.
 94. Or take in a glass of white wine as much of the powder of mistletoe as lies on a six-pence, early in the morning, for two days before and two days after the full moon.⁶⁴
 95. Or take daily for six weeks half a dram of choice amber, finely powdered, in tea or water.⁶⁵ 15
 96. Or drink warm, twice a day, half a dram of fine Castile soap, boiled in a quarter of a pint of milk.
 97.⁶⁶ Or drink a large glass of tar-water every night, and two hours before breakfast every morning, for three months.⁶⁷ (See Art. 99.) [PP] 20

XXXVII. A Fever

98. Drink a pint and half of cold water, lying down in bed.⁶⁸ 25
 99.⁶⁹ Or put a gallon of cold water to a quart of Norway tar. Stir them together with a flat stick for three or four minutes. After 48 hours, pour off the clear water and bottle it. Of this drink a large glass every hour, in the beginning of this or any acute distemper.⁷⁰ [PP] 30

⁶² Close variation found in *Dictionarium Rusticum & Urbanicum* (London: J. Nicholson, 1704), entry for 'Blood-shotten-eyes'.

⁶³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:169–70.

⁶⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:155.

⁶⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:39.

⁶⁶ This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

⁶⁷ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 5. For specific mention of epilepsy (i.e., falling sickness) see Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 13–14.

⁶⁸ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 27.

⁶⁹ This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

⁷⁰ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 4, 55.

XXXVIII. *An intermitting Fever*

100. Drink warm lemonade in the beginning of every fit, a little at a time. In a few days the fever will cease. [PP]

101. Or twenty grains of sal ammoniac in a dish of tea, one or two hours before the fit.

102.⁷¹ Or powder of the root of blackthorn, with a little salt of wormwood.

XXXIX. *A Flux*

103. Take the stalks and leaves of flea-bane, dry them gently, and powder them. Of this powder give about a dram at a time, in green tea or broth, twice or thrice a day.⁷²

104. Or dry and beat the powder of jawbone of a Jack (the fish) and take as much as will lie on a shilling. [3rd edn. only]

XL. *A bloody Flux*

105. Take twenty or thirty grains of toasted rhubarb at night, twice or thrice a week.

106. Or a small nutmeg powdered in the yolk of an egg. [PP]

107. Or a spoonful of juice of ground-ivy, twice or thrice a day, in a little small broth.

108. Or, after a dose or two of toasted rhubarb, take frequently a teaspoonful of oil of sweet almonds, mixed with citron juice. Sweats should be intermixed.

109. Or take juice of ground-ivy, three ounces, [and] juice of plantain, one ounce, mixed, once or twice a day.⁷³

110. Or the powder of puffballs, from a scruple to half a dram, as the constitution and case may require.⁷⁴

111. Or a dram of the seed of flax-weed, in two or three spoonfuls of broth, once or twice a day.⁷⁵ [PP]

⁷¹This prescription is not numbered separately in any edition.

⁷²Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:10.

⁷³Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:75.

⁷⁴Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:75.

⁷⁵Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:25.

XLI. The Gout

112. Use little flesh, no strong drink, and much exercise.⁷⁶
113. Or at rising drink a pint of spring-water daily, breakfast and sup on boiled milk, dine on whitepot⁷⁷ or vegetables, spend at least an hour in exercise, rub the parts (as you can bear) morning and evening. 5
114. Or take thrice a day 30 drops of spirit of hartshorn, in a draught of buckbean⁷⁸ tea. Keep very warm after it. [3rd edn. only; *PP*]
115. Or take equal quantities of rue, nettles, and elder-flowers; make therewith a strong tea; of which, drink half a pint at least, every morning, for three weeks. 10
116. Or, about six in the evening, undress yourself and wrap yourself up in close blankets. Then put both your legs up to the knees in a pail of water as hot as you can bear it. As it grows cool, let hot water be poured in afresh, so as to keep you in a strong sweat till ten. Then be carried into a bed well warmed, and sweat till morning. [*PP*] 15
117. Or rub the part with warm treacle, and then bind on a flannel smeared with the same. Repeat this, if need be, once in twelve hours. [*PP*] 20
118. Or (to allay the pain) apply spirit of sal ammoniac with a feather.⁷⁹
119. Or beat linseed in a mortar with a little water, till the water is pretty white. Dip a clean rag in this and apply it warm to the part, shifting it once an hour.⁸⁰ 25

XLII. The Gravel [3rd edn. only]

30

120. [Drink] warm water sweetened with honey. [3rd edn. only; *PP*]
121. Or drink largely of pellitory of the wall tea, sweetened with honey. [3rd edn. only; *PP*]

⁷⁶The central argument of Thomas Sydenham's *Treatise of the Gout and Dropsy*, as found in *A Collection of Chronical Diseases* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1692), 86–143; esp. 119ff.

⁷⁷A type of milk pudding or custard.

⁷⁸Orig., 'bugbane', but this was not used to cure gout. Another name for buckbean is bogbean.

⁷⁹Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:102.

⁸⁰Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:101–2.

XLIII. Headache

122. Rub the part that aches for a quarter of an hour. [PP]

123. Boil a handful of rosemary in a quart of water. Put this in a mug and, covering the head and face with a napkin, hold it over the steam as hot as you can bear. Repeat this till the pain ceases.⁸¹ [PP]

124. Or wear green hemlock that is tender, thinly spread on the soles of your feet. Shift it every day.⁸² [PP]

125. Or snuff up the nose juice of ground-ivy.⁸³ [PP]

126. Or any camphorated spirits. [PP]

127. Or the juice of horse-radish, scraped and tied in a rag. [PP]

XLIV. A nervous Headache

128. Dry and powder an ounce of marjoram and half an ounce of asarabacca (it is like garden scurvy-grass, only larger and of a darker colour). Mix them and take them as snuff, keeping the ears and throat warm. [PP]

XLV. An Hemicrania

129. Apply to the part of the head, shaved, any plaster that will stick, with a hole cut in the middle of it as big as a halfpenny. Apply over that hole leaves of ranunculus, bruised and very moist. It is a gentle blister.⁸⁴ [PP]

XLVI. The Hiccup

130. Swallow a mouthful of water, stopping the nose and ears. [PP]

131. Or take anything that makes you sneeze. [PP]

132. Or two or three preserved damsons.⁸⁵ [PP]

133. Or a little candied ginger. [PP]

⁸¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:22.

⁸² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11.

⁸³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:135.

⁸⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:134.

⁸⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11. A damson is a type of plum.

XLVII. Hoarseness

- 134. Decoction of turnips.
- 135. Or juice of radishes. [PP]
- 136. Or chew stick liquorice.

5

[XLVIII.⁸⁶] The Itch

- 142. Wash the body with black soap; but wash it off soon, lest it should take off the skin.⁸⁷ [PP]
- 143. Or steep a shirt half an hour in a quart of water mixed with half an ounce of powdered brimstone. Dry it, and wear it five or six days.⁸⁸ [PP] 10
- 144. Or mix powder of white hellebore with cream, three days; then anoint the joints three mornings and evenings. [PP]
- 145. Or boil a handful of the roots of elecampane, and a handful of the roots of sharp-pointed dock, in two quarts of spring-water to three pints. Strain it, and wash the parts affected once or twice a day.⁸⁹ 15

20

[XLIX.] Jaundice

- 137. Take calcined eggshells, as much as will lie on a shilling, for three mornings fasting; using exercise after, till you sweat. [3rd edn. only; PP] 25
- 138. Or boil three ounces of hemp seed in a pint of new milk, till some of the seeds begin to burst. Drink this warm in the evening, if need be, for some days together.⁹⁰
- 139. Or half a dram of Castile soap, boiled in milk.

⁸⁶ In classic Latin and medieval English the 'I' was used as both a vowel and a consonant. Eventually this double usage was divided by the introduction of 'J' for the consonant. But in the eighteenth century it was still common to treat 'I' and 'J' as identical letters when alphabetizing. Wesley ordered his receipts in this way, placing Jaundice before Itch. We have reorganized to modern alphabetizing for the benefit of the reader.

⁸⁷ Willis, *London Practice of Physick*, 226. This is repeated in Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:71; but JW specifically calls it 'Dr. Willis's cure' in a letter to Andrew Wilson, July 8, 1774.

⁸⁸ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:71.

⁸⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:111.

⁹⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:4.

140. Or a large glass of tar-water morning, afternoon, and night.⁹¹
[PP]

[L.] *The Jaundice in children*

- 5 141. Take half an ounce of fine rhubarb powdered; mix with it
thoroughly by long beating two handfuls of good, well cleaned
currants. Of this give the quantity of a nutmeg every morning
for several days.⁹² [PP]

10

LI. Stoppage in the Kidneys

146. Take twelve grains of salt of amber in wine or water.⁹³ [PP]

15

LII. The King's evil

147. Drink daily for six weeks a strong decoction of devil's-bit.⁹⁴
[PP]
- 20 148. Or boil a handful of felon-wort in a quart of water, and use it
three months for common drink.⁹⁵ [PP]
149. Or infuse a pound of good quick lime in a gallon of spring-
water for twenty-four hours, then decant the liquor and use it
for common drink.⁹⁶ [PP]

25

LIII. The Leprosy

150. Wash or swim in the sea, often and long.⁹⁷ [PP]
- 30 151. Or drink for a month a decoction of elm bark, morning and
evening, mixed (if need be) with a little white wine. [PP]
152. Or an ounce of pomatum, a dram of powdered brimstone,
and half an ounce of sal-prunella; mix them well, anoint the
parts so long as there is need.⁹⁸ [PP]

⁹¹ Cf. Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 13–14.

⁹² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:36.

⁹³ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:113.

⁹⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:113.

⁹⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:155.

⁹⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:42.

⁹⁷ See John Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 158–59.

⁹⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11.

LIV. The Lethargy

153. Snuff strong vinegar up the nose. [PP]

154. Or powdered white hellebore. [PP]

LV. Lice

5

155. Wash the head with a decoction of amaranth. [PP]

156. Or sprinkle on it the berries of cocculus indicus powdered.

LVI. Lunacy

10

157. Boil juice of ground-ivy with sweet oil and white wine into an ointment. Shave the head, anoint it therewith, and chase it in warm every other day, for three weeks. Bruise also the leaves and bind them on the head, and give three spoonfuls of the juice in warm ale every morning.⁹⁹ [PP]

15

LVII. The bite of a Mad dog

20

158. Apply, as soon as possible, juice of fig-tree made into an ointment with hog's grease. [PP]

159. Plunge into cold water, and keep as long under it as can be done without drowning.¹⁰⁰ [PP]

25

LVIII. To resolve coagulated Milk¹⁰¹

160. Cover the woman with a tablecloth and hold a pan of hot water just under her breast, then stroke it some minutes. Do this twice a day till it is cured. [PP]

30

LIX. To increase Milk

161. Make pottage with lentils, and use it freely.¹⁰² [PP]

35

⁹⁹ Kettilby, *Collection*, 177.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:198 (Allen recommends purging after immersing in cold water).

¹⁰¹ I.e., mastitis.

¹⁰² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:114.

LX. The Piles

162. Apply warm treacle. [PP]

163. Or drink treacle and water largely. [PP]

164. A drop of oil of box stops the pain.¹⁰³

5 165. Or root or leaves of scurvy grass, green or dried, taken in substance or in decoction.

166. Varnish applied cures both the blind and bleeding piles. [PP]

10 *LXI. The Pleurisy*

167. Drink a glass of tar-water every half-hour.¹⁰⁴ [PP]

LXII. For a Prick or cut that festers

15 168. Anoint it with oil of turpentine. [PP]

LXIII. The Quinsy

20 169. Swallow, drop by drop, white rose water sweetened with syrup of mulberries. [PP]

170. Or apply a large white bread toast, half an inch thick, dipped in brandy, to the crown of the head till it dries. [PP]

25 *LXIV. The Rheumatism*

171. Dry elder-flowers picked from the stalks and put them up in canisters; drink tea made of these twice a day for a month.

172. Or use the cold bath every morning. [PP]

30 173. Or live fourteen days on new milk-whey and white bread.¹⁰⁵ [PP]

174. Or use an entire milk diet for a month.¹⁰⁶

175. Or infuse earthworms in white wine, and drink a glass twice a day.¹⁰⁷

35 176. Or take twenty-five grains of toasted rhubarb every other night.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:100.

¹⁰⁴ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 29.

¹⁰⁵ Sydenham, *Complete Method*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:365.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:115 ('To increase milk').

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:364-65.

177. Or chew rhubarb two hours a day, and swallow your spittle.¹⁰⁹

[PP]

178. To ease the pain, rub the part with warm treacle. [PP]

179. Or apply to the part live worms.

180. Or a poultice of white bread and milk.¹¹⁰

5

181. Or a rag dipped in linseed water (see Art. 119).

182. Or spirit of sal ammoniac, with a feather.

LXV. Scald head

10

183. Anoint it with Barbados tar.¹¹¹ [PP]

LXVI. Sciatica

15

184. Apply quicklime mixed with soft soap. [PP]

185. Or leaves of ranunculus, bruised, for six hours.¹¹² [PP]

186. Or white bryony root, bruised, mixed with linseed oil, and applied warm. Repeat it till you are well.¹¹³

20

LXVII. Scurvy

187. An entire milk diet for six months.¹¹⁴ [PP]

25

LXVIII. Sickness in the morning

188. Eat nothing after six in the evening. [PP]

30

LXIX. Skin rubbed off

189. Apply self-heal¹¹⁵ pounded in a stone mortar. It seldom needs to be renewed.¹¹⁶ [PP]

¹⁰⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:364–65.

¹¹⁰ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:361.

¹¹¹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:3 (*pisseloeum Indicum*).

¹¹² Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:397.

¹¹³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:397.

¹¹⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:365.

¹¹⁵ Orig., 'self-head'; corrected in *Primitive Physic*.

¹¹⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:16.

LXX. *The Smallpox*

190. Drink largely of cold spring-water at the beginning.¹¹⁷

191. Or a large glass of tar-water once an hour.¹¹⁸

5

LXXI. *A Sore mouth*

192. Apply the white of an egg, beat up with loaf-sugar. [PP]

10

LXXII. *To draw a Splinter*

193. Apply a poultice of chewed bread. [PP]

LXXIII. *A Sprain*

15

194. Boil bran in wine vinegar to a poultice. Apply this warm, and renew it once in twelve hours.¹¹⁹ [PP]

195. Or make a plaster of four ounces of bean-flour,¹²⁰ with two ounces of wine vinegar, and apply it warm.¹²¹

20

196. Or dissolve common Barbados aloes in a little hot water. Spread it pretty thick on a strong rag, and bind it easily on the part.

25

LXXIV. *A poisonous Sting*

197. Apply a poultice of bruised plantain and honey. [PP]

LXXV. *The Stone*

30

198. Drink linseed tea every morning for a month.¹²²

199. Or take a teaspoonful of linseed oil thrice a day.¹²³

200. Or of oil of mustard seed.

¹¹⁷ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 93–94.

¹¹⁸ See Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 5; and for the dosage, Berkeley, *Letter*, 3–4.

¹¹⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:43.

¹²⁰ Orig., ‘bean flower’, as in Boyle; but for a plaster it would be flour ground from beans.

¹²¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:43.

¹²² Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:315.

¹²³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:314–15 (*Ol. lini* is linseed oil).

201. Or oil of sweet almonds, with some drops of balsam of Peru.¹²⁴
202. Or a scruple of cochineal in a glass of Rhenish [wine].¹²⁵
203. Or a teaspoonful of whitethorn-flower water.¹²⁶
204. Or burn the dried shells of kidney beans to powder. Of this put two teaspoonfuls into half pint tea pot. Pour boiling water on it at night. In the morning pour it off clear. Warm it again and drink it, sweetened with honey. Do this every other fortnight, till cured. [PP] 5
205. Or slice a large onion, pour warm water upon it, and after it has lain twelve hours, drink the water. Do this every morning till you are cured. [PP] 10

LXXVI. Strangury

15

206. Drink largely of decoction of turnips.¹²⁷
207. Or decoction of mallows. [PP]
208. Or chicken broth, in which mallow leaves are boiled.

20

LXXVII. Suppression of Urine

209. Take three bees, dried and powdered, in a little white wine.¹²⁸
210. Or juice of lemons, sweetened with syrup of violets.¹²⁹ [PP]
211. Or a spoonful of juice of radishes, or bruised mustard seed.¹³⁰ [PP] 25
212. Or burnt eggshells, from two scruples to a dram.

30

LXXVIII. Swelled legs

213. Take equal quantities of wormwood, southernwood, and rue; stamp them together and fry them in honey, till they grow dryish. Then apply them as hot as you can bear. [PP]

35

¹²⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:307.

¹²⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:313.

¹²⁶ Kettlby, *Collection*, 103 (includes instructions on how to make it).

¹²⁷ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:320 (*Decoct. rapar.*)

¹²⁸ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:319.

¹²⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:319.

¹³⁰ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:146.

LXXIX. *A white Swelling (on the joints)*

214. Hold it daily under the stream that falls from a mill.¹³¹ [PP]
 215. Or apply a green colewort leaf with red veins, bruising the ribs. Renew this twice a day.¹³² [PP]

5

LXXX. *To clean the Teeth*

216. Rub them with ashes of burnt bread. [PP]

10

LXXXI. *To prevent the Toothache*

217. Rub the teeth frequently with tobacco ashes.¹³³ [PP]
 218. Or wash the mouth with cold water every morning. [PP]

15

LXXXII. *To cure the Toothache*

219. Rub the cheek a quarter of an hour. [PP]
 220. Or chafe the ear and side of the head with camphorated spirits of wine. [3rd edn. only]
 221. Or touch the tooth with oil of box.¹³⁴
 222. Or oil of pennyroyal.
 223. Or chew the root of an iris (Flower-de-luce). [PP]

25

[LXXXIII.¹³⁵] *An Ulcer*

226. Apply a poultice of chewed bread every twelve hours. [PP]
 227. Or boil walnut tree leaves in water, with a little sugar. Apply a cloth dipped in this, changing it once in two days. [PP]

¹³¹ See Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 440–41.

¹³² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:140.

¹³³ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:17.

¹³⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:50.

¹³⁵ In classic Latin and medieval English the ‘V’ was used as both a vowel and a consonant. Eventually this double usage was divided by the introduction of ‘U’ for the vowel. But in the eighteenth century it was still common to treat ‘U’ and ‘V’ as identical letters when alphabetizing. Wesley ordered his receipts in this way, treating Vertigo and Viper before Ulcer, etc. We have reorganized to modern alphabetizing for the benefit of the reader.

[LXXXIV.] A stubborn Ulcer

228. Burn to ashes (but not too much) the gross stalks on which red colewort grows. Make a plaster with this and fresh butter, changing it once a day.¹³⁶ [PP]

5

[LXXXV.] Bloody Urine

234. Take four ounces of sheep's milk twice a day.¹³⁷ [PP]

10

[LXXXVI.] Sharp Urine

235. Take half an ounce of fresh juice of ground-ivy.¹³⁸ [PP]

15

[LXXXVII.] Uvula relaxed

236. Bruise the veins of a cabbage leaf, and lay it hot on the crown of the head. Repeat in two hours, if needed. [PP]

20

[LXXXVIII.] A Vertigo

224. Apply to the top of the head, shaven, a plaster of flower of brimstone and white of eggs.¹³⁹ [PP]

25

[LXXXIX.] Bite of a Viper

225. Rub the place immediately with common oil.¹⁴⁰
Q[uery]. Would not the same cure the bite of a mad dog? [PP]

30

[XC.] To stop Vomiting

229. Apply a large onion slit to the pit of the stomach. [PP]

35

¹³⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:148.

¹³⁷ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:323.

¹³⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:146.

¹³⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:140.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Sydenham, *Works*, xix.

230. Or a bag of saffron.¹⁴¹ [PP]

231. Or a spoonful of lemon juice and salt of wormwood. [PP]

[XCI.] Vomiting blood

5 232. Take a spoonful of juice of nettles. [PP]

233. Or of juice of quinces. [PP]

XCII. Warts

10 237. Rub them daily with a radish. [PP]

238. Or with juice of dandelion.¹⁴² [PP]

239. Or water in which sal ammoniac is dissolved.¹⁴³ [PP]

15

XCIII. A Whitlow

240. Apply a poultice of chewed bread. Shift it once a day. [PP]

20

XCIV. Worms

241. A teaspoonful of wormseed and treacle, for six mornings.
[PP]

242. Or of powder of burnt hartshorn, mixed with sugar. [PP]

25

XCV. Wounds

243. Apply chewed bread. [PP]

30 244. Or juice of celandine, as a balsam.¹⁴⁴ [PP]

¹⁴¹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:250.

¹⁴² Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123 (*dentis leonis* is the dandelion).

¹⁴³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123.

¹⁴⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:149.

PRIMITIVE PHYSIC
OR AN EASY AND NATURAL METHOD
OF CURING MOST DISEASES
(1747)

An Introductory Comment

On May 21, 1747, John Wesley arrived in London at the end of a preaching tour through northern England. He remained in town several weeks, with only scattered engagements recorded in his *Journal*, until the beginning of the yearly Conference on June 20. Much of this time was devoted to preparing two manuscripts for publication, whose printing charges appear during June 1747 in the ledger of the printer William Strahan. One of these was Wesley's *Letter to . . . the Lord Bishop of London*, which defended Methodist doctrine and ecclesial practices.¹ The other was a major expansion of *A Collection of Receipts*.

Among the stimuli for the second project was an inventory that Wesley undertook during these weeks of the results of the first six months of health care offered at the free dispensary he had set up in London. He found that about six hundred people had sought help, of which: 'More than three hundred of these came twice or thrice, and we saw no more of them. About twenty of those who had constantly attended did not seem to be either better or worse. Above two hundred were sensibly better, and fifty-one thoroughly cured.'² This evident divine blessing, coupled with the reception of its first three printings, spurred Wesley to undertake a more extensive revision of *A Collection of Receipts* than simply adding a few remedies (as he had done in the third edition).

To begin with, Wesley more than doubled the number of disorders for which advice was given (from ninety-five in the 1746 edition of *Collection* to 243 in 1747). He also worked carefully through his earlier suggested remedies, cutting out nearly a third, and adding about 550 new items. The new receipts drew heavily upon

¹ See 11:335–51 in this edn.

² JW, *Journal*, June 6, 1747, 20:177 in this edn. For the launching of this dispensary, see *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1746, 20:150–51.

collections by Robert Boyle (again!), Kenelm Digby, Thomas Dover, John Hancocke, Nicolas Lémery, and Thomas Short.³

As a second major change, Wesley replaced the brief opening Advertisement in the three editions of *A Collection of Receipts* with a preface providing theological justification for offering medical advice. Wesley's underlying concern in this preface can best be seen by comparison to his acknowledged mentor in this work, Robert Boyle. In the preface to *Medicinal Experiments* Boyle apologized for infringing upon professional physicians, insisting that he was induced to do so by the 'dictates of philanthropy and Christianity', and citing several earlier philosophers as precedent.⁴ Boyle added a bit later that 'most of these receipts are intended chiefly for the use of those that live in the country, in places where physicians are scarce, if at all to be had, especially by poor people'.⁵ While Wesley shared Boyle's concern for this portion of the population, his preface showed no hint of restricting its advice to them. Nor did Wesley acknowledge any sense of infringing upon an enterprise in which he did not belong. Rather, he chastised physicians who allowed concern for prestige and wealth to constrain the care available to any of their neighbors.⁶ Wesley's concern in this major revision of *A Collection of Receipts* was to offer even better advice to *all* of his followers, as part of his vocation as priest/physician.

Three of Wesley's central theological convictions shine through in his preface. The first is his primitivism. Just as Anglican apologists assumed that Christian life and doctrine were purest at the origin of the Christian church, and sought to emulate these 'primitive' times, Wesley privileged the assumed origins of medical advice in everyday life, and praised the native peoples of North America in particular for preserving its pristine practice.⁷ A second conviction is closely related. In §6 of the preface Wesley referred to the 'Author of nature', who taught humanity the medicinal value of plants after sin had introduced sickness and death into creation. This calls to mind Ecclesiasticus 38:4, 'The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth.' It also echoes Wesley's frequent insistence that God would not have allowed the potential damages of human sin if God had not already provided

³ Publication details in each case can be found in the Bibliography.

⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, p. [v] (A 3 recto).

⁵ Ibid., p. [xi] (A 6 recto).

⁶ See Preface, §10.

⁷ See *ibid.*, §4; and Deborah Madden, Chapter 2, 'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine': Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley's 'Primitive Physic' (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2007), 31–94.

gracious ways to heal these damages.⁸ The third theme permeating Wesley's preface is his conviction that God's gracious gifts 'are not to supersede, but to encourage, our own efforts'.⁹ Nowhere is it more explicit than when he closed the preface with a set of 'plain, easy rules' of diet and exercise for the sake of those 'who desire, through the blessing of God, to retain the health which they have recovered' (§16). In their physical life, as in their spiritual life, Wesley exhorted his people to cultivate regular practices of nurturing health, rather than turning to God's gracious provisions only in times of need.

The final way in which Wesley revised *A Collection of Receipts* in 1747 was to change its title to *Primitive Physic; or, An Easy and Natural Method of Curing most Diseases*.¹⁰ The new title alerted readers to Wesley's emphasis on primitive or simple medicines. It further signaled to eighteenth-century readers that the book might contain more than medicinal substances. While 'physic' was used at the time to denote such substances, it also commonly referred to health-promoting practices or habits.¹¹ To offer physic meant not only to prescribe remedies for specific disorders, but to outline a regimen of diet and exercise that promoted well-being. With the inclusion of such a regimen in his preface, Wesley transformed *A Collection of Receipts* into a book of *Physic*.

The degree to which Wesley revised *A Collection of Receipts* in 1747 was unusual. Most of his publications that went through multiple editions were simply reprinted, with very little change. The closest analogy to his work that June on *Collection* would likely be the effort he devoted to preparing the third edition of his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*.¹² But there is no parallel for the frequency with which Wesley made further revisions to the *Primitive Physic* after its appearance.

Wesley's Revisions of *Primitive Physic*

Of the apparent twenty-three editions of *Primitive Physic* published under Wesley's editorial control, at least twelve included

⁸ See, for example, JW, Sermon 59, 'God's Love to Fallen Man', 2:423–35 in this edn.; and Sermon 63, 'The General Spread of the Gospel', §27, 2:499 in this edn.

⁹ JW, *NT Notes*, comment on Phil. 2:12–13. See also his sermon on this text; Sermon 85, 'On Working Out Our Own Salvation', §II, 3:199–209 in this edn.

¹⁰ JW initially used the spelling 'Physick', at a time when preference for this spelling was just beginning to decline in British culture. Recognizing this fact by 1773, he changed to the spelling 'Physic' when including it in his collected *Works*.

¹¹ See the first two main definitions of 'physic' in *OED* (1989).

¹² See Frank Baker, 'John Wesley, Biblical Commentator', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 71.1 (1989): 110–20 (esp. 114–15); and vols. 5–6 in this edn.

changes of some sort. The changes began already with the second edition, published in 1750, where Wesley added more than a dozen ailments and eighty-five receipts, drawing on sources he had used previously.

After two editions that were mere reprints, the positive reception of *Primitive Physic* led Wesley to work carefully through the text in preparing the fifth edition of 1755. He sought to make it of greater use by: 1) revising the list of ailments through deletions, combination of a few, and inclusion of eleven new disorders; 2) adding short descriptions for many of the ailments to aid users in identifying their disorder; 3) removing several receipts that used items that were difficult to obtain or unsafe; and 4) inserting over 100 new receipts, drawing upon books by Richard Russell, Thomas Short, and Richard Mead.¹³

The next surviving edition is the eighth, of 1759,¹⁴ which included two new ailments and thirty-two new receipts. Among the new ailments was 'Nervous disorders' (§161), with advice drawn mainly from John Hill. But this section also included one of nine instances that mark the first appearance of 'electrifying' among Wesley's recommendations in *Primitive Physic*, reflecting his concurrent work on *The Desideratum*.¹⁵

Wesley's addition to the Postscript in the ninth edition of 1761 gives reason to believe that the eighth edition was an interim form of this 1761 volume. The comments draw attention to the insertion of the word 'Tried' after remedies that experience had convinced Wesley were of great efficacy, and to his new-found interest in the medical benefits of electrifying.¹⁶ In fact, both of these additions began to appear in the eighth edition.¹⁷ They were increased in the ninth edition, which also added to its immediate predecessor another four ailments and nearly forty receipts.

¹³ See his description of this process in Postscript [I].

¹⁴ The addition to the Postscript added in 1760 may suggest that the missing 6th and 7th editions never existed, but more likely it indicates they were simple reprints of the 5th edition; see [Postscript II], §1.

¹⁵ See §64, receipt #3; §67, receipt #1; §76, receipt #2; §86, receipt #2; §101, receipt #1; §126, receipt #2; §161, receipt #2; §169, receipt #3; §244, receipt #1; and the table of ailments that could be treated by electrifying appended at the end.

¹⁶ See [Postscript II], §§1–2, below.

¹⁷ The word 'Tried' occurs only once in the 1759 edition (§2, receipt #3), as if JW had just begun making this addition. By contrast, the 1761 edition adds only three receipts for electrifying to the nine in the 1759 edition (§151, receipt #6; §155, receipt #1; and §261, receipt #4).

The next clearly authorized edition was the tenth, published in Bristol in 1762.¹⁸ This edition included one new ailment (§115) and twenty new receipts.

There are no known surviving copies of the eleventh edition to determine any changes.

The twelfth edition, published in 1765, contained substantial new material, including seventeen ailments and 120 receipts. Sources for these new receipts included books by Theophilus Lobb and Lazare Rivière.

While the thirteenth edition was an unchanged reprint, seven new ailments and seventy-eight receipts were included in the fourteenth edition of 1770. Intriguingly, a copy of the thirteenth edition has survived in which Wesley inserted suggested changes by hand, many of which do *not* appear in the fourteenth edition.¹⁹ Apparently Wesley misplaced this first copy and had to start over preparing a copy of the thirteenth edition—adding further changes, but failing to recall some that had been in the earlier copy. Among Wesley's sources for the published changes were books by Thomas Berdmore, Theophilus Lobb, and David MacBride. He also referred readers in several sections to his recently published extract of Tissot's *Advices with Respect to Health*.

The fifteenth edition, published in 1772, added six more ailments and forty-one receipts, reaching a count (by Wesley's numbering) of 289 ailments and 1012 receipts. It was also in this edition that Wesley began marking the receipts that he most commended with an asterisk.

Interestingly, when Wesley incorporated *Primitive Physic* into volume twenty-five of his collected *Works* in 1773, he based his text on the fourteenth edition rather than the more recent one of 1772.

¹⁸ A purported '10th edition' published by John Fisher in Dublin in 1761 survives. However comparison reveals it to be a slightly corrected reprint of the 1759 8th edn., lacking the changes that JW introduced in the 9th edn. Fisher usually published Calvinist material, but he had issued JW's sermon *The Cure of Evil-Speaking* in 1760. There is no evidence that Fisher had JW's permission for printing *Primitive Physic* in 1761, or when he reprinted the purported '10th edition' in Dublin in 1763. What is most puzzling is the appearance of this same slight revision of the 8th edn. in 1763 under the imprint of William Pine of Bristol. Based on analysis of printer flowers and the like, this last item must be judged a spurious release of Fisher's publication in England (replacing only the title page). Since the changes in Fisher's version are limited to spelling variations and correction of a few numbering errors, we have ignored its appearances in this critical edition.

¹⁹ Originally part of the collection at Wesley College, Headingly, this copy is now held at MARC (WCB, IC/CB45/24). We will note the suggested changes that did not make it into print.

As with other items in this collected set, Wesley worked carefully through the whole text, making multiple changes in spelling and grammar, deleting a couple of ailments and several receipts, and adding new items of each type, to arrive at a total of 291 ailments and 925 receipts.

Unfortunately, as in many other cases of material that appeared in his *Works*, when it came time to issue a new separate printing of *Primitive Physic* Wesley sent to the printer one of the last copies of the fifteenth edition, which was issued without change as the sixteenth edition in 1774. As a result Wesley's revisions in *Works* were stranded there, including four ailments and fifteen receipts found nowhere else.

As described in the general Introduction to this volume (and traced in Appendix D), an attack was launched upon the *Primitive Physic* by a pseudonymous critic 'Antidote' in a letter dated December 25, 1775, in the *Gazetteer*. The immediate object of the attack was a single receipt in the category 'To one poisoned'.²⁰ But 'Antidote' caught the attention of William Hawes, whose 1776 *Examination of Mr. John Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'* subjected other remedies present in the sixteenth edition to public ridicule. These criticisms led Wesley to remove or correct the most problematic receipts in the seventeenth edition of *Primitive Physic*, issued in December 1776. Yet even here, amidst all his cutting, Wesley added one new ailment and nine receipts, resulting in a revised total of 275 disorders and 828 remedies.

The next edition for which there are known surviving copies is the twentieth, published around June 1781.²¹ In an addition to the Postscript that appeared in this edition Wesley suggested that the new publication represented the first major correction of *Primitive Physic* in nearly twenty years! The initial thing to note about this claim is that the addition to the Postscript is dated April 20, 1780—which may mean that both it and many of the corrections it mentions appeared first in the (missing) nineteenth edition. Alternatively, Wesley may have uncharacteristically composed the addition to the Postscript first, and then spent a year preparing the twentieth edition.²² The more important thing to note is that Wesley was either forgetful (and misled by the 1760 date on the prior conclud-

²⁰ See §177, receipt #1.

²¹ See JW's letter to his book steward, John Atlay, May 26, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.), saying that JW had left the new edition on his bureau, ready for press.

²² This suggestion would fit with JW's letter to John Valton the next day (April 21, 1780; vol. 29 in this edn.), asking Valton to gather descriptions of 'as many cheap and simple medicines as you please'.

ing section of the Postscript) or he purposefully ignored the revisions made in 1776, the substantial addition of receipts of 1765, and the scattered additions in 1770 and 1772. In any case, several further deletions and corrections appeared in the twentieth edition, along with the addition of fourteen new ailments and 155 receipts. This was also the first edition in which Wesley drew upon William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* as a source.

Wesley introduced only minimal changes to the twenty-first edition, dropping one ailment and eight receipts, while adding three new receipts. The resulting total of 288 ailments and 824 numbered receipts would carry over, without change, through the last two editions published in England during Wesley's life.

Principles for Presenting This Critical Text of *Primitive Physic*

The many changes made to the text of *Primitive Physic* over forty-four years pose a significant challenge for presenting the text in this critical edition. Our usual practice is to give the text of the *first* edition of a work, tracing variants in an Appendix, and commenting on significant changes in footnotes. In a few instances, where there are notable additions in later editions, we have made the *last* printing our base, for the sake of completeness.²³ Neither of these options seemed adequate in this case, as they would make it hard to trace when receipts entered and departed from Wesley's text, or the shifting indications of which remedies he preferred.

We have opted to present a collation of *all* editions, while highlighting the form of the final edition published by Wesley. We include every receipt that appeared in any edition of *Primitive Physic* during Wesley's life, and indicate (at least by annotation) every ailment for which he prescribed. But we structure the text according to the outline of ailments in the twenty-third edition, and present the receipts for each ailment that remained in that edition first—in the order they appeared within each section.²⁴ Receipts that were dropped from *Primitive Physic* prior to the final edition appear with proper identification at the end of the section for the appropriate ailment (ordered according to the edition in which they first appeared). Ailments that disappeared over the course of revising

²³ This is how we present *A Collection of Receipts* above, for example.

²⁴ Since the text was unchanged between the 21st and 23rd editions, our presentation technically highlights the text found in the last three editions during Wesley's life.

editions were typically absorbed into other sections and are tracked in footnotes.

As an aid to readers we insert editorially after each receipt an indication of the edition in which it first and last appeared. For example, if a receipt appeared first in the twelfth edition and was present through the sixteenth edition, but dropped from the seventeenth, we add at the end of the receipt: [12→16].²⁵ We also note if the receipt appeared first in *A Collection of Receipts*. Thus a receipt that was #2 in the *Collection* (as presented in this edition), which is retained through all editions of *Primitive Physic*, would have at its end: [CR#2, 1→23].²⁶ For convenience, we assume the presence of an item in non-extant editions in these summaries *if the item is found in editions on both sides of the lacunae*. If it appears on only one side or the other, we begin or end the record of its occurrence with the surviving evidence, ignoring the non-extant editions. Likewise, we specifically mention the *Works* edition only when it differs from those surrounding it.²⁷

As an example for how to read these editorial guides, consider receipt #8 in §2 'For an Ague':

#8. Or make six middling pills of cobwebs . . . a little before the third fit. [1→23] I never knew this to fail. [1→13] This seldom fails. [14→23]

The editorial insertions indicate that the receipt is present in every edition published under Wesley's control. They also show that the comment 'I never knew this to fail' was present in the first thirteen editions, but *replaced* by 'This seldom fails' in the following editions.

Beyond new ailments and receipts, Wesley made four other major types of addition to *Primitive Physic* over the years. The first was his insertion of descriptions of ailments in the fifth edition. These descriptions appeared as footnotes and they are included in this edition as the first level of annotation of the text. The second type of addition, which began with a single example in the eighth edition, was Wesley's placement of 'Tried' after select receipts. A third type

²⁵ A chart listing the editions can be found in Appendix A, pp. 630–31.

²⁶ An indication that a receipt was drawn from *A Collection of Receipts* does not mean that the wording was identical in every case, only that the prescription was substantially the same.

²⁷ Thus, if a receipt appeared in *Works* that was also found in the 12th through the 17th editions, the editorial indicator will be [12→17]; whereas if *Works* deleted a receipt found in these other editions, the indicator will be [12→17, not *Works*].

of addition was reference to his abridged version of Tissot's *Advices with Respect to Health*, appearing first in the fourteenth edition and supplemented in the twentieth. The final major type of addition, which Wesley introduced in the fifteenth edition, was the marking of receipts that he particularly commended with an asterisk. We have included all of these additions, indicating editorially when they appeared and (in some cases) disappeared. Our main deviation from Wesley's precedent is in placing the asterisk at the end of a receipt, rather than the beginning.

As an example for how to read the editorial guides for these types of addition, consider receipt #3 in §139 'The Itch':

#3. Or steep a shirt half an hour in a quart of water . . . wear it five or six days. [CR#143, 1→23] Sometimes it needs repeating. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works, 20→23]

In this case the receipt appeared first in *A Collection of Receipts*, and was retained through all editions of *Primitive Physic*. The comment 'Sometimes it needs repeating' was added beginning with the fifth edition. 'Tried' was added beginning with the ninth edition. And an asterisk was added in the *Works* edition, but lost due to Wesley's reliance on the fifteenth edition for the next separate reprint, until it was added again in the twentieth edition and following.

Numerous variants pepper the editions of *Primitive Physic* that cannot be captured in the collated text as easily as the additions just considered. These range in significance from simple alternatives of spelling to intentional changes of dosage. All substantial variants are tracked in Appendix A, and those deemed most significant (such as changes of dosage) are also highlighted in footnotes.

One important set of variants are changes in response to the controversy erupting in late 1775. While we do not rehearse every criticism in Hawes's *Investigation* (since many are mere ridicule), we comment in footnotes on all instances where a deletion or revision by Wesley was likely in response to Hawes, as well as some cases where Wesley retained a receipt of which Hawes was particularly scornful.

There are two categories of variants that we have not tried to trace. The first is variant spellings, particularly of the names of disorders. Consider the example of colic, which appears in four different spellings among the editions: 'cholick' in 1→2 & 10→13; 'colick' in 5→9; 'colic' in 15→17; and 'cholic' in 14 & 20→23. In keeping with the guidelines of this edition, we have silently standardized such varying archaic spellings to their modern form. The other variant that

we have ignored is the addition of an initial 'Or' to a receipt when it is bumped out of place as the first in a section; or deletion of this 'Or' when a revision moves a previously lower receipt to the top of its section—since neither change affects the content of the receipt.

Turning from the challenge of tracing additions and variants to the ordering of material in this collated edition, there are two settings in which we judged it appropriate to be flexible with our guideline of highlighting the form of the twenty-third edition. The first type of flexibility concerns the *ordering of the ailments*. Wesley clearly intended for them to be ordered alphabetically. This intention is obscured in the text of the twenty-third edition (at least for modern readers) in two ways. 1) A couple of ailments are simply out of alphabetic order, likely due to printer error. We have moved the affected sections to their proper location and revised the numbering of intervening sections.²⁸ 2) A more systemic deviation from modern alphabetic order was created among the ailments starting with the letters 'I/J' and 'U/V' by the continuing influence of medieval English script in Wesley's eighteenth-century setting. This influence led to words in each of these pairs being interspersed alphabetically. We have sorted the ailments in the affected sections into modern alphabetic order.²⁹

The second type of flexibility relates to the *numbering of receipts*. We have chosen not to follow Wesley's precedent of numbering receipts consecutively across sections. This was due in large part to the size of this collated edition, containing more than 1600 discrete receipts. We also wanted to avoid any suggestion that the number given a particular receipt was consistent across editions of *Primitive Physic*. Numbering changed repeatedly as receipts were added or deleted, and we make no effort to trace this fluctuation. Perhaps most importantly, we have *supplemented* the numbering in editions published during Wesley's life in scattered instances—to increase clarity and draw attention to discrete remedies.

One of the key instances related to clarity concerns the insertion of references to Wesley's abridged edition of Tissot's *Advises with Respect to Health* in the fourteenth and twentieth editions. Wesley almost certainly sent to the printer a copy of the previous edition in which, at the end of sections on various ailments, he added in manuscript 'See extract from Dr. Tissot', sometimes including a page number and brief excerpt. Wesley intended this as an *addi-*

²⁸ See §39–§48 and §247–§249.

²⁹ See §137–§141 and §256–§276.

tional resource relative to the ailment in question. But the printer typically appended it to the last receipt in the section, as if it was a reference for that receipt.³⁰ The inappropriateness of this placement is suggested in the fourteenth edition in every case where Wesley gives a page number, because the number refers to the first page of a chapter in *Advices* and has no correlation to the specific remedy. The mismatch is even more evident in the twentieth edition, where Wesley included excerpts of *Advices*. The first instance is representative: the printer appended the phrase ‘See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 104’ to receipt #31 in that edition (= §6, receipts #4 and #5 combined below), rather than presenting it as the header of the excerpt taken from *Advices* that followed.³¹ To correct such confusions, we treat every reference to Wesley’s extract of Tissot as a separate element, and assign it a number within the sequence of receipts to help make this clear.

A good example of supplementing the numbering to draw attention to discrete remedies can be found in §280, ‘The Whites’. Starting with the fifth edition, Wesley’s opening advice was ‘Feed sparingly. Use exercise constantly. Sleep moderately, but never lying on your back.’ While this is technically compound advice, it all relates to regimen, so we retained it as a single item. However, starting with the fourteenth edition this opening advice was expanded by adding at the beginning ‘Live chastely’. It is likely that Wesley wrote this in manuscript above the first receipt in a copy of the thirteenth edition that he was sending to the printer, and the printer mistakenly merged it into the first advice. Even if Wesley indicated the merger, the addition is a discrete type of advice. Thus, we opted to list it separately (with its own number) in this collated edition.

As one further example, consider §193, ‘A Scald head’. Wesley inserted into the twentieth edition the prescription of an ointment as a remedy, then advised a purge after the cure had been effected, and finally exhorted to a regimen of cleanliness to avoid further affliction. These are discrete types of advice, broken into separate paragraphs by the printer, but only the first is numbered in any edition during Wesley’s life. We have opted to number each of the paragraphs.

The last dimension of the presentation of the text of *Primitive Physic* in this edition to which we would draw attention concerns font. The main point to make is that we have largely ignored the

³⁰To cite just the first two instances in the 14th edition, the printer appended the phrase to receipt #84 (= §12, receipt #12 in this edn.) and #152 (= §30, #3).

³¹The same mismatch occurs in the second instance within the 20th edition, where the reference to Tissot is tied to receipt #39 (= §7, receipt #5 in this edn.).

frequent use of *italics* throughout all editions of *Primitive Physic*. To begin with, the Postscript was typically rendered in italics as a whole, which we deemed unnecessary. Many of the other instances of italics were to indicate proper names of persons and substances, as was common in the eighteenth century (but no longer so). Some instances were apparently intended to highlight the ingredients in remedies, but this usage was quite inconsistent and we deemed it more confusing than helpful. The main setting in which we have retained italics is when Wesley inserted emphatic or cautionary advice related to an ailment or prescription (see, for example, the two instances in §2 'For an Ague').

We would also note that there is variance among and within editions of drawing attention to insertions deemed particularly noteworthy with either the symbol of a pointing finger [☞] or the abbreviation for *note bene* [N.B.]. We have converted examples of the first practice to N.B., for the sake of consistency.

Research Aids

As with *A Collection of Receipts*, we have footnoted every instance where we have been able with some confidence to trace a receipt to a published source (based upon significant replication of terms, quantities, etc.). These notes indicate sources for over one-third of the receipts that appeared at one point or another in *Primitive Physic* during Wesley's life. Doubtless there are other published sources to be discovered, but many of the receipts are too generic to be traced with confidence to any source. Moreover, Wesley acknowledged that one of his key sources was 'conversation' with friends and associates.³²

Readers are referred to the Glossaries in Appendix E and Appendix F for definitions of eighteenth-century medical terms that Wesley used and identification of the medicinal herbs, etc., that he commended. A sense of his assumptions about various weights and measures prescribed can be gleaned from the opening section of the Table that concludes Wesley's extract of Tissot's *Advices with Respect to Health* (see p. 557 below).

For a stemma illustrating the relationship of the twenty-three apparent authorized editions of *Primitive Physic* published in Britain and Ireland during Wesley's lifetime, and the many textual variants, see Appendix A, pp. 630–40. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 138.

³² JW, 'To the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*', c. Jan. 23, 1776 (in Appendix D below).

Primitive Physick:

O R, A N

EASY and NATURAL M E T H O D

O F

CURING most Diseases.



L O N D O N

Printed: and Sold by THOMAS TRYE, near
Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn.

MDCCXLVII.

Primitive Physic or an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases

5

The Preface

1. When man came first out of the hands of the great Creator,
 10 clothed in body as well as in soul with immortality and incorrup-
 tion, there was no place for physic, or 'the art of healing'. As he
 knew no sin, so he knew no pain, no sickness, weakness, or bodily
 disorder. The habitation wherein the angelic mind—the *divinae*
*particula aurae*¹—abode, although originally formed out of the dust
 15 of the earth,² was liable to no decay. It had no seeds of corruption or
 dissolution within itself.³ And there was nothing without to injure
 it. Heaven and earth and all the hosts of them were mild, benign,
 and friendly to human nature. The entire creation was at peace with
 his Creator. So that well might 'the morning stars sing together, and
 20 all the sons of God shout for joy'.⁴

2. But since man rebelled against the Sovereign of heaven and
 earth, how entirely is the scene changed? The incorruptible frame
 hath put on corruption, the immortal has put on mortality.⁵ The
 seeds of weakness and pain, of sickness and death, are now lodged
 25 in our inmost substance—whence a thousand disorders continu-
 ally spring, even without the aid of external violence. And how
 is the number of these increased by everything round about us?
 The heavens, the earth, and all things contained therein conspire
 to punish the rebel against the Creator. The sun and moon shed
 30 unwholesome influences from above. The earth exhales poisonous
 damps from beneath. The beasts of the field, the birds of the air,
 the fishes of the sea are in a state of hostility. The air itself that sur-

¹ 'Fragment of divine spirit'; cf. Horace, *Satires*, II.ii.79, '*divinae particulam aurae*'.

² See Gen. 2:7.

³ JW is echoing here the dominant Christian reading that took Genesis to be presenting Adam and Eve as naturally immortal and perfect prior to their fall into sin. His embrace of this reading is evident as early as 1730, in Sermon 141, 'The Image of God', §II.1–5, 4:296–99 in this edn.; and remains in the distinction between 'dust' and 'mortal corruptible dust' in his 1782 sermon, 'On the Fall of Man', §II.1–2, 2:405 in this edn.

⁴ Job 38:7.

⁵ See 1 Cor. 15:54.

rounds us on every side is replete with the shafts of death. Yea, the food we eat daily saps the foundation of the life, which cannot be sustained without it. So has the Lord of all secured the execution of his decree, 'Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return'.⁶

3. But can there nothing be found to lessen those inconveniences, which cannot be wholly removed? To soften the evils of life, and prevent in part the sickness and pain to which we are continually exposed? Without question there may. One grand preventive of pain and sickness of various kinds seems intimated by the great Author of nature in the very sentence that entails death upon us: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground.'⁷ The power of exercise both to preserve and restore health is greater than can well be conceived.⁸ Especially in those who add temperance thereto—who, if they do not confine themselves altogether to eat either bread or 'the herb of the field'⁹ (which God does not require them to do¹⁰), yet steadily observe both that kind and measure of food which experience shows to be most friendly to health and strength.

4. It is probable physic, as well as religion, was in the first ages chiefly traditional—every father delivering down to his sons what he had himself in like manner received concerning the manner of healing both outward hurts and the diseases incident to each climate, and the medicines which were of the greatest efficacy for the cure of each disorder. It is certain this is the method wherein the art of healing is preserved among the Americans¹¹ to this day. Their diseases indeed are exceeding few, nor do they frequently occur, by reason of their continual exercise and (till of late, universal) temperance. But if any is sick, or bit by a serpent, or torn by a wild beast, the fathers immediately tell their children what remedy to apply. And it is rare that the patient suffers long; those medicines being quick, as well as generally infallible.¹²

⁶ Gen. 3:19.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ This thesis is argued at length in Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica; or, A Treatise concerning the Power of Exercise with respect to the Animal Economy, and the Great Necessity of it in the Cure of several Distempers* (London: Knaplock, 1705). JW read this volume Jan. 5–6, 1731, as recorded in his Oxford diary.

⁹ Gen. 3:18.

¹⁰ JW is rejecting any divine requirement for vegetarianism.

¹¹ That is, the peoples of North America, prior to European immigration.

¹² Compare JW's hesitance about characterizing any medicine as 'infallible' in his 'Advertisement' to *Collection of Receipts* (above), echoing Boyle, *Some Receipts*, [p. iii]; *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:[xiii].

5 Hence perhaps it was that the ancients, not only of Greece and Rome but even of barbarous nations, usually assigned physic a divine original. And indeed it was natural thought that he who had taught it to the very beasts and birds, the Cretan stag, the Egyptian ibis,¹³ could not be wanting to teach man,

*Sanctius his Animal, mentisque capacius altæ.*¹⁴

10 Yea, sometimes, even by those meaner creatures. For it was easy to infer, 'If this will heal that creature, whose flesh is nearly of the same texture with mine, then in a parallel case it will heal me.' The trial was made. The cure was wrought. And experience and physic grew up together.

15 6. And has not the Author of nature taught us the use of many other medicines by what is vulgarly termed 'accident'?¹⁵ Thus, one walking some years since in a grove of pines, at a time when many in the neighbouring town were afflicted with a kind of new distemper, little sores in the inside of the mouth, a drop of natural gum fell from one of the trees on the book which he was reading. This he
20 took up and thoughtlessly applied it to one of the sore places. Finding the pain immediately cease, he applied it to another, which was also presently healed. The same remedy he afterwards imparted to others, and it did not fail to heal any that applied it. And doubtless numberless remedies have been thus casually discovered in every
25 age and nation.

7. Thus far physic was wholly founded on experiment. The European as well as the American said to his neighbour, 'Are you sick? Drink the juice of this herb and your sickness will be at an end.' 'Are you in a burning heat? Leap into that river, and then sweat
30 till you are well.' 'Has the snake bitten you? Chew and apply that root, and the poison will not hurt you.' Thus ancient men, having a little experience, joined with common sense and common human-

¹³ Bezoars, hair-balls that accumulate in the stomach of Cretan goats (not stags), were widely assumed in JW's day to have medicinal properties; likewise Toth, the Egyptian god of medical and natural knowledge, was typically depicted with the head of an ibis.

¹⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i.76; 'As yet there was no animal capable of higher thought.'

¹⁵ JW may be purposefully echoing Robert James's prefatory comment to his three-volume *Medicinal Dictionary* (London: T. Osbourne, 1743–45; vol. 1, p. i) that many of the discoveries of the medicinal remedies in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms have been by 'the particular direction of providence which are usually attributed to accident'.

ity, cured both themselves and their neighbours of most of the distempers to which every nation was subject.

8. But in process of time, men of a philosophical turn were not satisfied with this. They began to enquire how they might account for these things? How such medicines wrought such effects? They examined the human body and all its parts—the nature of the flesh, veins, arteries, nerves; the structure of the brain, heart, lungs, stomach, bowels; with the springs of the several animal functions.¹⁶ They explored the several kinds of animal and mineral, as well as vegetable, substances. And hence the whole order of physic which had obtained till that time came gradually to be inverted. Men of learning began to set experience aside, to build physic upon hypotheses, to form theories of diseases and their cure, and to substitute these in the place of experiments.

9. As theories increased, simple medicines were more and more disregarded and disused; till in a course of years the greater part of them were forgotten, at least in the politer nations. In the room of these, abundance of new ones were introduced by reasoning, speculative men; and those more and more difficult to be applied, as being more remote from common observation. Hence rules for the application of these, and medical books, were immensely multiplied. Till at length physic became an abstruse science, quite out of the reach of ordinary men.

10. Physicians now began to be had in admiration, as persons who were something more than human. And profit attended their employ as well as honour. So that they had now two weighty reasons for keeping the bulk of mankind at a distance, that they might not pry into the mysteries of the profession. To this end they increased those difficulties by design, which begun in a manner by accident. They filled their writings with abundance of technical terms, utterly unintelligible to plain men. They affected to deliver their rules, and to reason upon them, in an abstruse and philosophical manner. They represented the critical knowledge of anatomy, natural philosophy (and what not? Some of them insisting on that of astronomy and astrology too) as necessary previous to the understanding [of] the art of healing. Those who understood only

¹⁶ JW was not opposed to the flourishing of such investigation and 'descriptive' accounts in the field of natural philosophy; he published an overview of recent work for his followers in *Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation* (1763)—see excerpt below. His concern arose when natural philosophers turned from the descriptive task to championing theoretical models to account for the diversity or functioning of the natural world.

how to restore the sick to health they branded with the ignominious name of 'empirics'. They introduced into practice abundance of compound medicines, consisting of so many ingredients that it was scarce possible for common people to know which it was that wrought a cure. Abundance of exotics, neither the nature nor names of which their own countrymen understood.¹⁷ Of chemicals such as they neither had skill, nor fortune, nor time to prepare; yea, and of dangerous ones such as they could not use without hazarding life, but by the advice of a physician. And thus both their honour and gain were secured—a vast majority of mankind being utterly cut off from helping either themselves or their neighbours, or once daring to attempt it.

11. Yet there have not been wanting, from time to time, some lovers of mankind who have endeavoured (even contrary to their own interest) to reduce physic to its ancient standard. Who have laboured to explode out of it all hypotheses and fine-spun theories, and to make it a plain, intelligible thing, as it was in the beginning. Having no more mystery in it than this: 'such a medicine removes such a pain'. These have demonstrably shown that neither the knowledge of astrology, astronomy, natural philosophy, nor even anatomy itself is absolutely necessary to the quick and effectual cure of most diseases incident to human bodies. Nor yet any chemical or exotic or compound medicine, but a single plant or fruit duly applied. So that every man of common sense (unless in some rare cases) may prescribe either to himself or his neighbour; and may be very secure from doing any harm, even where he can do no good.¹⁸

12. Even in the last age there was something of this kind done, particularly by the great and good Dr. Sydenham.¹⁹ And in the present by his pupil Dr. Dover,²⁰ who has pointed out simple medicines for many diseases. And some such may be found in the writings of the learned and ingenious Dr. Cheyne²¹—who doubtless would have communicated many more to the world, but for the melancholy reason he gave one of his friends that pressed him with some passages in his works which too much countenanced the modern

¹⁷Note the similar critique of compound and exotic remedies in Thomas Short's Preface to *Medicina Britannica*, vii.

¹⁸The ordering here is consistent with the twofold principle central to the General Rules: First, do no harm . . .; see *Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies*, §§4–5, 9:70–72 in this edn.

¹⁹Thomas Sydenham, M.D. (1624–89).

²⁰Thomas Dover, M.D. (1660–1742).

²¹George Cheyne, M.D. (1671–1743).

practice: 'O sir! We must do something to oblige the faculty, or they will tear us in pieces.'

13. Without any regard to this, without any concern about the obliging or disobliging of any man living, a mean hand has made here some little attempt toward a plain and easy way of curing diseases. I have only consulted herein experience, common sense, and the common interest of mankind.²² And supposing they can be cured this easy way, who would desire to use any other? Who would not wish to have a physician always in his house, and one that attends without fee or reward? To be able (unless in some few complicated cases) to prescribe to his family, as well as himself? 5 10

14. If it be said, 'But what need is there of such an attempt?' I answer, the greatest that can possibly be conceived. Is it not needful in the highest degree to rescue men from the jaws of destruction? From wasting their fortunes, as thousands have done and continue to do daily? From pining away in sickness and pain, either through the ignorance or knavery of physicians? Yea, and many times throwing away their lives, after their health, and time, and substance? 15

It is inquired, 'But are there not books enough already, on every part of the art of medicine?' Yes, too many ten times over, considering how little purpose the far greater part of them speak. But beside this, they are too dear for poor men to buy, and too hard for plain men to understand. Do you say, 'But there are enough of these collections of receipts.' Where? I have not seen one yet, either in our own or any other tongue, which contains only safe and cheap and easy medicines. In all that have yet fallen into my hands, I find many dear and many far-fetched medicines; beside many of so dangerous a kind as a prudent man would never meddle with. And against the greater part of those medicines there is a farther objection: they consist of too many ingredients. This common method of compounding and decompounding medicines can never be reconciled to common sense.²³ Experience shows that one thing will cure most disorders, at least as well as twenty put together. Then why do you add the other nineteen? Only to swell the apothecary's bill. Nay, possibly on purpose to prolong the distemper, that the doctor and he may divide the spoil. 20 25 30 35

²²This might suggest, wrongly, that JW drew upon no published sources for his receipts. His 'experience' apparently included reading works distilling the 'experience' of others.

²³JW had read, while a student in 1725, Robert Boyle's extended argument for simple medicines as preferable to compounded medicines in *De Specificorum Remediorum* (1696).

But admitting there is some quality in the medicine proposed which has need to be corrected, will not one thing correct it as well as twenty? It is probable, much better. And if not, there is a sufficiency of other medicines which need no such correction.

5 How often, by thus compounding medicines of opposite qualities, is the virtue of both utterly destroyed? Nay, how often do those joined together destroy life, which single might have preserved it? This occasioned that caution of the great Boerhaave against mixing things without evident necessity, and without full proof of the effect they will
10 produce when joined together as well as of that they produced when asunder.²⁴ Seeing (as he observes) several things which separately taken are safe and powerful medicines, when compounded not only lose their former powers but commence a strong and deadly poison.

15 15. As to the manner of using the medicines here set down, I should advise, as soon as you know your distemper (which is very easy, unless in a complication of disorders, and then you would do well to apply to a physician that fears God): First, use the first of the remedies for the disease which occurs in the ensuing collection (unless some other of them be easier to be had, and then it may do
20 just as well). Secondly, after a competent time, if it takes no effect, use the second, the third, and so on. I have purposely set down (in most cases) several remedies for each disorder. Not only because all are not equally easy to be procured at all times and in all places, but likewise because the medicine which cures one man will not always
25 cure another of the same distemper. Nor will it cure the same man at all times. Therefore it was necessary to have a variety. However, I have subjoined the letter 'I' to those medicines which are said to be infallible.²⁵ Thirdly, observe all the time the greatest exactness in your regimen, or manner of living. Abstain from all mixed,
30 all high-seasoned food. Use plain diet, easy of digestion. And this as sparingly as you can, consistent with ease and strength. Drink only water, if it agrees with your stomach; if not, good clear small beer. Use as much exercise daily, in the open air, as you can without weariness. Sup at six or seven on the lightest food. Go to bed
35 early, and rise betimes. To persevere with steadiness in this course is often more than half the cure. Above all, add to the rest (for it is not labour lost) that old, unfashionable medicine, *prayer*. And have

²⁴ Cf. Herman Boerhaave, M.D. (1688–1738), *Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physic* (London: W. Innys, 1742), 1:76, etc.

²⁵ Cf. JW's comment in his letter to William Hawes, July 29, 1776 (in Appendix D), that he was not claiming here that *he* believed these medicines to be infallible—only that many people *account* them to be so.

faith in God, who 'killeth and maketh alive, who bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up'.²⁶

16. For the sake of those who desire, through the blessing of God, to retain the health which they have recovered, I have added a few plain, easy rules, chiefly transcribed from Dr. Cheyne.²⁷

- I. 1. The air we breathe is of great consequence to our health. Those who have been long abroad in easterly or northerly winds should drink some thin and warm liquor going to bed, or a draught of toast and water. [6, 17] 10
2. Tender people should have those who lie with them or are much about them sound, sweet, and healthy. [10–12]
3. Everyone that would preserve health should be as clean and sweet as possible in their houses, clothes, and furniture. [17–18] 15
- II. 1. The great rule of eating and drinking is to suit the quality and quantity of the food to the strength of our digestion; to take always such a sort and such a measure of food as fits light and easy on the stomach. [72] 20
2. All pickled or smoked or salted food, and all high-seasoned, is unwholesome. [73]
3. Nothing conduces more to health than abstinence and plain food with due labour. [74]
4. For studious persons, about eight ounces of animal food and twelve of vegetable in twenty-four hours is sufficient.²⁸ [74] 25
5. Water is the wholesomest of all drinks; [it] quickens the appetite and strengthens the digestion most. [74]
6. Strong, and more especially spirituous, liquors are a certain, though slow, poison. [75] 30
7. Experience shows there is no manner of danger in leaving them off all at once. [75]
8. Strong liquors do not prevent the mischiefs of a surfeit, nor carry it off so safely as water. [75]

²⁶ 1 Sam. 2:6.

²⁷ What follows is a series of extracts and distillations, concerning the six 'non-naturals', from George Cheyne, *An Essay on Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724). The page location within Cheyne's essay in each case is indicated editorially in brackets at the end of the advice.

²⁸ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW inserted by hand the qualification 'commonly' sufficient. This change does not appear in any print edition.

9. Malt liquors (except clear small beer of a due age) are exceeding hurtful to tender persons. [75]
10. Coffee and tea are extremely hurtful to persons who have weak nerves. [61–63, 76]

5

- III. 1. Tender persons should eat very light suppers; and those, two or three hours before going to bed. [87]
2. They ought constantly to go to bed about nine, rise at four or five. [87–88]

10

- IV. 1. A due degree of exercise is indispensably necessary to health and long life. [106]

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2. Walking is the best exercise for those who are able to bear it; riding, for those who are not. The open air, when the weather is fair, contributes much to the benefit of exercise. [106–7]

20

3. We may strengthen any weak part of the body by constant exercise. Thus the lungs may be strengthened by loud speaking, or walking up an easy ascent. The digestion and the nerves by riding. The arms or hams by strong rubbing them daily. [107]

4. The studious ought to have stated times for exercise, at last two or three hours a day; the one half of this before dinner, the other before going to bed. [108]

5. They should frequently shave, and frequently wash their feet. [228]

25

6. Those who read or write much should learn to do it standing, otherwise it will impair their health. [229]

7. The fewer clothes anyone uses by day or by night, the harder he will be. [228]

30

8. Exercise, first, should always be on an empty stomach. Secondly, should never be continued to weariness. Thirdly, after it we should take care to cool by degrees, otherwise we shall catch cold. [99–100]

9. The flesh-brush is a most useful exercise, especially to strengthen any part that is weak. [108]

35

10. Cold-bathing is of great advantage to health. It prevents abundance of diseases. It promotes perspiration, helps the circulation of the blood, and prevents the danger of catching cold. Tender people should pour water upon the head before they go in, and walk in swiftly. To jump in with the head foremost is too great a shock to nature. [102–3, 108]

40

- V. 1. Costiveness cannot long consist with health. Therefore care should be taken to remove it at the beginning; and when it

is removed, to prevent its return by soft, cool, opening diet.
[110–14]

2. Obstructed perspiration (vulgarly called ‘catching cold’) is one great source of diseases. Whenever there appears the least sign of this, let it be removed by gentle sweats. [129–30, 143] 5

- VI. 1. The passions have a greater influence on health than most people are aware of. [170]
2. All violent and sudden passions dispose to, or actually throw people into, acute diseases. [170] 10
3. The slow and lasting passions, such as grief and hopeless love, bring on chronical diseases. [170]
4. Till the passion which caused the disease is calmed, medicine is applied in vain. [171] 15
5. The love of God, as it is the sovereign remedy of all miseries, so in particular it effectually prevents all the bodily disorders the passions introduce, by keeping the passions themselves within due bounds. And by the unspeakable joy and perfect calm, serenity, and tranquility it gives the mind, it becomes the most powerful of all the means of health and long life. [171–72] 20

London
June 11, 1747
[1→23] 25

Postscript [I]

1. It was a great surprise to the editor of the following collection that there was so swift and large a demand for it that three impressions were called for in four or five years, and that it was not only republished by the booksellers of a neighbouring nation but also inserted by parts in their public papers,²⁹ and so propagated through the whole kingdom. This encouraged him carefully to revise the whole and to publish it again, with several alterations which it is hoped may make it of greater use to those who love common sense and common honesty. 30

2. Those alterations are still in pursuance of my first design: to set down cheap, safe, and easy medicines—easy to be known, easy to be 40

²⁹ See the 3rd and 4th editions, published in Dublin.

procured, and easy to be applied by plain, unlettered men. Accordingly, I have omitted a considerable number which, though cheap and safe, were not so common or well known. And have added almost an equal number to which that objection cannot be made.

5 Which are not only of small price, and extremely safe, but likewise easily to be found—if not in every house or yard, yet in every town and almost every village throughout the kingdom.

3. It is because they are not safe, but extremely dangerous, that I have omitted (together with antimony) the four Herculean medicines—opium, the bark, steel,³⁰ and most of the preparations of quicksilver.³¹ Herculean indeed! Far too strong for common men to grapple with. How many fatal effects have these produced, even in the hands of no ordinary physicians? With regard to four of these, instances are glaring and undeniable. And whereas quicksilver, the
15 fifth, is in its native form as innocent as bread or water, has not the art been discovered so to *prepare* it as to make it the most deadly of poisons? *These*, physicians have justly termed ‘edged tools’. But they have not yet taught them to wound at a distance. And honest men are under no necessity of touching them, or coming within
20 their reach.

4. Instead of these, I have once more ventured to recommend to men of plain, unbiased reason such remedies as air, water, milk, whey, honey, treacle, salt, vinegar, and common English herbs, with a few foreign medicines almost equally cheap, safe, and common.
25 And this I have done on that principle whereby I desire to be governed in all my actions, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, the same do unto them’.³²

5. At the request of many persons, I have likewise added plain definitions of most distempers;³³ not indeed accurate or philosophical definitions, but such as are suited to men of ordinary capacities, and as may just enable them, in common, simple cases, to distinguish one disease from another. In uncommon or complicated dis-

³⁰ JW added an annotation to these first three items in editions 5→13, that read ‘Except in one instance of each’; changed in editions 14→23 to ‘Except in a very few cases’.

³¹ Note the similar restriction in the book JW read while in Georgia, John Tennent, *Every Man his own Doctor* (Williamsburg, VA: William Parks, 1734), 55: ‘No mention is made of mercury, opium, or the Peruvian bark, which have almost obtained the reputation of specifics. I acknowledge the powerful effects of these medicines, but am persuaded they ought to be administered with the greatest skill and discernment.’

³² Matt. 7:12.

³³ Cf. JW’s earlier assumption that recognizing disorders was typically ‘very easy’; in Preface, §15.

eases, or where life is more immediately in danger, I again advise every man without delay to apply to a physician that fears God.

Bristol

October 16, 1755

[5→23]

5

[*Postscript II*]³⁴

London

November 10, 1760

10

[1.] During the observation and experience of more than five years which have passed since the last impression of this tract I have had many opportunities of trying the virtues of the ensuing remedies, and I have now added the word 'Tried' to these which I have found to be of great efficacy.³⁵ I believe many others to be equal virtue, but it has not lain in my way to make the trial.

15

[2.] In this course of time I have likewise had occasion to collect several other remedies, tried either by myself or others, which are inserted under their proper heads. Some of these I have found to be of uncommon virtue, equal to any of those which were before published. And one I must aver, from personal knowledge, grounded on a thousand experiments, to be far superior to other medicines I have known—I mean *electricity*. I cannot but entreat all those who are well-wishers to mankind to make full proof of this. Certainly it comes the nearest an universal medicine of any yet known in the world.

20

25

[3.] One grand advantage which most of these medicines have above those commonly used is this: You may be sure of having them good in their kind; pure, genuine, unsophisticate. But who can be sure of this when the medicines he uses are compounded by an apothecary? Perhaps he has not the drug prescribed by the physician, and so puts in its place 'what will do as well'. Perhaps he cannot afford to make up the medicine as the dispensatory directs and sell it at the common price, so he puts in cheaper ingredients.

30

³⁴The first two paragraphs of this postscript suggest that the 8th edition, published in Bristol in 1759, was an interim form of the changes in the 9th edition. It was in the earlier edition that JW first prescribed electrifying; and the first specific insertion of the word 'Tried' was also in a single receipt of the 1759 edition (§2, receipt #3). This postscript also raises question whether the missing 6th and 7th editions ever existed, though it likely means that they were simple reprints.

³⁵JW may have remembered the precedent for this addition set by Robert Boyle, who marked the remedies that he had tried himself in *Some Receipts* (see [p. vi]).

And you take neither you nor your physician knows what! How many inconveniences must this occasion? How many constitutions are ruined hereby? How many valuable lives are lost? Whereas all these inconveniences may be prevented by a little care and common sense, in the use of those plain, simple remedies which are here collected.

[9→23]

10 *[Postscript III]*

Otley

April 20, 1780³⁶

15 Since the last correction of this tract, near twenty years ago,³⁷ abundance of objections have been made to several parts of it. These I have considered with all the attention which I was master of. And in consequence hereof, have now omitted many articles and altered many others. I have likewise added a considerable number of medicines, several of which have been but lately discovered, and several (although they had been long in use) I had never tried before. But I still advise, 'in complicated cases, or where life is in immediate danger, let everyone apply without delay, to a physician that fears God'.³⁸ From one who does not, be his fame ever so great, I should expect a curse rather than a blessing. [20→23]

25 *Most of those medicines which I prefer to the rest, are now marked with an asterisk.*³⁹ [15→23⁴⁰]

³⁶The date matches JW's travel schedule. Since the 20th edition was published in 1781, the preface (and the changes evident in the 20th edition) may have appeared in the 19th edition, but no copies are known to survive.

³⁷The preceding dated postscript remarks may have led JW to overlook the revisions in 1776, the substantial addition of receipts in 1765, as well as the scattered additions in 1770 and 1772.

³⁸Postscript I, §5, above.

³⁹Once again there was precedent for this move in Robert Boyle, who marked the receipts that he considered best in *Some Receipts* (see [p. v]; or *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:[xiv]).

⁴⁰This closing announcement was dated 'Oct. 20, 1772' in editions 15→17; 'Aug. 10, 1773' in *Works*; and left undated in editions 20→23.

A Collection of Receipts [1791 and previous]

1. *Abortion (to prevent)* [5→23]

5

- #1. Women of a weak or relaxed habit should use solid food, avoiding great quantities of tea and other weak and watery liquors. They should go soon to bed and rise early; and take frequent exercise, but avoid being over-fatigued.⁴¹ [20→23] 10
- #2. If of a full habit, they ought to use a spare diet, and chiefly of the vegetable kind, avoiding strong liquors and everything that may tend to heat the body or increase the quantity of blood.⁴² [20→23] 15
- #3. In the first case, take daily half a pint of a decoction of lignum guaiacum, boiling an ounce of it in a quart of water for five minutes.⁴³ [5→23]
- #4. In the latter case, give half a dram of powdered nitre, in a cup of water gruel, every five or six hours. [20→23] 20
- #5. In both cases she should sleep on a hard mattress with her head low, and be kept cool and quiet.⁴⁴ [20→23]
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*]
- #6. Or, in a sanguine habit, let blood.⁴⁵ [12→16] 25
- #7. If there is a full strong pulse, bleed in small quantities and at stated intervals. [17]

⁴¹ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 658.

⁴² Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 659.

⁴³ The 16th edition read simply: 'Use daily a decoction of lignum guaiacum, boiling an ounce of it in a quart of water.' Hawes (*Examination*, 10) declared this 'most improper' because it would increase the activity of the heart and make the woman more liable to abort. JW responded by adding more specificity to the dosage, as seen above.

⁴⁴ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 659.

⁴⁵ See Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, 515. Hawes (*Examination*, 10) criticized the use of the term 'sanguine' as unknown to most readers, and challenged Wesley to be more specific in his directions. JW revised the receipt along the lines suggested by Hawes in the next edition (i.e., to the wording of #7), then deleted it from subsequent editions.

2. For an Ague^a [CR, 1→23]

N.B. *Nothing tends more to prolong an ague than indulging a lazy indolent disposition. The patient ought therefore, between the fits, to take as much exercise as he can bear;*⁴⁶ *and to use a light diet, and for common drink lemonade is the most proper.* [20→23]

- #1. Go into the cold bath just before the cold fit.⁴⁷ [1→23]
 #2. When all other means fail, give blue vitriol, from one grain to two grains, in the absence of the fit; and repeat it three or four times in twenty-four hours. [20→23]
 #3. Or take a handful of groundsell, shred it small, put it into a paper bag four inches square, pricking that side which is to be next the skin full of holes. Cover this with a thin linen and wear it on the pit of the stomach, renewing it two hours before the fit.⁴⁸ [CR#1, 1→23] Tried. [8→23]
 #4. Or apply to the stomach a large onion slit. [1→23]
 #5. Or melt two-penny worth of frankincense, spread it on linen, grate a nutmeg upon it, cover it with linen, and hang this bag on the pit of the stomach. I have never yet known it fail. [14→23] * [15→23]
 #6. Or boil yarrow in new milk till it is tender enough to spread as a plaster. An hour before the cold fit apply this to the wrists, and let it be on till the hot fit is over. If another fit comes, use a fresh plaster.⁴⁹ [CR#2, 1→23] This often cures a quartan [ague]. [5→23]
 #7. Or drink a quart of cold water just before the cold fit. Then go to bed and sweat.⁵⁰ [1→23]
 #8. Or make six middling pills of cobwebs. Take one a little before the cold fit; two a little before the next fit (suppose the next day); the other three, if need be, a little before the third fit.⁵¹ [1→23] I never knew this to fail. [1→13] This seldom fails.^b [14→23]

^a An ague is an intermitting fever, each fit of which is preceded by a cold shivering and goes off in a sweat. [5→23]

^b But observe, they must be fresh cobwebs; not those that are some years old, which are little better than a lump of dirt. And you should neither eat nor drink for an hour or two after. [This note appears only in *Works*]

⁴⁶ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 184.

⁴⁷ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 215.

⁴⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:8.

⁴⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:21.

⁵⁰ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 27.

⁵¹ JW attributes this cure to Dr. William Piper of Essex in the prefatory comments to his abridged version of Tissot's *AdVICES with Respect to Health*, §7 (below in this vol.).

- #9. Or put a teaspoonful of salt of tarter into a large glass of spring-water, and drink it by little and little. Repeat the same dose the next two days, before the time of the fit.
[20→23]
- #10. Or [take] two teaspoonfuls of sal-prunella an hour before the fit. It commonly cures in thrice taking. [CR#5, 1→23] 5
- #11. Or [take] a large spoonful of powdered camomile flowers.
[20→23]
- #12. Or [take] a teaspoonful of spirits of hartshorn, in a glass of water.⁵² [5→23] * [15→23] 10
- #13. Or eat a small lemon, rind and all. [2→23]
- #14. Or in a hot fit, if violent, take eight to ten drops of laudanum; if costive, in hiera picra.⁵³ [14→23]
- #15. Dr. Lind says an ague is certainly cured by taking from ten to twenty drops of laudanum, with two drams of syrup of poppies, in any warm liquid, half an hour after the heat begins.⁵⁴
[20→23] 15

N.B. *It is proper to take a gentle vomit, and sometimes a purge, before you use any of these medicines. [1→23] If a vomit is taken two hours before the fit is expected, it generally prevents that fit, and sometimes cures an ague, especially in children. It is also proper to repeat the medicine (whatever it be) about a week after, in order to prevent a relapse. [5→23] Do not take any purge soon after. [9→23]* 20

The daily use of the flesh-brush, and frequent cold bathing are a great use to prevent relapses. [14→23] 25

- #16. Children have been cured by wearing a waistcoat in which bark was quilted.⁵⁵ [20→23] 30

⁵² JW added in the *Works* edn. 'an hour before the fit'.

⁵³ In the 16th edition the dosage suggested was 'ten, twelve, or fifteen drops'. Hawes (*Examination*, 12) charged this was 'very dangerous', being likely to 'heat the system much more, endanger delirium, and convert the present disease into a continued fever'. JW responded by decreasing the dosage as shown above. Starting with the 20th edition he also added the similar receipt #15, invoking the authority of Dr. James Lind.

⁵⁴ Cf. James Lind (1716–94), *An Essay on Diseases incidental to Europeans in Hot Climates* (London: Becket and de Hondt, 1768), 316–17.

⁵⁵ JW likely took from a newspaper account. The case was reported a year after JW added this receipt in Hugh Smythson, *The Compleat Family Physician* (London: Harrison, 1781), 959.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #17. Or spread soft wax, about the thickness of a crown piece, large enough to cover each wrist. On this spread the leaves of the tops of rue. Let this plaster lie on your wrist five or six
5 days.⁵⁶ [CR#3, 1→4]
- #18. Or split two large figs and spread on them white alabaster beaten to powder. Bind these to the wrists. [CR#4, 1→4]
- #19. Or [take] an ounce of juice of pellitory of Spain, sweating after it. It cures the second or third time of using.⁵⁷ [1→4]
- 10 #20. Or from a dram and half to two drams of good stone brimstone, finely powdered. If need be, repeat it.⁵⁸ [CR#8, 1→4]
- #21. Or a teaspoonful of brimstone mixed with honey. [CR#8, 2→4]
- #22. Or [take] a large spoonful of brimstone, powdered, in a cup
15 of hot white wine. Then lie down in bed and sweat. [CR#8, 12→17]
- #23. Or apply a handful of yarrow in like manner [as that used with groundsell above].⁵⁹ [1→16]
- #24. Or drink a pint of decoction of camomile, sweetened with
20 treacle. Take it warm in bed, and sweat two hours.⁶⁰ [2→16]
- #25. Or [apply to the stomach] sliced roots of water lilies. Tried. [12→17, not *Works*]
- #26. Or [take] twenty grains of sal ammoniac, two hours before
the fit. [15→16, not *Works*]
- 25 #27. Or [take twenty grains] of powdered nutmeg and alum. [15→16, not *Works*]

3. A tertian Ague [1→23]

- 30 #1. Is often cured by taking a purge one day, and the next bleeding, in the beginning of the fit.⁶¹ [12→23]
- #2. Or a teaspoonful of salt of tartar in spring-water. This also cures double tertians, triple, quartan, long lasting fevers, and

^cThat is, an ague which returns every other day. In this, use light and sparing diet on the day between. [5→23]

⁵⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:53.

⁵⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 219–20.

⁵⁸ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:13–14.

⁵⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 184.

⁶⁰ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 4.

⁶¹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #503, p. 319.

most diseases rising from obstructions, especially if senna be premised twice or thrice. [12→23] * [15→17]⁶²

#3. Or apply to each wrist a plaster of treacle and soot. Tried. [9→23] * [15→23]

#4. Or use the cold bath (unless you are of an advanced age, or extremely weak).⁶³ But when you use this, on any account whatever, it is proper: 5

1. To bleed or purge, before you begin.

2. To go in cool; to immerse at once, but not head foremost; to stay in only two or three minutes (or less at first). 10

3. Never to bathe on a full stomach.

4. To bathe twice or thrice a week at least, till you have bathed nine or ten times.

5. To sweat immediately after it (going to bed) in palsies, rickets, and all diseases wherein the nerves are obstructed.⁶⁴ 15

6. You may use yourself to it, without any danger, by beginning in May and at first just plunging in and coming out immediately. But many have begun in winter without any inconvenience. [1→23] 20

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#5. Boil a handful of ribwort in whey. Drink this warm, an hour before the fit comes, and lie down and sweat.⁶⁵ [1→16]

#6. Or after purging, vomiting, or bleeding, take a dram of treacle in plantain water, three mornings.⁶⁶ [12→17] 25

#7. Or before, yea in the midst of the fit, take twenty drops of spirit of sulphur in a pint of cold water.⁶⁷ [12→16]

4. A double tertian [Ague] [12→23]

#1. Take before the fit (after a purge or two) three ounces of chicory⁶⁸ water, half a dram of salt of wormwood, and fifteen drops of spirit of sulphur.⁶⁹ [12→23] 30

⁶² Hawes (*Examination*, 12) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶³ See Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 160; the parenthetical comment was added starting with the 5th edition.

⁶⁴ The first five qualifications come from Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 24–25.

⁶⁵ Hawes (*Examination*, 12) ridiculed this as implying one could initiate sweating by command.

⁶⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #146, p. 80.

⁶⁷ Hawes (*Examination*, 13) charged, 'This can be of no use whatever; yea, it may be sometimes injurious.'

⁶⁸ JW spelled this 'cichory', as in Rivière.

⁶⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #20, p. 10.

- #2. To perfect the cure, on the fourth day after you miss the fit, take two drams of senna, half a dram of salt of tartar, infused all night in four ounces of chicory water. Strain it and drink it. [12→23]

5

5. *A quartan Ague*^d [1→23]

10

- #1. Apply to the suture of the head, when the fit is coming, wall-July-flowers beaten together, leaves and flowers, with a little salt.⁷⁰ Keep it on till the hot fit is over. Repeat this, if need be. [1→23] * [15→16]⁷¹

15

- #2. Use strong exercise (as riding or walking, as far as you can bear it) an hour or two before the fit. If possible, continue it till the fit begins. This alone will frequently cure. [5→23]
Tried [9→23]

- #3. Or apply to the wrists a plaster of turpentine. [5→23]

- #4. Or [apply to the wrists a plaster] of bruised pepper, mixed with treacle. [5→23]

20

- #5. Or apply oil of turpentine to the small of the back, before the fit. [10→23]

25

- #6. For a tertian or quartan, vomit with ten grains of ipecacuanha an hour before the cold fit begins.⁷² Then go to bed, and continue a large sweat by lemonade (that is, lemon, sugar, and water) for six or eight hours. This usually cures in three or four times. If it does not, use the cold bath between the fits. [10→23] * [15→21]

30

- #7. Or take twenty grains of powdered saffron before the fit, in a glass of white wine.⁷³ [12→23]

^dThat is, an ague in which misses two days, coming on Monday (suppose) and again on Thursday. [5→23]

⁷⁰ Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 8.

⁷¹ Hawes (*Examination*, 14) ridiculed this remedy. JW dropped the asterisk in subsequent editions.

⁷² Editions through the 16th said only 'vomit an hour after the cold fit begins'. Hawes (*Examination*, 14) endorsed the need for a vomit, but called on Wesley to instruct readers what to use for this purpose. Wesley obliged as above in subsequent editions.

⁷³ Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, 591. Editions through the 16th prescribed only 'ten grains'. Hawes (*Examination*, 15) charged that this was too little to make a difference, so JW doubled the dose in subsequent editions.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #8. Or [apply to the wrists a plaster] of bruised garlic. [10→16]
 #9. Or take for seven mornings an infusion of senna, with a tea-spoonful of cream of tartar.⁷⁴ [12→16, not *Works*]
 #10. Or drink every morning a gill of white wine, wherein half a sliced Seville orange is boiled.⁷⁵ [12→17] 5
 #11. Or take for ten, twelve, or fourteen mornings half a pint of water in which half an ounce of senna and a dram of salt of tartar have been infused twelve hours.⁷⁶ [12→17]
 #12. Or take sugar candy, three drams; ginger, two drams; camphor, one dram. Mix them into a powder and take a dram in warm water.⁷⁷ [12→17] 10

6. *St. Anthony's fire* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Take a glass of tar-water warm, in bed, every hour, washing the part with the same.⁷⁸ [1→23] *[15→23] 15

N.B. *Tar-water is made thus: Put a gallon of cold water to a quart of Norway tar. Stir them together with a flat stick for five or six minutes. After it has stood covered for three days, pour off the water clear, bottle and cork it.*⁷⁹ [1→23] 20

- #2. Or take a decoction of elder leaves, as a sweat. [CR#11, 1→23] * [15→23]
 #3. Applying to the part a cloth dipped in lime-water, mixed with a little camphorated spirits of wine. [CR#13, 1→23] * [15→23] 25

N.B. *Lime water is made thus: Infuse a pound of good quicklime in six quarts of spring-water for twenty-four hours. Decant and keep for use.*⁸⁰ [CR#149, 1→23] 30

^ε St. Anthony's fire is a fever attended with a red and painful swelling, full of pimples, which afterwards turn into small blisters, on the face or some other part of the body. The sooner the eruption is, the less danger. Let your diet be only water gruel, or barley broth, with roasted apples. [5→23]

⁷⁴ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #166, p. 88.

⁷⁵ Hawes (*Examination*, 15) noted that JW gave no indication of how long to continue this treatment and worried it might turn 'weakly and delicate women' into addicts.

⁷⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #166, p. 88.

⁷⁷ Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, 591.

⁷⁸ Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 1, 5. JW retained this receipt, despite Hawes's extended criticism (*Examination*, 15).

⁷⁹ Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 2.

⁸⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:42.

#4. Or take two or three gentle purges. No acute fever bears repeated purges better than this, especially when it affects the head. [5→23]

#5. Or boil a handful of sage, two handfuls of elder leave
(or bark), and an ounce of alum in two quarts of forge
water, [down] to a pint. Wash with this every night.
[1→23]

#6. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 104.⁸¹

If the pulse be low, and the spirits sunk, nourishing broths
and a little negus may be given to advantage.

Or let three drams of nitre be dissolved in as much elder-
flower tea as the patient can drink in twenty-four hours. If
the disease attacks the head, bleeding is necessary.

Dressing the inflammation with greasy ointments, salves, etc.
is very improper.

Bathing the feet and legs in warm water is serviceable, and
often relieves the patient much. [20→23]

#7. In Scotland the common people cover the part with a linen
cloth covered with meal.⁸² [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#8. Or apply leaves of water dock. [1→4]

#9. Take a pint of cold water twice a day.⁸³ [1→4]

#10. Or [take a decoction] of wild thyme. [CR #13, 1→16]

#11. Or wash it with water wherein bran is boiled. [1→16]
*[15→16]

#12. Or (using the internal medicine at the same time) apply a
plaster of Venice treacle.⁸⁴ [1→16]

#13. Or drink just so much seawater as does not vomit or
purge, every morning for seven days.⁸⁵ This is the proper
measure, in whatever case it is taken. It seldom fails.⁸⁶
[5→17]

⁸¹ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XIX (see below in this vol.). JW summarizes here §190–§192.

⁸² Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 318.

⁸³ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 52.

⁸⁴ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 101.

⁸⁵ Russell, *Dissertation*, 120.

⁸⁶ In the 16th edition this receipt followed immediately that prescribing warm tar-water. Hawes (*Examination*, 16) ridiculed the prescription of both a hot and cold drink for the same ailment.

7. *The Apoplexy*^f [CR, 1→23]

- #1. To prevent, use the cold bath and drink only water.⁸⁷ [1→23]
- #2. In the fit, put a handful of salt into a pint of cold water, and if possible, pour down the throat of the patient. He will immediately come to himself. So will one who seems dead by a fall. 5
[12→23] But send for a good physician immediately. [5→23⁸⁸]
* [15→23]
- #3. If the fit be soon after a meal, do not bleed but vomit.⁸⁹
[1→23] * [15→23]
- #4. Rub the head, feet, and hands strongly, and let two strong 10
men carry the patient, upright, backward and forward about
the room. [8→23] * [15→23]
- #5. A seton in the neck, with low diet, has often prevented a
relapse. [5→23]
- #6. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 53.⁹⁰ 15
There is a wide difference between the 'sanguineous' and
'serous' apoplexy; the latter is often followed by palsy.
The former is distinguished by the countenance appearing
florid; the face swelled or puffed up; and the blood vessels,
especially about the neck and temples, are turgid; the pulse 20
beats strong; the eyes are prominent and fixed; and the
breathing is difficult, and performed with a snorting. This
invades more suddenly than the serous apoplexy. Use large
bleedings, from the arm or neck; bathe the feet in warm
water; cupping on the back of the head, with deep scarifi- 25
cation. The garters should be tied very tight to lessen the
motion of the blood from the lower extremities. A scruple
of nitre may be given in water, every three or four hours.
When the patient is so far recovered as to be able to swallow,
let him take a strong purge. But if this cannot be effected, a 30
clyster should be thrown up, with plenty of fresh butter and
a large spoonful of common salt in it.

^f An apoplexy is a total loss of all sense and voluntary motion, commonly attended with a strong pulse, hard breathing, and snorting. [5→23]

⁸⁷ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 149–50.

⁸⁸ The exhortation to send for a good physician was tied to receipt #6 in editions 5→16.

⁸⁹ JW kept this receipt, even though Hawes (*Examination*, 17) deemed it 'essentially wrong' and potentially fatal.

⁹⁰ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. IX (see below in this vol.). The following four paragraphs digest and revise somewhat §98–§101.

In the serous apoplexy the pulse is not so strong, the countenance is less florid, and not attended with so great a difficulty of breathing. Here the bleeding is not so necessary, but a vomit of three grains of emetic tartar may be given, and afterwards a purge as before, and the powder of white hellebore blown up the nose, etc. [20→23]

This apoplexy is generally preceded by an unusual heaviness, giddiness, and drowsiness. [20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#7. In the fit, blow powder of white hellebore up the nose, and fix a cupping glass, without scarifying, to the nape of the neck, and another to each shoulder.⁹¹ [1→16; cf. CR#14]

#8. Or fill the mouth with salt.⁹² [12→16]

8. Canine Appetite^e [5→23]

#1. 'If it be without vomiting, is often cured by a small bit of bread dipped in wine, and applied to the nostrils.' Dr. Schomberg.⁹³ [5→23]

[additional receipts in previous edition⁹⁴]

#2. Chew liquorice. [Works]

#3. Or roll a piece of alum in your mouth. Some have been kept alive hereby fourteen days. [Works]

9. The Asthma^h [CR, 1→23]

#1. Take a pint of cold water every morning, washing the head

^e An insatiable desire of eating. [5→23]

^h An asthma is a difficulty of breathing, from a disorder in the lungs. In the common (or moist) asthma, the patient spits much. [5→23]

⁹¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:33. Hawes (*Examination*, 17) criticized the use of white hellebore and argued that, while the use of cupping glasses was appropriate, they would not be effective without scarification. JW deleted mention of cupping glasses from all subsequent editions. He also dropped mention of white hellebore at first, but brought it back in with the 20th edition, in the extract from Tissot.

⁹² Hawes (*Examination*, 17) suggested that this remedy is likely to suffocate the patient.

⁹³ Schomberg, *Aphorismi Practici*, 26.

⁹⁴ The following receipts appear in a section 'Hunger (to prevent)' found only in *Works*.

- therein immediately after, and using the cold bath once a fortnight.⁹⁵ [1→23]
- #2. Or cut an ounce of stick liquorice into slices. Steep this in a quart of water four and twenty hours, and use it, when you are worse than usual, as a common drink. I have known this give much ease. [10→23] *[15→23] 5
- #3. Or [take] half a pint of tar-water twice a day.⁹⁶ [CR#21, 1→23] * [15→16]⁹⁷
- #4. Or live a fortnight on boiled carrots only. It seldom fails. [5→23] 10
- #5. Or take an ounce of quicksilver every morning, and spoonful of aqua sulphurata or fifteen drops of elixir of vitriol in a large glass of spring-water at five in the evening.⁹⁸ [1→23] I[nfallible]. [1→9] Tried. [9→14] This has cured an inveterate asthma. [15→23] * [15→23] 15
- #6. Or take from ten to sixty drops of elixir of vitriol, in a glass of water, three or four times a day. [20→23]
- N.B. *Elixir of vitriol is made thus: Drop gradually four ounces of strong oil of vitriol into a pint of spirits of wine or brandy. Let it stand three days, and add to it ginger sliced, half an ounce, and Jamaica pepper, whole, one ounce. In three days more it is fit for use. But if the patient be subject to belchings, take the mixture for the asthma cough (as Art. 56⁹⁹) after the elixir of vitriol.* [20→23] 20 25
- #7. Or into a quart of boiling water, put a teaspoonful of balsamic aether. Receive the steam into the lungs through a fumigator twice a day. [20→23] 30
- N.B. *Balsamic aether is made thus: Put four ounces of spirits of wine and one ounce of balsam of Tolu into a vial, with one ounce of aether. Keep it well corked. But it will not keep above a week.* [20→23]
- #8. For present relief, vomit with a quart or more of warm water. 35
The more you drink, the better. [1→23]

⁹⁵ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 145.

⁹⁶ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 5–6.

⁹⁷ Hawes (*Examination*, 19) characterized this remedy as inefficacious. JW kept the receipt, but dropped the asterisk in subsequent editions.

⁹⁸ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 36.

⁹⁹ I.e., §10, receipt #10.

N.B. Do this whenever you find any motion to vomit, and take care always to keep your body open. [1→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- 5 #9. Take a pint of cold water every night, as you lie down in bed.¹⁰⁰
[1→16]
- #10. Or a spoonful of nettle juice, mixed with clarified honey
every night and morning.¹⁰¹ [CR#17, 1→17]
- #11. Or a teaspoonful of nitre and as much sal ammoniac in half a
10 pint of water. [1→4]
- #12. Or take an ounce of elecampane roots, sliced thin, and a hand-
ful of ground-ivy leaves; boil them in three pints of spring-
water [down] to a quart. Strain and sweeten it with honey,
and drink a glass morning and evening.¹⁰² [CR#20, 1→4]
- 15 #13. Or [take] a spoonful of syrup of garlic three or four times a
day. [2→4]
- #14. Or drink seawater every morning.¹⁰³ [5→16, not *Works*]

20 10. A dry or convulsive Asthma [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Juice of radishes relieves much. [5→23]
- #2. So does a cup of strong coffee. [5→23]
- #3. Or garlic, either raw, or preserved, or in syrup. [5→23]
- 25 #4. Or drink a pint of new milk morning and evening. This has
cured an inveterate asthma. [5→23]
- #5. Or beat fine saffron small, and take eight or ten grains every
night.¹⁰⁴ [CR#22, 1→23] Tried. [14→23] * [15→23]
- #6. Take from three to five grains of ipecacuanha every morn-
30 ing; or from five to ten grains every evening. Do this, if need
be, for a month or six weeks. Five grains usually vomit. In a
violent fit, take a scruple instantly. [14→23] * [15→23]
- #7. In any asthma the best drink is apple water.¹⁰⁵ [1→23] That is,
boiling water poured on sliced apples. [14→23]
- 35 #8. The food should be light and easy of digestion. Ripe fruits
baked, boiled, or roasted are very proper. But strong liquors

¹⁰⁰ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 27, 55. Hawes (*Examination*, 19) characterized this remedy as inefficacious.

¹⁰¹ Kettlby, *Collection*, 156.

¹⁰² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:30.

¹⁰³ Hawes (*Examination*, 19) characterized this remedy as inefficacious.

¹⁰⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:71.

¹⁰⁵ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 314.

of all kinds, especially beer or ale, are hurtful. If any supper is taken, it should be very light.¹⁰⁶ [20→23]

#9. All disorders of the breast are much relieved by keeping the feet warm, and promoting perspiration. Exercise is also of great importance; so that the patient should take as much every day as his strength will bear. Issues are found, in general, to be of great service.¹⁰⁷ [20→23] 5

#10. Dr. Smyth, in his *Formulae*, recommends mustard-whey as common drink in moist asthma, and a decoction of the madder root to promote spitting. 10

N.B. *The decoction is made thus: Boil an ounce of madder and two drams of mace in three pints of water, [down] to two pints; then strain it and take a teacupful three or four times a day.*¹⁰⁸ [20→23]

#11. But the most efficacious medicine is the quicksilver and aqua sulphurata (as Art. 45¹⁰⁹). N.B. Where the latter cannot be got, ten drops of oil of vitriol, in a large glass of spring-water, will answer the same end. [20→23] 15

#12. I have known many persons greatly relieved, and some cured, by taking as much jalap every morning as would lie on a sixpence. [20→23] 20

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#13. Use the cold bath thrice a week.¹¹⁰ [1→17]

#14. Or dry and powder a toad. Make it into small pills, and take one every hour till the convulsions cease.¹¹¹ [1→16, not *Works*] 25

#15. Or [drink] tea made with hyssop, or ground-ivy, or daisy flowers and liquorice.¹¹² [5→16]

11. To cure Baldness [1→23] 30

#1. Rub the part morning and evening with onions, till it is red; and rub it afterwards with honey.¹¹³ [1→23]

¹⁰⁶ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 515.

¹⁰⁷ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 516–17.

¹⁰⁸ I.e., Hugh Smith (c. 1730–90), *Formulae Medicamentorum* (London: W. Johnston, 1768), 96.

¹⁰⁹ I.e., §9, receipt #5.

¹¹⁰ Hawes (*Examination*, 20) characterized this remedy as inefficacious.

¹¹¹ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 34. Hawes (*Examination*, 20) ridiculed this 'curious' receipt.

¹¹² Hawes (*Examination*, 20) characterized this remedy as inefficacious.

¹¹³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 208–9.

- #2. Or wash it with a decoction of boxwood.¹¹⁴ [12→23¹¹⁵] Tried.
[20→23]
#3. Or electrify it daily. [14→23]

5 12. *Bleeding at the nose (to prevent)* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Drink whey largely every morning, and eat raisins much.
[5→23] * [15→23]
#2. Or dissolve two scruples of nitre in half a pint of water, and
take a teacupful every hour.¹¹⁶ [20→23]
10 #3. To cure it, apply to the neck, behind and on each side, a cloth
dipped in cold water.¹¹⁷ [CR#23, 1→23]
#4. Or put the legs and arms in cold water. [20→23]
#5. Or wash the temples, nose, and neck with vinegar. [5→23] *
[15→23]
15 #6. Or keep a little roll of white paper under the tongue.
[20→23]
#7. Or snuff up vinegar and water.¹¹⁸ [12→23]
#8. Or foment the legs and arms with it. [20→23]
#9. Or steep a linen rag in sharp vinegar, burn it, and blow the
20 ashes up the nose with a quill. [1→23]
#10. Or apply tents made of soft lint, dipped in cold water
strongly impregnated with tincture of iron, and introduced
within the nostrils quite through to their posterior apertures.
This method, Mr. Hey says, never failed him.¹¹⁹ [20→23]
25 #11. Or dissolve an ounce of alum, powdered, in a pint of vinegar;
apply a cloth dipped in this to the temples, steeping the feet
in warm water. [20→23]
#12. In a violent case, go into the pond or river. Tried. [10→23]
30 #13. See extract from Dr. Tissot.¹²⁰ [14→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #14. Or put into the nose betony stamped with a little salt. [1→4]

¹¹⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 30.

¹¹⁵ This receipt was in the later section 'To make Hair grow' in 12→13.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 423

¹¹⁷ Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 80.

¹¹⁸ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #23, p. 11.

¹¹⁹ William Hey (1736–1819), letter to Joseph Priestley, in Priestley, *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air* (London: J. Johnson, 1775), 293. Hey was an active Methodist in Leeds, so JW may be drawing on oral comments.

¹²⁰ I.e., *Advices*, §332 (see below).

- #15. Or put up the nostril powdered betony with a little salt.¹²¹
[15→16]
- #16. Or hold strawberry root, or cockle[bur] root under the
tongue.¹²² [1→4]
- #17. Or chew nettle-root, spitting out the juice.¹²³ [2→17] 5
- #18. Hold a red-hot poker under the nose.¹²⁴ [5→16]

13. Bleeding of a wound [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Make two or three tight ligatures toward the lower part of
each joint; slacken them gradually. [5→23] 10
- #2. Or apply tops of nettles bruised.¹²⁵ [1→23]
- #3. Or strew on it the ashes of a linen rag dipped in sharp vinegar
and burnt. [1→23] 15
- #4. Or take ripe puff-balls, break them warily, and save the
powder. Strew this on the wound and bind it on.¹²⁶ [CR#24,
1→23] I[nfallible]. [5→23] This will stop the bleeding of an
amputated limb without any cautery. [8→23] * [15→23]
- #5. Or take of brandy, two ounces; Castile soap, two drams; potash,
one dram. Scrape the soap fine and dissolve it in the brandy,
then add the potash. Mix them well together and keep them
close-stopped in a phial. Apply a little of this, warmed, to a
bleeding vessel and the blood immediately congeals. [14→23] 20

[additional receipts in previous editions] 25

- #6. Or [strew on it] vine-leaves, dried and powdered. [1→4]
- #7. Or spread the ashes of a linen cloth thick on another linen
cloth, and apply it. [1→16] * [15→16]
- #8. Or [apply] leaves of allheal bruised. I[nfallible]. [1→17] 30

14. Spitting Blood [1→23]

- #1. Take a teacupful of stewed prunes, at lying down, for two or
three nights.¹²⁷ [1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [15→23] 35

¹²¹ Hawes (*Examination*, 21) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹²² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 45–47 (see strawberry root in note on p. 45).

¹²³ Hawes (*Examination*, 21) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹²⁴ Hawes (*Examination*, 21) sharply ridiculed this receipt.

¹²⁵ Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 8.

¹²⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:9; Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 48–49.

¹²⁷ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 46–47.

- #2. Or two spoonfuls of juice of nettles every morning, and a large cup of decoction of nettles at night, for a week.¹²⁸ [1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [15→23]
- #3. Or three spoonfuls of sage juice in a little honey. This presently stops either spitting or vomiting blood.¹²⁹ [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #4. Or half a teaspoonful of Barbados tar on a lump of loaf-sugar, at night. (It commonly cures at once.) [1→23] * [15→23]
- 10 [additional receipts in previous editions]
- #5. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of betony in a cup of new milk, for three or four mornings. [1→4]
- #6. Or [take] half a pint of decoction of St. John's-wort, morning and evening. [1→4]
- 15 #7. Or [take half a pint of decoction] of ground-ivy. [1→4]
- #8. Or [take half a pint of decoction] of horsetail (the herb). Or a dram of the root, powdered.¹³⁰ [1→4]
- #9. Or [take] a glass of decoction of onions.¹³¹ [1→16]
- #10. Or take frequently a spoonful of the juice of nettles and plantain leaves, mixed and sweetened with sugar candy.¹³² [5→16]
- 20

15. Vomiting Blood [CR, 1→23]

- 25 #1. Take two spoonfuls of nettle-juice. (N.B. This also dissolves blood coagulated in the stomach.¹³³) [CR#232, 1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [15→23]
- #2. Or take as much saltpetre as will lie upon half a crown, dissolved in a glass of cold water, two or three times a day. [20→23]
- 30 [additional receipts in previous editions]
- #3. Or [take] one spoonful of the juice of quinces.¹³⁴ [CR#233, 1→17]
- #4. Or [take] a spoonful of juice or syrup of horsetail.¹³⁵ [1→4]

¹²⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 203.

¹²⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252.

¹³⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 147.

¹³¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 209. Hawes (*Examination*, 22) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹³² Hawes (*Examination*, 22) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹³³ Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 47–48 (in footnote).

¹³⁴ Hawes (*Examination*, 22) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹³⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 147

- #5. Take three spoonfuls of sage juice in honey.¹³⁶ [1→13]
 #6. Or [take] a quarter of a pint of decoction of nettles and plantain two or three times a day.¹³⁷ [2→16]

16. *To dissolve coagulated Blood* [CR, 1→23]

5

- #1. Bind on the part for some hours a paste made of black soap and crumbs of white bread.¹³⁸ [CR#51, 1→23]
 #2. Or [bind on the part] grated root of burdock spread on a rag. Renew this twice a day.¹³⁹ [CR#52, 1→23]

10

17. *Blisters* [15→23]

- #1. On the feet, occasioned by walking, are cured by drawing a needle full of worsted through them. Clip it off at both ends, and leave it till the skin peels off. [15→23]

15

18. *Boils* [1→23]

20

- #1. Apply a little Venice turpentine. [1→23]
 #2. Or [apply] an equal quantity of soap and brown sugar well mixed. [20→23]
 #3. Or [apply] a plaster of honey and wheat flour. [2→23]
 #4. Or [apply a plaster] of figs. [2→23]
 #5. Or [apply] a little saffron in a white-bread poultice. [1→23]
 #6. It is proper to purge also. [2→23]

25

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #7. Or [apply] the leaves of arum or Wake-robin. [1→4]

30

19. *Hard Breasts* [1→23]

- #1. Apply turnips roasted till soft, then mashed and mixed with a little oil of roses. Change this twice a day, keeping the breast very warm with flannel.¹⁴⁰ [2→23]

35

¹³⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252.

¹³⁷ Hawes (*Examination*, 22) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

¹³⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:57–58.

¹³⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:59.

¹⁴⁰ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 73.

[*alternative receipt in previous edition*]

- #2. Boil turnips well, squeeze out the water, mash them, and mix them thoroughly with fresh butter, and apply this warm to the breast, on a thick cloth, changing it morning and evening. [1]

20. *Sore Breasts and swelled [Breasts] [2→23]*

- #1. Boil a handful of camomile and as much mallows in milk and water. Foment with it between two flannels as hot as can be borne, every twelve hours. It also dissolves any knot or swelling in any part. [2→23] * [15→23]

21. *A Bruise [CR, 1→23]¹⁴¹*

- #1. Immediately apply treacle spread on brown paper. [1→23]
Tried. [9→23] * [15→23]
- #2. Or apply a plaster of chopped parsley mixed with butter.¹⁴²
[CR#25, 1→23]
- #3. Or electrify the part. This is the quickest cure of all. [14→23]
* [15→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #4. Or [apply] clarified honey.¹⁴³ [CR#26, 1→16]
- #5. Or [apply] a fomentation of verjuice and camomile flowers.
[1→17, not *Works*]
- #6. Drink comfrey tea morning and evening. [2→4]
- #7. Or rub it with one spoonful of oil of turpentine and two of
neat's-foot oil. [8→16, not *Works*]

22. *To prevent swelling from a Bruise [1→23]*

- #1. Immediately apply a cloth, five or six times doubled, dipped in cold water, and new dipped when it grows warm. [1→23]
Tried. [9→23]

¹⁴¹ Editions 2→4 have a section for 'An Inward Bruise' that was absorbed into this section starting with edition 5; the receipts of 'An Inward Bruise' are included here.

¹⁴² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:57.

¹⁴³ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:15.

23. To cure a swelling from a Bruise [1→23]

- #1. Foment it half an hour, morning and evening, with cloths dipped in water as hot as you can bear. [1→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #2. Or apply seaweed. [5→16, not *Works*]
 #3. Cut leaves of bitter-sweet small and boil them in hog's lard, with four ounces of linseed, finely powdered, [down] to a poultice. Apply this hot. I[nfallible].¹⁴⁴ [1→4]

5

10

24. A Burn or Scald [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Immediately plunge the part into cold water. Keep it in an hour, if it be not well before. Perhaps for four or five hours. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or electrify it. If this can be done presently, it totally cures the most desperate burn. [14→23] * [15→23]
 #3. Or if the part cannot be dipped, apply a cloth, four times doubled, dipped in cold water, changing it when it grows warm. [1→23]
 #4. Or apply a bruised onion.¹⁴⁵ [CR#28, 1→23] * [15→23]
 #5. Or apply oil, and strew on it powdered ginger. [CR#31, 1→23]

15

20

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #6. Or [apply] a rag dipped in rum or spirits of wine. [CR#29, 1→4]
 #7. Or [apply] unslacked lime, mixed with honey. [1→4]
 #8. Or [apply] bruised leaves of dwarf elder.¹⁴⁶ [1→4]
 #9. Or [apply] elder berries stamped. [1→4]
 #10. Or [apply] tincture of myrrh. [1→16, not *Works*]
 #11. Or [apply] oil and parsley stamped together. [CR#30, 1→17]
 #12. Or [apply] oil of elder. [2→4]

25

30

35

25. A deep Burn or scald [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply black varnish with a feather, till it is well. [1→23]

¹⁴⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 205–6. This receipt appeared (as the sole entry) in a section titled 'Bruises exceedingly Swelled' found only in editions 1→4.

¹⁴⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61.

¹⁴⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 87.

- #2. Or [apply] inner rind of elder, well mixed with fresh butter.¹⁴⁷ When this is bound on with a rag, plunge the part into cold water. This will suspend the pain till the medicine heals. [1→23]
- 5 #3. Or mix lime-water and sweet oil, to the thickness of cream, apply it with a feather several times a day.¹⁴⁸ This is the most effectual application I ever met with. [20→23]
- #4. Or put twenty-five drops of Goulard's extract of lead to half
10 a pint of rainwater; dip linen rags in it and apply them to the part affected. This is particularly serviceable if the burn is near the eyes. [20→23]

26. *A Cancer in the breast*ⁱ [CR, 1→23]

- 15 #1. Of thirteen years standing, was cured by frequently applying red poppy-water, plantain, and rose-water, mixed with honey of roses. Afterwards, the waters used alone perfected the cure. [12→23] * [15→23]
- 20 #2. Use the cold bath. (This has cured many.) This cured Mrs. Bates of Leicestershire of a cancer in her breast, a consumption, a sciatica, and rheumatism, which she had had near twenty years. She bathed daily for a month, and drank only water. N.B. Generally where cold bathing is necessary to cure
25 a disease, water drinking is so to prevent a relapse.¹⁴⁹ [1→23]
- #3. A bleeding cancer was cured by drinking, twice a day, a quarter of a pint of the juice of clivers or goosegrass, and covering the wounds with bruised leaves. [20→23]
- 30 #4. Another bleeding cancer was cured by the following receipt. Take half a pint of small beer. When it boils, dissolve in it an ounce and a half of beeswax. Then put in an ounce of hog's lard, and boil them together. When it is cold, pour the beer from it and apply it, spread upon white leather. Renew it every
35 other day. It brings out great blotches, which are to be washed with sal-prunella dissolved in warm water. [20→23]

ⁱ A cancer is an hard, round, uneven, painful swelling of a blackish or leaden colour, the veins round which seem ready to burst. It comes commonly at first with a swelling about as big as a pea, which does not at first give much pain, nor change the colour of the skin. [5→23]

¹⁴⁷ Cf. CR, #32; Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61–62.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. CR, #33; Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:43.

¹⁴⁹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 114–16.

- #5. Monsieur Le Februn advises, 'Dissolve four grains of arsenic in a pint of water. Take a spoonful of this, with a spoonful of milk and half an ounce of syrup of poppies, every morning.' [20→23]
- #6. If it be not broke, apply a piece of sheet-lead, beat very thin and pricked full of pinholes, for days and weeks, to the whole breast. Purges should be added every third or fourth day. [2→23] 5
- #7. Or rub the whole breast morning and evening with spirits of hartshorn, mixed with oil. [9→23]
- #8. Or keep it continually moist with honey. [14→23] 10
- #9. Or take horse-spurs^j and dry them by the fire till they will beat to a powder. Sift and infuse two drams in two quarts of ale.¹⁵⁰ Drink half a pint every six hours, new milk warm.¹⁵¹ It has cured many.¹⁵² [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [15→23]
- #10. Or apply goose dung and celandine, beat well together and spread on a fine rag. It will both cleanse and heal the sore. [1→23] 15
- #11. Or [apply] a poultice of wild parsnips—flowers, leaves, and stalks—changing it morning and evening. [2→23] * [15→17]
- #12. Or [a poultice of] scraped carrots. [14→23] 20
- #13. Or take brimstone and aqua sulphurata (as Art. 45¹⁵³). This has cured one far advanced in years. [5→23]
- #14. Dr. Cheyne says a total ass-milk diet, about two quarts a day, without any other food or drink, will cure a confirmed cancer.¹⁵⁴ [10→23] 25
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*¹⁵⁵]
- #15. Or apply a poultice of hemlock; but let not lie on so long at a time as to blister. [CR#36, 1→4]
- #16. Or take half a dram of Venice soap twice a day. [CR#37, 1→17] 30

^j These are a kind of warts, that grow on the inside of a horse's forelegs [now called a 'chestnut']. [15→23]

¹⁵⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:64.

¹⁵¹ I.e., at the temperature of milk just expressed.

¹⁵² JW retained this and the following receipt, despite Hawes's ridicule (*Examination*, 25–26).

¹⁵³ I.e., §9, receipt #5.

¹⁵⁴ Cheyne, *Natural Method*, 263.

¹⁵⁵ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand a new receipt: 'Or [a poultice] of red cabbage. Tried.' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

- #17. Or take a mellow apple, cut off the top, take out the core, fill the hole with hog's grease; then cover it with the top and roast the apple throughly. Take off the paring, beat the pap as well. Spread it thick on linen, and lay it warm on the
 5 sore, putting a bladder over it. Change this every twelve or twenty-four hours. [1→16]
- #18. Or live three months on apples and apple water. [1→17]
- #19. Or [apply] leaves of hounds-tongues. [2→4]
- #20. Three inveterate cancers, which adhered to the bones, were
 10 totally cured at Paris, by anointing the ulcers thrice a day with infusion of leaves of plumbago in olive oil. The pain which the application at first occasioned was over in about a fortnight. [10→16]

15

27. A Cancer in any other part [1→23]

- #1. Apply red onions bruised. [1→23]
- #2. Or make a plaster of rock alum, vinegar, and honey, equal
 20 quantities, with wheat flour. Change it every twelve hours. It often cures in three or four days. [1→23]
- #3. Or stamp the flowers, leaves, and stalks of wild parsnips, and apply them as a plaster, changing it every twelve hours. It usually cures in a few days. [1→23] * [15→16]
- #4. A cancer under the eye was cured by drinking a quart of tar-
 25 water daily, washing the same with it, and then applying a plaster of tar and mutton-suet melted together. It was well in two months, though of twenty years standing. [20→23]

30

28. Cancer in the mouth [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Boil a few leaves of succory, plantain, and rue with a spoonful
 35 of honey, for a quarter of an hour. Gargle with this often in an hour.¹⁵⁶ I[nfallible]. [1→23]
- #2. Or [gargle] with vinegar and honey, wherein half an ounce of rock alum is boiled. [1→23]
- #3. Or mix as much burnt alum and as much black pepper as lies
 40 on a sixpence with an ounce of honey, and frequently touch the part. [14→23]

¹⁵⁶Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 109.

- #4. Or blow the ashes of scarlet cloth into the mouth or throat.
[15→23] This also cures the thrush. [15→16] It seldom fails.
[15→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #5. Or take an ounce of flour of sulphur, and half an ounce of rock alum, finely powdered. Mix these well together with pure honey and apply often.¹⁵⁷ [CR#38, 1→17] * [15→17] 5
- #6. Wash the mouth often with a mixture of vinegar, plantain juice, and rose-water. [1→4] 10
- #7. Or [wash the mouth] with a little Roman vitriol dissolved in a pint of water; then apply cream. This also speedily cures the shingles. Tried. [9→17]
- #8. Or boil a pint of red wine, with a quarter of a pint of honey, and half an ounce of alum, till a third part is wasted. Frequently gargle with it. [15→16, *Works*] 15

29. Chilblains (to prevent) [5→23]

- #1. Wear flannel socks, [5→23] or socks of chamois leather.
[15→23] * [15→23] 20

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #2. Or wash the hands with flour of mustard. [5→17] 25

30. Chilblains (to cure) [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply salt and onions pounded together.¹⁵⁸ [CR#34, 1→23]
- #2. Or a poultice of roasted onions hot. Keep it on two or three days, if not cured sooner. [1→23] * [15→23] 30
- #3. Or wash them (if broke) with tincture of myrrh in a little water. [1→23]
- #4. See extract from Dr. Tissot.¹⁵⁹ [14→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #5. Or [apply a poultice of] hot turnip-parings (roasted), changing them twice or thrice a day.¹⁶⁰ [CR#35, 1→17]
- #6. Or [apply a poultice] of roasted apples or turnips. [2→4] 35

¹⁵⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:71.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:61 ('For a recent burn').

¹⁵⁹ I.e. the section on chilblains in *Advices*, §§299–308 (see below in this vol.).

¹⁶⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:26.

31. *Children* [14→23]

- #1. To prevent the rickets, tenderness, and weakness, dip them in cold water every morning, at least till they are eight or nine months old.¹⁶¹ [14→23]
- 5 #2. No roller should ever be put round their bodies, nor any stays used. Instead of them, when they are put into short petticoats, put a waistcoat under their frocks.¹⁶² [14→23]
- #3. Let them go barefooted and bareheaded, till they are three or four years old at least.¹⁶³ [14→23]
- 10 #4. It is best to wean a child when seven months old. It should lie in the cradle at least a year. [14→23]
- #5. No child should touch any spirituous or fermented liquor, nor animal food, before two years old.¹⁶⁴
- 15 #6. Their drink should be water. Tea they should never taste, till ten or twelve years old. Milk, milk-porridge, and water gruel are the proper breakfasts for children.¹⁶⁵ [14→23] But what mother has sense enough and grace enough to mind this?¹⁶⁶

20 32. *Chincough or Whooping-cough* [1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath daily. [1→23]
- #2. Or rub the feet thoroughly with hog's lard, before the fire, at going to bed, and keep the child warm therein. Tried. [9→23]
- 25 * [15→16]
- #3. Or rub the back at lying down with old rum. It seldom fails. [5→23]
- #4. Or give a spoonful of juice of penny-royal mixed with brown sugar-candy, twice a day.¹⁶⁷ [1→23, not *Works*]
- 30 #5. Or [give] half a pint of milk warm from the cow with the quantity of a nutmeg of conserve of roses dissolved in it, every morning. [2→23]

¹⁶¹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 173–74; 14→16 add at the end of the sentence ‘; afterwards, their hands and feet’.

¹⁶² Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 2. A roller is ‘a light frame, moving on castors, in which a child may learn to walk without danger of falling’ (*OED*). Hawes mistakenly assumes that JW got this advice from Dr. Cadogan (see *Examination*, 28).

¹⁶³ Cf. Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 2; JW added ‘bareheaded’.

¹⁶⁴ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 2.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 2; JW added the prohibition of tea.

¹⁶⁶ This final comment appears only in the *Works* edn.

¹⁶⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 220.

- #6. Or dissolve a scruple of salt of tartar¹⁶⁸ in a quarter of a pint of clear water. Add to it ten grains of finely powdered cochineal, and sweeten it with loaf-sugar. Give a child within the year the fourth part of a spoonful of this four times a day, with a spoonful of barley-water after it. Give a child two years old half a spoonful; a child above four years old, a spoonful. Boiled apples put into warm milk may be his chief food. This relieves in twenty-four hours, and cures in five or six days.¹⁶⁹ [14→23] * [15→23] 5
- #7. Or [give] from three to five grains of gum gamboge. It vomits and purges; and Dr. Cook says, always cures.¹⁷⁰ [14→23] 10
- #8. Or take two grains of tartar-emetic, and half a dram of prepared crab's claws, powdered. Let them be mixed very well together. One grain, one grain and a half, or two grains of this composition, may be added to five or six grains of magnesia, and given in a small spoonful of milk and water in the forenoon between breakfast and dinner to a child a year old. At night, if the fever is very high, half the former dose of this powder may be given, with from five to ten grains of nitre. [20→23] 15
- #9. In desperate cases, change of air alone has cured. [9→23] 20
- [additional receipts in previous editions]
- #10. Drink a pint of cold water every night.¹⁷¹ [1→4]
- #11. Or [give a spoonful of juice] of coltsfoot. [1→4]
- #12. Or give ass's-milk for seven weeks.¹⁷² [17] 25

33. Cholera morbus; i.e. flux and vomiting [1→23]

- #1. Drink two or three quarts of cold water, if strong; of warm water, if weak.¹⁷³ [1→23] 30
- #2. Or boil a chicken an hour in two gallons of water, and drink of this till the vomiting ceases.¹⁷⁴ [1→23]
- #3. Or [drink] decoction of rice, or barley, or toasted oaten-bread. [20→23] 35

¹⁶⁸ 14→17 have 'salt of wormwood' (like Lobb) instead of 'salt of tartar'.

¹⁶⁹ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 6–7.

¹⁷⁰ Dr. John Cook (1705–77), 'Letter to the Editor', *London Magazine* 33 (1764): 573–76.

¹⁷¹ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 113–14.

¹⁷² JW actually took this remedy from Hawes, *Examination*, 30!

¹⁷³ Cf. Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 57.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 50.

#4. If the pain is very severe, stupe the belly with flannels dipped in spirits and water. [20→23]

#5. The third day after the cure, take ten or fifteen grains of rhu-barb. [20→23]

5

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#6. Or drink a draught of vinegar and water.¹⁷⁵ [12→17]

#7. Or take six grains of laudanum,¹⁷⁶ and apply a slit onion to the stomach. [12→17]

10

34. *Chops [i.e., chaps] in women's nipples [12→23]*

#1. Apply balsam of sugar.¹⁷⁷ [12→23]

15 #2. Or apply butter of wax, which speedily heals them. [20→23]

35. *Chopt [i.e., chapped] hands [1→23]*

20

To Prevent

#1. Wash them with flour of mustard. [5→23] I[nfallible]. [5→8]

25 #2. Or wash them in bran and water boiled together. [1→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

#3. Or apply oil of myrrh. [1→16]

30

To Cure

#1. Wash with soft soap mixed with red sand. [1→23] Tried.¹⁷⁸
[9→16] * [15→23]

#2. Or wash them in sugar and water. Tried. [20→23]

¹⁷⁵ Hawes (*Examination*, 31) characterized this receipt as 'insignificant'.

¹⁷⁶ Hawes (*Examination*, 31) noted that the term 'grains' implied JW meant solid opium, not the weaker alcoholic solution, and that this dose would be fatal. JW changed 'grains' to 'drops' in the 17th edition, before totally deleting the receipt in subsequent editions.

¹⁷⁷ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #314, p. 258.

¹⁷⁸ The *Works* edition omits 'Tried' and the asterisk; but adds the comment 'I find nothing equal to this'.

36. *Chopt [i.e., chapped] lips [2→23]*

#1. Apply a little sal-prunella. [2→23]

37. *A Cold [1→23]*

- #1. Drink a pint of cold water lying down in bed.¹⁷⁹ [1→23] Tried. 5
[9→23] * [15→23, *Works*]
- #2. Or [take] a spoonful of treacle in half a pint of water. [1→23]
Tried. [9→23]
- #3. Or to one spoonful of oatmeal and one spoonful of honey add
a piece of butter the bigness of a nutmeg. Pour on gradually 10
near a pint of boiling water. Drink this lying down in bed.
[5→23, not *Works*]

38. *A Cold in the head [1→23]*

15

- #1. Pare very thin the yellow rind of an orange. Roll it up inside
out, and thrust a roll into each nostril.¹⁸⁰ [1→23]

[39.¹⁸¹] *To prevent the ill effects of Cold [12→23]*

20

- #1. The moment a person gets into an house, with his hands or
feet quite chilled, let him put them into a vessel of water as
cold as can be got, and hold them there till they begin to glow. 25
This they will do in a minute or two. This method likewise
effectually prevents chilblains. [12→23]

[40.] *The Colic (in the fit) [CR, 1→23]*

30

- #1. Drink a pint of cold water.¹⁸² [CR#39, 1→23] Tried. [9→23] *
[15→23]
- #2. Or [drink] a quart of warm water. [CR#40, 1→23] Tried.
[9→23]

¹⁷⁹ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 42–43.

¹⁸⁰ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 14–15.

¹⁸¹ This receipt is out of order in every edition where it appears—coming as #48, after ‘Windy Colic’. We have moved it for consistency, and revised the numbering of intervening sections.

¹⁸² Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 57–58.

- #3. Or drink largely of camomile tea.¹⁸³ [CR#47, 1→23]
 #4. Or take from thirty to forty grains of yellow peel of oranges, powdered, in a glass of water.¹⁸⁴ [CR#43, 1→23]
 #5. Or take from thirty to forty drops of oil of aniseed on a lump of sugar.¹⁸⁵ [CR#50, 1→23]
 #6. Or apply outwardly a bag of hot oats.¹⁸⁶ [CR#48, 1→23]
 #7. Or steep the legs in hot water a quarter of an hour. [15→23, not *Works*]
 #8. Or take as much Daffy's elixir as will presently purge. This relieves the most violent cholic in an hour or two. [20→23]

*Daffy's elixir is made thus: Senna, two ounces; jalap, one ounce; coriander seed, half an ounce; Geneva or proof spirit, three pints. Let them digest seven days, strain, and add loaf-sugar four ounces. [20]*¹⁸⁷

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #9. Or [drink] a pint of water in which a red hot flint is quenched.¹⁸⁸ [CR#41, 1→16, not *Works*]
 #10. Or [take] a teaspoonful of haws, dried and powdered.¹⁸⁹ [CR#42, 1→4]
 #11. Or [take] half a dram of mastic, mixed with the yolk of a new-laid egg, twice a day.¹⁹⁰ [CR#45, 1→4]
 #12. Or [drink largely] of decoction of mallow leaves.¹⁹¹ [CR#46, 1→16, not *Works*]

¹⁸³ This receipt appeared in a separate section for 'A Stubborn Colic' in 1→4.

¹⁸⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:72. Editions through the 16th prescribed 'two scruples to half a dram' (as in Boyle). Hawes (*Examination*, 32) suggested 'thirty to forty grains' was more precise, and Wesley adopted the suggestion starting with the 17th edition.

¹⁸⁵ This receipt appeared in a separate section for 'A Stubborn Colic' in 1→4. 1→8 give a dosage of 'forty to a hundred drops'; 9→16 have 'thirty to sixty drops'. Hawes (*Examination*, 33) characterized this as too indiscriminate, so JW changed to the above starting with the 17th edition.

¹⁸⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:279; this receipt appeared in a separate section for 'A Stubborn Colic' in 1→4.

¹⁸⁷ The 20th edition included both this simpler formula for Daffy's elixir and the more detailed formula after §288 below. JW dropped the simpler formula in following editions, while keeping the other.

¹⁸⁸ Hawes (*Examination*, 32) ridiculed the efficacy of this receipt.

¹⁸⁹ See Kettilby, *Collection*, 148 (JW substitutes water for white wine here; but keeps wine below when using same remedy for stone).

¹⁹⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:40; this receipt appeared in a separate section for 'A Stubborn Colic' in 1→4.

¹⁹¹ This receipt appeared in a separate section for 'A Stubborn Colic' in 1→4.

- #13. Or take thirty drops of spirit of turpentine in a glass of water.¹⁹² [1→17]
- #14. Or [drink] as largely as possible of warm tar-water.¹⁹³ [1→17, not *Works*]
- #15. Or beat together into a cake one part of stoned raisins of the sun and three parts of juniper berries; eat more or less according to the pain.¹⁹⁴ [5→17, not *Works*] 5
- #16. Or [apply outwardly] hot water in a bladder. [9→17, not *Works*] 10

[41.] *The dry Colic (to prevent)* [20→23]

- #1. Drink ginger tea. [20→23]

[42.] *Colic in children* [1→23] 15

- #1. Give a scruple of powdered aniseed in their meat. [1→23]
Tried. [9→23]
- #2. Or [give] small doses of magnesia. [20→23]
- #3. Or put one grain of emetic tartar into six tablespoonfuls of water. A small teaspoonful will puke a child of a week old; a large teaspoonful is sufficient for one a month old; and so in proportion. Repeat the puke every day, or every other day, as the case requires. [20→23] 20

This is perhaps the best medicine yet discovered for infants. It speedily cures inward fits, gripes, looseness, thrush, and convulsions in children. But if the child is costive, his bowels must be opened first with a little magnesia or manna, before you give a puke. [20→23] 25

[43.] *A bilious Colic*^k [2→23] 30

- #1. Drink warm lemonade. [20→23] I know nothing like it.
[21→23] 35

^kThis is generally attended with vomiting a greenish or a frothy matter, with feverish heat, violent thirst, a bitter taste in the mouth, and little and high-coloured urine. [5→23]

¹⁹²Hawes (*Examination*, 32) judged this remedy 'exceedingly injurious'.

¹⁹³Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 4.

¹⁹⁴Hawes (*Examination*, 33) criticized the receipt for lack of precision on dosage.

#2. Give a spoonful of sweet oil every hour. This has cured one judged to be at the point of death. [2→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

5 #3. Or boil an ounce of bruised aniseeds in two quarts of water, till half is boiled away. When it is cool, infuse an ounce of manna and four drams of Glauber's salts. [2→17] Drink as much of it as you can. [5→17] Tried. [9→17]

10 #4. In half a pint of warm water, infuse an ounce of manna and four drams of Glauber's salts. Drink it directly. Tried. [*Works*]

[44.] *An habitual Colic* [5→23]

15 #1. Wear a thin soft flannel on the part. [5→23]

[45.] *A hysteric Colic*¹ [1→23]

20 #1. Mrs. Watts, by using the cold bath two and twenty times in a month, was entirely cured of an hysteric colic, fits, and convulsive motions, continual sweatings and vomitings, wandering pains in her limbs and head, with total loss of appetite.¹⁹⁵
25 [1→23]

#2. In the fit, drink half a pint of water with a little wheat flour in it, and a spoonful of vinegar. [1→23]

#3. Or [drink half a pint] of warm lemonade. Tried. [9→23] *
[*Works*]

30 #4. Or take 20, 30, or 40 drops of balsam of Peru in fine sugar. If need be, take this twice or thrice a day. [5→23, not *Works*]

#5. Or in extremity, boil three ounces of burdock seed in water, which give as a clyster.¹⁹⁶ [1→23]

35 #6. Or [use] twenty drops of laudanum, in any proper clyster, which thus injected give instant ease.¹⁹⁷ [5→23]

¹Is attended with a violent pain about the pit of the stomach, with great sinking of the spirits, and often with greenish vomitings. [5→23]

¹⁹⁵ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 116–17.

¹⁹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 34. 1→4 place this receipt in section on 'A Nervous Colic'.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #112, pp. 64–65.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#7. Or [drink] a glassful of vinegar.¹⁹⁸ [2→16]

[46.] *A nervous Cholic*^m [1→23]

#1. Use the cold bath daily for three or four weeks.¹⁹⁹ [1→23] 5

#2. Or take quicksilver and aqua sulphurata,²⁰⁰ daily for a month
(as Art. 45²⁰¹). [1→23]

[47.] *Colic from the fumes of lead, or
white lead, verdigris, etc.* [2→23] 10

#1. In the fit, drink fresh melted butter, and then vomit with
warm water. [2→23]

#2. To prevent or cure, breakfast daily on fat broth, and use oil of
sweet almonds frequently and largely. [5→23] 15

#3. Smelters of metals, plumbers, etc. may be in a good measure
preserved from the poisonous fumes that surround them by
breathing through cloth or flannel mufflers, twice or thrice
doubled, dipped in a solution of sea-salt or salt of tartar, and
then dried. These mufflers might also be of great use in many
similar cases.²⁰² [12→23] 20

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#4. Or give clysters of oil or fat broth. [2→15, *Works*] 25

[48.] *Windy Colic* [20→23]

#1. Parched peas, eaten freely, have had the most happy effect
when all other means have failed. [20→23] 30

^mThis is frequently termed the 'dry bellyache'. It often continues several days, with little urine and obstinate costiveness. [5→23] A colic with purging, some term the 'watery gripes'. [15→23]

¹⁹⁸ Hawes (*Examination*, 34) judged any prescription of vinegar (or lemonade, which JW kept) for this condition to be 'highly injurious'.

¹⁹⁹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 116. Editions through the 16th instructed bathing daily for 'a month'. Hawes (*Examination*, 34) judged this imprecise, so JW revised to the above in subsequent editions.

²⁰⁰ 1→4 have 'take an ounce of quicksilver'; 5→9 have 'take of quicksilver and gas of sulphur'.

²⁰¹ I.e., §9, receipt #5.

²⁰² *Works* adds at the end of the sentence, 'even though dipped in nothing'.

49. A Consumption [1→23]

- #1. Cold bathing has cured many deep consumptions.²⁰³ [1→23]
Tried. [9→23]
- 5 #2. One in a deep consumption was advised to drink nothing but water, and eat nothing but water gruel, without salt or sugar. In three months time he was perfectly well. [1→23]
- #3. Take no food but new buttermilk, churned in a bottle, and white bread. I have known this successful.²⁰⁴ [2→23]
- 10 #4. Or use as common drink: spring-water and new milk, each a quart; sugar candy, two ounces. [15→23]
- #5. Or boil two handfuls of sorrel in a pint of whey, strain it, and drink a glass thrice a day.²⁰⁵ [1→23] Tried. [14→23]
- 15 #6. Or turn a pint of skimmed milk with half a pint of small beer.²⁰⁶ Boil in this whey about twenty ivy leaves, and two or three sprigs of hyssop. Drink half over night, the rest in the morning. Do this if needful for two months daily. This has cured in a desperate case. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [*Works*]
- 20 #7. Or take a cow heel from the tripe house ready dressed, two quarts of new milk, two ounces of hartshorn shavings, two ounces of isinglass, a quarter of a pound of sugar candy, and a race of ginger.²⁰⁷ Put all these in a pot and set them in an oven after the bread is drawn. Let it continue there till the oven is near cold. And let the patient live on this. I have known this cure a deep consumption more than once. [5→23]
- 25 #8. Or every morning cut up a little turf of fresh earth and, lying down, breathe into the hole for a quarter of an hour.²⁰⁸ [1→23] I have known a deep consumption cured thus. [2→23]
- 30 #9. 'Mr. Masters of Evesham, was so far gone in a consumption that he could not stand alone. I advised him to lose six ounces of blood, every day, for a fortnight, if he lived so long. And then every other day; then every third day; then every fifth day, for the same time. In three months he was well.' Dr. Dover.²⁰⁹ [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

²⁰³ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 176.

²⁰⁴ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 461–62.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Herman Boerhaave, *Boerhaave's Treatise of the Materia Medica* (London: W. Innys et al., 1739), 195–96.

²⁰⁶ I.e., curdle the milk.

²⁰⁷ I.e., ginger root.

²⁰⁸ JW retains this receipt, even though Hawes (*Examination*, 38) assumes that the very mention of it will 'excite the reader's risibility'.

²⁰⁹ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 32.

- #10. Or throw frankincense on burning coals, and receive the smoke through a proper tube into the lungs. [5→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #11. Or take in for a quarter of an hour, morning and evening, the steam of white rosin and beeswax, boiling on an hot fire-shovel. This has cured one who was in the third stage of consumption. [15→23] * [Works] 5
- #12. Or [take in] the steam of sweet spirit of vitriol dropped into warm water. [20→23]
- #13. Or take morning and evening a teaspoonful of white rosin, powdered and mixed with honey. This cured one in less than a month, who was very near death. [15→23] * [Works] 10
- #14. Or drink thrice a day two spoonfuls of juice of watercresses. This has cured a deep consumption. [15→23] * [Works]
- #15. In the last stage, suck an healthy woman daily.²¹⁰ [12→23] This cured my father. [14→23] * [Works] 15
- #16. For diet, use milk and apples, or water gruel, made with fine flour. Drink cider-whey, barley-water sharpened with lemon juice, or apple water. [14→23]
- #17. So long as the tickling cough continues, chew well and swallow a mouthful or two of a biscuit or crust of bread. If you cannot swallow it, spit it out. This will always shorten the fit, and would often prevent a consumption. [14→23] 20
- #18. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 33.²¹¹ [20→23] 25

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #19. So has the living wholly on apples and apple water [cured many deep consumptions].²¹² [1→4]
- #20. Or [take morning and night] a cup of decoction of great daisy flowers. [1→4] 30
- #21. Or [take morning and night] a teaspoonful of powdered root of arum (or Wake-robin), with as much powdered brimstone. [1→4]
- #22. Or take a spoonful of syrup of fox-glove, morning and evening. [1→17] Tried. [9→17] 35
- #23. Or smoke balsam of Tolu, like tobacco.²¹³ [5→16, not Works]
- #24. Or take half a pint of skimmed milk, put [in] one spoonful of the best rum, sweetened with a little sugar or sugar of

²¹⁰Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #384, p. 278.

²¹¹The second half of *Advices*, Chap. 4, §§52–69 (see below).

²¹²Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 315–16.

²¹³Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 40.

roses; take it new milk warm,²¹⁴ lying in bed an hour after it. And use for common drink: eight parts water, three parts skimmed milk, one part rum, sweetened with a little sugar. [5→13]

- 5 #25. A beginning consumption was cured by drinking decoction of guaiacum morning and evening for fifteen days (without sweating), with a light diet.²¹⁵ [12→16]
- #26. Or live on raisins and bread, and drink only decoction of barley and liquorice.²¹⁶ [12→16, not *Works*]
- 10 #27. To strengthen the body take saltpetre, half a dram, [and] salt of steel, fifteen grains, in a quarter of a pint of water. Add two ounces of the best brandy, and sweeten it with loaf-sugar. Drink two spoonfuls of this about eleven in the morning, and at five in the afternoon, washing it down with a dish of sage tea. This mixture may be repeated twice or thrice.²¹⁷ [14→16, not *Works*]
- 15 #28. To remove the fever, mix saltpetre, one dram; cochineal, half a dram; the best brandy and sugar, an ounce each; with a quarter of a pint of water. Of this mixture take two large spoonfuls, every third or fourth hour.²¹⁸ [14→16, not *Works*]
- 20 #29. Beat up the yolk of a new-laid egg in half a pint of spring-water. Sweeten it with fine sugar. Take this every morning. [15→17]
- #30. Or boil an handful of rosemary, and inspire²¹⁹ the steam a quarter of an hour, morning and evening. [15→17]
- 25 #31. I lately knew a consumption cured in two or three weeks by drinking a pint decoction of nettles, morning and evening. [*Works*]

30

50. *Convulsions* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath.²²⁰ [1→23]

²¹⁴ I.e., at the temperature of milk just expressed.

²¹⁵ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #99, p. 57. Hawes (*Examination*, 36–37) judged this remedy to be ‘absolutely improper’ and liable to make the condition worse.

²¹⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #634, p. 429.

²¹⁷ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 14. Hawes (*Examination*, 39–40) criticizes this receipt for failing to consider the changes made by mixing a neutral and metallic salt.

²¹⁸ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 13.

²¹⁹ I.e., breathe in.

²²⁰ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 460.

- #2. Or take a teaspoonful of valerian root,ⁿ powdered, in a cup of water, every evening. [1→23] Or mixed with asafœtida. [2→4]
 #3. Or half a dram of mistletoe, powdered, every six hours; drinking after it a draught of strong infusion thereof.²²¹ [CR#53, 1→23]

5

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #4. Or a spoonful of syrup of oak moss, morning and evening.
 [1→4]

10

51. *Convulsions in children* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Scrape peony roots fresh digged. Apply what you have scraped off to the soles of the feet. It helps immediately. [1→23] Tried.
 [9→23]

15

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Or give the child, according to its age, from two to seven grains of volatile salt of amber, in water.²²² [CR#54, 1→4]

20

52. *Convulsions in the bowels of children.* [1→23]

- #1. Give a child a quarter [year] old a spoonful of the juice of pelli-tory of the wall, two or three times a day. It goes through at once but purges no more. Use syrup, if juice cannot be had. [1→23]

25

53. *Corns (to prevent)* [1→23]

- #1. Frequently wash the feet in cold water.²²³ [1→23]

30

54. *Corns (to cure)* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply fresh every morning the yeast of small beer, spread on a rag.²²⁴ [CR#57, 1→23]

35

ⁿ If valerian root stinks, touch it not; but prepare it for yourself, by drying it where no cat can get near it. [*Works* edn. only]

²²¹ Cf. Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 61.

²²² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:11.

²²³ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 97.

²²⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:70.

#2. Or, after paring them close, apply bruised ivy leaves daily, and in fifteen days they will drop out.²²⁵ [1→23] Tried. [17→23]

#3. Or apply chalk, powdered and mixed with water. This also cures warts. [20→23]

5 #4. Some corns are cured by a pitch plaster. [12→23]

#5. All are greatly eased by steeping the feet in hot water wherein oatmeal is boiled. This also helps dry and hot feet. [12→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

10 #6. Apply a little piece of fresh beef every morning.²²⁶ [CR#55, 1→4]

#7. Or boil the juice of radishes, till it is thick enough to spread as a plaster. Shift it as it grows dry.²²⁷ [CR#56, 1→17]

15 #8. Or cleanse from earth the root and herb of houseleek, crush it with your fingers, and apply it. Renew it every three hours, for twenty-four hours.²²⁸ [1→16] I[nfallible]. [8→16]

55. Costiveness [CR, 1→23]

20

#1. Rise early every morning. [CR#64, 1→23]

#2. Or boil, in a pint and half of broth, half a handful of mallow leaves chopped. Strain this and drink it before you eat anything else.²²⁹ [CR#66, 1→23] Do this frequently, if needful. [2→23]

25 #3. Or breakfast, twice a week or oftener, on water gruel with currants. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]

#4. Or take the bigness of a large nutmeg of cream of tartar, mixed with honey, as often as you need.²³⁰ [2→23] * [Works]

30 #5. Or take daily, two hours before dinner, a small teacup of stewed prunes; [12→23] and a glass of wine and water before and after it.²³¹ [12→17]

#6. Or use for common drink: water, or treacle beer, impregnated with fixed air. [20→23]

35 #7. Or live upon bread, made of wheat flour with all the bran in it. [20→23]

²²⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 156–57.

²²⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123.

²²⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:69.

²²⁸ Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 22.

²²⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:24.

²³⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:64.

²³¹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #206, p. 113.

#8. Or boil an ounce and a half of tamarinds in three pints of water, [down] to a quart. In this, strained, when cold, infuse all night two drams of senna and one dram of red rose leaves. Drink a cup every morning. [12→23]

#9. See Dr. Tissot.²³² [14→23] 5

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#10. Or take a decoction of tamarinds in whey.²³³ [CR#65, 1→4]

#11. Or [take] an ounce of the juice of white iris root in whey.²³⁴ [1→4] 10

56. A Cough [CR, 1→23]

#1. Every cough is a dry cough at first. As long as it continues so, it may be cured by chewing, immediately after you cough, the quantity of a peppercorn of Peruvian bark. Swallow your spittle as long as it is bitter, and then spit out the wood. If you cough again, do this again. It very seldom fails to cure any dry cough. [8→23] Tried. [9→13] I earnestly desire everyone who has any regard for his health to try this within twenty-four hours after he first perceives a cough. [9→23] 15 20

#2. Or drink a pint of cold water, lying down in bed.²³⁵ [CR#58, 1→23] Tried. [9→23] 25

#3. Or make a hole through a lemon and fill it with honey. Roast it and catch the juice. Take a teaspoonful of this frequently. [2→23] Tried. [9→23] 30

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#4. Or mix an ounce of linseed oil with an ounce of white sugar candy, powdered; and take a teaspoonful whenever the cough comes. [CR#60, 1→16] 30

#5. Or [take a teaspoonful of] a linctus of tar mixed with honey.²³⁶ [1→4] 35

²³² This reference is puzzling, as there is no chapter on costiveness in *Advices* (or Tissot's original); perhaps JW was referring to Tissot's medicine No. 32, also made from tamarinds.

²³³ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:256.

²³⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 212–13.

²³⁵ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 20–21.

²³⁶ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 11.

57. *An asthmatic Cough* [1→23]

- #1. Take Spanish liquorice, two ounces; salt of tartar, half an ounce. Boil the liquorice in three pints of water, [down] to a quart. Add the salt to it when it is blood-warm. Drink two spoonfuls of this every two hours. [1→23] It seldom fails. [2→23] Tried. [9→23] I have known this cure an inveterate moist asthma. [20→23] * [Works]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Or drink half a pint of tar-water morning and evening.²³⁷ [1→4]

58. *A consumptive Cough* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. To stop it for a time, at lying down keep a little stick liquorice, shaved like horse-radish, between the cheek and the gums. [5→23] I believe this never fails. [8→23] * [Works]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #2. Slit ten or twelve raisins of the sun, take out the stones, and fill them with the small tender tops of rue. Take these early every morning, fasting two or three hours after.²³⁸ [CR#61, 1→13]
- #3. Or boil a pound of raisins stoned in a quart of old verjuice, [down] to about a pint. Then add a pound of brown sugar-candy and let it simmer into syrup.²³⁹ Take near a spoonful every three or four hours. [2→17, not Works]
- #4. Or drink daily coltsfoot tea, sweetened with sugar-candy. [15]

59. *A convulsive Cough* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Eat preserved walnuts. [CR#62, 1→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Or boil a handful of bay leaves in milk, turn this with white wine,²⁴⁰ and drink a draught of the whey often. [CR#63, 1→16]

²³⁷ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 5–6.

²³⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:67–68.

²³⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:158.

²⁴⁰ I.e., curdle the milk.

60. *An inveterate Cough* [1→23]

- #1. Wash the head in cold water every morning. [1→23]
 #2. Or use the cold bath. It seldom fails. [1→23]
 #3. Or peel and slice a large turnip, spread coarse sugar between the slices, and let it stand in a dish till all the juice drains down. Take a spoonful of this whenever you cough. [14→23] 5
 #4. Or take a spoonful of syrup of horehound morning and evening. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #5. Or take from ten to twenty drops of elixir of vitriol, in a glass of water, twice or thrice a day. This is useful when the cough is attended with costiveness or relaxation of the stomach and lungs. [20→23] 10

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #6. Or stew turnips in an oven in their own juice. Pour off the liquor and take a spoonful, sweetened, every four hours.²⁴¹ [1→4] 15
 #7. Or [take] a spoonful of syrup of turnips every three hours.²⁴² [1→4]
 #8. Or [take a spoonful] of syrup of onions. [1→4] 20
 #9. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of onions. [1→17, not *Works*]
 #10. Or [take] half a pint of decoction of horehound.²⁴³ [1→4]
 #11. Or take half a pint of decoction of wild thyme, sweetened with honey, lying down in bed.²⁴⁴ [1→4]
 #12. Or take peeled turnips, three pounds; sugar, one pound; put them in an earthen pot close covered for twenty-four hours. Strain the juice, and take two or three spoonfuls morning and evening.²⁴⁵ [1→13] Tried. [9→13] 25
 #13. Or take half a pint of decoction of onions, morning and evening. [1→16, not *Works*] 30
 #14. Or put a scruple of spermaceti into the yolk of a new-laid egg, and sip it up in the morning fasting. [1→16, not *Works*]
 #15. Or mix the juice of boiled turnips with fine powdered sugar-candy, till it is a kind of syrup. Swallow a little of it drop by drop from time to time.²⁴⁶ [CR#59, 1→16] 35

²⁴¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 291.

²⁴² Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 123 (in footnote).

²⁴³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 124 (in footnote).

²⁴⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 293.

²⁴⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 123 (in footnote).

²⁴⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:67.

61. *A pleuritic Cough* [1→23]

- #1. Powder an ounce of spermaceti fine. Work it in a marble mortar with the yolk of a new-laid egg. Mix them in white wine, and take a small glass every three hours. [1→23]

5

62. *A tickling Cough* [1→23]

- #1. Drink water whitened with oatmeal four times a day. [1→23]
 #2. Or keep a piece of barley-sugar or sugar-candy constantly in your mouth. [5→23]

10

63. *Violent Coughing from a sharp thin rheum* [1→23]

- 15 #1. Work into old conserve of roses as much as you can of pure frankincense, powdered as fine as possible. Take a bolus of this twice or thrice a day.²⁴⁷ It eases presently, and cures in two or three weeks. [1→23]
 20 #2. Or take half a grain of the inspissated²⁴⁸ milky juice of sow-thistle, once or twice a day. It has the anodyne and antispasmodic properties of opium, without its narcotic effects. Or it may be made into laudanum, in the same manner as opium is, and five or six drops taken on a lump of sugar, thrice a day. The milky juice of all the sow-thistles, dandelions, and let-
 25 tuces have nearly the same virtues. [20→23]
 #3. Or use milk diet as much as possible. [5→23]

25

64. *The Cramp (to prevent)* [CR, 1→23]

30

- #1. Tie your garter smooth and tight under your knee at going to bed. [CR#67, 1→23] Tried. [9→13] I never knew this fail. [14→20] It seldom fails. [21→23] * [Works]
 #2. Or take half a pint of tar-water, morning and evening.²⁴⁹ [1→23]
 35 #3. Or be electrified through the part which uses to be affected. This generally prevents it for a month; sometimes for a twelvemonth. [8→23] Tried. [9→13]

35

²⁴⁷ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 14.

²⁴⁸ I.e., thickened.

²⁴⁹ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 32, 5. This receipt appeared under 'The Cramp (to cure)' in 1→13.

- #4. Or to one ounce and a half of spirits of turpentine, add flour of brimstone and sulphur vivum, each half an ounce. Smell to it at night, three or four times. [20→23]
- #5. Or lay a roll of brimstone under your pillow. [21→23]

5

65. *The Cramp (to cure)* [1→23]

- #1. Strongly put out your heel. [21→23]
- #2. Or chafe the part with Hungary water. [5→23]
- #3. Or hold a roll of brimstone in your hand.²⁵⁰ I have frequently done this with success. [14→23] * [*Works*]

10

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #4. Apply boiled nettles hot. [1→13]
- #5. Or stretch out the opposite arm and clench the fist. [5→13]
- #6. Stretch out the limb immediately. [5→16]
- #7. Or [chafe the part] with rectified spirits of wine. [8→16]

15

20

66. *A Cut* [1→23]

- #1. Keep it closed with your thumb a quarter of an hour. Then double a rag five or six times, dip it in cold water, and bind it on. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #2. Or bind on toasted cheese. This will cure a deep cut. [14→23]
- #3. Or [bind on] pounded grass. Shake it off after twelve hours and, if need be, apply fresh. [14→23]

25

30

67. *Deafness* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Be electrified through the ear. [8→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #2. Or use the cold bath.²⁵¹ [1→23]
- #3. Or put a little salt into the ear. [9→23]
- #4. Or drop into it a teaspoonful of salt water. [1→23]
- #5. Or [drop into the ear] three or four drops of onion juice at lying down, and stop it with a little wool.²⁵² [1→23]

35

²⁵⁰ Whytt, *Observations*, 466.

²⁵¹ See Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 466–67.

²⁵² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 209–10.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#6. Or [drop into the ear] a little juice of elder leaves. [CR#69, 1→4]

#7. Or [drop into the ear a teaspoonful] of juice of ground-ivy.²⁵³
[1→17, not *Works*]

5 #8. Or [drop into the ear a teaspoonful] of spring-water, in a pint
of which a spoonful of bay-salt has been dissolved for four and
twenty hours. Do this, if need be, seven or eight nights lying
on the opposite side.²⁵⁴ [14→16]

#9. Or [put into the ear a little] saltpetre. [10→16, not *Works*]

10

68. *Deafness from wax* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Syringe the ear with warm water. Tried. [17→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

15 #2. Or drop in [the ear] pennyroyal water, cold drawn, four or five
nights.²⁵⁵ [1→4]

#3. Syringe the ear with warm sage tea. [CR#70, 1→16] Tried.
[9→16]

20 #4. Or put in [the ear] wild mint bruised, with the juice, changing
it often. [1→16]

69. *Deafness with a dry ear* [14→23, not *Works*]

25 #1. Mix brandy and sweet oil. Dip black wool in this and put it
into the ear. When it grows dry, wash it well in brandy; dip it
and put it in again. [14→23, not *Works*]

70. *Deafness with headache and buzzing in the head* [1→23]

30 #1. Peel a clove of garlic, dip it in honey, and put it into your ear
at night with a little black wool. Lie with that ear uppermost.
Put the same in the other ear the next night. Do this, if need
be, eight or ten nights.²⁵⁶ [1→23] Tried. [21→23]

35

71. *A settled Deafness* [1→23]

#1. Take a red onion, pick out the core, fill the place with oil of
roasted almonds. Let it stand a night. Then bruise and strain

²⁵³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 127.

²⁵⁴ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 37.

²⁵⁵ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 468–69.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:20–21.

it. Drop three or four drops into the ear, morning and evening, and stop it with black wool. [1→23]

72. Delivery [1→23]

- #1. After delivery in childbirth, the mother's first milk is the only proper purge for the child. Let it begin to suck ten or twelve hours after the birth. [14→23] 5

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #2. Peel, slice, and fry a large white onion in two or three spoonfuls of the best oil, till it is tender. Boil this with half a glass of water. Strain, and drink it in the morning fasting, for two or three weeks before the time of childbirth.²⁵⁷ [1→16] 10

15

73. A Diabetes^o [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Drink wine boiled with ginger, as much and as often as your strength will bear. Let your drink be milk and water. All milk-meats are good. [CR#73, 1→23] 20
- #2. Or drink, three or four times a day, a quarter of a pint of alum posset, putting three drams of alum to four pints of milk.²⁵⁸ It seldom fails to cure in eight or ten days. [1→23] Dr. Mead.²⁵⁹ [5→23] * [*Works*] 25
- #3. Or infuse half an ounce of cantharides in a pound of elixir of vitriol. Give from 15 to 30 or even 40 drops in Bristol-water, twice or thrice a day.²⁶⁰ [10→23]

^o A diabetes is a frequent and large discharge of pale and sweetish urine, attended with constant thirst, and a wasting of the whole body. [5→23]

²⁵⁷ Hawes (*Examination*, 43) ridiculed this receipt; particularly under its original title: 'To cause an easy Delivery'.

²⁵⁸ 1→4 read 'Or drink morning and evening a quarter of pint of alum posset-drink, made as strong as your stomach will bear'; drawn from Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 28.

²⁵⁹ The revised form starting in 5th edition comes from Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 186.

²⁶⁰ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or drink tar-water twice a day'. This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

74. *The Dropsy*^p [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath daily, after purging.²⁶¹ [1→23]
- #2. Or rub the swelled parts with salad oil by a warm hand, at least an hour a day. This has done wonders in some cases. [12→23]
- 5 #3. Or cover the whole belly with a large new sponge, dipped in strong lime water and then squeezed out. This, bound on, often cures even without any sensible evacuation of water. [5→23] * [Works]
- #4. Or apply green dock leaves to the joints and soles of the feet, changing them once a day.²⁶² [CR#9, 1→23²⁶³]
- 10 #5. Or mix half an ounce of amber with a quart of wine vinegar. Heat a brick (only not red hot) and put it into a tub. Pour them upon it, and hold the parts swelled over the smoke, covering the tub close, to keep in the smoke. The water will come out incredibly, and the patient be cured.²⁶⁴ [1→23] Tried. [14→23] * [Works]
- 15 #6. Or eat a crust of bread every morning, fasting. [8→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #7. Or take as much as lies on a six-pence of powdered laurel-leaves, every second or third day. It works both ways. [9→23] Tried. [12→23]
- 20 #8. Or mix a pound of the coarsest sugar with a pint of juice of pellitory of the wall bruised in a marble mortar. Boil it as long as any scum rises. When cool, bottle and cork it. If very bad, take three spoonfuls at night, and two in the morning. It seldom fails. [1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
- 25 #9. Or make tea of roots of dwarf elder. It works by urine. Every twelve or fourteen minutes (that is, after every discharge) drink a teacupful. I have known a dropsy cured by this in twelve hours time. [14→23] * [Works]
- 30 #10. One was cured by taking a dram of nitre every morning in a little ale. [20→23]
- #11. Tar-water drank twice a day has cured many.²⁶⁵ [1→23]

^p A dropsy is a preternatural collection of water in the head, breast, belly, or all over the body. It is attended with a continual thirst. The part swelled pits, if you press it with your fingers. The urine is pale and little. [5→23]

²⁶¹ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 216–17.

²⁶² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 35.

²⁶³ In 1→4 this receipt appeared in a section titled 'Anasarca, or Flesh-Dropsy'.

²⁶⁴ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 34–35.

²⁶⁵ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 6.

- #12. So has infusion of juniper berries, roasted and made into a liquor like coffee. [10→23]
- #13. Or [take] three spoonfuls of the juice of leeks and elder leaves.²⁶⁶ [5→23] I[nfallible]. [5→8] Tried. [14→23] This cures the windy dropsy. [21→23] 5
- #14. Or [take] half a pint of decoction of butcher's broom, inter-mixing purges twice or thrice a week. [1→23] The proper purge is ten grains of jalap with six of powdered ginger. It may be increased or lessened according to the strength of the patient.²⁶⁷ [5→23] 10
- #15. Or [take half a pint] of the decoction of the tops of oak boughs. This cured an inveterate dropsy in fifteen days.²⁶⁸ [12→23]
- #16. Or take senna, cream of tartar, and jalap, half an ounce each. Mix them and take a dram every morning in broth. It usually cures in twenty days.²⁶⁹ [12→23] This is nearly the same with Dr. Ward's powder.²⁷⁰ I suppose he took it from hence. He says, it seldom fails, either in the watery or windy dropsy. [14→23] 15
- #17. Or be electrified. This cures dropsies supposed incurable. [14→23] * [Works] 20

*N.B. How amazingly little is yet known, even of the human body! Have not dropsical persons been continually advised to abstain from drink as much as possible? But how can we reconcile this with the following undeniable facts, published in the late Medical Transactions?*²⁷¹

Jane Roberts, aged twenty, was at length constrained to take her bed by a confirmed ascites and anasarca. In this desperate case she drank as much as she would, first of small beer, and when that failed, of thin milk. After a while her skin cracked in many places, and she continued drinking and leaking till she was quite well.²⁷² 25

A middle-aged man in the west of England drank every day five or six quarts of cider and, without any other medicine, was totally cured in a few weeks time of a dropsy long supposed to be incurable.²⁷³ 30

²⁶⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 102.

²⁶⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 37.

²⁶⁸ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #507, p. 320.

²⁶⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #664, p. 437.

²⁷⁰ A patent medicine of Joshua Ward (1684–1761).

²⁷¹ Royal College of Physicians of London, *Medical Transactions* (London: The College, 1768ff). See JW's comment on reading the accounts that follow in his *Journal*, July 23, 1772, 22:343 in this edn. (but note we are correcting the suggested identification in footnote 12).

²⁷² *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 240–42.

²⁷³ *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 245–48.

A farmer aged seventy, in a confirmed ascites, was given over for death. Being desperate, he drank three quarts of cold water every four and twenty hours. His whole food meantime was sea-biscuit, sometimes with a little butter. For sixteen days he seemed worse.
 5 Then he discharged for near a week a vast quantity of water, and was soon free from his disease, which never returned.²⁷⁴ [15→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- 10 #18. Or fry rue in oil of walnuts and apply it hot, as a poultice, to the navel; changing it once a day.²⁷⁵ [CR#10, 1→4]
 #19. Or drink nothing else but a decoction of diet-drink of mountain sage (four pound[s] to a kilderkin).²⁷⁶ [1→4]
 #20. Or half a pint of decoction of white bryony.²⁷⁷ [1→4]
 15 #21. Take a spoonful of the juice of artichoke leaves, morning and evening. [CR#74, 1→17]
 #22. Or abstain from all drink for thirty days. To ease your thirst, hold often on your tongue a thin, small slice of toasted bread, dipped in brandy; or wash the mouth with juice of lemons.²⁷⁸ [CR#75, 1→17] Tried. [9→17]
 20 #23. Or drink half a pint of seawater morning and evening. [1→16, not *Works*]
 #24. Or boil two handfuls of elder roots in a quart of water. Strain it, and drink a large glass thrice a day for thirty days. It frequently cures in that time. [1→17, not *Works*]
 25 #25. Or take a spoonful of whole mustard seed, night and morning, and drink on it half a pint of decoction of green broom-tops. This works both by stool and urine. [5→16, not *Works*]
 #26. Or drink nothing but lemonade; i.e. lemon, sugar, and water. [9→16, not *Works*]
 30 #27. Or use sal-prunella in your common drink [for] thirty days.²⁷⁹ [12→16]
 #28. Or take morning and afternoon half a pint of strong tea of lavender cotton, eating a slice of bread and butter, stewed thick with garlic. [14→16, not *Works*]

²⁷⁴ *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 238–40. *Works* marks this last example with an asterisk, and adds ‘This is well worth trying’.

²⁷⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:52. In 1→4 this receipt appeared in a section titled ‘Anasarca, or Flesh-Dropsy’.

²⁷⁶ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 27–28.

²⁷⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 39.

²⁷⁸ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:338.

²⁷⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #507, p. 320.

- #29. Or steep half an ounce of jalap in a quartern²⁸⁰ of Geneva [spirit] for twelve hours. Draw it off. Divide it into three parts, and take it every other morning. Then put a large spoonful of syrup of marsh mallows into half a pint of stale beer, and when it has boiled a little, cool it and drink it at lying down in bed. Do this three times. This has cured many. [20] 5

75. *Drowned*²⁸¹ [12→23]

- #1. Rub the trunk of the body all over with salt. It frequently recovers them that seem dead. [12→23] 10
 #2. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 150.²⁸² [14→23]

76. *The Earache* [CR, 1→23] 15

- #1. Rub the ear hard for a quarter of an hour. [CR#80, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or be electrified. [8→23] Tried. [9→12]
 #3. Or put in a roasted fig or onion, as hot as may be. [CR#79, 1→23] Tried. [15→23] 20
 #4. Or blow the smoke of tobacco strongly into it. [CR#81, 1→23]
 #5. But if the earache is caused by an inflammation of the uvula, it is cured in two or three hours by receiving into the mouth the steam of bruised hempseed, boiled in water. [20→23] 25

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #6. Or [drop in the ear juice] of monk's rhubarb.²⁸³ [1→4]
 #7. Or drop in juice of goosegrass.²⁸⁴ [1→13] 30
 #8. Or apply to it a hot roll. [CR#78, 1→16]
 #9. Or drop in juice of wormwood. [15→17, not *Works*]

77. *Earache from cold* [1→23] 35

- #1. Boil rue, or rosemary, or garlic, and let the steam go into the ear through a funnel. [1→23]

²⁸⁰ A fourth part.

²⁸¹ See also §149, receipt #2 below.

²⁸² I.e., *Advices*, Chapter XXVII (below in this vol.).

²⁸³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 79.

²⁸⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 122.

78. *Earache from heat* [1→23]

- #1. Apply cloths four times doubled and dipped in cold water, changing them when warm, for half an hour. [1→23]

5 79. *Earache from worms* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Drop in warm milk and it brings them out.²⁸⁵ [CR#82, 1→23]
 #2. Or [drop in] juice of wormwood, which kills them.²⁸⁶ [CR#83, 1→23]

10 [additional receipt in previous editions]

- #3. Or [drop in] oil of bitter almonds. [CR#84, 1→16]

15 80. *Noise in the Ears* [1→23]

- #1. Drop in juice of onions. [1→23]

 [additional receipt in previous editions]

- 20 #2. Or fill them with bruised hyssop. [1→17]

81. *Hard wax in the Ears* [2→23]

- 25 #1. Is best dissolved by warm water.²⁸⁷ [2→23]

82. *Eyes bleared* [1→23]

- 30 #1. Drop into them juice of crab apples.²⁸⁸ [1→23]

83. *A bloodshot Eye* [CR, 1→23]

- 35 #1. Apply linen rags dipped in cold water for two or three hours.
 [1→23]
 #2. Or blow in white sugar-candy, finely powdered. [1→23]

²⁸⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:52.

²⁸⁶ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:52.

²⁸⁷ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 468.

²⁸⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

- #3. Or apply boiled hyssop, as a poultice.²⁸⁹ [1→23] This has a wonderful efficacy. [8→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #4. Or mix half a dram of well-powdered tutty with an ounce of rose water. Drop this often into the eye.²⁹⁰ [CR#85, 1→4]. 5
- #5. Or drop in juice of clover.²⁹¹ [1→4]

84. *A bruise in the Eye* [CR, 1→23] 10

- #1. Apply, as a plaster, conserve of roses. [CR#86, 1→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Or [apply as a plaster] a paste of black soap and white bread crumbs. But take care it get not into the eye.²⁹² [CR#87, 1→17] 15

85. *Clouds flying before the Eyes* [1→23] 20

- #1. Take a dram of powdered betony every morning.²⁹³ [1→23]
- #2. Or be electrified. [20→23]

86. *Blindness [in an Eye]* [1→23] 25

- #1. Is often cured by cold bathing.²⁹⁴ [1→23]
- #2. Or by electrifying. [8→23] Tried. This has cured a suffusion of sixteen, and even a *gutta serena* of twenty-four years standing. [9→23] 30

87. *Dull sight [in an Eye]* [1→23]

- #1. Drop in two or three drops of juice of rotten apples often. [1→23] 35

²⁸⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 151.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:79 (JW omits frog's spawn, Canary wine, and aqua mirabilis).

²⁹¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 61.

²⁹² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:77.

²⁹³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

²⁹⁴ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 79, 128.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#2. Drop in juice of brooklime.²⁹⁵ [1→4]

#3. Or [drop in juice] of eyebright.²⁹⁶ [1→4]

5 #4. Wash the eyes morning and evening with decoction of betony.²⁹⁷ [1→4]

#5. Use eyebright tea daily.²⁹⁸ [1→16]

#6. Or [use] powdered eyebright, both in meat and drink.²⁹⁹ [1→16]

10 88. *Films [in an Eye]* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Dry *Zibethum Occidentale* (i.e. *stercus humanum*³⁰⁰) slowly, powder it fine, and blow it into the eye twice or thrice a day.³⁰¹ [CR#88, 1→23]

15 #2. Or mix juice of ground-ivy with a little honey and two or three grains of bay-salt. Drop it in morning and evening. [1→23]

#3. Or touch them cautiously every day with lunar caustic. [20→23]

20 [additional receipt in previous editions]

#4. Or take the white part of hen's dung, carefully dried, with an equal quantity of burnt alum and double-refined sugar; sift them, and blow a little into the eye at going to bed. [14→17, not *Works*]

25

89. *Hot or sharp humours [in an Eye]* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Apply a few drops of double-refined sugar, melted in brandy. Tried. [12→23]

30 #2. Or boil a handful of bramble leaves, with a little alum, in a quart of spring-water, [down] to a pint. Drop this frequently

²⁹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90–91 (in footnote). This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Suffusion' [i.e., cataract].

²⁹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 89–90. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Suffusion' [i.e., cataract].

²⁹⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote). This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Dim or Misty Sight'.

²⁹⁸ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:126. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Eyes Dim or Decayed'.

²⁹⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote). This receipt appeared in a separate section titled 'Eyes Dim or Decayed'.

³⁰⁰ 'Human excrement'.

³⁰¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:11.

into the eye. This likewise speedily cures cankers or any sores.
[5→23]

- #3. Or lay a thin slice of raw beef on the nape of the neck. Tried.
[10→23]

5

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #4. Beat the white of an egg into a water, in which mix fine sugar, and drop it frequently into the eye.³⁰² [CR#89, 1→17]

- #5. Or drop in juice of daisies morning and evening. [1→16³⁰³]

10

90. Eyes or Eyelids inflamed [1→23]

- #1. Apply as a poultice boiled, roasted, or rotten apples warm.³⁰⁴
[1→23] * [*Works*]

15

- #2. Or [apply as a poultice] wormwood tops with the yolk of an egg.³⁰⁵ [1→23] This will hardly fail. [8→23]

- #3. Or beat up the white of an egg, with two spoonfuls of white rose water, into a white froth. Apply this on a fine rag, changing it so that it may not grow dry, till the eye or eyelid is well.
[1→23] Tried. [9→23]

20

- #4. Or dissolve an ounce of fine gum arabic in two or three spoonfuls of spring-water; put a drop into the inner corner of the eye, from the point of a hair-pencil, four or five times a day. At the same time take as much saltpetre as will lie upon a six-pence, dissolved in a glass of water, three or four times a day; abstaining from all strong liquids as much as possible, till cured. [20→23]

25

- #5. White bread poultices applied to the eyes in an inflamed state frequently occasion total blindness. [20→23]

30

- #6. After the inflammation is subsided, if weakness still remains, dip a finger in the white copperas eye-water and rub round the eye, three or four times a day. [20→23]

35

N.B. *All acrid eye-waters and powders, put into the eyes when they are much inflamed, horribly increase both the pain and inflammation.*
[20→23]

³⁰² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:37.

³⁰³ This receipt appeared under 'Rheum in the Eye' in 1→4.

³⁰⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:4.

³⁰⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #7. Or drop in often the juice of eyebright.³⁰⁶ [1→4]
 #8. Or [drop in often the juice of] cinquefoil.³⁰⁷ [1→4]
 #9. Or [drop in often the juice of] quick grass. [1→4]
 5 #10. Or [apply] a thick apple paring lying down in bed. [1→16³⁰⁸]

91. *A lachrymal fistula [in an Eye]^a [1→23]*

- 10 #1. Apply a poultice of fine leaves of rue.³⁰⁹ [1→23]
 #2. Or wash the eye morning and evening with decoction of
 quince leaves.³¹⁰ [1→23³¹¹]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- 15 #3. Or take a dram of betony leaves, powdered, daily.³¹² [1→17,
 not *Works*]

92. *Pearl in the Eye [1→23]*

- 20 #1. Apply a drop of juice of celandine with a feather thrice a day.
 [1→23]
 #2. Or [apply a drop of the juice] of three-leaved grass. It com-
 monly cures in seven days. [1→23]
 25 #3. Or dissolve a little sal ammoniac in rose water. Keep this
 three days in a copper vessel. Drop it twice a day into the eye.
 [12→23]
 #4. Or reduce separately, to the finest powder possible, an equal
 weight of loaf-sugar, cream of tartar, and bole armoniac; mix
 30 them together, and put a little into the eye (without blowing it
 in) three or four times a day. [20→23]

^a This disorder in the inner corner of the eye causes the tears to flow involun-
 tarily. [5→23] When it is confirmed, only a surgeon can cure it. [20→23]

³⁰⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 89–90.

³⁰⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 58.

³⁰⁸ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Burning Eyes, or hot rheum' in
 1→10.

³⁰⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

³¹⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

³¹¹ This receipt appeared under 'Involuntary Tears' in 1→4.

³¹² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#5. Or [apply a drop of] the juice of rue. [12→16]

93. Sore Eyes [15→23]

#1. Drink eyebright tea, and wash the eyes with it. [15→23] 5

94. White specks in the Eye [1→23]

#1. Going to bed, put a little earwax on the speck. This has cured many. [2→23] * [Works, 20→23] 10

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#2. Drop in a drop of juice of rue morning and evening.³¹³ [1→4]
 #3. Or [drop in a drop of the juice] of celandine.³¹⁴ [1→4] 15
 #4. Put a seed of clary into the eye, at going to bed.³¹⁵ [1→4]
 #5. Or [put on the speck] a drop of the juice of fennel.³¹⁶ [1→16]
 #6. Or [put on the speck] a drop of ivy juice. [1→17³¹⁷] Afterwards blow in a little powdered loaf-sugar. [5→17] 20

95. An excellent Eye-water [CR, 1→23]

#1. Put half an ounce of lapis calaminaris powered into half a pint of French white wine, and as much white rose water.³¹⁸ Drop a drop or two into the corner of the eye. It cures soreness, weakness, and most diseases of the eye. I have known it cure total blindness.³¹⁹ [CR#90, 1→23] * [Works] 25

³¹³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote). This receipt appeared in a separate section titled 'Spots in the Eye'.

³¹⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 51, 90 (in footnote). This receipt appeared in a separate section titled 'Spots in the Eye'.

³¹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 60, 90 (in footnote).

³¹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 90 (in footnote).

³¹⁷ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Spots in the Eye' in 1→4.

³¹⁸ 1→17 began 'Heat half an ounce of lapis calaminaris red hot, and quench it in half a pint of French white wine, and as much white rose water. Then pound it fine and infuse it. Shake the bottle when you use it, dropping a drop ...'. *Works* then added the note 'It takes effect, even if you use the lapis caliminaris ready powdered.'

³¹⁹ Close variation found in *Dictionarium Rusticum & Urbanicum* (London: J. Nicholson, 1704), entry for 'Blood-shotten-eyes'.

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #2. Another [eye-water]: Infuse in lime water a dram of sal ammoniac, powdered, for twelve hours. Then strain and keep it for use. This also cures most disorders of the eyes. [1→16]

5

96. *Another [Eye-water] [1→23]*

- #1. Boil very lightly one spoonful of white copperas scraped, and three spoonfuls of white salt, in three pints of spring-water. When cold, bottle it in large vials without straining. Take up the vial softly, and put a drop or two in the eye morning and evening. [1→23]

- 15 N.B. *It answers the intention of almost all the preceding medicines. It takes away redness, or any soreness whatever. It cures pearls, pin and web, rheums, and often blindness itself. [1→23] But it makes the eye smart. [21→23]*

20

97. *Another [Eye-water] [12→23]*

- #1. Stamp and strain ground-ivy, celandine, and daisies, an equal quantity. Add a little rose water and loaf-sugar. Drop a drop or two at a time into the eye, and it takes away all manner of inflammation, smarting, itching, spots, webs, or any other disorder whatsoever, yea, though the sight were almost gone.³²⁰ [12→23]

30

98. *[Another Eye-water] [9→23]*

- #1. An eye-water which was used by Sir Stephen Fox,³²¹ when he was 60 years of age, and could hardly see with the help of spectacles; but hereby in some time recovered his sight, and could see to read the smallest print without glass or spectacles till above eighty.

35

- Take six ounces of rectified spirits of wine, dissolve it in one dram of camphor, then add two small handfuls of dried elder flowers. In twenty-four hours, after it is infused, it is ready for use. Take out a little in a teaspoon, dip your finger in it, and bathe your forehead over your eyes and each temple with it

40

³²⁰ Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 127.

³²¹ Stephen Fox (1627–1716).

several times, morning and night, and twice more in the day, constantly. Meantime dip a soft rag in dead small beer, new milk warm, and dab each eye a dozen times gently, morning and evening. [9→23] * [Works]

- #2. If it is a watery humour, you may with your finger wet the eyelids two or three times apiece; but be sure to shut your eyes, or it makes them smart and burn excessively. If you have the toothache or swelled face, rub it well in on the part and it will take away the pain. It will cure any bruise also if used immediately. Tried. It will cure any inflammation in the eyes. [9→23] 5
10

99. Weak Eyes [2→23]

- #1. Wash the head daily with cold water. [2→23] Tried. [9→23] 15

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Moisten the eyelids morning and evening with camphorated spirits of wine, keeping the eye shut. [2→16] 20

100. Fainting on letting blood [12→23]

- #1. Is prevented by taking before it some good broth. [12→23]
#2. Or by lying on the bed, during the operation. [20→23] 25

101. The Falling sickness^r [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Be electrified. [8→23] Tried. [9→23] 30
#2. Or use the cold bath for a month daily. [1→23]
#3. Or take a teaspoonful of peony root, dried and grated fine, morning and evening for three months. [1→23]
#4. Or [take] half a spoonful of valerian root, powdered. It often cures in twice taking.³²² [12→23]
#5. Or [take] half a pint of tar-water, morning and evening, for three months.³²³ [CR#97, 1→23] 35

^rIn the falling sickness the patient falls to the ground, either quite stiff or convulsed all over, utterly senseless, gnashing his teeth, and foaming at the mouth. [5→23]

³²² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 294 (in footnote).

³²³ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 5. For specific mention of epilepsy (i.e., falling sickness) see Berkeley, *A Letter to Prior*, 13–14.

- #6. Or [take] a glass of juice of pellitory of the wall every morning. [20→23] Tried. [20→22]
- #7. Or take five or six drops of laudanum, fasting, for six or seven mornings. [8→23] This has cured many. [9→23] * [Works]
- 5 #8. Or use an entire milk diet for three months.³²⁴ [CR#92, 1→23] It seldom fails. [8→23]
- #9. In the fit, blow up the nose a little powdered ginger. [1→23]
- #10. Or [blow up the nose] leaves of asarabacca, powdered. [1→23] N.B. This is the famous 'Major's snuff'. [8→23]
- 10 #11. One who is subject to the falling sickness may prevent a fit, if he feels it coming, by this simple experiment. Let him always carry with him a piece of metal as broad as he is able to hold between his teeth when his jaws are stretched to the utmost. When he feels the fit approaching let him immediately put this between his teeth, so as to keep his jaws at their utmost stretch. In about a minute this will bring him quite to himself, and prevent the fit for that time. If one [should] put this metal between the teeth of one that is in the fit, and force them open till his jaws are at the utmost stretch, the fit will immediately go off and the patient very soon recover.³²⁵ [12→23] * [Works]
- 15
- 20
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*]
- #12. Or take a teaspoonful of germander, gathered in May, dried in the shade, and powdered, for nine days, morning and evening. [1→4]
- 25
- #13. Or [take a spoonful] of juice of cinquefoil.³²⁶ [1→4]
- #14. Or infuse an ounce of mustard seed in a quart of white wine, twenty-four hours, and take a glass morning and evening.³²⁷ [1→4]
- 30
- #15. To prevent a relapse, take a pill or two of powdered toad (see Art. 43³²⁸) before and after every new moon.³²⁹ [1→4]
- #16. Or take the quantity of a nutmeg of conserve of white peony root daily, for three months. [1→8]

³²⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:169–70.

³²⁵ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 32. In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another sentence: 'A crownpiece [i.e., a piece of leather from a bridle] might do; but iron or steel would do better.' This sentence does not appear in any print edition.

³²⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 59.

³²⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 196.

³²⁸ I.e., §10, receipt #14.

³²⁹ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 34.

- #17. Or [take] half a pint of decoction of lignum guaiacum, morning and evening. [CR#91, 1→16] I[nfallible]. [5→16]
- #18. Or take a spoonful of juice of rue, morning and evening, for a month. [1→16, not *Works*]
- #19. Or take half a dram of powdered mistletoe every six hours, drinking after it a strong infusion of mistletoe.³³⁰ I[nfallible]. [5→17] 5
- #20. Or drink a draught of vinegar and water every morning, and a spoonful of vinegar before the fit. [12→16] 10

102. *The Falling of the fundament* [1→23]

- #1. Apply a cloth covered thick with brick-dust. [1→23] * [Works]
- #2. Or boil a handful of red rose leaves in a quarter of a pint of red wine, dip a cloth in it and apply it, as hot as can be borne. Do this till all is used. [1→23] * [Works] 15

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #3. Or boil eight beetles in oil of mastic and anoint the part, and sprinkle thereon powdered eggshells. [12→16, not *Works*] 20

25

103. *A Falling down of the womb* [1→23]

- #1. May be cured in the manner last mentioned [§102, receipt #2]. [1→23]
- #2. Or wear a pessary of cork, and take once or twice a day a tea-cupful of the decoction of the bark, with ten drops of elixir of vitriol. [20→23] 30

104. *Extreme Fat* [20→23]

35

- #1. Use a total vegetable diet. I know one who was entirely cured of this by living a year thus. She breakfasted and supped on milk and water (with bread), and dined on turnips, carrots, or other roots, drinking water. [20→23] 40

³³⁰ Cf. Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 61.

105. *A Fever* [CR, 1→23]

(In the beginning of any fever, if the stomach is uneasy, vomit; if the bowels, purge; if the pulse be hard, full, or strong, bleed.)
[17→23]

5

#1. Drink a pint or two of cold water lying down in bed.³³¹
[CR#98, 1→23] I never knew it do hurt. [5→23]

#2. Or [drink] a large glass of tar-water warm, every hour.³³²
[CR#99, 1→23]

10

#3. Or [drink] thin water gruel sweetened with honey, with one or two drams of nitre in each quart. [20→23]

15

#4. N.B. The best of all juleps in a fever is this: Toast a large thin slice of bread, without burning. Put it hot into a pint of cold water. Then set it on the fire till it is pretty hot. In a dry heat it may be given cold; in a moist heat, warm. The more largely the better.³³³ [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

#5. Or, for a change, use pippin or wood-sorrel tea, or pippin-whey or wood-sorrel-whey. [21→23]

20

#6. To prevent catching any infectious fever, do not breathe near the face of the sick person, never swallow your spittle while in the room. [5→23] Infection seizes the stomach first. [9→23]

#7. Or stamp a handful of leaves of woodbine,³³⁴ put fair water to it, and use it cold as a clyster. It often cures in an hour.³³⁵
[1→23³³⁶]

25

#8. Or smear the wrists, five or six inches long, with warm treacle and cover it with brown paper. [1→23³³⁷]

#9. Or apply treacle plasters to the head and soles of the feet, changing them every twelve hours. [15→23³³⁸] * [Works]

30

#10. Or use Doctor Boerhaave's fever-powder—viz., eight ounces of nitre, a quarter of an ounce of camphor, half a quarter of an ounce of saffron, and eight grains of cochineal. These are to be powdered, mixed together, and kept dry in a bottle. Ten grains taken on going to bed abate feverish heat, and procure

³³¹ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 27.

³³² Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 4, 55.

³³³ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 48–49.

³³⁴ 1→14 have 'caprifolium' (as in Digby) instead of 'woodbine'.

³³⁵ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 11–12.

³³⁶ This receipt appeared under 'A Burning Fever' in 1→16.

³³⁷ This receipt appeared under 'A Burning Fever' in 1→16.

³³⁸ This receipt appeared under 'An Acute Fever' in 15→16.

rest. Ten grains are to be taken every three or four hours for a continued fever. [20→23]

#11. See Dr. Tissot.³³⁹ [14→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions³⁴⁰]

5

#12. Or [drink] sorrel tea. [1→4]

#13. Or [drink a decoction of] plantain. [1→4]

#14. Drink nothing but stale buttermilk.³⁴¹ [1→4]

#15. Or [drink a] decoction of violet leaves.³⁴² [1→16, not *Works*]

#16. Or [drink a] decoction of strawberry leaves. [1→17]

10

#17. If not very violent, take a dram of sal-prunella every four hours in warm water, till it abates. [1→17³⁴³]

#18. Drink only thin water gruel, or boiled milk and water. The more you drink the better. [1→17]³⁴⁴

#19. Put an ounce of rice in a pint of water. Set it near the fire till it is scalding hot. Then pour it off clear [and use as a julep]. [9→16]

15

106. A high Fever [1→23]

20

#1. Attended with a delirium and a vigilia, has been cured by plunging into cold water, which is a safe and sure remedy in the beginning of any fever.³⁴⁵ [1→23]

#2. Such a delirium is often cured by applying to the top of the head a treacle plaster. Tried.³⁴⁶ [14→23] * [*Works*]

25

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#3. Such a delirium is often cured by applying warm lamb's-lung to the head.³⁴⁷ [12→16, not *Works*]

³³⁹This was first inserted in the section 'A Burning Fever', so the specific reference is to *Advices*, Chap. XV (see below in this vol.).

³⁴⁰In a copy of the 13th edn. (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or, [drink a decoction] of powdered saltpetre in a little sage tea.' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

³⁴¹Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 156. This receipt appeared under 'A Hectic Fever' in 1→4.

³⁴²Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 298.

³⁴³This receipt appeared under 'A Continual Fever' in 1→16.

³⁴⁴This receipt appeared under 'A Strong Hectic' in 1→4; 'A Hectic Fever' in 5→17. Hawes (*Examination*, 45–46) warned that it might do 'irreparable damage'.

³⁴⁵Willis, *London Practice of Physick*, 459–60.

³⁴⁶*Works* omits 'Tried'; but adds 'This has all, and more than all, the effect of a blister'.

³⁴⁷Hawes (*Examination*, 51) dismissed this remedy.

107. *An intermitting Fever* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Drink warm lemonade in the beginning of every fit. It cures in a few days. [CR#100, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or take a teaspoonful of oil of sulphur in a cup of balm tea,
 5 once or twice a day. [2→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #3. Take the [cobweb] pills, as in Art. 9.³⁴⁸ [1→4]
 #4. Or [take] half a dram of powdered cochineal, an hour before
 10 each fit. [14→16]
 #5. Or [drink] a quarter of a pint of burdock tea, using either the leaf or root. [14→16]
 #6. Or [take] six grains of powdered snake-root, every hour, during the intermission. [14→17]
 15

108. *A Fever with pains in the limbs* [1→23]

- #1. Take twenty drops of spirits of hartshorn in a cup of water,
 20 twice or thrice in twenty-four hours. [1→23]
 #2. Or drink largely of cinquefoil tea. [15→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #3. Or [take twenty drops of spirit of hartshorn] in strong camomile tea, lying down in bed.³⁴⁹ [2→16, not *Works*]
 25

109. *A rash Fever* [1→23]

- #1. Drink every hour a spoonful of juice of ground-ivy. It cures in twenty-four hours. Use the decoction when you have not the juice.³⁵⁰ [1→23] * [*Works*]
 30

110. *A slow Fever* [1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath for two or three weeks, daily.³⁵¹ [1→23]
 35

³⁴⁸ I.e., §2, receipt #8.

³⁴⁹ Hawes (*Examination*, 51) dismissed this remedy.

³⁵⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 127.

³⁵¹ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 473–74.

111. *A worm Fever* [20→23]

- #1. Boil a handful of rue and wormwood in water. Foment the belly with the decoction, and apply the boiled herbs as a poultice. Repeat the application night and morning. This frequently brings away worms from children, who will take no internal medicine; and is likewise serviceable if the fever be of the putrid kind. [20→23] 5

112. *A Fistula* [1→23] 10

- #1. Wash mussel-shells clean, burn them to powder, sift them fine. Mix them with hog's lard. Spread it on clean wash-leather and apply it. This cured one that was thought to be at the point of death. N.B. This cures the piles. [20→23] 15
- #2. Grind an ounce of mercury sublimate in a glass mortar, with a glass pestle, as fine as possible. Put it into a glass bottle and pour on it two quarts of pure spring-water. Cork it close, and for six days shake it well every hour. Then let it settle for twenty-four hours. Pour it off clear. Filter it in a glass funnel, and keep it for use close stopped. Put a spoonful of this water in a vial and add two spoonfuls of pure spring-water. Shake them well together and drink it fasting. It works both by vomit and by stool, but very safely. Keep yourself very warm, and walk as much as you can. The first time neither eat nor drink till two hours after it has done working. Take this every other day. In forty days this will also cure any cancer, any old sore, or king's evil, broken or unbroken. After the first or second vomit you may use water gruel, as in other vomits. [1→23] 20
25
30

N.B. *Very weak persons should not use this.* [5→23] *But I have known it used safely and successfully.* [14→23]

- #3. Or have a vessel so contrived that you may sit with the part in cold water, a quarter of an hour every morning. I have known a gentleman of seventy cured thereby. [15→23] * [*Works*] 35
- #4. Or put a large stone of unslacked lime into four quarts of water, let it stand one night. Take four ounces of rock alum and four ounces of white copperas, calcine them to dryness, then powder them as fine as possible. Take three pints of the above water and put the powder into it, and boil it for half an hour, then 40

let it cool and bottle it for use. Let the fistula be syringed with this often, a little warm; and make a tent to fit the place, dip it in the water, and apply it twice a day. Cover it with a plaster of diachylon. This water will destroy the callosity of the edges of the fistula, which otherwise would prevent its healing, and if managed as above, will heal it up at the same time. [20→23]

113. *To destroy Fleas and bugs* [14→23]

- #1. Cover the floor of the room with the leaves of alder, gathered while the dew hangs upon them. Adhering to these they are killed thereby.³⁵² [14→23]
- #2. Or powder stavesacre and sprinkle it on the body, or on the bed.³⁵³ [14→23]

114. *Flegm* [*i.e.*, *phlegm*] [9→23]

- #1. To prevent or cure, take a spoonful of warm water the first thing in the morning. [9→23]

115. *Flooding* (*in lying-in*)³⁵⁴ [10→23]

- #1. Cover the body with cloths, dipped in vinegar and water, changing them as they grow warm. Drink cooling, acid liquors. [10→23]

This is a complaint which is never to be thought little of. Sometimes a violent flooding comes on before delivery and the only way to save both the mother and child is to deliver the woman immediately; which being done, the flooding will generally cease. Sometimes a slight flooding comes on some weeks before labour; and here, if the patient be kept cool, her diet light, and small doses of nitre often repeated (an ounce divided into thirty parts, and one given every four hours), she will frequently go her full time and do well. But if it should become excessive, delivery should be affected as soon as may be.

³⁵² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 3.

³⁵³ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 35.

³⁵⁴ That is, to suffer a uterine haemorrhage during pregnancy.

If a flooding should come on after delivery, the patient should be laid with her head low, kept cool, and be in all respects treated as for an excessive flux of the menses. Linen cloths which have been wrung out of vinegar and water should be applied to the belly, the loins, and the thighs. These must be changed as they grow dry, and may be discontinued as soon as the flooding abates. Sometimes the following mixture will do great things—viz., pennyroyal water, simple cinnamon water, and syrup of poppies, of each two ounces; acid elixir of vitriol, one dram. Mix and take two tablespoonfuls every hour. But large doses of nitre given often (a scruple every hour) is generally the most efficacious. But when all other things seem to have no effect, cold water dashed upon the patient's belly will stop the flooding immediately.³⁵⁵ [20→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #2. Or take four ounces of juice of nettles, morning and evening, for two days. Apply meantime a sponge dipped in vinegar and red wine. [12→17]

116. A Flux [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Receive the smoke of turpentine cast on burning coals. This cures also the bloody flux, and the falling of the fundament. [5→23]
- #2. Or put a large brown toast into three quarts of water, with a dram of cochineal, powdered, and a dram of salt of wormwood. Drink it all in as short a time as you conveniently can. [8→23] Tried. [9→23] * [*Works*]

N.B. *This rarely fails to cure all fluxes, cholera morbus, yea and inflammation of the bowels.* [15→23]

- #3. Or take a spoonful of plantain seed bruised, morning and evening, till it stops.³⁵⁶ [1→23]
- #4. Or ten grains of ipecacuanha, three mornings successively. [5→23] It is likewise excellent as a sudorific. [9→23]
- #5. Or boil four ounces of rasped logwood, or fresh logwood chips, in three quarts of water, [down] to two. Strain it and

³⁵⁵ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 662.

³⁵⁶ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 18.

drink a quarter of a pint, sweetened with loaf-sugar, warm, twice a day. It both binds and heals. Or take a small teacupful of it every hour. [20→23]

- 5 #6. Or boil the fat of a breast of mutton in a quart of water for an hour. Drink the broth as soon as you can conveniently. This will cure the most inveterate flux. Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
 #7. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 124.³⁵⁷ [20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- 10 #8. Or wear wild tansy in the shoes next the skin.³⁵⁸ [1→4]
 #9. Or [take] the leaves of it [plantain] boiled in small broth.³⁵⁹ [1→16, not Works]
 #10. Or [take] three or four ounces of its [plantain] juice.³⁶⁰ [1→16, not Works]
 15 #11. Or [take] a dram of the seed of flax-weed in two or three spoonfuls of broth.³⁶¹ I[nfallible]. [CR#111, 1→17]
 #12. Or drink two or three quarts of warm water. [1→17]
 #13. Use the cold bath daily, and drink a draught of water from the spring.³⁶² [2→16]
 20 #14. Or sit over camomile-flowers boiled in milk. [8→16]
 #15. Or [take] a dram of cork, powdered.³⁶³ [12→13]

117. A bloody Flux [CR, 1→23]

- 25 #1. Apply a suppository of linen dipped in aqua vitae. [2→23]
 #2. Or drink cold water as largely as possible, taking nothing else till the flux stops. [1→23]
 #3. Or take a large apple and at the top pick out all the core and fill up the place with a piece of honeycomb (the honey being
 30 strained out). Roast the apple in embers and eat it, and this will stop the flux immediately. [1→23]
 #4. Or [take] grated rhubarb, as much as lies on a shilling, with half as much grated nutmeg, in a glass of white wine, lying down, every other night. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

³⁵⁷ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XXIII (see below).

³⁵⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 266.

³⁵⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 229 (in footnote).

³⁶⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 229 (in footnote).

³⁶¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:25.

³⁶² Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 459. Hawes (*Examination*, 53) contended that this would tend to cause contractions and increase the flux. JW apparently accepted the argument.

³⁶³ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #678, p. 444.

- #5. Or take four drops of laudanum, and apply to the belly a poultice of wormwood and red roses boiled in milk.³⁶⁴ [12→23]
- #6. In a dysentery, the worst of all fluxes, feed on rice, salep, sago, and sometimes beef-tea; but no flesh. [20→23]
- #7. To stop it, take a spoonful of suet melted over a slow fire. Do not let blood. [20→23] 5
- #8. N.B. A person was cured in one day by feeding on rice-milk, and sitting a quarter of an hour in a shallow tub, having it in warm water three inches deep. [15→23]
- #9. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 125.³⁶⁵ [20→23] 10
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*]
- #10. Or [drink] a pint of whey made with a lump of rock alum as hot as you can bear it. [1→4]
- #11. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of water dock, morning and evening. [1→4] 15
- #12. Or [take] a small nutmeg, powdered, in the yoke of an egg. [CR#106, 1→16]
- #13. Or [drink] decoction of primrose leaves morning and evening.³⁶⁶ [1→16] 20
- #14. Or [take] thirty grains of powdered root of gladwin³⁶⁷ at night, twice or thrice a week. It is just as good as rhubarb in most cases.³⁶⁸ [1→17]
- #15. Or [drink a decoction] of millet seed. [10→16]
- #16. Or take two grains of laudanum in conserve of roses, lying down. If need be, repeat it. Afterwards take a little rhubarb.³⁶⁹ [12→13] 25
- #17. Or [drink] a pint of decoction of burnet, with a lump of butter in it, morning and evening. It usually cures in three days.³⁷⁰ [12→17] 30
- #18. Or [take] a dram of salt of vitriol dissolved in water. [12→17, not *Works*] 30
- #19. Or take an ounce of plantain seed, boil it in a quart of spring-water, [down] to a pint and a half. Strain and sweeten it with loaf-sugar. Take a quarter of a pint warm, night and morning, if need be for seven or eight days. [*Works*] 35

³⁶⁴ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #678, p. 444.

³⁶⁵ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XXIV (see below).

³⁶⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

³⁶⁷ I.e., gladdon, a popular name for the iris.

³⁶⁸ Hawes (*Examination*, 54) rejects the claim that the iris is as effective as rhubarb.

³⁶⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #184, p. 96.

³⁷⁰ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #284, p. 241.

118. *To prevent (or stop a beginning) Gangrene [12→23]*

- #1. Foment continually with vinegar in which dross of iron (either sparks or clinkers) has been boiled.³⁷¹ [12→23]

119. *The Gout in the stomach [1→23]*

- #1. 'Dissolve two drams of Venice treacle in a glass of mountain [wine]. After drinking it, go to bed. You will be easier in two hours, and well in sixteen.' Dr. Dover.³⁷² [1→23]
- #2. Or boil a pugil^s of tansy in a quarter of a pint of mountain [wine]. Drink it in bed. [2→23] I believe this never fails. [5→23] Tried. [9→13] * [20→23]
- #3. To prevent its return, dissolve half an ounce of gum guaiacum in two ounces of sal volatile. Take a teaspoonful of this every morning in a glass of spring-water. N.B. This helps any sharp pain in the stomach. Dr. Boerhaave. [2→23] * [20→23]
- #4. I knew a gentleman who was cured many times by a large draught of cold water. [20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #5. Or take two spoonfuls of juice of wormwood. [9→16, not *Works*]
- #6. I have known the gout driven from the stomach into the feet in half a minute (and that over and over) by drinking a large draught of cold water.³⁷³ [*Works*]

120. *The Gout in the foot or hand [1→23]*

- #1. Apply a raw, lean beefsteak. Change it once in twelve hours, till cured.³⁷⁴ [1→23] Tried. [17→23]

^s A pugil is as much as you can take up between your thumb and two forefingers. [20→23]

³⁷¹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #641, p. 430.

³⁷² Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 16.

³⁷³ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 64–65.

³⁷⁴ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 16. Hawes (*Examination*, 55–56) excerpted the ridicule of this receipt in Augustus Montague Toplady, *The Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity Asserted* (London: Vallance & Simmons, 1775), vi–viii.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #2. Keep them an hour in cold water, changed as it grows warm.³⁷⁵ [1→4]

121. *The Gout in any limb*^t [CR, 1→23]

5

- #1. Rub the part with warm treacle, and then bind on a flannel smeared therewith. Repeat, if need be, once in twelve hours. [CR#117, 1→23] * [20→23]

This has cured an inveterate gout [2→23] *in thirty-six hours.* [12→23]

10

- #2. Or drink a pint of a strong infusion of elder-buds, dry or green, morning and evening. This has cured inveterate gout. [14→23]

- #3. Or at six in the evening, undress, and wrap yourself up in blankets. Then put your legs up to the knees in water, as hot as you can bear it. As it cools let hot water be poured in, so as to keep you in a strong sweat till ten. Then go into a bed well warmed, and sweat till morning. [CR#116, 1→23] I have known this cure an inveterate gout [5→23] in a person above sixty, who lived eleven years after. [9→23] * [Works]

15

- #4. The very matter of the gout is frequently³⁷⁶ destroyed by a steady use of Mynsicht's elixir of vitriol.³⁷⁷ [10→23]

20

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #5. Or take thirty drops of spirit of hartshorn, thrice a day, in a draught of buckbean³⁷⁸ tea. Keep warm after it. [CR#114, 1→4]

25

- #6. Or 'take a handful of snails. Pick them out of the shells. Stamp them in a mortar with salt, soap, and sweet oil. Apply this as a plaster, and in three days it will destroy the gout.' [1→4]

30

- #7. Or dry sage in the sun for a day. Apply this, and in one night it will ease the pain. [1→16]

^tRegard not them who say the gout ought not to be cured. They mean, it cannot. I know it cannot by their regular prescriptions. [5→23] But I have known it cured in many cases, without any ill effect following. [9→23] I have cured myself several times. [20→23]

³⁷⁵ This receipt appears in a section titled 'Swelled feet' found only in 1→4.

³⁷⁶ 10→16 have 'surely' instead of 'frequently'.

³⁷⁷ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 14.

³⁷⁸ Orig., 'bugbane' but this is not used to cure gout. Another name for buckbean is bogbean.

#8. Or mix in warm water half a spoonful of salt, three spoonfuls of yeast, with rye-meal, and spread it on flannel. Sew this to the soles of the feet. Renew this (keeping your bed) every twelve hours. It generally cures in three days. [12→17, not Works]

#9. Or apply bruised nettles. [14→16]

122. *The Gravel* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Eat largely of spinach. [5→23]

#2. Or drink largely of warm water sweetened with honey. [CR#120, 1→23]

#3. Or [drink largely] of pellitory of the wall tea, so sweetened. [CR#121, 1→23]

#4. Or infuse an ounce of wild parsley seeds in a pint of white wine for twelve days. Drink a glass of it fasting three months.³⁷⁹ [1→23]

#5. To prevent its return, breakfast for three months on agrimony tea. It entirely cured me twenty³⁸⁰ years ago, nor have I had the least symptoms of it since. [9→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#6. Or [drink largely] of peach-leaf tea.³⁸¹ [1→17]

#7. Or [drink largely] of decoction of the unspotted arsesmart. I[nfallible]. [12→17, not Works]

#8. Take as much as lies upon a shilling of broom seed finely ground, morning and evening.³⁸² [14→16, not Works]

123. *The Green sickness* [2→23]

#1. Take an ounce of quicksilver every morning.³⁸³ [2→23]

#2. Or [take] a cup of decoction of lignum guaiacum (commonly called lignum vitae) morning and evening. [2→23]

#3. Or grind together into a fine powder three ounces of the finest

³⁷⁹ 1→9 have 'mornings' instead of 'months'.

³⁸⁰ When first inserted in 1761, JW dated 'twelve years ago'; it was changed to 'twenty years ago' in 1770. So JW's bout with gravel was about 1750.

³⁸¹ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 42.

³⁸² Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 22.

³⁸³ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 58–60.

steel-filings, and two ounces of red sugar candy. Take from a scruple to half a dram every morning.³⁸⁴ I[nfallible]. [9→23]
 #4. See Dr. Tissot.³⁸⁵ [14→23]

124. *To kill animalcula that cause the Gums
 to waste away from the teeth* [2→23]

#1. Gargle thrice a day with salt and water. [2→23]

125. *To make Hair grow* [20→23]

#1. Wash it every night with a strong decoction of rosemary. Dry it with flannel. Tried. [20→23]

126. *The Headache* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Rub the head a quarter of an hour. [CR#122, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]

#2. Or be electrified. [8→23] Tried. [9→23, not *Works*]

#3. Or apply to each temple the thin yellow rind of a lemon, newly pared off. [2→23]

#4. Or pour upon the palm of the hand a little brandy, with some zest^u of lemon, and hold it to the forehead. [2→23]

#5. Or [hold to the forehead] a little aether. [20→23]

#6. Or, if you have caught cold, boil a handful of rosemary in a quart of water. Put this in a mug and hold your head (covered with a napkin) over the steam, as hot as you can bear. Repeat this till the pain ceases.³⁸⁶ [CR#123, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]

#7. Or snuff up the nose camphorated spirits of lavender. [5→23]

#8. Or [snuff up the nose] a little juice of horse-radish. [CR#127, 1→23]

^uZest is the juice of the peel squeezed out. [20→23]

³⁸⁴ Banyer, *Pharmacopoeia Pauperum*, 12.

³⁸⁵ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XXV (see below).

³⁸⁶ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:22.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #9. Or apply rose leaves mixed with the white of an egg to the forehead.³⁸⁷ [1→4]
 #10. Or put a leaf of wood betony up each nostril. [1→4]
 5 #11. Or [snuff up the nose] juice of primrose root.³⁸⁸ [1→4]
 #12. Or [snuff up the nose] juice of ground-ivy.³⁸⁹ [CR#125, 1→17] I[nfallible]. [5→9]
 #13. Or drop juice of pimperl into the ear.³⁹⁰ [1→16, not *Works*]
 #14. Or drink half a pint of strong decoction of ground-ivy,
 10 morning and evening.³⁹¹ [2→16]

127. A chronical Headache [1→23]

- 15 #1. Keep your feet in warm water a quarter of an hour before you go to bed, for two or three weeks. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or wear tender hemlock leaves under the feet, changing them daily.³⁹² [CR#124, 1→23]
 #3. Or order a teakettle of cold water to be poured on your head every morning in a slender stream. [5→23]
 20 #4. Or take a large teacup full of carduus tea, without sugar, fasting, for six or seven mornings. [1→23³⁹³] Tried. [9→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- 25 #5. Or wash the head with decoction of quick-grass.³⁹⁴ [1→4]
 #6. Or take an ounce of the juice of primrose leaves and roots, with as much milk, every morning.³⁹⁵ [1→4]
 #7. Or boil wood betony in new milk, and strain it. Breakfast on this for five or six weeks.³⁹⁶ I[nfallible]. [1→13³⁹⁷]
 30 #8. Or apply to the head bruised cummin seed, fried with an egg.³⁹⁸ [1→16, not *Works*³⁹⁹]

³⁸⁷ Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 14.

³⁸⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

³⁸⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:135.

³⁹⁰ Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 14.

³⁹¹ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 87.

³⁹² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11.

³⁹³ This receipt appeared under 'Periodical Headache' in 1→4.

³⁹⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 77.

³⁹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

³⁹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 25.

³⁹⁷ This receipt appeared under 'An Inveterate Headache' in 1→4.

³⁹⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 71.

³⁹⁹ This receipt appeared under 'An Inveterate Headache' in 1→4.

128. Headache from heat [1→23]

- #1. Apply to the forehead cloths dipped in cold water, for an hour.
[1→23] Tried. [9→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

5

- #2. Or beat white poppy seed to powder, mix this with yolks of eggs, and apply it to the temples and forehead. [1→17]
#3. Or dry and powder primrose leaves. Take a pinch of this twice or thrice a day. [14→16]

10

129. A nervous Headache [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Dry and powder an ounce of marjoram and half an ounce of asarabacca, mix them and take them as snuff, keeping the ears and throat warm. [CR#128, 1→23] This is of great use even in a cancer. [8→23] But it will suffice to take a small pinch every other night, lying down in bed. [14→23]

15

[additional receipt in previous editions]

20

- #2. Or take half a dram of powdered marum,^v morning and evening, in any liquid. [8→16, not Works]

130. A violent Headache [20→23]

25

- #1. Take of white wine vinegar and water, each three spoonfuls; with half spoonful of Hungary water. Apply this twice a day to the eyelids and temples. [20→23]

30

131. Hemicrania^w [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Use cold bathing. [1→23]
#2. Or apply to that part of the head, shaved, a plaster that will stick, with a hole cut in the middle of it as big as an half-penny. Place over that hole leaves of ranunculus, bruised and very moist. It is a gentle blister.⁴⁰⁰ [CR#129, 1→23]

35

^v Some call it mastic. [15→16]

^w That is, an headache which affects but one side of the head. [5→23]

⁴⁰⁰ Allen, Synopsis, 1:134.

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

#3. Or snuff up smoke of amber for half an hour. [12→16]

132. *Stoppage in the Head* [1→23]

5 #1. Snuff up juice of primrose, keeping the head warm.⁴⁰¹ [1→23]

133. *The Heart-burning*^x [1→23]

10 #1. Drink a pint of cold water.⁴⁰² [1→23] Tried. [9→23, not *Works*]

#2. Or drink slowly of decoction of camomile flowers. [5→23]

#3. Or chew five or six peppercorns a little, then swallow them.
[1→23]

#4. Or eat four or five oysters. [17→23]

15 #5. Or chew fennel or parsley and swallow your spittle. [15→23]

#6. Or [chew] a piece of Spanish liquorice.⁴⁰³ [20→23]

#7. Sometimes a vomit is needful. [5→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

20 #8. In the fit, take a scruple of salt of wormwood in a spoonful of
lemon juice. [12→17]

#9. Or [take] a teaspoonful of crab's eyes, ground to an impalpable
powder.⁴⁰⁴ [12→16]

25 #10. Or take six almonds and twelve raw peas, and eat them to-
gether. [1→14]

134. *The Hiccup* [CR, 1→23]

30

To Prevent [17→23]

#1. Infuse a scruple of musk in a quart of mountain wine, and take
a small glass every morning. [17→23]

^x A sharp gnawing pain at the orifice of the stomach. [5→23]

⁴⁰¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

⁴⁰² Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 56.

⁴⁰³ JW added this receipt by hand in a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24), but it did not appear in print copies until the 20th.

⁴⁰⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:18.

To Cure

- #1. Swallow a mouthful of water, stopping the mouth and ears.
[CR#130, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #2. Or take anything that makes you sneeze. [CR#131, 1→23]
- #3. Or [take] two or three preserved damsons.⁴⁰⁵ [CR#132, 1→23] 5
- #4. Or [take] three drops of oil of cinnamon on a lump of sugar.⁴⁰⁶
Tried. [9→23]
- #5. Or [take] ten drops of chemical oil of amber, dropped on
sugar and then mixed with a little water. [20→23] 10
- [additional receipt in previous editions]
- #6. Or [take] a little candied ginger. [CR#133, 1→17]

135. Hoarseness [CR, 1→23]

15

- #1. Rub the soles of the feet before the fire, with garlic and lard
well beaten together, overnight. The hoarseness will be gone
the next day. [1→23] Tried. [20→23] * [20→23]
- #2. Or take a pint of cold water lying down. [1→23] 20
- #3. Or swallow slowly the juice of radishes. [CR#135, 1→23]
- #4. Or [take] half a pint of mustard-whey, lying down. [12→23]
- #5. Or [take] a teaspoonful of conserve of roses every night. Tried.
[9→23] * [Works]
- #6. Or dry nettle-roots in an oven, then powder them finely and 25
mix with an equal quantity of treacle. Take a teaspoonful of
this twice a day. [12→23] * [Works]
- #7. Or boil a large handful of wheat-bran in a quart of wa-
ter, strain, and sweeten it with honey. Sup of it frequently. 30
[20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #8. Or instead of supper, eat an apple and drink half a pint of
water. [1→16]
- #9. Or take a spoonful of sage juice, morning and evening.⁴⁰⁷ 35
[1→16]
- #10. Or [take] fifteen drops of balsam of sulphur on a lump of
sugar. [10→17, not Works]

⁴⁰⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11. A damson is a type of plum.⁴⁰⁶ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 25.⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252–53.

#11. Or boil a large handful of bran and a few raisins in a quart of water. Strain and sweeten it with sugar-candy, and use it for common drink. [12→16]

5 136. *Hypochondriac and Hysterical disorders* [1→23]

#1. Use cold bathing.⁴⁰⁸ [1→23]

#2. Or take an ounce of quicksilver every morning; and ten drops of elixir of vitriol in the afternoon, in a glass of cold water.⁴⁰⁹
[1→23]

10

[137.⁴¹⁰ *The Iliac passion*^y [1→23]

#1. Apply warm flannels soaked in spirits of wine.⁴¹¹ [5→23]

15 #2. Or hold a live puppy constantly on the belly.⁴¹² [5→23] Dr. Sydenham. [5→23]

#3. Or immerse up to the breast in a warm bath.⁴¹³ [5→23]

#4. Or take, ounce by ounce, a pound or a pound and a half of quicksilver.⁴¹⁴ [1→23]

20 #5. Inflammations in general are more certainly abated by smart purging than by bleeding.⁴¹⁵ [20→23]

#6. See Dr. Tissot, page 120.⁴¹⁶ [14→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

25 #7. Or take a decoction of the seed of dill in oil and water, and then a bit of bread dipped in water.⁴¹⁷ [1→16]

^y In this violent kind of colic the excrements are thrown up by the mouth in vomiting. [5→23]

⁴⁰⁸ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 19–20; and Baynard in same, 210–11.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 54–55.

⁴¹⁰ In medieval English script, like Latin, the 'I' was used as both vowel and consonant. Eventually this double usage was divided by the introduction of 'J' for the consonant. But in the eighteenth century it was still common to treat 'I' and 'J' as identical letters when alphabetizing. Wesley ordered his receipts in this way, placing Jaundice before Iliac passion, Imposthume, and Itch. We have reorganized to modern alphabetizing for the benefit of readers of this edition.

⁴¹¹ Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 128.

⁴¹² Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 128–29; JW clearly draws from Mead, who cites Sydenham.

⁴¹³ Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 129.

⁴¹⁴ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 113, 116.

⁴¹⁵ Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 126–27.

⁴¹⁶ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XXII.

⁴¹⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 75.

[138.] *An Imposthume* [1→23]

- #1. Put the white of two leeks in a wet cloth, and so roast them in ashes, but not too much. Stamp them in a mortar with a little hog's grease. Spread it thick plaster-wise and apply, changing it every hour, till all the matter be come out, which it will be in three times. I[nfallible]. [1→23] 5

[139.] *The Itch*^z [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Wash the parts affected with strong rum. [2→23] Tried. [9→23] 10
 #2. Or anoint them with black soap.⁴¹⁸ [CR#142, 2→23] But wash it off soon. [21→23]
 #3. Or steep a shirt half an hour in a quart of water mixed with half an ounce of powdered brimstone. Dry it slowly, and wear it five or six days.⁴¹⁹ [CR#143, 1→23] Sometimes it needs repeating. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works, 20→23] 15
 #4. Or mix powder of white hellebore with cream for three days. Anoint the joints three mornings and evenings. [CR#144, 1→23] It seldom fails. [5→23] 20
 #5. Or beat together the juice of two or three lemons with the same quantity of oil of roses. Anoint the parts affected. It cures in two or three times using. [1→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions⁴²⁰]

- #6. Wash the parts affected with smith's-forge-water. [1→4] 25
 #7. Or [wash] with a strong decoction of chickweed morning and evening.⁴²¹ [1→4]
 #8. Or anoint thrice with garlic root mixed with hog's lard.⁴²² [1→4]

^zThis distemper is nothing but a kind of very small lice which burrow under the skin. Therefore inward medicines are absolutely needless. Is it possible any physician should be ignorant of this? [5→23] [2→4 had the notation 'The itch is not a disorder in the blood, but animalcula in the skin']

⁴¹⁸ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:71.

⁴¹⁹ Willis, *London Practice of Physick*, 226. This is repeated in Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:71; but JW specifically calls it 'Dr. Willis's cure' in a letter to Andrew Wilson, July 8, 1774.

⁴²⁰ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or boil for a few minutes an ounce of stavesacre in a pint of water. Wash the parts with a sponge or wet cloth.' This receipt does not appear in any print edition.

⁴²¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 259 (in footnote).

⁴²² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 259 (in footnote).

- #9. Or beat dock roots in a mortar with sweet butter. Anoint with this. It cures in five or six times of using. [1→4]
- #10. Or [wash with strong decoction] of hyssop, four or five days. [1→17]
- 5 #11. Or mix an ounce of ginger, finely powdered, with a quarter of a pound of fresh butter. Use it morning and evening. It cures in four or five days. [1→17]
- #12. Or [wash] with water in which quicksilver has been boiled. [14→17]
- 10 #13. Or [wash] with strong decoction of dock root for nine or ten days.⁴²³ [1→16]
- #14. Or mix a little fine bay-salt, and as much flour of brimstone, with a little sweet oil. Rub it well in the palms of the hands, and dry it in. It commonly cures in three nights. [2→16].

15

[140.] *The Jaundice* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Wear leaves of celandine, upon and under the feet. [1→23]
- 20 #2. Or take a small pill of Castile soap every morning for eight or ten days. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
- #3. Or beat the white of an egg thin. Take it morning and evening in a glass of water.⁴²⁴ [12→23] I[nfallible]. [14→23] * [Works]
- #4. Or [take] half a pint of strong decoction of nettles. [1→23]
- 25 #5. Or [take half a pint of strong decoction] of burdock leaves, morning and evening. [20→23]
- #6. Or boil three ounces of burdock root in two quarts of water, [down] to three pints. Drink a teacup of this every morning. [1→23]
- 30 [additional receipts in previous editions]
- #7. Wash the hands and feet with decoction of dock root, [for] 14 days, morning and evening. [1→4]
- #8. Or [take] half a pint of tar-water thrice a day.⁴²⁵ [CR#140, 1→4]
- 35 #9. Or [take] two or three spoonfuls of the juice of quick-grass, every morning.⁴²⁶ [1→4]
- #10. Or drink a quarter of a pint of decoction of dock root, morning and evening. [1→4]

⁴²³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 260 (in footnote).

⁴²⁴ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 31.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 13–14.

⁴²⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 77.

- #11. Or [drink] half a pint of decoction of monk's rhubarb.⁴²⁷
[1→4]
- #12. Or [drink half a pint] of decoction of dandelion; the whole
plant.⁴²⁸ [1→4]
- #13. Or take as much as lies on a shilling of calcined eggshells, three 5
mornings fasting, and walk till you sweat. [CR#137, 1→13]

[141.] *The Jaundice in children* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Take half an ounce of fine rhubarb, powdered. Mix with 10
it thoroughly, by long beating, two handfuls of good well-
cleaned currants. Of this give a teaspoonful every morning.⁴²⁹
[CR#141, 1→23]

15

142. *The King's evil*^a [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Take as much cream of tartar as lies on a sixpence, every
morning and evening. [5→23]
- #2. Or drink for six weeks half a pint of a strong decoction of 20
devil's-bit.⁴³⁰ [CR#147, 1→23] Tried. [9→23]
- #3. Or use the diet-drink as in the article 'Scorbutic sores'.⁴³¹ I
have known this cure one whose breast was as full of holes as
an honeycomb. [2→23] * [Works, 20→23]
- #4. Or set a quart of honey by the fire to melt. When it is cold, 25
strew into it a pound and a half of quicklime beat very fine
and sifted through a hair-sieve. Stir this about till it boil up of
itself into a hard lump. Beat this when cold very fine, and sift
it as before. Take of this as much as lies on a shilling, in a glass
of water, every morning fasting, an hour before breakfast; at 30
four in the afternoon; and at going to bed. [1→23]
- #5. Or make a leaf of dried burdock into a pint of tea. Take half
a pint twice a day, for four months. I have known this cure
hundreds. [20→23]

^a It commonly appears first by the thickness of the lips, or a stubborn humour in the eyes; then come hard swellings, in the neck chiefly; then running sores. [5→23]

⁴²⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 79.

⁴²⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 74.

⁴²⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:36.

⁴³⁰ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:113.

⁴³¹ I.e., §198, receipt #1.

#6. The best purge for the king's evil is tincture of jalap, which is made thus: Jalap in powder, two ounces; Geneva, or proof spirits, one pint. Let them infuse seven days. A teaspoonful or two is sufficient for a child ten years old, in a morning, fasting; and repeated once or twice a week, so as to keep the stomach and bowels clean, will frequently cure the king's evil. But all violent purges, when repeated too often, are pernicious. [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

10 #7. Or use a strong decoction of felon-wort as common drink, for three months.⁴³² [CR#148, 1→4]

#8. Or infuse a handful of mountain saxifrage in a quart of water twenty-four hours. Drink half a pint, morning and evening, for three months. It seldom fails. [1→4]

15 #9. Or beat garden snails with a little parsley to the consistence of a plaster. Apply it to the sores, changing it every twenty-four hours.⁴³³ [1→4]

#10. Or [drink for six weeks half a pint of a strong decoction] of ground-ivy. [1→16, not *Works*]

20 #11. Or [drink for six weeks half a pint] of decoction of dead nettles. [1→16]

#12. Or [drink for six weeks half a pint of a strong decoction] of coltsfoot. Meantime apply the herb, beaten up with powdered linseed and hog's lard, to the sores, renewing it twice a day.⁴³⁴ [1→16]

25 #13. Or use lime-water for common drink.⁴³⁵ [CR#149, 1→16, not *Works*]

#14. Or take two spoonfuls of the juice of water parsnips, with two spoonfuls of milk, every morning, fasting, for the six summer months. Two hours after, breakfast on water gruel with a little bread. N.B. This cures the scurvy in three months. [2→16]

35 143. *Lameness, from a fixed contraction of the parts* [14→23]

#1. Beat the yolk of a new-laid egg very thin and, by a spoonful at time, add and beat up with it three ounces of water. Rub this

⁴³² Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:155.

⁴³³ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 103.

⁴³⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 65.

⁴³⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:42.

gently into the parts for a few minutes, three or four times a day.⁴³⁶ [14→23]

144. *Legs inflamed*⁴³⁷ [1→23]

- #1. Apply fuller's earth, spread on brown paper. [1→23] It seldom fails. [5→23] * [20→23] 5
#2. Or [apply] bruised turnips. [15→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #3. Bathe them every morning in cold water, and take an easy purge twice a week.⁴³⁸ [1→16] 10
#4. Or take wormwood, southernwood, and rue; stamp them together and fry them in honey, till they grow dry. Then apply them as hot as you can bear.⁴³⁹ [CR#213, 1→16]
#5. Or rub them with warm juice of plantain.⁴⁴⁰ [1→17] 15
#6. Or [apply] boiled turnips mixed with mutton-suet.⁴⁴¹ [5→16]

145. *Legs sore and running* [2→23]

- #1. Wash them in brandy and apply elder-leaves, changing them twice a day. This will dry up all the sores, though the leg were like an honeycomb. [2→23] Proved. [2→8] Tried. [9→23] 20
#2. Or poultice them with rotten apples. Tried. [10→23] But take also three or four purges.⁴⁴² [17→23] 25

146. *Leprosy*^b [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath.⁴⁴³ [1→23]

^b In this disease the skin in many parts is covered with rough, whitish, scaly pustules; and if these are rubbed off, with a kind of scaly scurf. [5→23]

⁴³⁶ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 31.

⁴³⁷ See also below '207. A Sore leg'.

⁴³⁸ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Swelled legs' in 1→16. Hawes (*Examination*, 73) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁴³⁹ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Swelled legs' in 1→16. Hawes (*Examination*, 73) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁴⁴⁰ Hawes (*Examination*, 59) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁴⁴¹ Hawes (*Examination*, 59) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁴⁴² This addition was likely in response to Hawes's warning against too quickly stanching a chronic discharge (see *Examination*, 59–60).

⁴⁴³ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 8–9. Cf. Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 91.

#2. Or wash in the sea, often and long.⁴⁴⁴ [CR#150, 1→23]

#3. Or mix well an ounce of pomatum, a dram of powdered brimstone, and half an ounce of sal-prunella; and anoint the parts so long as there is need.⁴⁴⁵ [CR#152, 1→23]

5 #4. Or add a pint of juice of houseleek, and half a pint of verjuice, to a pint and half of posset-drink. Drink this in twenty-four hours. It often cures the quinsy and white swellings on the joints.⁴⁴⁶ [1→23] * [Works]

10 #5. Or drink half a pint of celery-whey, morning and evening. This cured in a most desperate case. [9→23]

#6. Or drink for a month a decoction of burdock leaves, morning and evening. Tried. [12→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

15 #7. Or wash the parts with juice of calamint.⁴⁴⁷ [1→16]

#8. Or drink for a month a decoction of elm bark, morning and evening. [CR#151, 1→17]

#9. Or apply nettles bruised in a mortar. [14→16]

20

147. Lethargy [CR, 1→23]

#1. Snuff strong vinegar up the nose. [CR#153, 1→23]

25 #2. Or take half a pint of decoction of watercresses, morning and evening. [1→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#3. Or [snuff up the nose] powder of white hellebore.⁴⁴⁸ [CR#154, 1→16]

30 #4. Or take half a pint of decoction of savory, morning and evening. [1→17]

35

148. Lice (to kill) [CR, 1→23]

#1. Sprinkle Spanish snuff over the head. [1→23]

⁴⁴⁴ See Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 158–59.

⁴⁴⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 3:11.

⁴⁴⁶ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 88. 1→16 read 'It cures also the quinsy and all sorts of white swellings on the joints' (as in Digby).

⁴⁴⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 186.

⁴⁴⁸ Hawes (*Examination*, 60) warned that this remedy could be 'very dangerous'.

#2. Or wash it with a decoction of amaranth. [CR#155, 1→23]⁴⁴⁹

149. *For one seemingly killed with Lightning,
or a damp, or suffocated* [1→23]

#1. Plunge him immediately into cold water. [1→23] 5

#2. Or blow strongly with bellows down his throat. [1→23] This
may recover a person seemingly drowned. [2→23] It is still
better if a strong man blows into his mouth. [14→23]

150. *Lues venerea* [5→23] 10

#1. Take an ounce of quicksilver every morning, and a spoonful of
aqua sulphurata in a glass of water at five in the afternoon.⁴⁵⁰ I
have known a person cured by this when supposed to be at the
point of death, who had been infected by a foul nurse, before
she was a year old. I insert this for the sake of such innocent
sufferers.⁴⁵¹ [5→23] 15

151. *Lunacy* [CR, 1→23] 20

#1. Give a decoction of agrimony four times a day. [1→23]
#2. Or rub the head several times a day with vinegar in which
ground-ivy leaves have been infused.⁴⁵² [5→23]
#3. Or take daily an ounce of distilled vinegar. [20→23] 25
#4. Or boil juice of ground-ivy with sweet oil and white wine,
[down] into an ointment. Shave the head. Anoint it there-
with and chafe it in, warm, every other day, for three weeks.
Bruise also the leaves and bind them on the head, and give
three spoonfuls of the juice warm every morning.⁴⁵³ [CR#157,
1→23] This generally cures melancholy.⁴⁵⁴ [5→23] 30

⁴⁴⁹ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or [wash it] with a decoction of stavesacre (sold by the druggists).' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

⁴⁵⁰ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 36 (though not specifically for *Lues venerea*).

⁴⁵¹ This last sentence is set off with a pointing finger signifying N.B. in 15→23.

⁴⁵² Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 94–95.

⁴⁵³ Kettilyby, *Collection*, 177.

⁴⁵⁴ This last sentence is set off with a pointing finger signifying N.B. in 15→23.

#5. The juice [of ground-ivy] alone, taken twice a day, will cure.
[20→23]

#6. Or electrify. Tried. [9→23]

5 [additional receipts in previous editions]

#7. Or [give a decoction, four times a day,] of pimpernel.⁴⁵⁵ [1→4]

#8. Or [give] juice of ground-ivy, three ounces, daily. [1→4]

10 152. *Raging Madness*^c [1→23]

#1. Apply to the head cloths dipped in cold water. [2→23]

#2. Or set the patient with his head under a great waterfall, as long as his strength will bear.⁴⁵⁶ [1→23]

15 #3. Or pour water on his head out of a teakettle. [5→23]

#4. Or let him eat nothing but apples for a month.⁴⁵⁷ [1→23]

#5. Or [let him eat] nothing but bread and milk. Tried. [9→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

20 #6. Keep on the head a cap filled with snow, for two or three weeks.⁴⁵⁸ [1→4]

#7. Or give juice and decoction of heartsease daily.⁴⁵⁹ [1→4]

25 153. *The bite of a Mad dog* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Plunge into cold water daily, for twenty days, and keep as long under it as possible.⁴⁶⁰ [CR#159, 1→23] This has cured, even after the hydrophobia was begun.^d [2→23]

^cIt is a sure rule that all madmen are cowards, and may be conquered by binding only, without beating. Dr. Mead [*Medical Precepts*, 98]. [5→23] He also observes that blistering the head does more harm than good. Keep the head close shaved, and frequently wash it with vinegar [Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 94]. [20→23]

^dIf this is really a nervous disorder, what wonder if it should be cured by cold bathing? [5→23] Yet Dr. Nugent doubts if this ever cured anyone? [only in *Works*; see Nugent, *Hydrophobia*, 108–10]

⁴⁵⁵ Willis, *London Practice of Physick*, 485.

⁴⁵⁶ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 447–48.

⁴⁵⁷ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 444–45.

⁴⁵⁸ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 444.

⁴⁵⁹ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 446–47.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:198 (Allen recommends purging after immersing in cold water).

- #2. Or mix ashes of trefoil with hog's lard and anoint the part, as soon as possible. Repeat this twice or thrice, at six hours distance. This has cured many, and particularly a dog bit on the nose by a mad dog.⁴⁶¹ [8→23]
- #3. Or mix a pound of salt with a quart of water. Squeeze, bathe, and wash the wound with this for an hour. Then bind some salt upon it for twelve hours.⁴⁶² [14→23] * [Works] 5

N.B. *The author of this receipt was bit six times by mad dogs, and always cured himself by this means.* [14→23] 10

- #4. Or mix powdered liverwort, four drams; black pepper, two drams. Divide this into four parts, and take one in warm milk for four mornings, fasting.⁴⁶³ [5→23] Dr. Mead affirms he never knew this to fail. [9→23] But it has sometimes failed. [15→23] 15
- #5. Or take two or three spoonfuls of the juice of ribwort, morning and evening, as soon as possible after the bite. Repeat this for two or three changes of the moon. It has not been known to fail. [9→23] 20

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #6. Or apply, as soon as possible, juice of fig-tree made into an ointment with hog's grease. [CR#158, 1→4]
- #7. Or apply juice of dragon's blood mixed with vinegar outwardly, and drink of the same morning and evening, five or six days.⁴⁶⁴ [1→16, not *Works*] 25
- #8. Or [apply and drink juice] of liverwort. [2→4]
- #9. Galen says none ever failed of a cure who took two spoonfuls of ashes of crawfish daily, for forty days.⁴⁶⁵ [5→17] 30
- #10. Or, as soon as bitten, moisten a spoonful or two of salt with water; but do not make it quite fluid. Rub some of it into the wound; and repeat this three or four times a day, for ten days; binding likewise part of it on the wound. [12→17, not *Works*]
- #11. Spirit of salt, a little diluted with water, has the same effect, if it be applied to the wound immediately and for several days. [12→16, not *Works*] 35

⁴⁶¹This last sentence is set off with a pointing finger signifying N.B. in 15→23.

⁴⁶²Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 27.

⁴⁶³Mead, *Mechanical Account of Poisons*, 164–66.

⁴⁶⁴Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 210.

⁴⁶⁵Mead, *Mechanical Account of Poisons*, 159–60; he attributes to Galen.

154. *The Measles*^c [1→23]

N.B. *Immediately consult an honest physician.* [17→23]

- 5 #1. Drink only thin water gruel, or milk and water, the more the better; or toast and water. [1→23]
 #2. If the cough be very troublesome, take frequently a spoonful of barley-water, sweetened with oil of sweet almonds newly drawn, mixed with syrup of maidenhair. [5→23]
 10 #3. After the measles take three or four purges, and for some weeks take care of catching cold. Use light diet, and drink barley-water instead of malt drink. [5→23]
 #4. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 82.⁴⁶⁶ [20→23]

15

155. *Menses obstructed* [1→23]

- #1. Be electrified. Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Take half a pint of strong decoction of pennyroyal every night, at going to bed.⁴⁶⁷ [1→23]
 20 #3. Or boil five large heads of hemp in a pint of water, [down] to half. Strain it and drink it, going to bed, two or three nights.⁴⁶⁸ It seldom fails. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #4. Or take from eight to twelve grains of calomel, in a pill, for two or three nights, taking care not to catch cold. It vomits and purges. [2→23] Tried. [9→23]
 25 #5. Or pour twelve ounces of rectified spirits of wine on four ounces of roots of black hellebore, and let it stand in a warm place twenty-four hours. Pour it off, and take from thirty to forty drops, in any liquid, fasting. It is good likewise in the green sickness, in all hypochondriacal cases, and in obstinate madness.⁴⁶⁹ [9→23]
 30 #6. Or burn a little sulphur of antimony on a chafing-dish of coals, and receive the smoke by a funnel. In a few minutes it will take effect. [1→23]
 35

^cThis distemper is always preceded by a violent cough, often fourteen days before the red spots come out. [5→23]

⁴⁶⁶ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XIV.

⁴⁶⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 97 (in footnote).

⁴⁶⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 137–38.

⁴⁶⁹ Banyer, *Pharmacopœia Pauperum*, 96.

N.B. *Let any of these medicines be used at the regular times, as near as can be judged.* [5→23]

#7. See Dr. Tissot.⁴⁷⁰ [14→23]

5

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#8. Or [take] a teaspoonful of columbine seeds, powdered, thrice a day.⁴⁷¹ [1→16, not *Works*]

#9. Or [take] a spoonful of juice or syrup of brooklime, morning and evening.⁴⁷² [1→16, not *Works*]

10

#10. Or [take] half a pint of rosemary decoction. [2→4]

#11. Or [take] three or four spoonfuls of nettle-juice every morning. A dram of the seed, powdered, has the same effect. [14→16]

15

156. *Menses nimii*⁴⁷³ [1→23]

#1. Drink nothing but cold water, with a spoonful of fine flour stirred in it. At the time, drink a glass of the coldest water you can get, and apply a thick cloth dipped in cold water. [1→23]

20

#2. Or put the feet into cold water. [1→23]

#3. Or apply a sponge dipped in red wine and vinegar. [2→23]

#4. Or bleed in the arm. Stop the orifice often with the finger, and then let it bleed again. [2→23]

25

#5. Or boil four or five leaves of the red hollyhock⁴⁷⁴ in a pint of milk, with a small quantity of sugar. Drink this in the morning. If the person can afford it, she may add a teaspoonful of balm of Gilead. [5→23] This does not often fail. [8→23]

30

#6. Or reduce to a fine powder half an ounce of alum, with a quarter of an ounce of dragon's blood.⁴⁷⁵ In a violent case, take a quarter of a dram every half hour. It scarce ever fails to stop the flux before half an ounce is taken. This also cures the whites. [10→23] * [*Works*, 20→23]

35

⁴⁷⁰ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XXV.

⁴⁷¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 97 (in footnote).

⁴⁷² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 97 (in footnote).

⁴⁷³ I.e., excessive flow in menstruation.

⁴⁷⁴ Orig., 'holy oak'; a common variant at the time for hollyhock.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Banyer, *Pharmacopoeia Pauperum*, 69.

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#7. Or drink daily a quarter pint of decoction of cinquefoil.⁴⁷⁶ [1→4]

#8. Or use daily decoction, syrup, or powder of horsetail, nettles, or plantain.⁴⁷⁷ [1→16]

5 #9. Or, after a small rhubarb purge, boil the peel of seven Seville oranges in three pints of spring-water, [down] to a quart. Take ten spoonfuls, sweetened with white sugar, four times a day. [2→17]

10 #10. Or take, about six in the evening, five or six ounces of the juice of nettles, and apply below the navel a poultice of the same juice and wheat-flour. If need be, repeat both at mid-night. [12→16]

15 157. *To resolve coagulated Milk*⁴⁷⁸ [CR, 1→23]

#1. Cover the woman with a tablecloth and hold a pan of hot water just under her breast. Then stroke it three or four minutes. Do this twice a day, till it is cured. [CR#160, 1→23]

20 158. *To increase Milk* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Drink a pint of water [when] going to bed. [1→23]

#2. Or drink largely of pottage made with lentils.⁴⁷⁹ [CR#161, 1→23]⁴⁸⁰

25 159. *To make Milk agree with the stomach* [1→23]

30 #1. If it lie heavy, put a little salt in it; if it curdle, sugar. For bilious persons, mix it with water. [1→23]

160. *A Mortification (to stop)* [20→23]

35 #1. Apply a poultice of flour, honey, and water with a little yeast. [20→23]

⁴⁷⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 59.

⁴⁷⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 147.

⁴⁷⁸ I.e., mastitis.

⁴⁷⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:114.

⁴⁸⁰ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Keep some leaves of burnet between the breasts for three or four days.' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

161. *Nervous disorders* [8→23]

- #1. [Are of two kinds: 1) those which proceed from the nerves being compressed by the swelling of the muscular flesh; or 2) when the nerves themselves are disordered. In the former case, temperance and abstemiousness will generally cure. In the latter⁴⁸¹] when the nerves perform their office too languidly, a *good air* is the first requisite. The patient also should rise early and, as soon as the dew is off the ground, walk. Let his breakfast be mother of thyme tea, gathered in June, using half as much as we do of common tea. [It should be drunk with the finest sugar, and cream may be added if he please. Coffee must be avoided.⁴⁸²] When the nerves are too sensible, let the person breathe a proper air. Let him eat veal, chickens, or mutton. Vegetables should be eat[en] sparingly; the most innocent is the French bean; and the best root, the turnip. Wine should be avoided carefully. So should all sauces. Sometimes he may breakfast upon a quarter of an ounce of the powder of valerian-root infused in hot water, to which he may add cream and sugar. Tea is not proper. When the person finds an uncommon oppression, let him take a large spoonful of the tincture of valerian-root.⁴⁸³ [8→23]

*N.B. The tincture should be made thus: Cut to pieces six ounces of wild valerian-root, gathered in June and fresh dried. Bruise it by a few strokes in a mortar, that the pieces may be split, but it should not be beat into a powder. Put this into a quart of strong white wine. Cork the bottle and let it stand three weeks, shaking it every day; then press it out and filter the tincture through paper.*⁴⁸⁴ [8→23]

N.B. The true, wild valerian has no bad smell. If it has, cats have urinated upon it, which they will do if they can come at it. [15→23]

- #2. But I am firmly persuaded, there is no remedy in nature for nervous disorders of every kind, comparable to the proper and constant use of the electrical machine. [8→23]

⁴⁸¹ This opening section in square brackets appears only in 8→17.

⁴⁸² The two sentences in square brackets appear only in 8→17.

⁴⁸³ This paragraph abridges Hill, *Construction of the Nerves*, 10–51.

⁴⁸⁴ Hill, *Construction of the Nerves*, 52–53.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #3. Take also as much as will lie on a shilling of the powder of mistletoe, twice a day, when the stomach is most empty, fasting two hours after it; then once a day; and afterwards every other, or every third day, till there is no more need of medicines.

N.B. *Let this plant be gathered in May, and the leaves and bark dried carefully in the free air, without sun, till they are brittle. Let them then be reduced to a fine powder, and kept in that form.* Dr. Hill.⁴⁸⁵ [8→17]

- #4. Drink every night a teaspoonful of cream of tartar, boiled in half a pint of milk.⁴⁸⁶ [15→16]

162. Nettle rash^f [15→23]

- #1. Rub the parts strongly with parsley. Internals profit nothing.⁴⁸⁷ [15→23]

163. Old age [12→23]

- #1. Take tar-water, morning and evening.⁴⁸⁸ Tried. [12→23]
 #2. Or [take, morning and evening,] decoction of nettles. Either of these will probably renew strength for some years. [12→23]
 #3. Or be electrified daily. [12→23]
 #4. Or chew cinnamon daily, and swallow your spittle. [20→23]
 But remember, the only radical cure is wrought by death!⁴⁸⁹

164. An old stubborn Pain in the back [1→23]

- #1. Steep root of water fern in water, till the water become[s] thick and clammy. Then rub the parts therewith, morning and evening.⁴⁹⁰ [1→23]

^fA slight fever (which sometimes lasts for weeks or months), attended with itching or smarting, and an eruption just like that as is occasioned by nettles. [15→23] In Georgia, we call it 'the prickly heat'. [17→23]

⁴⁸⁵ Hill, *Construction of the Nerves*, 53–54.

⁴⁸⁶ This receipt appears in a section title 'A Nervous fever' found only in 15→16.

⁴⁸⁷ *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 173–85; receipt on p. 182.

⁴⁸⁸ Berkeley, *Letter to Prior*, 14.

⁴⁸⁹ This sermonic reminder is found only in *Works*.

⁴⁹⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 95–96.

- #2. Or apply a plaster, and take daily balsam of capivi. [20→23]
 #3. Or apply garlic and hog's lard to the feet, as Art. 419.⁴⁹¹ Tried.
 [21→23]

[*additional receipt in previous edition*]

- #4. Or drink largely of tea made of black currant leaves. [*Works*]

165. *The Palsy*[§] [1→23]

- #1. Be electrified daily, for three months, from the places where the nerves spring which are brought to the paralytic part. If the parts beneath the head are affected, the fault is in the spinal marrow. If half the body, half the marrow is touched. [12→23]

N.B. *A palsy may be cured in spring or summer, but rarely in winter.*
 [15→23]

- #2. Or use the cold bath, if you are under fifty,⁴⁹² rubbing and sweating after it. [1→23]
 #3. Or shred white onions and bake them gently, in an earthen pot, till they are soft. Spread a thick plaster of this and apply it to the benumbed part, all over the side if need be.⁴⁹³ [1→23] I[nfallible]. [1→8] Tried. [9→13] I have known this to cure a person of 75 years old. [14→23]
 #4. Or take tar-water, morning and evening.⁴⁹⁴ [1→23]
 #5. Or boil white and red sage, a handful of each, in a quart of white wine. Strain and bottle it. Take a small glass, morning and evening. This helps all nervous disorders. [1→23]
 #6. Or take a teaspoonful of powdered sage, lying down in bed. [14→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #7. Or drink decoction of wood betony, morning and evening.⁴⁹⁵
 [1→4]

[§] A palsy is the loss of motion, or feeling, or both, in any particular part of the body. [5→23]

⁴⁹¹ Orig. '418'; a mistake; referring to §135, receipt #1.

⁴⁹² 1→4 lack the qualification 'if you are under fifty'.

⁴⁹³ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 267.

⁴⁹⁴ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 7, 32.

⁴⁹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 26.

- #8. Or [drink a decoction] of water dock, applying the boiled leaves. [1→16, not *Works*]
 #9. Or apply to the parts boiled sage leaves, hot; and drink decoction of sage, morning and evening.⁴⁹⁶ [1→16]

5

166. *Palsy of the hands* [1→23]

10

- #1. Wash them often in decoction of sage, as hot as you can bear.⁴⁹⁷ [1→23]
 #2. Or boil a handful of elder leaves, and two or three spoonfuls of mustard seed, in a quart of water. Wash often in this, as hot as may be. [1→23]

15

167. *Palsy of the mouth* [1→23]

20

- #1. After purging well, chew mustard seed often. [1→23]
 #2. Or gargle with juice of wood sage.⁴⁹⁸ [1→23]
 [additional receipts in previous editions]
 #3. Or [after purging well, chew] pellitory of Spain.⁴⁹⁹ [1→4]
 #4. Or hold in your mouth half an ounce of spirit of lavender. [1→17]

25

168. *Palsy from working with white lead or verdigris.* [2→23]

- #1. Use warm baths and a milk diet. [2→23]

30

169. *The Palpitation or beating of the heart* [1→23]

35

- #1. Drink a pint of cold water. [1→23]
 #2. Or apply outwardly a rag dipped in vinegar. [5→23]
 #3. Or be electrified. [8→23] Tried. [9→23]
 #4. Or take a decoction of motherwort every night.⁵⁰⁰ [1→23]

⁴⁹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252–53.

⁴⁹⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252.

⁴⁹⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 252.

⁴⁹⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 219.

⁵⁰⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 189.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#5. Or apply outwardly balm leaves, sprinkled with vinegar. [1→4]

170. *The Piles (to prevent)* [1→23]

#1. Wash the parts often with cold water.⁵⁰¹ [1→23]

5

171. *The Piles (to cure)* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Apply warm treacle. [CR#162, 1→23] * [Works]

10

#2. Or [apply] a tobacco leaf, steeped in water twenty-four hours.⁵⁰² [1→23]

#3. Or [apply] a poultice of boiled brooklime.⁵⁰³ It seldom fails. [1→23]

#4. Or [apply] a bruised onion skinned, or roasted in ashes. It perfectly cures the dry piles.⁵⁰⁴ [1→23]

15

#5. Or [apply] varnish. It perfectly cures both the blind and bleeding piles.⁵⁰⁵ [CR#166, 1→23] I[nfallible]. [2→8] Tried. [9→23]

#6. Or fumigate with vinegar wherein red hot flints have been quenched. This softens even scirrhus tumours.⁵⁰⁶ [12→23]

20

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#7. Or [apply] ale-yeast. [2→4]

#8. Or [apply] leeks fried in butter. [5→16, not Works]

#9. Or fumigate with houseleek boiled in white wine.⁵⁰⁷ [12→16, not Works]

25

#10. If they be outward, apply with a feather juniper oil every fourth hour; if inward, syringe with a quarter of a spoonful of it. The pain will cease in less than two hours, and the piles will wither away. [Works⁵⁰⁸]

30

⁵⁰¹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 97.

⁵⁰² Lémery, *New Curiosities*, 21.

⁵⁰³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 101 (in footnote).

⁵⁰⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 209.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. JW's letter to Robert Carr Brackenbury, Sept. 26, 1785, 'The varnish used by the cabinet makers seldom fails to cure the piles in a day or two. I mean the blind piles, so called; but the bleeding ones are not so easily removed.'

⁵⁰⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #207, p. 113.

⁵⁰⁷ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #106, p. 61.

⁵⁰⁸ This receipt was placed at the end of 'The inward Piles' in *Works*; but it clearly was meant to apply to both, so we moved it here.

172. *The inward Piles* [1→23]

#1. Swallow a pill of pitch, fasting. One pill usually cures the bleeding piles. [12→23] * [*Works*]

#2. Or eat a large leek, boiled. [20→23]

5 #3. Or take, twice a day, as much as lies on a shilling of the skin of walnuts, powdered. [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#4. Drink largely of treacle and water. [CR#163, 1→17]

10 #5. Or drink a spoonful of juice of yarrow, or of leeks, three or four mornings. [1→16] Cures inward bleeding piles. [1] I[nfallible]. [2→8] Tried. [9→16]

#6. Or take from one to two drams of flour of brimstone, twice a day, in a cup of water-gruel. [9→17]

15 #7. Or [take, twice a day, in a cup of water-gruel,] as much sulphur vivum as lies on a shilling. It should open the body a little. I[nfallible]. [14→16]

20 173. *Violent bleeding Piles* [12→23]

#1. Lightly boil juice of nettles, with a little sugar. Take two ounces. It seldom needs repeating. [12→23]

25 174. *The Plague (to prevent)* [1→23]

#1. Eat marigold flowers daily, as a salad, with oil and vinegar.⁵⁰⁹ [1→23]

30 #2. Or infuse rue, sage, mint, rosemary, wormwood—of each a handful—in two quarts of the sharpest vinegar, over warm embers, for eight days. Then strain it through a flannel and add half an ounce of camphor, dissolved in three ounces of rectified spirits of wine. With this wash the loins, face, and
35 mouth, and snuff a little up the nose when you go abroad. Smell to a sponge dipped therein when you approach infected persons or places.⁵¹⁰ [1→23]

N.B. *This is the famous Marseilles vinegar.* [20→23]

⁵⁰⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 176.

⁵¹⁰ Kettilby, *Collection*, 182.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #3. Or [eat] a little of the tops of rue with bread and butter, every morning.⁵¹¹ [1→16]

175. *The Plague (to cure)* [1→23]

5

- #1. Cold water alone, drank largely, has cured it.⁵¹² [1→23]
 #2. Or an ounce or two of the juice of marigolds.⁵¹³ [1→23]
 #3. Or, after bleeding fifty or sixty ounces, drink very largely of water sharpened with spirit of vitriol.⁵¹⁴ [1→23]
 #4. Or [drink] a draught of brine as soon as seized. Sweat in bed. Take no other drink for some hours. [5→23] 10
 #5. Or use lemon-juice largely in everything. [5→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #6. Or take a dram of angelica, powdered, every six hours. It is a strong sweat.⁵¹⁵ [1→16] 15

176. *The Pleurisy*^h [CR, 1→23]

20

- #1. Take half a dram of soot. [12→23]
 #2. Or take the core out of an apple, fill it with white frankincense, stop it close with the piece you cut out, and roast it in ashes. Mash and eat it.⁵¹⁶ I[nfallible]. [1→23, not *Works*]
 #3. Or [take] a glass of tar-water, warm, every half hour.⁵¹⁷ 25
 [CR#167, 1→23]
 #4. Or [take a glass] of decoction of nettles; and apply the herb, hot, as a poultice.⁵¹⁸ [1→23] I[nfallible]. [1→5] Tried. [9→14] I never knew it to fail. [15→23] * [*Works*]
 #5. Or [apply] a plaster of flour of brimstone and white of an egg. 30
 [8→23] Tried. [9→23] This seldom fails. [21→23] * [*Works*]

^h A pleurisy is a fever attended with a violent pain in the side, and a pulse remarkably hard. [5→23]

⁵¹¹ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 80.

⁵¹² Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 232.

⁵¹³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 176.

⁵¹⁴ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 79.

⁵¹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 9.

⁵¹⁶ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 97–98.

⁵¹⁷ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 29.

⁵¹⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 204.

#6. In disorders of this kind, Dr. Huxham advises, 'Sip almost continually thin whey, barley-water, or hyssop-tea, sharpened with lemon or vinegar, and water. If the spitting stop suddenly, take a little vomit. Likewise camphorated vinegar, with
 5 syrup of elder or raspberries, is good. To appease the cough, take often, a little at a time, of roasted apples; yea, strawberries, raspberries, or currants.'⁵¹⁹ [14→23]

#7. See Dr. Tissot, page 38.⁵²⁰ [14→23]

10 [additional receipts in previous editions]

#8. Or drink a quart of cold water.⁵²¹ [1→4]

#9. Or take a dram of corn poppies, powdered, in warm water. I[nfallible]. [1→4]

#10. Or [take a dram] of burdock root. [1→4]

15 #11. Or take half a dram of olibanum, in warm water, every four hours.⁵²² [1→4]

#12. Or [take] from a scruple to a dram of powdered olibanum, in the pulp of a roasted apple. [1→4]

20 #13. Apply to the side onions roasted in the embers, mixed with cream.⁵²³ [1→16]

#14. Or [take a glass of decoction of] boiled fennel, or camomile flowers. [14→16, not *Works*]

25 177. To one Poisoned [2→23]

#1. Give one or two grains of distilled verdigris. It vomits in an instant.⁵²⁴ [2→23]

30 #2. Let one poisoned by arsenic dissolve a quarter of an ounce of salt of tartar in a pint of water, and drink every quarter of an hour as much as he can, till he is well. [15→23]

#3. Let one poisoned by opium take thirty drops of elixir of

⁵¹⁹ JW is distilling Huxham, *Essay on Fevers*, 200–213.

⁵²⁰ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. V.

⁵²¹ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 52–53.

⁵²² Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 125–26.

⁵²³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 209.

⁵²⁴ Boyle Godfrey, *A Treasure of Useful Discoveries* (Dublin: for the author, 1746), 159–60. 2→16 prescribed 'one or two drams' as in Godfrey. This is the receipt that prompted 'Antidote's' attack upon *Primitive Physic* in December 1775 and the resulting controversy traced in Appendix D. Hawes rehearsed several entries in this controversy in *Examination*, 64–68. JW's response was to revise as above, starting with the 17th edition.

vitriol every quarter of an hour, till the drowsiness or wildness ceases. [15→23]

#4. Or [take] a spoonful of lemon-juice. [20→23]

#5. Let one poisoned with mercury sublimate dissolve an ounce of salt of tartar in a gallon of water, and drink largely of it. 5
[12→23] This will entirely destroy the force of the poison, if it be used soon. [15→23]

#6. Nothing cures the African poison, but a decoction of the roots of the sensitive plant.⁵²⁵ [12→23] 10

178. *Polypus in the nose* [12→23]

#1. Powder a lump of alum and snuff it up frequently. Then dissolve powdered alum in brandy; dip lint therein, and apply it at going to bed. [12→23] 15

179. *A Prick or cut that festers* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Apply turpentine. [CR#168, 1→23] 20

180. *Ptylalism*ⁱ [15→23]

#1. A very violent and stubborn disorder of this kind was cured by chewing perpetually a little dry bread and swallowing it with the spittle.⁵²⁶ [15→23] 25

181. *An easy Purge* [1→23]

#1. Drink a pint of warmish water, fasting; walking after it. [1→23] 30
#2. Or [take] a soft egg with a teaspoonful of salt. [20→23] 35

ⁱA continual spitting. [15→◆3]

⁵²⁵It is uncertain what JW intended by 'African poison'. There were no common British ailments or herbs of the name. There are a few contemporary uses of this term (mainly in North America) to designate disorders attributed to 'black magic'.

⁵²⁶John Power, 'An Account of an extraordinary Ptyalism, and of its Cure', *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 34–38; here, p. 37.

- #3. Or infuse from half a dram to two drams of damask rose-leaves, dried, in half a pint of warm water for twelve hours, and take it. [1→23]
- 5 #4. Or infuse three drams of senna and a scruple of salt of tartar in half a pint of warm river-water for twelve hours. Then strain and take it in the morning. [1→23]
- 10 #5. Wild ash is a plant of the very same nature with senna, but of greater virtue. Its leaves, taken in the same quantity, purge full as well—and do not gripe, as senna does. It is therefore far preferable to that which is brought from Turkey or Italy. [12→23]

15 *N.B. The wild ash is called in the north of England, 'round-tree', 'quick-en', 'quickbeam', or 'wiggan-tree'. The leaves should be gathered when the tree is in flower. [20→23]*

182. A stronger Purge [1→23]

- 20 #1. Drink half a pint of strong decoction of dock root.⁵²⁷ [1→23]
- #2. Or two drams of the powdered root of monk's rhubarb, with a scruple of ginger.⁵²⁸ [1→23]

25 183. The Quinsyⁱ [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply a large white bread toast, half an inch thick, dipped in brandy, to the crown of the head, till it dries.⁵²⁹ [CR#170, 1→23]
- 30 #2. Or swallow slowly white-rose water mixed with syrup of mulberries. [CR#169, 1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
- #3. Or [swallow slowly] juice or jelly of black currants, or decoction of the leaves or bark.⁵³⁰ [2→23] I[nfallible]. [2→12]

ⁱThe quinsy is a fever attended with difficulty of swallowing, and often breathing. [5→23]

⁵²⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 35.

⁵²⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 79.

⁵²⁹ JW retained this receipt, even though Hawes summarily rejected it (*Examination*, 69).

⁵³⁰ Henry Baker, "The Virtue of Jelly of Black Currants in curing Inflammations of the Throat", *Philosophical Transactions* 41 (1739): 655–60.

- #4. Or draw in, as hot as you can bear (for ten or twelve minutes together), the fumes of red-rose leaves, or camomile flowers boiled in water and vinegar. [14→23]
- #5. Or [draw in the fumes] of a decoction of bruised hemp seed. This speedily cures the sore throat, peripneumony, and inflammation of the uvula. [20→23] 5
- #6. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 41.⁵³¹ [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #7. Or swallow slowly decoction of houseleek (see likewise Art. 453⁵³²). [1→4] 10
- #8. Or take a spoonful of the juice of cinquefoil, every two hours. [1→4]
- #9. Or [take] a glass of decoction of water dock. [1→4]
- #10. Or drink a quart of cold water lying down in bed.⁵³³ [1→16]
- #11. (To prevent.) Wear a black ribbon round the neck, next the skin. [2→4] 15

184. *A Quinsy of the breast*^k [15→23]

- #1. Take eight to twenty drops of laudanum, lying down in bed.⁵³⁴ [15→23] This helps. [21→23] 20
- #2. Or make an issue in the thigh. [20→23] This cures. [21→23]

[*additional receipt in previous edition*]

- #3. Electrifying through the breast is of admirable service. [*Works*] 25

185. *The Rheumatism*^l [CR, 1→23]

- #1. To prevent, wear washed wool under the feet. [20→23]

^k This is known by a sudden unaccountable difficulty of breathing, seizing a person in the night or on any violent motion. [15→23]

^l Rheumatical pains are generally most violent as soon as you are warm in bed. [5→23] But there is a cold rheumatism, which is most painful when the part is cold. Constant rubbing will cure this. [21→23]

⁵³¹ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. VI, 'Diseases of the Throat'.

⁵³² I.e., the directions for preparing the decoction in §146, receipt #4. While this receipt was removed, the parenthetical reference was mistakenly retained in edns. 5–10, now tied to §183, receipt #3, where it made no sense.

⁵³³ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 51.

⁵³⁴ William Heberden, 'Some Account of a Disorder of the Breast', *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 59–67. Hawes (*Examination*, 69–71) drew attention to JW's source. He likely also prodded JW to revise the dosage of 'eight to ten drops' present in editions through the 16th upward (as shown above) to match Heberden's original advice.

#2. To cure, use the cold bath, with rubbing and sweating.⁵³⁵

[1→23]

#3. Or apply warm steams. [20→23]

#4. Or rub in warm treacle, and apply to the part a brown paper
5 smeared therewith. [CR#178, 1→23] Change it in twelve
hours. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]

#5. Or drink half a pint of tar-water, morning and evening.⁵³⁶
[1→23]

#6. Or steep six or seven cloves of garlic in half a pint of white
10 wine. Drink it lying down. It sweats, and frequently cures at
once. [2→23]

#7. Or mix flour of brimstone with honey, equal quantities. Take
three teaspoonfuls at night, two in the morning; and one after-
wards, morning and evening, till cured. This succeeds oftener
15 than any remedy I have found. [2→23] * [Works]

#8. Or live on new milk-whey and white bread for fourteen days.
This has cured a desperate case.⁵³⁷ [CR#173, 1→23]

#9. Or pound the green stalks of English rhubarb, in May or June,
20 with an equal quantity of lump sugar. Take the quantity of a
nutmeg of this, three or four times a day. [9→23] This seldom
fails. [14→23] * [Works]

#10. In a stubborn rheumatism let your diet be barley-gruel,
with currants, roasted apples, fresh whey, and light pudding.
25 [20→23]

#11. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 61.⁵³⁸ [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#12. Or chew rhubarb two hours a day and swallow your spittle.⁵³⁹
30 [CR#177, 1→4]

#13. Or take a glass of mustard water, morning and evening.
[1→4]

#14. Or [take a glass] of water in which two spoonfuls of scraped
horse-radish have been steeped for twenty-four hours. [1→4]

35 #15. Or drink half a pint of decoction of young leaves of holly,
sweetened with treacle, thrice a day, lying in bed. Drink
plenty of toast and water with it, and sweat. [1→4]

⁵³⁵ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 475.

⁵³⁶ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 5, 54.

⁵³⁷ Sydenham, *Compleat Method*, 22.

⁵³⁸ I.e., *Advices*, Chap. XI.

⁵³⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:364–65.

- #16. Or drink very largely of warm water in bed.⁵⁴⁰ [1→16, not Works]
- #17. Or take, morning and evening, as much lignum guaiacum, powdered, as lies on a shilling.⁵⁴¹ [1→16]
- #18. Or [take, morning and evening,] as much flour of sulphur [as lies on a shilling], washing it down with decoction of lignum guaiacum.⁵⁴² [1→16] 5
- #19. Drink decoction of herb Robert, and apply it as a poultice.⁵⁴³ [1→16]
- #20. Or [drink largely of decoction] of lavender cotton, or elder-top tea. [15→17] 10
- #21. Or take two cloves of garlic and one dram of gum ammoniac; beat them together in a marble mortar, with a little water, so as to make three boluses. Take one of them, night and morning, and drink sassafras tea freely. [20] 15

186. To restore the strength after a Rheumatism [2→23]

- #1. Make a strong broth of cow-heels and wash the parts with it, warm, twice a day. It has restored one who was quite a cripple, having no strength left either in his leg, thigh, or loins. [2→23] 20
- #2. Or mix gum guaiacum (in powder) with honey or treacle; take two or three teaspoonfuls (or as much as you can bear without purging), twice or thrice a day. This is the best medicine I have met with for chronic rheumatism. [20→23] 25
- #3. Or dissolve one ounce of gum guaiacum in three ounces of spirits of wine. Take sixty or eighty drops on loaf-sugar, two or three times a day. This is Dr. Hill's 'Essence of Bardana'.⁵⁴⁴ [20→23] 30
- #4. Or drop thirty drops of volatile tincture of guaiacum on a lump of sugar, and take this in a glass of water every four hours. It usually cures in a day. Tried. [20→23] * [20→23]

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 61; JW changes to 'warm water'.

⁵⁴¹ Hawes (*Experience*, 71) warned that many lives had been lost by the use of guaiacum at the onset of a rheumatic attack.

⁵⁴² Hawes's warning against guaiacum (*Experience*, 71) is likely at work here as well.

⁵⁴³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 140. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Pain in the joints'. Hawes (*Examination*, 58) ridiculed prescribing both internal and external use of the herb at the same time, calling it 'egregious quackery'.

⁵⁴⁴ This is a puzzling claim. Sir John Hill (1714–75) patented an 'Elixir of Bardana', also known as 'Essence of Water Dock'—indicating its actual main ingredient.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #5. Or drink every morning half a pint of buckbane [i.e., buckbean] tea, with a teaspoonful of spirits of hartshorn.⁵⁴⁵ [14→17]

5 187. *Rickets (to prevent or cure)* [1→23]

- #1. Wash the child every morning in cold water.⁵⁴⁶ [1→23]

10 188. *Ringworms*^m [1→23]

- #1. Apply rotten apples. [12→23]
 #2. Or [apply] pounded garlic. [15→23]
 #3. Or rub them with the juice of houseleek. [1→23]
 #4. Or wash them with Hungary water, camphorated. [5→23]
 15 #5. Or [wash them] twice a day with oil of sweet almonds and oil of tartar mixed.⁵⁴⁷ [20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- 20 #6. Or wash them with decoction of soapwort.⁵⁴⁸ [1→13]
 #7. Or rub them with oil of paper. [1→16, not *Works*]

189. *Running at the nose* [5→23]

- 25 #1. Snuff up a teaspoonful of spirits of hartshorn. [5→23]

190. *A Rupture* [1→23]

- 30 #1. Foment with hot aqua vitae for two hours.⁵⁴⁹ [12→23]
 #2. Or take agrimony, spleenwort, Solomon's seal, strawberry roots; a handful of each. Pick and wash them well. Stamp and boil them two hours, in two quarts of white wine, in a vessel close

^mVulgarly called tetters. [15→23]

⁵⁴⁵ Appears in Mary Morris, *Every One Their own Physician*; included with *The House-Keeper's Pocket-Book*, 7th edn. (London: Ware, 1760), 25.

⁵⁴⁶ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 87–88.

⁵⁴⁷ JW added this receipt by hand in a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24), but it did not make it into a print edition until the 20th.

⁵⁴⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 49.

⁵⁴⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #282, pp. 240–41.

stopped. Strain and drink a large glass of this every morning; and, an hour after, drink another. It commonly cures in a fortnight.⁵⁵⁰ [1→23] A good truss meantime is of great use. [5→23]

- #3. 'I place', says Dr. Rivière, 'a broad plank sloping from the side of the bed to the ground. On this I lay the patient upon pillows, with his head downward. Then I foment the part for half an hour with cloths, four times doubled, steeped in cold water, gently touching it with my fingers. Afterwards I bind on it, many times doubled, a cloth shaped like a triangle, wet in cold water. The gut is generally restored to its place in a few hours. If not, I repeat the operation twice a day, and in two or three days the disease is cured.'⁵⁵¹ [12→23] 5 10

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #4. Take decoction of plantain leaves, morning and evening.⁵⁵² [1→16] 15
- #5. Or dry a spoonful of plantain seed by the fire, boil it in milk, and take half a pint every morning.⁵⁵³ [8→16]

191. *A Rupture in children* [1→23] 20

- #1. Boil a spoonful of eggshells, dried in an oven and powdered, in a pint of milk, [down] to three quarters of a pint. Feed the child constantly with bread boiled in this milk. [1→23] 25

192. *A windy Rupture* [1→23]

- #1. Warm cow-dung well. Spread it thick on leather, strewing some cummin seeds on it, and apply it hot. When cold, put on a new one. It commonly cures a child (keeping his bed) in two days.⁵⁵⁴ [1→23] 30

193. *A Scald head* [CR, 1→23] 35

- #1. Anoint it with Barbados tar.⁵⁵⁵ [CR#183, 1→23]

⁵⁵⁰ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 106–7.

⁵⁵¹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation # 430, p. 297.

⁵⁵² This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A fresh Rupture'.

⁵⁵³ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A fresh Rupture'.

⁵⁵⁴ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 107.

⁵⁵⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:3 (*pisseloeum Indicum*).

#2. Or apply daily white-wine vinegar. Tried. [12→23]

#3. If wood soot is mixed with fresh butter, into an ointment, and the head anointed with it every day, it will generally cure it in the beginning. But when it is become very bad, a plaster
5 should be made of gall, dried to the consistency of a salve, and spread upon linen. This should be applied all over the parts affected, and continued on four or five days. Then it should be taken off, and the head dressed with soot-ointment as before.
[20→23]

10 #4. After the cure, give two or three gentle purges. [20→23]

#5. If a proper regard was paid to cleanliness in the head and apparel of children, the scald head would seldom be seen.
[20→23]

15 [additional receipt in previous editions]

#6. Or [anoint] with yarrow ointment made with goose-grease.
[12→16]

20 194. *The Sciatica*ⁿ [CR, 1→23]

#1. Is certainly cured by a purge taken in a few hours after it begins. [5→23]

#2. Or use cold bathing and sweat, together with the flesh-brush
25 twice a day. [5→23]

#3. Or boil nettles till soft. Foment with the liquor, then apply the herbs as a poultice.⁵⁵⁶ [1→23] I have known this cure a sciatica of forty-five years standing. [5→23] * [Works]

#4. Or apply nettles bruised in a mortar. [15→23]

30 #5. Or [apply] a mud made of powdered pit-coal and warm water. This frequently cures sores, weakness of the limbs,⁵⁵⁷ most disorders of the legs, and swellings and stiffness of the joints. It cured a swelling of the elbow joint, though accompanied with a fistula, arising from a caries of the bone. [9→23] *
35 [Works]

ⁿThe sciatica is a violent pain in the hip, chiefly in the joint of the thigh bone. [5→3]

⁵⁵⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 191 (in footnote).

⁵⁵⁷ 9→16 read 'This also cures palsies, weakness ...'. JW was likely responding to Hawse's snide comment on 'so remarkable a cure for so many incurable diseases' (*Examination*, 72).

#6. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 69⁵⁵⁸ [20→23].

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#7. Or apply quicklime mixed with soft soap. [CR#184, 1→4]

#8. Or apply leaves of ranunculus, bruised, for six hours.⁵⁵⁹ 5
[CR#185, 1→16]

#9. Or boil calamint (otherwise called peppermint⁵⁶⁰). Apply this as a poultice, shifting it daily. Meantime drink a decoction of it, morning and evening.⁵⁶¹ [1→16, not *Works*]

#10. 'Many have been cured in four or five days only, by drinking half a pint of cold water daily, in the morning and at four in the afternoon.'⁵⁶² [1→17] 10

#11. Or [apply] flannels, dipped in stale lye boiled with salt, as hot as you can bear, for an hour. [1→17]

#12. Or apply pounded roots of burdock and of elecampane, cold. This usually cures, if kept on twenty-four hours; but it gives pain. [2→17] 15

195. *Inflammations or swellings of the Scrotum* [1→23] 20

#1. Wash it thrice a day with strong decoction of agrimony. [1→23]

25

196.⁵⁶³ *A Scorbutic atrophy*^o [1→23]

#1. Use cold bathing. Which also cures all scorbutic pains.⁵⁶⁴ [1→23] 30

^o Such a degree of scurvy as causes the flesh to waste away like a consumption. [5→23]

⁵⁵⁸ I.e., *Advices*, §§123–26.

⁵⁵⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:554.

⁵⁶⁰ True peppermint is *Mentha piperita*, developed in the late seventeenth century as a natural hybrid between spearmint, *Mentha spicata*, and water mint, *Mentha aquatica*.

⁵⁶¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 186.

⁵⁶² Cf. Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 67.

⁵⁶³ JW apparently placed this and the next two items slightly out of alphabetic order because 'scorbutic' is the adjectival form of 'scurvy'.

⁵⁶⁴ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 195–96, 477–78. 'Scorbutic pains' is set out as a separate section in 1→17, but simply refers back to this receipt.

197. *Scorbutic gums* [20→23]

- #1. Wash them daily with a decoction of the Peruvian bark, adding a little tincture of roses, with a solution of myrrh. [20→23]

198. *Scorbutic sores* [1→23]

- #1. A diet-drink: Put half a pound of fresh-shaved *lignum guaiacum* (called by the block-makers, '*lignum vitae*') and half an ounce of senna into an earthen pot that holds six quarts. Add five quarts of soft water, and lute the pot close. Set this in a kettle of cold water and put it over a fire, till it has boiled three hours. Let it stand in the kettle till cold. When it has stood one night, drink daily half a pint, new-milk warm, [in the morning] fasting, and at four in the afternoon. Wash with a little of it. In three months all the sores will be dried up. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

- #2. Apply boiled brooklime as a poultice.⁵⁶⁵ [1→4]

199. *The Scurvy*^p [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Live on turnips for a month. [1→23]
 #2. Or take tar-water morning and evening, for three months.⁵⁶⁶ [1→23]
 #3. Or [take] three spoonfuls of nettle-juice every morning. [2→23] Tried. [14→23]
 #4. Or [take] decoction of burdock: Boil three ounces of the dried root in two quarts of water, [down] to three pints. Take half a pint daily, unless it purges too much; if so, take less. A decoction of the leaves (boiling one leaf four minutes in a quart of water) has the same effect. [14→23] * [20→23]
 #5. Or take a cupful of the juice of goosegrass, in the morning, fasting, for a month. It is frequently called 'hairif' or 'clivers'. Last year I knew many persons cured by it. [20→23]

^pThe scurvy is known by heaviness of body, weariness, rottenness of gums, and yellow, lead, or violet-coloured spots on the legs [5→23] or arms. [20→23] N.B. A scurvy attended with costiveness (which is most common) is termed 'hot scurvy'; one attended with looseness, a 'cold scurvy'. [15→23]

⁵⁶⁵This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A scorbutic Ulcer'.

⁵⁶⁶Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 45.

- #6. Or pound into pulp Seville oranges sliced, rind and all, and powder sugar, equal quantities. Take a teaspoonful three or four times a day. [5→23] I[nfallible]. [5→8] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
- #7. Or squeeze the juice of half a Seville orange into a pint of milk, over the fire. Sweeten the whey with loaf-sugar, and drink it every morning, new milk-warm. To make any whey, milk should be skimmed after it is boiled. [12→23] 5
- #8. Or pour three quarts of boiling water on a quart of ground malt. Stir them well, and let the mixture stand, covered close, for four hours. Strain it off, and use this as common drink. In hot weather, brew this fresh every day.⁵⁶⁷ It will hardly fail. [14→23] * [Works] 10
- #9. Or take, morning and evening, a spoonful or two of lemon juice and sugar. 'It is a precious remedy, and well tried.' Dr. Macbride.⁵⁶⁸ [14→23] * [Works, 20→23] 15
- #10. Water and garden cresses, mustard, and juice of scurvy-grass help in a cold scurvy. [5→23]
- #11. When there is a continual salt-taste in the mouth, take a pint of lime-water, morning and evening. [5→23] 20
- [additional receipts in previous editions]
- #12. Or [live] on an entire milk diet for six months.⁵⁶⁹ [CR#187, 1→16]
- #13. Or [take] decoction of fumitory.⁵⁷⁰ [1→4] 25
- #14. Or [take] infusion of horse-radish.⁵⁷¹ [1→16, not Works]
- #15. Or infuse dried dock roots in your common drink.⁵⁷² [1→16, not Works]
- #16. Or use infusion or powder of wall rue, morning and evening.⁵⁷³ [1→16, not Works] 30
- #17. Or [take] decoction of great water dock. [1→17] Perhaps there is not in nature a more effectual plant for the scurvy than water dock. Especially when it appears in cutaneous eruptions. But sometimes it requires patience. The best way of making the decoction is this: Put half a pound of the bark 35

⁵⁶⁷ MacBride, *Experimental Essays*, 199–200.

⁵⁶⁸ MacBride, *Experimental Essays*, 207.

⁵⁶⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:365.

⁵⁷⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 258 (in footnote).

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 258 (in footnote).

⁵⁷² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 258 (in footnote).

⁵⁷³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 258 (in footnote).

- from the root in an earthen vessel. Pour on it six pints of rainwater and boil it gently, till a quart is wasted. Then keep it in a cool place for use. You may drink half a pint, warm, two, three, or four times a day. It cures also relaxation or wind at the stomach, and all disorders proceeding therefrom. It cures all diseases of the nerves—as twitchings, contractions, tremblings, convulsions, palsies, febrile heats and colds, headaches, vertigos, vapours, melancholy. [12→17, not *Works*]
- 5 #18. See Art. 419.⁵⁷⁴ [5→13]
 #19. Or boil scurvy-grass and sorrel in broth, and feed upon it daily.⁵⁷⁵ [9→16]
 #20. Or use as common drink, water made very sweet with treacle, honey, or sugar. [14→16, not *Works*]
 15 #21. Or take (from the small branches in spring, from the branching roots in autumn) four ounces of the fresh inner elm bark. Boil them in two quarts of water, [down] to three pints, and take half a pint morning and evening. In a month or two this cures likewise almost any leprosy or surfeit.⁵⁷⁶ As does decoction of burdock. [15→17]
 20

200. *A broken Shin*⁵⁷⁷ [5→23]

- 25 #1. Bind a dry oak leaf upon it. [5→23]
 #2. Or put on a bit of white paper moistened with spittle. It will stay on till the place is well. Tried. This cures a cut also. [20→23]

30

201. *Shingles*^a [5→23]

- #1. Drink seawater every morning for a week; toward the close, bathe also. [5→23, not *Works*]
 #2. Or apply pounded garlic. [15→23]

^aA kind of ringworm which encircles the body, like a belt, of an hand's breadth. [5→23]

⁵⁷⁴I.e., §142, receipt #14.

⁵⁷⁵Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 269.

⁵⁷⁶Daniel Lysons, 'Letter on Elm Bark', *Medical Transactions* 2 (1772): 203–25; here, p. 213.

⁵⁷⁷I.e., broken skin on the shin; not a broken shin bone (or tibia).

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

#3. See Art. 115.⁵⁷⁸ [9→10]

202. *Sickishness in the morning* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Eat nothing after six in the evening. [CR#188, 1→23] 5
 #2. Or drink half a pint of water impregnated with fixed air.
 [20→23]

203. *Sinews shrunk* [9→23] 10

- #1. Rub it every morning with fasting spittle. Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or beat the yolk of a new-laid egg, mix it with a spoonful of
 water, and rub the part with it, before the fire, three or four
 times a day. [14→23] 15

204. *Skin rubbed off* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply pounded allheal. It seldom needs repeating.⁵⁷⁹
 [CR#189, 1→23] 20
 #2. Or a bit of white paper with spittle. [20→23]

205. *Smallpox* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Drink largely of toast and water.⁵⁸⁰ [1→23] 25
 #2. Or let your whole food be milk and water mixed with a little
 white bread. [8→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]
 #3. Or [let your whole food be] milk and apples.⁵⁸¹ [1→23]
 #4. Take care to have a free, pure, and cool air. Therefore open the
 casement every day; only do not let it chill the patient. [5→23] 30
 #5. If they strike in, and convulsions follow, drink a pint of cold
 water immediately. This instantly stops the convulsions, and
 drives out the pock. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] * [Works]

‘There may be pustules a second time, coming out and ripening like
 the smallpox, but it is barely a cutaneous disorder. 35

⁵⁷⁸ I.e., §28, receipt #7.

⁵⁷⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:16.

⁵⁸⁰ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 34–35.

⁵⁸¹ Sydenham, *Works*, 103.

'In violent cases, bleed in the foot. Bathe the legs in warm water twice or thrice a day, before and at the eruption; and apply boiled turnips to the feet. Never keep the head too hot.

5 'In very low depressed cases, wine may be given. And if the pustules lie buried in the skin, a gentle vomit. In many cases, a gentle purge of manna, cream of tartar, or rhubarb.

'In the crude ichorose smallpox, a dish of coffee now and then with a little thick milk in it, has often quieted the vexatious cough.

10 'After the incrustation is formed, change the sick; but let it be with very dry, warm linen.'

— Dr. Huxham.⁵⁸² [14→23]

15 206. *A long running Sore in the back* [12→23]

#1. Was entirely cured by eating betony in everything. [12→23]

#2. Or take every morning two or three spoonfuls of nettle juice; and apply nettles, bruised in a mortar, to the part. This cures
20 any old sore or ulcer. I[nfallible]. [14→23]

 207. *A Sore [on the] leg* [20→23]

25 #1. Bind a diachylon plaster, an inch broad, round the leg, just above the sore; and foment it, morning and evening, with hot water. [20→23]

#2. Any sore is healed by a plaster of mutton-suet, even though it fester or breed proud flesh. [20→23]

30

 208. *A Sore mouth* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Apply the white of an egg, beat up with loaf-sugar. [CR#192, 1→23]

35 #2. Or gargle with juice of cinquefoil.⁵⁸³ [1→23]

#3. Or boil together a pound of treacle, three yolks of eggs, an ounce of bole armoniac, and a nutmeg [size] of alum, a quarter of an hour. Apply this to the sore part, or to an aching tooth. Tried. [9→23]

⁵⁸² Excerpts from Huxham, *Essay on Fevers*, 129–30, 136, 142–43, 147–48, 161–62.

⁵⁸³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 58.

209. *A Sore throat* [1→23]

- #1. Take a pint of cold water, lying down in bed.⁵⁸⁴ [1→23] Tried.
[9→23]
- #2. Or apply a chin-stay⁵⁸⁵ of roasted figs. [1→23]
- #3. Or [apply] a flannel sprinkled with spirits of hartshorn to the
throat, rubbing Hungary water on the top of the head. [5→23]
Tried. [9→23] 5
- #4. Or snuff a little honey up the nose. [1→23]
- #5. An old sore throat was cured by living wholly on apples and
apple water. [1→23] 10
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*⁵⁸⁶]
- #6. Or swallow slowly juice of cinquefoil.⁵⁸⁷ [1→4]
- #7. Or swallow gently rose water and syrup of mulberries. [1→10]
Tried. [9→10] 15
- #8. Or apply boiled nettles. [*Works*]

210. *An inflamed Sore throat* [20→23]

- #1. Lay nitre and loaf-sugar mixed on the tongue. [20→23] 20

211. *A putrid Sore throat* [20→23]

- #1. Lay on the tongue a lump of sugar dipped in brandy. Tried.
[20→23] 25

212. *A Sprain* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Hold the part in very cold water, for two hours. [1→23] Tried.
[9→23] 30
- #2. Or apply cloths dipped therein, four times doubled, for two
hours, changing them as they grow warm. [1→23]
- #3. Or bathe it in good crab[-apple] verjuice. [1→23] 35

⁵⁸⁴ Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 51.

⁵⁸⁵ A band for fastening a hat or cap under the chin; or, a support for the chin.

⁵⁸⁶ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or [take a pint of] jelly of black currants.' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

⁵⁸⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 59.

- #4. Or boil bran in wine vinegar, [down] to a poultice. Apply this warm, and renew it once in twelve hours.⁵⁸⁸ [CR#194, 1→23]
- #5. Or mix a little turpentine with flour and the yolk of an egg, and apply it as plaster. [1→23] This cures in a desperate case. [8→23]
- #6. Weakness remaining after a sprain is cured by fomenting the part daily in beef-brine. [8→23]
- #7. Suppose the ankle sprained. 1. Foment it with warm vinegar, four or five minutes every four hours. 2. Stand, if you can, three or four minutes at a time on both your feet, and frequently move the sprained foot. Sometimes also, while sitting with your foot on a low stool, move it to and fro. 3. Let it be gently rubbed, with a warm hand, at least thrice a day. 4. Two hours after every application of the vinegar, let it be just wetted with spirits of wine and then gently rubbed.⁵⁸⁹ [14→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #8. Or steep⁵⁹⁰ it with one spoonful of brandy, two of vinegar, and four of water. [1→16]
- #9. Or boil eight ounces of Castile soap, and as much bay-salt, in four quarts of water. Put the part sprained into this for half an hour, or foment with it. [2→17]

213. *A venomous Sting* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Apply the juice of honeysuckle leaves. [15→23]
- #2. Or [apply] a poultice of bruised plantain and honey. [CR#197, 1→23]
- #3. Or take inwardly one dram of black currant leaves, powdered. It is an excellent counter-poison. [1→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

- #4. Apply a little Venice treacle. [1→14]

214. *The Sting of a bee* [1→23]

- #1. Apply honey. [1→23]

⁵⁸⁸Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:43.

⁵⁸⁹Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 30–31.

⁵⁹⁰Orig., 'stoop'.

215. *Sting of a nettle* [1→23]

- #1. Rub the part with juice of nettles.⁵⁹¹ [1→23]

216. *Sting of a wasp* [1→23]

- #1. Rub the part with bruised leaves of houseleek. [1→23] 5
 #2. Or [rub the part with bruised leaves] of watercresses. [1→23]
 #3. Or [rub the part with bruised leaves] of rue. [1→23]
 #4. Or apply treacle. [2→23]
 #5. Or [apply] sweet oil. [20→23]
 #6. Or [apply] bruised onions. [12→23] 10
 #7. Or [apply] garlic. [15→23]

217. *Sting of a bee or wasp in the eye* [1→23]

- #1. Apply carduus, bruised, with the white of an egg. Renew it if it grows dry. [1→23] 15

218. *Sting in the gullet* [20→23]

- #1. Beat well together with a spoon some honey and sweet oil, with a little vinegar. Swallow a spoonful every minute till ease is procured. [20→23] 20

25

219. *A Stitch in the side* [1→23]

- #1. Apply treacle spread on a hot toast. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

30

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]⁵⁹²

- #2. Or boil two or three sprigs of pennyroyal in a pint of milk. Drink the milk and apply a poultice of the herbs hot. [1→13]
 #3. Drink decoction of nettles, and apply the herbs hot. [1→16] 35
 Tried. [9→16]
 #4. Or take a teaspoonful of Irish slate, finely powdered. [2→13]

⁵⁹¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 203.

⁵⁹² These receipts appeared in a section titled 'Frequent or violent Stitches' in 1→16.

220. *Accidental sickishness or pain in the Stomach* [1→23]

- #1. Vomit with a quart or more of warm water. Do this twice or thrice, omitting a day between. [1→23]

221. *Pain in the Stomach from bad digestion* [1→23]

- #1. Take fasting, or in the fit, half a pint of camomile tea. Do this five or six mornings. [1→23]
 #2. Or drink the juice of half a large lemon or sweet orange, immediately after dinner, every day. Dr. Mead. [2→23]
 #3. Or [drink] from ten to twenty⁵⁹³ drops of elixir of vitriol in sage tea, twice or thrice a day. [2→23]
 #4. Or, in the fit, [drink] a glass of vinegar. [1→23]
 #5. Or take two or three teaspoonfuls of stomach-tincture, in a glass of water, thrice a day.

N.B. *The tincture is made thus: Gentian-root sliced, one ounce; orange peel dried, half an ounce; cochineal, fifteen grains; of proof-brandy, one pint. In three or four days it is fit for use. This is useful in all disorders that arise from a relaxed stomach.*⁵⁹⁴ [20→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]⁵⁹⁵

- #6. About eleven in the morning, drink a glass of water in which a leaf of carduus has been infused twelve hours. [*Works*]

222. *Choleric hot pains in the Stomach* [1→23]

- #1. Take half a pint of decoction of ground-ivy, with a teaspoonful of the powder of it, five or six mornings. I[nfallible]. [1→23]

223. *Coldness of the Stomach* [1→23]

- #1. Take a spoonful of syrup of the juice of carduus benedictus, fasting, for three or four mornings. I[nfallible]. [1→23]
 #2. Or chew a leaf of carduus every morning and swallow the spittle. [14→23] Tried. [17→23]

⁵⁹³ 2→20 have 'twenty to forty drops', instead of 'ten to twenty drops'.

⁵⁹⁴ A similar receipt appeared in Penelope Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Valuable Family Jewel* [London: s.n., c. 1751], 88.

⁵⁹⁵ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A weak Stomach' found only in *Works*.

224. *Pain in the Stomach, with coldness and wind* [1→23]

- #1. Swallow five or six corns of pepper, for six or seven mornings.
[1→23] Tried. [9→23]

225. *Stone (to prevent)* [1→23]

5

- #1. Eat a thin crust of dry bread every morning. [1→23] Tried.
[9→23] * [20→23]
- #2. Or drink a pint of warm water daily, just before dinner. After
discharging one stone, this will prevent the generating of
another.⁵⁹⁶ [1→23] 10
- #3. Stoop down and raise yourself up again. If you feel pain, as
if cut through the middle, the pain is not from the stone but
rheumatism. [5→23]
- #4. Beware of costiveness. Use no violent diuretics. Mead is the
proper drink. [5→23] 15
- #5. Or slice a large onion, pour half a pint of warm water upon it.
After it has stood twelve hours, drink the water. Do this every
morning till you are well. [CR#205, 1→23⁵⁹⁷] 20

226. *In a raging fit [caused by the Stone]* [1→23]

- #1. Beat onions into a pulp and apply them as a poultice, to the
back or to the groin. It gives speedy ease in the most racking
pain.⁵⁹⁸ [1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [20→23] 25

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #2. Or give a clyster with oil of turpentine. [1→12]
- #3. Or apply heated parsley. [10→20] 30

227. *Stone (to ease or cure)* [1→23]

- #1. Boil half a pound of parsnips in a quart of water. Drink a glass
of this morning and evening, and use no other drink all the
day. It usually cures in six weeks.⁵⁹⁹ [1→23] 35

⁵⁹⁶ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 206.

⁵⁹⁷ In 1→4 the receipt is placed in a section titled 'In the Fit.'

⁵⁹⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 209.

⁵⁹⁹ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 91.

- #2. 'Or take, morning and evening, a teaspoonful of onions calcined in a fire-shovel into white ashes, in white wine. An ounce will often dissolve the stone.⁶⁰⁰ [1→23⁶⁰¹]
- 5 #3. Or take a teaspoonful of violet seed, powdered, morning and evening. It both wastes the stone and brings it away.⁶⁰² [1→23⁶⁰³]
- #4. Or drink largely of water impregnated with fixed air. [20→23] Those who have not a convenient apparatus [for fixed air], may substitute the following method. Dissolve fifteen grains
10 of salt of tartar in six spoonfuls of water, to which add as much water, acidulated with oil of vitriol, as will neutralize the salt. They are to be gradually mixed with each other, so as to prevent the effervescence or dissipation of the fixed air as much as possible. [20→23]
- 15 [additional receipts in previous editions⁶⁰⁴]
- #5. Or dry and powder haws fine. Take a spoonful of this powder in a glass of white wine every morning.⁶⁰⁵ [1→4]
- 20 #6. Or make tea of peach leaves dried in the sun, and drink two or three dishes every morning.⁶⁰⁶ [1→4]
- #7. Take decoction of agrimony morning and evening. [1→17] Tried. [14→17]
- #8. Or [take decoction, morning and evening,] of camomile. [1→17]
- 25 #9. Or take daily four pints of lime-water, made by pouring four quarts of water on a pound of fresh calcined^r oyster-shells and cockle-shells.⁶⁰⁷ [5→17]
- #10. Or burn the dried shells of kidney beans to powder. Put two teaspoonfuls of this into a half pint teapot. Pour boiling water on it at night. In the morning pour it off clear, warm it

^rI.e. heated red hot, and afterwards powdered. [15→17]

⁶⁰⁰ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 93.

⁶⁰¹ This receipt was categorized under 'The Stone (to dissolve)' in 1→4.

⁶⁰² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 298.

⁶⁰³ This receipt was categorized under 'The Stone (to dissolve)' in 1→4.

⁶⁰⁴ In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW added by hand another receipt: 'Or [drink half a pint] of lemonade.' This receipt did not appear in any print edition.

⁶⁰⁵ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 90–91.

⁶⁰⁶ Dover, *Ancient Physician's Legacy*, 42 (for gravel). This receipt was categorized under 'The Stone (to dissolve)' in 1→4.

⁶⁰⁷ 'Cockle' is the English name of bivalve molluscs of the genus *Cardium*.

again, and drink it, sweetened with honey. Do this daily, every other fortnight, till cured. [CR#204, 1→16,⁶⁰⁸ not *Works*]

228. *Stone in the kidneys* [1→23]

- #1. Use the cold bath.⁶⁰⁹ [1→23] 5
 #2. Or drink half a pint of water every morning.⁶¹⁰ [1→23]
 #3. Or boil an ounce of common thistle-root and four drams of liquorice in a pint of water. Drink half of it every morning. [12→23] 10
 [additional receipt in previous editions]
 #4. Or [drink] decoction of speedwell largely.⁶¹¹ [1→16]

229. *Stoppage in the kidneys* [1→23]

- #1. Take decoction, or juice, or syrup of ground-ivy, morning and evening.⁶¹² [1→23] 15
 #2. Or [take, morning and evening] half a pint of tar-water.⁶¹³ [1→23] 20
 #3. Or [take] twelve grains of salt of amber in a little water.⁶¹⁴ [CR#146, 1→23]
 [additional receipts in previous editions]
 #4. Or [take a spoonful] of juice of radishes.⁶¹⁵ [1→17] 25
 #5. Or [take a spoonful] of pellitory of the wall.⁶¹⁶ [1→16]

230. *The Strangury* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Sit over the steam of warm water. [20→23] 30

⁶⁰⁸ This receipt was categorized under 'The Stone (to dissolve)' in 1→4.

⁶⁰⁹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 92, 115.

⁶¹⁰ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 205–6.

⁶¹¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 275.

⁶¹² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 192 (in footnote).

⁶¹³ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 29–32.

⁶¹⁴ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:113. This receipt appeared in a duplicate section titled 'Stoppage in the Kidneys' that appeared immediately after 'King's evil' in 1→10.

⁶¹⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 192 (in footnote).

⁶¹⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 192 (in footnote).

- #2. Or drink largely of decoction of turnips, sweetened with clarified honey.⁶¹⁷ [1→23]
- #3. Or [drink largely] of warm lemonade. [2→23] I[nfallible]. [5→8] Tried. [9→23] * [*Works*, 20→23]
- 5 #4. Or dissolve half an ounce of saltpetre in a quart of water; drink a glass of it every hour. [20→23]
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*]
- 10 #5. Or [drink largely] of decoction of gromwell (either seed or leaves).⁶¹⁸ [1→4]
- #6. Or take a teaspoonful of calcined eggshells, morning and evening. [1→13]
- #7. Use the cold bath.⁶¹⁹ [1→16]
- #8. Or [drink largely] of decoction of mallows. [CR#207, 1→16, not *Works*]
- 15 #9. Or [drink largely] of decoction of red nettle seed. [1→16]

231. *Sunburn (smarting)* [2→23]

- 20 #1. Wash the face with sage tea. [2→23]

232. *A fresh Surfeit*⁶²⁰ [9→23]

- 25 #1. Take about the size of a nutmeg of the green tops of wormwood. [9→23]

233. *To stop profuse Sweating* [1→23]

- 30 #1. Drink largely of cold water. [1→23]

234. *To prevent it [profuse Sweating]* [12→23]

- 35 #1. Mix an ounce of tincture of Peruvian bark with half an ounce of spirit of vitriol. Take a teaspoonful, morning and night, in a glass of water. [12→23]

⁶¹⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 192 (in footnote).

⁶¹⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 123.

⁶¹⁹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 138, 152. Hawes (*Examination*, 72) specifically questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶²⁰ I.e., an overindulgence in food or drink.

235. *To cure night-Sweats* [12→23]

- #1. Drink a gill of warm milk at lying down. [12→23]

236. *Swelled glands in the neck* [5→23]

- #1. Take seawater every other day.⁶²¹ [5→23] 5

237. *Indolent Swellings* [20→23]

- #1. Are often cured by warm steams. [20→23] 10

238. *Soft and flabby Swellings* [20→23]

- #1. Pump cold water on them daily. [20→23]
 #2. Or use constant friction. [20→23] 15
 #3. Or [use] proper bandages. [20→23]

239. *A white Swelling (on the joints)* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Hold the part, half an hour every morning, under a pump or cock.⁶²² This cures also pains in the joints. [CR#214, 1→23] It seldom fails. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] 20
 #2. Or pour on it daily a stream of warm water.⁶²³ [10→23] * [20→23]
 #3. Or [pour] a stream of cold water one day, and warm the next, and so on by turns.⁶²⁴ [12→23] 25
 Use these remedies at the first, if possible.
 #4. It is likewise proper to intermix gentle purges, to prevent a relapse. [10→23]
 #5. Or [apply] boiled nettles. [14→23] 30

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #6. Apply a green colewort with red veins, bruising the ribs. Renew this morning and evening.⁶²⁵ [CR#215, 1→4]

⁶²¹ Cf. Russell, *Dissertation*, 10–11.

⁶²² I.e., a water tap. 1→17 have 'under the stream that falls from a mill; or under ...'. Cf. Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 440–41.

⁶²³ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 437–38.

⁶²⁴ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 439–40.

⁶²⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:140.

#7. Or apply a poultice of wormwood, fried with hog's lard.

[1→15]

#8. Or apply daily a bladder filled with warm water. [10→17]

5 *240. To dissolve white or hard Swellings [1→23]*

#1. Take white roses, elder flowers, leaves of foxglove, and [leaves] of St. John's-wort, a handful each; mix with hog's lard and make an ointment. [1→23]

10 #2. Or hold them, morning and evening, in the steam of vinegar poured on red hot flints. [12→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#3. See likewise Art. 453.⁶²⁶ [2→5]

15 #4. Or [apply] a green colewort leaf, having veins bruised with the haft of a knife. Renew it twice a day.⁶²⁷ [14→17] * [*Works*]

241. To fasten the Teeth [1→23]

20 #1. Put powdered alum, the quantity of a nutmeg, in a quart of spring-water, for twenty-four hours. Then strain the water and gargle with it.⁶²⁸ [1→23]

25 #2. Or gargle often with phillyrea leaves boiled with a little alum in forge water.⁶²⁹ [1→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#3. Chew often roots of brooklime.⁶³⁰ [1→17]

30 #4. Or boil so much [the quantity of a nutmeg] of alum therein [a quart of spring-water]. Strain and keep for use. [2→16, not *Works*]

242. To clean the Teeth [CR, 1→23]

35 #1. Rub them with ashes of burnt bread. [CR#216, 1→23]

⁶²⁶ I.e., §146, receipt #4.

⁶²⁷ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:140.

⁶²⁸ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 44.

⁶²⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 226.

⁶³⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 115 (in footnote).

243. *To prevent the Toothache* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Wash the mouth with cold water every morning, [CR#218, 1→23] and rinse after every meal. [14→23] Tried. [9→13, not *Works*]
- #2. Or rub the teeth often with tobacco ashes.⁶³¹ [CR#217, 1→23, not *Works*] 5

244. *To cure the Toothache* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Be electrified through the teeth. [8→23] Tried. [9→23] 10
- #2. Or apply to the aching tooth an artificial magnet. [12→23]
- #3. Or rub the cheek a quarter of an hour. [CR#219, 1→23]
- #4. Or lay roasted parings of turnips, as hot as may be, behind the ear.⁶³² [1→23] 15
- #5. Or put a leaf of betony, bruised, up the nose. [1→23]
- #6. Or lay bruised or boiled nettles to the cheek. [1→23] Tried. [9→23] * [*Works*, 20→23]
- #7. Or lay a clove of garlic on the tooth. [1→23] * [17→23] 20
- #8. Or hold a slice of apple, slightly boiled, between the teeth. Tried. [9→23]
- #9. Or keep the feet in warm water, and rub them well with bran, just before bedtime. [5→23] Tried. [9→23] 25

N.B. *The first twenty teeth generally last till the sixth or seventh year. After that, till the fourteenth or fifteenth year, they fall out one by one, and are succeeded by others. The shedding of the teeth is wisely intended and brought about in a singular manner. Their hardness will not admit of distension like other parts of the body. Hence after an enlargement of the jawbone, the original teeth are no longer able to fill the cavities of it. They must stand unsupported by each other, and leave spaces between them. Under the first teeth therefore is placed a new set, which by constantly pressing upon their roots, rob them of their nourishment, and finally push them out of their sockets.*⁶³³ [14→23] 30 35

⁶³¹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 1:17. In a copy of the 13th edition (MARC, WCB, IC/CB45/24) JW deleted 'often' and added by hand 'afterwards rinsing your mouth'. This correction did not appear in any print edition.

⁶³² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 291.

⁶³³ Berdmore, *Treatise*, 22–26.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #10. Or [lay on the tooth] a piece of the root of masterwort.⁶³⁴
[1→4]
- #11. Or [chew the] root of yarrow.⁶³⁵ [1→4]
- 5 #12. Or gargle with juice of monk's rhubarb.⁶³⁶ [1→4]
- #13. Or chew the root of the yellow water-flower-de-luce.
[CR#223, 1→13] I[nfallible]. [5→13]
- #14. Or put a clove of garlic into the ear.⁶³⁷ [1→16]
- #15. Or [put into the ear] parsley much bruised, with a little bay-
10 salt. [1→16]
- #16. Or [put into the ear] a piece of plantain root, fresh digged
up, and washed.⁶³⁸ [1→16, not *Works*] I[nfallible]. [1→4]
- #17. Or gargle with decoction of mulberry leaves.⁶³⁹ [1→16, not
Works]
- 15 #18. Or put into the hollow tooth a little cotton, dipped in Lu-
catelli's balsam. [1→16]
- #19. Or apply to the cheek gum Tacamahac spread on silk. [2→17]
- #20. Or dissolve a dram of crude sal ammoniac in two drams of
20 lemon-juice. Wet cotton and apply [to the tooth]. [2→20, not
Works]
- #21. Or take an ounce of rob of elder in broth, and gargle with it.
[5→13]
- #22. Or [lay to the cheek] a bag filled with hot camomile flowers.
[5→13]
- 25 #23. Or [apply to the tooth] a drop or two of oil of cloves on cot-
ton. [5→16]

245. *Toothache from cold air* [14→23]

- 30 #1. Keep the mouth full of warm water.⁶⁴⁰ [14→23]

246. *Teeth set on edge* [14→23]

- 35 #1. Rub the tops of the teeth with a dry towel.⁶⁴¹ [14→23]

⁶³⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 177.

⁶³⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 184.

⁶³⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 79.

⁶³⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 114.

⁶³⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 227.

⁶³⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 115 (in footnote).

⁶⁴⁰ Berdmore, *Treatise*, 121–22.

⁶⁴¹ Berdmore, *Treatise*, 173.

*N.B. There is no such thing as worms in the teeth. Children's using coral is always useless, often hurtful.*⁶⁴² [14→23]

'Forcing the teeth into order is always dangerous. Filing is generally hurtful.

'All rough and cutting powders destroy the teeth. So do all common tinctures.

'Sweetmeats are apt to hurt the teeth, if the mouth be not rinsed after them. Cracking nuts often breaks off the enamel. So does biting thread in two.

'Constant use of toothpicks is a bad practice. 'Constant smoking of tobacco destroys many good sets of teeth.' Mr. Beardmore.⁶⁴³ [14→23]

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#2. Or chew sorrel leaves.⁶⁴⁴ [14→16]

[247.]⁶⁴⁵ *Pain in the Testicles* [1→23]

#1. Apply pellitory of the wall, beaten up into a poultice, changing it morning and evening. [1→23]

[248.] *Testicles inflamed* [12→23]

#1. Boil bean flour in three parts water, one part vinegar. [Apply it as a poultice.]⁶⁴⁶ [12→23]

[249.] *Extreme Thirst (without a fever)* [12→23]

#1. Drink spring-water in which a little sal-prunella is dissolved.⁶⁴⁷ [12→23]

[additional receipt in previous edition]⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴² Ibid., 184, 196–97.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 218–24, 226–28 & 247, 255–57, and 258–60.

⁶⁴⁴ I.e., Berdmore, *Treatise*, 174.

⁶⁴⁵ The receipt on 'Thirst' was correctly ordered after the receipts on testicles when it first appeared in 12→13; it was misplaced before them in 14→23, except for *Works*. We have restored the original order.

⁶⁴⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #139, p. 78. The [bracketed] section appears only in 15→16.

⁶⁴⁷ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #324, p. 260.

⁶⁴⁸ This receipt is found in a section present only in *Works*, titled 'Thirst (to prevent or quench)'.

#2. Capt. Edwards with thirteen men got into the [life]boat, just as the ship sunk. Having neither meat nor drink, in a week half of them died. Being parched with heat, he dipped his shirt in the sea, and put it on again; and so did the rest. And this they repeated several times a day. Their flesh was soon candied over with salt. But their thirst was at an end. Neither were they faint or ravenously hungry, till in five or six days more, they rowed themselves to land. Here is an important discovery! Seawater, externally applied, was to them both meat and drink! [*Works*]

250. *To draw out Thorns, splinters, or bones* [1→23]

#1. Apply nettle roots and salt. [1→23]

#2. Or [apply] turpentine spread on leather. [1→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#3. Apply primrose leaves, beaten into a poultice.⁶⁴⁹ [1→4]

#4. Apply a poultice of chewed bread.⁶⁵⁰ [CR#193, 1→4]

#5. Or [apply] a little turpentine.⁶⁵¹ [1→4]

251. *Thrush*^s [1→23]

#1. Mix juice of celandine with honey, to the thickness of cream. Infuse a little powdered saffron. Let this simmer a while, and scum it. Apply it (when needed) with a feather. [1→23] At the same time give eight or ten grains of rhubarb. [8→23] To a grown person, twenty. [14→23] This also cures canker. [1→4]

#2. Or take an ounce of clarified honey, having scummed off all the dross from it. Put in a dram of rock alum, finely powdered, and stir them well together. Let the child's mouth be rubbed well with this, five or six times a day, with a bit of rag tied upon the end of a stick, and though it be the thorough thrush, it will cure it in a few days. I never knew it fail. [20→23]

#3. Or burn scarlet cloth to ashes and blow them into the mouth. This seldom fails. [15→23]

^s Little, white ulcers in the mouth. [5→23]

⁶⁴⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 236.

⁶⁵⁰ This receipt appears in a separate section in 1→4 titled 'To draw a Splinter'.

⁶⁵¹ This receipt appears in a separate section in 1→4 titled 'To draw a Splinter'.

252. *Tonsils swelled* [20→23]

#1. Wash them with lavender-water. [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]⁶⁵²

#2. Gargle with decoction of nettles.⁶⁵³ [1→16]

5

#3. Or [gargle with decoction] of primrose leaves.⁶⁵⁴ [1→16]

253. *Torpor (or numbness of the limbs)* [1→23]

#1. Use the cold bath, with rubbing and sweating.⁶⁵⁵ [1→23]

10

254. *Twisting of the guts* [5→23]

#1. Many at the point of death have been cured by taking one, two, or three pounds of quicksilver, ounce by ounce. Pareus.⁶⁵⁶ [5→23]

15

255. *The Tympany; or windy dropsy* [1→23]

#1. Use the cold bath, with purges intermixed. [1→23]

20

#2. Or mix the juice of leeks and of elder. Take two or three spoonfuls of this morning and evening.⁶⁵⁷ [1→23] Tried. [14→23]

#3. Or eat a few parched peas every hour. [20→23]

25

[256.⁶⁵⁸] *An Ulcer* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Dry and powder a walnut leaf, strew it on, and lay another walnut leaf on that. [1→23] Tried. [14→23]

⁶⁵² These receipts appear in a section titled 'A swelled Throat' found in 1→16.

⁶⁵³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 204. Hawes (*Examination*, 74) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁵⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 236. Hawes (*Examination*, 74) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁵⁵ Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 475.

⁶⁵⁶ Ambroise Paré (1510–90). See *The Works of that famous Chirurgeon Ambrose Parey* (London: Cotes & Young, 1634), 811.

⁶⁵⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 102.

⁶⁵⁸ In medieval English script, like Latin, the 'V' was used as both vowel and consonant. Eventually this double usage was divided by the introduction of 'U' for the vowel. But in the eighteenth century it was still common to treat 'U' and 'V' as identical letters when alphabetizing. Wesley ordered his receipts in this way, treating Vertigo and Viper before Ulcer, etc. We have reorganized to modern alphabetizing for the benefit of readers of this edition.

#2. Or boil walnut-tree leaves in water, with a little sugar. Apply a cloth dipped in this, changing it once in two days. [CR#227, 1→23] This has done wonders. [14→23] * [Works]

5 #3. Or foment, morning and evening, with a decoction of walnut-tree leaves, and bind the leaves on. This has cured foul bones. Yea, and a leprosy. [12→23] Tried. [14→23] * [Works, 20→21]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

10 #4. Apply a poultice of chewed bread, changing it every twelve hours. [CR#226, 1→4]

#5. Take a quarter of a pint of decoction of horsetail, morning and evening.⁶⁵⁹ [1→4]

#6. Drink tar-water, morning and evening.⁶⁶⁰ [1→16]

15 #7. Or [drink, morning and evening,] decoction of pimpernel.⁶⁶¹ [1→16]

20 [257.] *Ulcer in the bladder or kidneys* [1→23]

#1. Take decoction of agrimony, thrice a day. [1→23]

#2. Or [take, thrice a day] decoction, powder, or syrup of horse-tail.⁶⁶² [1→23]

25 [258.] *Ulcer in the gum or jaw* [12→23]

#1. Apply honey of roses, sharpened with spirit of vitriol.⁶⁶³ [12→23]

30 #2. Or fill the whites of eggs, boiled hard and slit, with myrrh and sugar candy, powdered. Tie them up, and hang them on sticks lying across a glass. A liquid distills, with which anoint the sores often in a day.⁶⁶⁴ [12→23]

⁶⁵⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 147. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'An Ulcer in the lungs' present in 1→4.

⁶⁶⁰ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions*, 5. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'An inward Ulcer' present in 1→16. Hawes (*Examination*, 77) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁶¹ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'An inward Ulcer' present in 1→16. Hawes (*Examination*, 77) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁶² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 147

⁶⁶³ Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, 135.

⁶⁶⁴ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #168, p. 89.

[259.] *A fistulous Ulcer* [1→23]

#1. Apply wood betony, bruised, changing it daily. [1→23]

[*additional receipt in previous editions*]

#2. Or [apply] leaves of water dock, bruised. [1→16]

5

[260.] *A bleeding varicose Ulcer in the leg* [1→23]

#1. Was cured only by constant cold bathing.⁶⁶⁵ [1→23]

10

[261.] *A malignant Ulcer* [1→23]

#1. Foment, morning and evening, with a decoction of mint.

15

Then sprinkle on it finely powdered rue.⁶⁶⁶ [1→23]

#2. Or burn to ashes (but not too long) the gross stalks on which red coleworts grow. Make a plaster of this and fresh butter.

Change it once a day.⁶⁶⁷ [CR#228, 1→16]

#3. Or apply a poultice of parsnips. This will cure even when the bone is foul. [8→23⁶⁶⁸]

20

#4. Or be electrified. Tried. [9→23⁶⁶⁹]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#5. Foment it daily with juice of mercury. [1→4]

25

#6. Or apply daily juice of pimpernel boiled with the herb.⁶⁷⁰
[1→16, not *Works*]

[262.] *An Ulcer in the urethra*^t [14→23]

30

#1. Take a clove of garlic, morning and evening. [14→23]

^tThe urethra is the passage of the urine. [20→23]

⁶⁶⁵Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 119.

⁶⁶⁶Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 206 (in footnote).

⁶⁶⁷Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:148. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A stubborn Ulcer' in 1→16.

⁶⁶⁸This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A stubborn Ulcer' in 8→16.

⁶⁶⁹This receipt appeared in a section titled 'A stubborn Ulcer' in 9→16.

⁶⁷⁰Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 206 (in footnote).

[263.] *Bloody Urine* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Take twice a day a pint of decoction of agrimony.⁶⁷¹ [1→23]

#2. Or [take twice a day a pint] of decoction of yarrow.⁶⁷² [17→23]

5 [additional receipts in previous editions]

#3. Or [take half a pint] of decoction of calamint.⁶⁷³ [1→4]

#4. Or [take half a pint] of decoction (or syrup, or powder) of horsetail.⁶⁷⁴ [1→4]

#5. Take a quarter of a pint of sheep's-milk, twice a day.⁶⁷⁵

10 [CR#234, 1→16]

[264.] *Urine by drops with heat and pain* [1→23]

15 #1. Drink nothing but lemonade. [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

#2. Or beat up the pulp of five or six roasted apples with near a quart of water. Take it at lying down. It commonly cures before morning.⁶⁷⁶ [1→23]

20

[265.] *Involuntary Urine* [1→23]

#1. Use the cold bath.⁶⁷⁷ [1→23]

25 #2. Or take a teaspoonful of powdered agrimony in a little water, morning and evening. [1→23]

#3. Or [take] a quarter of a pint of alum posset drink every night. [1→23]

30 #4. Or foment with rose-leaves and plantain-leaves, boiled in smith's forge water. Then apply plasters of alum and bole armoniac, made up with oil and vinegar. [12→23]

#5. Or apply a blister to the os sacrum.⁶⁷⁸ This seldom fails. [20→23]

⁶⁷¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 48 (in footnote).

⁶⁷² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 48 (in footnote).

⁶⁷³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 48 (in footnote).

⁶⁷⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 48 (in footnote), and 147.

⁶⁷⁵ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:323. Hawes (*Examination*, 80–81) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁷⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 11.

⁶⁷⁷ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 128.

⁶⁷⁸ The small triangular bone at the back of the pelvis.

[additional receipt in previous editions]

#6. Or [take] half a pint of lime-water. [1→4]

[266.] *Sharp Urine* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Take two spoonfuls of fresh juice of ground-ivy.⁶⁷⁹ [CR#235, 1→23]

5

[267.] *Suppression of Urine* [1→23]

#1. Is sometimes relieved by bleeding. [12→23]

10

#2. Or drink largely of warm lemonade.⁶⁸⁰ [1→23] Tried. [9→23]

#3. Or [take] a scruple of nitre, every two hours. [12→23]

#4. Or take a spoonful of juice of lemons, sweetened with syrup of violets.⁶⁸¹ [CR#210, 1→23]

15

#5. Or [take] ten grains of mercurius dulcis. [20→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

#6. Or [take] from two scruples to a dram of calcined eggshells, in a glass of white wine. [1→4]

20

#7. Or [take] from half a dram to a dram of powdered ivy.⁶⁸² [1→4]

#8. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of radishes.⁶⁸³ [CR#211, 1→16]

#9. Or [take] two spoonfuls of juice of onions.⁶⁸⁴ [1→16]

#10. Or [take a spoonful] of bruised mustard-seed.⁶⁸⁵ [CR#211, 14→16, not *Works*]

25

[268.] *Uvula inflamed*^a [1→23]

#1. Gargle with a decoction of beaten hemp seed.⁶⁸⁶ [1→23]

30

^aThis is usually called the palate of the mouth. [5→23]

⁶⁷⁹ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:146.

⁶⁸⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 191 (in footnote).

⁶⁸¹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:319.

⁶⁸² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 191 (in footnote).

⁶⁸³ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:146. Hawes (*Examination*, 80–81) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁸⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 191 (in footnote).

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:146. Hawes (*Examination*, 80–81) questioned the efficacy of this receipt.

⁶⁸⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 157 (in footnote).

- #2. Or [gargle] with a decoction of dandelion.⁶⁸⁷ [1→23]
 #3. Or touch it frequently with camphorated spirits of wine.
 [20→23]

5 [269.] *Uvula relaxed* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Bruise the veins of a cabbage leaf and lay it, hot, on the
 crown of the head. Repeat, if needed, in two hours. [CR#236,
 1→23] I[nfallible]. [1→8] I never knew this to fail. [9→23] *
 10 [Works]
 #2. Or gargle with an infusion of mustard seed.⁶⁸⁸ [1→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #3. Or [gargle with decoction] of wild tansy. [1→4]
 15 #4. Or gargle with decoction of water dock. [1→16]

[270.] *A Vein or sinew cut* [5→23]

- 20 #1. Apply the inner green rind of hazel, fresh scraped. [5→23]

[271.] *The Vertigo; or swimming in the head* [1→23]

- 25 #1. Take a vomit or two. [5→23]
 #2. Or use the cold bath for a month. [1→23]
 #3. Or, in a May morning about sunrise, snuff up daily the dew
 that is on mallow leaves. [1→23]
 #4. Or apply to the top of the head, shaven, a plaster of flour
 30 of brimstone and white of eggs.⁶⁸⁹ [CR#224, 1→23] Tried.
 [9→23] * [Works, 20→23]
 #5. Or take every morning half a dram of mustard seed.⁶⁹⁰ [1→23]
 #6. Or mix together one part of salt of tartar with three parts
 35 cream of tartar. Take a teaspoonful in a glass of water, every
 morning, fasting. This is serviceable when the vertigo springs
 from acid, tough phlegm in the stomach. [20→23]

⁶⁸⁷ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 157 (in footnote).

⁶⁸⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 197.

⁶⁸⁹ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:140.

⁶⁹⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 64 (in footnote).

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #7. Or snuff up the nose the juice of black or red beets. [1→4]
 #8. Or [take every morning] a dram of columbine seed, in sage tea.⁶⁹¹ [1→4]
 #9. Or [take every morning a dram] of southernwood.⁶⁹² [1→4] 5
 #10. Or drop juice of pimpernel into the ear, morning and evening. [1→16]
 #11. Or drink, morning and evening, half a pint of decoction of primrose root.⁶⁹³ I[nfallible]. [1→16]
 #12. Or [drink morning and evening half a pint of decoction] of sage, washing also the head therewith.⁶⁹⁴ [1→16] 10
 #13. Or boil five or six buckthorn leaves in half a pint of water. Drink this, fasting, for nine or ten mornings. [2→4]
 #14. Or take a teaspoonful of spirit of hartshorn in a glass of water. [15→16] 15

[272.] *Vigilia, inability to sleep* [1→23]

- #1. Apply to the forehead, for two hours, cloths four times doubled and dipped in cold water. [1→23] I have known this applied to a lying-in woman, and her life saved thereby. [8→23] * [17→23] 20
 #2. Or take a grain or two⁶⁹⁵ of camphor. It is both safer and surer than opium. [5→23] 25
 #3. Asafœtida, from ten to thirty grains, likewise will in most cases have as much effect as opium. [8→23]
 #4. Drink no green-tea in the afternoon. [21→23]

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #5. Or use the cold bath.⁶⁹⁶ It cures even in desperate cases. [1→16] 30
 #6. Or apply to the head leaves of water lilies. [1→16]
 #7. Or [apply to the head] a poultice of henbane and poppy seeds beaten together. [1→17]
 #8. Anoint the temples with milk; next, with camphor.⁶⁹⁷ [Works] 35

⁶⁹¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 64 (in footnote).

⁶⁹² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 64 (in footnote).

⁶⁹³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

⁶⁹⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 64 (in footnote).

⁶⁹⁵ 5→14 prescribe 'small doses' of camphor; 15→16 change to 'a few grains'.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 79, 134.

⁶⁹⁷ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Sleep (to procure)' present only in *Works*.

#9. Or [anoint the temples] with oil of roses (an ounce), well mixed with three drams of vinegar.⁶⁹⁸ [*Works*]

#10. Or finish your supper with boiled lettuce. Galen.⁶⁹⁹ [*Works*]

5 [273.] *Bite of a Viper or rattlesnake* [CR, 1→23]

#1. Apply bruised garlic. [12→23]

#2. Rub the place immediately with common [olive] oil.⁷⁰⁰
[CR#225, 1→23]

10 Query. Would not the same cure the bite of a mad dog? [1→23]
Would it not be worthwhile to make the trial on a dog? [5→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

15 #3. Or apply, every other day, powdered euphorbium on lint; the other day, only a linen bolster. [12→13]

#4. Or apply the anus of a pigeon to the wound.⁷⁰¹ Sometimes two are needful. [12→13]

20 #5. Or powder common pit-coal fine and searce⁷⁰² it. Mix it into a paste with a little water. Apply it daily. This cures even foul bones. [12→16]

25 [274.] *To prevent the bite of a Viper* [1→23]

#1. Rub the hands with the juice of radishes. [1→23]

30 [275.] *An easy and safe Vomit* [1→23]

#1. Pour a dish of tea on twenty grains of ipecacuanha. You may sweeten it, if you please. When it has stood four or five minutes, pour the tea off clear and drink it. [9→23]

⁶⁹⁸ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Sleep (to procure)' present only in *Works*.

⁶⁹⁹ Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (*De alimentorum facultatibus*), Book 2. This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Sleep (to procure)' present only in *Works*.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Sydenham, *Works*, xix.

⁷⁰¹ This remedy traces back to William Salmon, *Sepladium: The Compleat English Physician* (London: Matthew Gilliflower, 1693), 521; though JW's source may have been more recent.

⁷⁰² Sift through a sieve or strainer.

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #2. Mix an ounce of honey with an ounce of vinegar; infuse a good spoonful of horse-radish, scraped, for twenty-four hours. Drink this, and work it well off with warm water.⁷⁰³ [1→4]
- #3. Or [boil in a quart of water, then drink] a dram and half of primrose root, powdered. It is best if gathered in August.⁷⁰⁴ [1→16] 5
- #4. Or infuse three drams of radish-seed in a quart of warm water for twelve hours. Squeeze off the water and take it.⁷⁰⁵ [1→16]
- #5. Boil half a handful of artichoke leaves in a quart of water [and drink it]. The more you drink of warm water after it, the better. [1→17] 10

[276.] *To stop Vomiting* [CR, 1→23]

15

- #1. Apply a large onion, slit across the grain, to the pit of the stomach. [CR#229, 1→23] I[nfallible]. [2→8] Tried. [9→23] * [Works, 20→23]
- #2. Or take a spoonful of lemon juice, and six grains of salt of tartar.⁷⁰⁶ [CR#231, 1→23] 20

[additional receipts in previous editions]

- #3. Or [apply to the stomach] a bag of saffron.⁷⁰⁷ [CR#230, 1→4]
- #4. Or infuse an ounce of quicksilver in a large glass full of water for twenty-four hours.⁷⁰⁸ Then drink the water. I[nfallible].⁷⁰⁹ [1→16] 25
- #5. If the vomiting be not the effect of a medicine, after every vomiting drink a pint of warm water.⁷¹⁰ [1→17]

30

277. *Warts* [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Rub them daily with a radish. [CR#237, 1→23]

⁷⁰³ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'An excellent Vomit for a palled stomach' present only in 1→4.

⁷⁰⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 235.

⁷⁰⁵ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 240.

⁷⁰⁶ Willis, *London Practice of Physick*, 5.

⁷⁰⁷ Allen, *Synopsis*, 1:250.

⁷⁰⁸ *Works* omits 'for twenty-four hours'.

⁷⁰⁹ Hawes (*Examination*, 78) questioned the efficacy of this receipt, particularly if one waited twenty-four hours after the infusion before drinking.

⁷¹⁰ Cf. Hancocke, *Febrifugum Magnum*, 56–57.

#2. Or [rub them] with juice of marigold flowers.⁷¹¹ [1→23] It will hardly fail. [15→23]

#3. Or [rub them with] water in which sal ammoniac is dissolved.⁷¹² [CR#239, 1→23]

5 #4. Or apply bruised purslane as a poultice, changing it twice a day. It cures in seven or eight days.⁷¹³ [12→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

#5. Or [rub them] with juice of dandelion.⁷¹⁴ [CR#238, 1→16]

10 #6. Or anoint them four or five times with the milk of a fig-tree. [12→16, not *Works*]

278. *Weakness in the ankles* [1→23]

15 #1. Hold them in cold water a quarter of an hour, morning and evening. [1→23]

279. *A soft Wen* [12→23]

20 #1. Wrap leaves of sorrel in a wet paper, and roast them in the embers. Mix it with finely sifted ashes into a poultice. Apply this warm, daily.⁷¹⁵ [12→23]

25 #2. Dr. Rivière says, 'I cured a wen as big as a large fist thus: I made an instrument of hard wood, like the stone with which the painters grind their colours on a marble. With this I rubbed it half an hour twice a day. Then I laid on a suppurating plaster, very hot, which I kept on four or five days. The wen suppurated and was opened. Afterward all the substance of it turned into matter and
30 was evacuated. Thus I have cured many since.'⁷¹⁶ [12→23]

280. *The Whites*⁷¹⁷ [1→23]

35 #1. Live chastely. [14→23]

⁷¹¹ Digby, *Choice Receipts*, 86.

⁷¹² Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123.

⁷¹³ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #449, p. 302.

⁷¹⁴ Allen, *Synopsis*, 2:123 (*dentis leonis* is the dandy lion).

⁷¹⁵ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #475, p. 308.

⁷¹⁶ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #440, p. 300.

⁷¹⁷ See also §156, receipt #6, above.

- #2. Feed sparingly. Use exercise constantly. Sleep moderately, but never lying on your back. [5→23]
- #3. Take eight grains of jalap every eight days. This usually cures in five weeks.⁷¹⁸ [12→23]
- #4. Or first, bleed. Then purge thrice with twenty grains of rhubarb and five of calomel. [2→23] 5
- #5. Or boil four or five leaves of the white hollyhock in a pint of milk, with a little sugar. Then add a teaspoonful of balm of Gilead. Drink this every morning. [5→23] I[nfallible]. [5→8] It rarely fails. [9→23] 10
- #6. Or make Venice turpentine, flour, and fine sugar—equal quantities—into small pills. Take three or four of these, morning and evening. This also cures most pains in the back. [2→23]
- #7. Or take yellow rosin, powdered, one ounce; conserve of roses, half an ounce; powdered rhubarb, three drams; syrup, a sufficient quantity to make an electuary. Take a large teaspoonful of this twice a day, in a cup of comfrey root tea. [20→23] 15
- #8. Or in a quarter of a pint of water wherein three drams of tamarinds and a dram of lentisk wood has been boiled, when cold, infuse senna, a dram, [and] coriander seed and liquorice, a dram and half each. Let them stand all night. Strain the liquor in the morning, and drink it daily, two hours before breakfast.⁷¹⁹ [12→23] 20
- #9. Or take quicksilver and aqua sulphurata, as for an asthma.⁷²⁰ This seldom fails. [5→23] 25

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- #10. Take daily three spoonfuls of juice of cinquefoil, morning and evening.⁷²¹ [1→4]
- #11. Or [take] a teaspoonful of lavender cotton leaves, powdered.⁷²² [1→4] 30
- #12. Or, after purging, take about fifteen grains of ceruse of antimony in white wine, twice or thrice a day. [1→16]
- #13. Or [take] decoction of rosemary, daily, for three months. [2→4] 35
- #14. Or [take decoction] of dead nettles. [2→4]
- #15. Or [take] a large bolus of moss, with a little syrup of marsh

⁷¹⁸ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #401, p. 288.

⁷¹⁹ Rivière, *Four Books*, Observation #281, p. 240.

⁷²⁰ I.e., §9, receipt #5.

⁷²¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 59.

⁷²² Cf. Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 161.

mallows and white of egg, daily, for three months. Add, morning and evening, twenty-five drops of elixir of vitriol and tincture of steel mixed. [2→4]

- 5 #16. Or boil an handful of dead nettle flowers and a dram of cinnamon in half a pint of milk. Drink half of it every night and morning. [9→16]

281. *A Whitlow* [CR, 1→23]

- 10 #1. Apply treacle. Tried. [9→23]
 #2. Or [apply] honey and flour. Tried. [12→23]
 #3. Or [apply] a poultice of chewed bread. Shift it once a day.
 [CR#240, 1→23]
 15 #4. Or [apply] a poultice of powdered pit-coal and warm water.
 [20→23]

[*additional receipts in previous editions*]

- 20 #5. Or [apply] a plaster of ground-ivy stamped. [1→17]
 #6. Or [apply a plaster] of smallage. [2→4]
 #7. Or [apply a poultice] of water lily. [14→17]
 #8. Or [apply] flour boiled in white wine. [15→16]

25 282. *Worms*^v [CR, 1→23]

- #1. Take two teaspoonfuls of brandy, sweetened with loaf-sugar, every morning. [20→23]
 #2. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of lemons. [8→23]
 30 #3. Or [take] two spoonfuls of nettle juice. [14→23]
 #4. Or boil four ounces of quicksilver an hour, in a quart of clear water. Pour it off and bottle it up. You may use the same quicksilver again and again. Use this for common drink, or at least night and morning for a week or two. Then purge off the
 35 dead worms with fifteen or twenty grains of jalap.⁷²³ [5→23]

^v A child may be known to have the worms by chilliness, paleness, hollow eyes, itching of the nose, starting in sleep, and an unusually stinking breath. Worms are never found in children that live wholly on milk. [5→23]

⁷²³ Lobb, *Good Samaritan*, 34. 5→13 have simply: 'Or boil an ounce of quicksilver in half a pint of spring-water. Use this for common drink'; taken from Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 133.

- #5. Or take two teaspoonfuls of wormseed, mixed with treacle, for six mornings. [CR#241, 1→23]
- #6. Or [take] one, two, or three drams of powdered fern root, boiled in mead.⁷²⁴ This kills both the flat and the roundworms. [1→23] Repeat the medicine from time to time. [5→23] 5
- #7. Or give one teaspoonful of syrup of bear's-foot at bed time, and one or two in the morning, for two or three successive days, to children between two and six years of age; regulating the dose according to the strength of the patient.⁷²⁵ [20→23]
- Syrup of bear's-foot is made thus: Sprinkle the green leaves with vinegar, stamp and strain out the juice, and add to it a sufficient quantity of coarse sugar. This is the most powerful medicine for long roundworms.⁷²⁶ [20→23] 10
- #8. Bruising the green leaves of bear's-foot and smelling often at them sometimes expels worms. [20→23] 15
- #9. Or boil half an ounce of aloes, powdered, with a few sprigs of rue, wormwood, [and] camomile, in half a pint of gall, [down] to the consistency of a plaster. Spread this on thin leather and apply it to the stomach, changing it every twelve hours, for three days. Then take fifteen grains of jalap and it will bring vast quantities of worms away, some burst and some alive. 20
This will cure when no internal medicine avails. [20→23]
- #10. See extract from Dr. Tissot, page 145.⁷²⁷ [20→23]
- [additional receipts in previous editions] 25
- #11. Or [take] a teaspoonful of burnt hartshorn mixed with sugar. [CR#242, 1→4]
- #12. Or [take] a glass of onion water.⁷²⁸ [1→16, not *Works*]
- #13. Or [take] a spoonful of juice of spearmint.⁷²⁹ [1→16] I[nfallible]. [1] 30
- #14. Take a spoonful of salt in a glass of water every morning. [1→17]
- #15. Or mix two drams of socotrine aloes with four ounces of treacle. Take a small nutmeg [size] of it every morning. [2→4]
- #16. Or [take] a dram and a half of nitre in broth. I[nfallible]. 35
[8→16]

⁷²⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 94.

⁷²⁵ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 470.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

⁷²⁷ I.e., *Advices*, §§266–67.

⁷²⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 208.

⁷²⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 185.

- #17. Or [drink] a teacupful of strong infusion of peach leaves, sweetened with honey, fasting an hour after. [12→17]
- #18. Or dissolve an ounce of hepatic aloes in a pint of strong decoction of rue. Take a teaspoonful or two, in a morning, fasting. This destroys both roundworms and ascarides. [20]
- #19. Or mix and reduce to fine powder equal parts of rhubarb, scammony, and calomel, with as much double-refined sugar as is equal to the weight of all the other ingredients. The dose for a child is from six grains to twelve, once or twice a week. An adult may take from twenty to forty [grains] for a dose. [20]

283. Flat Worms [8→23]

- #1. Mix a tablespoonful of Norway tar in a pint of small beer. Take it as soon as you can in the morning, fasting. This brought away a tapeworm thirty-six feet in length. [20→23]
- #2. Or take from two to five grains of gamboge, made into a pill or bolus, in the morning, fasting; drinking after it a little weak green tea, and likewise when it begins to operate, till the worm is evacuated. The dose must be regulated according to the patient's strength; for [otherwise] neither this nor any other medicine given as an alternative is of the least service in this disorder. [20→23]
- #3. If the head of the worm be fixed in the upper orifice of the stomach, a smart shock from the electrifying machine will probably dislodge it. Then purge. [20→23]
- #4. To prevent, avoid drinking stagnated water. [20→23]
- [additional receipt in previous editions]
- #5. Take filings of tin and red coral, of each an equal quantity. Pound them together into a very fine powder. Of which one dram, made into a bolus with conserve of the tops of sea-wormwood, is to be taken twice a day.⁷³⁰ [8→20]

284. Wounds [CR, 1→23]

If you have not an honest surgeon at hand. [17→23]

- #1. Apply juice or powder of yarrow.⁷³¹ I[nfallible]. [1→23]

⁷³⁰ Mead, *Medical Precepts*, 133.

⁷³¹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 211 (in footnote).

- #2. Or bind leaves of ground-ivy upon it.⁷³² [1→23]
- #3. Or [bind on it leaves of] wood betony bruised. This quickly
heals even cut veins or sinews, and draws out thorns or splin-
ters.⁷³³ [1→23]
- #4. Or keep the part in cold water for an hour, keeping the wound 5
closed with your thumb. Then bind on the thin skin of an
eggshell, for days or weeks, till it falls off of itself. Regard not,
though it prick or shoot for a time. [1→23]
- [*additional receipts in previous editions*] 10
- #5. If small, apply chewed bread. [CR#243, 1→4]
- #6. Or [apply] leaves of agrimony beaten into a poultice.⁷³⁴ [1→4]
- #7. Or [apply] juice of celandine.⁷³⁵ [CR#244, 1→4]
- #8. Or [bind on it leaves of] bruised hyssop, with a little sugar.⁷³⁶
[1→16] 15
- #9. Boil half an ounce of fine verdigris in a pound of linseed oil,
till it is dissolved. Anoint therewith.⁷³⁷ [9→16]

285. Inward Wounds [1→23] 20

- #1. Infuse yarrow twelve hours in warm water. Take a cup of this
four times a day.⁷³⁸ [1→23] I[nfallible]. [1→17]

286. Putrid Wounds [1→23] 25

- #1. Wash them, morning and evening, with warm decoction of ag-
rimony. If they heal too soon, and matter gather underneath,
apply a poultice of the leaves pounded, changing them once a 30
day till well.⁷³⁹ [1→23]
- #2. Or apply a carrot poultice; but if a gangrene comes on, apply a
wheat-flour poultice (after it has been by the fire till it begins
to ferment) nearly cold. It will not fail. [20→23]

⁷³² Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 126.

⁷³³ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 26.

⁷³⁴ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 210 (in footnote).

⁷³⁵ Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, 2:149.

⁷³⁶ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 152.

⁷³⁷ This receipt appeared in a section titled 'Contused or lacerated wounds' present only in 9→16.

⁷³⁸ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 211 (in footnote).

⁷³⁹ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 211–12 (in footnote).

287. Wounded tendons [1→23]

#1. Boil comfrey roots to a thick mucilage, and apply this as a poultice, changing it once a day.⁷⁴⁰ [1→23]

5 *288. To open a Wound that is closed too soon [15→23]*

#1. Apply bruised centaury to it. [15→23]

⁷⁴⁰ Short, *Medicina Britannica*, 212 (in footnote).

Daffy's Elixer [20→23]

Take of the best senna, guaiacum, liquorice sliced small, aniseeds, coriander seeds, and elecampane root, of each half an ounce; raisins of the sun, stoned, a quarter of a pound. Let them all be bruised and put into a quart of the best brandy. Let it stand by the fire for a few days, then strain it.⁷⁴¹ [20→23] 5

Stoughton's Drops [20]

Take gentian-root, one ounce; cochineal and saffron, one dram; rhubarb, two drams; the lesser cardamom seeds, grains of paradise, zedoary, snake-root, of each half an ounce; galangal one ounce. Slice the roots and bruise the seeds, then infuse them in a quart of the best brandy, and add the rinds of four Seville oranges. When it has stood eight days, clear it off, and put a pint and a half more of brandy to the same ingredients, till their virtue is drawn out. This is greatly helpful in disorders of the stomach. See stomachic tincture, page 100.⁷⁴² [20] 10
15
20

*Turlington's Balsam*⁷⁴³

Take balsam of Peru and balsam of Tolu, angelica root and calamus root, of each half an ounce; gum storax in tears and dragons's blood, of each one ounce; gum benjamin, an ounce and a half; hepatic aloes and frankincense, of each two drams. Let the roots be sliced thin and the gums bruised, and put all the ingredients into a quart of spirits of wine. Set the bottle by the fire, in a moderate heat, for eight or ten days, then strain it for use. 25
30

This is indeed a most excellent medicine for man or beast, and for any fresh wound. I know none like it. [20→23]

⁷⁴¹ Cf. Penelope Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Valuable Family Jewel* [London: s.n., c. 1751], 86–87.

⁷⁴² I.e., the simpler directions above in §221, receipt #5. JW dropped this more complex formula from following editions. It was an alternative to the 'Great Cordial Elixir' patented by Robert Stoughton.

⁷⁴³ Robert Turlington patented his 'Balsam of Life' in 1744. He claimed that it contained twenty-seven ingredients, and was effective in the treatment of kidney and bladder stones, cholic, and inward weakness.

*Dr. James's Powders*⁷⁴⁴

Instead of giving half a crown a packet for these powders, you may
 at any druggist's get Dr. Hardwick's fever powder for a shilling
 an ounce—which, if it be not the same, will answer just the
 same end. [20→23]

Cold-Bathing [1→23]⁷⁴⁵

Cures young children of:

Convulsions	Inflammations of the ears,
Coughs	navel, or mouth
Cutaneous inflammations,	Rickets
pimples, and scabs	Suppression of Urine
Gravel	Vomiting
Gripes [1→9]	Want of sleep

It prevents the growth of hereditary:

Apoplexies	Gout
Asthmas	King's-Evil
Blindness	Melancholy
Consumptions	Palsies
Deafness	Rheumatism
Deliria [1→17]	Stone

⁷⁴⁴ Robert James (1705–76) patented a fever powder in 1746 that was a mixture of phosphate of lime and oxide of antimony. See J. K. Crellin, 'Dr. James's Fever Powder', *Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy* 1 (1974): 136–43.

⁷⁴⁵ JW's authority for this list is Floyer, *Psychrolousia*; for first two boxes see 78–80. Items in the boxes appear in all editions of *Primitive Physic* unless specifically noted otherwise.

It frequently⁷⁴⁶ cures every nervous^w and every paralytic disorder. In particular:

Ague of every sort	Lethargy	
The Asthma	Loss of appetite, of smell,**	5
Atrophy	[of] speech,** [of] taste **	
Blindness **	Nephritic pains,	
Cancer	Pain in the back, joints,** stomach	
Chin-cough	Palpitation of the heart	
Coagulated blood after bruises	Rheumatism	10
Complication of distempers	Rickets [20→23]	
Consumptions	Rupture	
Convulsions	St. Vitus' dance [Chorea Sancti	
Convulsive Pains **	Viti, 1→8]	
Coughs	Sciatica **	15
Deafness **	Scorbutic pains **	
Dropsy	Stone in the kidneys	
Epilepsy	Suffocations	
Violent Fevers	Surfeits (at the beginning)	
Gout (running)	Swelling on the joints	20
Hectic fevers	Tetanus	
Hemicrania [1→15]	Torpor of the limbs,	
Hysteric pains	even when the use of them is lost	
Incubus	Tympany	
Inflammations **	Varicose ulcers	25
Involuntary stool or urine **	Vertigo	
Lameness	Vigilia	
(old) Leprosy	The Whites [Fluor Albus 1→13]	

30

^w And this, I apprehend, accounts for its frequently curing the bite of a mad dog; especially if it be repeated for twenty-five or thirty days successively. [5→23, not *Works*]

⁷⁴⁶ 1→13 lack 'frequently'.

But in all cases where the nerves are obstructed (such as are those marked thus**) you should go to bed immediately after and sweat.¹ [1→23]

It is often useful to use the hot bath a few days, before you use the cold. [1→23]

Wise parents should dip their children in cold water every morning, till they are three-quarters [of a year] old; and afterward, their hands and their feet.² [1→23]

N.B. *No child should ever be swathed tight. It lays the foundation for many diseases.*³ [1→16]

N.B. *It is best to wean a child at about seven months old. [5→16] They should lie in the cradle at least a year. No wise parent should suffer a child to drink any tea; (at least, till it is ten or twelve years old) or to taste spice or sugar. Milk, milk-porridge, and water gruel are the proper breakfast for children.* [8→16]

Washing the head every morning in cold water, prevents rheums, and cures coughs, old headaches, and sore eyes.⁴ [1→23]

Water-drinking [1→23]

Generally prevents⁵

apoplexies	gout
asthmas	hysteric fits
convulsions	stone
madness	trembling
palsies	

To this children should be bred up from their cradles.⁶ [1→23]

The best water to drink, especially for those who are much troubled with the wind, is rainwater. After it has settled, draw it off clear into another vessel, and it will keep sweet for a long time. [12→23]

¹ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 128–29.

² Ibid., 93–95.

³ See Baynard, in Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 340–42.

⁴ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 93.

⁵ This list comes from Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 109–10. 1→13 lack ‘generally’.

⁶ Floyer, *Psychrolousia*, 110.

Electrifying [8→23]

In a proper manner, cures¹

St. Anthony's fire	Leprosy	
Blindness	Restores bulk and fulness to wasted	5
Blood extravasated	Limbs [20→23]	
Bronchocele	Locked jaws or joints [14→23]	
Burns or scalds [12→23]	Menstrual obstructions [9→23]	
Coldness in the feet	Mortification [8]	
Contractions of the limbs	Ophthalmia [20→23]	10
Convulsions [15→23]	Pain in the stomach	
Cramp	Palpitation of the heart	
Deafness	Palsy	
Falling sickness	Rheumatism	
Feet violently disordered	Ringworms	15
Felons	Sciatica	
Fistula lachrymalis	Shingles	
Fits	Sinews shrunk [14→23]	
Flooding [9→23]	Spasms [20→23]	
Ganglions	Sprain, [8→23] however old	20
Gout	[14→23]	
Headache	Stiff joints [14→23]	
Imposthumes [14→23]	Surfeit	
Inflammations	Swellings of all sorts	
Involuntary motion of the eyelids	Sore Throat	25
[20→23]	Toothache	
King's evil	Ulcers [9→23]	
Knots in the flesh	Wasting [14→23]	
Lameness	Weakness of the Legs [14→23]	
	Wens	30

Drawing sparks removes those tumours on the eyelids called barley-corns, by exciting local inflammation, and promoting suppuration. [20→23]

Nor have I yet known one single instance, wherein it has done harm. So that I cannot but doubt the veracity of those which have affirmed the contrary. [8→23] Dr. De Haen positively

¹ All items in the list that follows appear in editions 8→23, unless specifically noted otherwise. See the similar list in *Desideratum*, II.3, below.

affirms, 'it can do no hurt in any case';² that is, unless the shock were immoderately strong. [14→23]

Fasting Spittle

5 Outwardly applied every morning, has sometimes relieved and sometimes cured:³

	Blindness	Deafness
	Contracted sinews, from a cut	Eye-lids, red and inflamed
10	[9→23]	Scorbutic tetters
	Corns (mixed with chewed bread	Sore legs
	and applied every morning)	Warts
	Cuts (fresh)	

15 Taken inwardly it relieves or cures:

	Asthmas	Leprosy
	Cancers	Palsy
	Falling sickness	Rheumatism
20	Gout	Scurvy
	Gravel	Stone
	King's evil	Swelled liver

25 The best way is to eat about an ounce of hard bread or sea-biscuit every morning, fasting two or three hours after. This should be done, in stubborn cases, for a month or six weeks.⁴ [8→23]

30 N.B. *I advise all in or near London to buy their medicines at the Apothecaries Hall. There they are sure to have them good.* [15→23]

² See Anton de Haen (1704–76), *Ratio Medendi* (Vienna: Trattner, 1757), 139–48; JW was almost certainly citing from the summary in Priestley, *History*, 421.

³ All items in the two tables that follow appear in editions 8→23, unless specifically noted otherwise. JW's source for these lists, added in 1758, was Nicholas Robinson (c. 1697–1775), *A Treatise on the Virtues and Efficacy of a Crust of Bread, eat early in a Morning, Fasting: To which are added some Particular Remarks concerning the Great Cures accomplished by the Saliva or Fasting Spittle* (London: E. Robinson, 1756); for the first list, see pp. 19–25; for the second, see pp. 25, 34–35, and 62. Robinson was a member of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to Christ's Hospital, London.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 33–34.

*A LETTER TO A FRIEND
CONCERNING TEA
(1748)*

An Introductory Comment

Tea from the Far East was first imported into England in 1657, when Thomas Garway began to offer it at his coffee house, near the Royal Exchange in London.¹ It was soon on the menus of countless other establishments. In the early 1660s Garway printed a handbill, *An Exact Description of the Growth, Quality, and Vertues of the Leaf Tee, alias Tay, Drawn up for Satisfaction of Persons of Quality, and the Good of the Nation in General*. Listed thereon were the following medicinal virtues:

It maketh the body active and lusty, strengthening the muscles and sinews.

It helpeth the headache, giddiness and heaviness thereof.

It removeth the obstructions of the spleen.

It is very good against the stone and gravel, cleansing the kidneys and ureteries.

It taketh away the difficulty of breathing, opening obstructions.

It is good against lippitude, distillations, and cleareth the sight.

It removeth lassitude, and cleaneth and purifieth adult humors, and a hot liver.

It is good against crudities.

It strengtheneth the weakness of the ventricle or stomach, and causeth a good appetite and digestion.

It vanquisheth heavy dreams, easeth the brain, strengtheneth memory.

It overcometh superfluous sleep, and prevents sleepiness in general, a draught of the infusion being taken, so that without trouble whole nights may be spent in study without hurt to

¹ It was initially designated 'Bohea tea'; trying to render into English the name of the Wu-yi mountains in the northern Fujian province of China, from whence it was imported.

the body, in that it moderately heateth and bindeth the mouth of the stomach.

It prevents agues, surfeits, and fevers, by infusing a fit quantity of the leaf, thereby provoking a most gentle vomit, and breathing of the pores.

It strengtheneth the inward parts, and prevents consumptions.

It assuageth the pains of the bowels.

It cureth colds, dropsies, and scurvys, by a proper infusion, purging the blood by sweat and urine, and expelleth infections.

It drives away all pains in the colic proceeding from wind.

It purgeth safely the gall.

These panacea-like claims were gathered from a variety of sources that were either written by or dependent on descriptions of travellers to the Far East. As tea drinking caught on in Europe, it did not take long for medical practitioners to begin noticing its negative effects. Even before its arrival in England, Simon Paulli, physician to the King of Denmark, published a tract that characterized most of the virtues alleged by other writers as exaggerations, justifiable at best as 'useful lies' for physicians to tell sick patients.² Paulli reminded his readers that even the best things may be used to excess, and insisted that too much tea impaired health. Just as importantly, Paulli suggested that domestic herbs have many of the same medicinal benefits being claimed for imported Asian tea, at a fraction of the cost.

The promoters of Asian tea in England soon answered Paulli. John Chamberlayne led the charge in 1682, stressing that Paulli's negative comments applied only to the *abuse* of tea.³ John Ovington's *Essay Upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea*, published in 1699, championed more vigorously the health benefits of drinking tea.⁴ His position as chaplain to the King, tendency to select the choicest (and undoubtedly the most expensive) teas, and focus on benefits for ailments like the gout or stone indicate that Ovington's tract was aimed mainly at the higher economic stratum of society.

² Simon Paulli, *Commentarius de abusu tobaci Americanorum veteri, et herbæ theæ Asiaticorum in Europa nova* (Strassburg, 1655); English translation: *A Treatise On Tobacco, Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate* (London: T. Osborne, 1746).

³ John Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco.... Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and Modern Travellers* (London: Christopher Wilkinson, 1682), 10–11.

⁴ John Ovington, *An Essay Upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea* (London: R. Roberts, 1699).

Faced with the popularity of what quickly became the *custom* of tea drinking, the next medical assault on the practice, in 1722, appeared anonymously.⁵ In contrast to the optimistic tracts of Chamberlayne and Ovington, this work offered a litany of horror stories about the disorders that drinking tea fostered, accounting for these negative effects in terms of the recently adopted mechanical model of the circulatory system. The author's hope was to encourage at least a few readers 'to lay aside so slow but sure a poison'.⁶

Perhaps chastened by this critique, when John Quincy added tea to his *Compleat English Dispensatory* in 1724, it was with the proviso that its use in England was too recent for there to be detailed medical knowledge. This did not stop Quincy from commending tea for its 'softening nourishing quality' and potential benefits for consumptions; but he immediately followed this by denouncing 'empirical impostors, with which this country very scandalously abounds, [who] impose up the world a pretended spirit of Bohea tea, for an infallible restorative and a curer of all consumptive cases'.⁷

George Cheyne took a similar moderate stance the same year in his *Essay Of Health And Long Life*—a book that John Wesley read shortly after it was published.⁸ Cheyne attributed any virtue of drinking coffee, tea, or chocolate to 'custom', and all of their harm to excess. As such he counseled moderation for most drinkers, while he warned those of weak or tender nerves to abstain from all three beverages.⁹

Wesley learned by experience the value of moderation in drinking tea prior to reading Cheyne. He began drinking tea about 1720, the year he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, where it was valued for its stimulant effect that helped preserve alertness while studying. It was not long before Wesley noticed another effect of tea upon him, a shaking of his hand (or what he called a 'paralytic disorder'). Inquiry among his peers convinced Wesley that this was

⁵ *An Essay On The Nature, Use, and Abuse Of Tea, in a letter to a Lady; With an Account of its Mechanical Operation* (London: J. Bettenham, 1722). The second edition, in 1725, revised the title slightly, including identification of the author as 'a physician'.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷ John Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis & Extemporanea: Or, A Compleat English Dispensatory, In Two Parts, Theoretical and Practical*, 5th edn. (London: E. Bell, 1724), 123–24. Quincy's first edition was in 1718; the fifth edition is the first to include an entry for tea.

⁸ George Cheyne, *An Essay on Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724). See JW letter to Susanna (Annesley) Wesley, Nov. 1, 1724, 25:151 in this edn.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 61–63.

a common side effect, not unique to himself. His response was not to avoid tea but to lessen the quantity, drink it weaker, and add more milk and sugar.¹⁰ Cheyne's medical advice reinforced Wesley's resolve to drink tea in moderation, a practice that remained consistent for a quarter of a century.

This brings us to *A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea*, published in 1748, which reveals a major shift in both Wesley's practice and his advice to others. Wesley was now championing *total abstinence* from tea. Underlying this shift was a sociological change in tea consumption. From the time of its introduction in England, the Crown imposed heavy duties on Asian tea. By 1684, when tea was selling in continental Europe for one shilling per pound, English duties and customs increased its cost by five shillings, placing it out of reach for most English consumers. This led to widespread smuggling, unscrupulous adulteration of product, and injury to legitimate traders.¹¹ It also meant that the first generation of debate about tea drinking was focused mainly on its perceived benefits or dangers for the upper classes of English culture.

This focus was broadened by Simon Mason in his tract *The Good and Bad Effects of Tea Considered*, which appeared in 1745. Medically, Mason reiterated the stock opinions of the preceding debate. But he emphasized from the outset his concern that the custom of drinking tea, now well established among the upper classes, was being widely adopted among persons of the lower classes, out of their desire to imitate their betters and 'be in the fashion'. This led Mason not only to warn the poor of the negative health effects of drinking tea, but to caution them about the pernicious effects it had upon their 'circumstances and morals'.¹² In particular, he warned that funds directed to this costly beverage typically came at the expense of basic needs in the drinker's family, and that the temptation to lower this cost by turning to smuggled tea was a violation of both law and morality.¹³

While no evidence has been found that Wesley read Mason's tract, by 1746 he had come to share Mason's broadened range of

¹⁰ See below, *Letter*, §3.

¹¹ Parliament did not lower the duty on tea sufficiently to offset the temptation to smuggling until 1784.

¹² Simon Mason, *The Good and Bad Effects of Tea Consider'd* (London: M. Cooper, 1745), 2–3.

¹³ Mason's attention focused on individuals. It would be a decade before Jonas Hanway drew attention to broader socio-economic, political, and military dimensions of the tea trade; Jonas Hanway, *A Journal ...; to which is added an Essay on Tea* (London: H. Woodfall, 1756).

concern. Wesley's *Journal* account of the decision in July 1746 to encourage total abstinence from tea focuses specifically on its detrimental effect on both the health and the limited finances of the *poor* in Methodist societies.¹⁴ These concerns remain central in Wesley's *Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea*. The greater length of the *Letter* allowed Wesley to raise as well the *moral* dimension of drinking tea, in light of its (duty-increased) cost. In particular, he reminds readers that money saved from switching to a cheaper alternative can be used for *better* purposes (see §19). While the *Letter* does not raise Mason's warning about the temptation of resorting to smuggled tea, Wesley specifically mentioned using tea on which customs had not been paid in a 1767 tract discouraging all types of smuggling.¹⁵

There is one sense in which Wesley's *Letter* had a more restricted focus than previous works raising concern about drinking tea. Earlier accounts by physicians (like Simon Paulli, the author of *An Essay On The... Abuse Of Tea*, George Cheyne, and Thomas Short) list numerous disorders caused or aggravated by drinking tea. Wesley's *Letter* focused almost exclusively on the effects of tea upon the nerves, because this was the disorder that he had suffered. Here we see the limitation of Wesley's tendency to assume that his experience was representative for all—an assumption reflected in the Latin motto that Wesley placed on the title page of his *Letter*: '*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto*';¹⁶ or, 'I am a man; nothing human is foreign to me'.¹⁷

This is not to suggest that Wesley discounted the other potential negative health effects of drinking tea. He likely took them for granted. It is noteworthy that only twice in *Collection of Receipts* did Wesley recommend tea as the vehicle for consuming other medicinal substances, and this vehicle was replaced when the remedies were incorporated into *Primitive Physic* in 1747.¹⁸ More to the point, Wesley whole-heartedly joined earlier writers in commending domestic herbal teas as safer and a less expensive

¹⁴ JW, *Journal*, July 6, 1746, 20:125 in this edn.: '...we agreed it would prevent great expense, as well of health as of time and money, if the poorer people of our society could be persuaded to leave off drinking of tea.'

¹⁵ JW, *A Word to a Smuggler* (1767), I.4 (vol. 14 in this edn.); note the instruction to distribute this tract in every society in the Minutes for that year, Q. 30, 10:351 in this edn.

¹⁶ Terence, *Self-Tormentor*, 25.

¹⁷ JW used this same motto on *A Collection Of Receipts* and *Primitive Physic*.

¹⁸ See *Collection of Receipts*, #54 and #101 (above in this vol.).

means of promoting health. Over twenty types of herbal tea appeared among the remedies in *Primitive Physic* through its various editions, with camomile tea the most frequently and consistently recommended.

Such were the concerns that led to Wesley's spirited call for his followers to abstain from drinking tea, beginning in July 1746. How successful was this campaign? In the *Letter*, §11, Wesley indicated that he was able to convince all but 'two or three' of his lay preachers then in London to undertake the experiment. In his *Journal*, Wesley detailed the symptoms that he experienced when he stopped drinking tea (including headaches, drowsiness, and memory loss), though he quickly added that the symptoms disappeared within a week and he felt more healthy than before.¹⁹ This was not the experience of all. In particular, it was not the experience of his brother. Charles Wesley was not in London when the agreement was reached to renounce drinking tea. He was on a preaching tour in Cornwall, where he received a letter from John informing him of the pact. Charles wrote back, protesting that tea was often the only beverage he could obtain in Cornwall.²⁰ Even so, Charles took part in the experiment, beginning on July 28, 1746. His side-effects included drowsiness and a headache so sharp that he could hardly speak or think. This was compounded by a violent purging (which Charles attributed to his milk-diet), such that he found it hard to stay on a horse. The result was that this became only a 'week's experiment'.²¹ Charles resumed drinking tea, and defending the practice to John.²² Other Methodists joined Charles in rejecting the campaign against tea, and appealed to Charles's practice as precedent. The writer whose inquiry led to Wesley's *Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* was among these.²³

Ultimately, John Wesley resumed drinking Asian tea as well, at the suggestion of his physician, Dr. John Fothergill, to aid recovery from and help prevent instances of consumption. It is a bit unclear exactly when Wesley's abstinence ended. His memory a decade or two later was that he abstained for a total of twelve years, which

¹⁹ JW, *Journal*, July 6, 1746, 20:125 in this edn.

²⁰ Error! Main Document Only.CW to JW, July 15, 1746, in Randy L. Maddox, et al. (eds), *The Journal Letters ... of the Rev. Charles Wesley* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2018), 179.

²¹ See CW, *Manuscript Journal*, July 28, 1746.

²² See particularly CW's letter to JW, Oct. 29, 1747, 26:267–68 in this edn.

²³ See *Letter*, §22.

would appear to keep it in place till 1758.²⁴ But the only record in Wesley's *Journal* of Dr. Fothergill treating him for consumption is in 1754.²⁵ And there is record of Wesley drinking tea by 1755.²⁶

Whatever the date, Wesley returned to his earlier approach of counseling moderation for most drinkers, while suggesting that those of weak or tender nerves abstain totally from tea. Thus he instructed his wife in 1757, when she was supervising the house at Kingswood, that she should allow no one in the house to drink tea more than once a day.²⁷ The next year he advised Dorothy Furly, whose health had been fragile, 'You ought not to drink much tea, and none without pretty much cream (not milk) and sugar. But I believe, were you to drink nettle-tea for a few mornings, it would do you more good than any other.'²⁸ Similarly, no expectation that lay preachers *uniformly* refrain from drinking tea can be found in Conference Minutes after the mid 1750s, though Wesley continued to encourage those with 'weak nerves' to abstain.²⁹ This approach remained consistent to the end, as evidenced by Wesley's 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', directed to his Methodist followers in 1784.³⁰

The balance of Wesley's typical advice about tea—on either side of his 'experiment' calling for total abstinence—stands squarely within the mainstream of eighteenth century medical opinion. We noted above the precedent at the beginning of the century in George Cheyne and others. This balance was reaffirmed in 1772, in a study by a young physician named John Coakley Lettsom that surveyed the latest scientific thinking on tea. Lettsom cautioned against drinking large quantities of tea, and particularly advised

²⁴ JW, *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's 'Review of All the Doctrines Taught by Mr. John Wesley'* (1772), §12.68, 13:462 in this edn.

²⁵ JW noticed health problems on his return to London from a preaching tour in October 1753. As symptoms grew worse he sought the advice of Dr. Fothergill in late November (and wrote an epitaph for his tomb). Under Fothergill's instruction JW's first bout with consumption improved by January 1754. He resumed his activities for a while, only to suffer a brief relapse in August 1754. See JW, *Journal*, Oct. 20, 1753 – Aug. 30, 1754; 20:479–89 in this edn.

²⁶ See WHS 18 (1932), 121; and JW to Ebenezer Blackwell, Apr. 19, 1756, 27:30 in this edn.

²⁷ JW to Mary (Goldhawk / Vazeille) Wesley, Sept. 15, 1757, 27:92 in this edn.

²⁸ JW to Dorothy Furly, Apr. 13, 1758, 27:124 in this edn.

²⁹ Note the absence of tea from the prohibition for lay preachers of snuff, drams, and tobacco in the 1765 Minutes, QQ. 36–37, 10:314 in this edn.; and the 1766 Minutes, Q. 2, 10:316 in this edn. It is only those with 'weak nerves' that he instructs 'touch no dram, tea, tobacco, or snuff', 1778 Minutes, Q. 24, 10:483 in this edn.

³⁰ See 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', §10 (below in this vol.).

against its consumption by the sick, those suffering from nervous disorders, and children.³¹

Wesley's initial zeal for encouraging total abstinence from tea among his followers led to rapid depletion of the 1500 copies of the first edition of Wesley's *Letter*, printed by William Strahan in London in December 1748. A second edition, by Felix Farley of Bristol, was needed within a year. But this was the *last* time Wesley published the independent tract (although he did include it, like almost all of his other writings, in his collected *Works* in 1773). Moreover, 275 unsold copies of the Bristol edition remained in stock in London when Wesley died in 1791.

This was not because Wesley stopped offering the *Letter* for sale. It continued to appear on lists of 'books for sale' that he published till his death. Even though there is no evidence of Wesley explicitly recommending the *Letter* after he resumed drinking tea, its presence on these lists left him open to the accusation of hypocrisy. Richard Hill was quick to seize this opening when debate broke out in the early 1770s between the Wesleyan and Calvinist Methodists. Hill was one of Wesley's most adamant Calvinist opponents. He closed his first volume directed against Wesley with a list of nearly a hundred instances where he believed Wesley was guilty of contradictory teachings or recommendations—one of which was that Wesley continued to offer the *Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* after he resumed drinking tea.³² In response Wesley emphasized that he resumed tea on a physician's advice.³³ Hill's reply questioned the veracity of this claim, while sarcastically commending Wesley for seeking 'the sanction of a physician's opinion; an expedient constantly practiced at Rome, in order to eat flesh in Lent'.³⁴

For a stemma illustrating the relationship of the three editions of *A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* published during Wesley's lifetime, and the handful of textual variants, see Appendix A, p. 640. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 155.

³¹ John Coakley Lettsom, *The Natural History Of The Tea-Tree. With Observations On The Medical Qualities of Tea, And Effects Of Tea-Drinking* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1772), esp. pp. 54–55.

³² Richard Hill, *A Review of all the Doctrines Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley* (London: Dilly, 1772), 138. Hill claims that Wesley had lately reprinted the *Letter*; what Hill had likely seen was one of Wesley's recent 'lists of books' that included the *Letter*.

³³ JW, *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's 'Review'* (1772), §12.68, 13:462 in this edn.

³⁴ Richard Hill, *Logica Wesleiensis; or, The Farrago Double-Distilled* (London: Dilly, 1773), 40–41. For Wesley's response see *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's 'Farrago Double Distilled'* (1773), §37, 13:513–14 in this edn.

A
L E T T E R
T O A
F R I E N D,
C O N C E R N I N G
T E A.

Homo sum: Humani nihil à me alienum puto.

By JOHN WESLEY, M. A.
Fellow of *Lincoln-College*, OXFORD.



L O N D O N:
Printed by W. STRAHAN, in the Year
MDCCXLVIII.

A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea

Newington¹

December 10, 1748

Dear Sir,

5 1. I have read your letter with attention, and much approve of the spirit with which it is wrote.² You speak of love. I desire to do so too, and then no harm can be done on either side. You appear not to be wedded to your own opinion, but open to further conviction. I would willingly be of the same temper, not obstinately attached to
 10 either side of the question. I am clearly satisfied of the necessity of this, a willingness to see what as yet I see not.³ For I know an unwillingness to be convinced would utterly blind either you or me. And that if we are *resolved* to retain our present opinion, reason and argument signify nothing.

15 2. I shall not therefore think it is time or pains misemployed to give the whole cause a second hearing; to recite the occasion of every step I have taken, and the motives inducing me so to do; and then to consider whatsoever either you or others have urged on the contrary side of the question.

20 3. Twenty-nine years since,⁴ when I had spent a few months at Oxford, having, as I apprehended, an exceeding good constitution and being otherwise in health, I was a little surprized at some symptoms of a paralytic disorder. I could not imagine what should occasion that shaking of my hand, till I observed it was always worst
 25 after breakfast, and that if I intermitted drinking tea for two or three days it did not shake at all. Upon inquiry I found tea had the same effect upon others also of my acquaintance, and therefore saw that this was one of its natural effects (as several physicians have often remarked), especially when it is largely and frequently drank,

¹ Newington Green, an open area halfway between Islington and Stoke Newington, about three miles northeast of Charing Cross, where JW was staying with Captain Edward and Mary (Jackson) Stotesbury. He 'retired to Newington to write' on Dec. 5, 1748, with this *Letter* being the first fruit of what extended to a two-month period of writing; see JW, *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1748 – Jan. 28, 1749, 20:260–62 in this edn.

² The letter JW received is not known to survive (beyond the allusions and excerpts in this response). Neither has the identity of the letter writer been confirmed, though it was likely one of the members of the Methodist society in London with greater financial means.

³ Cf. JW's insistence that a person of a truly 'catholic spirit ... is always ready to hear and weigh whatsoever can be offered against his principles'; Sermon 39, *Catholic Spirit*, III.1, 2:93 in this edn.

⁴ JW matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford on June 24, 1720.

and most of all on persons of weak nerves. Upon this I lessened the quantity, drank it weaker, and added more milk and sugar. But still, for above six and twenty years, I was more or less subject to the same disorder.

4. July was two years, I began to observe that abundance of the people in London with whom I conversed laboured under the same, and many other, paralytic disorders—and that in a much higher degree, insomuch that some of their nerves were quite unstrung, their bodily strength was quite decayed, and they could not go through their daily labour.⁵ I enquired, ‘Are you not a hard drinker?’ And was answered by one, and another, and another, ‘No, indeed, sir, not I. I drink scarce anything but a little tea, morning and night.’ I immediately remembered my own case and, after weighing the matter throughly, easily gathered from many concurring circumstances that it was the same case with them.

5. I considered, ‘What an advantage would it be to these poor enfeebled people if they would leave off what so manifestly impairs their health, and thereby hurts their business also? Is there nothing equally cheap which they could use? Yes, surely; and cheaper too. If they used English herbs in its stead (which would cost either nothing, or what is next to nothing), with the same bread, butter, and milk, they would save just the price of the tea. And hereby they might not only lesson their pain, but in some degree their poverty too. For they would be able to work (as well as to save) considerably more than they can do now. And by this means, if they are in debt, they might be more just, paying away what they either earned or saved. If they are not in debt, they might be more merciful, giving it away to them that want.’

6. I considered farther, ‘What an advantage might this be, particularly in such a body of men as those are who are united together in these societies? Who are both so numerous and so poor? How much might be saved in so numerous a body, even in this single article of expense? And how greatly is all that can possibly be saved, in every article, wanted daily by those who have not even food convenient for them?’

7. I soon perceived that this latter consideration was of a more general nature than the former. And that it affected many of those whom the other did not so immediately concern, seeing it was

⁵ JW’s *Journal* entry for July 6, 1746, portrayed the steps he will proceed to enumerate as more of a corporate discernment: ‘we agreed We resolved’; 20:125 in this edn.

needful for *all* to save fruitless expenses, as for some to regain the health they impaired. Especially considered as members of a society, the wants of which they could not be unapprized of. They knew of those to whom they were peculiarly united, some had not food
 5 to sustain nature. Some were destitute of even necessary clothing. Some had no where to lay their head.⁶ They knew, or might know, that the little contributions made weekly did in no wise suffice to remove these wants,⁷ being barely sufficient to relieve the sick; and even that in so scanty a manner that I know not if some of them
 10 have not, with their allowance, pined away, and at length died for want. If you and I have not saved all we could to relieve these, how shall we face them at the throne of God?⁸

8. I reflected, 'If one only would save all that he could, in this
 15 single instance, he might surely feed or clothe the brethren, and perhaps save one life. What then might be done if ten thousand, or one thousand, or only five hundred would do it? Yea, if half that number should say, "I will compute this day what I have expended in tea, weekly or yearly. I will immediately enter on cheaper food.
 20 And whatever is saved hereby I will put into that poor-box weekly, to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked."⁹ I am mistaken if any among us need want either food or raiment from that hour.'

9. I thought farther, 'It is said, nay many tell me to my face, I can persuade this people to anything. I will make a fair trial. If I cannot
 25 persuade them, there may be some good effect. All who do not wilfully shut their eyes will see that I have no such influence as they supposed. If I can persuade any number, many who are now weak or sick will be restored to health and strength. Many will pay those debts which others, perhaps equally poor, can but ill afford to lose.
 30 Many will be less straitened in their own families. Many, by helping their neighbour, will lay up for themselves treasures in heaven.'¹⁰

10. Immediately it struck into my mind, 'But example must go before precept. Therefore I must not plead an exemption for myself
 35 from a daily practice of twenty-seven years. I must begin.' I did so.

⁶ See Matt. 8:20.

⁷ Members of the Methodist society were encouraged to contribute a penny a week, which went to relief of the poor; see *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, II.3–5, 9:260–61 in this edn.

⁸ See JW's elaboration of his second rule 'save all you can' in his 1760 programmatic sermon 'The Use of Money', II, 2:273–76 in this edn.

⁹ See Matt. 25:35–36.

¹⁰ See Matt. 6:20.

I left it off myself in August 1746.¹¹ And I have now sufficient time to try the effects, which have fully answered my expectation. My paralytic complaints are all gone. My hand is as steady as it was at fifteen; although I must expect that, or other weaknesses, soon, as I decline into the vale of years.¹² And so considerable a difference do I find in my expense that I can make it appear, from the accounts now in being in only those four families at London, Bristol, Kingwood, and Newcastle,¹³ I have upwards of fifty pounds a year. 5

11. The first to whom I explained these things at large, and whom I advised to set the same example to their brethren, were a few of those who rejoice to assist my brother and me as our sons in the gospel.¹⁴ A week after I proposed it to about forty of those whom I believed to be strong in faith; and the next morning to about sixty more, entreating them all to speak their minds freely. They did so, and in the end saw the good which might ensue, yielded to the force of Scripture and reason, and resolved all (but two or three) by the grace of God to make the trial without delay. 10 15

12. In a short time I proposed it, but with all the tenderness I could, first to the body of those who are supposed to have living faith, and after staying¹⁵ a few days (that I might judge the better how to speak) to the whole society. It soon appeared (as I doubted 20

¹¹ JW's memory is a bit off; his *Journal* records this cessation of drinking tea beginning on July 6, 1746, 20:125 in this edn. It also describes the difficulties experienced the first few days.

¹² Cf. Shakespeare, *Othello*, II.iii.265–66: '... for I am declined / Into the vale of tears'.

¹³ JW routinely referred to those who lived in and helped run the main centre of ministry in each of these four key sites as 'family'. Note for example this excerpt from his letter of Jan. 8, 1757, to Matthew Errington, who was in charge of the Orphan house in Newcastle: 'I hope you all continue a family of love, and that the stewards and you are in harmony with each other. I should be glad to see poor Becky, especially if I find her all alive to God. We have a sickly family here: my wife, Jenny, Sally Clay, ill of paralytic; Thomas Walsh and Jemmy Morgan of consumptive disorders' (27:73 in this edn.).

¹⁴ JW normally applied this specific phrase to his converts who had become lay preachers. The succession JW began describing here is apparently as follows: 1) He discussed abstinence from tea with a handful of preachers (perhaps at the London Conference of June 15–18, 1747); 2) a week later he addressed a group of forty followers 'strong in the faith' (likely a 'select society' meeting at West Street Chapel or the Foundry); 3) the following day with sixty more (moving from West Street to the Foundry—or vice versa); 4) a short time later with some 'supposed to have a living faith' (i.e., members of the bands); and 5) a few days later to the whole London society.

¹⁵ I.e., waiting.

not but it would) how far these were from 'calling me rabbi',¹⁶ from submitting implicitly to my judgement or implicitly following my example. Objections rose in abundance from all sides. These I now proceed to consider, whether they are advanced by you or by others, and whether pointed at the premisses or directly at the conclusion.

13. I.¹⁷ Some objected, 'Tea is not unwholesome at all, not in any kind prejudicial to health.'

To these I reply, first, you should not be so sure of this. Even that casual circumstance related in Dr. Short's history of it might incline you to doubt—viz., that 'while the Chinese dry the leaves, and turn it with their hands upon the tin-plates, the moisture of them is so extremely corrosive that it eats into the flesh, if not wiped off immediately.'¹⁸ It is not probable then that what remains in the leaves is quite friendly to the human body.

Secondly, many eminent physicians have declared their judgement that it is prejudicial in several respects. That it gives rise to numberless disorders, particularly those of the nervous kind. And that, if frequently used by those of weak nerves, it is no other than a slow poison.¹⁹

Thirdly, if all physicians were silent in the case, yet plain fact is against you. And this speaks loud enough. It *was* prejudicial to *my* health. It *is* so to many at this day.

14. 'But it is not so to *me*', says the objector. 'Why then should I leave it off?'

I answer, first, to give an example to those to whom it is undeniably prejudicial.

¹⁶ Cf. Matt. 23:7–8.

¹⁷ While oddly placed, this Roman numeral is meant to indicate the first general type of objection that JW received. Transition to the second general type of objection in §17 is similarly marked.

¹⁸ Cf. Thomas Short, *A Dissertation on Tea; explaining its nature and properties . . . to which is added the natural history of tea* (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1730), 6, 9–10. This was the most thorough review of the medical literature on tea at the time. Though displaying both sides of the debate, Short's focus was on the plant itself and its healing virtues, rather than its abusive use and corruption in the market place. He also highlighted domestic herbs with similar or superior virtues, with a predilection for sage and water.

¹⁹ The specific conclusion of the tract by an unnamed physician, *An Essay On The Nature, Use, and Abuse Of Tea* (London: J. Bettenham, 1722), 7. The similar warnings by Simon Paulli, physician to the King of Denmark, had appeared recently in English translation: *A Treatise On Tobacco, Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate* (London: T. Osborne, 1746). See also Short's detailed description of the negative effects of drinking tea on those with weak nerves in *Dissertation*, 63.

Secondly, that you may have the more wherewith to give bread to the hungry, and raiment to the naked.²⁰

15. 'But I cannot leave it off, for it helps my health. Nothing else will agree with me.'

I answer, first, will *nothing* else agree with *you*? I know not how to believe that. I suppose your body is much of the same kind with that of your great grandmother. And do you think nothing else agreed with her? Or with any of her progenitors? What poor, puling, sickly things must all the English then have been, till within these hundred years!²¹ But you know they were not so. Other things agreed with them. And why not with you? 5 10

Secondly, if in fact nothing else will, if tea has already weakened your stomach and impaired your digestion to such a degree, it *has* hurt *you* more than you are aware. It has prejudiced *your* health extremely. *You* have need to abhor it as deadly poison, and to renounce it from this very hour. 15

So says a drinker of drams,²² 'Nothing else will agree with me. Nothing else will raise my spirits. I can digest nothing without.' Indeed? Is it so? Then touch no more, if you love your life. 20

Thirdly, suppose nothing else agrees with you at first, yet in a while many things will. When I first left off tea I was half asleep all day long. My head ached from morning to night. I could not remember a question asked, even till I could return an answer. But in a week's time all these inconveniences were gone, and have never returned since. 25

Fourthly, I have not found one single exception yet—not one person in all England with whom, after sufficient trial made, *nothing else* would agree.

It is therefore well worth while for *you* to try again, if you have any true regard for your own health, or any compassion for those who are perishing all around you for want of the common necessities of life. 30

16. If you are sincere in this plea—if you do not *talk* of your health, while the real objection is your inclination—make a fair trial thus: 1) Take half a pint of milk every morning, with a little bread, not boiled but warmed only (a man in tolerable health might double the quantity). 2) If this is too heavy, add as much water and boil it together with a spoonful of oatmeal. 3) If this agrees not, try 35

²⁰ See Isa. 58:7.

²¹ I.e., prior to the introduction of Asian tea in England.

²² JW uses this term to refer to distilled liquors like gin and rum.

half a pint, or a little more, of water-gruel, neither thick or thin. not sweetened (for that may be apt to make you sick) but with a very little butter, salt, and bread. 4) If this disagrees, try sage, green balm, mint, or pennyroyal tea, infusing only so much of the herb as
 5 just to change the colour of the water. 5) Try two or three of these mixed, in various proportions. 6) Try ten or twelve other English herbs. 7) Try foltron, a mixture of herbs to be had at many grocers, far healthier as well as cheaper than tea. 8) Try cocoa. If after having
 10 tried each of these for a week or ten days, you find none of them will agree with your constitution, then use (weak green) tea again. But at the same time know that your having used it so long has brought you near the chambers of death.²³

17. II.²⁴ 'I do not know', says another, 'but tea may hurt me. But there is nothing saved by leaving it off. For I am sure other things
 15 cost full as much.' I pray, what other things? Sack and sugar costs more,²⁵ and so do ragouts,²⁶ or pheasants, or ortolans. But what is this to the point? We don't say *all* things are cheaper. But any of the things above-mentioned are, at least if prudently managed. There-
 20 fore, if you really desire to save what you can, you will drink tea no more.

18. 'Well, I don't design to buy any more myself, but where others drink it there is nothing saved by my abstaining.' I answer, first, yes something is saved, though but little; especially if you tell them be-
 25 fore, I shall not drink tea. And many a little, you know, put together will make a great sum.

Secondly, if the whole saved were ever so little, if it were but two mites, when you save this for God and your brethren's sake, it is much.²⁷

30 Thirdly, your example in saving a little now may occasion the saving of more by and by.

Fourthly, it is not a little advantage which you may reap, even now, to your own soul—by habituating yourself not to be ashamed of being singular in a good thing; by taking up your cross and denying yourself,²⁸ even in so small an instance; and by accustoming your-
 35 self to act on rational grounds, whether in a little matter or a great.

²³ See Prov. 7:27.

²⁴ I.e., attention is now turned to the second general type of objection that JW received.

²⁵ A type of imported sweetened wine that was popular in England.

²⁶ A highly-seasoned meat stew.

²⁷ See Mark 12:41–44; Luke 21:1–4.

²⁸ See Matt. 16:24 and parallels.

19. 'But what is saved will be no better employed.' Do you say this with regard to yourself or others? If with regard to yourself, it will be *your* fault if you do not employ it better. I don't say you *will*, but I am sure you *may*. And if you *do* not, it is your own sin, and your own shame.

If with regard to others, how do you know that it will not be employed better? I trust it will. It cannot be denied that it often *has*, and that it always *may* be. And it is highly probable all who save anything from the best motive will lay it out to the best purpose.

20. 'As to example', you say, 'I have lately been without hopes of doing any good by it.' I suppose you mean because so exceeding few will follow either your example or mine. I am sorry for it. This only gives me a fresh objection to this unwholesome, expensive food—viz., that it has too much hold on the hearts of them that use it. That (to use a scriptural phrase) they are 'under the power of' this trifle.²⁹ If it be so, were there no other reason than this, they ought to throw it away at once. Else they no more regard St. Paul than you do, or me. For this rule is home to the point. 'All things are lawful for me. But I will not be brought under the power of any.'³⁰ Away with it then, however lawful (that is, though it were wholesome as well as cheap), if you are already brought 'under the power of' it.

And the fewer they are who follow this rule, the greater reason there is that you should add one example more to those few. Though, blessed be God, they are not so few as you suppose. I have met with very many in London who use less of it than they had done for many years, and above an hundred who have plucked out the right eye and cast it from them,³¹ who wholly abstain from it.

21. You add, But I am 'equally, yea abundantly more, concerned to set an example in all Christian behaviour.' I grant it. This therefore 'ought you have done, and not to leave the other undone'.³²

22. But 'one day', you add, 'I saw your brother drink tea, which he said was for fear of giving offence.'³³

I answer, first, learn from hence to follow neither his nor my practice implicitly. But weigh the reason of each, and then follow reason wheresoever it stands.

²⁹ 1 Cor. 6:12.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See Matt. 5:29, and parallels.

³² Matt. 23:23; Luke 11:42.

³³ See the summary of CW's response to the campaign to renounce tea in the Introductory Comment above.

But, secondly, examine your heart, and beware inclination does not put on the shape of reason.

Thirdly, you see with your own eyes I do not drink it at all, and yet I seldom give offence thereby. It is not then the bare abstaining, but
5 the manner of doing it, which usually gives the offence.

Fourthly, there is therefore a *manner* wherein you may do it too, and yet give no more offence than I. For instance, if any ask you, simply reply, 'I don't drink tea. I never use it.' If they say, 'Why, you *did* drink it?' Answer, 'I did so, but I have left it off a considerable time.' Those who have either good nature or good manners
10 will say no more. But if any should impertinently add, 'O but why did you ever leave it off?' Answer mildly, 'Because I thought water-gruel' (suppose) 'was wholesomer, as well as cheaper.' If they (with still greater ill-manners and impertinence) go on, 'What! You do it because Mr. Wesley bids you.' Reply calmly, 'True, I do it because
15 Mr. Wesley on good reasons advises me so to do.' If they add the trite cant phrase, 'What, you "follow man"!'³⁴ Reply, without any emotion, 'Yes, I follow any man, you or him or any other, who gives me good reasons for so doing.' If they persist in caviling, close the
20 whole matter with, 'I neither drink it nor dispute about it.'

23. If you proceed in this manner, with mildness and love, exceeding few will be offended. 'But you ought', say some, 'to give up an indifferent thing, rather than give an offence to any. So St. Paul, "I will eat no flesh whilst the world standeth, lest I make my brother
25 to offend."³⁵ I reply, this is not an indifferent thing if it affects the health either of myself or my brethren. Therefore that rule, relating wholly to things indifferent, is not applicable to this case. Would St. Paul have said, I will drink drams while the world standeth, lest I make my brother offend? 'But tea is not as hurtful as drams.' I do
30 not believe it is. But it is hurtful. And that is enough. The question does not turn on the *degree* of hurtfulness. 'However, it is but a *small* thing.'³⁶ Nay, nothing is small if it touches conscience. Much less is it a small thing to preserve my own or my brother's health, or to be a faithful steward even of the mammon of unrighteousness.³⁷ O
35 think it not a small thing whether only one for whom Christ died be fed or hungry, be clothed or naked.

To conclude the head of offence. You must at least allow that all this is no plea at all for your drinking tea at home. 'Yes it is, for my

³⁴ Alluding to Mark 7:8; Acts 5:29.

³⁵ 1 Cor. 8:13.

³⁶ See Isa. 7:13.

³⁷ See Luke 16:9.

husband or parents are offended if I do not drink it.' I answer, first, perhaps this, in some rare cases, may be a sufficient reason why a wife or a child should use this food that is with them, but nowhere else. But, secondly, try, and not once or twice only, if you can't overcome that offence by reason, softness, love, patience, long-suffering, 5 joined with constant and fervent prayer.

24. Your next objection is, 'I can't bear to give trouble. Therefore I drink whatever others drink where I come, else there is so much hurry about insignificant me.'

I answer, first, this is no plea at all for your drinking tea at home. 10 Therefore touch it not there, whatever you do abroad.

Secondly, where is the trouble given, even when you are abroad, if they drink tea and you fill your cup with milk and water?

Thirdly, whatever trouble is taken is not for 'insignificant *me*', but for that poor man who is half-starved with cold and hunger, for that miserable woman who, while she is poisoning herself, wipes her mouth and says she does no evil.³⁸ Who will not believe the poison will hurt *her* because it does not (sensibly at least) hurt *you*. O throw it away! Let her have one plea less for destroying her body (if not 15 her soul) before the time! 20

25. You object farther, 'It is my desire to be unknown for any particularity, unless a peculiar love to the souls of those who are present.' And I hope to the souls who are absent too; yea, and to their bodies also in a due proportion, that they may be healthy, and fed, 25 and clothed, and warm, and may praise God for the consolation.³⁹

26. You subjoin, 'When I had left it off for some months I was continually puzzled with Why? What? etc. And I have seen no good effects, but impertinent questions and answers, and unedifying conversation about eating and drinking.' 30

I answer, first, those who were so uneasy about it plainly showed that you touched the apple of their eye.⁴⁰ Consequently these, of all others, ought to leave it off; for they are evidently 'brought under the power of it'.⁴¹

Secondly, those impertinent questions might have been cut short 35 by a very little steadiness and common sense. You need only have taken the method mentioned above, and they would have dropped in the midst.

³⁸ See Prov. 30:20.

³⁹ See Luke 2:25.

⁴⁰ See Zech. 2:8.

⁴¹ See §20 above.

Thirdly, it is not strange you saw no good effects of leaving it off, where it was not left off at all. But you saw very bad effects of not leaving it off—viz., the adding sin to sin,⁴² the joining much unedifying conversation to wasteful, unhealthy self-indulgence.

5 Fourthly, you need not go far to see many good effects of leaving it off. You may see them in me. I have recovered hereby that healthy state of the whole nervous system which I had in a great degree, and I almost thought irrecoverably, lost for considerably more than
10 twenty years. I have been enabled hereby to assist in one year above fifty poor with food or raiment, whom I must otherwise have left (for I had before begged for them all I could) as hungry and naked as I found them. You may see the good effects in above thirty
15 poor people just now before you, who have been restored to health, through the medicines bought by that money which a single person has saved in this article.⁴³ And a thousand more good effects you will not fail to see, when her example is more generally followed.

27. Neither is there any need that conversation should be unedifying, even when it turns upon eating and drinking. Nay, from such a conversation, if duly improved, numberless good effects may flow.
20 For how few understand, 'Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God'?⁴⁴ And how glad ought you to be of a fair occasion to observe that, though the kingdom of God does not consist in 'meats and drinks',⁴⁵ yet without exact temperance in these we cannot have either 'righteousness', or 'peace', or 'joy in
25 the Holy Ghost'?⁴⁶

It may therefore have a very happy effect if, whenever people introduce the subject, you directly close in and push it home, that they may understand a little more of this important truth.

28. But 'I find at present very little desire to change either my
30 thoughts or practice.' Shall I speak plain? I fear by not standing your ground, by easiness, cowardice, and false shame, you have grieved the Spirit of God,⁴⁷ and thereby lost your conviction and desire at once.

⁴² See Isa. 30:1.

⁴³ JW was likely referring to medicines made available at the free clinics set up in Bristol and in London, both of which were still active in 1748. See *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, XII, 9:275–76 in this edn.; *Journal*, Dec. 4, 1746, 20:150–51 in this edn.; and *Journal*, June 6, 1747, 20:177 in this edn. The identity of the female donor is not known.

⁴⁴ 1 Cor. 10:31.

⁴⁵ Heb. 9:10.

⁴⁶ Rom. 14:17.

⁴⁷ See Eph. 4:30.

Yet you add, 'I advise every one to leave off tea if it hurts their health or is inconsistent with frugality, as I advise every one to avoid dainties in meat and vanity in dress from the same principle.' Enough, enough! Let this only be well pursued, and it will secure all that I contend for. I advise no persons living to leave it off if it does not hurt the health either of them or their brethren, and if it is not inconsistent with the Christian frugality of cutting off *every* needless expense. 5

29. But 'to be subject to the consequences of leaving it off again! This I cannot bear.' 10

I answer, first, it may be so. You cannot easily bear it. For by your giving up the point once, you have made it much harder to stand your ground now than it was at first. Yet still it is worth all your courage and labour, since the reasons for it are still as strong as at the beginning. 15

Secondly, as to the consequences you fear, they are shadowy all. They are a mere lion in the streets.⁴⁸ 'Much trouble to others.' Absolutely none at all, if you take the tea-kettle and fill your cup with water. 'Much foolish discourse.' Take the preceding advice and it will be just the reverse. 'Nothing helpful toward the renewal of my soul in the image of Jesus Christ.' What a deep mistake is this? Is it not helpful to speak closely of the nature of his inward kingdom? To encourage one another in casting off every weight,⁴⁹ in removing every hindrance of it? To inure ourselves to the bearing his cross? To bring Christianity into the common life, and accustom ourselves to conduct even our minutest actions by the great rules of reason and religion? 20 25

30. Is it 'not of any importance' to do this? I think it is of vast importance. However, 'it is a very small circumstance in self-denial'. It is well if you find it so. I am sure I did not. And I believe the case is the same with many others at this day. But you say, 'I have so many other assaults of self-indulgence, that this is as nothing.' 'It is nothing', said one to a young woman, 'to fast once or twice a week, to deny yourself a little food. Why don't you deny yourself as to anger and fretfulness, as to peevishness and discontent?' She replied, 'That I want. So I deny myself in little things first, till I am able to do it in greater.' Neither you nor I can mend her reply. 'Go thou and do likewise.'⁵⁰ 30 35

⁴⁸ See Prov. 26:13.

⁴⁹ See Heb. 12:1.

⁵⁰ Luke 10:37.

31. I have done what I proposed, and indeed in many more words than I at first intended. I have told you the occasion of every step I have taken and the motives inducing me thereto, and have considered what either you or others have urged on the contrary side of the question.

5

And now the advice I would give upon the whole is this: First, pray earnestly to God for clear light, for a full, piercing, and steady conviction that this is the more excellent way.⁵¹ Pray for a spirit of universal self-denial, of cheerful temperance, of wise frugality.

10

For bowels of mercies,⁵² for a kind compassionate spirit, tenderly sensible of the various wants of your brethren. And for firmness of mind, for a mild even courage, without fear, anger, or shame. Then you will once more, with all readiness of heart, make this little (or great) sacrifice to God. And withal present your soul and body a liv-

15

ing sacrifice, acceptable unto God, through Jesus Christ.⁵³

⁵¹ See 1 Cor. 12:31.

⁵² See Col. 3:12.

⁵³ See Rom. 12:1.

*THE DESIDERATUM:
OR, ELECTRICITY MADE PLAIN
AND USEFUL BY A LOVER OF MANKIND,
AND OF COMMON SENSE
(1760)*

An Introductory Comment

In late October 1759, John Wesley was busy ‘revising and perfecting a treatise on electricity’.¹ The treatise was published in late December (though dated 1760),² bearing the title *The Desideratum: Or, Electricity Made Plain and Useful*. It was a moderate-sized tract of about eighty pages. Wesley’s name did not appear on the title page. In its place was the morally engaging pseudonym, ‘A Lover of Mankind, and of Common Sense’. While the pseudonym remained on later editions, Wesley’s authorship was broadly recognized; and it was verified when Wesley included it in his collected set of *Works* in 1773.

The title *Desideratum* signalled Wesley’s intent that his publication be of beneficent use to humankind.³ The body of the tract was divided into two parts, the ‘speculative’ and the ‘practical’. Wesley’s preface made clear that his chief interest was in the practical part, which for him was synonymous with the potential medical benefits of electricity.⁴ His goal in *Desideratum* was to turn interest in the new phenomena of ‘electrical fire’ firmly towards its potential as a cheap and effective cure for many medical complaints. Thus his

¹ JW, *Journal*, Oct. 31–Nov. 1, 1759, 21:232 in this edn.

² The first advertisement citing its publication appeared in Dec. 27–29, 1759, issue of the *London Evening Post*, p. 4.

³ *Desideratum* is the past participle of the Latin word *desiderare*, ‘to desire’; it denotes something highly desired or needed. The term had been introduced into accounts of electricity at least as early as Benjamin Wilson, *An Essay Towards an Explication of the Phaenomena of Electricity* (London: C. Davis & M. Cooper, 1746), 28: ‘This electric or subtile matter ... seems to be the great *desideratum* to account for many of the wonderful operations in nature.’

⁴ See particularly Preface, §3, and JW’s substitution of ‘medical’ for ‘physical’ in the fourth edition.

response to the query following its publication 'Why did you meddle with electricity?' was 'For the same reason as I published the *Primitive Physic*, to do as much good as I can.'⁵

Wesley's Awakened Interest in Electricity

Wesley's interest in electricity did not begin with medicine in mind. Like many of his peers, Wesley was caught up in the swelling public curiosity about this new phenomena that swept the British Isles, continental Europe, and the American colonies through the second quarter of the eighteenth century. This curiosity was fanned by a range of demonstrations designed to entertain the public.⁶ Wesley was initially just another face in the crowd.

Electricity was first brought to the attention of natural philosophers⁷ in the 1730s by the experiments of Stephen Gray, who designed an apparatus that passed electricity through the body of a young boy, with spectacular effects. Gray described his experiments in a series of letters published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, spawning broader experimentation in England and beyond.⁸ These experiments were duplicated in France by Charles François de Cisternay du Fay, who subjected himself to electrification. He noted a resulting spark on the finger of any person who touched him, and that this produced pain akin to a pin prick or sting.⁹ It was only a matter of time before speculation began to unfold about the effects of electricity on the human body.

The earliest medical applications of electricity apparently took place in continental Europe. In 1744 two professors of natural philosophy at Halle University, Johann Gottlob Krüger and Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein, published experiments showing that elec-

⁵ JW to Mr. 'T. H.', Dec. 12, 1760, 27:229 in this edn.

⁶ See Simon Schaffer, 'Natural Philosophy and Public Spectacle', *History of Science* 21 (1983), 1-43; and Paola Bertucci, 'The Electrical Body of Knowledge: Medical Electricity and Experimental Philosophy in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', in P. Bertucci & G. Pancaldi (eds.), *Electric Bodies: Episodes in the History of Medical Electricity* (Bologna: University of Bologna Department of Philosophy, 2001), 43-68.

⁷ This was the most common title in the early eighteenth century for those who studied the natural world—i.e., who later would be called 'scientists'.

⁸ See the series of letters in *Philosophical Transactions*, 37 (1731-32): 18-44, 227-30, 285-91, 397-407; and 39 (1735-36): 15-24, 166-70, 220, 400-403.

⁹ Reported in *Gentleman's Magazine* 15 (1745), 194.

tricity accelerated the human pulse.¹⁰ In his account Kratzenstein credited Krüger with being 'the first whom the idea struck that electrification might be useful in medicine'.¹¹ Following up on this suggestion, Kratzenstein used their electrifying machine to cure a woman with a contracted little finger; and later, to reactivate two lame fingers of a harpsichord player.¹² Similarly, in April 1745 Georg Matthias Bose, professor of natural philosophy at Wittenberg, after noting that electricity accelerated the motion of water in a pipe and quickened the pulse, suggested that 'There are hopes of finding in it a remedy for the sciatica and palsy'.¹³

A crucial prerequisite for exploring such hope was a means for condensing and storing the energy of electricity. In late 1745 Pieter van Musschenbroek, professor of experimental physics at Leyden University, accidentally discovered that a glass jar containing water was capable of building up a powerful electrical charge. A letter describing his discovery was published in London in March 1746, including van Musschenbroek's description of being 'struck with such a violent blow that he thought his life at an end'.¹⁴ Soon others were using a refined 'Leyden jar' to condense and store electricity.¹⁵

Popular displays of the effects of electricity grew through 1746. On the encouragement of friends, Rev. Henry Miles of Tooting, near London, used his electrified finger to light the spirits of wine. Upping the challenge, the electrical current was passed through a thick piece of ice to a third party, who similarly inflamed wine vapours.¹⁶ In Paris, Abbè Jean-Antoine Nollet passed electricity through 180 soldiers, causing them to 'spring up at once', for the amusement of the king. To top this, the Carthusian convent

¹⁰ Krüger, *Zuschrift an seine Zuhörer, worinnen er Gedanken von der Electricität mittheilt und Ihnen zugleich seine künftigen Lectionen bekannt macht* (Halle: Hemmerde, 1744); and Kratzenstein, *Abhandlung von dem Nutzen der Electricität in der Arzneywissenschaft* (1744 ori.; 2nd edn., enlarged, Halle: Hemmerde, 1745).

¹¹ Kratzenstein, *Abhandlung*, 10. Another writer who called for application of electricity in medical treatment in 1744 was David Stephenson, *Medicine made to Agree with the Institutions of Nature; Or a New Mechanical Practice of Physic* (London: J. Hart, 1744), 57.

¹² Kratzenstein, *Abhandlung* (2nd edn.), 15–20.

¹³ Reported in *Gentleman's Magazine* 15 (1746), 197.

¹⁴ *London Evening Post* (Mar. 25–27, 1746), 1. Versions of the letter appeared also in *Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (Apr. 1746), 163; and *London Magazine* (Apr. 1746), 147.

¹⁵ See John L. Heilbron, *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 309–23.

¹⁶ See 'Extracts of Two Letters from the Reverend Henry Miles, D.D. & F.R.S. to Mr. Henry Baker, F.R.S.', *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746), 55.

in Saint-Pierre-de-Chartreuse joined the entire membership with a piece of iron wire between each participant, to form a line over a mile in length; an electrical shock was then passed through the line.¹⁷ Public interest in such displays gave rise to a type of travelling electrical sideshow. John Wesley was among those drawn to such a show. As he described his first exposure on October 16, 1747:

I went with two or three friends to see what are called 'The Electrical Experiments'. How must these also confound those poor half-thinkers who will believe nothing but what they can comprehend! Who can comprehend how fire lives in water, and passes through it as freely as through air? How flame issues out of my finger, real flame, such as sets fire to spirits of wine? How these and many more as strange phenomena, arise from the turning round of a glass globe? It is all a mystery; if haply by any means God may hide pride from man!¹⁸

Wesley's interest in electricity at this point was focussed on its apparent reinforcement of the limits of human understanding. A few scholars have tried to link him to a March 21, 1747, letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, signed 'J. W.', which expressed optimism about the effect of electrical shock on rheumatism.¹⁹ But the letter was occasioned by a display in Kidderminster, during a time that Wesley was in the Newcastle upon Tyne area. The clearest sign that Wesley was not yet considering the medical uses of electricity is that it did not appear as a recommended remedy in *Primitive Physic* until 1759.

Wesley's Focus on Medical Uses of Electricity

It was about five years after his exposure to the 'electrical experiments' that Wesley's attention began to focus on the potential medical benefits of electrical shock, as evidenced by the entry for January 20, 1753, in his *Journal*.

¹⁷The first display was reported in London in *Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (July 1746), 372–73; *London Magazine* (Aug. 1746), 400–401; and *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (Nov. 1746), 262. The third setting added the report about the Carthusians (p. 261).

¹⁸JW, *Journal*, Oct. 16, 1747, 20:195 in this edn.

¹⁹*Gentleman's Magazine* 17 (May 1747), 238. See, for example, Roy Porter, 'Laymen, Doctors, and Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the *Gentleman's Magazine*', in Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (New York: Cambridge, 1985), 299, n. 48.

I advised one who had been troubled many years with a stubborn paralytic disorder to try a new remedy. Accordingly, she was *electrified* and found immediate help. By the same means I have known two persons cured of an inveterate pain in the stomach, and another of a pain in his side, which he had had ever since he was a child. Nevertheless, who can wonder that many gentlemen of the faculty, as well as their good friends the apothecaries, decry a medicine so *shockingly* cheap and easy, as much as they do quicksilver and tar-water?²⁰

As Wesley's exasperation makes clear, by 1753 claims about the medical benefits of electrical shock were being publicly touted in England, *and* these supposed benefits were being rejected by many physicians. Its possible effectiveness for paralytic disorders in particular had been tested, with generally disappointing results.²¹ But there were some positive reports in the literature, and Wesley's attention was drawn to these. For example, in 1750 the apothecary Benjamin Wilson published an account of Mary Smargins, who had suffered for ten years from adult-onset hearing loss, but had her hearing restored in 1748 by a week of treatment that alternated light electrical shocks between her temples.²² Smargins became the oldest case of a cure cited by Wesley in *Desideratum*.²³

His emerging interest in its medical uses spurred Wesley to stay abreast of the growing body of literature on electricity. In February 1753 he read the initial edition of Benjamin Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*.²⁴ Franklin included no mention of medical benefits in this edition, and Wesley's comments after reading it focussed on aspects of the 'nature' of electricity, such as its inability (unlike light) to penetrate glass.²⁵ Nearly seven years later, in the first paragraph of the preface to *Desideratum*, Wesley

²⁰ JW, *Journal*, Jan. 20, 1753, 20:444 in this edn.

²¹ See Margaret Rowbottom and Charles Susskind, *Electricity and Medicine: History of Their Interaction* (San Francisco: San Francisco Press, 1984), 15–18.

²² Benjamin Wilson, *A Treatise on Electricity* (London: Davis, et al., 1750), 202–7.

²³ See below, *Desideratum*, II.17. But note that JW makes no mention of the six other patients that Wilson reported were not helped by the treatment (pp. 207–8).

²⁴ Benjamin Franklin *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, and communicated in several Letters to Mr. P. Collinson of London* (London: E. Cave, 1751). JW would use the 2nd edition, published in 1754 (with 'New' added to the title) for the extracts published in *Desideratum*.

²⁵ JW, *Journal*, Feb. 17, 1753, 20:446–47 in this edn.

acknowledged that he remained chiefly indebted to Mr. Franklin for the 'speculative part' of his treatise.

In contrast with Franklin's silence, *The Gentleman's Magazine* (which Wesley read regularly) offered its readers in 1753 a number of testimonies of medical cures by electricity. The April issue included an account of a physician in Sweden who had cured patients with lameness, palsy, and deafness. In May a correspondent in Devonshire described the cure of a young sailor of his epilepsy. The following month a writer from Kidderminster reported the cure of a servant woman from a stroke. And in the August issue a contributor from Kenton touted the cure of a young man 'seized with convulsions in his breast and throat', after three weekly treatments.²⁶

Evaluations of the medical benefits of electrical shock by British physicians over the next couple of years remained largely negative.²⁷ But the *Gentleman's Magazine* continued to serve as a counterweight, highlighting more positive results by physicians in Sweden.²⁸ Several cases in the latter reports made their way into Wesley's *Desideratum*.²⁹

In 1756 the budding medical electricity movement in England received a significant boost from Richard Lovett.³⁰ Lovett was neither a physician nor a trained natural philosopher, but a lay clerk at Worcester Cathedral. His interest in electricity had been roused by lectures of John Theophilus Desaguliers in 1739.³¹ Specific interest in the health benefits of electrification may have come from reading a 1748 volume by Benjamin Rackstrow.³² This interest bore fruit in

²⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine* 23 (Apr. 1753), 165; (May 1753), 227–28; (June 1753), 268–69; and (Aug. 1753), 379.

²⁷ E.g., the letter dated Nov. 5, 1754, from Cheney Hart, physician at the County Hospital at Shrewsbury, in *Philosophical Transactions* 48 (1754), 786–88; and the first known chapter in a medical text devoted to the topic: John Shebbeare, *The Practice of Physic Founded on Principles in Physiology and Pathology Hitherto unapplied in Physical Enquiries* (London: J. Hodges, 1755), 2:350–56.

²⁸ See the report of M. Lindult, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 111–12; and that of Zetzell, 25 (July 1755), 313–15.

²⁹ See below, *Desideratum*, II.14, II.16., II.18, II.21, II.25, II.34, II.35, II.42, II.45, and II.49. JW likely took these cases from their reproduction in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 110–14 and 126–27.

³⁰ Richard Lovett (1692–1780); for a detailed depiction of his electrical career, see Paola Bertucci, 'Sparks of Life: Medical Electricity and Natural Philosophy in England, c. 1746–92' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 2001), 133–54.

³¹ See Richard Lovett, *Philosophical Essays* (London: R. Lewis, Sandby, et al., 1766.), iii.

³² See the quotation from Benjamin Rackstrow, *Miscellaneous Observations* (London, 1748), in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 67–68.

July 1756, in a short book Lovett titled *The Subtil Medium Proved*.³³ Lovett cast electricity as the 'subtle fire' underlying the four classic elements of nature (fire, air, water, earth) by surveying relevant experiments to date. More importantly, this was the first tract in the English language framed specifically to highlight reports of the use of this 'elementary fire' as a remedy for medical complaints, including several of Lovett's own experiments. His goal was 'to excite others, of greater abilities and more leisure, to pursue the same laudable practice'.³⁴

Lovett did not include in *Subtil Medium* either a depiction or a description of the electric machine used in his experiments, though it was presumably small in size. He did offer a few generalizations about his technique, along with some ground rules for safe application. Most specifically, he warned against administering strong, painful shocks, as had been used in some earlier ineffective tests by British physicians.³⁵ He insisted the positive benefit of electrification came from 'moderate shocks', which were accompanied more by an 'uneasiness' than real pain. As an exemplar he held up a case reported in *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1751 of Robert Moubay being cured from palsy of the tongue (another case that made its way into *Desideratum*).³⁶

Subtil Medium drew little attention in journals on its appearance, and that which it did receive mainly criticized Lovett's style.³⁷ The book was more successful in terms of its avowed goal—raising up more experimenters and promoters of medical electricity. Among these was John Wesley. While his diary for this period (which recorded his reading) is missing, and his first published mention of Lovett is in *Desideratum* in 1760, it is hard to dismiss the influence of Lovett on the program of medical electrification that Wesley launched just months after the appearance of *Subtil Medium*. As he recorded in his *Journal* on November 9, 1756:

³³ Richard Lovett, *The Subtil Medium Proved; or, That wonderful power of nature ... which they called sometimes aether, but oftener elementary fire, verified; showing that all the distinguishing and essential qualities ascribed to aether ... are to be found in electrical fire* ... (London: J. Hinton, 1756). Publication announced in *Universal Magazine* 19 (July 1756): 47.

³⁴ Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, p. [i].

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 102–8; focussing on the negative evaluations of Hart and Rackstrow cited above.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 108–9; citing *Gentleman's Magazine* 21 (1751), 1552. See below, *Desideratum*, II.53.

³⁷ The reviewer (William Bewley) in *Monthly Review* 15 (1756): 561–64, commented on Lovett's less than elegant style, but concluded with the hope that the book would inspire others to test the medical benefits of electricity.

Having procured an apparatus on purpose, I ordered several persons to be electrified who were ill of various disorders—some of whom found an immediate; some, a gradual cure. From this time I appointed, first some hours in every week, and afterward some hours³⁸ in every day, wherein any that desired it might try the virtue of this surprising medicine. Two or three years after, our patients were so numerous that we were obliged to divide them; so part were electrified in Southwark, part at the Foundery, others near St. Paul's, and the rest near the Seven Dials. The same method we have taken ever since. And to this day, while hundreds, perhaps thousands, have received unspeakable good, I have not known one man, woman, or child, who has received any hurt thereby. So that, when I hear any talk of the danger of being electrified (especially if they are medical men who talk so), I cannot but impute it to great want either of sense or honesty.³⁹

In effect, Wesley replicated in London the exploratory medical use of electricity that Lovett pioneered in Worcester and championed in *Subtil Medium*. When Wesley composed *Desideratum* three years later, joining Lovett in championing this cause, he drew heavily on *Subtil Medium* for cases of successful treatment in the 'practical' section, while adding cases from the growing practice in London—all part of what he hyperbolically described in November 1760 as 'a thousand experiments' showing electricity to be 'far superior to other medicines I have known'.⁴⁰

What more do we know about this venture in medical electricity that Wesley supported in London over the last three decades of his life? In particular, who administered the treatments, and what types of electrical machines did they use?

To begin with, while Wesley encouraged, and helped fund and organize the provision of electrical therapy, one should not assume that he routinely applied the treatments. His travel schedule ruled this out for much of the year. Moreover, few of the cases of treatment in London that Wesley gives in *Desideratum* are presented in

³⁸ When JW incorporated this extract of his *Journal* into his collected *Works* (1774), he changed 'some hours' to 'an hour'.

³⁹ JW, *Journal*, 21:81 in this edn. This excerpt of Wesley's manuscript journal was not published until 1761, allowing his comment on later developments.

⁴⁰ In *Primitive Physic*, Postscript II, §2 (above in this vol.).

the first person—and one that is could not be Wesley speaking.⁴¹ The only case in *Desideratum* where Wesley unquestionably administered the shock was when he electrified himself for a pain in the stomach.⁴²

So with whom was Wesley associated, or to whom did he entrust routine administering of electrical therapy in London? The earliest name that can be identified with some confidence is John Reddall (or Redhall),⁴³ who had an office on Coleman Alley, just across Bunhill burial grounds from the Foundry. Reddall offered medical electrical treatment, and corresponded with Richard Lovett about his cases from at least 1759.⁴⁴ He was also an active Methodist and trusted associate of Wesley; so much so that Wesley placed him on a committee charged with paying down the debt on Methodist preaching houses in 1766.⁴⁵ There is good reason to believe that Reddall played a role in the early provision of electrical therapy at the Foundry.

We have explicit record of another medical electrician who operated at the Foundry. In a 1794 pamphlet raising funds for a newly founded charity electrical dispensary near City Road Chapel, Henry Bemrose identified himself as ‘formerly electrician to the poor at the Foundry, Upper-Moorfields’.⁴⁶ The younger Bemrose may have trained under Reddall. Bemrose noted that he had been active in this field for more than twenty years, though he did not indicate where he began. If Bemrose began his practice at the Foundry, the rhythm of his work was described by a correspondent to *The Westminster Journal*, who assured readers in 1772 that there was ‘an electrical machine at the Foundry, near Moorfields, where any person may be electrified gratis, from nine to twelve every day, except

⁴¹ See the case of William Tyler in *Desideratum*, II.43. While the account is in the first person, which could imply it was JW attending to Tyler, JW was in Norwich at the time. See JW, *Journal*, Mar. 9, 1759, 21:179 in this edn.

⁴² *Desideratum*, I.41.

⁴³ John Reddall (1716–90); his name is frequently spelled ‘Redhall’ in tax records of the time, but ‘Reddal’ in his burial listing at St. Olave, London.

⁴⁴ See Lovett, *Reviewers Reviewed*, 28, 31–32.

⁴⁵ See the letter to JW of Feb. 5, 1768, in Joseph Sutcliffe, ‘MS History of Methodism’ (MARC, MA 1977/514), 2:679.

⁴⁶ Henry Bemrose (1741–1811), *Observations on Medical Electricity: Including a Great Number of Cases in which Electricity has been successfully applied. Recommending to the Humane and Benevolent the Support of a Public Institution of this invaluable Remedy, for the Benefit of the afflicted Poor* (London: 1794). Bemrose is buried at City Road Chapel.

Saturdays and Sundays'.⁴⁷ At the very least, Bemrose's service at the Foundry overlapped with Wesley's time, since most Methodist activity at the Foundry ended in 1778, with the opening of City Road Chapel.⁴⁸

There is one other person who should be mentioned. He appears in *Desideratum* as one of the cases of successful treatment—John Read, cabinetmaker in Wardour Street.⁴⁹ Like Reddall (with whom he was acquainted), Read corresponded with Richard Lovett about medical electricity.⁵⁰ In an October 1759 letter Read claimed to be the first person to offer electrical therapy in London, but informed Lovett that it was now available at six sites.⁵¹ Read's most distinctive contribution to the movement were machines that he designed and built for electrical therapy. In a January 1760 letter to Lovett, Reddall described one of these: 'He has just invented a smaller one, that will take to pieces and pack up in a box of about a foot square, and is endeavouring to reduce them to a very low price, in order to make them as public as possible.'⁵² By the time Read added his name as a subscriber to Lovett's *Philosophical Essays* in 1766, he had moved from Wardour Street to (socially more elite) Knightsbridge, by Hyde Park, and was now identified specifically as an 'electrical machine maker'.⁵³ The electrifying machine that survives at Wesley's House in London is almost certainly one of the portable models made by Read.⁵⁴

In addition to sponsoring dispensaries and promoting electrical therapy via *Desideratum*, over the last three decades of his life John

⁴⁷ *Westminster Journal* (Feb. 29–Mar. 7, 1772), p. 4.

⁴⁸ Worship services and most other activities moved from the Foundry to City Road Chapel when it opened in November 1778. However, the lease on the Foundry ran through 1785, and it is possible that the electrical dispensary remained there into the early 1780s. See George John Stevenson, *City Road Chapel, London* (London: Stevenson, 1872), 57–58.

⁴⁹ *Desideratum*, II.39 (orig., John 'Reed' of 'Warder' Street). Reed, who later moved to Knightsbridge, Middlesex, died in 1814.

⁵⁰ See Lovett, *Reviewers Reviewed*, 31–32, et al.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 39. This would include his practice and that of Reddall; perhaps the four sites mentioned by JW rounded out the list.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 40–41.

⁵³ Lovett, *Philosophical Essays*. The entire list of names is found on pp. xi–xxiv, and includes as well both John Reddall and John Wesley. For descriptions of Read's surviving machines, see Willem D. Hackmann, *Electricity From Glass: The History of the Frictional Electrical Machine, 1660–1850* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1978), 126–28.

⁵⁴ See Willem D. Hackmann, *John Wesley and His Electrical Machine* (London: Wesley's Chapel, 2003). The provenance of this machine can be traced all the way back to JW at his death.

Wesley repeatedly prescribed this treatment in his continuing role of 'priest-physician'. This took most formal expression in *Primitive Physic*, starting with the eighth edition (1759), which Wesley revised while preparing *Desideratum*. Recommendations for electrical treatment were scattered through the volume, and a separate list of ailments for which it was a potential cure appeared in the appendix. Additions to both the scattered remedies and the appended list were made in subsequent editions.⁵⁵ Still public, but less formal, were descriptions of prescribing electrification that Wesley included in his published *Journal*.⁵⁶ In many of these instances Wesley was outside of London, reflecting the spreading availability of electrifying machines—at least in Methodist circles, where Wesley both placed machines at preaching houses in the main centres and encouraged followers with financial means to acquire machines.⁵⁷ The other major record of Wesley prescribing electrification after 1760 is his personal correspondence, which is peppered with examples.⁵⁸

Through this range of activities Wesley played a small—but historically noticeable—role in promoting medical electricity in the eighteenth century. Other lay-promoters (i.e., those who were neither natural philosophers or physicians) drew readily upon *Desideratum* in championing their cause.⁵⁹ And at least some professionals, like Joseph Priestley, conceded that the efforts of Lovett and Wesley had 'produced so much good, and so little harm'; while adding immediately 'how much more good, and how much less harm would it probably have produced in more skilful hands.'⁶⁰ Wesley's predictable response to Priestley was to question his hope that humans

⁵⁵ See the cumulative list at the end of *Primitive Physic* (above in this vol.).

⁵⁶ For a few examples, see July 13, 1764 (21:477 in this edn.); Dec. 26, 1765 (22:27); Sept. 19, 1773 (22:391); Apr. 19, 1774 (22:404–5); and Mar. 23, 1783 (23:265).

⁵⁷ JW placed an electrifying machine in the Methodist house in Manchester already by early 1757; see JW to Joseph Cownley, Apr. 23, 1757, 27:82 in this edn. For exhortations to followers, see JW to Mary Bosanquet, Jan. 15, 1770 (vol. 28 in this edn.); and JW to Ann Bolton, July 13, 1774 (vol. 29 in this edn.).

⁵⁸ For a few instances, see JW to Charles Wesley, Dec. 26, 1761, 27:281 in this edn.; JW to Thomas Taylor, Oct. 30, 1775 (vol. 29 in this edn.); JW to John Bredin, Feb. 21, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.); and JW to Samuel Bradburn, Mar. 16, 1788 (vol. 31 in this edn.).

⁵⁹ For example, the *Desideratum* provides over one-third of the sixty-six cases of cure included in a book by a maker of electrical machines in Bristol: John Brice Becket, *An Essay On Electricity ... includ[ing] Some of the latest Discoveries; Intended Chiefly With a View of facilitating its Application, and extending its Utility In Medical Purposes* (Bristol: 1773).

⁶⁰ Joseph Priestley, *The History And Present State Of Electricity* (London: Dodsley, et al., 1767), 419.

would ever fully understand the ‘nature’ of electricity, insisting that it is enough to recognize ‘it is a thousand medicines in one’.⁶¹

The Text of *Desideratum*

We turn finally to some comments on the character of the text of *Desideratum*.⁶² The preface is Wesley’s creation. At its conclusion he informed readers that the body of the text that followed was ‘little more than an extract from others’. While this is broadly true, one should not overlook Wesley’s contribution throughout.

To begin with, in most instances Wesley went far beyond ‘extracting’ material from his sources. He typically distilled whole sections or pages to a few sentences, and frequently rewrote material to improve grammar and clarity. This is why he seldom placed quotation marks around material drawn from sources. Accordingly, our annotation of Wesley’s sources is typically by paragraph, indicating the material being distilled or rewritten, not just identifying direct quotes.

The first half of the body of *Desideratum* is the ‘speculative’ or philosophical section. It surveyed key experiments and rehearsed several conclusions about the nature of electricity that had been drawn from them. The key thing to notice in this section is its tone and agenda, which differ significantly from coverage of this material in Lovett’s *Subtil Medium*. Lovett framed his coverage as dialogues in ‘natural philosophy’, intent on proving that Newton’s physics (and particularly the role Newton assigned to aether) could account for all of the discoveries about electricity. Lovett’s confident tone drew sceptical response, including the charge that he did not adequately understand Newton. The resulting debate consumed Lovett’s time for a decade.⁶³ In direct contrast, Wesley muted his

⁶¹ JW, *Journal*, Jan. 4, 1768, 22:117 in this edn.

⁶² For similar reflections, see Linda S. Schwab, “‘This Curious and Important Subject’: John Wesley and *The Desideratum*”, in Deborah Madden (ed.), *Inward and Outward Health* (London: Epworth, 2008), 169–212.

⁶³ The charge that Lovett did not understand Newton’s physics was levelled by William Bewley in *Monthly Review* 15 (1756): 561–64. Lovett published an extended rebuttal as *Sir Isaac Newton’s Aether Realized: Or, The Second Part of the Subtil Medium Proved, And Electricity rendered Useful. Being A Vindication of that Essay, in Answer to the Animadversions made thereon by the ‘Monthly Review’* (London: for the author [1758]). This drew a more negative response (by James Kirkpatrick) in *Monthly Review* 20 (1759): 299–302. Lovett again rebutted in *The Reviewers Reviewed, or the Bush Fighters Exploded, a reply to Animadversions of the ‘Monthly Review’ on a late Pamphlet* (London: R. Lewis, 1760); which was dismissed as petulant in *Monthly Review* 22 (1760): 340–42. Lovett’s overall venture was treated a bit more positively in *The Critical Review* 22 (1766), 280–84.

voice in the speculative section of *Desideratum*, choosing to let a number of electrical philosophers speak, at times in contrast with one another. This reflected Wesley's conviction (made explicit in his preface, §2) that humans should not hope for certainty in intellectual explanations of nature; the best that we can achieve is a high degree of probability. Thus Wesley was not 'greatly concerned' about which of the theories won out.

This does not mean that Wesley held no favourite among the views he surveyed in the speculative section. He opened the section with a summary of John Freke, who contended that electricity was best conceived as a highly refined or ethereal form of fire, and this 'pure fire' was the underlying secondary cause (under God, the First Cause) of all motion in the universe. In subsequent extracts of writers like Benjamin Hoadly and Richard Lovett, who equated electricity with Newton's aether, Wesley often replaced their use of 'aether' with 'electrical fire' or 'original fire'.⁶⁴ That this was more than accidental became clear in 1770. When Wesley published *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation* in 1763, he reproduced nearly all of the speculative section of *Desideratum* in a chapter treating the four classical elements.⁶⁵ In 1770 Wesley issued a second edition of *Survey*, adding additional material. His addition to the section covering electricity was extracted from a report on some further electrical experiments by William Watson. To this extract Wesley added in his own voice, 'Do not all these experiments show that the electric matter is pure elementary fire, an original distinct principle, formed by the Creator himself? And not, as some have apprehended, mechanically producible from other bodies?'⁶⁶ The resonance with Freke is hard to miss.

The second half of the body of *Desideratum*, the 'practical' section, is more in Wesley's voice. But it is important to recognize his reliance upon sources here as well—not just the published sources but personal letters and conversations, and likely manuscript casebooks from the four London sites where he supported access to medical electrification (though no such casebooks are known to survive). Wesley's contribution in this section, compared to Lovett, was not just his additional reports of successful medical use of

⁶⁴ See the footnotes on sections I.20 and I.31 below.

⁶⁵ JW, *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation; or, a Compendium of Natural Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Bristol: William Pine, 1763), 2:101–16.

⁶⁶ JW, *Survey*, 2nd edn. (Bristol: William Pine, 1770), 3:199–200; extracting William Watson, 'Farther Experiments', *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746): 43–49. In later editions of *Survey* the paragraph by Wesley appears on 3:238.

electricity, but that he grouped the various reports in terms of the ailment treated, and arranged these grouped reports in alphabetical order. As in other dimensions of his ministry, Wesley was an organizer!

While some of the London cases that Wesley added may have been drawn from other practitioners like John Read, the majority were persons who lived near one of the four treatment sites that Wesley supported. Many were active Methodists, and we have identified the clearest examples.⁶⁷ Two were members of John Wesley's extended family who lived in London at the time.⁶⁸

Unlike *Primitive Physic*, Wesley did not add additional cures or other material to the text of *Desideratum* (as an independent volume) in its subsequent editions. As mentioned earlier, some additions were made to the 'speculative' section of the text that had been incorporated into Wesley's *Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation*, but these are not relevant in this setting. For a stemma illustrating the relationship of the five editions of *Desideratum* published during Wesley's lifetime, and the handful of textual variants, see Appendix A, p. 641. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 239.

⁶⁷ See William Matthews (II.19) Abigail Brown and Sarah Webb (II.30), James Kately and Michael Hays (II.38), Joseph Jones (II.40), Silas Told (II.41), and Sarah Guilford (II.43).

⁶⁸ John and Sarah Ellison (II.45, 49).

THE
DESIDERATUM:

OR,
ELECTRICITY

Made PLAIN and USEFUL.

By a Lover of Mankind, and of Common Sense.



LONDON:

Printed: And sold by W. Flexney, under Gray's Inn Gate, Holbourn; E. Cabe, Ave-mary Lane; George Clark, in Little Carter Lane; George Keith, Grace-Church Street; T. Smith, under the Change; and at the Foundry, in Moorfields.

MDCCLX.

The Desideratum:
Or, Electricity Made Plain and Useful.
By a Lover of Mankind and of Common Sense

5

The Preface

10

1. In the following tract I have endeavoured to comprise the sum of what has been hitherto published on this curious and important subject by Mr.¹ Franklin, Dr. Hoadly, Mr. Wilson, Watson, Lovett, Freke, Martin, Watkins,² and in the monthly magazines.³ But I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Franklin for the speculative part, and to Mr. Lovett for the practical; though I cannot in everything subscribe to the sentiments either of one or the other.

15

2. Indeed I am not greatly concerned for the philosophical part, whether it stand or fall. Of the facts we are absolutely assured. Although they are so surprising a nature that a man could not have asserted them a few years ago without quite giving up his reputation. But who can be assured of this or that hypothesis by which he endeavours to account for those facts? Perhaps the utmost we have reason to expect here is an high degree of probability.

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3. I am much more concerned for the physical⁴ part, knowing of how great importance this is. How much sickness and pain may be prevented or removed, and how many lives saved by this unparalleled remedy. And yet with what vehemence has it been opposed? Sometimes by treating it with contempt, as if it were little or no use. Sometimes by arguments, such as they were. And sometimes by such cautions against its ill effects as made thousands afraid to meddle with it.

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4. But so it has fared with almost all the simple remedies which have been offered to the world for many years. When Sir John Floyer

¹ JW changed Franklin's title to 'Dr.' when he revised *Desideratum* for *Works* (1773).

² Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), Benjamin Hoadly (1676–1761), Benjamin Wilson (1721–88), William Watson (1715–87), Richard Lovett (1692–1780), John Freke (1688–1756), Benjamin Martin (1704–82), Francis Watkins (1723–82). Most of the authors are well known; the specific publications that JW drew upon will be identified as they appear below.

³ While initially capitalized and in italics, JW revised 'monthly magazines' to the form above when including *Desideratum* in *Works* (1773). This makes clear that he intended several monthly publications in London that reported on electrical experiments, including: *The Critical Review*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *The Monthly Review*.

⁴ In the 4th edition (1778), JW changed 'physical' to 'medical'.

published his excellent book on *cold bathing*, many for a time used and profited by it.⁵ So did abundance of people by *cold water*, when it was publicly recommended by Dr. Hancock[e].⁶ The ingenious and benevolent Bishop of Cloyne brought *tar water* likewise into credit for a season,⁷ and innumerable were the cures wrought there- 5
by, even in the most desperate and deplorable cases. Nor was it a little good which was done by the use of *seawater*, after Dr. Russel[l] had published his tract concerning it.⁸ Indeed each of these did wonders in its turn. But alas, their reign was short! The vast party which were on the other side soon raised the cry and ran them 10
down. In a few years they were out of fashion, out of use, and almost out of memory. And the foul, hard-named ‘exotics’ took place again, to the utter confusion of commonsense.⁹

5. Must not *electricity* then, whatever wonders it may now perform, expect soon to share the same fate? And yet it is absolutely 15
certain that in many, very many, cases it seldom or never fails. ‘I can truly say’ (says Mr. Lovett) ‘I scarce ever knew any who made the trial and did not succeed. Not that all disorders will yield thereto. Neither in this, any more than the common way, will the same treat- 20
ment of the same disorder in different persons have always the same success.’¹⁰ Indeed there cannot be in nature any such thing as an absolute *panacea*—a medicine that will cure every disease incident to the human body. If there could, electricity would bid fairer for it than anything in the world, as it takes place in such a vast number of disorders, some of them so widely different from the others. 25

6. And yet there is something peculiarly unaccountable with regard to its operation. In some cases, where there was no hope of help, it will succeed beyond all expectation. In others, where we

⁵ John Floyer, *The Ancient Ψυχρολυσία Revived: or, An Essay to Prove Cold Bathing both Safe and Useful ... Also a Letter of Dr. Baynard’s, containing an Account of many Eminent Cures done by the Cold Baths in England* (London: S. Smith & B. Walford, 1702).

⁶ John Hancocke, *Febrifugum magnum; or, Common water the best cure for fevers, and probably for the plague* (London: Halsey, 1722).

⁷ George Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar Water, and Divers other Subjects* (London: Hitch and Davis, 1744) [The title used in Dublin, and starting with the 2nd edition in London began: *Siris; A Chain of Philosophical Reflexions ...*]

⁸ Richard Russell, *A Dissertation On the Use of Seawater in the Diseases of the Glands. Particularly The Scurvy, Jaundice, King’s-Evil, Leprosy, and the Glandular Consumption* (London: W. Owen, 1752).

⁹ Recall JW’s criticism of ‘exotics’ in the Preface, §10, of *Primitive Physic*.

¹⁰ Richard Lovett, *Sir Isaac Newton’s Aether Realized* (London: for the author [1758]), 73–74.

had the greatest hope, it will have no effect at all. Again, in some experiments it helps at the very first, and promises a speedy cure. But presently the good effect ceases, and the patient is as he was before. On the contrary, in others it has no effect at first. It does no
 5 good, perhaps seems to do hurt. Yet all this time it is striking at the root of the disease, which in a while it totally removes. Frequent instances of the former we have in *paralytic* [cases]; of the latter, in *rheumatic* cases.

7. But still one may upon the whole pronounce it the *desideratum*,¹¹
 10 the general and rarely failing remedy in nervous cases of every kind (palsies excepted), as well as in many others. Perhaps if the nerves are really perforated (as is now generally supposed) the electric ether is the only fluid in the universe which is fine enough to move through them. And what if the 'nervous juice' itself be a fluid of this
 15 kind? If so, it is no wonder that it has always eluded the search of the most accurate naturalists.

8. Be this as it may, Mr. Lovett is of the opinion 'the electrical method of treating disorders cannot be expected to arrive at any considerable degree of perfection till administered and applied by
 20 the gentlemen of the faculty'.¹² Nay then, *quantâ de spe decidi*¹³—all my hopes are at an end! For when will it be administered and applied by them? Truly, *ad Graecas Calendas*.¹⁴ Not till the gentlemen of the faculty have more regard to the interest of their neighbours than their own. At least not till there are no apothecaries in the land,
 25 or till physicians are independent of them.

9. Therefore without waiting for what probably will never be, and what indeed we have no reason to expect, let men of sense do the best they can for themselves, as well as for their poor, sick, help-
 30 less neighbours. How many may they relieve from racking pain or pining sickness by this inexpensive and speedy remedy? Restoring them to ease, health, strength, generally in a few minutes, frequently in a moment! And if a few of these lovers of mankind who have some little knowledge of the animal economy would only be diligent in making experiments, and setting down the more remarkable
 35 of them, in order to communicate them to one another, that each might profit by the other's labour, I doubt not but more nervous

¹¹ 'The thing highly desired or needed'; from the past participle of the Latin word *desiderare*, to desire.

¹² Lovett, *Newton's Aether Realized*, 74–75.

¹³ Terence, *The Self-Tormenter*, IV.viii.9.

¹⁴ 'By the Greek Calendar', an idiom used to mean 'never' by the Romans; see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, II.lxxxvii.1.

disorders would be cured in one year by this single remedy than the whole English *materia medica*¹⁵ will cure by the end of the century.

10. It is not impossible but the ‘gentlemen reviewers’ may bestow a compliment on me as well as on Mr. Lovett.¹⁶ If they are so kind, I would only beg them not to plume themselves upon a discovery which I have helped them to myself. Namely, that the following is little more than an extract from others. I intended it so to be. I designed only to collect together the substance of the most celebrated writings on the subject, and to place them in one connected view, for the use of those who have little time or money to spare. I only wish some [person] who has more leisure and ability than me would consider it more deeply, and write a full practical treatise on electricity, which might be a blessing to many generations.

November 1, 1759

¹⁵That is, the current collection of herbal and other medicines used in England.

¹⁶JW is alluding to the negative reviews of Lovett in *Monthly Review* 15 (1756): 561–64, and 20 (1759): 299–302.

The Desideratum: Or Electricity Made Plain.

I. 1. From a thousand experiments it appears that there is a fluid far more subtle than air, which is everywhere diffused through all space, which surrounds the earth and pervades every part of it. And such is the extreme fineness, velocity, and expansiveness of this active principle that all other matter seems to be only the body, and this the soul of the universe. This we might term 'elementary fire', but that is hard for us to separate the ideas of 'fire' and 'burning'. Although the latter is in reality but a preternatural and violent effect of the former.¹⁷

2. It is highly probable this is the general instrument of all the motion in the universe. From this 'pure fire' (which is properly so called) the vulgar *culinary* fire is kindled. For in truth there is but one kind of fire in nature, which exists in all places and in all bodies. And this is subtle and active enough not only to be, under the Great Cause, the secondary cause of motion, but to produce and sustain life throughout all nature, as well in animals as in vegetables.¹⁸

3. To this effect the learned Bishop of Cloyne observes, 'The vital flame is supposed to be the cause of all the motions in the body of man, whether natural or voluntary. And has not fire the same force to animate throughout and actuate the whole system of the world? Cherishing, heating, fermenting, dissolving, shining, and operating in various manners, as various subjects offer to employ or to determine its force? It is present in all parts of the earth and firmament, though latent and unobserved till some accident produces it into act and renders it visible in its effects.'¹⁹

4. This great machine of the world requires some such constant, active, and powerful principle, constituted by its Creator, to keep the heavenly bodies in their several courses, and at the same time give support, life, and increase to the various inhabitants of the earth. Now as the heart of every animal is the engine which circulates the blood through the whole body, so the Sun, as the heart of this world, circulates this fire through the whole universe. And this element is not capable of any essential alteration, increase, or diminution. It is a species by itself, and is of a nature totally distinct from that of all other bodies.²⁰

¹⁷ For the last two sentences, see the prefatory letter to John Freke, *A Treatise on the Nature and Property of Fire* (London: W. Innys & J. Richardson, 1752), pp. iii–viii.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 2, 5–7.

¹⁹ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 72; as quoted in Freke, *Treatise*, 9–10.

²⁰ See Freke, *Treatise*, 13, 17.

5. That this is absolutely necessary both to feed common fire and to sustain the life of animals it seems may be learned from an easy experiment. Place a cat, together with a lighted candle, in a cold oven. Then lute the door close,²¹ having fixed a glass in the middle of it. And if you look through this you may observe, at one and the same instant the candle goes out and the animal dies. A plain proof that the same fire is needful to sustain both culinary fire and animal life. And a large quantity of it. Some doubtless pervades the oven door, but not enough to sustain either flame or life. Indeed every animal is a kind of fire-engine. As soon as the lungs inspire the air, the fire mingled with it is instantly dispersed through the pulmonary vessels into the blood. Thence it is diffused through every part of the body, even the most minute arteries, veins and nerves. In the meantime the lungs inspire more air and fire, and so provide a constant supply.²²

6. The air seems to be universally impregnated with this fire, but so diluted as not to hurt the animal in respiration. So a small quantity of a liquor dropped in water may be friendly to an human body, though a few drops of the same liquor, given by themselves, would have occasioned certain death. And yet you cannot conceive one particle of the water without a particle of the medicine. It is not impossible this may be one great use of air, by adhering so closely to the elementary fire, to temper and render salutary to the body what would otherwise be fatal to it.²³

7. To put it beyond dispute that this fire is largely mixed with the air, you may make the following experiment. Take a round lump of iron and heat it to a degree called a 'welding' heat. Take it out of the fire, and with a pair of bellows blow cold air upon it. The iron will then as effectually melt as if it were in the hottest fire. Now when taken out of the forge, it had not fire enough in it to conquer the cohesion of its parts. But when this fire is joined with that which was mixed with the air, it is sufficient to do it. On the same principle we account for the increase of a coal or wood fire by blowing it.²⁴

8. And let none wonder that fire should be so connected with air as hardly to be separated. As subtle as fire is, we may even by art attach it to other bodies; yea, and keep it prisoner for many years. And

²¹ *OED*; 'lute' was a type of clay or cement used to close up a hole or orifice and make it air-tight, and the word is also used as a verb for the process of sealing a hole.

²² See Freke, *Treatise*, 33–34, 56–57.

²³ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 45–47.

that either in a solid or a fluid form. An instance of the first we have in steel, which is made such only by impacting a large quantity of fire into bars of iron. In like manner we impact a great quantity of fire into stone to make lime. An instance of the second kind we have
 5 in spirits, wherein fire is imprisoned in a fluid form. Hence common spirits will burn all away. And if you throw into the air spirits rectified to the highest degree, not one drop will come down again, but the universal fire will take hold of and absorb it all.²⁵

9. That this fire subsists both in air, earth, and water; that it is
 10 diffused through all and every part of the universe; was *suspected* by many of the ancient naturalists and *believed* by the great Sir Isaac Newton. But of the late years it has been fully demonstrated. Particularly by Mr. Stephen Gray, a pensioner at the Charterhouse, who some years since presented to the Royal Society an account of
 15 many experiments he had made whereby this subtle fluid became clearly perceptible both to the sight and feeling.²⁶ Because the glass tube, by means of which those experiments were made, was observed when rubbed to attract straws and other light bodies (a known property of amber, called in Latin '*electrum*'), these experi-
 20 ments were termed 'electrical', a word which was soon affixed to that subtle fluid itself and everything pertaining to it. But improperly enough, seeing the attracting (or seeming to attract) straws and feathers is one of the most inconsiderable of all the effects wrought by this powerful and universal cause.

25 10. It was afterwards found that a glass globe was on some accounts preferable to a glass tube. Particularly as it was less labour to turn the one for some hours together, by means of a small wheel, in the meantime rubbing it with a dry hand or a little cushion, than to rub the tube for so long a time.²⁷ It was likewise observed that
 30 a greater quantity of ethereal fire might be *collected* by this means than by the other. I say 'collected', for that fire is no more *created* by rubbing than water is by pumping. The grand reservoir thereof is the earth, from which it is diffused through all the other parts of
 35 common matter. Accordingly, in these experiments the globe, rubbing against the cushion, collects fire from it. The cushion receives

²⁵ Ibid, 49–51.

²⁶ Stephen Gray, 'An Account of some New Electrical Experiments', *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (1720–21): 104–7.

²⁷ See Benjamin Franklin, *New Experiments And Observations On Electricity, Made At Philadelphia* (London: D. Henry & R. Cave, 1754), 17–18. The various material incorporated makes clear that JW drew on this 2nd edition (which compiled the repeated additions Franklin made to his 1751 original) in *Desideratum*.

it from the frame of the machine; the frame of the machine from the floor. But if you cut off the communication with the floor, no fire can be *produced*, because none can be *collected*.²⁸

11. In the year 1746, Mr. de Muschenbroek,²⁹ Professor of Natural Philosophy at Leyden, was led by a casual experiment into many new discoveries. These were chiefly made by means of a large but thin glass phial. The best way to prepare which is: to coat it with thin lead, to line it on the inside with leaf-gold to within two inches of the top, and to fasten some tinsel fringe to the bottom (or to the end of the wire within the phial) so as to touch the gold lining. By this wire going through the cork, the phial is hung on any metallic body, which communicates by a wire with the globe or tube. This metallic body has been termed 'the prime conductor', as it conducts or conveys the fire collected by the tube or globe either into the phial or into any other body communicating therewith.³⁰

12. But all bodies are not capable of receiving it. There is in this respect an amazing difference between them. The excrements of nature, as wax, silk, hair, will not receive the ethereal fire, neither convey it to other bodies. So that whenever in circulating it comes to any of these, it is at full stop. Air itself is a body of this kind, with great difficulty either receiving or conveying fire to other bodies. So are pitch and rosin (excrements, as it were, of trees). To these we may add glass, amber, brimstone, dry earth, and a few other bodies. These have been frequently styled 'electrics per se', as if they alone contained the *electric fire*—an eminently improper title, founded on a palpable mistake. From the same mistake all other bodies, which easily receive and readily convey it, were termed 'non-electrics', on a supposition that they contained no *electric fire*. The contrary of which is now allowed by all.³¹

13. That this fire is inconceivably subtle appears from its permeating even the densest metals, and that with such ease as to receive no perceptible resistance. If anyone doubt whether it pass through the substance, or only along the surface of bodies, a strong shock taken through his own body will prevent his doubting any longer.

²⁸ Ibid., 38.

²⁹ Actually, Pieter van Musschenbroek (1692–1761). JW reproduces the spelling in the initial letter printed in *The London Evening Post* (Mar. 25–27, 1746), 1; and reprinted in Richard Lovett, *The Subtil Medium Proved* (London: J. Hinton et al., 1756), 3.

³⁰ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 3, 5–7, 134–35.

³¹ JW draws in this paragraph on Freke, *Treatise*, 28, 79–80; and Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 2.

It differs from all other matter in this, that the particles of it repel, not attract, each other. And hence is the manifest divergency in a stream of electrical effluvia. But though the particles of it repel each other, yet they are attracted by all other matter. And from these
 5 three—the extreme subtlety of this fire, the natural repulsion of its parts, and the strong attraction of them by other matter—arises this effect, that if a quantity of electric fire be applied to a mass of common matter of any bigness or length (which has not already got its quantity), it is immediately diffused through the whole.³²

10 14. It seems this globe of earth and water, with its plants, animals, buildings, have diffused through their whole substance just as much of this fire as they will contain. And this we may term their ‘natural quantity’. This is not the same in all kinds of matter; neither in the same kind of matter in all circumstances. A solid foot of
 15 one kind of matter (as glass) contains more of it than a solid foot of another kind. And a pound weight of the same kind of matter, when rarefied, contains more than it did before.³³

15 15. We know that this fire is *in* common matter, because we can pump it *out* by the globe or tube. We know that common matter has
 20 near as much of it as it can contain, because if we add a little more to any portion of it, the additional quantity does not enter but forms a kind of atmosphere round it. On the other hand, we know that common matter has not more of it than it can contain. Otherwise all loose portions of it would repel each other, as they constantly do
 25 when they have such atmospheres. Had the earth, for instance, as much electric fire, in proportion, as we can give to a globe of iron or wood, the particles of dust and other light matter would not only repel each other but be continually repelled from the earth. Hence the air, being constantly loaded therewith, would be unfit for respi-
 30 ration. Here we see another occasion to adore that wisdom, which has made all things by weight and measure.³⁴

35 16. The form of every electric atmosphere is that of the body which it surrounds, because it is attracted by every part of the surface, though it cannot enter the substance already replete. Without this attraction it would not remain round the body, but dissipate into the air.³⁵

17. The atmosphere of an electrified sphere is not more easily drawn off from any one part of it than from the other, because it is

³² See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 51–52.

³³ *Ibid.*, 117–18.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 53. The concluding theological reflection is present in Franklin.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

equally attracted by every part. But it is not so with bodies of other figures. From a cube, it is more easily drawn off at the corners than at the sides. And so from the corners of bodies of any other form, and most easily from the sharpest corners. For the force with which an electrified body retains its atmosphere is proportioned to the surface on which that atmosphere rests. So a surface four inches square retains its atmosphere with sixteen times the force that one of an inch square does. And as in pulling the hairs from an horse's tail, a force insufficient to pull off an handful at once, could easily pull it off hair by hair; so, though a blunt body cannot draw off all the atmosphere at once, a pointed one can easily draw it off, particle by particle.³⁶

18. If you would have a sensible proof how wonderfully pointed bodies draw off the electric fire, place an iron shot of four inches diameter on the mouth of a dry bottle. Suspend over it a small cork ball by a silken thread, just so as to rest against the side of the shot. Electrify the shot, and the ball will be repelled four or five inches from it. Then present to the shot, six or eight inches off, the point of a sharp bodkin. The fire is instantly drawn off, so the repulsion ceases and the ball flies to the shot. If you present the point of the bodkin in the dark, you may see sometimes at a foot distance a light gather upon it like a glow worm, which is manifestly the fire it extracts from the shot. The less sharp the point is, the nearer it must be brought before you can see the light. And at whatever distance you see the light, you may draw off the electric fire.³⁷

19. To be convinced that pointed bodies *throw* off, as well as *draw* off the fire, you may lay a long sharp needle on the shot. It cannot then be electrified, so as to repel the ball, because the fire thrown upon it continually runs off at the point of the needle. From which in the dark you may see such a stream of light, as in the preceding instance.³⁸

20. While the electric fire³⁹ which is in all bodies is left to itself, undisturbed by any external violence, it is more or less dense, according to the nature of the body which it is in. In dense bodies it is more rare. In rare bodies it is more dense. Accordingly every body contains such a quantity of it, rare or dense, as is suitable to its nature. And there is some resistance to every endeavour of

³⁶ Ibid., 55–59.

³⁷ Ibid., 10–11.

³⁸ Ibid., 12.

³⁹ JW replaced Hoadly and Wilson's term 'aether' with 'electrical fire' (see introduction).

altering its density in the whole of any body, or in any part of it.⁴⁰ For all bodies resist either the increase or diminution of their natural quantity. And on the other hand, when it has been either increased or diminished, there is a resistance to its return to its natural state.⁴¹

5 21. With regard to the different resistance made by different bodies in either of these cases, it is an invariable rule: That glass, wax, rosin, brimstone, silk, hair, and such like bodies resist the most; and next to these the air, provided it be dry and in a sufficient quantity. That this resistance is least in metals, minerals, water, quicksilver, 10 animals, and vegetables—which we may rank together, because the difference in their resistance is very inconsiderable. And that in these bodies the resistance is greater when their surfaces are polished and extended in length than when their surfaces are rough and short, or end in sharp points.⁴²

15 22. When a body has more electric fire forced into it than it has naturally, it is said to be electrified ‘positively’. When part of the natural quantity is taken away, it is said to be electrified ‘negatively’. Now when an iron bar is *negatively* electrified, the fire drawn out does not go in again as soon as the experiment is over, but forms an 20 atmosphere round it, because of the resistance it finds in its endeavour to dilate itself, either into the air or into the bar.⁴³ And when it is electrified *positively* the same kind of atmosphere is formed, by the fire accumulated upon it. Whether therefore bodies are electrified negatively or positively, and remain so when the experiment is 25 over, there are similar atmospheres surrounding them, which will produce similar effects.⁴⁴

23. But we can electrify no body beyond a certain degree. Because when any is electrified to that point, it has an atmosphere round it sufficiently strong to balance any power that endeavours to electrify 30 it farther. Nor is the electric fire, either from the tube or the globe, able to force its way through this.⁴⁵

24. And in the ordinary course of nature this subtle, active fluid, which not only surrounds every gross body but every component particle of each where it is not in absolute contact with its neigh- 35 bouring particle, can never be idle; but is ever in action, though

⁴⁰ See Benjamin Hoadly and Benjamin Wilson, *Observations On A Series Of Electrical Experiments* (London: T. Payne, 1756). 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4–5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9–10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 16–18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 56–57.

imperceptibly, in all parts of all bodies whatever, and electrifying them more or less, though not so forcibly as to give sensible signs of it. All bodies then, and all their component particles, when in their natural situation, have round their surfaces, where they are not in absolute contact with other surfaces, an imperceptible atmosphere 5 sufficient to balance the smaller force with which they are attacked, every way similar to the perceptible atmosphere of bodies forcibly electrified. In these imperceptible atmospheres is placed the power which resists their being electrified to an higher degree than they are naturally. And this power lies in the elasticity of the subtle fluid 10 everywhere dispersed, both round all bodies and in them.⁴⁶

25. Glass is very difficultly electrified, which seems to prove it has a very dense electric atmosphere. Metals are easily electrified, consequently they have rare and therefore weakly-resisting atmospheres. But as heat rarefies all bodies, so if glass be heated to a 15 certain degree, even below melting, it will give as free a passage to the electric fire as brass or iron does—the atmosphere round it being then rendered as rare as that of metals. Nay, when melted, it makes no more resistance than water. But its resistance increases 20 as it cools. And when it is quite cold, it resists as forcibly as ever. Smoothly-polished wax resists as much as glass. But even the small heat raised by rubbing will render its atmosphere as rare as that of metals, and so entirely destroy its resistance. The same is true of rosin and brimstone. Even the heat arising from friction destroys 25 the resistance which they naturally make to being electrified: a strong proof that the resistance of all bodies thereto is exerted at their surfaces, and caused by an electric atmosphere of different densities, according to different circumstances.⁴⁷

26. Most experiments will succeed as well with a globe of brimstone as with one of glass. Yet there is a considerable difference in 30 their nature. What glass repels, brimstone (as also rosin) attracts. Rubbed glass emits the electric fire. Rubbed brimstone, rosin, and wax receive it.⁴⁸ Hence if a glass globe be turned at one end of a prime conductor, and a brimstone one at the other, not a spark of 35 fire can be obtained—one receiving it in as fast as it is given out by the other. Hence also if a phial be suspended on the prime conductor, with a chain from its coating to the table, and only one globe turned, it will be electrified (or ‘charged’, as they term it) by twenty

⁴⁶ Ibid., 57–58.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 60–63.

⁴⁸ See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 103–6.

turns of the wheel. After which it may be 'discharged' (that is, un-electrified), by twenty turns of the other wheel.⁴⁹

27. The difference between 'non electrics' (vulgarly speaking) and 'electrics per se' is chiefly this: 1) A *non electric* easily suffers
 5 a change in the quantity of the fire it contains. Its whole quantity may be lessened by drawing out a part, which it will afterwards resume. But you can only lessen the quantity contained in one of the surfaces of an *electric*—and not that, but by adding at the same time an equal quantity to the other surface. So that the whole glass
 10 will always have the same quantity in its two surfaces. And even this can only be done in glass that is thin. Beyond a certain thickness, we know no power that can make this change. 2) The ethereal fire freely moves from place to place, in and through the substance of a *non electric*. But through the substance of an *electric* it will by no
 15 means pass. It freely enters an iron rod, and moves from one end to another, where the overplus is discharged. But it will not enter, or move through, a glass rod. Neither will the thinnest glass which can be made suffer any particle of it, entering one of its surfaces, to pass through to the other.⁵⁰

20 28. Indeed it is only metals and liquids that perfectly 'conduct' (or transmit) this fire. Other bodies seem to conduct it only so far as they contain a mixture of these. Accordingly, moist air will conduct it, in proportion to its moistness. But dry air will not conduct it at
 25 all; on the contrary, it is the main instrument in confining any electric atmosphere to the body which it surrounds. Dry air prevents its dissipating (which it does presently when *in vacuo*) or passing from body to body. A clear bottle full of air, instead of water, cannot be electrified. But exhausted of air, it is electrified as effectually as if
 30 it was full of water. Yet an electrical atmosphere and air do not exclude one another. For we breathe in it freely, and dry air will blow through it without altering it at all.⁵¹

29. When a glass phial is electrified, whatever quantity of fire is accumulated on the inner surface, an equal quantity is taken from
 35 the outer. Suppose before the operation begins the quantity of fire contained in each surface is equal to twenty grains. Suppose at every turn of the globe one grain is thrown in. Then after the first stroke there are twenty-one within, nineteen only without. After the second, the inner surface will have twenty-two, the outer but

⁴⁹ Ibid., 100.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 78–79.

⁵¹ Ibid., 95–97.

eighteen. And so on, till after twenty strokes the inner will have forty, the outer none. And the operation ends. For no power or art of man can throw any more on the inner surface when no more can be taken from the outer. If you attempt to throw more in, it is thrown back through the wire, or flies out in cracks through the sides of the phial. The equilibrium cannot be restored in this phial but by a communication formed between the inner and outer surface, by something external touching both the outer [surface] and the wire which communicates with the inner surface. If you touch these by turns, it is restored by degrees. If both at once, it is restored instantly. But then there is a shock occasioned by the sudden passing of the fire through the body in its way from the inner to the outer surface. For it moves from the wire to the finger (not from finger to the wire, as commonly supposed). Thence it passes through the body to the other hand, and so to the outer surface.⁵²

30. The force with which this shock may be given is far greater than one would conceive. It will kill rats, hens, or even turkeys in a moment. Others, that are not quite killed, it strikes blind.⁵³ It will give polarity to a fine needle, making it point north and south, as if touched by a lodestone.⁵⁴ It will invert the polarity of a compass, and make the north point turn to the south. At the same time the ends of the needles are finely blued like the spring of a watch. It will melt off the heads and points of pins and needles. And sometimes the whole surface of the needle is run, and appears as it were blistered when examined by a magnifying glass.⁵⁵ It will melt thin gold or silver, when held tight between two panes of glass, together with the surface of the glass itself, and incorporate them in a fine enamel.⁵⁶ Yea a strong spark from an electrified phial makes a fair hole through a quire of paper doubled—which is thought good armour against the push of a sword, or even a pistol bullet.⁵⁷ And it is amazing to observe in how small a portion of glass a great electrical force may be. A thin glass bubble about an inch diameter, being half filled with water, partly gilt on the outside, when electrified gives as strong a shock as a man can well bear. Allowing then that it contains no more fire after charging than before, how much fire must there be in this small glass! It seems to be a part of its very substance.

⁵² Ibid., 2–4.

⁵³ Ibid., 63–64.

⁵⁴ Orig., 'loadstone'.

⁵⁵ See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 90–92.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 64–66.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 27–28.

Perhaps if that fire could be separated from it, it would be no longer glass. It might in losing this lose its most essential properties, its transparency, brittleness, and elasticity.⁵⁸

31. Some have not improbably supposed that all 'electric' bodies, so called, are by their original constitution thoroughly saturated with electric fire. That it remains fixed in them (unless while the texture of those bodies is quite altered by liquefaction). That fire fixed in a body constitutes an 'electric', and all bodies where it is not fixed are 'non electrics'. Agreeably to which they suppose that in all 'non electrics' the original fire,⁵⁹ loosely inhering, is easily driven on by the new collected fire, which then possesses its place. But that in 'electrics' the original fire being impacted into their substance, and therefore more firmly inhering, will not give way to, or be driven on by the new collected fire. Such is air in particular, with the particles of which the original fire is closely incorporated. Dry air seems to be so fully saturated with it that it is scarce capable of receiving any more. Whereas all new-collected fire is continually endeavouring to return into the earth.⁶⁰ Let wires be electrified ever so strongly, yet the moment any part of them is touched by a person standing on the floor, they are electrified no longer; all the fire escaping through him into the earth.⁶¹

32. Upon the principles of electricity we may give a more rational account of many appearances in nature than has yet been done—of thunder and lightning in particular. In order to which we may observe all electrified bodies retain the fire thrown into them till some non-electric approaches, to which it is then communicated with a snap, and becomes equally divided. Electric fire is strongly attracted by water, and readily mixes with it. And water being electrified, the vapours arising from it are equally electrified. As these float in the air they retain the additional fire, till they meet with clouds not so much electrified. Then they communicate it with a shock.⁶²

33. The ocean is compounded of water and salt; one an electric, the other not. When there is a friction among the parts near its surface, the fire is collected from the parts below. It is then plainly visible in the night, at the stern of every sailing vessel. It appears from every dash of an oar. In storms the whole sea seems on fire. The particles of water then repelled from the electrified surface

⁵⁸Ibid., 32–33.

⁵⁹JW replaced Lovett's 'original aether' with 'original fire' (see introduction).

⁶⁰See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 9–11.

⁶¹Ibid., 21–22.

⁶²See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 36–37.

continually carry off the fire as it is collected. They rise and form clouds which are highly electrified, and retain the fire till they have an opportunity of discharging it.⁶³

34. Particles of water rising in vapours attach themselves to particles of air. One particle of air may be surrounded by twelve particles of water as large as itself, all touching it, and by more added to them. Particles of air thus loaded would be drawn nearer together by the mutual attraction of the particles of water, did not the fire, common or electric, included therein assist their mutual repulsion. Hence they continue suspended. But if air thus loaded be compressed by adverse winds, or by being driven against mountains, or if it be condensed by the loss of its fire, it will continue suspended no longer but will descend in dew. And if the water surrounding one particle of air comes into contact with that surrounding another, they naturally coalesce into a drop, and so descend in rain.⁶⁴

35. The sun supplies common fire to all vapours, rising either from sea or land. Vapours having both this and electric fire are better supported than those which have this only. For when vapours rise into the coldest region, the common fire may fail. But the cold will not diminish the electric. This is always the same. Hence clouds raised from fresh waters, from moist earth, or growing vegetables more easily descend and deposite their waters, as having but little electric fire to keep the particles separate from each other. So that the greatest part of the water raised from the land falls on the land again. But clouds raised from the sea, having both fires, and much of the electric, support their water far more strongly, and being assisted by winds may bring it from the middle of the widest ocean to the middle of the broadest continent. And yet a way is provided whereby these also are readily brought to deposite their water. For whenever they are driven against mountains by the winds, those mountains take away their electric fire. And being cold, the common also. Hence the particles immediately close. If the air was not much loaded, the water falls in dew on the top and the sides of the mountain. If it was, the electric fire being taken at once from the whole cloud, it flashes brightly and cracks loudly. And the particles instantly coalescing for want of that fire, fall in an heavy shower.⁶⁵

36. When a ridge of mountains stops the clouds, and draws the electric fire from the cloud first approaching it, the next when it

⁶³Ibid., 38.

⁶⁴Ibid., 38, 40.

⁶⁵Ibid., 40–42.

comes near the first, now deprived of its fire, flashes into it and deposits its own water. The third cloud approaching, and all that succeed, act in the same manner, as far back as they extend, which may be for several hundred miles. Hence the continual storms of thunder, lightning, and rain on the east side of those vast mountains, the
5 Andes, which, running north and south, intercept all the clouds brought against them from the Atlantic ocean. In a plain country there are other means to make them drop their water. For if an electrified cloud coming from the sea meets air in a cloud coming from
10 the land (and therefore not electrified), the first will give its flash into the latter, and thereby both will be made to deposit their water. The concussion of the air contributes also to shake down the water, not only from those two clouds but from the others near them. When the sea and land clouds would pass at too great a distance
15 from each other, they are mutually attracted till within the distance. For the sphere of electrical attraction is far beyond the flashing distance. And yet where a cloud contains much fire, it may strike at a considerable distance. When a conductor has but little fire in it, you must approach very near before you can draw a spark. Throw
20 it into a greater quantity of fire, and it will give a spark at a greater distance. But if a gun barrel, when electrified, will strike and make a noise at the distance of an inch, at what a distance and with how great a noise may ten thousand acres of electrified cloud strike? No wonder that this should melt metals (which our artificial flash does
25 in some degree), though perhaps not so properly by its heat as by insinuating into the pores and creating a violent repulsion between the particles of the metal it passes through. This overcomes the attraction whereby they cohere, and so melts the metallic body. And this accounts for its melting a sword in a scabbard, or gold in the
30 pocket, without burning either.⁶⁶

37. But thunder clouds do not always contain more than their natural quantity of electric fire. Very frequently they contain less. And when this is the case, when they are negatively electrified, although the effects and appearances are nearly the same, yet the manner of
35 operation is different. For in this case, it is really the fire from the mountains or other part of the earth which strikes into the cloud, and not (as we imagine) fire from the cloud which strikes into the earth. And we may easily conceive how a cloud may be negatively electrified. When a portion of water is rarefied into a thin vapour,
40 the fire it contains is rarefied too. Consequently it has then less than

⁶⁶Ibid., 42–44, 48–49.

its natural quantity of fire. Such a cloud therefore, coming within a due distance of the earth, will receive from it a flash of electric fire. Which flash, to supply a great extent of cloud, must often contain a great quantity of fire. Such a cloud also, passing over woods of tall trees, may silently receive some supply either from the points of the boughs or from the sharp ends and edges of the leaves. The cloud thus supplied flashes into other clouds that have not been so supplied. And those into others, till an equilibrium is produced among all that are within a striking distance of each other. And hence are repeated strokes and flashes, till they descend in showers to the earth, their original. Rain, especially when in large drops, generally brings down the electric fire. Falling snow often. Summer hail, always, though silently. Consequently, any of these may prevent thunder and lightning, or at least abate its violence.⁶⁷ Rain is helpful in another respect likewise. By wetting men or beasts it saves many lives. For if your cloths are thoroughly wet, and a flash of lightning strikes the top of your head, it will run in the water over the surface of your body into the ground. Whereas if your cloths were not wet, it would go through your body. Hence a wet chicken cannot be killed by a stroke from the phial, whereas a dry one is killed in an instant. See here also the wisdom and goodness of him, 'who sendeth forth lightnings with the rain'!⁶⁸ It should likewise be observed that wherever electrified clouds pass, spires, towers, chimneys, and high trees, as so many points, draw the electric fire, and the whole cloud frequently discharges there. Therefore it is highly dangerous in such a storm to take shelter under a tree.⁶⁹

38. Common fire (if it be anything more than a different modification of the same element) is more or less in all bodies, as well as electrical. If there be a sufficient quantity of either in any body, it is inflamed. But when the quantity of common fire therein is small, there needs more electric fire to inflame it. Where the quantity of common fire is greater, less of the electric will suffice. So if spirits are heated, a small spark inflames them. If they are not, the spark must be greater. Sulphurous vapours, whether rising from the earth or from stacks of moist hay or corn, or any other heated and reeking vegetable, contain abundance of common fire. A small addition of electric then will inflame them. Therefore they are easily kindled by lightning.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid., 116–20, 150–51.

⁶⁸ Cf. Jer. 10:13. This and the preceding four sentences are original to JW.

⁶⁹ See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 46–47.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 47–48.

39. Any who would be clearly convinced of the nature of lightning may make the following experiment. Make a small cross of two thin strips of wood, the arms being just so long as to reach the four corners of a large, thin silk handkerchief when extended. Tie
5 the corners of this to the extremities of the cross, and so you have the body of a kite. Add to this a proper tail, loop, and string, and it will rise in the air like one made with paper. But this is fitter to bear the wind and wet without tearing. To the top of the cross fix a sharp pointed wire, rising a foot above it. Tie a silk ribbon to the end of
10 the twine next the hand; and where the silk and twine join, fasten a key. Raise this kite when a thunderstorm is coming on. But he that holds the string must stand in a porch, or under some other covering, that the ribbon may not be wet. He must likewise take particular care that the twine do not touch the top or side of the porch.
15 As soon as the thundercloud comes over the kite, the pointed wire draws the electric fire from it. The kite and all the twine are then electrified, as plainly appears by this, that the loose filaments of the twine stand out every way, and are attracted by an approaching finger. And when the kite and twine, being wet, conduct the fire freely,
20 it will stream from the key on the approach of the knuckle. By this key the phial may be charged, and all other experiments made, as by the globe. And this is a demonstration that the electric fire thereby obtained is the very same with that of lightning.⁷¹

40. May not the knowledge of this power in pointed bodies of
25 drawing off the fire contained in these clouds suggest to us a very probable method of preserving houses, churches, ships from the stroke of lightning? Might we not fix on the highest part of them upright rods of iron made sharp as needles—and gilt, to prevent
30 rusting, which otherwise would hinder their free conveyance of the electric fire? From the foot of those rods (which need not be above half an inch diameter) a wire may pass down the outside of the building into the ground, or down round one of the shrouds of a ship and down her side till it reaches water. Would not these rods
35 silently draw off the electric fire before the cloud was nigh enough to strike? And thereby in a good measure secure us from that most sudden and terrible mischief!⁷² Let it not be objected that the using this probable means of preventing a threatening danger would imply any denial of, or distrust in, divine providence. Not at all.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 106–7. This experiment by Franklin, described in an Oct. 1752 letter, is the one for which he is generally best known.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 62.

We know the Creator of the universe is likewise the Governor of all things therein. But we know likewise that he governs by second causes. And that accordingly it is his will we should use all the probable means he has given us to attain every lawful end. It is therefore no more an impeachment of his providence, when we foresee a storm of lightning and rain, to shelter our house (as far as we are able) from the one, than to shelter ourselves in that house from the other. Is it not just as innocent (if it be possible) to keep our rooms tight from lightning as from wind and water?⁷³ 5

41. It may not be improper to add one or two observations before we proceed to what is of more importance. Scarce any phenomenon in nature has been esteemed more difficult to be accounted for than those luminous appearances in the sky termed *Aurora Borealis*, or 'northern lights'. But these also may be rationally explained upon the principles of electricity. We often see clouds at different heights passing different ways, north and south, at the same time. This manifestly proves different currents of air, one of them under the other. Now as the air between the tropics is rarefied by the sun it rises, the denser air pressing into its place. The air so raised moves north and south and, if it has no opportunity before, must descend in the polar regions. When this air with its vapours descends into contact with the vapours arising there, the electric fire which it brought begins to be communicated, and is seen in clear nights; being first visible where it is first in motion, namely in the most northern parts. But from thence the streams of light seem to shoot southerly, even to the zenith of northern countries.⁷⁴ 10 15 20 25

42. Another phenomenon, of a totally different kind, may be accounted for on the same principles, although Mr. Prior supposes Solomon himself to ask, as a question which he could not answer, 30

Whence does it happen, that the plant which well

We name the 'sensitive', should move and feel?

Whence know her leaves to answer her command, 35

And with quick horror fly the neighbouring hand?⁷⁵

⁷³The second half of this paragraph is by JW, but strongly echoes William Sherlock, *A Discourse concerning the Divine Providence* (London: William Rogers, 1694), 166–67. This volume had been recommended to JW by his mother Susanna in a letter of Mar. 14, 1727; see 25:211 in this edn.

⁷⁴See Franklin, *New Experiments*, 45–46.

⁷⁵Matthew Prior, *Solomon*, Bk. I, lines 86–89.

Allowing for poetical amplification, the plain fact is this. The 'sensitive plant', as it were, shrinks away as soon as your hand approaches it. And from a turgid and vivid appearance, instantly droops and hangs its leaves. Now suppose this plant to contain more electric
 5 fire than any other plant or animal. It must of course communicate that fire to any other that touches it. And if so, its leaves and branches must be in a languid state, till they have recovered their natural quantity. To illustrate this, set any small tree in a pot on a cake of
 10 brimstone. Electrify it and it grows extremely turgid, so as to erect its leaves. But the moment you touch one of them, the whole tree droops, and hangs all its leaves and branches.⁷⁶

[43.] To throw all the light I can on the subject, I subjoin a few extracts from several other writers.

15

*An Extract from Mr. Watson's 'Experiments and Observations'*⁷⁷

20

1. When two plates, the one electrified, the other not, were brought near each other, the flashes of *bright flame* were so large that in a dark room I could distinctly see the faces of thirteen persons (p. 6).

25

2. A piece of large blunt wire was hung to the conductor. To the end of this, when electrified, a black surface not electrified being brought near (though not near enough to cause a snap), a brush of *blue flame*, quite different from the former, issued, of more than an inch long and an inch thick (p. 7).

30

3. If a person strongly electrified lays his hand on the cloths of one that is not, especially if they are thin woollen or silk, they both feel as it were *many pins pricking* them, as long as the globe is in motion [(pp. 7–8)].

35

4. If oil of turpentine be set on fire in a vessel held by one electrified, *the smoke* arising therefrom, received against a plate held at a foot distance from the flame by one standing on rosin, will enable him to fire warm spirits of wine. The electric strokes have been like-

⁷⁶The sensitive plant analogy is derived from Freke, *Treatise*, 116–19. This entire paragraph was omitted (perhaps inadvertently) from the 1778 edn.

⁷⁷William Watson, *A Sequel to the Experiments and Observations tending to illustrate the Nature and Properties of Electricity* (London: C. Davis, 1746). In this and the following extracts JW's page references typically mark the page on which the section he is summarizing began, which may run to the next page or so.

wise felt upon touching the second man, when the plate he held in the smoke has been between seven and eight feet above the flame (p. 8).

5. Take burning spirits of wine instead of oil of turpentine, and if the second man hold the end of an iron rod at the top of the *flame*, he may kindle other warm spirits held near his finger. Hence we find that either smoke or flame conducts the electric fire, and does not perceptibly diminish its force (p. 9).

6. If the wire of the phial be not touched, the electrified water or steel dust will retain its force many hours, may be conveyed several miles, and will afterward exert its force upon touching the wire (p. 16).

7. If an egg is hung on the conductor, and a person grasping the electrified phial with one hand brings the palm of his other near the bottom of the egg, he receives a smart stroke on the hand, as with a ferula,⁷⁸ and his hand seems full of a more red fire than is usually observed (p. 24).

8. Any number of persons communicating with each other, the first of whom grasps the phial and the last touches the conductor, receive the same shock as if it was one only (p. 25).

9. The electric force always describes a circuit, and moves in the straightest line it can between the conductor and phial (p. 26).

10. To prove this, while the machine stood on wax I stood upon the floor and, putting one hand on the machine, touched the gun barrel with the other. Upon this fire issued, and the snapping continued as long as I held my hand on the machine, but no longer. This showed at once that the electric fire passed from the floor through my body to the machine (p. 36).

11. If the electric fire is not stopped, no sign of its presence is observable in the bodies suspended to the globe. Though it throws ever so much of this fire upon them, it passes from them to the floor whence it came. But if it is stopped, it is then accumulated in or upon these bodies. Although this can be done only to a certain degree, after which it continually disperses. If, when it is accumulated, a man standing on the floor touches those bodies, the snap is felt and the fire is seen. But this snapping is not when the fire passes continually, as from a piece of blunt wire hung to the barrel and a hand brought near it. Then it appears like a blue cone of flame, with its point towards the wire. When the hand is held at a proper distance, there is a blast therefrom, as of cold air. If you do not determine the

⁷⁸The stalk of a fennel plant, often used as a rod for administering punishment.

electric fire to a point, it is dispersed from all parts of the electrified body. But if you do, by thus holding your hand near the fire, you see how it passes to the floor, and so into the earth. The globe therefore only circulates this fire, which is collected by its friction against the hand or cushion, and which is constantly supplied to these from the earth. And accordingly the ingress of it, as well as the egress, is visible. For if, while any unelectrified body touches the barrel, you bring your finger near the woodwork of the machine, you will see the brush of blue flame set in from it to the woodwork. And this flame passes diverging into the machine, and continues as long as the barrel is touched (p. [42–]44).

12. That the electric atmosphere which surrounds all electrified bodies extends to a considerable distance appears from their attracting a fine thread at the distance of some feet. If no unelectrified body is near, this atmosphere seems to be equally spread over that which is electrified. But if one unelectrified is brought near, the greatest part of it is determined that way, whence the attraction of the other parts of the electrified body is considerably diminished. This is the cause of electric repulsion, which does not operate till the electric ether is sufficiently accumulated. This repulsion is strongest in those parts of the electrified body where unelectrified bodies are brought near it. For by these the electric blast, which otherwise is general, is particularly determined (p. 46).

13. When the machine is placed upon rosin, if a man standing likewise on rosin touches the barrel while the globe is turning, he will receive a snap or two, and no more. But if he touch the woodwork of the machine with one hand and the barrel with the other, he receives snaps again, which continue as long as he touches the machine and no longer. Here the man, by touching the machine with one hand, becomes a part thereof, and by turning the globe part of the electric fire inherent in his body is transmitted to the barrel. But it is restored to him on his touching the barrel with his other hand. If instead of touching the machine or barrel he holds his finger near either, or both, you see the fire go out and return (p. 64).

14. May we not gather from the preceding experiments: 1) That the attraction and repulsion of electrified bodies is owing to the flux of electric ether? 2) That this ether is no other than pure fire? 3) That this fire appears in different forms, according to its different modifications? When brought towards a point, is it not a lam-bent flame? When nearer still, may we not both hear and feel it? And does not its lighting up spirits demonstrate that it is real fire?

4) That this fire is intimately connected with all bodies, though least of all with pure, dry air? We have extracted it from water, flame, smoke, red hot iron; and from a mixture 30 degrees colder than the freezing point. 5) That it is extremely subtle and highly elastic? 6) That the electric machine may as properly be termed a 'fire pump' as Mr. Boyle's machine, an 'air pump'?⁷⁹ And lastly [7)] that fire is not mechanically producible from other bodies, but is an original, distinct principle?⁸⁰

An Extract from Mr. Wilson's 'Dissertation on Electricity' ⁸¹

Proposition 1. When two bodies equally replete with electric matter approach each other, no flame or snap will ensue (p. 5).

Proposition 2. Two bodies equally electrified repel each other (p. 6).

Proposition 3. An electric body interposed between a person and the earth prevents his exciting electricity in another body by friction (p. 11).

Proposition 4. If there is originally a certain quantity of electric matter in a body of a given magnitude and density, and that matter be equally distributed therein by its elastic force, according to the density of the parts. Upon increasing the quantity of matter by adding other bodies of the same kind, the quantity of electric matter will be increased in the same proportion (p. 14).

Proposition 5. As electric bodies act on light bodies that are not electrified, so unelectrified bodies act on the electric matter contained in electrified bodies (p. 16).

Let a wire be electrified in the dark, and if you hold any unelectrified body seven or eight inches from the end of it, a stream of fire will issue from it, which will diverge to that body. But the divergency will lessen as it approaches it, till the rays become parallel. If the body be held not directly before the end of the wire, but wide of it at about two inches distance, the fire will describe curvilinear rays towards that body (p. 17).

⁷⁹Robert Boyle, *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical, Touching The Spring of the Air, and its Effects* (Oxford: H. Hall, 1660).

⁸⁰Distilling Watson, *Sequel*, 70–75.

⁸¹Benjamin Wilson, *An Essay Towards An Explication Of the Phaenomena of Electricity* (London: C. Davis & M. Cooper, 1746).

Hence it appears that unelectrified bodies act in like manner with electrified; only the acting force of the one, being increased by friction, is greater than that of the other.⁸²

5 Proposition 6. When two equally electric atmospheres are brought so near as to touch, they repel each other with a force equal to their densities (p. 19).

10 Proposition 7. If, while a fluid surrounds a globe which is electrified and turned round an axis passing through its center, an unelectrified body be held near the equator of it, the fluid will rise successively towards that body, as it turns round, in like manner as the sea is affected by the moon (p. 23).

15 The shock given by the phial is in proportion to the size of it, the thinness of the glass, and the number of points in contact with its surface (p. 25).

*An Extract from Mr. Martin's 'Essay on Electricity'*⁸³

20 1. The electric matter is emitted from some sort of bodies when rubbed which are called 'electrics' (p. 9).

2. By other sorts of bodies, therefore termed 'non-electrics', it is not emitted.⁸⁴

3. It will run off to all non-electrics, but is restrained by all electrics.⁸⁵

25 4. It shines like a *flame*, and is emitted with a *snap*. If towards a *non-electric*, the fire is condensed, less or more, and so appears of a bluish, purple, yellow, or white colour.⁸⁶

30 When the electric fire is not so much condensed as to explode (as in thunder and lightning), it goes off in a dilated stream of purple flame, greatly resembling that part of the *Aurora Borealis* which appears in streams of light.⁸⁷

35 When it is little condensed it appears *bluish*, as all other faint lights do. When a little denser, it appears *purple*. When denser still, it looks *yellow*, like candle light. When highly condensed, it is clear and *white*, like the light of the sun. So the white lightning is of all others most fierce. So phosphorus, rubbed a little, spends itself in an harmless blue flame; but upon a greater attrition, kindles into a

⁸² Ibid., 17.

⁸³ Benjamin Martin, *An Essay On Electricity* (Bath: for the author, 1746).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 15–16.

white flame, and burns with an outrageous and unquenchable fire (p. 17).

And as lightning pervades soft substances unhurt, but dissolves hard and compact bodies, so electric fire pervades the soft, muscular parts of the body, but violently strikes the bones and tendons. Again, as those denser parts of lightning which we call thunderbolts, striking against hard bodies, glance by reflection to different parts; so this fire, striking against the elbow, is reflected from thence across the breast, to the other elbow (p. 18).

Indeed different persons are affected thereby in a very different manner. Some are extremely capable of it, some not. And some are not susceptible of it at all. A person, for instance, who has the small-pox cannot be electrified by any means whatever (p. 20).

Experiment 1. On the axis, in the center of my globe, is fixed a circular string of threads. When the globe is at rest, they all hang down. When it is in motion, they all extend themselves from the center, straight toward the inner surface of the globe (like the spokes of a coach-wheel), which they nearly touch. Thus they continue till the electric virtue ceases, and then gradually fall down, as at first (p. 22).

Experiment 2. While they are extended, if you move your hand toward the surface of the globe, they move every way toward the hand. Hence we see the amazing subtlety of this fire, which pervades glass as readily as if nothing were in the way.⁸⁸

Experiment 3. Place a hoop of fine threads round the globe in motion and all of them will stand perpendicular to the surface. Hence we learn that the electric power acts equally, both within and without the globe, and in directions perpendicular to its surface.⁸⁹

Experiment 4. If the room be then darkened, the ends of the threads on the outside will be all tipped with fire. But those within are not, which shows that this power acts only *ab intra* outwardly (p. 23).

Experiment 5. An iron rod being hung on silken strings, with one end about one fourth of an inch from the globe, will at the other end (which terminates in a conical point) emit a purple flame diverging every way. Hold your finger within one quarter of an inch, and the fire will issue more largely (p. 24).

Experiment 6. Hold your finger still nearer, and the rays will be so condensed as to run to it in a stream of yellow flame—which is

⁸⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 22–23.

also sensible to the feeling as a gentle wind, and smells like the fire of phosphorus.⁹⁰

Experiment 7. If you put your finger on the rod, the flame instantly disappears, the fire all running off upon the finger. But take it off, and the flame appears again.⁹¹

Experiment 8. Apply your finger near a tin tube so suspended, and you may see the fire, and both hear and feel the snap (p. 25).

Experiment 14. Under electrified plate, put some leaf-gold or other light substances on another plate unelectrified, and it will be attracted and repelled alternately, between the two plates. For each time it touches the lower plate it discharges the electric fire, and so becomes again attractable (p. 28).

Experiment 18. If to a gun barrel you adapt a small tin cup and pour in water, a person holding his finger perpendicular over the water, within one quarter of an inch of its surface, will find the water rise in form of a cone to meet his finger, and from the top of it a stream of fire will issue to the finger and snap as usual (p. 30).

Experiment 19. A dry sponge is an *electric*. But if it be dipped in water, and then hung on the barrel, put your finger near it and the fire issues out, and the drops which before fell very slowly will now fall very fast. If the room be darkened, they will appear as drops of fire (p. 31).

Experiment 20. A syphon hung on the cup drops very gently till it is electrified. But then the water runs in a stream, which in the dark is like a stream of fire.⁹²

Experiment 21. Open a vein in a person standing on the rosin, and the blood will fly out to a certain distance. But let him be electrified and it will spin out with a much greater force, and to a far greater distance.⁹³

Experiment 24. If mercury be put for water, the electric force is something greater, but in no proportion to its density.⁹⁴

Experiment 25. When the mercury is saturated, the electric streams will issue through the wire more copiously than from the phial of water, and will snap of themselves, which the streams issuing from the water never do.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁹¹ Ibid., 24–25.

⁹² Ibid., 31.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

Experiment 27. The electrified phial will not retain the fire very long. But if you hold it up in a dark room, it will be seen to go off from the point of the wire, in a small white flame (p. 34).

Experiment 30. A cup of water held by an electrified person will emit fire more forcibly than his body (p. 35). 5

Experiment 32. A person standing on the ground cannot easily kiss an electrified person standing on rosin (p. 36).

Experiment 38. If a square piece of leaf-gold be placed between two plates about two inches asunder—one of them electrified, the other not—at first it will be attracted and repelled alternately. Till 10
in a while it will lose its motion, and remain suspended between them (p. 39).

Experiment 42. If the globe be exhausted of air, and then turned, the electric fire will act wholly within the globe, where it will appear (in a dark room) as a reddish or purple flame filling the whole globe. 15
But this, as the air is re-admitted into it, will gradually disappear. In this case, the electric fire is confined within by the elastic air on the outside (p. 40).

20

*An Extract from Mr. Watkins's Account of Electrical Experiments*⁹⁶

When the machine is to be used, the globe should be wiped clean 25
with a clean, dry, warm flannel, its pivots oiled, and the cushion and phial warmed. In damp weather there should be a fire in the room (p. 4).

Experiment 4. Let an unelectrified plate, with scouring sand upon it, be held five or six inches under an electrified plate, and 30
the sand will be so attracted and repelled as to resemble a stormy shower (p. 16).

Experiment 7. If a glass ball, of four or five inches diameter, be hung by a wire to the gun barrel, and a ball of three quarters of an inch diameter, exceeding thin, placed on a smooth plate, be brought 35
near it, this will not only be attracted by the large ball but will perform continual revolutions round it, exactly as the planets do round the sun (p. 22).

⁹⁶ Francis Watkins, *A Particular Account Of The Electrical Experiments hitherto made public, with Variety of new ones, and full Instructions for performing them* (London: for the author, 1747). Watkins was optician to the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Experiment 9. Hang a lodestone on the barrel, and a key on the armature of it. And if you bring your finger near the key, it will snap and emit fire. A plain proof that the electric and magnetic power no way hinder each other (p. 25).

5 Experiment 35. A sparrow killed by the electric shock was found livid without, as if killed with a flash of lightning, and most of the blood vessels within were burst. Animals shocked on the head, if not killed, are commonly struck blind (p. 55).

10 Experiment 41. Ice held by an electrified person will fire warm spirits of wine (p. 61).

15 Experiment 43. Mr. Watson put an ounce of oil of vitriol, an ounce of iron filings, and four ounces of water into a flask. An ebullition ensued. An electrified person applied his finger to the mouth of the flask. The vapour took fire and burned out of the neck a long time (p. 63).

20 From an experiment made by Mr. Watson and others, it appeared that the electric fire circulated, without interruption, from the Surrey side of the Thames over Westminster Bridge to the Westminster side, and thence through the river to the Surrey side again, which is upwards of 800 yards. Spirits of wine also were fired the same distance.⁹⁷

25 From this and several other experiments it appeared that distance, simply considered, did little, if at all, impair the force of the electric shock.⁹⁸

They afterwards conveyed this shock through a circuit of four miles, and found the motion of the electric fire to be nearly, if not quite, instantaneous.⁹⁹

30 II. I have been hitherto endeavouring to make electricity plain. I shall endeavour, in the second place, to make it useful.

1. This ethereal fire, in its unmixed state, seems too violent an agent for the human body to bear. Therefore the wise Author of nature has provided the air to temper and adapt it to our use. So
35 tempered, it is the grand instrument of life. 'It gives and preserves', says Bishop Berkeley, 'a proper tone to the vessels. It promotes all secretions, keeping every part in motion. It pervades the whole animal system, producing great variety of effects, various vibrations

⁹⁷ William Watson, 'A Collection of the Electrical Experiments communicated to the Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions* 45 (1748), 49–120; here, 52, 58–60.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 62–65.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 84–85.

in the solids and ferments in the fluids.’¹⁰⁰ Indeed, from many experiments we know it communicates activity and motion to fluids in general, and particularly accelerates the motion of the blood in an human body. This is quickened three or four pulses in half a minute by a person only standing on glass and being electrified. And it is certain many bodily disorders may be removed even by this safe and easy operation. 5

2. But because plain matters of fact weigh more than nice speculative reasoning with all who do not obstinately steel themselves against conviction, I shall first briefly specify several disorders wherein electrification has been found eminently useful, and then subjoin a few particular instances. 10

3. The disorders in which it has been of unquestionable use are:¹⁰¹

Agues	King’s Evil	15
St. Anthony’s Fire	Knots in the flesh	
Blindness, even from a <i>gutta serena</i>	Lameness, leprosy	
Blood extravasated	Mortification	
Bronchocele	Pain in the back	20
Chlorosis	Pain in the stomach	
Coldness in the feet	Palpitation of the heart	
Consumption	Palsy, pleurisy	
Contractions of the limbs	Rheumatism	25
Cramp	Ringworms	
Deafness, dropsy	Sciatica	
Epilepsy	Shingles	
Feet violently disordered	Sprain	30
Felons	Surfeit	
Fistula Lacrymalis	Swellings of all kinds	
Fits, ganglions, gout, gravel	Throat sore	
Headache	Toe hurt	35
Hysterics	Toothache	
Inflammations	Wen[s]	

¹⁰⁰ Berkeley, *Philosophical Reflections*, 66.

¹⁰¹ The subsequent cases described follow this alphabetic list. JW provided a comparable list at the end of *Primitive Physic*, beginning with the 8th edition of 1759 (see above in this vol.).

It will be easily observed that a great part of these are of the nervous kind; and perhaps there is no nervous distemper whatever which would not yield to a steady use of this remedy.¹ It seems therefore to be the grand *desideratum* in physic, from which we may expect relief when all other relief fails, even in many of the most painful and stubborn disorders to which the human frame is liable.

I have scarce known an instance wherein a few shocks all over the body have failed to cure either a *quotidian* or *tertian ague*.²

Anne Heathcote, daughter of Mr. Heathcote, brasier in Long Alley, near Moorfields, was seized in May last with what is commonly called an 'ague in the head', having violent pain in her head, face, and teeth. After trying abundance of remedies, to no purpose, she was in August electrified through the head. She was electrified four times more, and has felt nothing of it since.

4. 'Having observed', says Mr. Lovett, 'the great efficacy of electrical aether in soon relieving most kind of *inflammations*, I was inclined to think the same efficacy would appear when it was applied to *St. Anthony's Fire*.³ But when a case offered, the inflammation was so great that at first I almost despaired of success. About noon I made the first trial, by drawing off sparks while the person was electrified on the rosin.⁴ Before night the angry swelling was much appeased, and in a few days quite cured.'⁵

5. A boy about seven years old (says Mr. Floyer, a surgeon in Dorchester) was taken blind suddenly in both his eyes, without any previous pain or fever. Three or four days after, he was brought to me. He was as blind as if his eyes had been cut out. Taking the case to be a perfect *gutta serena*⁶ in both eyes, I told his parents it was my opinion he would never see again. However, I determined to try the electric shock. And the next morning, fastening a wire coming from

¹Nervous disorders for JW were literally disorders of the nerves, like palsy, not the psychological neuroses of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

²Curiously, JW does not list electricity as a remedy for 'agues' in any edition of *Primitive Physic*.

³An intense skin rash or inflammation, such as from erysipelas or ergotism.

⁴'On the rosin' is changed to 'on the stool with glass legs' in the 1778 edition (here and in II.26). The electrical machine in Wesley's house, London, is stored upon such a stool. The person receiving the electrical fire likely stood on this stool. It would have been lighter and more portable than a large cake of rosin. The purpose of the stool or rosin was to keep the electricity from passing through the person into the ground.

⁵See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 93.

⁶The term used for blindness for which there was no discernable cause (by eighteenth century instruments); the eye looked normal.

the phial to his leg, and another round his head, I brought the latter near the conductor and gave him four shocks successively. That day he was put to bed and continued there, sweating profusely, till the next morning, when he agreeably alarmed his father by crying out he could see the window. When he was brought to me the second time, he could see when I put my hand between his eyes and the light of the sun. This gave me encouragement to repeat what we had done the day before. The next day he could a little contract and dilate his eyes. The third day he could distinguish objects. The fourth, colours. The fifth day, after repeating the experiment, his sight was perfectly restored and the eyes, in every respect, as well as if no disorder had happened to them.⁷ 5 10

6. From a gentleman in Newcastle upon Tyne I have the following account.⁸ Last week a poor man in Sandgate,⁹ that had been blind twenty-four years, was led to the machine. I set him upon the electrical board, and drew sparks for about twenty minutes from the pupil of his eye. After he had rested himself a little, and was able to look up, he told us he could see Sidgate,¹⁰ which he had not seen for many years before. He could also distinguish objects in the room, and was able to walk home without a guide. He came a second time, and was so much better that I imagine he did not think it necessary to come any more. 15 20

7. He adds, About the time I wrote last, a young woman was cured of a fourteen years' blindness. She was able, before she went home, to distinguish one letter from another. 25

8. From the same person, a few days afterwards, I received the following lines. 30

The cure of the blind man of Newcastle has spread through all the country; in consequence of which I am, much against my will, become an oculist.

⁷ Ibid., 116–18; quoting a letter by Anthony Floyer in *Gentleman's Magazine* 21 (1751), 579.

⁸ This is likely a person offering treatment through JW's centre in Newcastle, the Orphan House.

⁹ A suburb (consisting of one long street) which had grown up on the banks of the Tyne, outside the medieval walls, and taking its name from Newcastle's southeasterly gate. It was the home of the keel men, a poor labouring class.

¹⁰ I.e., the 'side gate'; a street proceeding straight from Newgate to Barras Bridge, now called 'Percy Street'.

I have had several in hand, and among the rest a girl about seventeen has been with me about three weeks. Her case is owing to a film, or skin, grown over her eyes. It came by the smallpox about twelve years ago. Her friends have had all the advice, and used all the means
 5 in their power, but to no purpose. Except that she has lost her left eye irrecoverably by one of the persons they applied to.

When she came to me, the iris of the right eye also was very near covered with a very thick skin, so that she could do very little more than distinguish day from night. It was grown much worse this winter, and was so bloodshot and angry that I told her mother I could
 10 do nothing for her. However she made such a lamentable complaint that I consented to try.

The method I have taken is drawing sparks from her eye. And sometimes giving shocks from her head or neck, down her arm, to carry off the frequent complaints of pain and dizziness in her head; which never fails of succeeding in about ten minutes. We have elec-
 15 trified her about half an hour, twice every day. The skin wastes gradually, and grows thinner and less every day. So that now the colour of the eye appears through it, except in the middle and towards the nose, where the film at first seemed twice as thick as the rest. The
 20 other day, as I had her under hand, she saw the buttons of my shirt sleeve and of my coat. And yesterday [she] saw the teeth of one of her companions that was laughing at her. But her eye is so weak that I advise her to make very little use of it yet.

9. 'A person having a dark, livid spot under his eye from a blow three days before, it was in less than a quarter of an hour quite taken away, by drawing the sparks from the parts.' Mr. Lovett.¹¹

Here *extravasated blood* was manifestly dissolved and re[ab]sorbed into the vessels. I have lately known an instance of this kind. One
 30 whose eyes were almost beat out, as they term it, by the same operation lost all the swelling, and the blackness too, in twelve minutes.

10. 'A woman troubled with a *bronchocele*, the most obstinate of all swellings, whose neck was eighteen inches and one half about, is already so far relieved that the largest part of her neck is but fifteen
 35 inches and an half about, the smallest not thirteen. And the swelling now wastes so fast that there is hopes of a perfect cure.' Mr. Lovett.¹²

¹¹ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 84–85. In this and following cases JW abbreviated as 'Mr. L.'; we have expanded for the convenience of the reader.

¹² *Ibid.*, 96. Lovett identified as Susanna Rea, of High Street, Worcester. JW's rendition is more hopeful of a 'perfect cure' than Lovett—who considered the disorder 'obstinate'.

‘She applies the wire from the phial to one side of the swelling, and laying one end of another wire to the other side of it, then guides the other end of that wire to the electrical apparatus.’¹³

11. William Jones, a plasterer, living at Mr. Frazer’s in King Street, Seven Dials, fell from a scaffold on Thursday, February 15 last. He was grievously *bruised*, both outwardly and inwardly, and lay in violent pain, utterly helpless, till Saturday in the afternoon, when he was brought (carried) by two men to be electrified. After a few minutes he walked home alone, and on Monday went to work. 5

Mary Oglethorp had her foot *bruised* by a stone falling on it, which occasioned a running sore. It continued, though frequently healed for a time, upwards of eight years. But was entirely healed a month ago by electrifying, and has never broke out since. 10

12. A number of moderate shocks daily repeated for some time effectually cure *coldness in the feet*. It does not fail. 15

13. Angus M’Innon, of Fuller’s Rents in Holborn,¹⁴ was afflicted with a violent cough, till his strength wasted away and he had all the symptoms of a *consumption*. He was electrified three times about eighteen months ago, and restored to perfect health.

Elizabeth Collis, a child of twelve years old, living with Mrs. Wragg in Windmill Street, was so far gone in a genuine *consumption* that she was judged to be quite past recovery. This summer she was electrified four times, and has been quite well ever since. 20

14. A man at Uppsala¹⁵ in Sweden, whose knee-joint had been *contracted* above five years (originally from an ill-cured rheumatism), was quite restored by drawing off sparks for a few weeks.¹⁶ 25

15. ‘Mrs. M[argaret] D[ancocks] of Worcester was long afflicted with a most violent *cramp* in her legs. This disorder seized her before she was twenty years of age, and continued till she was upwards of seventy. This was most violent when she was in bed—at which time she was forced to tumble out on the floor, sometimes twice or thrice in the same night. It was attended with exquisite pain, bursting the small blood vessels, which afterwards appeared of a livid hue for a considerable time. 30

‘She was entirely cured in a few days, by being electrified once a day thus: having taken off her shoes, she put one foot on the end of the chain which came from the charged phial, putting the lower 35

¹³ Ibid., 96–97.

¹⁴ JW changed to ‘Lincoln’s Inn Fields’ in *Works* (1773).

¹⁵ Orig., ‘Upsal’, on all occurrences.

¹⁶ Zetzell, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 110.

end of a wire to the other foot, so that this being touched, both legs might receive the shock at once.' Mr. Lovett.¹⁷ I never once knew it fail in this disorder.

5 16. *Deafness* rising from hardened wax, or following a fever, is cured by only drawing off sparks. This was frequently tried at Uppsala.¹⁸ At Stockholm, a gentleman of distinction, who had been almost *deaf* a considerable time with a singing in his ears, was perfectly cured in three or four minutes. A young man who had almost lost his *hearing* for six months, by violent vomitings which forced
10 blood out of his ears, was perfectly cured in a few minutes.¹⁹

Samuel Jones, gardener, at Lambeth Marsh, in the year of the great frost,²⁰ leaped into the Thames to save a man from drowning. Hereby he became so deaf of both ears that he could not hear any sound at all, were it ever so near or ever so loud. In February last,
15 after being once electrified, he could hear the noise of a coach at some distance. After the third time, he could hear the sound of the machine. He came no more, so it is supposed he is well.

A man fifty-seven years old, who had been deaf for thirty-two years, was so far relieved in a few days as to hear tolerably well. A
20 girl of seven, born deaf (who consequently could not speak), began presently to hear words which were spoken very loud in her ear, and could repeat some of them in a few days.²¹

I have known hearing hereby given to a man born deaf.

25 17. 'In May 1748 came to me one Mary Smargins, born in the island of Nevis in the West Indies, 28 years old. She had been *so deaf* (from a cold at first) for seventeen years as not to hear anyone, unless they were very near and spoke loud. Her deafness had no intervals. She always heard the least with the left ear. On Saturday, May 28, the phial being electrified by two turns of the wheel
30 only, I applied one wire to the left temple, just above the ear, the other to the opposite temple. She felt a small warmth in her head, chiefly from ear to ear. I repeated it four times, a little stronger each time. The warmth increased at each shock, and though I

¹⁷ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 75–76.

¹⁸ Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 111. Note that the Zetzell text does not mention anything about the frequency of this experiment with the hearing impaired in Uppsala.

¹⁹ Lindult, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 111–12; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 126–27.

²⁰ The winter of 1739–40.

²¹ Lindult, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 112; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 127.

struck her at each ear alternately, she always felt most warmth at the deafest ear. At last she complained of small twitchings in her ears, chiefly in that ear, and cross her head. No other part of her body felt the shocks. The warmth increased all day with twitchings at intervals. The next morning I repeated the experiments, 5 which then affected her arms and body also. The twitchings were more violent; the warmth greater round the ears, chiefly the deafer ear. These effects continued all the day, and she heard considerably better. But toward evening, by sitting in an open window, she 10 caught cold; on which the warmth left her, and she felt very chill all over her body. On Monday she was extremely ill, with pains all over her. On Tuesday she was much better, and felt the same kind of warmth round each ear again. On Wednesday the noise and beating in her head, which she had had from the first of her deafness, much abated. In the evening a violent shooting went across 15 her head, from the left to the right ear. On Thursday I repeated the experiments. Some minutes after, blowing her nose, there issued corrupted matter with a small quantity of clotted blood. From this time she had little noise or beating in her head, and 20 heard perfectly well.

‘She had a great cold, and her eyes were much inflamed, when I began the experiment. But after the first day’s experiment the inflammation decreased, and after the second was wholly removed.’²²

‘I was able at first to bear the strongest shocks. But after repeating 25 them some weeks, I could hardly bear a small shock, and a strong one occasioned a violent convulsion of the muscles of my arm and body.

‘Upon rubbing with my hand a globe, while turning, I have several times felt a violent headache. But it always went off upon discontinuing the rubbing. I have known many persons who found an 30 unusual pain for some days after receiving the shock.’²³ Thus far Mr. Wilson.

I am surprised at this. For I never yet knew any person—man, 35 woman, or child; sick or well—who found any such inconvenience.²⁴ Only I have known rheumatic pains increase on the first or second trial, which were afterwards perfectly cured.

²² See Wilson, *Treatise on Electricity*, 202–7.

²³ *Ibid.*, 209–11. Wilson was experimenting on himself.

²⁴ Remember that JW instructed against using strong shocks, which avoided the pain that Wilson reported.

Mary Baker, charwoman,²⁵ aged 27, living at Mrs. Hunt's in Neal's Yard, near the Seven Dials,²⁶ having been ill of a *dropsy*, was admitted last year into St. George's Hospital. But on Nov. 28 she was discharged out of it as incurable, as she was also from the Westminster Infirmary. In spring last she was electrified, and soon after parted with several gallons of water. After being twice more electrified she was well, and able to earn her living.

18. It is of great use in the *epilepsy* or 'falling sickness'; unless it be hereditary, and then it does at least no harm.²⁷

10 The following case seems to have been of the *epileptic* kind. E[izabeth] T[oldervy] of Worcester was troubled with a very uncommon disorder for ten or eleven years. The contraction usually began under her left breast, and darted thence to her right, and back again to her left breast and shoulder. It then struck down to her elbow, wrist, and fingers, which were instantly so contracted that, if she had not time to catch up something in her hand, the nail of the forefinger would so wound the thumb as to make the blood run down. The contraction likewise twisted and drew her hand behind her, turning it up again to the shoulder. The intervals of this terrible disorder were uncertain. Sometimes she had ease for a month. Sometimes she was taken twice in a day. It would yield to no medicine, but was by this method entirely cured in a few weeks. She stood on the wire coming from the phial and then touched the apparatus with a finger of the hand affected. By this means the fire circulated the nearest way, through the body to the arm and fingers. This was several times repeated to each finger. Mr. Lovett.²⁸

19. Sarah Bettsworth, aged 22, then living in Cow Lane, was some years since seized with so violent fits that five or six men were scarce able to hold her. In autumn 1756, while she was in one of them, the apothecary, being asked by her master if he should electrify her, made light of it. However he did so, applying the bottle to one shoulder as she lay on the ground, and the wire to the other. On the first shock her struggling ceased and she lay still. At the sec-

²⁵ Orig., in all edns., 'chairwoman'; almost certainly a mistake. A charwoman is a maid.

²⁶ JW and his brother Charles leased a chapel at the intersection of West Street and St. Martin's Lane in London, just south of the "Seven Dials" intersection, where they held services. It is likely that this site also hosted use of one of JW's electrical machines.

²⁷ Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 111.

²⁸ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 95–96.

and her senses returned. After two or three more, she rose in good health. Some months after she relapsed, and was electrified again, and again entirely cured. Last Easter she fell into a fit again, through a fright; but by a few shocks was cured and restored to health.

William Matthews,²⁹ schoolmaster aged thirty-two, living at the Foundry near Moorfields, had *epileptic* fits (supposed to be hereditary) from his birth till he was six years old. Thence he was free till thirteen. They then returned on occasion of a fright, and continued so to do twice or thrice a year, till he was seventeen. From that time they came almost every month, till the year 1753. Since then they usually returned about once in ten or eleven weeks. In the middle of March last he began to be electrified, both through the head and from head to foot. April 4 he had a slight fit. But from that time to this (Nov. 1) has had none at all. Can all England afford such a cure as this, wrought by a course of medicines? 5 10 15

20. 'John Webb of Worcester, seventy years of age, was much *disordered in his feet* for ten or twelve years. The pain resembled that of the gout. And such a *coldness* attended it as was scarce supportable. If he warmed them by the fire, they raged still more; as also when they began to be warm in bed. The nails of his toes very frequently dropped off. The toes in general appeared livid, and frequently large black or bluish spots were formed at the end of them, or on the top and sides of his feet. These, when they first came, were exceedingly painful; but after a time grew dry and hard. His heels likewise were generally puffed up like blown bladders. 20 25

'All these complaints gradually decreased, till they totally went away, by his being electrified once a day for some time, and afterwards twice a week. At first only sparks were drawn. Afterwards the chain was brought from the phial to the part affected. Then one end of a wire was laid to the part affected of the other foot, and the other end of it brought to the conductor.' Mr. Lovett.³⁰ 30

21. *Felons*³¹ are speedily cured by drawing sparks. If any disorder be superficial, this operation suffices. But if it lie deeper, then the giving of shocks is found to be more effectual.³² 35

22. 'Ann[e] T[homason] had a *fistula*³³ near the inner corner of

²⁹ William Matthews (born c. 1727), had been a member at the Foundry since at least 1742. He apparently led the school offered during the day at the Foundry.

³⁰ Ibid., 89–91.

³¹ A small abscess or boil.

³² Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 111. The sparks/shocks comparison is added by Lovett in a footnote.

³³ An elongated pipe-like ulcer or abscess.

her eye, which healed and broke again seven times. The last time it healed it continued well for some time. After which it began with a small swelling, till it was as big as a filbert. From the time she was electrified, by drawing off sparks, it gradually decreased, till it was
 5 entirely dissipated.' Mr. Lovett.³⁴

Eliz[abeth] Johnson, daughter of Mr. Johnson, gunmaker in the Tower, was taken on New Year's Day last with sharp pains in her bowels, which soon threw her into *convulsion-fits*. These returned
 10 five or six times a day, for ten or eleven days. She was electrified all over, and had no fit for eight months. She was frightened into a fit. She was again electrified, and continues well.

23. 'A young lady had been affected with *fits* near seven years, which seized her without any warning and threw her flat on her face, quite insensible. These frequently returned twice in a day.
 15 This was attended with almost a continual *coldness* in her feet. Her stomach was also much affected. She stood upon a wire coming from the coat of the phial, and to complete the circuit another wire was laid upon her head, by which means the fire was conveyed to that part. By this means both the *fits* and *coldness* were gradually
 20 removed, and a complete cure effected.' Mr. Lovett.³⁵

24. 'Elizabeth B[und] near the Old Hills, a few miles from Worcester, had for fifty years been afflicted with severe *fits*. They threw her down to the ground, quite insensible, sometimes twice or thrice a day. She had tried many remedies, but to no purpose.
 25 From the latter end of the year 1752 she received several shocks. An inveterate headache, which attended her, quickly decreased, and in some months her fits too totally ceased.' Mr. Lovett.³⁶

25. Electricity was tried at Uppsala in three cases of a *ganglion*, which it perfectly dispersed.³⁷

26. Slight attacks of the *gout* are suddenly and effectively removed by drawing sparks from the part affected.³⁸

'A person who within the space of two or three years had had several attacks of the *gout*, since the first of which he had always a *stiffness* and *pain* in the joint of one of his great toes, and for a consid-
 35

³⁴ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 76–77.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 83–84.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 86–87.

³⁷ Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 112.

³⁸ JW is summarizing (and siding with) Lovett's more optimistic opinion, expressed in *Subtil Medium*, 122–23; which Lovett countered to the evaluation he quoted from *Gentleman's Magazine* on p. 114.

erable time in both, was quite cured by setting him on rosin while one on the floor drew sparks from the diseased parts.' Mr. Lovett.³⁹

William Sinnock, cabinet maker in Lombard Court, Seven Dials, was in Feb. 1758 seized with sharp pains in his feet, which continued three months, and for six weeks disabled him from doing any work. They returned in February last. He was electrified twice, and has felt no pain since. 5

Thomas Willis, chair maker, aged 44, was for many years afflicted with the *gravel* in the kidneys. In July last he was electrified twice. After the second time he parted with a large quantity of gravel. He was electrified twice more, and has not found the least complaint since. 10

27. 'In very bad fits of the *headache* I have often', says Mr. Lovett 'used this remedy with surprising success.'⁴⁰

'A man of Bromsgrove, afflicted for near a fortnight with a violent and constant *headache*, was twice electrified by a few light shocks, with half an hour's interval, and entirely cured.' Mr. Lovett.⁴¹ 15

A— T— of White Chapel had a violent *headache* which continued for seven or eight weeks. After she was electrified the pain increased for three hours. It then gradually decreased, till she was quite well. This proves that it may remove even a disorder which at first seems to increase. 20

28. Samuel Rennee, aged seven, the son of Richard Rennee, weaver, living in York Street, by taking cold was seized with a violent *headache*, which continued with short intermissions for above a year. Tuesday, March 8, 1757, he was moderately electrified all over. The pain left him from that hour. 25

29. 'A man who had a fixed pain just above his eyebrow for several days was, by little shocks at the part, cured in a few minutes. So was Mr. Higgins of Worcester of a *periodical headache*, which commonly began at five or six in the evening, and affected him from the top of his right temple to his ear, till he went to bed. This was cured only by drawing sparks.' Mr. Lovett.⁴² 30

'M[argare]t D[anckock]s was afflicted with an almost constant, as well as violent, pain in the *hinder part* of her *head* for near three quarters of a year; especially when she lay down in bed, being then so intolerable she could not forbear shrieking. Having used many other means with no effect, she was electrified once a day. This 35

³⁹ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 113.

⁴¹ Ibid., 73.

⁴² Ibid., 74–75; the first man was John Broome.

presently relieved (sometimes by sparks, sometimes light shocks) and in some weeks perfectly cured her.' Mr. Lovett.⁴³

5 'E[lizabeth] T[aylor] was troubled for eleven years with a severe *headache* which baffled all the efforts of medicine. By moderate shocks applied to her head, she was cured in a few weeks.' Mr. Lovett.⁴⁴

10 30. Abigail Brown,⁴⁵ aged 22, then living in Red Cross Street, was from a child frequently afflicted with a violent *headache*. In October 1757 she was electrified five days successively, having one wire applied to the sore part, another to the hinder part of the head, and receiving seven or eight shocks each time. Hereby she was entirely cured, nor has found any pain in her head since, unless occasionally for want of sleep.

15 Sarah Webb,⁴⁶ wife of Mr. Webb, tallowchandler in Grub Street, age 46, was from 20 years old subject to a violent pain on the top of her *head*. This frequently obliged her to keep her bed, nor could any remedy for it be found. In December last she received gentle shocks from temple to temple, and from the forehead to the back of the head. This was done three days successively, and she was
20 entirely cured.

31. Richard Outen, rope-maker, aged 23, living in Bunhill Row, was troubled with a violent *headache* over the eyes before he was ten years old, arising from a blow on the head. He was scarce free from it a month together for about twelve years. It used to throb and shoot
25 through the head, so that often he was almost distracted. In December 1756 he was electrified once, receiving three shocks, by one wire applied to the forehead and another to the back of the head. He was worse than ever for some hours, till he went to bed, but awaked in the morning perfectly well; and has continued so ever since.

30 32. In deep *hysterical* cases, the person ought to sit on the rosin at least half an hour every morning and evening. At first sparks may be drawn off; and afterwards shocks given, more or less, as the disorder requires. This would seldom fail of the desired effect, as may well be supposed from the following instances.

35 'A young gentlewoman, about ten miles from Worcester, sometime after she recovered from a fever, was seized with violent *hysterics*,

⁴³ Ibid., 75.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁵ This is likely the Abigail Brown, of London, to whom JW wrote on Nov. 21, 1760; 27:215 in this edn.

⁴⁶ Sarah Webb was active in the Foundery Society, appearing in a letter of Mary Bosanquet to JW dated Apr. 6, 1761; *Arminian Magazine* 4 (1781): 278–79.

which soon deprived her both of memory and understanding. The fire was conducted through her head by sparks and shocks several times a day, during the week she stayed at Worcester. In which time not only her memory, but her understanding, was perfectly restored.

5

‘Mrs. Higgins of Worcester was troubled for above ten years with an *hysterical* disorder, and a *coldness in her feet*. From thence that coldness moved gradually up to her head, in half a minute’s time, which then seemed a palsy in the head. Soon after her teeth would chatter as in a violent ague. Thence the shaking proceeded to her arms, and whole body, and was so violent (as hysterics mimic most distempers) as to resemble St. Vitus’s Dance.⁴⁷

10

‘Sometimes sparks were drawn, sometimes shocks were given; and she stood near half an hour daily on the rosin. In less than a fortnight the fits went entirely off. And in a while after, the coldness of her feet.’ Mr. Lovett.⁴⁸

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33. A person had rigid *knots* in the thigh like what appear in violent cramps, but not so hard or painful. These were entirely dissipated in a minute or two, only by drawing sparks.⁴⁹

34. One at Uppsala who had *lost the use of his limbs* from cold for several years, was in some weeks quite restored.⁵⁰

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One at Stockholm who had used crutches for seven years, could walk without them in thirteen days.⁵¹

Eliz[abeth] Buttle, nurse, aged 31, living in Featherstone Street, in May last felt such a pain round her anklebone that she could scarce set her foot to the ground. This grew worse and worse for about a month. In June she was electrified seven times round the ankle, and thrice upon the knee. Immediately her *lameness* ceased, with the pain that occasioned it.

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35. Mary Lallo, aged 25, then living in St. Thomas the Apostle’s, when she was a child was taken with a *pain* in the bone of the left leg from the knee to the bottom of the foot, which then felt as if a great weight had been fastened to it. This continued by intervals for many years. Frequently she could not walk without holding

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⁴⁷ A disorder characterized by rapid, uncoordinated jerking movements primarily affecting the face, hands and feet.

⁴⁸ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 87–88.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁰ Zetzell, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 314; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 112.

⁵¹ Lindult, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 111–12; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 127.

someone, and then in great agony. In February 1757 she received several small shocks on the knee, within four or five minutes. The pain instantly ceased. She walked home quite well, and has continued ever since.

- 5 A girl also of 13, who after the smallpox had been *lame* from four years old, having been electrified about twenty times, walked without a staff.⁵²

10 'A young lady from a strain in the knee joint, or rather the crural ligament, was quite disabled from walking. About three quarters of a year after, when she came to me, the muscular part of the leg was much fallen away, and a continual *coldness* attended the foot.

15 'I ordered her to sit on the rosin at least half an hour daily, and to receive several shocks through the disordered part of the knee. The first month there was little effect. In the next there was a visible alteration for the better. The third, she could walk a few steps without any crutch or staff. In the following month she seemed quite well, and left off electrifying; but after a time relapsed. After the relapse, the progress of the cure was more tedious, and it was four or five months before she could leave her remedy quite off. She was
20 then totally cured.' Mr. Lovett.⁵³

36. 'A young woman drinking at a cold spring when very hot was seized with a kind of fever for a quarter of a year. Many red spots then appeared on her arms, and soon after a thin dry crusty substance, which appeared rather as scales than scabs, from her elbows
25 down to her fingers. This *leprous* disorder (which many call a 'surfeit') continued near three years. Indeed it lessened the first and second winter, but the third was the same as in the summer.

'By drawing sparks once a day from the parts affected, in three weeks or a month all the scales disappeared.' Mr. Lovett.⁵⁴

30 37. 'A gentleman in Worcester had a *mortification*,⁵⁵ which began in his toe and, in spite of all the means used, gradually increased. He was shocked and the mortification stopped. But on his neglecting this, it began again and increased so far that the case seemed desperate. Yet on his being shocked again through the mortified
35 part, such a change appeared as astonished the surgeon, who owned it had done more good in two days than had been done in six weeks before.' Mr. Lovett.⁵⁶

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 80–83.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 85–86.

⁵⁵ I.e., a necrosis or dying of tissue.

⁵⁶ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 78–80.

38. A clergyman near London had, from a child, almost a constant *pain* in the lower part of his left side. He was once electrified by standing with his left foot on the chain, and has never felt the pain since.

James Kitley,⁵⁷ of Lambeth, had a sharp *pain* in his left side about three years. After being electrified three or four times, the pain left him and came no more.

Mary Burgis living at the Tun in Knaves Acre,⁵⁸ had a *pain in her side* for seven years. In May last she was entirely cured the first time of electrifying.

Michael Hayes, of King Street, Westminster, aged 86,⁵⁹ had a violent pain in his left ankle for near four years. This sometimes disabled him from walking, which otherwise he could do without any difficulty. He was electrified through the part, and perfectly cured before he left the room.

39. Eleanor Story, living in Clerkenwell churchyard, catching cold, was seized with *pain* and weakness in the small of her *back*, as if it had been broke. By following the prescriptions of Dr. L.⁶⁰ the pain after a fortnight settled in her shoulder. There it continued so violent that often she had scarce any use of her arm. She afterward used abundance of remedies for above two years, but all to no effect. On Tuesday, March 21, 1757, she received two strong shocks on each shoulder, which made the skin red and sore. That night she was in more pain than usual, trembled all over, and could get little sleep. The next morning she received several shocks all over, and so on Thursday morning and evening. After the second time her pain was gone, and she had the full use of both her arms.

John Read, cabinet maker in Wardour Street,⁶¹ was for six years afflicted with violent *pains* in the back of his neck. In spring 1758 he was electrified about thrice a week for a month, and quite cured.

⁵⁷James Kitley and his wife Mary were faithful Methodists, who died within days of each other. JW was present for Mary's death; see *Journal*, Jan. 30, 1770, 22:214 in this edn. Mary was buried Feb. 2, and James on Feb. 7, 1770, in Lambeth.

⁵⁸This street stood at the end of what is now Brewer Street, in Old Soho.

⁵⁹Interestingly, when JW buried Michael Hayes in 1769, he described him as having lived about an hundred and four years; see *Journal*, Mar. 2, 1769, 22:172 in this edn.

⁶⁰JW discretely does not give the full name. Two possible members of the Royal College of Physicians in 1759 who practised in the vicinity of Clerkenwell churchyard were Joseph Leatherland on Aldermanbury Street, and Theophilus Lobb on Newgate Street.

⁶¹Orig., 'Reed'; of 'Warder'. This is the John Read who both pioneered electrical therapy in London and built electrical therapy machines (see introduction).

40. Joseph Jones⁶² was taken about March 12, 1757, with a violent *pain in the stomach*. He received the same day a few gentle shocks. The pain went off, and returned no more.

5 Mary Peltecree, warper,⁶³ living in Primrose Street, was troubled six months with a *pain in her stomach and back*, accompanied with extreme weakness and faintness, which made her incapable of her work. By the advice of a physician she took many medicines, but with no effect. Five weeks ago she was electrified, receiving the shock through the stomach. This was done for five days suc-
10 cessively. She has been perfectly well ever since.

H— W—, throwster,⁶⁴ aged 23, living in Fleet Street, Bethnal Green, not being regular, was taken a year ago with a violent *pain in her stomach*. She had the advice of a physician, and took many
15 medicines; but to no purpose. At length she was electrified, nine or ten days, and is in perfect health.

Ann Wild, of Round Court, by taking cold in childbirth, contracted a violent *pain in her stomach*. After it had continued four years, she was perfectly cured by twice electrifying.

20 Mrs. Edwards, living in Nottingham Court, Shorts Gardens, was ill of a *pain in her stomach* for eight years. It often took away her rest, as well as appetite, and brought her to the gates of death. By once electrifying she was cured.

25 Eleanor Taylor, mantua maker,⁶⁵ aged 48, living in King Street, Old Street Square, was taken in September 1758 with a violent *disorder in her stomach*, which felt as if it was ready to burst, and often made her sweat to her fingers' ends. This continued for upwards of four months, and gave her little rest, day or night. In February
30 following she was seized with the rheumatism throughout the left side. For this, having quite lost the use of her left arm, she came to be electrified. She felt the shock chiefly in her stomach, and her disorder there was cured. After three days she was electrified again, and cured of the rheumatism also.

35 A gentlewoman in London had an almost continual *pain in her stomach*, more or less, for eight years. She received one shock on her stomach, and was well from that moment.

⁶²This is likely the Joseph Jones who was currently one of JW's itinerant preachers; see 10:260 in this edn.

⁶³One who winds yarn for the loom, or lays warp on the loom, for the weaver.

⁶⁴One who ran the machine that twisted silk fibres into thread.

⁶⁵Mantua was a type of silk fabric.

41. Silas Told,⁶⁶ schoolmaster, aged 48, living in Christopher's Alley, Moorfields, in the year 1741 had a pleuritic pain, for which he lost an unusually large quantity of blood. Immediately he was seized with a strong *palpitation of the heart*, which continued, more or less, without the intermission of one day, for more than sixteen years. In February 1757, while I was electrifying for a *pain in my stomach* (which was wholly removed by one shock) he came in and said, 'My heart is very bad, and I think I will try it too.' He did so, receiving a shock through the breast, and has been ever since perfectly well.

42. A citizen of Uppsala, who was thoroughly *paralytic*, was perfectly cured only by drawing sparks.⁶⁷

April 18, 1751⁶⁸ a remarkable case happened at Edinburgh. Robert Moubray, in the beginning of January was struck with a *palsy of the tongue*, and soon after entirely lost his use of his speech. Last week he began being electrified, and by Saturday he was able to put out his tongue, which before was dead and motionless. On Monday he could speak a little, and on Tuesday he could speak as well as ever.⁶⁹

Thomas Dobson, leather pipe maker, aged 27, living in Barnaby Street, was seized with a *palsy in the tongue* on July 24 last. It grew worse and worse till Saturday, [July] 28, and then quite deprived him of his speech. He was electrified for five days, by drawing sparks from the tongue, and shocking him all over. And hereby not only his palsy was cured, but convulsions also, which he had had for four years.

'Mr. P[erkins] had a year or two ago a slight touch of a *palsy*. On a sudden his arm dropped down, quite without strength; and though after chafing it well, he recovered the use of the upper and middle joint, yet the lower part was still so weak that he could by no means write his name. But by a few shocks in the arm he was effectually relieved.

'The same person had lately a much worse stroke. All his right side was so affected that he could not walk without two to support

⁶⁶ Silas Told (1711–79) first came in touch with JW in 1740 and was soon serving as master of the charity school at the Foundery. Increasingly his attention and ministry shifted to work with prisoners at Newgate prison.

⁶⁷ Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 315; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 112.

⁶⁸ Orig., '1756'; a mistake, in all editions.

⁶⁹ This case appeared in *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (April 1751), 152; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 109.

him. After he had been electrified three times, he could walk with the support of one only, and in a short time he was perfectly well. He used to stand on the chain with the right foot, and touch the apparatus with his right hand.' Mr. Lovett.⁷⁰

5 I have not yet known any instance of this kind. Many *paralytics* have been helped. But I think scarce any *palsy* of a year standing has been thoroughly cured.

43. A gentlewoman in London, who for several years was never long together without sharp pains in her knee which seemed chiefly
10 *rheumatical*, was freed from them in a moment by one single shock.

John Ramsay, cabinet maker, living in the Strand, by being very wet, caught a violent cold in the latter end of June 1756. This occasioned a *rheumatic pain* which fixed in his left knee. From this he was seldom free for a week together till November. He was then very
15 ill till February, being seldom able to do above half a day's work, sometimes none for a week together. He was for ten weeks an out-patient of St. George's Hospital, but received no benefit. On Monday, 21 March [1757], he was electrified through the knee, and four times more within seven days. The pain was removed, and his sleep,
20 which had been long lost, returned as before he was first taken.

Ann Walter, servant, aged 22, then living in Brick Lane, Spitalfields, was cured entirely of a violent *rheumatism* in her left arm by being electrified five times.

25 A stone-cutter at Stockholm, whose knees and joints of his toes had been rendered stiff, and his fingers crooked, by a mixture of gout and *rheumatism*, after being electrified a few days, was able to go to work. It has been found to remove or greatly abate all *rheumatic pains*.⁷¹

30 Ann Campbell, living in Queen Street, Seven Dials, had a severe *rheumatism* fourteen weeks. For nine weeks she could not dress herself, nor get out of bed without help. She had the advice of several physicians, but in vain. In spring 1758 she was electrified five times, and thereby restored to full health.

35 William Tyler, living at the Sun in Long Lane, Smithfield, was on March 9th last, about three in the morning, seized with *rheumatic pains*, chiefly on his right side, so violently that he was as helpless as an infant and was frequently constrained to shriek out like a woman in labour. I came before nine. After the second shock he felt some

⁷⁰ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 93–94.

⁷¹ Lindult, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 111; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 127.

change. After the third he was able to raise himself a little. After two more he rose and walked about the room. And before noon he was quite easy and well.

Sarah Guilford,⁷² aged 37, living on Saffron Hill, was for upwards of seven years so afflicted with the *rheumatism* in her right side that the knee and the ankle were wasted exceedingly. January 2 last she was electrified, and perfectly cured in one day. But it threw her into a profuse sweat, particularly from those parts which had been most affected.

Ann Cardiff, servant at the Golden Head, Islington, aged 40, about sixteen years ago was taken with a violent *rheumatism* by catching cold in lying in. It returned every year, and the last winter took away the use of her limbs. She followed the advice of several physicians, till they pronounced her incurable. October 15 last she was electrified, first by general shocks, then through the parts most affected. The first and second time it made her extremely weak and faint. The third was better. And after nine times all her weakness and pains were gone.

Margaret Virgin, silk winder, aged 39, living in White Horse Yard, Seething Lane, was troubled with the *rheumatism* before she was ten years old; and more and more, till when she was about twelve she was confined to her bed for near 21 weeks. From that time she was seldom free from it, so that many times she was quite incapable of business. Last winter she was so ill as to be forced to quit her work, not being able to lift an arm to her head. In January she was electrified twice—the first time all over, the second time through the left arm. The use of her arm was immediately restored. Her pains entirely left her, and ever since she has been more capable of any kind of work than she had been for twenty years.

Mary Trumbel, of White Cross Street, aged 49, began to be afflicted with the *rheumatism* before she was 30 years of age. It returned in her shoulders or head every winter. And for the three winters last past so increased that she could by no means turn either arm behind her, and was extremely painful. Last winter it was worse than ever. A little before Christmas she received five or six small shocks. Immediately she was easy, recovered the full use of both arms, and has retained it ever since.

William G. of the Little Minories, London, had been violently afflicted with the *rheumatism* for many years. For several winters

⁷² Sarah Guilford was active in the Foundery society, appearing in a letter of Mary Bosanquet to JW, dated Apr. 16, 1761, *Arminian Magazine* 4 (1781): 333–36.

he was not able to work. But after having received a few shocks, in a quarter of an hour, all his complaints vanished away, and he was afterwards as well in winter as in summer.

44. Almost all kind of *inflammations*, *ringworms*, *tetters*, *shingles*, as well as most kinds of *swellings* may be totally cured by drawing sparks only.⁷³

45. A lad at Stockholm who had a severe *sciatica* in the right hip, so as not to bear being touched, was cured in a few days.⁷⁴

John Ellison,⁷⁵ then an Officer of Excise living in Hunt Street, Spitalfields, was, upon catching cold, seized with a violent *sciatica* which held him several months without intermission, and frequently almost took away the use of his limb. In August 1754 he was electrified, receiving two shocks. His pain raged the more for four or five hours, but afterwards entirely ceased. And from that time to this he has been perfectly well, without the least relapse.

‘Mr. R[obert] S[oule] of Worcester, troubled with a *sciatica* for some years, was cured at once by shocks conveyed to the parts affected.’ Mr. Lovett.⁷⁶

Mary Butler, aged 86, living in Eagle Street, Red Lion Square, having been afflicted with the *sciatica* for more than twenty years, was last month electrified ten or twelve times, and has been easy ever since.

It seems the electric fire, in cases of this and of many other kinds, dilates the minute vessels and capillary passages, as well as separates the clogging particles of the stagnating fluids. By accelerating likewise the motion of the blood, it removes many obstructions.⁷⁷

46. Thomas Nevil, weaver, aged 26, living at the bottom of Vine Court, Spitalfields, when about 16 years of age, *sprained* his loins so violently that from that time he found a continual weakness, frequent pains, and an inability to do any hard work. On Thursday, March 10, 1757 he was electrified, receiving five or six shocks through the parts affected. When he went home he felt no pain, but much soreness on the part, on which a red spot appeared, like

⁷³ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 130–31.

⁷⁴ Lindult, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (Mar. 1755), 111; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 127.

⁷⁵ John Ellison (1720–91) was JW's nephew, the son of his sister Susanna (Wesley) Ellison and Richard Ellison. By the time JW published *Desideratum* Ellison and his wife Sarah (see II.49 below) had moved to Bristol, where John continued to serve as an excise officer.

⁷⁶ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 74.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

a small pin's head. But the next morning he was perfectly well, and has been ever since stronger than before the first hurt.

Francis Halfpenny, tailor, aged 30, living in Red Cross Street, Southwark, when about 18 years old had a fall from a tree. By this he received such a sprain that he could not walk twenty yards, unless exceeding slow, without a gnawing, aching pain down his thigh. About the middle of September last he was electrified through the upper part of the thigh. This was repeated at five or six different times. The first shock removed the pain down to the knee. At the third electrifying it went quite away. And since that time he has been full as well as he was before his fall. 5 10

47. 'E[sther] H[opkins] of Tedny had a very painful *swelling* in the ball of her great toe for some years. Having made use of many other means in vain, she was at length electrified. After the first operation (by drawing sparks) the pain was much abated. And in a short time the swelling disappeared and the pain left her.⁷⁸ 15

'Mr. Joshua W[ade] of Pershore was troubled for seven or eight years with a pain in his second toe. Though nothing was to be seen, it was as tender as a boil, and the pain was so great, particularly in walking, that he at length determined to have it cut off. By drawing sparks he was cured in an hour.⁷⁹ 20

'A gentleman of Worcester ran a bodkin into the side of his hand, near the fore and middle fingers. The wound was no more than the prick of a large pin, yet in three or four days a *swelling* came both in the palm and on the back of the hand. 25

'The fifth day a surgeon was called, who for three months dressed both the inside and outside of the hand, to no purpose. A caustic was then applied, but with no more success than all the other means. 30

'Finding no alteration, nor likelihood of any, he was electrified twice (by drawing sparks) on the inside of his hand, at the bottom of the middle finger. In four days it broke, and in about three weeks healed.' Mr. Lovett.⁸⁰

Jane Davison, quilter, aged 26, living in Quaker Street, had about six years ago a violent toothache, which occasioned a *swelling* in her right cheek. This continued gradually increasing on the inside of the cheek, till it grew into an hard fleshy lump. Despairing of any help, she let it alone, till last month she was persuaded to be electrified. 35

⁷⁸ Ibid., 88–89.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 91.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 77–78.

She received several strong shocks through the part. After this was done the first time, the swelling not only increased exceedingly, but was violently painful. The next day the other cheek likewise swelled, and that swelling spread through the upper lip, across the mouth. Nevertheless she was electrified again. Two or three days after it broke, and for two days together discharged abundance of purulent matter mixed with blood. But in a few days the wound was entirely healed, and all the swelling gone.

48. 'E[lizabeth] T[aylor], taking cold, was seized with a *sore throat* which grew worse and worse for six days. She then could not swallow even a bit of bread soaked in tea. The same morning she was electrified, so as to direct the shock in the right line through the part affected. By the time she got home she could eat anything. Two shocks more made a perfect cure.'⁸¹

49. 'The *toothache*, if proceeding from a scorbutic habit, from hollow teeth, or from a defluxion of rheum, is presently assuaged or totally removed by this remedy.'⁸²

'This may frequently be done by drawing sparks from the tooth or cheek. In more stubborn cases, by moderate shocks. The sooner you touch the phial, the weaker the shock. So that you may lessen or increase it at pleasure.

'In giving the shock, the most effectual way is to bring one wire under the chin and the tooth (if it be on the under side) and lay the end of the other wire on the top of the tooth. If it be on the upper side, bring one wire to the top of the head over the tooth, and apply the other to the bottom of it.' Mr. Lovett.⁸³

Sarah Ellison,⁸⁴ the wife of John Ellison abovementioned, caught cold in lying in, which fixed a sharp *pain* in her *teeth* and the side of her face. She used all manner of means to remove this for upwards of six years. Among many others, she had (at several times) three teeth drawn, and was fourteen times blistered, but without effect. In July 1754 she received six shocks through her head. The pain ceased immediately, and returned no more.

50. 'A person had a swelling, supposed to be a *wen*, between the neck and the shoulder-blade, as big as an egg and nearly as hard, which had been growing to that size for several years. She had not been electrified many times (by drawing sparks for five or six min-

⁸¹ Ibid., 93.

⁸² Zetzell, *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (July 1755), 315; reproduced in Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 112.

⁸³ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 93.

⁸⁴ Sarah Barnes (c. 1719–62) married John Ellison in Oct. 1744.

utes every day) before it began to soften. Soon after it discharged, and softening more and more, till it was entirely dissipated.’ Mr. Lovett.⁸⁵

51. Whoever desires to see a more circumstantial account of many of the preceding cases, with the names of most of the patients and their places of abode, may consult Mr. Lovett’s treatise. It was wrote not only with admirable judgment, but with an excellent spirit. A principle of benevolence to humankind may be easily observed to breathe through the whole. Nor can any lightly condemn it but those whose interest naturally leads them to decry whatever would lessen their own gain. 5 10

52. After relating these cures, Mr. Lovett himself adds, ‘I can’t deny but I was much astonished at seeing such mighty things performed by electricity. But after having attentively considered the nature of electric aether, its great subtlety and power, its active and enlivening qualities, and its mighty tendency to accelerate the motion of the fluids in general, and the blood in particular’, (I would add, and to pervade the finest arteries and nerves, to dilate their obstructed or contracted orifices; as well as to restore the tone of any muscle or fibre which is either impaired or destroyed.) ‘I concluded that all those surprising effects were no more than the necessary consequences of so powerful an agent, when thus determined and directed. And the helping us in our bodily infirmities was *one* great end it was ordained to serve’ (probably *the* great end) ‘after it had been thus fully and plainly discovered to us.’⁸⁶ 15 20 25

53. It were greatly to be wished that the gentlemen of the faculty would strictly examine the nature, properties, and effects of this sovereign remedy. For such it unquestionably is, particularly in nervous cases. Even in those cases which the common *materia medica* will no wise reach. But is not to be expected. They must not disoblige their good friends the apothecaries. Neither can it consist with their own interest to make (although not every man) yet so many men their own physicians, which would be the unavoidable consequence if a regular system of practical rules were formed from a process of experiments whereby a sensible man might judge in what cases it would cure and in what not, and in what manner it might be most effectually applied in any case wherein it was proper.⁸⁷ 30 35

⁸⁵ See Lovett, *Subtil Medium*, 85.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 98–99.

⁸⁷ Compare *ibid.*, 100. Both Lovett and JW address the ‘gentlemen of the faculty’, but JW is less respectful of the ‘faculty’ than Lovett, displaying his cynicism about the collusion of physicians and apothecaries for financial interests.

In order to prevent any ill effect, these two cautions should always be remembered. First, let not the shock be too violent; rather let several small shocks be given. Secondly, do not give a shock to the whole body when only a particular part is affected. If it be given
 5 to the part affected only, little harm can follow even from a violent shock.

For instance, in a *palsy of the tongue*, the shock may be given to the tongue only by applying one wire to the hinder part of the neck and another to the tongue. And if in any case there be danger of too
 10 great a shock, it may easily be prevented.⁸⁸

It is highly probable a timely use of this means might prevent before they were thoroughly formed, and frequently even then remove, some of the most painful and dangerous distempers—*cancers* and *scrophulous tumours* in particular—though they will yield to
 15 no other medicine yet discovered. It is certain nothing is likely, by accelerating the contained fluids, to dilate and open the passages, as well as divide the coagulated particles of the blood, that so the circulation may be again performed. And it is a doubt whether it would not be of more use, even in *mortifications*, than either the
 20 bark or any other medicine.⁸⁹

Before I conclude, I would beg one thing (if it be not too great a favour) from the gentlemen of the faculty, and indeed from all who desire health and freedom from pain, either for themselves or their
 25 neighbours. It is that none of them would condemn they know not what. That they would hear the cause, before they pass sentence. That they would not peremptorily pronounce against electricity, while they know little or nothing about it. Rather let every candid man take a little pains to understand the question before he determines it. Let him for two or three weeks (at least) try it himself in
 30 the above-named disorders. And then his own senses will show him whether it is a mere plaything, or the noblest medicine yet known in the world.

⁸⁸ For this and the preceding paragraph, see *ibid.*, 109–10.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 136–37. Note that Lovett makes no reference to bark; this is JW's addition.

THE ACCOUNT OF DISEASE
IN *A SURVEY OF THE WISDOM OF GOD*
IN CREATION
(1763)

An Introductory Comment

In 1747, in §8 of his preface to *Primitive Physic*, Wesley complained about ‘men of a philosophical turn’ who were not satisfied with traditional medical treatments founded merely upon common experience. These men desired to account for the success or failure of medicines, so they began to examine ‘the human body and all its parts’, and to ‘form theories of diseases and their cure’ which they substituted in place of common experience.

This complaint might suggest that Wesley was opposed to the modern focus on natural science—or what was called ‘natural philosophy’ in the eighteenth century. Such was hardly the case.¹ Wesley stayed abreast of publications in natural philosophy, including the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge. And he judged their findings about the natural world of sufficient importance to provide a distillation (with theological reflections) for his Methodist people, published in 1763 as *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation; or, A Compendium of Natural Philosophy*. Initially a two-volume work, Wesley’s *Survey* grew to five volumes by its third edition in 1777.²

Wesley’s *Survey* opens with an account of the human body. This is followed by descriptions of other animals; then plants, fossils, and the physical elements of earth, fire, and water; and concludes with consideration of the heavens—including air, meteors, and cosmology. *Survey* will be considered as a whole elsewhere in this edition of Wesley’s *Works*. But one excerpt sheds light on his assumptions about illness and health. Chapter Three of Part I summarizes the causes of disorder in the human body, including the ultimate disorder

¹ See Randy L. Maddox, ‘John Wesley’s Precedent for Theological Engagement with the Natural Sciences’, *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 44.1 (2009): 23–54.

² See *Bibliography*, No. 259.

of death.³ While Wesley stressed that this summary was conjectural (see §7), it is noteworthy that it contains no mention of the traditional humours. Rather, Wesley embraced Buddeus's mechanical description of the causes of disease as the most credible conjecture. This is consistent with what is found elsewhere. Wesley readily described our bodies as 'exquisitely wrought machines' created by God.⁴ And he had long been drawn to an explanation of mortality as a clogging of the arteries due to foreign material in the blood.⁵

Wesley's foundational source for the first edition of *Survey* was a textbook in Latin by Johann Franz Buddeus (1667–1729), a professor at the universities of Halle and Jena.⁶ Most chapters in this initial edition are based on abridged translations of the Buddeus text, with excerpts from other works in natural philosophy or natural theology sprinkled throughout, and the occasional insertion of Wesley's own voice. Chapter Three of Part I is representative. Six of the first seven sections in the chapter trace back to Buddeus. It includes as well an extended footnote from Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, a report drawn from *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, and excerpts from books by William Derham (1615–1735) and John Ray (1627–1705). Wesley's voice emerges most clearly in three sections: §6 distills his advice related to the six 'non-naturals', echoing the closing section of the Preface to *Primitive Physic*; §8 reiterates his insistence that attention should be directed less toward accounting for diseases than toward proven practices for avoiding them; and §9 draws on several sources in rehearsing his long-held conviction about the biological processes involved in mortality and death.

Wesley inserted additional excerpts in this chapter, from various sources, in subsequent editions of *Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation*. These insertions, and the editions in which they are contained, will be documented elsewhere in this edition.

³ *Survey of the Wisdom of God* (1763), 1:83–89.

⁴ JW, Sermon 51, *The Good Steward*, I.4, 2:285 in this edn.

⁵ See JW, Sermon 141 (1730), 'The Image of God', §II.1–5, 4:296–99 in this edn.

⁶ Johann Franz Buddeus, *Elementa Philosophiae Theoretica* (Halle: Glauche-Hallensis, 1706).

Of the Preternatural State of the Human Body¹

1. When the structure or disposition of the parts of the body is so disturbed and disordered that the natural operations are no longer performed, or not in the manner they ought, this is a 'preternatural state of the body', otherwise termed a 'disease'.² 5

2. There cannot but be a great *variety of diseases*, whether we consider the manner wherein that structure or disposition is disturbed, the part wherein each disease has its seat, or the various effects and circumstances of them. Some diseases only hurt the use of the parts. Some wholly destroy it. Some affect this or that part, others the whole body. Some disorder the body, some the mind, and others both mind and body.³ 10

3. But they are all reducible to three classes, those of the solids, of the fluids, and of both. The *solid* parts may be bruised, wounded, swelled, or removed out of their natural place.⁴ 15

4. The diseases of the *fluids* lie chiefly in the blood—when it is either too thick and sizzly,⁵ whereby its motion becomes too languid and slow, whence spring the diseases owing to obstruction; or too thin. From the former cause arise leprosies, scirrhuses, lethargies, melancholy, hysteric affections. And if at the same time it abounds in acid salts, the sharp points of these tear the tender fibres and occasion the scurvy, king's evil, consumption, with a whole train of painful distempers. Fevers frequently arise from the too great thinness in the blood.⁶ 20

5. As to the diseases ascribed to the animal spirits,⁷ some are thought to proceed from the suppression or diminution of their 25

¹ *Survey of the Wisdom of God* (1763), 1:83–89; drawing on Buddeus, *Elementa*, Bk. I, Chap. IV (pp. 91–101).

² Buddeus, *Elementa*, §1 (p. 92).

³ *Ibid.*, §2 (pp. 92–93).

⁴ *Ibid.*, §3 (p. 93). The 1763 edn. of *Survey* included a footnote here that was incorporated into the text in subsequent editions. This note departed from Buddeus's description of disease to offer an account of calluses as a providential way of protecting bones and skin. The note was an adaptation of the articles on 'Callus' and 'Callus microscopically examined' in *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopaedia: or, Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London: W. Innys et al., 1753), vol. 1, unnumbered.

⁵ I.e., viscous.

⁶ This section distills Buddeus, *Elementa*, §§4–8 (pp. 93–95).

⁷ 'Animal spirits' were assumed in the 18th century to be very subtle or ethereal fluids that moved through the nerves like blood did through the arteries and veins. The flow of the animal spirits was used to account for sensation, dispositions, moods, and voluntary action. See *OED*. JW elsewhere equated 'animal spirits' with the 'ethereal fire' of electricity that flows through the nerves; see below, 'Thoughts on Nervous Disorders', §5.

motion, as apoplexies and palsies; some from their excessive or irregular motion, as madness, convulsions, epilepsies.⁸

6. Such are the proximate causes of diseases. As to the remote, the chief are these: 1) intemperance in meat or drink, either with regard to the quantity or quality; 2) want of exercise, or excess therein; 3) immoderate sleep or watching; 4) unwholesome air; 5) the diminution of some natural evacuation; [and] 6) irregular passions. All or any of these affect the temperature and motion of the blood and spirits.⁹

7. But it can scarcely be conceived, after all that has been said and wrote on almost every subject, how very little is known to this day concerning the causes of diseases. In most cases the skilful physicians acknowledge they have nothing but conjectures to offer. We may give a specimen with regard to *fevers*, the most common of all distempers. These are of various kinds—at present we will speak of intermitting fevers only. Most of these agree in the following symptoms. During the approach of the fit, cold and shivering seize the body, with a small and slow pulse. Heat succeeds, with a quick, strong, hard pulse; followed by sweat and a softer pulse. These fits return at stated times.

It is supposed that these changes in the blood arise from some foreign matter mixed with it, which it cannot readily assimilate, and which therefore must in some measure hinder its motion—perhaps because the particles of it are too large, too long, or branching out. When the circulation is hindered or retarded, chillness naturally follows. And if these particles, sticking in the finer passages, are pressed on by the affluent blood, this will occasion both a shock and tremor of the muscles and make the pulse more weak and slow. But when they are at length broken and comminuted by the continued efflux of the blood, it will flow more violently and, of course, occasion heat—which driving the blood to the surface of the body, many of its thinner particles will burst through the pores in the form of sweat. As to the fevers returning at stated times, it is supposed the peccant matter is generated from time to time and mingled with the blood afresh. Whence the same symptoms of course return, and that with more or less violence, as more or less of that matter is generated. And as this is done more swiftly or slowly, the fever returns

⁸Buddeus, *Elementa*, §9 (p. 95).

⁹This is JW's briefest account of the six 'non-naturals'. See his longer discussion in §16 of his Preface to *Primitive Physic*, taken from George Cheyne, *An Essay on Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724). There is no parallel material in Buddeus at this juncture.

in one, two, or three days. But all this is mere conjecture. It may be so, and it may not. So that though we may guess much, we know nothing about it.¹⁰

8. It is sufficient for us to know how we may avoid diseases, whether we can account for them or not. To this end, we should avoid whatever in meat, drink, motion, or rest is likely to produce any considerable change in the blood. The body likewise should be as far as possible accustomed to bear some change of food, air, and other externals, that if we should at any time be constrained to make such a change, no ill consequence may ensue. But no precise rule can be laid down which will suit all constitutions. Every man must consult his own reason and experience, and carefully follow them.¹¹

9. As long as the soul and body are united, a man is said to be *alive*. But it is extremely difficult to determine the precise time at which life ceases, or what that is which is absolutely necessary to the continuance of it. Is respiration? But when this is entirely ceased, as is the case in a person strangled, blow strongly into the lungs, and they play again—which shows he was not dead before. Is the beating of the heart? But when this also is ceased, in the fore-mentioned case, take the same method, and when the lungs begin to play, the heart begins to beat anew. Is the circulation of the blood? But persons drowned, who have been so long under water as to have no pulse remaining in any artery, and consequently no circulation, have recovered by the use of proper means and lived many years after. Is the fluidity of the blood? Nay, but it is a common thing in Sweden to recover to life one who has been twenty-four hours under water, and who not only has no pulse but is as stiff all over as any dead corpse can be.¹² What then is *death*? Undoubtedly it is the separation of the soul and body. But there are many cases wherein none but God can tell the moment wherein they separate.

But what is properly a *natural death*? From the very birth, every vessel in the human body grows stiffer and stiffer by the adhesion of more and more earthy particles to its inner surface. Not only solid food supplies it with these, but every fluid that circulates through it. Hereby more and more of the small vessels grow harder, and their cavities narrower. Hence the dryness and stiffness of all

¹⁰ This section distills Buddeus, *Elementa*, §§11–18 (pp. 96–100).

¹¹ There is no parallel material in Buddeus at this juncture; or for the rest of this chapter.

¹² See the report in ‘Some Remarkable Instances of Different Persons that remained a Considerable Time under Water, without being Suffocated’, *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 31 (Aug. 1762): 88–91.

the parts which are observable in old age. By this means, more and more of the vessels are destroyed, the finer fluids secerned in less quantity, the concoctions weakened, and the reparation of the decayed and injured parts prevented. So that the coarser juices continue to run slowly through the larger vessels. Soon these also not only become narrow, but stiff, bony, and inelastic; till even the great artery, having lost its spring, can propel the blood no longer. And then follows death by old age, which is a purely *natural* death. But this is a very rare case. It is seldom life is so long protracted, the lamp of life being easily blown out when it burns with so feeble a flame. So that the age of man seldom exceeds threescore years and ten before dust returns to dust.¹³

Indeed, soon after the creation, when the earth was to be peopled by one man and one woman, the wise providence of God prolonged the life of man to above 900 years. After the flood, when there was three men to people the earth, their age was cut shorter. And none of these patriarchs, except Shem, attained to five hundred years. In the next century, none reached 240. In the third, none but Terah lived 200—men being then so increased that they built cities and divided into different nations. As their number increased, the length of their lives diminished, till about the time of Moses it was reduced to 70 or 80 years, where it stands at this day. This is a good medium, so that the earth is neither overstocked nor kept too thin of inhabitants. If men were now to live to Methuselah's age of 969 years, or only to Abraham's of 175, the earth would be over-peopled. If on the contrary, the age of man was limited (like that of divers other animals) to 10, 20, or 30 years, it would not be peopled enough. But at the present rate, the balance is nearly even, and life and death keep on an equal pace.¹⁴

This is highly remarkable, that wherever any account has been taken there is a certain rate and proportion in the propagation of mankind. Such a number marry, and so many are born, in proportion to the number of persons in every town or nation. And as to births, two things are very observable. One is the proportion of males and females: fourteen males to thirteen females, which is exactly agreeable to all the bills of mortality. And this surplusage of males allows one man to one woman, notwithstanding the casualties

¹³ Cf. JW's suggestion about how mortality spread through the bodies of Adam and Eve after they sinned in Sermon 141, 'The Image of God', §II.1–5, 4:296–99 in this edn.

¹⁴ This paragraph taken from William Derham, *Physico-Theology*, 4th edn. (London: William Innys, 1716), 172–75.

to which men are exposed above women. The other is that a few more are born than appear to die in any place. This is an admirable provision for extraordinary emergencies, to supply unhealthy places, to make up the ravages of epidemic distempers and the depredations of war, and to afford a sufficient number for colonies in the yet unpeopled parts of the earth. On the other hand, those extraordinary expenses are not only a just punishment of sin but also a wise means to keep the balance of mankind even. So one would be ready to conclude, by considering the Asiatic and other more fertile countries, where prodigious multitudes are swept away by wars and plagues and still they remain full of people.¹⁵

As to the length of life, it has been an ancient opinion that men lived longer in cold countries than in hot. But the reverse is true. The inhabitants of the Caribbee islands usually live a hundred and fifty years. In the Molucca islands, this ordinary life of the natives is a hundred and thirty years. In Sumatra, Java, and the neighbouring islands, the life of the inhabitants commonly extends to a hundred and forty years. In the realm of Cassuby, to 150. The Brazilians frequently live 160 years, and many in Florida and Jucatan still longer.¹⁶

Nor is this at all improbable. For there being no such inequality of weather in those climates as in ours, the body is not shocked by sudden changes, but kept in a more equal temper. And sickly persons with us, when fixed to their beds, and kept in an equal degree of heat, are often found to hold out many years, who would otherwise scarce have survived one.

Before concluding this head, we may observe one more eminent instance of the divine wisdom in the great *variety* throughout the world of men's faces, voices, and handwriting. Had men's faces been cast in the same mould, their organs of speech given the same sound, and had the same structure of muscles and nerves given the hand the same direction in writing, what confusion, what numberless inconveniencies must we have been exposed to? No security could have been to our persons, no certainty of our possessions. Our courts of justice abundantly testify the effects of mistaking men's faces or handwriting. But this, the wise Creator has taken care to prevent from being a general case. A man's face distinguishes him in the light, as his voice does in the dark. And his

¹⁵ Ibid., 175–77.

¹⁶ This paragraph is distilled from John Ray, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation*, 3rd edn. (London: Samuel Smith & Benjamin Walford, 1701), 205–6 [this section of Ray was first included in the 3rd edition].

handwriting can speak for him when absent, and secure his contracts to future generations.¹⁷

5 Lastly, how admirably has God secured the execution of his original sentence, upon every child of man, 'Dust thou art, and unto
10 dust shalt thou return'?¹⁸ From the moment we live, we prepare for death, by the adhesion of dust, mixed with all our aliments, to our native dust; so that whatever we eat or drink, to prolong life, must sap the foundation of it. Thus, in spite of all the wisdom of man and all the precautions which can be used, every morsel we take
10 poisons while it feeds, and brings us nearer to the dust from whence we came.¹⁹

¹⁷ Derham, *Physico-Theology*, 309–11.

¹⁸ Gen. 3:19.

¹⁹ See JW's elaboration of this point in Sermon 57, 'On the Fall of Man', §II.1–5, 2:405–8 in this edn.

*THOUGHTS ON THE SIN OF ONAN:
CHIEFLY EXTRACTED FROM
A LATE WRITER
(1767)*

An Introductory Comment

Readers may well be surprised to find a tract on ‘the sin of Onan’ included among John Wesley’s *medical* writings. The seeming incongruity of this placement arises on several levels.

To begin with, the specific behaviour of Onan that displeased God, as depicted in Genesis 38:6–10, was his failure to fulfill the intent of the ‘levirate code’ formalized in Deuteronomy 25:5–10. This law obliged an Israelite man, in the event that he had a brother who married but died without siring a son, to take his brother’s wife as his own and attempt to sire a son who would take the deceased brother’s name, ‘so that his name will not be blotted out from Israel’ (v. 6). The law reflects a staunchly patriarchal social order, which is open to serious objections. But within that culture, at least a subsidiary intention of the law was to provide protection for the widow—who otherwise was left with no property and few options. Moreover if a son was born through the obliged union, this son apparently inherited the property of the deceased brother, thereby providing a continuing means of support for his mother. This possibility is precisely what Onan took steps to avoid. He did not refuse to take Tamar, his dead brother’s wife, as his own.¹ Instead he took his pleasure with her while preventing the possibility of pregnancy, by ‘spilling his seed on the ground’.² In other words, he used the code for *his* benefit, while voiding its concern for both his elder brother and Tamar.³

While eighteenth-century English society remained patriarchal in major ways, it (unlike ancient Israel) provided widows with

¹The code allowed for such a refusal, though with some dishonour; see Deut. 25:7–10.

²Cf. Gen. 38:9.

³See Leonard Mars, “What Was Onan’s Crime?” *Comparative Studies In Society And History* 26 (1984): 429–39.

inheritance rights. In the absence of this possible rationale for the levirate code, the notion of *required* marriage to one's brother-in-law was morally objectionable to most in Wesley's time. The first thing to make clear about the tract that follows is that Wesley was not concerned to affirm the principle of levirate marriage, nor to encourage his followers to practice it. Neither does he undertake the more sophisticated task of explaining the protective intent of the original law and challenging his followers to care for widows in ways appropriate for their social setting. If any of these goals had been the topic of Wesley's *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*, it would belong in the volume devoted to his social ethics.

But Wesley does not even mention widows in *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*. Following a long tradition of Jewish and Christian moral reflection, Wesley was invoking Genesis 38:6–10 as biblical warrant for condemning masturbation (or, as he referred to it, 'self-pollution'), despite the lack of explicit connection in the text.⁴ This tradition developed, in part, from the assumption that the chief purpose of sex was procreation (which rendered masturbation, like Onan's behaviour, a sinful attempt to thwart God's design). As Clement of Alexandria put it in the second century of the Christian age, 'Because of its divine institution for the propagation of man, the seed is not to be vainly ejaculated, nor is it to be damaged, nor is it to be wasted.'⁵ Wesley's concurrence is indicated by the comment on Genesis 38:6–10 in *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*, published in 1765. He reproduced the comment of Matthew Henry that Onan's act was a 'great abuse of his own body, of the wife he had married, and the memory of his brother that was gone', including Henry's warning that 'sins that dishonour the body are very displeasing to God'. Wesley then added in his own voice: 'And it is to be feared thousands, *especially single persons*, by this very thing still displease the Lord and destroy their own souls.'⁶ That same year Wesley published *Thoughts on a Single Life*, in which he allowed that marriage was an honourable estate, but encouraged his

⁴ It is debatable whether masturbation is ever mentioned specifically in Jewish or Christian scripture; at most, some scholars see a veiled reference in the mention of 'hand' in Matt. 5:29–30, Mark 9:42–48, and Matt. 18:6–9.

⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* (or *The Instructor of Children*), Book II, Chap. 10. For broader treatment see Michael S. Patton, 'Masturbation from Judaism to Victorianism', *Journal of Religion and Health* 24 (1985): 133–46.

⁶ Compare JW, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*, Gen. 28:6–10 (emphasis added), to Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Old Testament in Four Volumes* (1706), Gen. 28:6–10.

followers (particularly his lay preachers!) to remain single, devoting their lives to the service of God and humanity. When he turned in this tract to advice about how to remain pure in the single state, his opening line included the comment that they should obviously 'avoid the sin of Onan, seeing Satan will not cast out Satan'.⁷

Clearly Wesley deemed masturbation to be a serious personal vice—or, as it was termed in a tract published by the Society for the Reformation of Manners at the beginning of the eighteenth century, an 'odious sin'.⁸ But this would still argue for placing *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan* among Wesley's ethical writings. To understand why it is placed here among his medical works we need to turn to a book that was published in English in 1766, the year after Wesley issued both *Thoughts on a Single Life* and *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*. But first, I need to provide a bit of context.

Prior to the eighteenth century masturbation was seldom treated in medical works, and there was no general belief that it was distinctively harmful to health.⁹ At most it was one of several acts that contributed to the negative health effects of excessive sexual indulgence. Then in 1708 John Marten, an apothecary in London, published the sixth edition of a treatise on venereal disease, to which he added a section that mentioned some specific health dangers of masturbation in passing.¹⁰ A few years later, an anonymous author published a tract titled *Onania; Or, The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution and all its Frightful Consequences*.¹¹ In addition to spiritual and moral consequences, this author drew heavily on Marten in listing health consequences of masturbation, including hernias, epilepsy, physical emaciation, and (for women) barrenness. While the author added no evidence to the anecdotes cited by Marten for these claims, the popularity of his presentation was such that *Onania* went through fifteen editions by 1730, and continued to be published throughout the century.

One of those who read *Onania* about mid-century was Samuel-Auguste André David Tissot (1728–97), a young Swiss Calvinist,

⁷ JW, *Thoughts on a Single Life* (1765), §13 (vol. 15 in this edn.).

⁸ Josiah Woodward, *A Rebuke to the Odious Sin of Uncleaness* (London: Downing, 1701).

⁹ See Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone Books, 2003), esp. pp. 83–84.

¹⁰ See John Marten, *A Treatise of all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease, in Both Sexes*, sixth edition enlarged (London: S. Crouch, 1708), 393ff.

¹¹ The British Library catalogue lists a copy dated 1710, but the volume is missing. The earliest surviving copy of *Onania* is a third edition (London: P. Varene, 1716).

who took his medical degree at Geneva in 1749 and would become an honoured Professor of Medicine at Lausanne. Tissot had interest in neurology and did pioneering work on migraines. But he was also deeply concerned with improving public health. This concern drew *Onania* to his attention, but he found the work far from convincing as a medical text. In response Tissot prepared his own treatise on the harmful health consequences of masturbation. He targeted a medical audience, publishing the work in Latin in 1758.¹² Almost immediately a third party published a defective French translation. This led Tissot to enlarge the treatise and publish it for the general public a year later, under the title, *L'Onanisme. Dissertation Sur Les Maladies Produites Par La Masturbation*.¹³ This popular version reached its third French edition by 1764, which served as the source of two competing English translations, both of which appeared in London in 1766.¹⁴ Wesley read one of these English translations, *A Treatise on the Crime of Onan*, within a year of its appearance and shortly thereafter published *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan* (which is largely an abridgement of this translation of Tissot).

In the preface to *Thoughts* Wesley indicated his awareness of both *Onania* and Tissot's *Treatise*, and his reservations about some of the explicit descriptions in each work. His decision to publish a version of Tissot's *Treatise*, purged of objectionable material, rather than *Onania* (which was currently more popular in England) must be considered in light of the key difference between these two works—Tissot's *Treatise* was decidedly more 'medical' in nature.

John Marten (the main source of the health reflections in *Onania*) was an apothecary; the vocation of the anonymous author of *Onania* is unclear, but he consulted with an apothecary and by the fourth edition was publishing his tract in part to advertise two medicines.¹⁵ By contrast, Tissot wrote as a physician, with impeccable credentials: he was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and member of both the Medico-Physical Society of Basel and the Oeconomical Society of Berne. In keeping with their differing vocations, *Onania*

¹² S. A. D. Tissot, *Tentamen de morbis ex manustupratione ortis* (Lausanne, 1758).

¹³ (Lausanne: A. Chapuis, 1760). It was also issued in a German translation: *Versuch von denen Krankheiten, welche aus der Selbstbefleckung entstehen* (Frankfort: Fleischerischen Buchhandlung, 1760).

¹⁴ One by an anonymous translator, titled *A Treatise On The Crime of Onan; Illustrated with A Variety of Cases, Together with The Method of Cure* (London: B. Thomas, 1766); and the second translated by A. Hume, titled *An Essay On Onanism, Or a Treatise Upon the Disorders produced by Masturbation* (London: J. Pridden, 1766).

¹⁵ See *Onania* (London: P. Varenne, 1718), 63–65, 83–88.

simply enumerated health disorders attributed to masturbation (before moving to treatments), while Tissot traced the history of how physicians accounted theoretically for the connection of various ills to this practice. Moreover, although Tissot incorporated a few of the anecdote accounts in *Onania* into *L'Onanisme*, he added a number of formal cases reported by prominent Continental physicians.

Their difference in approach carried over to recommendations about treatment. In *Onania* a chapter titled 'Spiritual and Physical Advice' focused mainly on the first type of advice, stressing the need for repentance and amendment of action.¹⁶ Near the end of the chapter the author considered briefly suggestions by others about diet and regimen, before reminding readers that the divinely approved remedy was to marry, and finally touting the two medicines that he did commend. Tissot characterized these reflections as 'theological and moral trivialisms'.¹⁷ This was not a summary dismissal of moral and theological convictions. Rather, it reflected Tissot's theological conviction that God typically works through 'secondary causes'; thus a *medical* account of disease and treatment should focus on physical causes, instead of appealing to direct divine agency in either the origin or cure of ailments.¹⁸ Accordingly, Tissot's section considering the possibility of curing those prone to masturbation surveyed and assessed the advice of several physicians about diet, regimen, and specific medical remedies (none of which he tried to sell).¹⁹ The underlying tone of this section was pessimistic because, as Tissot noted toward the end, the effectiveness of treatment was dependent upon patients following their physician's advice.²⁰

As the preceding comparisons suggest, the trajectory began by Marten reached a tipping point in Tissot. Prior to Marten, tracts arguing against masturbation based their warrant almost entirely on supposed biblical injunctions and negative spiritual/moral effects of the practice.²¹ Marten raised the spectre of health consequences. *Onania* drew on Marten to place such health considerations alongside the traditional biblical, spiritual, and moral warrants. In Tissot

¹⁶ Ibid., 35–65.

¹⁷ Tissot, *Treatise*, 21.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 86.

¹⁹ 'Article III, Curative Indications'; *ibid.*, 106–94.

²⁰ Ibid., 193–94.

²¹ A case in point is the first known booklet devoted solely to this topic: *Letters of Advice from Two Reverend Divines to a Young Gentleman about a Weighty Case of Conscience* (London: J. Collins, 1676).

health consequences became the primary focus, pushing traditional warrants into the background (he assumed them, but did not appeal to them directly). Thereby he inaugurated a 'medicalization' of anti-masturbation morals that characterized public consideration for the next two centuries, as his work was endorsed by figures like Immanuel Kant and François Marie Arouet de Voltaire.²² Challenges from the medical community to this emphasis on negative health consequences of masturbation were rare in the later eighteenth century. The most prominent exception was the surgeon John Hunter (1728–93), who charged that works like *Onania* and Tissot's *L'Onanisme* had 'done more harm than good'.²³ The full nature of this harm was realized over the next two centuries. Viewing masturbation as an instrumental cause of insanity, wasting diseases like consumption, and disorders such as epilepsy led to the development of mechanical restraints and surgical interventions.²⁴

To be sure, there is no direct support in Tissot's *L'Onanisme* for such invasive medical treatments; his main emphasis was personal accountability. The other major characteristic of his treatise that scholars have noted is how Tissot shifted focus from the traditional hydrodynamic model of circulation (in which spermal fluid were associated with spinal fluid) to the effects of masturbation on the nervous system—an emerging paradigm of medical investigation.²⁵

We are now in position to consider why Wesley was drawn to publish an extract of Tissot's *Treatise* in 1767. To begin with, this decision cohered with his persistent concern for *health of body and of soul*. Wesley's 1765 comment on Genesis 38:6–10 in *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* expressed concern only that masturbation contributed to the destruction of a person's soul. When in-

²² See Ludmilla Jordanova, 'The Popularization of Medicine: Tissot on Onanism', *Textual Practice* 1 (1987): 68–79; Antoinette Emch-Deriaz, *Tissot: Physician of the Enlightenment* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 43–53; James G. Donat, 'The Rev. John Wesley's Extractions from Dr. Tissot: A Methodist Imprimatur', *History of Science* 39 (2001): 285–98; and Michael Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 195–202.

²³ John Hunter, *A Treatise On the Venereal Disease* (London, 1786), 200.

²⁴ See Gerhart S. Schwarz, 'Devices To Prevent Masturbation', in *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* (May 1973), 141–53; the description of castrations of epileptics in Martin W. Barr, *Mental Defectives; Their History, Treatment, and Training* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1904), 196; and John Duffy, 'Masturbation and Clitoridectomy: A Nineteenth Century View', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 186 (1963), 246–48.

²⁵ See Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 199–202.

roducing his extract of Tissot, Wesley broadened this concern to include the ‘bodily disorders, whereof this sin is the cause’.²⁶ The case might also be made that the decision reflected Wesley’s distrust of ‘solitary’ models of Christian life—he encouraged his followers to remain single, but cautioned against anything that might isolate them from supportive communities.²⁷

But neither of these motivations explain Wesley’s selection of Tissot’s *Treatise* for republication, rather than *Onania*. Surely the more rigorous medical nature of Tissot’s work was attractive to Wesley, serving as an example of his expectation that careful rational consideration of general human experience would cohere with and reinforce Scripture and tradition.²⁸ Wesley also shared Tissot’s interest in the emerging medical focus on the nervous system and the connection between the nerves and health (see his ‘Thoughts on Nervous Disorders’).

One other conviction that Wesley shared with Tissot was that God typically works through secondary causes. He could speak of God as the ‘spring’ of every creaturely action and the ‘only agent in the material world’.²⁹ But he was quick to add that we should not conceive of God’s agency as displacing our human accountability; rather we should responsibly ‘work out’ what God is ‘working in’ us.³⁰ Thus Wesley was comfortable with Tissot’s attention to various regimens, and his emphasis on a person’s responsibility to follow the instructions of their physician. But Wesley balked at Tissot’s total exclusion of spiritual means of treatment. Thus, the longest addition within his extract of Tissot’s *Treatise* was an exhortation to faithful use of the ‘general means of grace’ as essential to freeing oneself from this habitual vice (§§17–18).

In addition to this exhortation, the other portions of *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan* that are in Wesley’s voice include the opening instructions ‘To the Reader’, a closing exhortation (§34), and a few

²⁶ See ‘To the Serious Reader’; and his conclusion in §34.

²⁷ See JW’s rejection of ‘holy solitaries’ in *HSP* (1739), Preface, §5, 13:39 in this edn. Cf. the suggestion that part of Tissot’s concern with masturbation was that it endangered the ideal of the affectionate nuclear family, in Emch-Deriaz, *Tissot*, 234–35.

²⁸ See Randy L. Maddox ‘Honoring Conference: Wesleyan Reflections on the Dynamics of Theological Reflection’, *Methodist Review* 4 (2012): 77–116.

²⁹ JW, Sermon 26, ‘Sermon on Mount VI’, III.7, 1:581 in this edn. See also his discussion of the ‘laws of nature’ in *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation* (4th ed.; London: Paramore, 1784), 2:258–59.

³⁰ See JW, *Thoughts upon Necessity*, 13:528–46 in this edn.; and Sermon 85, ‘On Working Out Our Own Salvation’, 3:199–209 in this edn.

scattered comments. The remainder is drawn from Tissot's *Treatise*. Wesley transformed this 232-page book into a twenty-page pamphlet. As in the *Desideratum*, he distilled whole sections to a few sentences, and frequently rewrote material to improve grammar and clarity. Accordingly, our annotation is typically by paragraph, indicating the portion of Tissot's *Treatise* being distilled or rewritten.

Thoughts on the Sin of Onan was reprinted only twice; once with slight alterations in 1774, and in an abridged form under the title *A Word to Whom it may Concern* in 1779. Wesley clearly remained uncomfortable with the delicacy of the topic of the tract, as his name is absent from all three printings, and he did not include the pamphlet in his collected *Works* published in the early 1770s. He allowed the tract to go out of print when the 1779 version was exhausted.

For a stemma showing the relation of the three editions, and the substantive variant readings arising in them, see Appendix A, pp. 642–44. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 304.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

SIN of ONAN:

CHIEFLY

Extracted from a late WRITER.



LONDON: Printed in the Year 1767.

Thoughts on the Sin of Onan: Chiefly Extracted from a Late Writer

To the Serious Reader

5

I never yet saw anything wrote on this subject which a modest person could well bear to read. The well-known English treatise entitled *Onania* is a most fulsome and shocking performance.¹ And the French tract lately translated is, if possible, more immodest and fulsome still.² Some parts of it most of the London street-walkers would be ashamed to read aloud. So gross, so indelicate, so more than beastly is his manner of treating this most delicate subject!

10

What was useful in his treatise you have in this extract, and what was wanting in that is here supplied. And how necessary is a tract of this kind! For thousands both of men and women groan under bodily disorders, whereof this sin is the cause, and they never suspect it. Such are many, I had almost said ‘most’, of the disorders of the nervous kind. But till the cause of them is removed, the effect of it must remain. And thousands ‘make shipwreck of the faith’,³ and are again weak and ‘faint in their mind’,⁴ from the very same cause, which is equally destructive to the soul and body. If this has been *your* case, arise, shake yourself from the dust; the grace of God is sufficient for you!⁵ Give not place to the devil a moment longer!⁶ From this instant, escape for your life! And ‘when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren!’⁷ Labour to help them in particular who are still in that fatal ‘snare of the devil’, still ‘taken captive at his will’.⁸

25

¹ Anonymous, *Onania; Or, The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution* (London: P. Varene, 1716).

² JW is referring specifically to the anonymous translation of Tissot’s *L’Onanisme* that was titled *A Treatise On The Crime of Onan; Illustrated with A Variety of Cases, Together with The Method of Cure* (London: B. Thomas, 1766). His extract draws on this English translation, rather than that by A. Hume *An Essay On Onanism, Or a Treatise Upon the Disorders produced by Masturbation* (London: J. Pridden, 1766).

³ Cf. 1 Tim. 1:19.

⁴ Cf. Heb. 12:13.

⁵ See 2 Cor. 12:9.

⁶ See Eph. 4:27.

⁷ Luke 22:32.

⁸ 2 Tim. 2:26.

Thoughts, etc.

1.⁹ By self-pollution the young of both sexes frequently contract the infirmities of old age. They become pale, effeminate, dull, inactive. They lose their appetite, weaken their sight, their memory, their understanding, and contract all the disorders attending weak 5
nerves. Many bring on thereby a general weakness and paralytic disorders of all kinds—yea, lethargies, epilepsies, madness, blindness, convulsions, dropsies, and the most painful of all gout. ¹⁰

2. Dr. Hoffman¹¹ observes, 'After a long course of this kind, not only the strength diminishes, the body is emaciated, the face turns 10
pale. But moreover the memory fails. A sensation of cold seizes all the limbs, the sight dims, the voice loses its clearness, the sleep is disturbed by uneasy dreams, and the whole body decays. I have seen many who had hereby drawn upon themselves not only red- 15
ness and extreme pain in the eyes, but such a weakness that they could not read. I have seen two instances even of a *gutta serena* produced by this cause.'¹²

3. 'I have seen', says Dr. Zimmermann,¹³ 'a man twenty-three years old who, by this practice, fell into a complete epilepsy. Nev- 20
ertheless I had so far cured him that he had recovered his sleep, his strength, and his natural colour. But returning to his infamous practice, he came at length to be taken with fits in the streets. And he was found one morning dead, fallen out of bed, and bathed in his own blood.'

Are such as cut their own throats, more guilty of self-murder 25
than this man?¹⁴

4. A child of Montpelier, not above six or seven years old, taught by a maid servant, practised it so frequently as to bring on an hectic fever, which soon cut him off.

⁹ JW used Roman numerals in all editions.

¹⁰ Distilling Tissot, *Treatise*, 2–6; but refocused specifically on masturbation! Tissot was summarizing the negative effects that classical authors attributed to excessive sexual indulgence ('venery') in general.

¹¹ Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742). All physicians named in this tract are derived from Tissot's book. Hoffmann is one of the few for whom there is independent evidence that JW knew of his writings; see John Robertson to JW, Nov. 22, 1748, 26:342 in this edn. There is also an edition of Hoffmann's *Opera omnia Physico-Medica* (Geneva: De Tournes, 1748) in MARC that likely belonged to JW (MAW CW330–32).

¹² See Tissot, *Treatise*, 6–7.

¹³ Johann-Georg Zimmermann (1728–95).

¹⁴ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 17–18.

I subjoin two instances, communicated by Dr. Mieg,¹⁵ a celebrated physician in Basel.

5 The son of M—, aged fifteen years, died of an epilepsy which was caused by self-pollution, and that notwithstanding all the help that could be administered by the most experienced physicians.

I know also a young lady of twelve or thirteen years old who had already, by this execrable practice, drawn upon herself a tympany, and incontinence of urine, the *fluor albus*, and a consumption. She
10 is still in a languishing condition, and I dread a fatal consequence.¹⁶

5. Several have also observed that hereby the sense of hearing is weakened. The growth of those who have not done growing is checked. Many become hypochondriac to the highest degree, with
15 melancholy, tears, sighs, palpitations; yea, suffocations and frequent fainting-fits,¹⁷ never to be removed while the cause continues. And many times even when that subsists no more, they are not to be cured but by death.¹⁸

6. The most acute pains are likewise caused by this detestable
20 practice. Some who have been guilty hereof, complain of their head, others of their stomach or bowels, others of external pains, and some of a dull pain in all parts of the body. It occasions also not only pimples on the face, nose, breast, thighs, with cruel itch-
25 ings on those parts. Numbers are attacked with a gonorrhoea, with stranguries, heat of urine, incontinence of urine, with very painful tumours in or near the parts, and some with the piles, or stubborn costiveness.¹⁹ Let all who are troubled with any of these complaints consider if they are not owing to this cause.²⁰

7. I shall now mention what has occurred to my own observa-
30 tions.²¹ L. D—,²² a watch-maker, had enjoyed good health till the

¹⁵ Achilles Mieg (1731–99).

¹⁶ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 17–20.

¹⁷ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 22 (drawing on *Onania*). Note that JW omits a paragraph listing possible intellectual impairments, including pangs of conscience and remorse that might even be considered ‘slight degrees of insanity’.

¹⁸ This last sentence and the concluding clause of the prior sentence are JW’s addition.

¹⁹ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 23–24 (drawing on *Onania*).

²⁰ This concluding sentence is again added by JW.

²¹ The sentence appears in Tissot; none of the cases in this text are observed by JW.

²² Karl Braun identified this fatal case from the death register of the city of Lausanne for June 1757, as Pierre Isaac Daret (Duret), age twenty-two; see Braun, *Die Krankheit Onania* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1995), 95.

age of seventeen, when he gave himself up to self-pollution, which he repeated every day. There had not passed a whole year before he began to feel a remarkable decay of strength. Yet in spite of this, he repeated his crime more frequently than before, till he was seized with a kind of convulsion just at the time, which at first lasted but 5 a few moments but in a while became habitual, and often attacked him without any apparent cause, with such violence too that during the time of the fit, which sometimes lasted fifteen hours, and never less than eight, he suffered in the nape of his neck so violent pains that his outcries sounded like piteous howlings, and it was impossi- 10 ble for him, while the fit lasted, to swallow anything, liquid or solid. He totally lost his strength. Incapable of everything, he languished for some months, being the more to be pitied for that some remains of memory only served constantly to recall to him the causes of his wretchedness. I was told of his condition. I went to him and found 15 him lying upon a straw, meagre, pale, sallow, sending forth an infectious smell, and almost incapable of any motion. He bled at the nose a pale and watery blood, and was continually foaming at the mouth. Attacked too with a diarrhoea, his excrements came from him without his perceiving. 20

The disorder of his mind was not less than that of his body, without any other sensation but that of a pain, which returned with every fit, at least once in three days. I procured for him quickly relief from those violent fits. Being satisfied with having mitigated his tortures, I discontinued remedies, which could have no efficacy on the main 25 of his disorder. He died at the end of a few weeks, in June 1757.²³

8. Not all those who give themselves up to this odious habit are, it is true, so severely punished. But there are none that do not suffer for it in a less or greater degree.

The pernicious consequences that have fallen under my observation are: First, a disorder of the stomach, which in some discovers itself by loss of appetite or by a depravation or irregularity of its 30 cravings; in others, by acute pains, especially in the time of digestion, by habitual nauseas or vomitings, which resist all remedies while the cause is continued. Secondly, a weakening of the organs of respiration, whence frequently result dry husky coughs, almost 35 always a hoarseness, and shortness of breath on any little violence of motion. Thirdly, a total relaxation of the nervous system.

It does not require deep knowledge to be sensible that these three 40 causes are capable of producing all the diseases of languor. The first

²³ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 24–27.

ill consequences of them, to such as are guilty of self-pollution, besides those I have just pointed out, are a diminution of strength, a less or greater paleness, sometimes a slight but continual jaundice, often pimples (which come and disappear only to make room
 5 for fresh ones all over the face, but especially in the forehead, the temples, and about the nose), a notable leanness and astonishing sensibility of changes of the weather, especially of cold, a weakening of the sight, and a great impairment of the faculties, especially of memory.²⁴

10 9. I beg leave to insert here part of two or three letters, which confirm this observation.

I had the misfortune (says one), like too many other young people, to suffer myself to be carried away by the violence of the habit, as
 15 pernicious to the body as to the soul. Age, indeed, has for some time past corrected this wretched inclination. But the ill is done. The disorder and extraordinary sensibility of the nervous system, and the accidents resulting therefrom, are accompanied with a weakness, a restlessness, a sense of distress, that vie with each other to
 20 afflict me. I am consumed by an almost continued loss of seed.²⁵ My face is become pale and livid. The weakness of my body renders all my motions labourious. That of my legs is often so great that they can hardly support me. My breast is stuffed with phlegm, the load of which throws me into a state of faintness. Here you have a suc-
 25 cinct account of my complaint, still aggravated by the certainty that every day will yet be worse than the preceding.

Another writes,

30 I had the misfortune in my tenderest youth, being to the best of my remembrance not above eight or ten years of age, to contract that pernicious habit of self-pollution, which very early ruined my constitution. But especially for some years past, I find myself under
 35 an extraordinary oppression. My nerves are extremely weak, my hands without strength, always shaking, and in a perpetual sweat. I have violent pains in my stomach, arms, legs, sometimes in my loins, and in my breast. I am often troubled with a cough. My eyes are weak and dim. I have a devouring appetite, and yet I grow very
 40 lean.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 27–28.

²⁵ *I.e.*, semen.

Another writes,

I cannot walk two hundred paces without resting. My weakness is extreme. I have continual pains all over my body, but especially in my shoulders. I preserve my appetite, but that is rather a misfortune as I have pains of the stomach the moment I have eaten, and throw up whatever I have got down.²⁶ 5

10. A consequence, and not a rare one, of this practice is the hypochondriac disorder, and if those who are hypochondriac from other causes abandon themselves to it, all the symptoms are exasperated and it becomes incurable. I have seen the most cruel inquietude, agitations, anxieties result from these two causes united. And repeated observations have proved to me that, in those hypochondriacs who are subject sometimes to attacks of frenzy, self-pollution always hastens on the fits. The brain, weakened by this double cause, successively loses its faculties, and the patients fall at length into a state of idiotism, which is seldom interrupted but by attacks of madness.²⁷ 10 15

11. Nor is this execrable practice less mischievous to the female sex. Besides these symptoms which I have already described, women are particularly exposed hereby to hysteric fits, or dreadful vaporous affections; to incurable jaundices; to cruel cramps of the stomach and back; to sharp prickings of the nose; to *fluor albus*, which is a perpetual source of the most torturous pains; to the falling down, yea, to ulcerations of the womb, and to all the infirmities which are the consequences of those two disorders; to the *furor uterinus*,²⁸ which, depriving them at once of modesty and reason, puts them on a level with brutes, till a desperate death delivers them from pain and infamy. 20 25 30

The face is the first part that gives outward signs of the inward disorders. The plumpness and fresh colour fade away, and leanness and paleness succeed. The eyes lose their lustre, the lips their vermillion, and the teeth their whiteness. Nay, it is not rare that the whole figure receives damage by the total deformation of the shape.²⁹ 35

12. The rickets is a disorder as to which Boerhaave³⁰ is mistaken, when he says it does not attack persons after the age of three years.

²⁶ Ibid., 29–33.

²⁷ Ibid., 34–35.

²⁸ Nymphomania; or uncontrolled sexual desire.

²⁹ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 46–48.

³⁰ Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738).

It is not uncommon to see young people of both sexes, but especially the female, who after their having been well-shaped to the age of eight, ten, twelve or fourteen, and even sixteen years, fall by little and little into a distortion of shape through the curvature of the spine; and this disorder sometimes becomes very considerable. It is not here the place for entering into an enumeration of the causes which produce it. But I ought not to omit that self-pollution holds the first rank among them. And it produces numberless other disorders.³¹

13. It is not long since a girl of about eighteen years of age, who had enjoyed very good health, fell into an astonishing weakness: her strength decayed daily, she was all night tormented with want of sleep, her appetite was gone, and whitish swellings spread over her whole body. She consulted an able surgeon, who, having satisfied himself as to other things, suspected self-pollution. His suspicion was soon turned into certainty by the cessation of the patient. He made her sensible of the danger of this practice, a cessation of which, and some remedies, stopped in a few days the progress of the evil, and produced some degree of health.³²

14. And undoubtedly all the same disorders flow from that abomination common among the heathen Romans (we may hope not so common among us, though it is to be feared there are now some such monsters in England) when 'women among themselves change the natural use into that which is against nature'.³³ The consequences of this are equally pernicious to the body and to the soul. All these deviations from the course of nature lead to weakness, pain, diseases, death.³⁴

15. Young people of a weak constitution have, on a parity of crimes, worse consequences to fear than others. Those especially who have reason to apprehend any hereditary disease by the father or mother's side, such as the gout, the stone, the consumption, the king's-evil. Those who have any touches of a cough, an asthma, spitting of blood, the headache, or the epilepsy. All these ought to remember that every act of this sort gives a severe blow to their con-

³¹ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 48.

³² *Ibid.*, 51–52.

³³ Rom. 1:26.

³⁴ This brief section is JW's discrete summary of three pages where Tissot related female same-sex relations to clitoral masturbation, and suggested that such relationship typically arise from aggressive seduction; see Tissot, *Treatise*, 52–54. JW's discomfort with the topic is further evidenced by his omission of §§13–14 from the 1779 edn.

stitution, hastens the attack of the evils they dread, and will throw them in the flower of their youth into all the infirmities of decrepit old age.³⁵

16. But notwithstanding all these miseries caused thereby, how hard is it to break loose from this accursed practice! As soon as the habit has gained strength, both body and soul concur in solicitation to it. The soul is so accustomed to loose ideas that they continually recur, whether you will or no. And the very humours of the body affect the soul, and drag her back into the mire. What pity but those who are yet untainted could foresee that one false step naturally brings on another. That in a while they will become absolute slaves, reason and religion having quite lost their force. And that in a little time they will find themselves cast away in a sea of misery, perhaps without the aid of a plank, to bring them again to the shore!³⁶

17. So long as any continues in this practice it is impossible to remove the effects of it. And what can enable one, habituated thereto, to break it off? Nothing less than the mighty power of God. This is only to be expected by those who labour, in every other instance, to preserve 'a conscience void of offence, toward God and toward man'.³⁷ For while a man indulges himself in any sin whatever, he will never conquer his besetting sin. But supposing he is really 'exercising himself' in universal 'godliness',³⁸ he will find the grace of God is sufficient to preserve him from this, in the use of proper means.

18. Some of those means are: 1) The avoiding all temptations with the utmost care—all such pictures, books, company, as recall those ideas which he wishes to forget forever. 2) The having as little intercourse with the other sex, especially in private, as possible, and abstaining sacredly from all those familiarities which to others might be innocent. 3) The refraining from wine and strong drink, and all salt and high seasoned meats; likewise from oysters, eggs (unless physically used³⁹), and whatever other food has a tendency to inflame. 4) Let them use the most plain and simple diet, and as little of it as will suffice nature. 5) Let them eat either none, or at least easy and light, suppers. 6) Let them lie either on a hard bed or on the ground, and never on their back. 7) Let them take no more sleep than nature requires, and never lie in bed longer than they

³⁵ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 54–55.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 90–92.

³⁷ Acts 24:16.

³⁸ Cf. 1 Tim. 4:7.

³⁹ I.e., unless used as part of a remedy.

sleep. 8) If they are in health, let them use constant fasting, not less than once a week. 9) Let them take as much exercise every day as their strength will bear. If they add to these constant watching and prayer they shall not easily be overcome.⁴⁰

5 19. But suppose the bodily health is destroyed, by what means can it be recovered?

If a person is much weakened and tending to a consumption, he must immediately leave off tea, using in its place either mint, balm, water-gruel, milk, or thin chocolate. 'I begin', says Dr. Storck,⁴¹
 10 'with nourishing broth: beef-tea (so called) is the best of all. Rice, oatmeal, barley boiled with broth, or milk, are all very serviceable; but it must be observed, to let him eat but little at a time, and often. Should the stomach be so weakened that it cannot bear even these light aliments without pain, the patient should be put to the female
 15 breast, a recourse which has retrieved many out of the most desperate condition. To restore strength and activity to the relaxed fibres, I would recommend the use of wine heated with a hot iron, bark, cinnamon. As soon as the patient has strength enough to walk, it will be of infinite service to him to go into the pure air of the country.'⁴²

20 20. A consumption of this kind is known by the name of *tabes dorsalis*.⁴³ It arises from a general relaxation of the fibres, a weakness of the nervous system, and a depravation of the fluids. It depends on the weakening of all the parts; the great requisite is to restore strength to them.

25 In order to this, I first advise the patient as soon as possible to remove into the country. But it would be of no use to fix on a place with a good air, if one does not choose to breathe it. The air of chambers, if it is not continually renewed, is nearly the same in all. It can hardly be called a change of air, from a close room in town to
 30 a close room in the country. There is no enjoying the benefits of a healthy atmosphere but in the open fields. If infirmities hinder the going or being carried out, at least the air of the chamber should be renewed several times in a day; not simply by opening a door or a window, which renew it only a little, but in letting into the chamber
 35 a torrent of fresh air by opening at once two or three opposite inlets.

⁴⁰ §§17–18 are original to JW, and comprise an exhortation to the 'general means of grace' made specific to this situation. Cf. Minutes, Aug. 2, 1745, q. 11, 10:155 in this edn.; and 'Large' Minutes (1753–63), §40.7, 10:857 in this edn.

⁴¹ Baron Anton von Storck (1731–83), of Vienna.

⁴² See Tissot, *Treatise*, 118–21.

⁴³ A slow degeneration of the spinal cord; in fact, typically resulting from untreated syphilis.

There is no disorder that does not require this precaution. But do not expose the sick person to the current of air, and it is always very easy to place him out of the power of it.⁴⁴

21. It is also extremely important to breathe the morning air. Those who deprive themselves of it, for the sake of remaining in a stifling atmosphere between four curtains, renounce the most agreeable, and perhaps the most strengthening, of all remedies. The freshness of the night will, by morning, have restored to the air all its vivifying principles. And the dew which evaporates, by degrees, after having loaded itself with all the balm of the flowers, renders the air truly medicinal. You solace yourself in a vaporous bath of the essence of plants, of which nothing can be equivalent. 5 10

I have seen the most sensible effects of it on some valetudinarians, and especially on such as were hypochondriacs. These experienced, in the clearest manner, that if they breathed the morning air they were the more cheerful, the more lively, all the day.⁴⁵ 15

22. In the choice of aliments I would recommend the two following rules:

First, to take no aliments but what under a small compass contain a great deal of nourishment, and are of easy digestion. 20

Secondly, to avoid all that have any acidity.

It is of great importance to restore to the stomach all its strength, but the dilatation of the stomach by abundance of aliments would daily weaken it. Besides, if it is too full, weak persons feel an uneasiness and melancholy that augment all their disorders. 25

Upon these principles may be formed a catalogue of such as are proper, and of those which should be excluded. In this last class are all flesh meats naturally hard and indigestible; such as all flesh of old animals, all that has been hardened by salt or smoke, and all that are too fat or greasy. 30

Indeed there is nothing which persons of a weak digestion ought more carefully to avoid than fat or greasy food. Rich pie-crust, is another sort of aliment much above the strength of a weak stomach. Flatulent garden stuff is also noxious; such are all sorts of cabbage, and such plants as have a taste and smell remarkably acrid. Yea, fruits, which are so salutary in other disorders, are seldom proper in this. And if they are taken at all, must be taken quite ripe, and exceeding sparingly.⁴⁶ 35

⁴⁴ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 122, 129–30.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 130–31.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 131–34.

23. The proper food is the flesh of all young animals, fed in healthy places, and wholesomely fed; such as veal, lamb or young mutton, young beef, fowl, pigeon, turkey, partridge. But lark, thrushes, quails, and other wild-fowl, with most sort of fish, are to
 5 be used more sparingly.

The best way to prepare these is to roast them by a gentle fire, so as to preserve their gravy and not dry them up too much, or to stew them slowly in their own juices.

But some persons cannot digest even these. To such we must give
 10 broth, extracted by a gentle boiling. It may be accompanied with some bread, and a dash of lemon juice if they like it. And besides, the use of it is indispensably necessary to prevent that putridity which would be the consequence of mere animal food.⁴⁷

24. The best garden-stuff is the tender roots, herbs of the endive kind, artichokes, asparagus. Farinaceous grains, prepared and
 15 boiled in light broth, are an aliment not to be slighted, as it combines everything that is nourishing in the two kingdoms, animal and vegetable, while their mixture prevents the danger from each aliment given single—the broth hinders the meal from turning
 20 sour; the meal, the broth from putrefying.

Eggs are an aliment of the animal kind, and an aliment extremely nourishing. They strengthen greatly, and are easy of digestion, provided that they have but little or even no preparation by fire, for if
 25 the white is once hardened it does not easily dissolve again. The best way of eating them is just as they are, new laid from the fowl, without any preparation, or in the shell after only three or four dips in boiling water, or stirred into warm and not boiling broth.⁴⁸

25. There remains to mention milk, which unites all the qualities that can be desired, without having any of the inconveniences that are
 30 to be dreaded. It is the most simple, and the quickest, of all restoratives. Only, it is to be observed, that there are some stomachs which cannot bear it—at least, unless under the following regulations.

First the female that furnishes it should be healthy, and live regular. Secondly, during the time of taking it, all aliments should be
 35 avoided that can turn it sour; such are all fruits, raw or prepared, and in general everything that is acid. Thirdly, it must be taken at times distant from other aliments, it not taking kindly any mixture. Fourthly, take only a little of it at a time. Fifthly, all the while take
 40 care of keeping the breast, the bowels, and the legs extremely warm.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 134–36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 136–38.

And above all, sixthly (for without this precaution all the others would be useless), be very moderate as to the quantity of even the best chosen aliments. During this recourse to milk, there should be no trouble given to the stomach. The smallest overload, the slightest indigestion, leaves in it a principle of corruption which presently turns the milk and may, of the most wholesome of aliments, make a violent poison.⁴⁹ 5

26. Hardly any kinds of milk are now in use but women's, ass's milk, goat's, or cow's. Each has its different qualities. Yet there are few cases in which milk from the cow may not be used for all the others. That from women is generally believed the most strengthening. The noble cures wrought by the use of it leave no doubt of its efficacy. But there is one inconvenience, that it must be taken immediately from the breast. And this very thing might expose the patient to temptation. 10 15

It is thought that ass's milk has the nearest analogy to this, but this is rather matter of opinion than of experience. It is the most serous, and from that very quality, the most laxative. It is a most pernicious error the imagining it the most strengthening. Daily observations demonstrate the contrary, and prove not only that it is not the most efficacious, but that it is, perhaps, the least so. I have rarely seen any good effects from it; sometimes I have seen bad ones.⁵⁰ 20

27. Before I quit this subject of aliments, I add the important counsel to avoid mixtures. 25

It is obvious how impossible it is for the very different aliments to undergo, within the same time, a perfect digestion. This mixture it is which is one of the causes that ruin the healthiest constitutions, and is mortal to weak ones. 30

Another circumstance equally necessary, and almost equally neglected, is a thorough chewing. This is a help to digestion, of which even the most vigorous stomachs cannot be long deprived without a notable decline; and without which the digestion, in weak ones, is extremely imperfect.⁵¹ 35

28. The liquid part of aliments is an article of the regimen almost as important as the solid. 40

All liquids should be forbidden that can augment the relaxation and diminish the little that remains of the digestive powers, that can convey any acridity into the humours, or hurt the nervous system.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 138–41.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 141–43.

⁵¹ Ibid., 143–45.

All hot waters have the first effect of relaxing. Tea, with that, has also all the others. Coffee has the two last. So that one ought rigorously to abstain from them.

5 Spirituous liquors, which, at the first view might appear serviceable, are still more hurtful, and ever attended with great inconveniencies. Their action is too violent. They irritate more than they strengthen. And if they sometimes strengthen, the weakness which succeeds is greater than before. Besides, they give to the papilla of the stomach a hardness that robs them of that sensibility necessary
10 to the creation of an appetite, and take from the liquids that degree of fluidity which they ought to have in aid of that sensation.

The best drink is water from the purest spring, mixed with a wine neither too heady nor too acid. The heady kinds irritate the nervous system; the acid weaken the digestions and procure over-copious
15 urines, which exhaust the patients.

In places where good water is not to be had, it may be corrected by filtration, by a hot iron, or an infusion of some agreeable aromatic, such as cinnamon, aniseed, or lemon-peel.⁵²

20 29. Common beer is noxious. Mum,⁵³ which is properly an extract from grain, both nourishing and strengthening, may be of great use. It enlivens as much as wine, and is more nutritious. It may serve for meat and drink.

Among the useful drinks may be ranked chocolate; the cocoa contains a great deal of nutritious substance, and the mixture with
25 it of sugar and aromatics corrects any detriment from its oiliness. 'Chocolate made with milk' (says Mr. Lewis) 'in such quantities as to pass easy off the stomach, is an excellent breakfast for a tabid constitution. I knew a child twelve years old who was in the last stage of a consumption, when given over by a physician, recovered
30 by the mother's giving her chocolate only, in small quantities, often repeated.'⁵⁴

30. What is to be said of sleep may be reduced to three points: its duration, the time of taking it, and the precaution necessary for quiet sleep.

35 In grown persons seven hours of sleep, or at the most eight, are sufficient for anyone; there is even a danger in sleeping longer, and in remaining longer a bed, which throws one into the same dis-

⁵² Ibid., 147–49.

⁵³ A kind of beer brewed from wheat malt and flavoured with aromatic herbs.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 149–50. Tissot believed 'Lewis' was the name of the author of an anonymous publication, *A Practical Essay Upon The 'Tabes Dorsalis'* (London: J. Robinson, 1748), 27; note that in the original the child is three years old.

orders as too much sleep. That term ought never to be exceeded, unless one should be fallen into such a degree of weakness as not to have the strength necessary left for the being long up.

It stands demonstrated that the air of the night is less healthy than that of the day, and that the weakly are more susceptible of its influences in the evening than the morning. Therefore it is best to go to bed early and rise early. This is a precept so commonly known that it may appear trivial to mention it. But it is so much neglected, and the consequence of it seems to be so little felt, though infinitely greater than it is believed to be, that it is very allowable to re-inculcate it by an insistence on its importance, especially to valetudinarians.

In order to sleep quietly, we should take care: First, not to be in a hot air, and to be neither too much nor too little covered. Secondly, not to have the feet cold at lying down, an accident common to weak persons. Thirdly, not to lie down upon a full stomach—nothing more disturbs the sleep, or contributes more to render it disquieting, heavy, or overwhelming. Therefore it is best to sup on the lightest food, and that two hours before we go to bed, that the first digestion may be over before we lie down to sleep.⁵⁵

31. But exercise is as necessary as sleep. Walking is good, but for weak persons riding is better. The weakest may use a carriage. And when the weather does not allow of going out, some means of motions should be contrived in the house, as the battledore and shuttle-cock,⁵⁶ which diffuses through the whole body an equable motion. A wooden horse is better still.⁵⁷

But observe, use no violent motion immediately after a meal. And do not eat while hot from exercise—which should be taken before a meal, allowing some moments of rest before we eat.⁵⁸

32. The noblest of all restorative *medicines* are the *Peruvian bark* and the *cold bath*.⁵⁹ I order the former to be taken three times a day. I time the cold bath in the evening, when the dinner is fully digested. It contributes much to procure quiet sleep. I knew a young

⁵⁵ Ibid., 151–55.

⁵⁶ I.e., badminton.

⁵⁷ JW added the commendation of a wooden horse. In the second and third editions the reference to badminton is omitted, leaving the focus on the wooden horse.

⁵⁸ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 155–57.

⁵⁹ This combination comes from Tissot (p. 169). JW was generally more hesitant about Peruvian bark (the source of quinine), placing it among the ‘Hurculean medicines’ to be used only with great care (see *Primitive Physic*, Postscript I, §3 (above in this vol.)). By contrast, JW considered cold bathing to have numerous health benefits (see the list at the end of *Primitive Physic*).

man, accustomed to self-pollution, who used to pass the night in the most sleepless disquiet, and who was every morning bathed in sweat. The night that followed the sixth time of his using the cold-bath he slept five hours, and got up in the morning without sweat and much refreshed.⁶⁰

I prescribed also for a young man, whose case is described above, pills of which myrrh was the basis, with a decoction of the bark, and this was attended with the happiest success. Except in this, that he had not, nor perhaps ever will have, the strength he would have had but for his misconduct. The check which the machine receives in its growing season has consequences which are irreparable. Oh that this truth were but strongly imprinted on the minds of youth!⁶¹

33. But the best of all medicines, where it will agree, is milk. And where it does not otherwise agree, it may be mixed with some absorbent powders. Some spoonfuls of mint-water, nay, often only a little sugar, will make it agree.

But if still it will not agree, I advise trying butter-milk. I prescribed it with success for a young man to whom I durst not give milk itself. The bilious drink the butter-milk with pleasure, and are always the better for it. And indeed, it ought always to be preferred to milk where there is any feverishness. It calms, it dilutes, it sweetens, it assuages the thirst, it refreshes, and at the same time nourishes and strengthens.⁶²

34. I have now only to remind you once more, who have well nigh destroyed your souls and bodies together, that you cannot escape out of this snare of the devil but by the mighty power of God.⁶³ Forget not this then among all your remedies. Call fervently on him against whom you have sinned. Study to please him in all things, and he will heal your soul, and do with your body as he knows is best for you.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See Tissot, *Treatise*, 169–72.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 173–76.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 178–81.

⁶³ See Luke 9:43.

⁶⁴ This closing exhortation is original to JW. Note how his confidence in God's healing concern and ability replaces the more pessimistic conclusion of Tissot on pp. 193–94.

ADVICES WITH RESPECT TO HEALTH: EXTRACTED FROM A LATE AUTHOR (1769)

An Introductory Comment

The next distinct publication on the topic of health care by John Wesley, after *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan* (1767), was also an abridgement of a work by Samuel-Auguste André David Tissot (1728–97), the Swiss Calvinist who took his medical degree at Geneva in 1749 and became an honoured Professor of Medicine at Lausanne. Since Wesley's manuscript diary for the 1760s has not survived, we cannot be sure of the order in which he encountered Tissot's writings. Based on the dates of his published abridgments, it is likely that Wesley first stumbled upon the English version of *L'Onanisme*, and this drew to his attention Tissot's more substantial *Avis au peuple sur sa santé*¹ (in the form of its 1765 English translation, *Advice to the People in General, with Regard to their Health*²).

The Nature and Popularity of Tissot's *Avis*

Tissot's *Avis* was a ground-breaking work by a physician, embodying his life-long concern for improving public health.³ His first paid appointment after receiving the M.D. was as physician to the poor in Lausanne; *Avis* was published in 1761 to extend the range of that care. Tissot believed that the hope and wealth of a nation were based in agriculture and the people who tilled the soil. He worried that this was endangered by their lack of access to reliable medical advice and their credulity concerning the supposed miraculous cures of quacks. He sought to counter these dangers in *Avis* by: 1) offering careful descriptions to help diagnose specific ailments, 2) highlighting the role of a basic regimen of diet and exercise in establishing and maintaining health, 3) providing

¹(Lausanne: F. Grasset, 1761).

²Translated by James Kirkpatrick, M.D. (London: T. Becket and P. A. DeHondt, 1765).

³For more details on Tissot's full body of work and impact, see Antoinette Emch-Deriaz, *Tissot: Physician of the Enlightenment* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

instructions for preparing a collection of safe and cheap (or easily obtained) potions and treatments for ailments, and 4) peppering the book with repeated denouncements of the more dangerous treatments typically sold as panaceas.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Tissot's *Avis* had reached more than forty editions in French, and many more in other languages. This has led some to characterize it as the most important self-help medical manual of the eighteenth century throughout Europe.⁴ But, as Peter Singy has stressed, this description does not quite match Tissot's original intention.⁵ To begin with, while *Avis* was written *for* the masses of the populace, it was not addressed *to* them, since most of them could not read. Tissot is explicit in his introduction that his main audience was literate persons in the scattered villages who were either expected or inclined to be of help to their neighbours. He listed first, as the most obvious example, clergy; but he mentioned such others as landholders, educators, surgeons, and midwives.⁶ As a second departure from a true *self-help* manual, Tissot stressed that *Avis* is designed solely for those who could not have the attendance of a physician, and readers were exhorted to lay it aside the moment a physician arrived.⁷ Further, Tissot limited himself in the first edition of *Avis* to acute diseases, omitting *chronic* diseases—both because he assumed that persons had time to consult physicians in these cases and because he doubted the capacity of the populace to understand or apply the cure.⁸

Despite his initial intention, once *Avis* was released Tissot came under pressure to transform it more into a self-help manual.⁹ A year after its appearance, an independent edition was published in Paris in 1762, in which an anonymous physician made additions totalling more than a hundred pages covering many afflictions (such as haemorrhoids) that Tissot left out. When Tissot issued his own second edition from Lausanne in 1763, he adopted many of the additions by the Parisian physician, but rejected others dealing with chronic

⁴ For example, see Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 452.

⁵ Patrick Singy, 'The Popularization of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century: Writing, Reading, and Rewriting Samuel Auguste Tissot's *Avis au peuple sur sa santé*', *Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010): 769–800.

⁶ See Tissot, *Avis*, 21–29 (*Advice*, 16–22).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 37–38 (*Advice*, 28).

⁸ See Tissot, *Advice*, xxvi–xxvii; taken from the preface to Tissot's second edition (Lausanne: François Grasset, 1763), xii.

⁹ This process is traced in Singy, 'Popularization'; from which this summary draws (esp. from pp. 793–94).

diseases—stating explicitly the rationale mentioned above. A key problem with this rationale, as William Buchan noted in the preface to his influential self-help manual *Domestic Medicine*, published in 1769, was that while circumstances may sometimes force people to rely on self-help in acute diseases, ‘in the chronic the cure must ever depend chiefly upon the patient’s own endeavours’.¹⁰ As an initial sign of recognizing this reality, Tissot also added a new chapter in the 1763 Lausanne edition of *Avis* that included some chronic conditions like ‘fainting caused by nervous diseases’. Meanwhile, another independent edition was published the same year, this time in Lyons, which drew upon the Parisian edition, adding further notes by another unnamed physician. This 1763 Lyon edition was the form of Tissot’s *Avis* that the physician James Kirkpatrick translated into English in 1765, adding yet more notes. Kirkpatrick’s translation (*Advice*) served, in turn, as the source for Wesley’s abridgement.

Building on *Avis*, which focussed on the health concerns of commoners, Tissot went on to publish works addressing the health concerns of academics (or ‘literary people’) and the upper classes.¹¹ The long-reigning assumptions of humoral medicine shone through in each of these works, mixed with Tissot’s attention to the latest medical discoveries of his colleagues (such as his championing of inoculation for smallpox and measles). Through these various contributions Tissot emerged as ‘a main actor in the renewal of medical thought during the closing decades of the Ancien Régime’, contributing particularly to the rethinking of medicine attendant upon social and economic changes.¹² In this process (and somewhat against his intentions), *Avis* in particular raised hopes of a better life in a way that ‘encouraged a disdain from the medical establishment, that dismissed as dangerous the idea of thrusting into untrained hands the means to diagnose and cure diseases’.¹³

Wesley’s Appropriation and Transformation of Tissot’s *Avis*

When John Wesley came upon Tissot’s *Advice to the People in General, with Regard to their Health*, he found one who shared his

¹⁰ William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine* (Edinburgh: Balfour, Auld & Smellie, 1769), xiii.

¹¹ *De la santé des gens de lettres* (1768), *Essai sur les maladies des gens du monde* (1770).

¹² Emch-Deriaz, *Tissot*, 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 67.

'tender sense of the sufferings of his fellow creatures', and who was compelled like Wesley to address the reality that a majority of those suffering lacked access—geographically and/or economically—to certified physicians.¹⁴ At the same time, Wesley could not have missed Tissot's criticism of self-help manuals prepared for the populace (like *Primitive Physic*) that were compendiums of remedies without accompanying descriptions of each disease.¹⁵ It is significant that the first characteristic of Tissot's *Advice* that Wesley praised in the prefatory 'To the Reader' of his abridgement was that 'his *descriptions* of diseases are truly admirable' (§2). Wesley apparently decided that the best way to compensate for this shortcoming of *Primitive Physic* was to provide his followers with a cheap abridgement of Tissot's *Advice* as a supplement (and insert references to it within *Primitive Physic*). This is why—unlike the abridged *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*—Wesley included his abridgement of Tissot's *Advice* in his collected *Works* in 1773, bound together in volume 25 with *Primitive Physic*. And it was not uncommon for later independent printings of *Primitive Physic* to be bound with this abridgement of *Advice* as well.

There were many other aspects of Tissot's *Advice* that resonated with Wesley. In his prefatory comments (§2) Wesley praised Tissot for keeping remedies relatively few in number, simple in nature, inexpensive, and generally safe. He also affirmed (§3) the primacy that Tissot placed upon regimen. And in his abridgement (retitled *Advices with respect to Health*) Wesley made sure to retain Tissot's specific commendation of many of Wesley's favoured elements of regimen—like horseback riding (§56), cold baths (§§90, 264), and abstaining from distilled liquor or 'drams' (§§89, 251, 359).

In *Avis*, as in *L'Onanisme*, Tissot—ever the physician—scrupulously restricted his treatment suggestions to medicines and regimen. But in his preface Tissot praised clergy for the role they played in small villages offering medical advice.¹⁶ He also compared his work of preparing *Avis* to that of a pastor writing a catechism for

¹⁴ See below, 'To the Reader', §1; and, more broadly for the following comments, James G. Donat, 'The Rev. John Wesley's Extractions from Dr. Tissot: A Methodist *Imprimatur*', *History of Science* 39 (2001): 285–98.

¹⁵ See Tissot, *Avis*, 15 (*Advice*, 13). In the first edition of *Primitive Physic* JW assumed that recognizing disorders was typically 'very easy' (see Preface, §15 above in this vol.); encouraged by others, he added in the fourth edition short 'plain definitions' for some ailments (see Postscript I, §5), but these were far less than what Tissot provided.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21–22 (*Advice*, 16–17).

children¹⁷ (an analogy that Wesley used in the reverse to defend lay preaching¹⁸). Wesley took this as ‘leave’ to add in his prefatory comments (§9) the exhortation for ‘everyone, together with all his other medicines, to use that medicine of medicines, *prayer*’ (echoing his preface to *Primitive Physic*¹⁹).

While Wesley assumed Tissot’s tacit support for adding this spiritual dimension to the treatment of disease, he openly challenged Tissot in his prefatory comments on four elements of medical advice. The first (§4) was what Wesley said might be considered a ‘violent fondness for *bleeding*—his recommending it on the most trifling occasions, and prescribing very frequent repetitions’. As this suggests, Wesley did not question the practice of bleeding per se; he listed it as a recommended procedure for some ailments in *Primitive Physic*. Likewise (despite Wesley’s suggestion in §8 of his prefatory remarks of the degree to which he ‘retrenched’ Tissot on this matter) his abridged *Advices* retained most of Tissot’s prescriptions of bleeding. Wesley’s hesitance was typically expressed quietly—as where he revised Tissot’s statement that ‘bleeding is never, or extremely seldom indeed necessary’ in a quartan ague; to simply, ‘bleeding is never necessary’ in this ailment.²⁰

The second practice that Wesley questions in his prefatory comments (§5) is Tissot’s ‘amazing love of *clysters*’. The use of enemas and suppositories was prominent in traditional humoural medicine, intended to restore or preserve balance of the humours by encouraging passage of excrement. As Wesley’s comments make clear, he personally disliked this practice, which helps explain why it is relatively rare among his suggested remedies in *Primitive Physic*. His hesitance about the procedure is reflected in the abridged *Advices*, where some of Tissot’s strongest exhortations to use clysters are omitted.²¹ (But again it is questionable whether this ‘retrenching’ dramatically reduced the ‘abundance of clysters’, as suggested in §8.)

Wesley’s third area of contention (§6) concerned Tissot’s Chapter XXV on ‘The Itch’. In this case the least of Wesley’s concerns was the malodorous ointment that Tissot prescribed for treating

¹⁷ Ibid. 15, (*Advice*, 13).

¹⁸ E.g., JW, *A Letter to a Clergyman* (1748), 9:248–51 in this edn.

¹⁹ See *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §15 (above in this vol.); and JW’s related exhortation added to *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*, §§17–18.

²⁰ Compare Tissot, *Advice*, §263 (p. 281) to *Advices*, §179, last paragraph, below.

²¹ Compare Tissot, *Advice*, §32.4 (p. 64) to *Advices*, §26 below (where point 4 is omitted); or *Advice*, §41 (pp. 70–71), which is omitted between points 3 and 4 of §30 in *Advices* below.

the ailment. His main objection was to the medicines taken internally that Tissot (like many other physicians) prescribed.²² Invoking the authority of an article in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Wesley rejected the efficacy of internal medicines. Given this warrant, he entirely omitted this chapter from his abridged *Advices*. By default, his followers were referred back to *Primitive Physic*, where all of the suggested treatments were external, and a footnote had been included since the fifth edition: 'The distemper is nothing but a kind of very small lice which burrow under the skin. Therefore inward medicines are absolutely needless.'²³

The final stated point of difference with Tissot in Wesley's prefatory remarks (§7) was Tissot's 'vehement recommendation of the Peruvian bark as the only infallible remedy either for *mortifications* or *intermitting fevers*'.²⁴ Wesley contested both that the bark (of the *Cinchona* tree) was 'infallible' and that it was the only effective remedy for these ailments. Since this bark is the source of quinine, which is highly effective against malaria, Wesley's hesitance may seem wrong-headed. But the category of 'intermittent fevers' was broad, including more than cases of malaria. Moreover, Wesley's real concern was that Tissot prescribed ingesting the bark itself—a practice Wesley had tried, and suffered a negative reaction.²⁵ This is why, on the few occasions that Peruvian bark appears in *Primitive Physic*, the bark itself is discarded after chewing it or infusing it in a liquid.²⁶ Whatever his reservations, Wesley retained Tissot's remedy No. 14, composed of powdered Peruvian bark, in *Advices* and (despite his suggestion of removing 'much bark' §8) replicated most instances where it was prescribed. Though he did add a note on one occasion (§56) recommending that rather than drinking the powdered bark in solution one should: 'Pour upon it a coffee-cup full of boiling water. Cover this two or three minutes. Then drink the water, leaving the powder behind.'

²²The ointment was Tissot's No. 52. Tissot identified a cause of the itch as a diet high in salt, and fat, sour, or spicy food. His leading prescriptions were the ptisan No. 26, and the purge No. 21. See *Advice*, §345 (pp. 348–49).

²³See JW's note attached to *Primitive Physic*, §139 (above in this vol.).

²⁴This claim is made about intermitting fevers in *Advice*, §258 (p. 275); JW omits this section in the abridged *Advices* (would have appeared between §175 and §176).

²⁵His explanation in a letter to Alexander Knox, April 1, 1776, was 'I can never reconcile to common sense the introducing ounce after ounce of powdered post into an human stomach'; see Appendix C below.

²⁶See above *Primitive Physic*, §56, receipt #1; §103, receipt #2; §197, receipt #1; §234, receipt #1.

Beyond these stated points of divergence, two other ways in which Wesley's convictions differed from those of Tissot are hinted at by the major portions of *Advice* omitted from Wesley's abridged version. In addition to the chapter on the itch, these include the Introduction, Chapter XXXIII, 'Of Mountebanks, Quacks, and Conjurers', and Chapter XXXIV, which detailed information a patient should convey to a physician if they were requesting advice in absentia.²⁷ The latter three were not elided simply to reduce the length of the abridgement. They are the portions where Tissot's strong diffidence to professional physicians is most explicit. In his introduction, for example, Tissot paused to 'beg the favour' of his fellow physicians that they not censure him for betraying the profession in preparing his book.²⁸ While in Chapter XXXIII he mounted an extended indictment of 'travelling quacks and pretended physicians in villages' as a 'dreadful scourge' who occasion more deaths than all of the ailments treated in his book combined.²⁹ These imposters are excoriated as robbers and thieves, motivated by financial gain, and contrasted at length with 'the most genuine and excellent physicians' who had devoted themselves to years of study, sacrificing 'the best and most pleasurable days of their lives' and suffering the 'difficulty and loathsomeness of living in hospitals among thousands of patients' in order to acquire the knowledge and skill requisite for caring for human life and health.³⁰ As Wesley made clear in his preface to *Primitive Physic*, he was more worried about the ways in which physicians, concerned to protect their source of income, were depriving the general populace of time-tested medical advice. As a first point of unstated divergence then, Wesley's diffidence toward physicians—if there was any—was limited to those *who feared God*.³¹

The flipside of Tissot's valorization of physicians was a highly paternalistic view of the rural masses. In Chapter XXXIII in particular, Tissot characterized them as easily seduced by the travelling quacks because they were not 'capable of reasoning'.³² While Wesley was paternalistic in many ways, he did not question the intellectual capability of the lower classes—as evidenced by his efforts to

²⁷ Respectively, Tissot, *Advice*, 1–29, 551–78, and 579–83.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, 15–16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 551–52.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 558–59.

³¹ See *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §10 and §15 (above in this vol.).

³² See Tissot, *Advice*, §568 (p. 557).

make education more accessible to them.³³ The likelihood that this divergence played a role in Wesley omitting these larger portions of Tissot's *Advice* is supported by scattered elisions of other parts—like a paragraph berating the illiterate multitude for dismissing the value of regimen because 'they seldom consider anything as a remedy except they swallow it'.³⁴

Moving beyond these larger excisions, and the divergent convictions they reflect, some other general characteristics of Wesley's abridged version of Tissot's *Advice* are worth noting. The first, and most significant, is that Wesley broadened the audience addressed in his *Advices*. From the Introduction onward, Tissot had been clear that *Advice* spoke specifically about and to the rural masses in Switzerland (and only insofar as they had no access to a physician). From his *deletion* of the Introduction onward, Wesley removed these limitations. Thus, the very first line of Chapter I, which Tissot had begun: 'The most frequent causes of diseases commonly incident to country folk are ...'; was reframed by Wesley to address '... maladies which so often attack the inhabitants of both city and country'. For Wesley, people are people, and their health challenges were the same, wherever they live. This led him to elide sections in chapters where Tissot focussed specifically on Switzerland.³⁵ It may also be the reason he excised a couple of sections contrasting 'country girls' with 'city girls'.³⁶ By thus broadening the audience, and omitting the injunction to set the book aside as soon as a physician arrived, Wesley's abridged *Advices* became more fully a 'self-help' medical guide than was its original.

This is not to suggest that Wesley broadly refashioned Tissot's text. His editorial hand was more conservative than it had been in *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*. He rephrased sentences to improve readability, but he seldom distilled whole paragraphs or sections to a single line. Moreover, his final product remained about a third of the length of the original (218 pp. / 600 pp.), as compared to his earlier abridgement that reduced its source by nine-tenths. Most of the reduction Wesley achieved (beyond the four major portions omitted) came by slicing the number of example cases,³⁷ omitting

³³ See the materials gathered in volume 16 of this edn.

³⁴ Tissot, *Advice*, §75 (p. 99).

³⁵ For examples, see *ibid.*, §13 (pp. 43–46) and §116 (pp. 130–31).

³⁶ See §240 below, with notes on the material elided that had been in *Advice*, 356–57.

³⁷ Examples of such cases omitted include Tissot, *Advice*, §71 (p. 96), §§117–19 (pp. 131–38), §266 (pp. 282–83), and §300 (pp. 310–11).

sections where Tissot listed (and berated) exotic remedies used by the peasants like blood of wild he-goat or the blackened portion of a rotten egg,³⁸ and trimming instances where Tissot indicated there was no hope for particular conditions.³⁹ Significantly, Wesley kept all seventy-one of the commended medicines in *Advice*.

Two small elisions by Wesley deserve some reflection. He omitted a section where Tissot praised the recent practice of inoculation for smallpox as a 'gracious dispensation of providence', and another section mentioning the potential benefit of inoculation for measles.⁴⁰ In both cases, Wesley's reason for the omission was likely not an objection to inoculation, but the fact (which Tissot admitted) that this treatment was not widely available to the populace. Two decades later, as societies were gearing up to make inoculation available to the masses in England, Wesley warmly endorsed their efforts.⁴¹

Turning from instances of reduction to addition, here again Wesley was more conservative than in the case of *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan*. As acknowledged in his prefatory comments (§8), Wesley added very little to Tissot in *Advices*. And the additions he made were placed in notes at the bottom of the page, rather than incorporated into the body of the text (that is, *assuming* that the footnotes found in *Advices* that did not appear in *Advice* are to be attributed to Wesley).

Presentation of Wesley's *Advices* in this Edition

This brings us to the editorial decisions made in preparing Wesley's abridged text for this edition. The first point to make is that all comparisons between Wesley's version (*Advices*) and Tissot's *Advice* are based on the first edition of Kirkpatrick's translation (1765). The reason for this is that there are no major changes in Kirkpatrick's second edition, and internal evidence suggests strongly that Wesley was *not* working from the third edition of 1768.⁴²

³⁸ Ibid., §101 (pp. 117–18). See also §193 (pp. 198–99), §248 (pp. 266–68), and §320 (pp. 326–27).

³⁹ Ibid., §52 (p. 83) and §85 (p. 106).

⁴⁰ Compare *Advice* §219 (p. 230) to §152 below; and *Advice*, §229 (p. 243) to §159.

⁴¹ See his May 29, 1788 letter (vol. 31 in this edn.) responding to Dr. William Turner (1761–1859), who sent him the Newcastle upon Tyne, Committee for General Inoculation, *Report of the Committee* (s.n., 1786); and William Turner, *An Attempt to Alleviate the Principal Objections to Inoculation* (Newcastle: T. Saint, 1787).

⁴² See §124 below, where Wesley replicates an error made in Kirkpatrick's first edition that was corrected in the third edition.

One of the gifts of Kirkpatrick's translation for subsequent scholarship is that he carefully identified each of the footnotes in his text—marking those attributable to Tissot, those inserted by the unnamed physician in the 1763 Lyon edition (which Kirkpatrick used as the source for his translation), and those added by Kirkpatrick himself. This is important because Wesley was not so thoughtful. He selectively reproduced several of the notes (typically in an abridged form), without including Kirkpatrick's indication of their source. We have restored the identification of the original authors editorially when the notes appear. One way in which we could go beyond Kirkpatrick is that the physician who added comments anonymously to the 1763 Lyon edition has now been identified as a Dr. Rast.⁴³ There are twenty-one footnotes in Wesley's abridged version that are not found in Kirkpatrick's text. Since these additional notes consistently take stances that Wesley advocated, we were confident in indicating him as their author.

While Wesley ignored Kirkpatrick's identification of authors, he generally replicated Kirkpatrick's text as it stood, including scattered errors about the medicine Tissot had assigned (by citing its number in the list), and some confusion in numbering the sections.⁴⁴ We have corrected these instances (and Wesley's own misprints) by comparison to both the French original and Kirkpatrick's first edition.

Wesley's abridged *Advices with Regard to Health* went through four editions, staying in print for the remainder of his ministry. The second edition was its appearance in his collected *Works*. While Wesley typically reprinted individual items with little revision, he devoted more attention to correcting and revising their text in the thirty-two volumes of *Works* (1771–74). *Advices* was no exception. There are scattered changes throughout and a few additional footnotes. Among the new notes is one in his prefatory section 'To the Reader' (§8) stating: 'I have generally lessened his doses, which were far too large for English constitutions.' This comment is not so much descriptive of the original abridgement as it is a flag that Wesley made adjustments to dosage in about a dozen places this second edition.⁴⁵ (Whether this amounts to 'generally lessened' is again open to question.) The other major feature of the *Works* edi-

⁴³ I.e., Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Rast de Maupas (1732–1810); see Singy, 'Popularization', 792 n. 101.

⁴⁴ For the issues in section numbering, see particularly §30 of Wesley's abridged version below.

⁴⁵ See particularly §269.3, and remedies Nos. 11, 21, 23, 41, 47, 57, and 63.

tion is that throughout Wesley marked particular passages that he thought worthy of attention with an asterisk. There are about fifty passages marked in this way in the *Works* edition of *Advices*.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, after all of his careful work to revise the text of items included in his *Works*, after 1775 Wesley continued what had been his earlier practice. When it came time to issue a new printing of an individual item, he typically sent to the printer one of the last copies of a prior separate printing that he had on hand (occasionally with changes entered by hand within the text). The printer would unbind this copy and use it as their pattern. The result of this practice was that in almost every instance that Wesley issued later separate editions of items included in *Works*, they returned to the text of the last separate edition of the item, missing the revisions that Wesley had made for *Works*. *Advices with Regard to Health* is a case in point, as can be seen in the list of variant reading in Appendix A.

While the last two editions of *Advices* return to the basic text of the first edition, Wesley did modernize several spellings in them (such as changing ‘glyster’ to ‘clyster’). Since the practice in this edition is to modernize archaic spellings silently, we have not traced these changes in the variant readings. For a stemma showing the relation of the four editions of *Advices*, and the substantive variant readings arising in them, see Appendix A, pp. 644–49. For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 315.

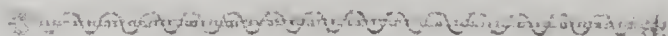
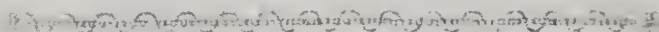
⁴⁶We have not reproduced this use of the asterisk in this edition; but the Pine edition of Wesley’s *Works* (1771–74) is now freely available online for those interested.

A D V I C E S,

W I T H

Respect to HEALTH.

Extracted from a late Author.



B R I S T O L

Printed by W. P I N E, in WINE-STREET.

M D C C L X I S.

Advices with Respect to Health: Extracted from a Late Author

To the Reader

1. Dr. Tissot's *Advice to People in General*,¹ published a few years since, is, I am persuaded, one of the most useful books of the kind which has appeared in the present century. It plainly speaks a person of strong understanding, extensive knowledge, and deep experience. At the same time he shows great humanity and a tender sense of the sufferings of his fellow creatures. And doubtless a desire of preventing or lessening these was at least one reason of this publication. 5 10

2. His *descriptions* of diseases are truly admirable, almost everywhere drawn from the life, and so clear that even common people of tolerable sense will easily know any distemper thereby. His *medicines* are exceeding *few*—so few that, at first sight, one would scarce think it possible they should suffice for so many disorders as he had treated of. And most of those few are quite *simple*, as simple as can be imagined. The rest are seldom compounded of more than two or three simple and well-known ingredients. 15 20

A farther recommendation of them is that the far greater part are of a moderate price. And as they are *cheap*, so most of them are *safe*; not likely to do hurt to anyone.

3. It is another mark of his excellent judgment that in all cases he lays so much stress upon *regimen*. And that on so many occasions he recommends *outward applications*, a method constantly observed by the ancient physicians. Add to this his earnest and repeated cautions against all *spirituous* and *heating* medicines, against keeping the patient *too hot*, and above all against keeping him in a *close* or *foul air*, whereby so many diseases are heightened or prolonged and so many thousand lives thrown away. Add his seasonable detection of so many *vulgar errors*, some of which have almost universally obtained, and which nevertheless scarce any physician of note had before dared to expose. 25 30 35

4. Where there are so many excellent things, is there any *defect*? Possibly a few such might be observed. Some would esteem as such his violent fondness for *bleeding*—his recommending it on the most

¹Samuel-Auguste André David Tissot, *Advice to the People in General, with Regard to their Health*, translated by James Kirkpatrick, M.D. (London: T. Becket and P. A. DeHondt, 1765).

trifling occasions, and prescribing very frequent repetitions of it as indispensably necessary in several diseases which may be perfectly cured without ever bleeding at all. I instance in a *pleurisy*. Indeed, thirty years ago I was utterly astonished when I heard Dr. Cockburn (of St. James's) say, 'Sir, I never bled in a pleurisy. I know no
 5 cause. I know no one intention it answers, which I cannot answer as well or better, without thus wasting the strength of my patient.'² But I have now seen the proof of it over and over. Nay, I will say more. I have not seen a man in a pleurisy these twenty years (and I
 10 have seen not a few) whom I could not cure, not only without bleeding, but without any internal medicine whatever. Alas, alas! How few physicians love their neighbour as themselves!

5. Might not one also rank among the less excellent things in this tract the author's amazing love of *clysters*?³ One remarked of
 15 Dr. [Jonathan] Swift, 'In all his writings he shows an uncommon affection for the *last concoction of the human nutriment*.'⁴ May not the same remark (in a little different sense) be made of Dr. Tissot? I wonder whether he ever himself submitted to, or performed, the operation? Undoubtedly, in cases of extreme necessity, both
 20 modesty and cleanliness must give place. And either man or woman would sin against God in not permitting an injection of any kind. But what I pray, beside extreme necessity, would induce any but a beast of a man either to prescribe to another, or admit himself, such a worse than beastly remedy?

25 6. Is there not an objection of the same kind to that uncleanly, stinking ointment which he prescribes for the cure of the itch?⁵ And what need of this, when it may be cured just as well by medicines which have no smell at all? Suppose by hellebore and cream, or by juice of lemons mixed with oil of violets. But there is another
 30 objection to all that the doctor has wrote upon this disorder. Can it be thought that so great a man as Dr. Tissot never saw the *Transactions* of our Royal Society? But if he has seen them, how could he forget the paper communicated by Dr. Mead, which puts it beyond
 35 all possible dispute, being a matter of ocular demonstration, that the itch is nothing but animalcule of a peculiar kind burrowing un-

² William Cockburn (1669–1739), of St. James's Street, Westminster. JW repeated this quote, and cited the case of his brother Charles as an example, in his Letter to *Lloyd's Evening Post*, July 29, 1776 (see Appendix D).

³ I.e., medicines injected into the rectum, to empty or cleanse the bowels.

⁴ The source of this remark has not been located; but the 'last concoction of human nutriment' would be faeces.

⁵ Tissot prescribed his ointment No. 52; see *Advice*, 349.

der the scarf-skin?⁶ Yet if he had not utterly forgot this, how came he to prescribe *internal* medicines for it? Does any man prescribe vomits or purges to kill fleas or lice?⁷

7. May I be permitted to touch upon one point more to which I cannot fully subscribe? I am sensible it may be esteemed huge want of sense, if not of modesty likewise, to contradict the skilful in their own art; yea, some of the greatest names in Europe. But I cannot help it. When either the souls or lives of men are at stake, I dare not accept any man's person. What I refer to is his vehement recommendation of the Peruvian bark as 'the only infallible remedy either for *mortifications* or *intermitting fevers*'.⁸ He really seems *transported* with the theme, as do very many physicians beside. I object to this, firstly,⁹ it is not 'an infallible remedy', either for one or the other. No, not even when administered by a very skilful physician, after evacuations of every kind. I have known pounds of it given to stop a mortification, yet the mortification spread, till it killed the patient. I myself took some pounds of it when I was young for a common tertian ague, and that after vomiting. Yet it did not, would not effect a cure. And I should probably have died of it, had I not been cured unawares by drinking largely of *lemonade*. I will be bold to say, from my personal knowledge, there are other remedies which *more seldom* fail. I believe the bark has cured six agues in ten. I know cobweb pills have cured nine in ten. The bark has often stopped mortification, and sometimes it has failed. But I could never learn that Dr. Piper's method (of Essex) has failed in a single instance^a —though one of his patients was of a gross habit, and above sixty years old; and another, above ninety. Let them philosophize upon these things who please. I urge plain matter of fact. I object, secondly, that as it is far from being an infallible remedy, so it is far from being a safe one. Not that I affirm, as Dr. Tissot supposes the objectors do, that it occasions asthmas or dropsies. I do not think this at all improbable, however I have not observed it. But this I affirm in the face of the

^aWhat this method is, any one may see on the last edition of the *Primitive Physic* [JW; he is apparently ascribing to John Piper M.D. (1688–1766) the method of using cobweb pills prescribed for an ague in §2, receipt #8].

⁶Richard Mead, 'An Abstract of part of a Letter from Dr. [Giovan Cosimo] Bonomo to Signior Redi, containing some Observations concerning the Worms of Humane Bodies', *Philosophical Transactions* 23 (1703), 1296–99.

⁷Reflecting the degree of his objection, JW omitted Tissot's entire chapter (XXV) on the itch; cf. *Advice*, 347–52.

⁸See (on intermitting fevers) Tissot, *Advice*, §258, p. 275.

⁹Orig., '1'.

sun, it frequently turns an intermitting fever into a consumption. By this means, a few years since, one of the most amiable young women I have known lost her life. And so did one who was before one of the healthiest and stoutest young men in Yorkshire. I could
 5 multiply instances, but I need go no farther than my own case. In the last ague which I had, the first ounce was thrown off by purging. The second being mixed with the salt of wormwood, stayed in my stomach. And just at the hour my ague should have come, began a pain at the point of my shoulder blade. Quickly it shifted its place,
 10 began a little under my left breast and there fixed. In less than an hour I had a short cough; soon after, a small fever. From that time the cough, the pain, and the fever continued without intermission. And every night, very soon after I lay down, came first a dry cough for forty or fifty minutes, then an impetuous one, till something
 15 seemed to burst and for half an hour more I threw up thick fetid *pus*. Here was expedition! What but a ball could have made quicker dispatch than this *infallible* medicine? In less than six hours it obstructed, inflamed, and ulcerated my lungs, and by this summary process brought me into the third stage of true pulmonary consumption. Excuse me therefore, if having escaped with the skin of
 20 my teeth, I say to all I have any influence over, whenever you have an intermitting fever, look at me and beware of *the bark*! I mean the bark in substance. If you love your lives, beware of swallowing ounce after ounce of indigestible powder, though it were powder of post. To infusions or decoctions I have no objection.

8. The following pages contain the most useful parts of Dr. Tissot's book—I believe the substance of all that will stand the test of sound reason and experience. I have added little thereto, but have
 30 judged it would be of use to retrench a great deal;^b in particular, much bleeding, much Peruvian bark, and abundance of clysters. It is my belief that one might retrench, without any loss, many more of the remedies he prescribes. In many cases, half; in others, three quarters; in some, eight or nine parts in ten—since a single (perhaps even *outward*) remedy would effect a perfect cure.

35 9. I have only to add (what it would not be so fashionable for a *physician* to believe, much less to mention) that as God is the sovereign disposer of all things, and particularly of life and death, I earnestly advise everyone, together with all his other medicines, to use

^bI have generally lessened his doses, which were far too large for English constitutions [JW; this note found only in the *Works* edition].

that medicine of medicines, *prayer*. Dr. Tissot himself will give us leave to think this an *universal medicine*. At the same time then that we use all the other means which reason and experience dictate, let us seek a blessing from him who has all power in heaven and earth,¹⁰ who gives us life and breath and all things,¹¹ and who cannot withhold from them that seek him, any manner of thing that is good.¹²

5

¹⁰ See Matt. 28:18.¹¹ See Acts 17:25.¹² See Ps. 84:11.

Chapter I

Of the Usual Cause of Popular Maladies

§1. Fatiguing labour, too long continued, is the first cause of those maladies which so often attack the inhabitants of both city and country. Its effects, in the first place, are for the most part inflammatory diseases, such as quinsies, pleurisies, defluxions on the breast. In the second place is that state of weakness into which they fall, and from which they with difficulty recover.

§2. There are two ways of preventing these maladies. The first is to avoid the cause that produces them. The second, to diminish their effects by drinking largely of cooling draughts, such as whey, buttermilk, or even water; to every pint of which a glass of vinegar may be added, or the juice of grapes, or gooseberries not fully ripened. These form an agreeable draught, which strengthens and sustains the labourer.

§3. A second ordinary cause of disease is when a person overheated by labour reposes in a cold place, or on the ground. This stops perspirations and occasions quinsies, rheumatisms, inflammations of the breast, pleurisies, and inflammatory colics. As soon as the patient feels the first symptoms (which sometimes does not happen till several days after), he should immediately bathe his legs in warm water, and after being well rubbed before the fire, he should drink a good quantity of the warm infusion, No. 1.¹³ Such remedies often prevent the disease. But, on the contrary, the evil becomes more dangerous when people try to procure a sweat by heating medicines.

§4. A third cause of disease is drinking cold water while one is much heated. This operates as the former, but the bad effects are generally more violent. I have seen some terrible examples of this. Violent quinsies, inflammations of the breast, colics, inflammations in the liver and in the belly, attended with swellings, vomitings, suppression of urine, and terrible anguish. The best remedies are bleeding in the beginning, drinking warm water to which a fifth part of milk has been added, and fomentations of warm water applied to the throat, breast, and belly.

§5. A fourth cause is the inconstancy of the climate. In one day we often feel it change from hot to cold, and from cold to hot. The

¹³ In this and subsequent instances, Tissot (and Wesley) is referring to the set of remedies at the end of the volume.

best precaution is to go better clothed than the weather seems to call for—to put on our winter dress early in autumn, and quit it late in spring. Labourers who throw off their clothes while at work should never strip till an hour after sunrise, and should put on their clothes immediately on ending their work, or rather an hour before sunset. 5

§6. It often happens that the traveller gets wet. This may be attended with no bad consequences, provided he shifts his clothes immediately. But I have often seen deadly pleurisies the consequences of omitting this. When the body and legs have been wet, the best way is to bathe the legs in warm water. I have by this means radically cured people subject to violent colics from having their feet wetted. This bath becomes still more efficacious by dissolving some soap in it. 10

§7. A fifth cause is the common custom in villages of having their ditches or dunghills directly under their windows. Corrupted vapours are continually exhaling from them, which in process of time cannot fail of being prejudicial. Those who are accustomed to the smell become insensible of it. But the cause, nevertheless, does not cease to be unwholesome; and such as are unused to it perceive the impression in all its force. 15 20

§8. To this cause may be added the neglect of common people to air their lodgings. It is well known that too close an air occasions malignant fevers, and the poor country people respire no other in their own houses. Their lodgings, which are very small, and which notwithstanding enclose (both day and night) the father, mother, and seven or eight children, are never kept open during six months in the year, and very seldom during the other six. It is easy to prevent all the evils arising from this source by opening the windows daily. 25 30

§9. I consider drunkenness as a sixth cause of diseases. The poor wretches who abandon themselves to it are subject to frequent inflammations of the breast and to pleurisies, which often carry them off in the flower of their age. If they escape these violent maladies, they sink, a long time before the ordinary approach of old age, into all its infirmities, and especially into an asthma, which terminates in a dropsy of the breast that is incurable. 35

§10. The provisions of the common people are also frequently one cause of maladies. This happens, first, whenever the corn was not well ripened, or not well got in, in bad harvests. But this may be lessened by washing and drying the grain completely, by allowing 40

it a little more time to swell or rise, and by baking it a little more. Secondly, the better saved part of the wheat is sometimes damaged in the farmer's house, either because he does not take the due care of it or because he has no convenient place to preserve it. It has
5 often happened to me, on entering one of those houses, to be struck with the smell of wheat that has spoiled. Nevertheless, there are known and easy methods to provide against this. Thirdly, that wheat which is good is often made into bad bread by not letting it rise sufficiently, by baking it too little, and by keeping it too long. All these
10 errors have their troublesome consequences, especially on children and weakly people.

Cakes may be considered as an abuse of bread.¹⁴ The dough is almost constantly bad, and often unleavened, ill baked, greasy, and
15 stuffed with either fat or sour ingredients, which compound one of the most indigestible ailments imaginable. Women and children consume the most of this food, and are the very subjects for whom it is the most improper; little children especially, who are, for the greater part, unable to digest them perfectly. Hence arise obstruc-
20 tions in the bowels, and of a slimy viscosity throughout the mass of humours, which throws them into various diseases—slow fevers, a hectic, the rickets, the King's evil, and feebleness—for the miserable remainder of their days. Probably indeed there is nothing more unwholesome than dough not sufficiently leavened, ill-baked,
25 greasy, and soured by the addition of fish.

§11. We should not omit, in enumerating the causes of maladies among country people, the construction of their houses, a great many of which either are close to a higher ground or are sunk a little in the earth. Each of these situations subjects them to consid-
30 erable moistness, which is not the least source of diseases, especially on women in child-bed, on children, and in persons recovering of some distemper. It would be easy to prevent this inconvenience by raising the ground on which the house stood some inches above the level by a bed of gravel, of small flints, pounded bricks, coals,
35 or such other materials; and by avoiding to build close to, or as it were, under a much higher soil. It would still cost less trouble to give the front of the houses an exposure to the southeast. This exposure, supporting all other circumstances to be alike, is both the
40 most wholesome and advantageous.

¹⁴This is the traditional use of 'cake' for a small flattened sort of bread, round, oval, or otherwise regularly shaped, and usually baked hard on both sides.

Chapter II

Of the Causes which Aggravate Diseases

§12. The causes already enumerated occasion diseases, and the bad regimen or conduct of the people render them more perplexing, and often mortal. 5

There is a prevailing prejudice, which is every year attended with the death of hundreds, that all distempers are cured by sweat; and that to procure sweat they must take abundance of hot and heating things, and keep themselves very hot. This is a very fatal mistake. 10
And it cannot be too much inculcated that, by thus endeavouring to force sweating at the very beginning of a disease, they are taking pains to kill themselves. I have seen cases in which the continual care to provoke sweating has as manifestly killed the patient as if a ball had been shot through his brains, as such an untimely discharge carries off the thinner part of the blood, leaving the mass 15
more dry, more viscid, and inflamed. Now as in all acute diseases, except a very few, the blood is already too thick, such a discharge must evidently increase the disorder.

§13. But suppose sweating was beneficial at the beginning of the diseases, the means they use to excite it would prove fatal. The first is to stifle the patient with a close apartment, and a load of covering. Care is taken to prevent a breath of fresh air's squeezing into the room, from which circumstance the air already in it is speedily and extremely corrupted. And such a degree of heat is procured by the weight of the 20
bedclothes that these two causes alone are sufficient to excite a fever, even in a healthy man. More than once have I found myself seized with a difficulty of breathing on entering such chambers, from which I have been immediately relieved on obliging them to open all the windows. Let in a little fresh air on these miserable patients, and 25
lessen the burden of their coverings, and you generally see upon the spot their fever and oppression, their anguish and raving, abate.

§14. The second method taken to raise a sweat in these patients is to give them hot things, especially Venice treacle or wine. In all feverish disorders we should gently cool, and keep the belly moderately open—while these things both heat and bind, and hence we may easily judge of their consequences. A healthy person would certainly be seized with an inflammatory fever on taking the same quantity of wine or Venice treacle which the peasant takes when he 35
is attacked by one of these disorders. How then should a sick person escape dying by them? 40

§15. But I shall be told that diseases are often carried off by sweat. I answer, it is true sweating cures some disorders at their very onset—for instance, those stitches that are called false pleurisies, some rheumatic pains, and some colds. But this only happens when
 5 the disorders depend solely on abated perspiration, to which such pain instantly succeeds, and where immediately, before the fever has thickened the blood and inflamed the humours, and before any internal load is formed, some warm drinks are given, which, by restoring transpiration, remove the cause of the disorder. Never-
 10 theless, even in such a case, great care should be had not to raise too violent a commotion in the blood, which would rather restrain than promote sweat. Sweating is also of service in diseases when their causes are extinguished by plentiful dilution. Then it relieves by drawing off with itself some part of the distempered humours
 15 (after their grosser parts have passed off by stool and by urine), and carries off that extraordinary quantity of water we were obliged to convey into the blood. Under such circumstances it is of importance not to check the sweat. As much care should be taken not to check after the evacuation, which naturally occurs towards the con-
 20 clusion of diseases, as not to force it at their beginning; the former being almost constantly beneficial, the latter as constantly pernicious. Besides, were it necessary, it might be dangerous to force it violently, since by heating the patients a vehement fever is excited. Warm water, in short, is the best sudorific.¹⁵ An able physician had
 25 long since assured his countrymen that wine was fatal in fevers. I take leave to repeat it again and again, and wish it may not be with as little success.

§16. Their diseases are further aggravated by the food that is generally given them. They must be weak, in consequence of their be-
 30 ing sick, and the ridiculous fear of the patients dying of weakness disposes their friends to force them to eat—which, increasing their disorder, renders the fever mortal. This fear is absolutely chimerical. Never yet did a person in a fever die merely for weakness. They
 35 may be supported, even for weeks, by water only; and are stronger at the end of that time than if they had taken more solid nourishment, since, far from strengthening them, their food increases their disease and thence increases their weakness.

§17. From the first invasion of a fever, digestion ceases. Whatever
 40 solid food is taken corrupts and adds nothing to the strength of the sick, but greatly to that of the distemper. There are a thousand ex-

¹⁵ Orig., 'sudorifics'. A sudorific promotes perspiration.

amples to prove that it becomes a real poison. And we may sensibly perceive these poor creatures, who are thus compelled to eat, lose their strength and fall into anxiety and ravings, in proportion as they swallow.

§18. They are further injured by the quality of their food. They are forced to sup strong gravy soups, eggs, biscuits, and even flesh, if they have but just strength to chew it. It is almost impossible for them to survive all this trash. Should a man in perfect health be compelled to eat stinking meat, rotten eggs, stale sour broth, he is attacked with as violent symptoms as if he had taken real poison—which, in effect, he has. He is seized with vomiting, anguish, a violent purging, and a fever with raving and eruptive spots, which we call the purple fever.¹⁶ Now when the same articles of food, in their soundest state, are given to a person in a fever, the heat and the morbid matter already in his stomach quickly putrify them, and after a few hours produce all the above-mentioned. Let any man judge, then, if the least service can be expected from them.

The most observing persons remark that when a feverish patient sups what is called good broth, the fever gathers strength and the patient weakness. The giving such a soup or broth, though of the freshest meat, to a man who has a high fever or putrid humours in his stomach, is to do him exactly the same service as if you had given him, two or three hours later, stale putrid soup.

§19. It were happy for mankind [if] they could be thoroughly persuaded of this demonstrable truth: that the only things which can strengthen sick persons are those which weaken their disease. Out of twenty sick persons who are lost in the country, more than two-thirds might have been cured if they were supplied with abundance of good water.

§20. What further increases our horror at this enormous propensity to heat, dry up, and cram the sick is that it is totally opposite to what nature herself indicates in such circumstances. The burning heat of which they complain; the dryness of the lips, tongue, and throat; the high colour of their urine; the longing they have for cooling things; the pleasure they enjoy from fresh air, are so many proofs which cry out with a loud voice that we ought to cool them moderately by all means. Their foul tongues, which show the stomach to be in the like condition; their loathing, their propensity to vomit; their utter aversion to all solid food, and especially to flesh; the disagreeable stench of their breath; and frequently the

¹⁶ This would include typhus and scarlet fever.

extraordinary offensiveness of their excrements, demonstrate that their bowels are full of putrid contents, which must corrupt all the aliments superadded to them, and that the only thing which can be done is to dilute them by plentiful draughts of cooling drinks. I affirm it again, and I heartily wish it may be thoroughly attended to, that as long as there is any taste of bitterness, or of putrescence; as long as there is a loathing, a bad breath, heat and feverishness with fetid stools, and little and high coloured urine; so long all flesh, flesh-soup, eggs, and all kind of food composed of them, or of any of them, and all Venice treacle, wine, and heating things are so many absolute poisons.

§21. Neither should it be omitted that even when a patient has escaped death, the mischief is not ended—the consequences of the high aliments and heating medicines being to leave behind the principle of some chronicle disease, which increasing insensibly, bursts out at length, and finally procures his death.

§22. I must also take notice of another common practice, which is purging, or vomiting, at the very beginning of a distemper. Infinite mischiefs are occasioned by it. There are some cases indeed in which it is necessary. But it is a general rule that they are hurtful at the beginning, always when the diseases are strictly inflammatory.

§23. It is hoped by their assistance to remove the oppression of the stomach, a disposition to vomit, a dry mouth, thirst, and uneasiness. But the causes of these symptoms are seldom of a nature to yield to these evacuations. By the extraordinary thickness of the humours that foul the tongue, we should form our notions of those which line the stomach and the bowels. It may be washed, gargled, and even scraped to little purpose. It does not happen until the patient had drank for many days, and the heat, the fever, and the fizziness of the humours are abated, that this filth can be thoroughly removed. The state of the stomach being conformable to that of the tongue, no method can effectually scour and clean it at the beginning. But by giving diluting remedies plentifully, it gradually frees itself, and the propensity to vomit, with its other effects, go off naturally.

§24. The vomit especially, being given in an inflammatory disease before the humours have been diminished by bleeding and diluted by plentiful small drinks, is productive of the greatest evils—of inflammations of the stomach, of the lungs and liver, of suffocations and frenzies. Purges sometimes occasion a general inflammation of the guts, which terminates with death. Some instances of each I have seen. The effect of such medicines in these circumstances are

much the same with those we might expect from the application of salt and pepper to a dry, inflamed, and foul tongue in order to moisten and clean it.

Chapter III

Of the Means that ought to be used at the Beginning of Different Diseases and of the Diet in Acute Diseases

§25. Having clearly shown the dangers of the regimen or diet, and of the principal medicines generally made use of on these occasions, I must now point out the method they may pursue, without any risk, on the invasion of some acute diseases, and the general diet which agrees with them all. And whenever I shall say in general that a patient is to be put upon a regimen, it will signify that he is to be treated according to the method in this chapter. And all such directions are to be observed with regard to air, food, drink; except when I expressly order something else.

§26. The greater part of acute diseases give some notice of their approach a few weeks, and commonly some days, before their actual invasion—such as a light weariness, stiffness or numbness, less activity than usual; less appetite, a small load or heaviness at the stomach; some complaint in the head; a profounder degree of sleep, yet less composed, and less refreshing than usual; sometimes a light oppression of the breast; a less regular pulse; a propensity to be cold, and aptness to sweat; and sometimes a suppression of a former disposition to sweat. At such a term it may be practicable to prevent, or at least considerably to mitigate, the most perplexing disorders by carefully observing the following points.

1. To omit all violent work or labour, but not a gentle degree of exercise.

2. To use none, or very little, solid food; and especially to renounce flesh, flesh-broth, eggs, and wine.

3. To drink three or even four pints daily, by small glasses at a time, from half hour to half hour, of the ptisans¹⁷ No. 1 and [No.] 2. Or even of warm water, to each quart of which may be added half a glass of vinegar. No person can be destitute of this. Those who have honey will do well to add two or three spoonfuls of it to the water. A light infusion of elder-flowers, or of those of the lime tree, may also be advantageously used, or clear sweet whey.

¹⁷ I.e., nourishing drinks, whose recipes are found at the end of the tract.

§27. Very unhappily people take the directly contrary method. From the moment these previous complaints are perceived, they eat nothing but gross meat, eggs, or strong meat soups. They leave off garden stuff and fruits, which would be proper for them. And they drink heartily (under a notion of strengthening the stomach) of wine and other liquors, which strengthen nothing but the fever, and expel what degree of health might still remain.

§28. When the distemper is further advanced, and the patient is seized with coldness or shuddering in a greater or less degree, which is commonly attended with an universal oppression and pains over all the surface of the body, he should be put to bed, if he cannot keep up; or should sit down as quietly as possible, with a little more covering than usual. He should drink every quarter of an hour a small glass of some of those liquids I have recommended [in] §26.

§29. These patients earnestly covet a great load of covering during the cold or shivering. But we should be careful to lighten them as soon as it abates, so that when the heat begins they may have no more than their usual covering. It were to be wished they had rather less. The country people lie upon a featherbed, and under a downy coverlet or quilt that is commonly extremely heavy, and the heat which is heightened and retained by feathers is particularly troublesome to persons in a fever. Nevertheless, this custom may be complied with for one season of the year. But during our heats, or whenever the fever is violent, they should lie on a pallet (which will be infinitely better for them) and should throw away their coverings of down, so as to remain covered only with sheets, or something less injurious than feather coverings. A person could scarcely believe how much comfort a patient is sensible of in being eased of his former coverings.

§[30¹⁸]. As soon as the heat after the shuddering approaches, we should provide for the patient's *regimen*. And,

1. Care should be taken that the air in the room where he lies should not be too hot, the mildest degree of warmth being sufficient; that there be as little noise as possible, and that no person speak to the sick without necessity. No external circumstance heightens the fever more, nor inclines more to raving, than the persons in the chamber, especially about the bed. They lessen the spring of the air. They prevent a succession of fresh air. And the variety of objects occupies the brain too much. Whenever the patient has been at stool, or has made urine, these excrements should be re-

¹⁸ All editions misnumber this section by repeating '29'.

moved immediately. The windows should certainly be opened night and morning, at least for a quarter of an hour each time; when also a door should be opened, to promote an entire change of the air in the room. Nevertheless, as the patient should not be exposed to a current of air, the curtains of his bed should be drawn on such occasions. If the season be rigidly cold, it will be sufficient to keep the windows open a few minutes each time. In summer, at least one window should be let open day and night. The pouring a little vinegar upon a red-hot shovel also greatly conduces to restore the spring and correct the putridity of the air. In our greatest heats, when the sick person is sensibly incommoded by it, the floor may be sprinkled now and then by branches of willow or ash trees dipped a little in pails of water.

2.¹⁹ With respect to the patient's nourishment, he must entirely abstain from all food but the following, which is one of the wholesomest and undisputedly the simplest one. Take half a pound of bread, a morsel of the freshest butter about the size only of a hazel nut (which may be omitted too), three pints and a quarter of water. Boil them till the bread be entirely reduced to a thin consistence. Then strain it, and give the patient one eighth part of it every three or every four hours; but still more rarely, if the fever be vehemently high. Those who have gruts,²⁰ barley, oatmeal, or rice may prepare them in the same manner, with some grains of salt.

The sick may be sometimes indulged, in lieu of those spoon-meats, with raw fruits in summer, or in winter with apples baked or boiled, or plums and cherries dried and boiled. Persons of knowledge will not be surprised to see fruit directed in acute diseases, the benefit of which they may have frequently seen. Such advice can only disgust those who remain still obstinately attached to old prejudices. But could they reflect a little, they must perceive that these fruits which allay thirst, which abate the fever, which correct and attemper the putrid and heated bile, which gently dispose the belly to be rather open, and promote the discharge of the urine, must prove the properest nourishment for persons in acute fevers. We may safely allow in all continual fevers cherries (red and black), strawberries, the best cured raisins, raspberries, and mulberries; provided all of them be perfectly ripe. Apples, pears, and plums are less melting and diluting, less succulent, and rather less proper.

¹⁹ Kirkpatrick mistakenly placed a new section number prior to the series numbering (i.e. §37. 2.) throughout this section, and JW reproduced this practice. We have corrected to conform to the pattern of the full treatise.

²⁰ A type of coarse oatmeal.

Some kinds of pears however are extremely juicy, such as the Dean or Valentin pear, different kinds of the Beurre²¹ pear; the St. Germain, the green sugary pear, and the Summer Royal, which may all be allowed. As well as a little juice of very ripe plums, with the
5 addition of water to it. This last I have known to assuage thirst in a fever beyond any other liquor. Care should be taken, at the same time, that the sick should never be indulged in a great quantity of any of them at once, which would overload the stomach. But if they are given a little at a time and often, nothing can be more salutary.
10 China oranges or lemons may be taken likewise, but without eating any of the peel, which is hot and inflaming.

3. Their drink should be such as allays thirst and abates the fever; such as dilutes, relaxes, and promotes the evacuations by stool, urine, and perspiration. All those which I have recommended in the
15 preceding chapters possess these qualities. A glass or a glass and an half of the juice of such fruits as I have just mentioned may also be added to three full pints of water.

The sick should drink at least twice or thrice that quantity daily, often, and a little at once; between three and four ounces every quarter
20 of an hour. The coldness of the drink should just be taken off.

4. As long as the patient has strength for it, he should sit up out of bed one hour daily, and longer if he can bear it, but at least half an hour. It has tendency to lessen the fever, the headache, and raving. But he should not be raised while he has a hopeful sweating, though
25 such sweats hardly ever occur but at the conclusion of diseases, and after the sick has had several other evacuations.

5. His bed should be made daily while he sits up, and then sheets, as well as the patient's linen, should be changed every two days, if it can be done with safety. An unhappy prejudice has established
30 a contrary practice. The people about the patient dread the very thought of rising out of bed. They let him continue there in nasty linen, loaded with putrid streams, which not only keep up the distemper but even heighten it to some degree of malignity. I again repeat it here, that nothing conduces more to continue the fever and
35 raving than confining the sick constantly to bed and withholding him from changing his foul linen—by relieving him from both of which I have, without the assistance of any other remedy, put a stop to a continual delirium of twelve days uninterrupted duration. A
40 man must be in nearly a dying condition not to be able to bear these small commissions which, in the very moment he permits them,

²¹ Orig., 'buree'; also known as Bosc pear.

increase his strength, and immediately after abate his complaints. One advantage the sick gain by sitting up a little is the increasing quantity of their urine. Some have been observed to make none at all if they did not rise out of bed.

A considerable number of acute diseases have been effectually 5
cured by this method, which mitigates them all. Where it is not used, medicines are very often of no advantage. It were to be wished the patient and his friends were made to understand that distempers were not to be expelled at once with rough usage. That they must have their course. And that the use of violent medicines might indeed 10
abridge the course of them, by killing the patient, yet never otherwise shortened the disease; but on the contrary, rendered it more tedious and obstinate, and often entailed such unhappy consequences on the sufferer as left him feeble and languid for the rest of his life.

§[31²²]. The term of recovery from a disease requires considerable 15
attention, as it is always a state of feebleness. The same kind of prejudice which destroys the sick by compelling them to eat during the violence of the disease is extended also to the stage of recovery, and either renders it troublesome and tedious or produces fatal relapses. In proportion to the abatement of the fever, the quantity of nourishment may be gradually increased. But as long as there are any 20
remains of it, their qualities should be those I have recommended. Whenever the fever is completely terminated, different foods may be entered upon, so that the patient may venture upon a little white meat (provided it be tender), some fish,^c flesh-soup, a few eggs at 25
times, with wine diluted. It must be observed at the same time that those very aliments which restore the strength when taken moderately, delay the perfect cure if they exceed in quantity, though but a little, because the stomach, being extremely weakened, is capable 30
only, as yet, of a small degree of digestion.

All bad consequences are prevented by the recovering sick contenting themselves for some time with a very moderate share of proper food. We are not nourished in proportion to the quantity we swallow, but to that we digest. A person on the mending hand who 35
eats moderately, digests it and grows strong from it. He who swallows

^cThe fish that are proper in this case are whittings, flounders, plaice, dabbs, or gudgeons; salmon, eels, carp, all the skate kind, haddock, and the like, should not be permitted before the sick return to their usual state of health [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 73)].

²²Orig., '§35', following Kirkpatrick's misnumbering described earlier; the corrected numbering is followed from this point.

abundantly does not digest it, and instead of being strengthened he withers insensibly away.

§[32]. We may reduce, within the few following rules, all that is to be observed in order to procure a complete termination of acute diseases.

1. Let these who are recovering take very little nourishment at a time, and take it often.

2. Let them take but one sort of food at each meal, and not change their food too often.

3. Let them chew whatever solid victuals they eat very carefully.

4. Let them diminish their quantity of drink. The best for them in general is water, with a fourth or third part of white wine. Too great a quantity of liquids at this time prevents the stomach from recovering its strength, impairs digestion, increases the tendency to a swelling in the legs.

5. Let them go abroad as often as they are able, whether on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback. This last exercise is the healthiest of all. They who practise it should mount before their principal meal, which should be about noon, and never ride after it.

6. As people in this state are seldom quite as well towards night, in the evening they should take little food. Their sleep will be the less disturbed, and repair them the more and sooner.

7. They should not remain in bed above seven or eight hours.

8. The swelling of the legs and ankles which happens to most persons of this time is not dangerous, and generally disappears of itself if they live soberly and regularly, and take moderate exercise.

9. It is not necessary in this state that they should go constantly every day to stool; though they should not be without one above two or three [days]. If their costiveness exceeds this term, they should take something opening.

10. They must by no means return to their labour too soon. This prevents many from ever recovering their former strength. And makes them lose in the consequence, every following week of their lives, more time than they ever gained by their over-early resuming of their labour.

Chapter IV

Of an Inflammation of the Breast

§[33]. A peripneumony is an inflammation of the lungs, commonly of one only and consequently on one side. The signs are

a shivering of more or less duration, during which the person affected is very restless and in great anguish—an essential symptom, and which has helped me more than once to distinguish this disease at the very instant of its invasion. A considerable degree of heat succeeds the shivering, which for a few hours is often blended with returns of chilliness. The pulse is quick, strong, moderately full, hard, and regular when the distemper is not very violent; but small, soft, and irregular when it is very dangerous. There is also a pain, but rather light and tolerable, in one side of the breast. Sometimes a kind of straitening on the heart. At other times pains through the whole body, especially along the reins. The patient finds a necessity of lying almost continually upon his back, being able to lie but rarely on either of his sides. Sometimes his cough is dry, and then attended with most pain. At other times it is accompanied with a hawking up, blended with more or less blood, and sometimes with pure blood. There is also some pain, or at least weight and heaviness in the head, and frequently a propensity to rave. The face is almost continually flushed. Though sometimes there is a degree of paleness and an air of astonishment which portend no little danger. The lips, the tongue, the palate, the skin are all dry; the breath hot; the urine little and high coloured in the first stage, but more plentiful, less flaming, and letting fall much sediment afterwards. There is a frequent thirst, and sometimes an inclination to vomit—which, imposing on the ignorant assistants, have often inclined them to give the patient a vomit, which is mortal, especially at this juncture. The symptoms are heightened almost every night, during which the cough is more exasperated and the spitting in less quantity. The best expectoration is of a middling consistence, neither too thin, or too hard and tough. Sometimes the inflammation ascends along the windpipe and in some measure suffocates the patient.

§[34]. Whenever the disease is very violent, the patient cannot draw his breath but when he sits up. The pulse becomes very small and very quick, the countenance livid, the tongue black, the eyes stare wildly. And he suffers inexpressible anguish, attended with incessant restlessness. He raves without intermission, can neither thoroughly wake nor sleep. The skin of his breast and of his neck is covered (especially when the distemper is extremely violent) with livid spots. He sinks into a lethargy, and soon dies.

§[35]. If the disease rushes on at once, with a violent attack; if the cold shivering last many hours, and are followed with a scorching degree of heat; if the brain is affected from the very onset; if the patient has a small purging, attended with a straining to stool; if

he abhors the bed; if he either sweat excessively or his skin be extremely dry; and if he spits up with much difficulty, the disease is extremely dangerous.

§[36]. He must directly, from the first seizure in this state, be put upon regimen. And his drink must never be given cold. It should either be the barley water (No. 2), the almond emulsion (No. 4), or that of No. 7. The juices of the plants which enter into the last of these drinks are excellent remedies, as they powerfully attenuate the viscid blood which causes the inflammation.

As soon as ever the cold assault is over, twelve ounces of blood must be taken away at once; and if the patient be young and strong, fourteen or even sixteen.^d This plentiful bleeding gives him more ease than if twenty-four ounces had been drawn at three different times.

§[37]. When the disease is circumstanced as described [in] §[33²³], that first bleeding makes the patient easy for some hours. But the complaint returns, and to obviate its violence we must repeat the bleeding four hours after the first, taking again twelve ounces of blood. And if, about the expiration of eight or ten hours, it appears to kindle up again, it must be repeated a third or even a fourth time.

§[38]. In this, and in all other inflammatory diseases, the blood is thick and viscid. And almost immediately on its being drawn a white tough skin, somewhat like leather, is formed on its top, which is called the 'pleuritic crust'. It is thought a promising appearance when, at each bleeding, it seems less hard and less thick than it was at the preceding ones. And this is generally true if the sick feels himself, at the same time, sensibly better. But whoever shall attend *solely* to the appearance of the blood will find himself often deceived.

§[39]. The patient's legs should every day, for half an hour, be put into a bath of warm water, wrapping him up closely, that the cold may not check that perspiration which the bath promotes.

And every two hours he should take two spoonfuls of the mixture No. 8, which promotes all the discharges, and chiefly that of expectoration.

§[40]. When the oppression and straitness are considerable, and the cough dry, the patient may receive the vapour of boiling water to which a little vinegar has been added. There are two ways of effecting this: either by placing below his face, after setting him up, a

^dThe applications set down in the *Primitive Physic* cure without bleeding at all [JW].

²³Orig., '§37'; in this and subsequent instances of internal number references, the original is adjusted to the corrected numbering.

vessel filled with such boiling hot water, and covering the patient's head and the vessel with a linen cloth that may inclose the steam; or by holding before his mouth a sponge dipped in the same boiling liquor. This last method is the least effectual, but it fatigues the patient considerably less. When this bad symptom is extremely pressing, vinegar alone should be used without water, and the vapour of it has often saved patients who seemed to have one foot in the grave. But it should be continued for several hours. 5

The outward remedies directed in No. 9 are also applied with success to the breast and to the throat. 10

§[41]. When the fever is extremely high, the sick should take every hour a spoonful of the mixture No. 10 in a cup of the ptisan, but without diminishing on this account the usual quantity of his other drinks, which may be taken immediately after it.^e

§[42]. As long as the patient continues equally bad, the same medicines are to be repeated. But if on the third day (though it rarely happens so soon), or fourth, or fifth, the disease takes a more favourable turn—the cough be less severe, the matter coughed up less bloody, respiration becomes easier, the head be less affected, the tongue not quite so dry, if the high colour of the urine abates and its quantity be increased—it may be sufficient then to keep the patient carefully to his regimen. The exasperation that occurs the fourth day is often the highest. 15 20

§[43]. This distemper is commonly carried off by expectoration, often by urine, which on the seventh, the ninth, or the eleventh day, sometimes on the days between them, begins to let fall a plentiful sediment of a pale red colour, and sometimes red pus.²⁴ These discharges are succeeded by sweats, which are as serviceable then as they were injurious at the beginning of the disease. 25

^eThe use of acids in inflammations of the breast requires no little consideration. Whenever the sick person has an aversion to them; when the tongue is moist, the stomach is heavy and disordered, and the habit of the patient is mild and soft; when the cough is very sharp without great thirst, we ought to abstain from them. But when the inflammation is joined to a dry tongue, to great thirst, heat, and fever, they are of great service. Slices of China [i.e., Mandarin] oranges sprinkled with sugar may be given first. A light lemonade may be allowed afterwards, and at last small doses of the mixture No. 10, if it becomes necessary [Rast (see Kirkpatrick, 84)]. 30 35

In the disease, and in pleurisies, more solid benefit has been received from the use of rattlesnake root than from any other medicine whatsoever. Bleeding indeed is premised to it, but it has often saved the necessity of repeated bleedings [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 85)]. 40

²⁴ Orig., 'real pus'; corrected by comparison to Tissot.

§[44]. Some hours before these evacuations appear there come on, not seldom, some alarming symptoms: such as great anguish, palpitations, some irregularity in the pulse, and increased oppression, convulsive motions (this being the *crisis* of the distemper).
 5 But they are no ways dangerous, provided they do not occasion any improper treatment. These symptoms depend on the morbid matter which, being dislodged, circulates with the humours and irritates different parts until the discharge of it has fairly begun. After which all such symptoms disappear and sleep generally en-
 10 sues. However I cannot too strongly insist on the necessity of great prudence in such circumstances. If the absurd practice of directing particular remedies for such accidents takes place—such as spirituous cordials, Venice treacle, confections, castor and rue—the consequence is that, nature being disturbed in her operations, the *crisis*
 15 is not effected. The matter which should be discharged by stool, by urine, or by sweat is not discharged out of the body but is thrown upon some inward part. The patient either dies at once, or another distemper succeeds, more troublesome than the first. Should it be expelled to some outward part, as soon as ever a tumour appears,
 20 ripening poultices should be applied, after which it should immediately be opened.

§[45]. In order to prevent such unhappy consequences, great care must be taken whenever such terrifying symptoms come on (about the time of the *crisis*) to make no change in the diet or treatment of
 25 the patient; except in applying every two hours a flannel, squeezed out, of warm water, which may cover all the belly and in a manner go round the body behind the reins. The quantity of his drink may also be increased a little, and nourishment lessened, as long as this violent state continues.

30 §[46]. Vomits and purges are directly contrary to the nature of this disease. Anodynes or opiates are also, in general, very improper. When the disease proceeds in a regular manner, the patient may be called safe by the fourteenth day; when he may, if he has an ap-
 35 petite, be put upon the diet of people who are recovering. But if he still retains an aversion to food, if his mouth is foul and furred, and he is sensible of some heaviness in his head, he should take the purging potion²⁵ No. 11.

40 §[47]. Bleedings from the nose occur sometimes naturally in this disease, even after repeated bleedings. These are favourable, and are

²⁵ Orig., 'portion' in all editions; corrected to Tissot's 'potion'. This error occurs in a few other places, which we also correct (and note in Appendix A).

commonly attended with more relief than artificial bleedings. Such voluntary discharges may sometimes be expected when the patient is sensibly mended after the use of the lancet, and yet complains of a great pain in his head accompanied with quick sparkling eyes and a redness of the nose. Nothing should be done to stop these bleedings, they will cease themselves. At other times, but more rarely, the distemper is carried off by a natural purging, attended with moderate pain and the discharge of bilious matter. 5

§[48]. If the expectoration stops suddenly, and is not speedily attended with some other evacuation, the oppression and anguish of the patient immediately return and the danger is great and pressing. If the distemper is not of many days standing, if the patient is a strong person, if he has not as yet been plentifully bled, if there be still some blood mixed with the humour he expectorates, or if the pulse be strong and hard, he should be bled immediately in the arm. 10
And constantly receive the steam of hot water and vinegar by the mouth. And drink plentifully of the ptisan No. 2, something hotter than ordinary. But if his circumstances are different from these just mentioned, instead of bleeding two blisters should be applied to the legs, and he should drink plentifully of the ptisan No. 12. 15 20

The causes which oftenest produce this suppression of expectoration are: 1) a sudden cold air, 2) too hot a one, 3) over-hot medicines, 4) excessive sweating, 5) a purge ill-timed, and 6) some immoderate passion.

§[49]. When the sick has not been sufficiently bled, and sometimes when he has been weakened by excessive bleeding so that the discharges have not been sufficiently made when these discharges have been confused by some other causes, then the vessels that have been inflamed do not unload the humours which oppress them—but there happens in the lung the same circumstance we see daily on the surface of the body. If an inflammatory swelling does not disperse itself, it forms an imposthume. Thus in the inflamed lung, if the inflammation is not dissipated, it forms an abscess. And the matter of that abscess, like the external ones, remains often long inclosed in its bag, without bursting its case and discharging the matter it contains. 25 30 35

§[50]. If the inflammation was not deeply seated in the lung, but was near the ribs, the sack will burst on the surface of the lung and the matter be discharged into the cavity of the breast. But when the inflammation is considerably deeper, the imposthume bursts within the lung itself. If its orifice is so small that little can get out at once, if the quantity of matter be inconsiderable, and the patient is pretty 40

strong, he coughs up the matter and is sensibly relieved. But if its orifice is wide and it throws out a great quantity at once, or if the patient is very weak, he dies the moment it bursts, and that sometimes when it is least expected. I have seen one patient expire when
5 he was conveying a spoonful of soup to his mouth, and another while he was wiping his nose.

§[51]. Whatever distemper is included within the breast of a living patient is neither an object of the sight or touch, whence these inward tumours are so often unsuspected. The evacuations that were
10 necessary for the cure have not taken place during the first fourteen days. At the end of this term the patient is not very considerably relieved, but the fever continues pretty high, with a pulse continually quick, in general soft and weak, though sometimes pretty hard, and often fluctuating or, as it were, waving. His breathing is still
15 difficult, with small shudderings from time to time, an exasperation of the fever, flushed cheeks, dry lips, and thirst.

The increase of these symptoms declare[s] that matter is formed. The cough then becomes more continual, being exasperated with the least motion, or as soon as ever the patient has taken any nourishment. He can repose only on the side affected. It often happens
20 indeed that he cannot lie down at all, but is obliged to sit up all day, sometimes even without daring to lean a little upon his loins, for fear of increasing the cough and oppression. He is unable to sleep, has a continual fever, and his pulse frequently intermits.

25 The fever is not only heightened every evening, but the smallest quantity of food, the gentlest motion, a little coughing, the lightest agitation of the mind, a little more than usual heat in the chamber, soup either a little too strong or a little too salt[y], increase the quickness of his pulse the moment they occur. He is restless,
30 has some short attacks of terrible anguish, accompanied and succeeded by sweatings on his breast. He sweats sometimes the whole night. His urine is reddish, now frothy, and at other times oily, as it were. Sudden flushings, hot as flames, rise into his whole visage. The greater number of the sick are sensible of a disagreeable taste
35 in their mouth—some of old strong cheese, others of rotten eggs, others of stinking meat—and fall greatly away. The thirst of some is unquenchable, their mouths and lips are parched, their voice weak and hoarse, their eyes hollow, with a kind of wildness in their looks. They have a general disgust to all food, and if they should
40 ask for some particular nourishment without seeing it, they reject it the moment it is brought them, and their strength at length seems wholly exhausted.

§[52]. When a vomica is formed, as long as it is not emptied, all these symptoms increase and the vomica grows in size. The whole side of the lung affected sometimes becomes a bag of matter. The sound side is compressed, and the patient dies after a dreadful anguish.

5

To avoid such fatal consequences it is necessary to procure the rupture of this abscess as soon as we are certain of its existence. And as it is safer it should break within the lobe, whence it may be discharged by hawking up, than that it should void itself into the cavity of the breast, we must endeavour that this rupture may be effected within the lungs.

10

§[53]. The most effectual methods to procure this are: 1) To make the patient continually receive, by his mouth, the vapour of warm water. 2) When by this means that part of the sack is softened where we wish the rupture to happen, he is to swallow a large quantity of emollient liquid, such as barley water, light veal broth, or milk and water. By this means the stomach is kept always full, so that the resistance to the lungs being considerable on that side, the abscess will be pressed towards the side of the windpipe, as it will meet with less resistance there. This fulness of the stomach will also incline the patient to cough, which may concur to produce a good event. Hence, 3) we should endeavour to make the patient cough, by making him smell to some vinegar, or even snuff up a little, or by injecting into his throat, by means of a small syringe, a little water or vinegar. 4) He should be advised to bawl out loud, or to read loud. 5) Let him take every two hours a soup ladle of the potion No. 8. 6) He should be put into a cart, or some other carriage, but not before he has drank plentifully of those liquors. After which the jolting in the carriage has sometimes immediately procured a rupture.

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Many persons afflicted with a vomica faint away the very instant it breaks. Some sharp vinegar should be directly held to their nose. This small assistance is generally sufficient, where the bursting of it is not attended with such appearances as show it to be mortal.

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§[54]. If the sick person was not extremely weak before the bursting of the abscess, if the matter was white and well-conditioned, if the fever abates after the cough is less violent, if the patient recovers his sleep and appetite, if his usual strength returns, if the quantity he expectorates becomes gradually less, and if his urine is apparently better, we may have room to hope that by the assistance of these remedies I shall direct he may be completely cured.

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§[55]. But when his strength is exhausted before the bursting of the abscess, when the matter is too thin and transparent, brown,

green, yellow, bloody, and of an offensive smell, if the pulse continues quick and weak, if the patient's appetite, strength, and sleep do not improve, there remains no hope of a cure.

- §[56]. 1) Give every four hours a little barley or rice cream.
 5 2) If the matter brought up is thick and gluey, so that it is difficult to be discharged, give every two hours a soup ladle of the potion No. 8. And between the giving these two, let the patient take every half hour a cup of the drink No. 13. 3) When there is no occasion for these medicines to promote discharge, they must be omitted;
 10 though the sort and quantity of food are to be continued, but with the addition of an equal quantity of milk; or, which would be still more beneficial, instead of this mixture we should give an equal quantity of sweet milk, taken from a good cow, which in such a case may compose the whole nourishment of the patient. 4) He should
 15 take four times a day, beginning early in the morning, and at the distance of two hours, a dose of the powder No. 14. diluted in a little water.^f His common drink should be almond milk, or barley water, or fresh water with a fourth part milk. 5) He should exercise every
 20 day on horseback, or in a carriage, according as his strength and circumstance allow. But of all sorts of exercise, that upon a trotting horse is beyond all comparison the best, if he can bear it.

§[57]. The influence of the air is of more importance in this disorder than in any others, for which reason great care should be taken to procure the best in the patient's chamber. For this purpose it
 25 should often have an admission of fresh air, and be sweetened from time to time, though very lightly, with a little good vinegar. And in the season it should be plentifully supplied with agreeable herbs, flowers, and fruits. Should the sick be confined in an unwholesome air, there can be but little prospect of curing him.

30 §[58]. Out of many persons affected with these disorders, some have been cured by taking nothing but buttermilk; others by melons and cucumbers only; and others again by summer fruits of every sort. Nevertheless, as such cases are singular, I advise the patient to observe the method I have directed here.

35 §[59]. When the discharge from the breast diminishes, and the patient is perceivably mended in every respect, it is a proof that the abscess is clean and disposed to heal up. If the discharge continues in great quantity, if it seems but of an indifferent consistence, if the fever returns every evening, it may be apprehended that the wound,
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^f Rather pour upon it a coffee-cup full of boiling water. Cover this two or three minutes. Then drink the water, leaving the powder behind [JW].

instead of healing, may degenerate into an ulcer. Then the patient would fall into a confirmed hectic [fever].

I am not acquainted with any better remedy in such case than a perseverance in these already directed, with exercise on horseback. In some of them indeed recourse may be had to the sweet vapours of some vulnerary herbs in hot water, with a little oil of turpentine, as directed [in] No. 15. I have seen them succeed. If the cough prevents the patient from sleeping, he may take in the evening two or three tablespoonfuls of the prescription No. 16, in a glass of barley water.

§[60]. The very same causes which suddenly suppress the expectoration in an inflammation of the breast may check the expectoration from a vomica—in which circumstance the patient is speedily afflicted with an oppression and anguish, a fever and evident feebleness. We should immediately endeavour to remove this stoppage by the vapour of hot water, by giving a spoonful of the mixture No. 3 every hour, by a large quantity of the ptisan No. 12, and by a proper degree of exercise. As soon as ever the expectoration returns, the other symptoms disappear. I have seen this suppression in strong habits quickly followed with an inflammation about the seat of the vomica, which has obliged me to bleed, after which the expectoration immediately returned.

§[61]. Some may be surprised that in treating of an abscess of the lungs I say nothing of those remedies commonly termed ‘balsamics’, as turpentine, balsam of Peru, [balsam] of Mecca, frankincense, mastic, myrrh, storax, and balsam of sulphur. I never in such cases made use of these medicines, because I am convinced that their operation is hurtful. They protract the cure, and often change a slight disorder into an incurable disease. They obstruct the finest vessels of the lungs, whose obstructions we should endeavour to remove, and evidently occasion, except their dose be extremely small, heat and oppression.

§[62]. If the vomica, instead of breaking within the lungs, should break without it, the pus falls into the cavity of the breast. We know when that has happened by the sensation of the patient, who perceives a singular kind of movement, generally accompanied with fainting. The oppression and anguish cease at once, the fever abates, the cough however commonly continues, though without any expectoration. But this seeming amendment is short, since from the daily augmentation of the matter, and its becoming more acrid or sharp, the lungs become oppressed, irritated, and eroded. The difficulty of breathing, heat, thirst, wakefulness, distaste, and

deafness, return, with frequent sinkings and weakness. The patient should be confined to his regimen to retard the increase of the disease as much as possible, notwithstanding no other effectual remedy remains except that of opening the breast between the two ribs to discharge the matter.

§[63]. An inflammation may also form what we call a 'scirrhus', which is a very hard, unpainful tumour. This is known to occur when the disease is not terminated in any of those manners I have represented; and where, though the fever and the other symptoms disappear, the breathing remains a little oppressed, the patient still retains a troublesome sensation in one side of his breast, and has from time to time a dry cough, which increases after exercise and after eating. This malady is but seldom cured, though some attacked with it last many years without any other considerable complaint. They should avoid all occasions of over-heating themselves, which might readily produce a new inflammation about this tumour, the consequences of which would be highly dangerous.

The best remedies against this disorder, and from which I have seen some good effects, are the medicated whey No. 17, and the pills No. 18. The patient may take twenty pills and a pint and half of the whey every morning for a long continuance; and receive inwardly, now and then, the vapour of hot water.

Chapter V

Of the Pleurisy

§[64]. The pleurisy is chiefly known by these four symptoms: a strong fever, a difficulty of breathing, a cough, and an acute pain about the breast.

The cause of this disease is exactly the same with that of the former—that is, an inflammation of the lungs; but an inflammation that seems rather a little more external. The only considerable difference in the symptoms is that the pleurisy is accompanied with a most acute pain under the ribs. This pain is felt indifferently over every part of the breast, though more commonly about the sides and oftenest on the right side. The pain is greatly increased whenever the patient coughs or draws in the air in breathing. And hence some patients forbear to cough or respire as much as they possibly can, and that aggravates the disease by stopping the course of the blood in the lungs, which are soon overcharged with it. Hence the inflammation of the bowels becomes general, the blood mounts up

in the head, the countenance looks deeply red or, as it were, livid. The patient becomes nearly suffocated.

Sometimes an inflammation of the lungs is communicated also to the pleura. But this is not frequently the case.

§[65]. Spring is commonly the season productive of pleurisies. 5
The disease usually begins with a violent shivering, succeeded by considerable heat, with a cough, an oppression, and sometimes with a sensible straitening, as it were, all over the breast; and also with a headache, a redness of the cheeks, and with retchings to vomit. The stitch does not always happen at first; often not till after 10
several hours, sometimes not before the second or even the third day. Sometimes the patient feels two stitches, in different parts of the side; though it seldom happens that they are equally sharp, and the lightest soon ceases. Sometimes also the stitch shifts its place, which promises well if the part first attacked by it continues free 15
from pain; but it has a bad appearance if, while the first is present, another supervenes and both continue. There often occurs at, or quickly after, the invasion such an expectoration as happens in an inflammation of the breast. At other times there is not the least appearance of it, whence such are named 'dry pleurisies'. Sometimes 20
the sick cough but little, or not at all. They often lie more at ease upon the side affected than on the sound one. The progress of this disease advances exactly like that described in the preceding chapter.

§[66]. This distemper is often produced by drinking cold water while a person is hot, from which cause it is sometimes so violent 25
as to kill the patient in three hours. A young man was found dead at the side of the spring from which he had quenched his thirst. Neither indeed is it uncommon for pleurisies to prove mortal in three days.

Sometimes the stitch disappears, whence the patient complains 30
less; but at the same time his countenance changes, he grows pale and sad, his eyes look dull and heavy, and his pulse grows feeble. This signifies a translation of the disease to the brain, a case which is almost constantly fatal.

There is no disease in which the critical symptoms are more 35
violent, and more strongly marked, than in this. It is proper this should be known, as it may prevent or lessen our excessive terror. A perfect cure supervenes, sometimes, at the very moment when death was expected.

§[67]. This malady is one of the most destroying kind, as well 40
from its own violent nature as through the pernicious treatment of it in country places. As soon as a person is afflicted with a stitch, all

the hot medicines are set to work. This mortal error destroys more people than gunpowder.

The proper manner of treating this disease is exactly the same with that of the peripneumony. Hence the bleedings, the softening
5 and diluting drinks, the steams, and the poultices are the real remedies. These last perhaps are still more effectual in the pleurisy, and therefore they should be continually applied over the very stitch.

If from the beginning of the disease the pulse is but a little quicker and harder than in a healthy state, if the headache and the
10 stitches are moderate, if the cough is not too violent, bleeding may be omitted.

§[68]. In those dry pleurisies in which the stitch, the fever, and the headache are strong and violent, and where the pulse is very hard and very full, and with an excessive dryness of the skin and the
15 tongue, bleeding should be frequently repeated and at small intervals. This method commonly cures the disease effectually, without using any other evacuation.^g

§[69]. It has been observed that some persons, who have been once attacked by this disease, are often liable to relapses of it. Such
20 as can confine themselves to some proper precautions may prevent these returns, even without bleeding, by a temperate regimen; by abstaining from time to time from eating flesh and drinking wine, at which times they should drink whey, or some of those diet drinks No. 1, [No.] 2, [and No.] 4; and by bathing their legs sometimes in
25 warm water, especially in those seasons when this disease is most likely to return.

Chapter VI

30 *Of the Diseases of the Throat*

§[70]. The throat is subject to many diseases. One of the most dangerous is that inflammation of it called a 'quinsy'. This in effect is a distemper of the same nature with an inflammation of the
35 breast. But as it occurs in a different part, the symptoms are very different. They also vary according to the different parts of the throat which are inflamed.

§[71]. The general symptoms of an inflammation of the throat are shivering, subsequent heat, a fever, headache, red high-coloured
40 urine, a considerable difficulty (and sometimes an impossibility) of

^g So does a poultice of boiled nettles, without bleeding [JW].

swallowing anything. If the nearest parts to the windpipe are attacked, breathing becomes excessively difficult. The patient is sensible of extreme anguish. The disease is then extended to the windpipe, and even to the substance of the lungs, whence it becomes speedily fatal.

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The inflammation of the other parts is attended with less danger, and this danger becomes still less as the disease is more extended to the superficial parts. When the inflammation is general, and seizes all the internal parts of the throat, and particularly the tonsils, the uvula, and the root of the tongue, it is one of the most dangerous and dreadful maladies. The face is then swelled up and inflamed. The whole inside of the throat is in the same condition. The patient can get nothing down. He breathes with pain and anguish, which concur with a stuffing in his brains, to throw him into a kind of furious delirium. The miserable patient is deprived of all his strength, and commonly dies the second or third day.

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§[72]. Sometimes the disease shifts from the internal to the external parts. The skin of the neck and breast grows very red and painful, but the patient finds himself better.

At other times the disorder quits the throat, but is transferred to the brain or the lungs. Both [of] these translations are mortal when the best advice cannot be immediately procured, and even the best is often ineffectual.

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§[73]. The most useful kind of this disease is that which affects only the tonsils and the palate. It generally first invades one of the tonsils, which becomes enlarged, red, and painful, and does not allow the afflicted to swallow but with great pain. Sometimes the disorder is confined to one side. But most commonly it is extended to the uvula, from whence it is extended to the other tonsil. If it be of a mild kind, the tonsil first attacked is generally better when the second is attacked. Whenever they are both affected at once, the pain and the anguish of the patient are very considerable.

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The fever is sometimes very high, and the shivering often endures for many hours. It is succeeded by considerable heat and a violent headache, which yet is sometimes attended with a drowsiness. The fever is commonly pretty high in the evening, and by the morning perhaps there is none at all.

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§[74]. It has never happened, within my knowledge, that this sort of the disease, prudently treated, has terminated either in a mortification or a scirrhus. But I have been a witness to either of these supervening when sweating was extorted in the beginning of it by hot medicines.

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§[75]. The treatment of the quinsy, as well as of all other inflammatory diseases, is the same with that of an inflammation of the breast.^h

5 The sick is immediately to be put upon a regimen, and (in that sort described [in] §[71]) bleeding must be repeated four or five times within a few hours, and sometimes there is a necessity to recur still oftener to it. When it assaults the patient in the most vehement degree, all medicines are generally ineffectual. They should be tried however. We should give as much as can be taken of the
10 drinks No. 2 and [No.] 4. But as the quantity they are able to swallow is often very inconsiderable, the clyster No. 5 should be repeated every three hours, and their legs should be put into a bath of warm water thrice a day.

15 §[76]. Cupping glasses, with scarification,²⁶ applied about the neck, after bleeding twice or thrice, have often been experienced to be highly useful. In the most desperate cases, when the neck is excessively swelled, one or two deep incisions made with a razor on this external tumour have sometimes saved a patient's life.

20 §[77]. In that kind described [in] §[73] we must have very frequent recourse to bleeding, and it should never be omitted when the pulse is hard and full. It is of the utmost consequence to do it instantly, since it is the only means to prevent the abscess, which forms very readily if bleeding has been neglected only for a few hours. Sometimes it is necessary to repeat it a second time, but very
25 rarely a third.

This disease is frequently so gentle and mild as to be cured without bleeding, by good management, especially if the patient drinks plentifully of the ptisan No. 2.

30 Besides the general remedies against inflammations, a few particular ones calculated only for this disease may be applied in each kind of it. The best are

1.²⁷ The emollient poultices (No. 9) laid over the whole neck.ⁱ

^h And accordingly it is almost always cured in ten hours, by a poultice of boiled nettles [JW].

ⁱ The English avail themselves considerably in this disease of a mixture composed of equal parts of salad oil and the spirit of sal ammoniac, or of oil and spirit of hartshorn as a liniment and application round the neck. This remedy deserves, perhaps, the first place amongst local applications against the inflammatory quinsy [Rast (see *Advice*, 125)].

²⁶ Scarification is a practice of making several small incisions, from which the cupping glasses help draw out liquid.

²⁷ Orig., 'First'.

2. Of the gargarisms (No. 19) a great variety may be prepared of equal efficacy. Those I direct here are what have succeeded best with me, and they are very simple.[†]

3. The steam of hot water should be repeated five or six times a day. A poultice should be constantly kept on, and often renewed. 5
And the patient should frequently gargle.

There are some persons who cannot gargle themselves, and the pain occasioned by it makes it more difficult. In such a case, instead of gargling, the same gargarism (No. 19) may be injected with a small syringe. The injection reaches further than gargling, and 10
often causes the patient to hawk up a considerable quantity of glary matter to his sensible relief. This injection should be often repeated. The patient should breathe out, rather than inspire, during the injection.

§[78]. Whenever the disease terminates without suppuration the 15
fever, the headache, the heat in the throat, and the pain in swallowing begin to abate from the fourth day; sometimes from the third, often only from the fifth; and from such period that abatement increases, so that on the sixth, seventh, or eighth, the patient is entirely well. 20

§[79]. If the inflammation does not disperse, so that an abscess is forming, then the symptoms attending the fever continue, though raging a little less after the fourth day. The throat continues red. A pain also continues, though less acute. The pulse commonly grows 25
a little softer. And on the fifth or sixth day, and sometimes sooner, the abscess is ready to break. This may be discovered by the appearance of a small white and soft tumour when the mouth is open, which commonly appears about the middle of the inflammation. It bursts of itself; or, should it not, it must be opened. The patient 30
should gargle himself after the discharge of it with the cleaning gargarism No. 19.

§[80]. Frequently the matter is not collected exactly in the place where the inflammation appeared, but in some less visible place. Whence a facility of swallowing is restored, the fever abates, the 35
patient sleeps, and imagines he is cured. But the following signs may enable him to discover that there is an abscess: a certain inquietude and general uneasiness, a pain throughout the mouth, some

[†]Dr. Pringle [John Pringle (1707–82)] is apprehensive of some ill effects from acids in gargarisms (which is probably from their supposed repelling property) and prefers a decoction of figs in milk and water, to which he adds a small quantity of spirit of sal ammoniac [Rast (see *Advice*, 126)].

shiverings from time to time, frequently sharp but short and transient heat, a sensation of thickness and heaviness in the tongue, small white eruptions on the gums, on the inside of the cheek, on the inside and outside of the lips, and disagreeable taste and odour.

5 §[81]. In such cases milk or warm water should frequently be retained in the mouth, the vapour of hot water should be conveyed into it, and cataplasms applied about the neck. All these concur to the softening and breaking of the abscess. The finger may also be introduced to feel for its situation, and when discovered the surgeon may easily open it. I happened once to break one under my
10 finger without making the least effort to do it. Warm water may be injected pretty forcibly, either by the mouth or the nostrils. This sometimes occasions a kind of cough which breaks it. I have seen this happen even from laughing.

15 §[82]. Disorders of the throat are, with respect to particular persons, an habitual disease, returning every year or oftener. They may be prevented by the same means which I have directed for the preservation from habitual pleurisies [in] §[69], and by defending the head and the neck from the cold—especially after being heated by
20 any violent exercise, or even by singing long and loud, which may be considered as an extraordinary exercise of some of the parts affected in this disease.

Chapter VII

25

Of Colds

§[83]. There are many prejudices with regard to colds, which may be attended with pernicious consequences. The first is that a cold is
30 never dangerous, an error which destroys the lives of many. '*Colds destroy more than plagues*' was the answer of an experienced physician to one of his friends who, being asked how he was, replied, 'Very well, I have nothing but a cold.'

A second prejudice is that colds require no medicines, and last
35 longer for being nursed. Colds, like other disorders, have their proper remedies, and are removed with more or less facility as they are conducted better or worse.

§[84]. A third mistake is that they are not only not dangerous, but even wholesome too. Not so. A cold constantly produces some disorder in the functions of some part of the body, and thus becomes
40 the cause of a disease. It is indeed a real disorder itself, and when violent makes a very perceivable assault upon our whole machine.

Colds, with their defluxions, considerably weaken the breast, and sooner or later considerably impair the health. Persons subject to frequent colds are never strong. They often sink into languid disorders. And a frequent aptitude to take cold is a proof that their perspiration may be easily checked, whence the lungs become oppressed and obstructed, which must always be attended with danger. 5

A cold in truth is almost constantly an inflammatory disease, a light inflammation of the lungs, of the throat, or of the membrane which lines the nostrils and the inside of certain cavities in the bones of the cheeks and forehead. These cavities communicate with the nose in such a manner that, when one part of this membrane is affected with an inflammation, it is easily communicated to the other parts. 10

§[85]. Colds are of no certain continuance. Those of the head generally last but a few days; of the breast, longer. Some terminate in four or five days. If they extend beyond this term they prove hurtful: 1) because the violence of the cough disorders the whole machine, particularly by forcing up the blood to the head; 2) by depriving the person afflicted of his usual sleep; 3) by impairing the appetite and confusing the digestion; 4) by weakening the lungs through the continual coughing, whence all the humours being gradually determined towards them, as the weakest part, a continual cough subsists. Hence also they become overcharged with humours, which grow viscid there. The respiration is overloaded, a slow fever appears, nutrition almost ceases, the patient becomes weak, sinks into a wasting, and often dies in a short time. 15 20 25

§[86]. Wherefore, since a cold is a disease of the same kind with quinsies and inflammations of the breast, it ought to be treated in the same manner. The drinks No. 1, [No.] 2, [No.] 3, [and No.] 4 should be very plentifully used. It is advantageous to bathe the feet in warm water every night at going to bed.^k In a word, if the patient is put into a regimen, the cure is very speedily effected. 30

§[87]. The disorder, indeed, is often so slight that it may be easily cured without any physic—by abstaining from flesh, broth, and wine; from all food that is sharp, fat, and heavy; and by dieting upon bread, pulse [i.e., legumes], fruit, and water. Particularly by eating little or no supper, and drinking, if thirsty, a simple ptisan of barley with the addition of a third or fourth part of milk. Bathing the feet, and the powder No. 20, contribute to dispose the patient to sleep. 35 40

^k It frequently happens, that the bathings alone remove the headache, and the cough too [Rast (see *Advice*, 143)].

§[88]. In colds of the head the steam of warm water alone, or that in which elder-flowers or some other mild aromatic herbs have been boiled, commonly afford a speedy relief. These are also serviceable in colds fallen on the breast.

5 It has been a practice, though of no very long standing, to give the fat of a whale in these cases. But this is a very crude indigestible kind of fat, and such oily medicines seldom agree with colds. Besides, this is very disagreeable and rancid, so that it were better to forbear using it. I have sometimes seen ill effects from it, and rarely
10 any good ones.

§[89]. Such persons as abate nothing of the usual quantity of their food when seized with a cold, and who swallow large quantities of hot water, ruin their health. Their digestion ceases. The cough begins to affect the stomach, without ceasing to afflict the breast.

15 Drams agree so little with colds that frequently a very small quantity of them revives a cold that was just expiring. There are some persons who never drink them without taking cold, which is not to be wondered at, as they occasion a light inflammation in the breast, which is equivalent to a cold or distillation.

20 Nevertheless, people in this disorder should not expose themselves to violent cold weather. Though they should equally guard against excessive heat. Those who enclose themselves in very hot rooms never get quite cured. And how is it possible they should? Such rooms, abstracted from the danger of coming out of them,
25 produce colds in the same manner that drams do, by producing a light inflammation in the breast.

§[90]. Persons subject to frequent colds imagine they ought to keep themselves very hot. This is an error which thoroughly destroys their health. Such a disposition to take cold arises from
30 two causes, either because their perspiration is easily impaired or from the weakness of the stomach or the lungs. When the complaint arises from the perspiration's being easily lessened, the hotter they keep themselves, they increase their complaint the more. This warm air weakens the whole machine, and more particularly
35 the lungs, where the humours, finding less resistance, are continually derived and are accumulated there. The skin, being constantly bathed in a small sweat, becomes relaxed, soft, and incapable of completing its functions. From which failure the slightest cause produces a total obstruction of perspiration, and a multitude of
40 languid disorders.

The patients redouble their precautions against the cold, or even the coolness of the air, while their cautions are so many effectual

means to weaken their health—and the more certainly as their dread of the free air subjects them to a sedentary life, which increases all their symptoms, while the hot drinks they indulge in complete their severity. There is but one method to cure people thus situated; that is, by accustoming them gradually to the air, to keep them out of hot chambers, to lessen their clothing by degrees, to make them sleep cool, and to let them eat or drink nothing but what is cold. To make them use much exercise, and finally, if the disorder be inveterate, to make them use the cold bath. This method succeeds equally too with those in whom the disease originally depended on a weakness of the stomach or of the lungs. And in fact, at the end of a certain period, these three causes are always combined.

Chapter VIII

Of the Diseases of the Teeth

§[91]. The diseases of the teeth depend on three principal causes: 1) on a 'caries' or rottenness of the teeth; 2) on an inflammation of the nerves of the teeth or of the membrane which covers them, and which affects the membrane of the gums; 3) a cold humour that falls on the teeth, and their nerves and membrane.

In the first of these cases, the caries having eat[en] down to and exposed the naked nerve. The air, food, and drink irritate it, and this irritation is attended with pain.

Here a little oil of cloves may be applied, by introducing a small pellet of cotton dipped in it to the rotten hollow tooth, which often affords considerable ease. Some make use of a tincture of opium, or laudanum, after the same manner; and indeed these two medicines may be used together in equal quantities. A gargarism made of sil-verweed or wild tansy in water frequently appeases the pain, and in such case many people have found themselves at ease under a constant use of it. It certainly is an application that cannot hurt, and is even beneficial to the gums. Others have been relieved by rubbing their cheek with honey.

§[92]. The second cause is the inflammation of the nerve within the substance, or of the membrane on the outside of the tooth. They who are young, sanguine, who heat themselves much (whether by labour, by their food, their drink, by sitting up late, or by any other excess) [and] they who have been accustomed to any eruptions of blood, whether natural or artificial, and cease to have them as usual, are much exposed to the toothache from this cause.

This pain commonly happens very suddenly. The pulse is strong and full, the countenance considerably red, the mouth extremely hot. There is often a pretty high fever and a violent headache. The gums, or some part of them, become inflamed, swelled, and sometimes an abscess appears. At other times the humours throw themselves upon the more external parts, the cheek swells and the pain abates.

§[93]. In this species of the disease we must have recourse to the general method of treating inflammatory disorders and direct bleeding, which often produces immediate ease if performed early. After bleeding, the patient should gargle with barley water, or milk and water, and apply an emollient cataplasm to the cheek. If a little imposthume appears, the ripening of it is to be promoted by holding continually in the mouth some hot milk or figs boiled in milk. And as soon as ever it seems ripe it should be opened, which may be done easily and without any pain. Otherwise he should bathe his feet in warm water for some evenings successively, taking one dose of the powder No. 20. Entire abstinence from wine and flesh, especially at night, has cured several persons of inveterate maladies of the teeth.

In this species of toothache all hot remedies are pernicious, and are so far from producing the relief expected that they aggravate the pain.

§[94]. When the disease arises from a cold humour, it is commonly attended with less violent symptoms. The pulse is neither strong, full, nor quick. The mouth is less heated and less swelled. In such cases the afflicted should be purged with the powder No. 21, which has sometimes perfectly cured very obstinate complaints. After purging they should make use of the diet drink No. 22. This has cured toothaches which have baffled other attempts for many years. But it must be added, this drink would be hurtful in the disease from a different cause.

§[95]. As this last cause is often the consequence of a weakness in the stomach, here is a necessity that such persons should make use of such medicines as are proper to strengthen the stomach. The powder No. 14 has often produced the best consequences when I have ordered it in these cases. And it never fails to dissipate the toothache very speedily which returns periodically at stated days and hours. I have also cured some persons who never drank wine, by advising them to the use of it.

§[96]. But besides the diseases of the teeth that are owing to these causes, there are some that are occasioned by a sharpness of the blood, and which are never cured by any other medicines but such as correct that acrimony. When it is of a scorbutic nature, the wild

horse-radish, pepperwort, watercresses, brooklime, sorrel, and wood sorrel cure it.

The rheumatism and the gout are sometimes transferred to the teeth, and give rise to the most excruciating pains, which must be treated like the diseases from which they arise.

§[97]. From what has been said, the reader will discern why an application that relieves one person in it affords not the least relief to another. The diseases of the teeth, as well as other diseases, arise from different causes; and if these causes are not opposed by medicines suited to them, the disease, far from being cured, is aggravated.

I have cured violent toothaches of the lower jaw by applying a plaster of meal, the white of an egg, brandy, and mastic at the corner of that jaw, over the spot where the pulsation of the artery may be perceived. And I have also mitigated the most excruciating pains of the head by applying the same plaster upon the temporal artery.

Chapter IX

Of the Apoplexy

§[98]. An 'apoplexy' is a sudden loss of all sense, and of all voluntary motion; the pulse at the same time being kept up, but respiration being oppressed.

This disease is distinguished into two kinds: the sanguineous and the serous apoplexy. Each of them results from an overfullness of the blood vessels of the brain, which presses upon the nerves. The difference consists in this: that the *sanguineous* apoplexy prevails among strong robust person, who have a rich and inflammable blood, and that in a large quantity; the *serous* apoplexy invades persons of a less robust constitution, whose blood is more dilute or watery, and whose vessels are in a more relaxed state.

§[99]. When the first kind of this disease exists in its most violent degree, it kills instantaneously. When the assault is less violent, and we find the patient with a strong, full pulse, his visage red and bloated, and his neck swelled up, with an oppressed and loud hoarse respiration, being sensible of nothing, and capable of no other motions except some effort to vomit, the case is not equally desperate. We must therefore immediately,

1. Entirely uncover the patient's head, covering the rest of his body but very lightly. Procure him instantly very fresh free air, and leave his neck quite unbound and open.

2. His head should be placed as high as may be, with his feet hanging down.

3. He must lose from twelve to sixteen ounces of blood, from a free open orifice in the arm. The strength or violence with which the blood flows out should determine the surgeon to take a few ounces more or less. It should be repeated to the third or fourth time, within the space of three or four hours, if the symptoms require it, either in the arm or in the foot.

4. A clyster should be given of a decoction of the first opening herbs than can be got, with four spoonfuls of oil, one spoonful of salt. And this should be repeated every three hours.

5. If it is possible, he should force himself to swallow water plentifully, in three pints of which three drams of nitre are dissolved.

6. As soon as the violence of the pulse abates, when his breathing becomes less difficult and his countenance less inflamed, he should take the decoction No. 23; or, if it cannot be got in time, three quarters of an ounce of cream of tartar, and drink whey plentifully after it. This medicine succeeded extremely well with me in a case where I could not readily procure the other.

7. He should abstain from all strong liquor, wine, distilled spirits, whether inwardly or by outward application, and should even avoid smelling them.

8. He should not be stirred, or even touched as little as possible. Everything must be avoided that creates the least agitation. This advice, I am sensible, is directed opposite to the common practice; notwithstanding which, it is founded on reason and approved by experience. In fact, the whole evil results from the blood being forced up in too great a quantity to the brain. Now strong liquors, wines, spirits, volatile salts, all agitation and frictions, increase the embarrassment of the brain. Whereas, everything that calms the circulation contributes to relieve it.

9. Strong ligature should be made about the thighs under the ham. By this means the blood is prevented in its ascent from the legs, and less is carried up to the head.

§[100]. When nature and art effect his recovery, his senses return; though there frequently remains a little delirium for some time, and frequently a paralytic defect, more or less, of the tongue, the arm, the leg, and the muscles of the same side of the face. This palsy sometimes goes off gradually by the help of cooling purgatives and light diet. All hot medicines are extremely hurtful in this case, and may open the way to a repeated attack. A vomit might be even fatal, and has been more than once so.

§[101]. The other species of apoplexy is attended with the like symptoms, excepting the pulse not being so high or strong. The countenance is also less red, sometimes even pale. The breathing less oppressed, and sometimes the sick have a facility to vomit.

As this kind of the disorder attacks persons who abound less in blood, bleeding is not often necessary. The repetition of it scarcely ever so. And should the pulse have but a small fulness, and not the least unnatural hardness, it might even be pernicious.

1. The patient however should be placed as was directed in the former section.

2. He should receive a clyster, but without oil, with double the quantity of salt, and a bit of soap of the size of a small egg. It may be repeated twice a day.

3. He should be purged with the powder No. [21²⁸].¹

4. His common drink may be a strong infusion of leaves of balm.

5. The purge should be repeated the third day.

6. Blisters should immediately be applied to the fleshy part of the legs, or between the shoulder blades.

7. Should nature seem disposed to relieve herself by sweatings, it should be encouraged; and I have often known an infusion of the *carduus benedictus* produce this effect very successfully. If this method be entered upon, the sweat ought to be kept up (without stirring if possible) for many days. It has then sometimes happened that at the end of nine days the patient has been totally freed from the palsy which commonly succeeds this species of the apoplexy.

§[102]. Persons who have been attacked with either kinds of this disorder are liable to subsequent ones, each of which is more dangerous than that preceding. Whence an endeavour to prevent such relapses becomes of the utmost importance. This is to be effected by

¹Vomits, which are so pernicious in the sanguineous apoplexy, where the patient's countenance and eyes are inflamed; and which are also dangerous or useless when a person has been moderate in his meals, or is weak; are nevertheless very proper for gross feeders, more especially if such a one has a little while before indulged himself excessively. And vomits are the true specific for apoplexies occasioned by any stupifying poisons. In these last two cases, a double dose of tartar emetic should be dissolved in a cup of water, of which the patient should immediately take a large spoonful; which should be repeated every quarter of an hour, till it operates [Rast (see *Advice*, 163)].

²⁸Orig., 'No. 4'. This mistake was drawn to JW's attention by John Valton, and Wesley replied in a letter of Feb. 9, 1775 (apparently without consulting the original text) that the intended number was '34'. We have instead restored the number in Tissot's original.

a very exact diet, diminishing the usual quantity of food; the most essential precaution to be observed by any who have been once assaulted with it being entirely to leave off suppers. Indeed those who have been once attacked with the sanguineous apoplexies should
5 be still more exact than the others. They should deny themselves whatever is rich and juicy, hot or aromatic, wine, distilled liquors and coffee. They should chiefly confine themselves to garden stuff, fruits, and acids. Should eat but little flesh, and only those called white, taking every week two or three doses of powder No. 24 in a
10 morning fasting, in a glass of water. They should be purged twice or thrice a year with the draught No. 23. Use daily exercise. Avoid hot rooms and the violent heat of the sun. They should go to bed betimes, rise early, never lie in bed above seven or eight hours. And if it is observed that their blood increases considerably, and has a
15 tendency towards the head, they should be bled without hesitation, and for some time confine themselves entirely to a thin and low regimen. In these circumstances warm bathings are pernicious. In the other, the serous apoplexy, instead of purging with No. 23, the patient should take the purge No. 21.

20 §[103]. The same means that are proper to prevent a relapse might keep off a first assault, if employed in time. For notwithstanding it may happen suddenly, yet this disease foreshows itself many weeks, sometimes months, nay even years beforehand—by
25 vertigoes, heaviness of the head, small defects of the tongue or speech, momentary palsies (sometimes of one, sometimes of another part), sometimes by loathings and retchings to vomit without any obstruction in the first passages or any other cause in the stomach. There happens also some particular change in the looks not easy to
30 be described, sharp and quick pains about the region of the heart, an abatement of the strength without any discernible cause.

Some persons are liable to certain symptoms which arise from the same cause as an apoplexy, and which indeed may be considered as light apoplexies, of which they sustain many attacks, yet without
35 any considerable annoyance. The blood, all at once as it were, rushes up to their heads. They appear heedless or blundering, and have sometimes disgusts and nauseas, and yet without any abatement of their senses or motion of any kind. Tranquillity of mind and body, once bleeding, and a few clysters usually carry this off soon after its
40 invasion. The returns of it may be prevented by the above regimen, and especially by a frequent use of the powder No. 24. Otherwise one of these commonly degenerates into a mortal apoplexy.

Chapter X

Of the Violent Influence, or Strokes, of the Sun

§[104]. If we consider that wood, stone, and metals, when long exposed to the sun, become so hot that they can scarcely be touched without a sensation of burning, we may easily conceive the danger a person undergoes in having his head exposed to the same degree of heat. The blood vessels grow dry, the blood itself thickened, and a real inflammation is formed. The signs of it are violent headache, attended with a very hot and dry skin. The eyes are dry and red, being neither able to remain open nor yet to bear the light, and sometimes there is a kind of involuntary motion in the eyelid, while some degree of relief is perceivable from the application of any cooling liquor. Some cannot possibly sleep; yet at other times they have a great drowsiness, but attended with violent awakenings. There is a very strong fever, a great faintness, and a total disrelish and loathing.

§[105]. People may be affected thus either in the spring or during the raging heats. Country people are little liable to the former. They chiefly affect the inhabitants of cities, and delicate persons, who have used little labour in the winter and abound with superfluous humours. If, thus circumstanced, they expose themselves to the sun, even in the spring, it acts upon their head like a blister, attracting a great quantity of humours to it. This produces tormenting pains of the head, frequently attended with quick and violent shootings, and with pains in the eyes. Notwithstanding, this degree of the malady is seldom dangerous. The summer strokes are much more troublesome to labourers and travellers, who are long exposed to them. Then it is that those who are thus struck often die upon the spot. In the hot climates this cause destroys many in the very streets, and makes dreadful havoc among armies on the march. After having marched a whole day in the sun, a man shall fall into a lethargy and die within some hours, with the symptoms of raving madness. I have seen a tiler, in a very hot day, complaining to his comrade of a violent pain in his head, and at the instant he proposed to retire out of the sun he sunk down dead. This same cause produced often some most dangerous frenzies.

§[106]. The vehemence of the sun is still more dangerous to those who venture to sleep exposed to it. Two mowers who fell asleep on a haycock, being wakened by some others, immediately staggered and, pronouncing a few incoherent words, died. When the violence

of wine and that of the sun are combined, they kill very suddenly. And those who escape death are subject for the remainder of their live to chronical headaches. It has also been known that some persons have been struck into a delirium without a fever, and without
 5 complaining of a headache. Sometimes a *gutta serena*²⁹ has been the consequence.

§[107]. In very young children, who never should be exposed long to excessive heat, this malady discovers itself by a deep drowsiness, which lasts for several days; also by ravings mingled with rage
 10 and terror, much the same as when they are affected with violent fear; and sometimes by convulsive twitchings, by headaches which return at certain periods, and continual vomitings.

§[108]. Old men who often expose themselves to the sun are little apprized of the danger. This custom (in hot weather) certainly
 15 disposes to an apoplexy, and to disorders of the head. One of the slightest effects of much solar heat upon the head is to cause a defluxion from the brain, a swelling of the glands of the neck, and a dryness of the eyes, which sometimes continues for a considerable term.

20 §[109]. The effect of too much common fire is of the same quality with that of the sun. A man who fell asleep with his head directly opposite to the fire went off in an apoplexy during his nap.

§[110]. The action of too violent a sun is not only pernicious to the head but to other parts. And those who continue long exposed
 25 to it, though their heads should not be affected, often experience a disagreeable sensation of heat and a considerable stiffness in the parts that have been parched by it—as in the legs, the knees, the thighs, reins and arms; and sometimes they prove feverish.

30 §[111]. It is necessary to set about the cure of this disorder as soon as may be, for such as might have been easily preserved by an early application are considerably endangered by a neglect of it. The method of treating this is very much the same with that of inflammatory diseases—that is, by cooling medicines of various kinds. And:

35 1. If the disease be very high and urgent, a large quantity of blood should be taken away. Lewis XIV was bled nine times to prevent the fatality of a stroke of the sun which he received in hunting in 1658.

2. After bleeding, the patient's legs should be plunged into warm water. This affords the most speedy relief. When the disorder is
 40 highly dangerous, it will be necessary to treat the patient with warm

²⁹ I.e., blindness.

baths in which he may sit up to the hips, and in the most dangerous degrees of it even to bathe the whole body. But the water should be only sensibly warm. The use of hot would be highly pernicious.

3. The patient should drink plentifully of lemonade, which is a mixture of the juice of lemons and water (and is the best drink in this disorder), of water and vinegar (which is a very good substitute for lemonade), or of very clear whey with the addition of a little vinegar. These various drinks may all be taken cold. Linen cloths dipped in cold water may be applied to the forehead, the temples, or all over the head.

Cold baths have sometimes recovered persons out of violent symptoms from this cause. An officer who had rode post for several days successively in very hot weather swooned away immediately on his dismounting, from which he could not be recovered by the ordinary assistance used in such cases. He was saved by being plunged into a bath of freezing water. It should be observed, however, that in these cases the cold bath should never be recurred to without previous bleeding.

§[112]. It is past doubt that if a person stands still in the heat of the sun he is more liable to be struck with it than if he walks about, and the use of white hats, or some folds of clean white paper under a black one, may contribute to prevent any injury from it.

Chapter XI

Of the Rheumatism

§[113]. The rheumatism may exist either with or without a fever. The first [is] preceded by a shivering, a subsequent heat, hard pulse, and a headache. Sometimes indeed an extraordinary coldness, with general uneasiness, exists several days before the fever is perceived. On the second or third day, and sometimes on the first, the patient is seized with a violent pain in some part of his body, but especially about the joints, which prevents their motion, and is often accompanied with heat, redness, and swelling. The knee is often the first part attacked, and sometimes both knees at once. When the pain is fixed, an abatement of the fever frequently happens. Though in some it continues several days, and increases every evening. The pain diminishes in one part after a duration of some days, and then invades some other. Sometimes one part is quite free from pain, when another is attacked. At other times many parts are seized nearly at the same instant. And I have sometimes seen

every joint afflicted at once. In this case the patient is in a terrible situation, being incapable of any motion, and even dreading the assistance of his attendants, as he can scarcely admit of touching. The parts in which the pains are the most tormenting and obstinate are
 5 the region of the loins, the hips, and the nape of the neck.

§[114]. This disease is often extended over the scalp and the surface of the head, and there the pains are excessive. I have seen them affect the eyelids and the teeth, with inexpressible torment. As long as the distemper is situated in the external parts, the patient is in no
 10 great danger, if he be properly treated. But if the disease be repelled upon an internal part, his case is extremely dangerous. If the brain is attacked, a raging delirium is the consequence. If it falls upon the lungs, the patient is suffocated. And if it attacks the stomach or bowels, it is attended with the most astonishing pains, caused by the
 15 inflammation, which if violent is speedily fatal.

§[115]. An obstructed perspiration and an inflammatory thickness of the blood constitute the general cause of rheumatism. This last cause is that we must immediately encounter, since as long as that subsists perspiration cannot be perfectly reestablished.

20 As soon as it is sufficiently manifest, twelve ounces of blood should be taken from the arm. The patient is to enter upon a regimen, and drink plentifully of the ptisan No. 2, and of very clear whey sweetened with a little honey. I have known a very severe rheumatism cured, after twice bleeding, without any other food or
 25 medicine, for a space of thirteen days.^m

§[116]. If the distemper is not considerably assuaged by the first bleeding, it should be repeated some hours after. I have ordered it four times within the first two days, and some days after I had even
 30 directed a fifth bleeding. But in general the hardness of the pulse becomes less after the second. And notwithstanding the pains may continue, yet the patient is sensible of less inquietude. If the patient dislikes a clyster, his drinks should be made as opening as possible, and a dose of the cream of tartar (No. 24) should be given night and
 35 morning. This very medicine, with the assistance of whey, cured two persons I advised it to of rheumatic pains of which they had been infested with frequent returns for many years.

Apples coddled, prunes stewed, and well-ripened summer fruits are the properest nourishment in this disorder.

^mI have known it cured by living on whey, without any bleeding at all [JW; found only in *Works* edition].

We may save the sick a great deal of pain by putting one strong towel always under their back, and another under their thighs, in order to move them the more easily. When their hands are without pain, a third towel hung upon a cord, which is fastened across the bed, will assist them in moving themselves.

5

§[117]. When the fever entirely disappears, and the hardness of the pulse is removed, I have ordered the purge No. 23 with good effect, and if it is attended with five or six motions the patient is sensibly relieved. The day but one after it may be repeated, and a third time after an interval of two or three weeks.

10

§[118]. When the pains are extremely violent, they admit of no application. Vapour baths, however, may be employed, and provided they are often used, and for a considerable time, they prove very efficacious. The purpose of these baths is to convey the steam of boiling water to the parts affected, which may always be effected by a variety of easy contrivances, the choice of which must depend on the different circumstances and situation of the sick.

15

Whenever it is possible, some of the emollient applications (No. 9) should be continually employed. A bath of warm water, in which the patient should remain an hour, after sufficient bleedings, affords the greatest relief. I have seen a patient under the most acute pains of the loins, of the hips, and of one knee, put into one. He continued still under extreme torment in the bath, and on being taken out of it. But an hour after he had been put to bed he sweated, to an incredible quantity, for thirty-six hours, and was cured. But the bath should not be made use of until after repeated bleedings, or other equivalent evacuations.

20

25

The pains are generally most severe in the night, whence it has been usual to give composing medicines. But opiates augment the cause of the disease, and destroy the efficacy of the proper remedies.

30

§[119]. The rheumatism goes off either by stool, by turbid thick urine which drops a yellow sediment, or by sweats. And it generally happens that this last discharge prevails towards the conclusion of the disease. It may be kept up by drinking an infusion of elder-flowers. At the beginning, sweating is pernicious.

35

It happens also, though seldom, that rheumatisms determine by depositing a sharp humour upon the legs, where it forms a kind of blisters, which burst open and form ulcers. But they heal naturally of themselves, by a regular diet, and a few gentle purges.

40

Sometimes again an abscess is formed either in the affected part or in some adjoining one.

Another crisis of the rheumatism has happened by a kind of itch, which breaks out on the parts adjacent to the seat of this distemper. Immediately after this eruption the pains vanish. But the pustules sometimes continue for several weeks.

5 §[120]. I have never observed the pains to last, with violence, above fourteen days; though there remains a weakness, numbness, and some inflation of the adjoining parts. And it will be many weeks, sometimes months (especially in the fall), before the sick
10 recover their strength. I have known some persons who, after a very painful rheumatism, have been troubled with a very disagreeable lassitude, which did not go off till after a great eruption, all over the body, of little blisters full of watery humour. Many of them burst, and others withered and dried up without bursting.

The return of strength into the parts affected may be promoted
15 by frictions night and morning with flannel, by using exercise, and by conforming exactly to the directions given in the chapter on recovery from acute diseases. The rheumatism may also be prevented by the means I have pointed out in treating of pleurisies and quinsies.

20 §[121]. Sometimes the rheumatism, with a fever, invades persons who are not abounding in blood, whose flesh and fibres are softer, and in whose humours there is more thinness and sharpness. Bleeding proves less necessary for these though the fever should be very strong. Some constitutions require more discharges by stool.
25 And after they are properly evacuated, blisters may be applied, unless where the pulse is hard. The powder No. 25 answers very well in these cases.

§[122]. There is another kind of rheumatism, called 'chronical'. It is known by the following marks: 1) It is commonly unattended
30 with a fever. 2) It continues a long time. 3) It seldom attacks many parts at once. 4) Frequently the affected part is either more hot, red, or swelled than in its healthy state; though sometimes it is. 5) The former attacks strong robust persons, this rather invades persons arrived at a certain period of life, or such as are weak and
35 languishing.

§[123]. The pain of the chronical rheumatism, when injudiciously treated, lasts sometimes many months, and even years. It is particularly obstinate when it falls on the head, the loins, or on the hip and
40 along the thighs (when it is called the 'sciatica'). There is no part, indeed, which this pain may not invade. Sometimes it fixes itself in a small spot, as in one corner of the head, the angle of the jaw, the extremity of a finger, in one knee, on one rib, or on the breast,

where it often excites pains which make the patient apprehensive of a cancer. It penetrates also to the internal parts. When it affects the lungs, a most obstinate cough is the consequence, which degenerates at length into very dangerous disorders. In the stomach and bowels it occasions violent pains like a colic. And in the bladder, symptoms so greatly resembling those of the stone that persons of experience have been more than once deceived by them. 5

§[124]. The treatment of this rheumatism varies considerably from that of the former. Nevertheless, 1)³⁰ If the pain is very acute, and the patient robust, a single bleeding is proper. 2) The humours ought to be diluted, and their sharpness diminished, by a plentiful use of a ptisan No. 26. 3) Four or five days after drinking abundantly of this, the purging powder No. 21 may be taken with success. 10

When general remedies have been used and the disorder still continues, recourse should be had to such medicines as restore perspiration, and these should be persisted in for a considerable time. The pills No. 18, with a strong infusion of elder-flowers, have succeeded in this respect. And after a long continuance of diluting drinks—if the stomach exerts its functions well, the patient is no ways costive, if he is not a dry habit of body, and the part affected remains without inflammation—the patient may safely take the powder No. [25³¹] at night going to bed, with a cup or two of an infusion of *carduus benedictus*, and a morsel of Venice treacle of the size of a hazelnut. This remedy brings on a very copious sweating, which often expels the disease.ⁿ These sweats may be rendered still more effectual by wrapping up the affected part in a flannel dipped in the decoction No. 27. 15 20 25

§[125]. But of all these pains, the sciatica is one of the most obstinate. Nevertheless I have seen the greatest success from the application of seven or eight cupping glasses on the tormented part; by which, without the assistance of any other remedy, I have cured in a few hours sciatica of many years standing. Green cerecloth, 30

ⁿ Gum Guaiacum, given from six to ten grains morning and evening, is often very successful in these cases. It may be made into pills or bolusses with the rob [i.e., syrup] of elder, or with the extract of juniper [Rast (see *Advice*, 189)].

³⁰ Orig., 'at first'.

³¹ Orig., '29'; This mistake was present in the first edition of Kirkpatrick's translation of Tissot. Kirkpatrick corrected it in his third edition, and we show the corrected number. Wesley's repetition of the error strongly suggests that he was not using the third edition.

commonly called oilcloth (whether the ingredients be spread on taffeta or on linen), being applied to the diseased part, disposes it to sweat abundantly and thus discharge the sharp humour which occasions the pain. Sometimes both of these applications, but
5 especially that spread on silk (which may be applied more exactly and closely to the part, and which is also spread with a different composition), raise a little vesication on the part. A plaster of quicklime and honey blended together has cured inveterate sciaticas.

§[126]. Cold baths are the best to keep off this disease, but they
10 cannot always be safely ventured on. Many circumstances render the use of them impracticable to particular persons. Such as are subject to this chronical rheumatism would do well to rub their whole bodies every morning, if they could, but especially the afflicted parts, with flannel. This keeps up perspiration beyond any
15 other assistance, and indeed sometimes increases it too much.

After a violent rheumatism people should long avoid cold and moist air.

§[127]. Rheumatic people have too frequent a recourse to hurtful
20 medicines, which daily produce very bad consequences. Such are spirituous medicines, brandy, and Arquebusade water. They either render the pain more obstinate, by hardening the skin, or repel the humour to some inward part. And instances are not wanting of persons who have died suddenly from the application of spirit of wine
25 upon the parts.

Sharp and greasy unctions are equally dangerous. A rottenness of the bones has ensued upon the use of a medicine called balsam of sulphur with turpentine. There are some rheumatic pains which admit of no application; almost every medicine aggravates them. In
30 such cases the afflicted must content themselves with keeping the parts affected from the impressions of the air, by a flannel.

§[128]. If the duration of the pains fixed in the same place should cause some degree of stiffness in the joint, it should be exposed twice a day to the vapour of warm water, and dried well afterwards
35 with hot linen. Then it should be well chaffed, and lastly touched over with ointment of marsh mallows.

§[129]. Very young children are sometimes subject to such violent pains that they cannot bear touching in any part without excessive crying. We must be careful to avoid mistaking these cases, and
40 not to treat them like rheumatisms. They sometimes are owing to worms, and go off when these have been discharged.

Chapter XII

*Of the Bite of a Mad Dog*³²

§[130]. When a person is bit by such a dog, the wound commonly heals up readily. But after a longer or shorter term, from three weeks to three months, commonly in about six weeks, the person bit begins to perceive in the spot that was bitten a dull pain. The scar swells, inflames, bursts open, and weeps out a sharp, fetid, and somewhat bloody humour. At the same time the patient becomes sad. He feels a kind of insensibility and general numbness, and almost incessant coldness, a difficulty of breathing, a continual anguish, and pains in his bowels. His pulse is weak and irregular, his sleep restless and confused with ravings and with terrible frights. His discharges by stool are often irregular, and small cold sweats appear at very short intervals. Sometimes there is also a slight pain in the throat. Such is the first degree of this distemper.

§[131]. In its second degree, the patient is afflicted with a violent thirst and a pain in drinking. Soon after this he avoids all drink, particularly water, and within some hours abhors it. This horror becomes so violent that the bringing of water near his lips, or into his sight, the very name of it, or of any other drink, the sight of objects which have any resemblance of water, afflicts him with extreme anguish. Yet he continues to swallow (though not without great difficulty) a little bread or meat, and sometimes a little soup. Some even get down the liquid medicines that are prescribed, provided there be no appearance of water in them. Their urine becomes thick and high coloured, and sometimes there is a suppression of it. The voice either grows hoarse or is almost entirely abolished. They are troubled with short deliriums, which are sometimes mixed with fury. It is at such times that they spit all around them, that they attempt also to bite. Their looks are fixed, as it were, and somewhat furious, and their visage frequently red. It is common for these miserable patients to be sensible of the approach of their raging fit, and to conjure the bystanders to be upon their guard. Many of them never have an inclination to bite. The increasing anguish and pain become inexpressible. They earnestly wish for death, and some of them have destroyed themselves.

§[132]. It is with the spittle, and the spittle only, that this dreadful poison unites itself. And it may be observed: 1) That if the wounds

³² I.e., a dog infected with rabies.

have been made through any of the patient's cloths, they are less dangerous than those afflicted on the naked skin. 2) That animals who abound in wool, or have thick hair, are often preserved from the mortal impression of the poison, because the cloths, the hair, or the wool have wiped or dried up the slaver of their teeth. 3) The bites inflicted by an infected animal very soon after he has bitten many others are less dangerous than the former bites, because their slaver is exhausted. 4) If the bite happens in the face, or in the neck, the danger is greater, and the operation of the venom is quicker too, by reason the spittle of the person so bit is sooner infected. 5) The higher the degree of the distemper is advanced, the bites become proportionably more dangerous. Hence it may be seen why, of many who have been bitten, some have been infected with this dreadful malady and others not.

§[133]. There is a necessity for destroying or expelling the poison itself, which mercury effects, and is consequently the counterpoison of it. That poison produces a general irritation of the nerves, this is to be removed by antispasmodics. So that in mercury, joined to antispasmodics, consists the whole cure of this malady. There have been many instances of persons cured by these medicines in whom this distemper had been manifest in its rage and violence. It is acknowledged, however, that they have proved ineffectual in a few cases. But what distemper is there which does not sometimes prove incurable?

§[134]. The very moment after receiving the bite, if it can be effected, the part affected should be cut away. The ancients directed it to be burnt with a red-hot iron, but this requires more resolution than every patient is endued with. The wound should be washed a considerable time with warm water, with a little sea salt dissolved in it. After this, into the lips and edges of the wound, and into the surface of the part all about it, should be rubbed a quarter of an ounce of the ointment No. 28. And the wound should be dressed twice daily, with the soft lenient ointment No. 29 (but that of No. 28 is to be used only once a day).

The quantity of nourishment should be less than usual, particularly of flesh. He should abstain from wine, spirituous liquors, all sorts of spices, and hot inflaming food. He should drink only barley water, or an infusion of the flower of the lime tree. He should be guarded against costiveness by a soft relaxing diet, and bathe his legs once a day in warm water. Every third day one dose of the medicine No. 30 should be taken—which is compounded of mercury, that counterworks the poison, and of musk, which prevents

the convulsive motions. I confess I have less dependence on the mercury given in this form, and think the rubbing in of its ointment considerably more efficacious, which I hope will always prevent the fatality of this dreadful disease.

§[135]. If the dread of water has already appeared, and the patient is strong and abounds with blood, he should: 5

1. Be bled to a considerable quantity, and this may be repeated twice, thrice, or even a fourth time, if circumstances require it.

2. The patient should be put, if possible into a warm bath, and this should be used twice daily. 10

3. He should every day receive two, or even three, of the emollient clysters No. 5.

4. The wound, and the parts adjoining to it, should be rubbed with the ointment No. 28 twice a day.

5. The whole limb which contains the wound should be rubbed with oil, and be wrapped up in an oily flannel. 15

6. Every three hours a dose of the powder No. 30 should be taken in a cup of the infusion of lime tree and elder-flowers.

7. The prescription No. 31 is to be given every night; and to be repeated in the morning, if the patient is not easy, washing it down with the same infusion. 20

8. If there be a great nauseousness at the stomach, with a bitterness in the mouth, give the powder No. 35, which brings up a copious discharge.

9. There is little occasion to say anything of the patient's food in such a situation. Should he ask for any, he may be allowed panada,³³ bread, soups made of mealy vegetables, or a little milk. 25

§[136]. By the use of these remedies the symptoms will lessen, and disappear by degrees. 30

It is certain that a boy in whom the raging symptom had appeared was perfectly cured by bathing all about the wounded part with salad oil in which some camphor and opium were dissolved. This, with the addition of repeated frictions of the ointment No. 28, brought on a very plentiful sweat, on which all the symptoms vanished. 35

§[137]. Dogs may be cured by rubbing in a triple quantity of the same ointment directed for men, and by giving them the bolus No. 33. But both these means should be used as soon as ever they are bit. 40

³³ *OED*: 'A dish consisting of bread boiled to a pulp in water, sometimes flavoured with sugar, currants, nutmeg, or other ingredients.'

As soon as ever dogs are bit they should be safely tied up, and not let loose again before the expiration of three or four months.

§[138³⁴]. A dangerous prejudice has prevailed with regard to the bites from dogs: That if a dog who had bit any person, without being mad at the time of his biting, should become mad afterwards, the person bitten would prove mad too at the same time. Such a notion is full as absurd as it would be to affirm that if two persons had slept in the same bed, and one of them should take the itch or the small pox ten or twelve years after, the other would be infected with it and at the same time too.

§[139]. It is necessary no longer to represent the horror of that cruel practice which prevailed not very long since of suffocating persons in the height of this disease. It is now prohibited in most countries.

Another cruelty of which we hope to see no repeated instance is that of abandoning those miserable patients to themselves—a most detestable custom even in those times when there was not the least hope of saving them, and still more criminal in our days when they may be recovered effectually. I again affirm that it is not often these afflicted patients are disposed to bite; and that even when they are, they are afraid of doing it, and request bystanders to keep out of their reach. So that no danger is incurred, or where there is any it may be avoided by a few precautions.

Chapter XIII

Of the Smallpox

§[140]. The smallpox is the most extensive of all diseases, since out of a hundred persons there are not more than two or three exempted from it. It is equally true that if it attacks almost every person, it attacks them but once; so that having escaped through it, they are always secure from it. It must be acknowledged at the same time to be one of the most destructive distempers. For if in some it proves to be of a gentle kind, in others it is almost fatal as the plague—it being demonstrated, by calculating the consequences of its most raging and its gentlest prevalence, that it kills one seventh part of the number it attacks.

§[141]. This malady often gives some intimation of its approach three or four days before the appearance of the fever by a little de-

³⁴The numbering '§141' was mistakenly used a second time. This reduces by one our adjustment being made to the numbering scheme.

jection, less vivacity than usual, a great propensity to sweat, less appetite, a slight alternation of the countenance, and a sort of pale livid colour about the eyes.

Short vicissitudes of heat or coldness succeed, and at length a considerable shivering of one, two, three, or four hours. This is succeeded by violent heat, accompanied with pains of the head, loins, vomiting, or at least a frequent propensity to vomit. 5

This state continues some hours, after which the fever abates a little in a sweat. The patient then finds himself better, but is nevertheless cast down, heavy, squeamish, with a headache and pain in the back, and a disposition to be drowsy. The last symptom indeed is not very common, except in children less than seven or eight years of age. 10

The abatement of the fever is of short duration. Some hours after, generally towards the evening, it returns with all its attendants, and terminates again by sweats, as before. 15

This state lasts three or four days, at the end of which, and seldom later, the first eruptions appear among the sweat, which terminates the paroxysm of the fever. I have generally observed the earliest eruption to appear in the face, next to that on the hands, on the forepart of the arms, on the neck, and on the upper part of the breast. As soon as this eruption appears, if the distemper is of a gentle kind, the fever almost entirely vanishes. The patient continues to sweat a little. The eruptions increase, others coming out on the back, the sides, the belly, the thighs, the legs, and the feet. Sometimes they are pushed out very plentifully, even to the soles of the feet, where, as they increase in size, they often excite very sharp pain by reason of the great thickness and hardness of the skin in these parts. 20 25

Frequently on the first and second day of eruption (speaking hitherto of the mild kind) there returns a gentle fever about the evening, which, about the termination of it, is attended with a considerable and final eruption. Though as often as the fever terminates perfectly after the earliest eruption, a small one is a pretty certain consequence. For though the eruption is moderate, the fever does not totally disappear, a small degree of it still remaining and heightening a little every evening. 30 35

These pustules, on their first appearance, are little red spots resembling a fleabite—but distinguishable by a small white point in the middle, a little raised above the rest, which gradually increases in size, with the redness extended about it. They become whiter, in proportion, as they grow larger. And generally upon the sixth 40

day, including that of their first eruption, they attain their utmost magnitude, and are full of pus or matter. Some of them grow to the size of a pea, and some a little larger; but this never happens to the greatest number of them. From this time they begin to look yellowish. They gradually become dry and fall off into brown scales in ten or eleven days from their first appearance. As their eruption occurred on different days, they also wither and fall off successively. The face is sometimes clear of them while pustules still are seen upon the legs, not fully ripe. And those in the soles of their feet frequently remain much longer.

§[142]. The skin is of course extended by the pustules, and after the appearance of a certain quantity, all the parts between the pustules are red and bright with a proportionable swelling of the skin. The face is the first part that appears bloated, from the pustules there first attaining their full size. The like happens also to the neck, and the eyes are often closed up. The swelling of the face abates in proportion to the drying up of the pustules, and then the hands are puffed up prodigiously. This happens successively to the legs, the swelling being the consequence of the pustules attaining their utmost size.

§[143]. Whenever there is a very considerable eruption, the fever is heightened at the time of suppuration, which is not to be wondered at. One boil excites a fever. How is it possible then but some hundreds, or thousands, of these little abscesses must? This fever is the most dangerous period, and occurs between the ninth and thirteenth days. At this season, then, the patient becomes very hot and thirsty. He is harassed with pain and finds it very difficult to discover a favourable easy posture. If the malady runs high, he has no sleep. He raves, becomes oppressed, is seized with drowsiness. And if he does not survive, he dies either suffocated or lethargic, and sometimes in a state compounded of both.

The pulse, during this fever of suppuration, is sometimes of an astonishing quickness. The most dangerous time is when the swellings of the face, head, and neck are in their highest degree. Whenever the swelling begins to fall, the scabs on the face to dry, and the skin to shrivel (as it were), the danger diminishes. When the pustules are very few, this second fever is so moderate that it requires some attention to discern it.

§[144]. Besides those symptoms, there are some others which require considerable attention. One of these is the soreness of the throat with which many persons in the smallpox are afflicted, as soon as the fever grows pretty strong. It continues for two or three

days, feels very troublesome in the action of swallowing, and sometimes entirely prevents swallowing. It begins, most frequently, before the eruption appears. If this complaint is in a light degree, it terminates upon the eruption. And whenever it revives in the course of the distemper, it is always in proportion to the degree of the fever. As often as it is of any considerable duration, it is attended with a discharge of a great quantity of spittle. When the eruption is confluent, and the patient adult, the discharge is surprising. This often incommodes him more than any other symptom of the distemper; and so much the more as, after its continuance for some days, the lips, the inside of the cheeks, the tongue, and the roof of the mouth are, as it were, flayed. Nevertheless, however painful this discharge may be, it is very necessary and salutary. 5 10

§[145]. Children, to the age of five to six years, are liable to convulsions before eruption. These however are not dangerous, if they are not accompanied with violent symptoms. But such convulsions as supervene—either when the eruption having already occurred, *strikes in*; or, during the course of the fever of suppuration—are more terrifying. 15

Involuntary discharges of blood from the nose often occur in the first stage of this distemper, which are extremely serviceable, and commonly lessen or carry off the headache. 20

§[146]. The smallpox is commonly distinguished into two kinds, the ‘confluent’ and the ‘distinct’. But the treatment of each of them is the same. We may expect a confluent and dangerous pock if, at the very time of the seizure, the patient is attacked with many violent symptoms. More especially if his eyes are extremely quick, lively, and even glistening, if he vomits almost continually, if the pain of his loins be very violent, and if he suffers great anguish and inquietude. If in infants there is great stupor or heaviness, if eruption appears on the third day, or even on the second, as the hastier eruptions in this disease signify the most dangerous kind of it. 25 30

§[147]. The disorder is sometimes so slight that the eruption appears with scarce any suspicion of the child’s having the least ailment. And the event is equally favourable. The pustules grow large, suppurate, and attain their maturity without confining the patient to bed, or lessening either his sleep or appetite. 35

But wine, Venice treacle, cordial confections, hot air, and loads of bedclothes annually sweep off thousands of children who might have recovered, if they had taken nothing but warm water. And every person who is interested in the recovery of patients in this distemper ought carefully to prevent the smallest use of such drugs, 40

which certainly increase the severity, and annex the most unhappy consequences to it.

§[148]. At the very beginning of the smallpox the patient is immediately to be put on the strict regimen, and to have his legs bathed morning and evening in warm water. This is the proper method to lessen the quantity in the face and head, and to facilitate it everywhere else. If he vomits, it is highly pernicious to stop it by any cordial confection or by Venice treacle; and still more dangerous to give a vomit or a purge, which are hurtful in the beginning of the smallpox.

If the fever be moderate, the bathing of the legs on the first day of sickening may suffice then. The patient must be restrained to his regimen, and need drink nothing but milk, diluted with two thirds of elder-flower or lime tree tea, or with balm tea, if there be no perceivable fever. Yea, or with good clear water.^o An apple, coddled or baked, may be added to it. And if they complain of hunger, a little bread may be allowed. But they must be denied any meat, or meat broth, eggs, and strong drink. In this early stage too, clear whey alone may serve them instead of every other drink, the good effects of which I have frequently been a witness to. Or buttermilk may be allowed. When the distemper is of a mild species, a perfect cure ensues without any other assistance. But we should not neglect to purge the patient as soon as the pustules are perfectly scabbed on the greater part of his face, with the prescription No. 11, which must be repeated six days after. He should not be allowed flesh till after this second purge. Though after the first he may be allowed some well boiled pulse [i.e., legumes], or garden stuff and bread, and in such a quantity as not to be pinched with hunger while he recovers from the disease.

§[149]. But if the fever should be strong, the pulse hard, and the pain of the head and loins should be violent, he must:

1. Immediately lose blood from the arm, receive a clyster two hours after, and if the fever continues the bleeding must be repeated. I have directed a repetition of it even to the fourth time, within the two first days, to young people under the age of 18. And it is more especially necessary in such as, with a hard and full pulse, are also affected with drowsiness and a delirium.

2. As long as the fever continues violent, two, three, or even four clysters should be given in the 24 hours; and the legs should be bathed twice.

^oThere have been instances of people who have recovered by draughts of cold water [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 221)].

3. The patient is to be taken out of bed and supported in a chair as long as he can tolerably bear it.

4. The air of his chamber should frequently be renewed. And if it be too hot, which it often is in summer, in order to refresh it and the patient the means must be employed which are directed in §29. 5

5. He is to be restrained to the ptisans No. 2 or [No.] 4. And if that does not sufficiently moderate the fever, he should take every hour, or every two hours, according to the urgency of the case, a spoonful of the mixture No. 10 mixed with a cup of ptisan. After the eruption, the fever being then abated, there is less occasion for medicine. And should it entirely disappear, the patient may be regulated as directed [in] §[148]. 10

When, after a remission or intermission of some days, the process of suppuration revives the fever, we ought particularly to keep the body very open. For this purpose: 15

[1.] An ounce of lenitive electuary should be added to the clysters, or they might be simply made of whey, with honey, oil, and salt. Give the patient three times every morning, at the interval of two hours between each, three glasses of the ptisan No. 32. Purge him after two days with the potion No. 23, but on that day he must not take the ptisan No. 32. 20

2. He must, if the distemper be very violent, take a double dose of mixture No. 10.

3. The patient should be taken out of bed, and kept up in a room well aired day and night, until the fever has abated. Many persons will be surprised at this advice. Nevertheless, it is that which I have often experienced to be the most efficacious, and without which the others are ineffectual. They will say, 'How shall the patient sleep at this rate?' To which it may be answered, sleep is not necessary in this state and stage of the disease. Besides, he is unable to sleep. The continual salivation prevents it, and it is very necessary to keep up the salivation, which is facilitated by often injecting warm water and honey into his throat. It is also of considerable service to throw some up his nostrils, and often thus to cleanse the scabs which form within them. A due regard to these circumstances contributes to lessen the patient's uneasiness, and very effectually to his cure. 25 30 35

4. If the face and neck are greatly swelled, emollient cataplasms are to be applied to the soles of the feet.

§[150]. The eyelids are swelled when the disease runs high, so as to conceal the eyes for several days. Nothing further should be attempted with respect to this but the frequent moistening of them 40

with a little warm milk and water. What chiefly conduces to prevent the inflammation of the eyes after the disease, and in general all its other bad consequences, is to be content for a considerable time with a very moderate quantity of food, and particularly to abstain
5 from flesh and wine. In the very bad smallpox, and little children, the eyes are closed up from the beginning of the eruption.

§[151]. One help which has not been made use of for a long time past, except as a means to preserve the smoothness of the face, but which has the greatest tendency to preserve life itself, is the open-
10 ing of the pustules, not only upon the face but all over the body. In the first place, by opening them the retention of pus is prevented, which prevents any erosion or eating down from it—whence scars, deep pits, and other deformities are obviated. Secondly, in giving a vent to the poison the retreat of it into the blood is cut off, which
15 removes a principal cause of the danger. Thirdly, the skin is relaxed. The tumour of the face and neck diminish in proportion to that relaxation, and thence the return of the blood from the brain is facilitated. The pustules should be opened everywhere, successively as they ripen. The precise time of doing it is when they are en-
20 tirely white, when they just begin to turn a very little yellowish, and when the red circle surrounding them is quite pale. They should be opened with very fine sharp pointed scissors. This does not give the patient the least pain. And when a certain number of them are opened, a sponge dipped in a little warm water is to be repeatedly
25 applied to suck up and remove the pus. But as the pustules, when emptied thus, soon fill again, a discharge of this fresh matter must be obtained in the same manner some hours after; and this must sometimes be repeated five or even six times successively. Such ex-
30 traordinary attention in this point may probably be considered as trivial, and is very unlikely to become a general practice. But I do again affirm it to be of much importance, and that as often as the fever attending suppuration is violent, a repeated opening, emptying, and absorbing of the ripened pustules is a remedy of the utmost efficacy.

35 §[152]. The patient should very carefully abstain from the use of Venice treacle, laudanum, 'diacodium' (that is syrup of white poppies, or even of the wild red poppy), syrup of amber, pills of storax—and, in one word, of every medicine which produces sleep. And their use should be entirely banished through the secondary
40 fever.

If the eruption should suddenly strike in, heating, soporific, spirituous, and volatile remedies should carefully be avoided. But the

patient may drink plentifully of the infusion No. 12, or rather of cold water.³⁵

§[153]. To prepare children for the smallpox the first step is an abatement of their usual food. Children commonly eat too much. Their limitation should be in proportion to their size and growth. But with regard to all, we may be allowed to make their supper very light and very small. 5

Their second advantage will consist in the choice of their food. It should be of the simplest kind, as vegetables and milk-meats. Their bread should be well baked, their pulse [i.e., legumes] dressed without bacon, and their fruits well ripened. These regulations may be sufficient. 10

The third article is to bathe their legs now and then in warm water before they go to bed. This promotes perspiration, cools [and] dilutes the blood, and allays the sharpness of it, as often as it is properly timed. 15

The fourth precaution is the frequent use of very clear whey. This agreeable remedy, which consists of the juices of herbs filtered through, and as it were sweetened by, the organs of a healthy animal, answers every visible indication. It imparts a flexibility to the vessels. It abates the thickness of the blood, which, being augmented by the action of the poisonous cause of the smallpox, would degenerate into a dangerous thickness. It removes all obstructions in the bowels. It also promotes stools, urine, and perspiration; and, in a word, communicates the most favourable disposition of the body not to be too violently agitated by the operation of an inflammatory poison. 20 25

I have already observed that it may also be used to great advantage during the course of the distemper. But I must also observe that, however salutary it is in the cases for which I have directed it, there are others in which it would be hurtful. It would be pernicious to weak, languishing, pale children, subject to vomitings, purgings, and to all diseases which prove their bowels to be weak and their humours to be sharp. Those to whom it is advised may take a few glasses every morning, and even drink it daily for their common drink. They may also sup it with bread for breakfast, for supper, and indeed at any time. 30 35

³⁵JW omits here a section in which Tissot commends inoculation for small pox (*Advice* §219, p. 230). But this was likely because, as Tissot admitted, this 'gracious dispensation of providence' was currently not available to most people. See below, §159.

Chapter XIV

Of the Measles

§[154]. In some constitutions the measles give notice of its approach by a small dry cough, without any other complaint; though more frequently by a general uneasiness, by successions of shivering and of heat, by a severe headache in grown persons, a heaviness in children, a considerable complaint of the throat, and by what particularly characterizes this distemper—an inflammation and a considerable heat in the eyes, attended with a swelling of the eyelids, with a defluxion of sharp tears, and so acute a sensation of the eyes that they cannot bear the light; by very frequent sneezings, and a dripping from the nose of the same humour that trickles from the eyes.

The heat and the fever increase with rapidity; with a cough, a stuffing, and continual retchings to vomit; with violent pains in the loins, and sometimes with a looseness. In other subjects sweating chiefly prevails. The tongue is foul and white, the thirst is often very high, and the symptoms are generally more violent than in the mild smallpox.

At length, on the fourth or fifth day, and sometimes about the end of the third, a sudden eruption appears, and in a very great quantity, especially about the face—which in a few hours is covered with spots, each of which resembles a fleabite. Many of them soon joining, form red streaks, larger or smaller, which inflame the skin and produce a very perceivable swelling of the face, whence the very eyes are sometimes closed. Each small spot is raised a little above the surface, especially in the face, where they are manifest both to the sight and the touch.

The eruption is afterwards extended to the breast, the back, the arms, the thighs, and legs. It generally spreads very plentifully over the breast and back, and sometimes red suffusions are found upon the breast before any eruption has appeared in the face.

The patient is often relieved, as in the smallpox, by plentiful discharges of blood from the nose, which carry off the complaints of the head, of the eyes, and of the throat.

When this distemper appears in its mildest character, almost every symptom abates after eruption. Though, in general, the change for the better is not as perceivable as it is in the smallpox. The retchings cease almost entirely, but the fever, the cough, the headache continue. And I have sometimes observed that a bilious vomiting, a

day or two after the eruption, proved a considerable relief to the patient. On the third or fourth day of the eruption the redness diminishes. The spots dry up and fall off in very little branny scales. The cuticle shrivels off, and is replaced by one succeeding beneath it. On the ninth day, when the progress of the malady has been speedy, and on the eleventh, when it has been very slow, no trace of the redness is to be found and the surface resumes its usual appearance. 5

§[155]. Notwithstanding, the patient is not safe except, during the course of the distemper or immediately after it, he has had some considerable evacuation—such as vomiting, or a bilious looseness, considerable discharges by urine, or very plentiful sweating. For when any of these evacuations supervene, the patient resumes his strength and perfectly recovers. It happens sometimes, even without any of these discharges, that insensible perspiration expels the relics of the distemper. Yet it occurs too often that this venom, not having been entirely expelled, is cast upon the lungs, where it produces a slight inflammation. In consequence the oppression, the cough [and] the fever return, and the patient's situation becomes very dangerous. This outrage is frequently less vehement, but it proves tedious and chronical, leaving a very obstinate cough behind it, with many resemblances of the whooping cough. 10 15 20

Though this be the frequent case when men are treated with a hot regimen, yet when proper care was taken to moderate the fever at the beginning, and to keep up the evacuations, such consequences have been very rare. 25

§[156]. The proper method of conducting this malady is:

1. If the fever be high, the pulse hard, the oppression heavy, the patient must be bled once or twice.
2. His legs must be bathed. The vehemence of the symptoms must regulate the number of times. 30
3. The ptisans No. 3 or [No.] 4 must be taken, or a tea of elder and lime tree flowers, to which a fifth part milk may be added.
4. The steam of warm water should also be employed, to assuage the cough, the soreness of the throat, and the oppression.
5. As soon as the redness becomes pale, the patient is to be purged with the draught No. 23. 35
6. He is still to be kept strictly to his regimen for two days after this purge, after which he is to be put upon the diet of those who are in a state of recovery.
7. If, during the eruption, such symptoms supervene as occur (at the same term) in the smallpox, they are to be treated in the manner directed there. 40

§[157]. Whenever this method has not been observed, and the accidents described [in] §[155] supervene, the distemper must be treated like an inflammation in its first state, and all must be done as directed [in] §[156]. If the disease is not vehement, bleeding may
 5 be omitted. If it is of some standing in gross [i.e., heavy] children, loaded with humours, inactive, and pale, we must add to the medicines already prescribed the potion No. 8.

§[158]. It often happens that the dregs of the distemper have been too little regarded, especially the cough. In which circumstance it
 10 forms a real suppuration in the lungs, attended with a slow fever. I have seen many children in country villages destroyed by this neglect. Their case terminates in a looseness (attended with very little pain) which carries off the patient. In such cases we must recur to milk and exercise, which I have often seen in such situations accom-
 15 plish a very difficult cure. I must advise the reader, at the same time, that milk has not so complete an effect as when it is taken solely, unjoined by any other aliment. And that it is of the last importance not to join it with any which has the least sharpness. Persons in easy circumstances may successfully take at the same time Bristol wa-
 20 ters.³⁶ These are also successfully employed in all the cases in which the cure I have mentioned is necessary.

§[159]. Sometimes there remains after measles a strong dry cough, with great heat in the breast and throughout the whole body, with thirst, an excessive dryness of the tongue, and of the whole
 25 surface of the body. I have cured persons thus indisposed by making them breathe in the vapour of warm water, by the repeated use of warm baths, and by allowing them to take nothing for several days but water and milk.³⁷

Chapter XV

Of the Burning Fever

§[160]. Most of the distempers I have hitherto considered result from an inflammation of the blood, combined with the particular
 35 inflammation of some part, or occasioned by some poison which must be evacuated. But when the blood is strongly inflamed, without an attack upon any particular part, this fever which we term 'burning' is the consequence.

³⁶The mineral water from the warm springs at Clifton, near Bristol.

³⁷Here too JW omits Tissot's comment about the potential of inoculation for measles (*Advice*, §229, p. 243), as Tissot concedes that it cannot currently be 'extended to the general benefit of the people'. See above, §152.

The signs are: a hardness and fullness of the pulse in a higher degree than happens in any other malady, an excessive heat, great thirst, with an extraordinary dryness of the eyes, nostrils, lips, of the tongue, of the throat, a violent headache, and sometimes a raving at the height of the paroxysm, which rises considerably every evening. The respiration is also somewhat oppressed, but especially at the return of the paroxysm—with a cough now and then, though without any pain in the breast, and without any expectoration. The body is costive. The urine very high-coloured, hot, and in a small quantity. The sick are also liable to start, but especially when they seem to sleep, for they have little sound refreshing sleep, but rather a kind of a drowsiness that makes them little sensible of what happens about them, or even of their own condition. They have sometimes a little sweat or moisture, though commonly a very dry skin. They are very weak, and have either little or no smell or taste.

§[161]. This disease, like all other inflammatory ones, is produced by the causes which thicken the blood and increase its motion; such as excessive labour, violent heat, want of sleep, wine or strong liquors, the long continuance of a dry constitution of the air, excess of every kind, and heating food.

§[162]. The patient ought:

1. Immediately to be put upon a regimen, to have the food allowed him given only every eight hours, and, in some cases only twice a day. And indeed, when the attack is extremely violent, nourishment may be wholly omitted.

2. Bleeding should be repeated, until the hardness of the pulse is sensibly abated. The first discharge should be considerable, the second should be made four hours after. If the pulse is softened by the first, the second may be suspended, and not repeated before it becomes sufficiently hard again to make us apprehensive of danger. But should it continue strong and hard, the bleeding may be repeated on the same day a third time.

3. His legs are to be bathed twice a day in warm water. His hands may be bathed in the same water. Linen or flannel cloths dipped in warm water may be applied over the breast and upon the belly. And he should regularly drink of the almond milk No. 4, and the ptisan No. 7. The poorest patients may content themselves with the last, but should drink very plentifully of it. And after the bleeding properly repeated, fresh air and the plentiful continuance of small diluting liquors generally establish the health of the patient.

4. If, notwithstanding the repeated bleedings, the fever still rages highly, it may be lessened by giving a spoonful of the potion No. 10

every hour, until it abates; and afterwards every three hours, until it becomes very moderate.

§[163]. Bleedings from the nose frequently occur, greatly to the relief of the patient.

5 The first appearance of amendment are a softening of the pulse (which however does not wholly lose all its hardness), a sensible abatement of the headache, a greater quantity of urine and that less high coloured, and an evident moisture of the tongue. These favourable signs keep increasing, and there frequently ensue be-
10 tween the ninth and fourteenth day, and often after a flurry of some hours continuance, very large evacuations by stool, a great quantity of urine which lets fall a reddish sediment, the urine above it being of a natural colour, and these accompanied with sweats. At the same time the nostrils and the mouth grow moist. The crust which
15 covered the tongue peels off of itself. The thirst is diminished. The drowsiness goes off. And the natural strength is restored. When things are evidently in this way the patient should take potion No. 23, and be put upon the regimen of those who are in a state of recovery. It should be repeated at the end of eight or ten days. Some
20 patients have perfectly recovered from this fever without the least sediment in their urine.

§[164]. The augmenting danger of this fever may be discerned from the continued hardness of the pulse, though with an abatement of its strength. If the brain becomes more confused, the
25 breathing more difficult; if the eyes, nose, lips and tongue become still more dry; if to these symptoms there be added a swelling of the belly, a diminution of the quantity of urine, a constant raving, great anxiety, and a certain wildness of the eyes, the patient cannot survive many hours. The hands and fingers at this period are incessantly in motion, as if feeling for something upon the bedclothes,
30 which is commonly termed their 'hunting for flies'.

Chapter XVI

35 *Of Putrid Fevers*

§[165]. Having treated of such feverish distempers as arise from an inflammation of the blood, I shall here treat of those which are produced by corrupt humours which stagnate in the stomach or
40 bowels, or have already passed from them into the blood. These are called 'putrid fevers', or sometimes 'bilious fevers' when a corruption of the bile seems to prevail.

This distemper frequently gives notice of its approach [for] several days by a great dejection, pains of loins and knees, a foulness of the mouth in the morning, little appetite, broken slumber, and sometimes an excessive headache. After these, a shivering comes on, followed by a sharp and dry heat. The pulse, which was small and quick during the shivering, is raised during the heat, and is often very strong, though it is not attended with the same hardness as in the preceding fever—except the putrid fever be combined with an inflammatory one, which it sometimes is. During the heat, the headache is commonly extremely violent. The patient is almost constantly affected with loathings, and sometimes vomitings; with thirst, disagreeable risings, a bitterness in the mouth, and very little urine. This heat continues for many hours, frequently the whole night. It abates a little in the morning, and the pulse, though always feverish, is then something less so, while the patient suffers less, though still greatly dejected.

The tongue is white and furred, the teeth are foul, and the breath smells disagreeably. The colour, quantity, and consistence of the urine are very various and changeable. Some patients are costive, others frequently have small stools, without the least relief accruing from them. The skin is sometimes dry, and at other times there is some sensible perspiration, but without any benefit attending it. The fever augments every day, and frequently at unexpected irregular periods. Besides that great paroxysm, which is perceivable in all subjects of this fever, some have also other less intervening ones.

§[166]. When the disease is left to itself, or injudiciously treated, the aggravation of it become more frequent, longer, and irregular. There is scarce an interval of ease. The patient's belly is swelled out like a football. A delirium comes on. He proves insensible of his own evacuations. He rejects assistance, and keeps muttering continually, with a quick, small, irregular pulse. Sometimes little spots of a brown or of a livid colour appear on the surface, but particularly about the neck, back, and breast. All the discharges from his body have a moist fetid smell. Convulsive motions also supervene, especially in the face. His sweats stream down from agony, his breast swells out, and he dies miserably.

§[167]. This fever seems to have no critical time, either for its termination in recovery, or in death. When it is very violent, or very badly conducted, it proves sometimes fatal on the ninth day. Persons often die of it from the eighteenth to the twentieth, sometimes about the fortieth, after having been alternately better or worse.

When it happens but in a light degree, it is sometimes cured in a few days. Yet some patients are not out of danger before the end of six weeks, and even still later. Nevertheless it is certain that this often depends on the manner of treating them; and that in general
 5 their course is determined some time from the fourteenth to the thirtieth day.

§[168]. The treatment of this species of fevers is comprised in the following method:

1. The patient must be put into a regimen. His common drink
 10 should be lemonade; instead of juice of lemons, vinegar may be occasionally substituted.

2. If there be an inflammation, which may be discovered by the strength and hardness of the pulse and by the complexion of the patient, if he is naturally robust and has heated himself, he should be
 15 bled once, and a second time if necessary, some hours after. I must observe, however, that very frequently there is no such inflammation, and that in such a case bleeding would be hurtful.

3. When the patient has drank very plentifully for two days of these liquids, if his mouth still continues in a foul state, and he has
 20 violent retchings to vomit, he must take the powder No. 34 dissolved in a pint and half of warm water—a glass of it being to be drank every half-quarter of an hour. But as this medicine vomits, it must not be taken under any circumstance which forbids the use of a vomit. If the first glasses excite a plentiful vomiting, we must
 25 forbear giving another, and be content with obliging the patient to drink a considerable quantity of warm water. But if the former glasses do not occasion vomiting, they must be repeated until they do. Those who are afraid of taking this medicine may take that of No. 35, also drinking warm water plentifully during its operation.
 30 But the former is preferable, as more prevalent, in dangerous cases. We must caution our readers, at the same time, that wherever there is an inflammation of any part, neither of these medicines must be given, which might prove a real poison in such circumstances. And even if the fever is extremely violent, though there should be no
 35 particular inflammation, they should not be given.

The time of giving them is soon after the end of the paroxysm, when the fever is at the lowest. The medicine No. 34 generally purges, after it ceases to make the patient vomit. But No. 35 is seldom attended with the same effect.

40 When the operation of the vomit is entirely over, the sick should return to the use of the ptisan; and great care should be taken to prohibit the use of flesh broth, under the pretext of working off a

purging with it. The same method is to be continued on the following days. But as it is of importance to keep the body open, he should take every morning some of the ptisan No. 32. Such as this would be too expensive for may substitute, in the room of it, a fourth part of the powder No. 34 in five or six glasses of water, of which they are to take a cup every two hours, beginning early in the morning. Nevertheless, if the fever be high, No. 32 should be preferred to it. 5

4. After the operation of the vomit, if the fever still continue[s], if the stools are remarkably fetid, and if the belly is tense and distended, and the quantity of urine small, a spoonful of the potion No. 10 should be given every two hours. Should the distemper become violent, it ought to be taken every hour. 10

5. Whenever (notwithstanding the giving all these medicines) the fever continues obstinate, the brain is manifestly disordered, there is a violent headache, or very great restlessness, two blistering plasters (No. 36) must be applied to the fleshy part of the legs, and their discharge continued as long as possible. 15

6. If the fever is extremely violent, there is an absolute necessity to prohibit the patient from receiving the least nourishment.

7. When it is thought improper to give the vomit, the patient should take in the morning, for two successive days, three doses of the powder No. 24, at the interval of one hour between each. This medicine produces some bilious stools, which greatly abate the fever, and considerably lessens all the other symptoms. This may be done with success when the excessive height of the fever prevents us from giving the vomit. And we should limit ourselves to this medicine as often as we are uncertain whether the circumstances will admit of vomiting, which may also be dispensed with in many cases. 20

8. When the distemper has considerably declined, the paroxysms are slight, and the patient continues without any fever for several hours, the daily use of the purging drinks should be discontinued. The common ptisans however should be still made use of, and it will be proper to give every other day two doses of the powder No. 24. 30

9. If the fever has been clearly off for a long part of the day, if the tongue appears in a good state, if the patient has been well purged, and yet one moderate paroxysm of the fever returns every day, he should take the bitter decoction No. 37, four glasses of which may be taken at equal intervals, between the returns of the fever. 35

10. As the organs of digestion have been considerably weakened through the course of this fever, there is a necessity for the patient's 40

conducting himself very regularly long after it, with regard both to the quantity and quality of his food. He should also use due exercise as soon as his strength will permit, without which he may be liable to fall into some chronical disorder.

5

Chapter XVII

Of Malignant Fevers

10 §[169]. Those fevers are called 'malignant' in which the danger is more than the symptoms would make us apprehensive of. They have frequently a fatal event without appearing so perilous, on which account it has been well said of this fever that it is a dog which bites without barking.

15 The distinguishing mark of malignant fevers is a total loss of the patient's strength, immediately on their first attack. They arise from a corruption of the humours, which is noxious to the very principle of strength, the impairing which is the cause of the feebleness of the symptoms, by reason none of the organs are strong enough to exert
20 a vigorous opposition.

§[170]. The causes of this malady are a long use of animal food alone, without pulse [i.e., legumes], fruits, or acids; the continued use of bad provisions, such as bread made of damaged corn, or very stale meat. These fevers are frequently the consequence of a great
25 dearth or famine, of too hot and moist an air, or of a very close and stagnant air, especially if many persons are crowded together in it. Tedious grief and vexation also contribute to generate these fevers.

§[171]. The sick person seems to labour under great anguish. He has sometimes twitchings in his face and hands, as well as in his
30 arms and legs. His senses seem torpid, or as it were benumbed. I have seen many who had lost, to all appearance, the whole five, and yet some of them recover. Their voices change, become weak, and are sometimes quite lost. Some of them have a fixed pain in some part of the belly. This arises from a stuffing and often ends in a gan-
35 grene, whence this symptom is highly dangerous.

The tongue is sometimes little altered from its appearance in health; at other times covered with a yellowish brown humour. But it is more rarely dry in this fever than in the others, and yet sometimes resembles a tongue that has been long smoked.

40 The skin is often neither hot, dry, nor moist. It is frequently over-spread with little spots of a reddish livid colour, especially on the neck, about the shoulders, and upon the back. At other times the

spots are larger and brown, like the colour of pustules from the strokes of a stick.

The urine of the sick is almost constantly of a lighter colour than ordinary. I have seen some which could not be distinguished, merely by the eye, from milk. A black and stinking purging sometimes attends this fever, which is mortal, except the sick be evidently relieved by the discharge. 5

§[172]. The duration and crisis of these fevers are very irregular. Sometimes the sick die on the seventh or eighth day, more commonly between the twelfth and the fifteenth, and not infrequently at the end of five or six weeks. Some of these fevers, at their first invasion, are very slow, and during a few of the first days the patient, though very weak and with a very different look and manner, scarcely thinks himself sick. 10

The period of the cure is as uncertain as that of death. Some are out of danger at the end of fifteen days or sooner, others not in several weeks. 15

The signs which portend a recovery are: a little more strength in the pulse, a more concocted urine, less dejection and discouragement, a less confused brain, an equal kindly heat, a pretty warm or hot sweat in a moderate quantity, the revival of the senses, though the deafness is not a very threatening symptom if the others amend. 20

This malady commonly leaves the patient very weak, and a long interval will ensue before he recovers his full strength.

§[173]. It is, [1.] in the first place, of great importance both for the patients and those who attend them that the air be renewed and purified. Vinegar should often be evaporated from a hot tile or iron in the chamber, and one window kept almost constantly open. 25

2. The diet should be light, and the juice of sorrel may be mixed with their water. The juice of lemons may be added to soups prepared from different grains and pulse [i.e., legumes]. The patient may eat sharp acid fruits, such as Morella cherries, gooseberries, small black cherries, jam of currants or barberries. And those who can afford them may be allowed lemons, oranges, and pomegranates. 30

3. The patient's linen should be changed every two days. 35

4. Bleeding and clysters are very rarely needful.

5. The patient's common drink should be barley water made acid with the spirit No. 10, at the rate of one quarter of an ounce to at least full three pints of the water, or acidulated agreeably to his taste. He may also drink lemonade. 40

6. It is necessary to evacuate the bowels, where a great quantity of corrupt humours is generally lodged. The powder No. 35 may be

given for this purpose, after the operation of which the patient generally finds himself better. It is of importance not to omit this at the beginning of the disease. Though if it has been omitted at first, it were best to give it even later, provided no particular inflammation
5 has supervened, and the patient has still some strength. I have given it, and with remarkable success, on the twentieth day.

7. Having by this medicine expelled a considerable portion of the bad humours, the patient should take every other day, and sometimes every day, one dose of the cream of tartar and rhubarb (No.
10 38). This expels the worms that are very common in these fevers, which the patient sometimes discharges upwards and downwards, and which frequently conduce to many of the odd symptoms that are observed in malignant fevers. In short it strengthens the bowels,
15 and without checking the necessary evacuations, it moderates the looseness when it is hurtful.

8. If the skin be dry, with a looseness, and that by checking it we design to increase perspiration, instead of the rhubarb, the cream of tartar may be blended with the ipecacuanha No. 39, which (being
20 given in small and frequent doses) restrains the purging and forwards perspiration. This medicine, as the former, is to be taken in the morning. Two hours after, the sick must begin with the potion No. 40, and repeat it regularly every three hours, until it be interrupted by giving one of the medicines No. 38 or [No.] 39. After
25 which, the potion is to be repeated till the patient grows considerably better.

9. If the strength of the sick be considerably depressed, and he is in great dejection, he should take with every draught of the potion the bolus No. 41. If the purging is violent, there should be added,
30 once or twice a day to the bolus, 20 grains [of diascordium³⁸].

10. Whenever, notwithstanding all this, the patient continues weak and insensible, two large blisters should be applied to the insides of the legs, or a large one to the nape of the neck. Their discharge is to be promoted abundantly, and if they dry up within a
35 few days others are to be applied, and their evacuation is to be kept up for a considerable time.

11. As soon as the malady is sufficiently abated for the patient to remain some hours with very little or no fever, we must avail ourselves of this interval to give him six or five doses of the draught
40

³⁸Omitted in all editions; corrected from Tissot.

No. 43,³⁹ and repeat the same the next day, which may prevent the return of the fever. After which it may be sufficient to give daily only two doses for a few days.

12. When the sick continue entirely clear of a fever, he is to be put into the regimen of persons in a state of recovery. But if his strength returns very slowly, in order to the speedier establishment of it, he may take three doses a day of the *theriaca pauperum*, or ‘poor man’s treacle’ (No. 42), the first of them fasting, and the other twelve hours after. It were to be wished this medicine was introduced into all the apothecaries shops, as an excellent stomachic, in which respect it is much preferable to Venice treacle, which is an absurd, dear, and often a dangerous composition. It is true it does not dispose the patients to sleep. But when he would procure them sleep, there are better medicines to answer that purpose.

Chapter XVIII

Of Intermitting Fevers

§[174]. There are various kinds of intermitting fevers, which take their different names from the different time in which the fits return.

If the fit returns every day, it is either a true ‘quotidian’, or a ‘double tertian’ fever. The first of these may be distinguished from the last by this, that in the quotidian the fits are long, and correspond nearly to each other in degree and duration. In the double tertian the fits are shorter, and one is alternately light and the other more severe.

In the simple ‘tertian’ (or third day’s) fever the fits return every other day.

The fit in a ‘quartan’ returns every fourth day, including the day of the first and that of the second attack.

The other kinds of intermittents are much rarer. I have seen however one true ‘quintan’ (or fifth day) ague, the patient having three clear days between two fits; and one regular weekly ague, returning every Sunday.

§[175]. The first attack of an intermitting fever often happens when the patient imagined himself in perfect health. Sometimes however a perception of cold, and a sort of numbness, continue

³⁹Tissot had prescribed No. 14 (Peruvian bark); JW was possibly changing the remedy purposefully, but he does let other references to No. 14. stand (including in §177 just below).

some days before the fit. It begins with frequent yawnings, a lassitude, a general weakness, with coldness, shivering, and shaking. There is also a paleness of the extreme parts of the body, attended with loathings, and sometimes an actual vomiting. The pulse is quick, weak, and small.

At the end of an hour or two, sometimes three or four hours, heat succeeds, which becomes violent at its height. At this period the whole body grows red, the anxiety of the patient abates, the pulse is very strong and large, and his thirst excessive. He complains of headache and of a pain in all his limbs, but different from that he was sensible of while his coldness continued. Having endured this hot state four, five, or six hours, he falls into a general sweat. Upon which all the symptoms abate, and sometimes sleep supervenes.

At the conclusion of this nap the patient often wakes without any fever, complaining only of weakness. Sometimes his pulse returns entirely to its natural state between the two fits, though it often continues a little quicker.

One symptom which particularly characterise[s] these fevers is the urines which the sick pass after the fit. They are of a reddish colour, and let fall a sediment which exactly resembles brick dust. They are sometimes frothy too, and a thin filmy skin appears on the top.

The duration of each fit is of no fixed time. Sometimes they return precisely at the same hour. At other times they come one, two, or three hours sooner; and in other instances, as much later.

Generally speaking, intermitting fevers are not mortal, often terminating in health of their own accord after some fits. But in this respect intermittents in the spring differ from those in the fall, which continue a long time, and sometimes even until spring, if they are not removed by art.

Quartan fevers are always more obstinate than tertians, persevering in some constitutions for whole years. When these occur in marshy countries, they are not only tedious, but persons infested with them are liable to frequent relapses.

A few fits of an intermittent are not very injurious, and it happens sometimes that they are attended with a favourable alteration of the health—by their exterminating the cause of some tedious disorder. Though it is erroneous to consider them as salutary. If they prove obstinate, and the fits are long and violent, they weaken the whole body, impairing all its functions. They make the humours sharp, and introduce several other maladies, such as the jaundice, dropsy, asthma, and slow wasting fevers. Nay sometimes old persons, and

those who are very weak, expire in the fit. Though such an event never happens but in the cold fit.⁴⁰

§[176]. In the spring fevers, if the fits are not very severe, if the patient is well in their intervals, if his appetite, his strength, and his sleep continue as in health, no medicine should be given, nor any other method taken but that of putting the person upon the regimen directed for persons in a state of recovery. 5

§[177]. If the fever extends beyond the sixth or seventh fit, and the patient seems to have no occasion for a purge,^p he may take the powder No. 14. If it is a quotidian, or a double tertian, six doses, containing three quarters of an ounce, should be taken between the two fits—and as these intermissions commonly consist of but ten or twelve, or at the most of fourteen or fifteen hours, should be an interval of only one hour and a half between each dose. During this interval the sick may take two of his usual refreshments. 10 15

When the fever is a tertian, an ounce should be given between the two fits—which makes eight doses, one of which is to be taken every three hours.

In a quartan I directed one ounce and an half to be taken in the same manner. The last dose is to be given two hours before the usual return of the fit. 20

The doses just mentioned frequently prevent the return of the fit. But whether it returns or not, after the time of its usual duration is past, repeat the same quantity, in the same number of doses and intervals, which certainly keeps off another. For six days following, half the same quantity must be continued, in the intervals that would have occurred between the fits if they had returned. And during all this time the patient should inure himself to as much exercise as he can bear. 25

§[178]. Should the fits be very strong, the pain of the head violent, the visage red, the pulse full and hard; if there is any cough; if, even after the fit is over, the pulse still is hard; if the urine is inflamed, hot and high-coloured; and the tongue very dry, the patient must be bled and drink plentifully of barley water No. 3. These two remedies generally bring the patient into the state described [in] 30 35

^p As there is not the least danger from a gentle purge, such as those of No. 11 or [No.] 23, we think it would be prudent always to premise a dose or two of either to the bark. But a vomit is generally necessary before the bark is given [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 227)].

⁴⁰ JW omits here paragraph §258 (p. 275) in *Advice*, which praises Jesuit's bark as 'a medicine that infallibly cures these fevers'.

§[176]. In which state he may take, on a day when the fever is entirely off, three or four doses of the powder No. 24, and then leave the fever to pursue its course for the space of a few fits. But should it not then terminate of itself, the bark must be recurred to.

5 If the patient, even in the interval of the returns, has a fetid, furred mouth, a loathing, pains in the loins or in the knees, much anxiety, and bad nights, he should be purged with the powder No. 21, or the potion No. 23, before he takes the bark.

10 §[179]. If fevers in autumn appear to be of the continual kind, and very like putrid fevers, the patients should drink abundantly of barley water. And if at the expiration of two or three days there still appears to be a load at the stomach, the powder No. 34 or that of [No.] 35 is to be given. And if, after the operation of this, the signs of putridity continue, the body is to be opened with repeated doses
15 of the powder No. 24; and when the fever becomes quite regular, with distinct *remissions* at least, the bark is to be given as directed [in] §[177].

But as autumnal fevers are more obstinate, after having discontinued the bark for eight days, notwithstanding there has been no
20 return of the fever, it is proper to resume the bark and to give three doses of it daily for the succeeding eight days—more especially if it was a quartan, in which species I have ordered it to be repeated every other eight days, for six times.

After the patient has begun with the bark he must take no purging
25 medicine, as that evacuation would occasion a return of the fever.

Bleeding is never necessary in a quartan ague, which occurs with symptoms of putridity rather than of inflammation.

30 §[180]. The patient ought, two hours before the fit, to drink a small glass of warm elder-flower tea sweetened with honey every quarter of an hour, and to walk about moderately. This disposes him to a very gentle sweat, and thence renders the ensuing fit milder. He is to continue the same drink throughout the cold fit. And when the hot one approaches, he may either continue the same or substitute that of No. 2, which is more cooling. It is not necessary, how-
35 ever, to drink it warm. It is sufficient that it be not over cold. When the sweat after the hot fit is concluded, the patient should be well-wiped and dried, and may get up. If the fit was very long, he may be allowed a little gruel, or some other such nourishment during the sweat.

40 §[181]. Sometimes the first doses of the bark purge. When it purges, it does not prevent the return of the fever, so that these doses may be considered as to no purpose, and others should be re-

peated which, ceasing to purge, prevent it. Should the looseness notwithstanding continue, the bark must be discontinued for one entire day, in order to give the patient half a quarter of an ounce of rhubarb. After which the bark is to be resumed, and if the looseness still perseveres, fifteen grains of Venice treacle should be added to each dose. 5

§[182]. Another easy method of which I have often availed my patients under tertian fevers (but which succeeded with me only twice in quartans) was to procure the sufferer a very plentiful sweat at the very time when the fit was to return in its usual course. To effect this he is to drink, three or four hours before it is expected, an infusion of elder-flowers sweetened with honey; and one hour before the usual invasion of the shivering, he is to go into bed and take, as hot as he can drink it, the prescription No. 44. 10

I have also cured some tertians, and even quartans, by giving them, every four hours between the fits, the powder No. 45.⁴¹ 15

§[183]. The same causes which produce intermitting fevers frequently occasion disorders which return periodically without shivering, without heat, and often without any quickness of the pulse. Such disorders generally preserve the intermissions of quotidian or tertian fevers, much seldomer those of quartans. I have seen violent vomitings and retchings to vomit, with inexpressible anxiety, the severest oppressions, the most racking colics, dreadful palpitations, and excessive toothaches. Pains in the head, and very often an unaccountable pain over one eye, the eyelid, eyebrow, and temple, on the same side of the face, with a redness of that eye, and a continual, involuntary trickling of tears. I have also seen such a prodigious swelling of the affected part that the eye projected, or stood out above an inch from the head, covered by the eyelid, which was also extremely inflamed. All these maladies begin precisely at a certain hour, last about the usual time of a fit, and, terminating without any sensible evacuation, return exactly at the same hour the next day, or the next but one. 20 25 30

There is but one known medicine that can effectually oppose this sort, which is the bark, given as directed [in] §[177]. Nothing affords relief in the fit, and no other medicine puts it off. If a sufficient dose of it be given, the next fit is very mild, the second is prevented. And I never saw a relapse in these cases, which sometimes happens after the fits of common intermittents seem cured. 35

§[184]. In situations where the air renders these fevers very common, the inhabitants should frequently burn in their lodging 40

⁴¹ JW reproduces Tissot here; but No. 45 is not a powder, likely meant No. 46.

rooms some aromatic wood or herbs. They should daily chew some juniper-berries, and drink a fermented infusion of them. These two remedies are very effectual to fortify the weakest stomachs, to prevent obstructions, and to promote perspiration. And, as these are the causes which prolong these fevers the most obstinately, nothing is a more certain preservation from them than these cheap and obvious assistances.⁹

Chapter XIX

Of the Erysipelas, and Bites of Animals

§[185]. The erysipelas, commonly called ‘St. Anthony’s fire’, is sometimes a slight indisposition which appears on the skin. It generally affects the face or the legs. The skin distends, becomes rough and red. The patient feels a burning heat, which is painful and sometimes hinders him from sleeping. The distemper increases for two or three days, remains in its height one day or two, and abates. Then the affected skin falls off in great scales and all is over.

§[186]. At other times this malady comes to a greater height. It begins by a very strong shivering, followed by a burning heat, a violent headache, sickness at heart, or retchings to vomit, which never cease till the erysipelas breaks out, and this happens the second or third day. Then the fever abates, and the sickness ceases. But often there remains a little of the fever and loathing during all the time that the erysipelas increases. When it affects the face, the headache continues till it is on the decline, the eyelid swells, the eye closes, and the patient has not the least ease. Often the eruption goes from one cheek to the other, and spreads successively on the forehead and the neck. Nay often, when the disease is severe, the brain is oppressed, the patient raves, and sometimes if he does not get proper assistance he dies.

As soon as the erysipelas is strong, it is covered with small pustules full of a clear water, such as that which comes from a tumour occasioned by a burn, and these pustules afterwards dry and scale off. I have sometimes seen, especially when the erysipelas attacks the face, that the humour that came from these pustules was very

⁹I have known an infusion of two ounces of the best bark in fine powder, or two ounces and a half in gross powder, in a quart of the best brandy for three or four days (a small wine glass to be taken by grown persons at the distance of from four to six hours) effectually and speedily terminate such inveterate agues as had given but little way to the bark in substance [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 287)].

viscous and formed thick crusty scabs like those of sucking children, and they continued several days before they went off.

When the erysipelas is violent, it continues sometimes eight, ten, twelve days, and at last goes away by a plentiful sweat. During the continuation of the malady all the skin is dry, even the inside of the mouth. 5

§[187]. An erysipelas rarely comes to suppuration, and when it does is much disposed to degenerate into an ulcer. Sometimes a malignant kind of erysipelas is epidemical, seizing a great number of persons, and frequently terminating in gangrenes. 10

§[188]. This distemper often shifts its situation. It sometimes retires suddenly, but the patient is uneasy, he has a propensity to vomit, with a sensible anxiety and heat. The erysipelas appears again in a different part and he feels himself quite relieved. But if instead of reappearing on some other part the humour is thrown on the brain or the breast, he dies within a few hours; and these fatal changes sometimes occur without the least apparent reason. 15

If the humour is transferred to the brain, the patient immediately becomes delirious, with a very flushed visage and sparkling eyes. Very soon after he proves downright frantic, and goes off in a lethargy. 20

If the lungs are attacked, the oppression, anxiety, and heat are inexpressible.

There are some constitutions subject to a frequent, and as it were habitual, erysipelas. If it often affects the face, it is generally on the same side, and that eye is at length considerably weakened. 25

§[189]. This distemper results from two causes: the one, a sharp humour diffused through the mass of blood; the other, that humour's not being sufficiently discharged by perspiration.

§[190]. When this disease is gentle, it will be sufficient to put a man upon the regimen so often referred to, with a plentiful use of nitre in elder tea. Flesh, eggs, and wine are prohibited of course, allowing the patient a little pulse [i.e., legumes] and ripe fruits. He should drink elder-flower tea abundantly, and take half a dram of nitre every three hours; or, which amounts to the same thing, let three drams of nitre be dissolved in as much infusion of elder-flowers as he can drink in twenty-four hours. 30 35

§[191]. When the distemper prevails in a greater degree, if the fever is very high, and the pulse strong or hard, it may be necessary to bleed at once. But this should never be permitted in a large quantity; it being more advisable, if a sufficient quantity has not been taken at once, to bleed a second time, or even a third. And in 40

some cases nature has sometimes saved the patients by effecting a large bleeding, to the quantity of four or five pounds.

After bleeding, the patient is to be restrained to his regimen and he should drink barley water freely (No. 3).

5 When the fever is diminished, either the purge No. 23 should be given, or a few doses every morning of cream of tartar No. 24. Purging is absolutely necessary. It may sometimes be necessary too if the disease is very tedious, if the sickness at the stomach is ob-
 10 stinate, the mouth ill-favoured and the tongue foul (provided there be only a slight fever, and no fear of an inflammation) to give the medicines No. 34 or [No.] 35, which remove these impediments still better than purges.

It commonly happens that this disease is more favourable after these evacuations. Nevertheless it is sometimes necessary to repeat
 15 them the next day, or the next but one, especially if the malady affects the head. Purging is the true evacuation of curing it, whenever it attacks this part.

Whenever, even after these evacuations, the fever still continues to be very severe, the patient should take every two hours, or oc-
 20 casionally oftener, two spoonfuls of the prescription No. 10, added to the glass of ptisan.

It will be very useful when this disease is seated in the head or face to bathe the legs frequently in warm water, and where it is violent there also to apply sinapisms⁴² to the soles of the feet.^r I have
 25 seen this application, in about four hours, draw down an erysipelas to the legs which had spread over the nose and both eyes. When the distemper begins to go off by sweating, this should be promoted by elder-flower tea and nitre, and the sweating may be encouraged for some hours.

30 §[192]. The best applications that can be made to the affected part are: the herb Robert (a kind of crane's bill), or parsley, or elder-flowers. And if the complaint be very mild, it may be sufficient to apply a very soft smooth linen over it, which some people dust over with a little dry meal.^s

35 2. If there is a very considerable inflammation, flannels wrung out of a strong decoction of elder-flowers, and applied warm, afford

^r Rather warm treacle [JW].

^s This application is of all others the most efficacious, and is frequently used by the common people of this country [JW].

⁴² A plaster of powdered mustard.

him the speediest ease. By this simple application I have appeased the most violent pains of the most cruel species of erysipelas.

3. The plaster of smalt, and smalt itself (No. 46), are also very successfully employed in this disease. This powder, or mealy ones, agree best when a thin watery humour distils from the little vesications, which it is convenient to absorb by such applications. 5

All other plasters which are greasy or resinous are very dangerous. They often strike in the erysipelas occasioning it to ulcerate, or even to gangrene. If people who are naturally subject to this disease should apply any such plaster to their skin, even in its soundest state, an erysipelas is the speedy consequence. 10

§[193]. Whenever the humour occasioning the distemper is repelled, and thrown upon any internal part, the patient should be bled, blisters applied to the legs, and elder tea with nitre dissolved in it plentifully drank. 15

§[194]. People who are liable to frequent returns of an erysipelas should carefully avoid using cream, and all fat and viscid or clammy food, spices, thick and heady liquors, a sedentary life, the more active passions, especially rage, and if possible all chagrin too. Their food should chiefly consist of herbs, fruits, of substances inclining to acidity, and which tend to keep the body open. They should drink water, by no means omitting the frequent use of cream of tartar. 20

Of the stings, or small wounds, by animals.

§[195]. The stings or little bites of animals frequently producing a kind of erysipelas, I shall add a very few words here concerning them. 25

The only stings we are exposed to are those of bees, wasps, hornets, gnats, dragonflies; some of which are attended with severe pain, a swelling, and a considerable redness. These symptoms go off naturally within a few days, without any assistance. Nevertheless they may either be prevented or shortened: 30

1. by extracting the sting of the animal, if it is left behind.
2. by applying oil quickly, or pounded parsley.
3. by bathing the legs of the person stung in warm water. 35

Chapter XX

Of Inflammations of the Breast, and of False and Bilious Pleurisies

§[196]. The inflammation of the heart and the pleurisy which we call 'bilious' are the very same disorder. It is properly a putrid fever 40

accompanied with an oppression of the lungs, which is either without pain, and then is called a putrid or bilious 'peripneumony', or with a pain in the side, and is called a 'pleurisy'.

5 The signs which distinguish these disorders from the inflammatory disorders of the same name are: a pulse less hard, less strong, more quick, with a foulness or bitterness of the mouth. The heat is sharp and dry. The patient feels a heaviness, an uneasiness about his stomach and loathings. His complexion is less red, it is a little yellow. His urine is like that in putrid fevers. He has very often a small bilious
10 looseness and very fetid. His skin is generally very dry, the spittle less thick, less red, but more yellow than in the inflammatory kind.

§[197]. These diseases are treated in the same way as the putrid fevers. If there is any inflammation, one bleeding removes it. Afterwards barley water is given (No. 3). And when the inflammation
15 is entirely gone, the vomiting and purging potion is used (No. 34). But the greatest care must be taken not to give it till the whole inflammatory disposition is removed. Afterwards one may employ the purging potion again at the end of some days with medicine No. 23. The powder No. 25 succeeds also very well as a vomit.

20 If the fever becomes very violent, plenty of the potion No. 10 must be given.

§[198]. The false inflammation of the breast is an overfullness or obstruction in the lungs, accompanied with a fever, and it is caused by thick humours—and not by inflammatory blood or by any putrid or bilious humour.
25

[1.] This distemper happens most frequently in the spring. Old men, puny children, languid women, feeble young men, and particularly such as have worn their constitutions by drinking, are most frequently attacked by it; especially if they have used little exercise
30 through the winter, and have fed on viscid and fat aliments.

2. The patient many days before has a slight cough, a small oppression when he moves about, a little restlessness, and is sometimes a little choleric or fretful. His countenance is higher coloured than in health. He has a propensity to sleep, but without refreshment, and has sometimes an extraordinary appetite.
35

3. When this state has continued for some days there comes on a cold shivering. It is succeeded by a moderate degree of heat, attended with much inquietude and oppression. The sick person cannot confine himself to the bed, but walks to and fro in his chamber, and is greatly dejected. The pulse is weak and pretty quick. The urine
40 is sometimes but little changed from that in health; at other times it is discharged but in a small quantity, and is higher coloured. He

coughs but moderately, and does not expectorate but with difficulty. Sometimes it happens, especially to persons of advanced age, that this state suddenly terminates in a mortal swoon. In other cases the oppression and anguish increase, the patient cannot breathe but when sitting up, and that with great difficulty. The brain is utterly disturbed. This state lasts for some hours, and then terminates of a sudden. 5

§[199]. This is a very dangerous distemper, both because it chiefly attacks those persons whose constitution is weakened and because it is of a precipitate nature, the patient sometimes dying on the third day, seldom surviving the seventh. 10

1. If the patient has a pretty good share of health, if the pulse is of a perceivable hardness and yet at the same time some strength, if the weather is dry and the wind blows from the north, he may be bled once to a moderate quantity. But if the greater part of these circumstances are wanting, bleeding would be very prejudicial. Were we obliged to establish some general rule in this case, it were better to exclude bleeding than to admit it. 15

2. The stomach and bowels should be unloaded, and the medicine which succeeds best is No. 35, when the symptoms show there is a necessity for vomiting and there is no inflammation. When we are afraid of hazarding the agitation of a vomit, the potion No. 11 may be given. But we must be very cautious in regard to old men even with this, as such may expire during the operation of it. 20

3. They should, from the beginning of the disease, drink plentifully of the pisan No. 26, or that of No. 12, adding half a dram of nitre to every pint of it. 25

4. A cup of the mixture No. 8 must be taken every two hours.

5. Blisters are to be applied to the insides of the legs.

When the case is doubtful and perplexing, it were best to confine ourselves to the three last mentioned remedies, which can occasion no ill consequence. 30

When this malady invades old people, though they partly recover, they never recover perfectly. And if due precaution is not taken, they are very liable to fall into a dropsy of the breast. 35

§[200]. The spurious pleurisy is a distemper that does not affect the lungs, but only the skin and the muscles which cover the ribs. It is the effect of a rheumatic humour thrown upon these parts, in which, as it produces sharp pains resembling a stitch, it has been termed a 'pleurisy'. 40

It is generally supposed that a false pleurisy is more dangerous than a true one, but this is a mistake. It is often ushered in

by a shivering, and almost ever attended with a little fever, a small cough, and a slight difficulty of breathing; but yet no anguish, nor the other symptoms of true pleurisies. In some patients this pain is extended almost over the whole breast and to the nape of the neck.

5 The sick person cannot repose himself on the side affected.

This disorder is not more dangerous than a rheumatism, except in two cases: 1) when the pain is so severe that the patient strongly endeavours not to breathe at all, which brings on a great stuffing in the lungs; 2) when this humour, like any other rheumatic one, is
10 transferred to some internal part.

§[201]. It must be treated exactly like a rheumatism.

After bleeding once or more, a blister applied to the affected part is often attended with a very good effect—this being indeed the kind of pleurisy in which it particularly agrees.

15 It sometimes gives way to the first bleeding; often terminating on the third, fourth, or fifth day by a very plentiful sweat, and rarely lasting beyond the seventh.

Chapter XXI

20

Of Colics

§[202]. By a 'colic' I mean all the pains that affect the stomach or the guts.

25 I have proved before that in some diseases the patient is killed by forcing him into a sweat. In colics the patient is killed by endeavouring to expel the wind by spirituous liquors.

30 *Of the inflammatory colic*

§[203]. The most violent kind of colic, and the most dangerous, is that which proceeds from the inflammation of the stomach or intestines. It begins by a violent pain in the belly. The pain increases by
35 degrees, the pulse becomes quick and hard, the patient feels a burning heat in all his belly. Sometimes he has a watery diarrhoea; at other times he is rather costive and subject to vomitings. The countenance becomes red, the belly distends, and it cannot be touched without increasing the pain. The thirst is very great, no drink can quench
40 it. The pain extends often to the loins, where it is very sharp. The patient makes little urine, and what he makes is burning and red. He gets no rest. Sometimes he raves. If the disease is not stopped

till the pains come to the height, the pulse becomes less strong, less hard, but more quick. The face loses its redness. The parts around the eye become livid. The patient loses his strength entirely. His face, hands, feet, and the whole body except the belly become cold. The skin of the belly turns bluish. Weakness ensues, and the patient dies. There happens often, a moment before death, a plentiful evacuation by stool, of matter extremely fetid, and it is during that evacuation that the patient dies, with his bowels mortified. 5

When the disease attacks the stomach, the symptoms are the same. The patient vomits almost all that he takes, the torment is horrible, and the ravings come very soon. This distemper kills in a few days. 10

§[204]. The method of cure is:

1. Take a large quantity of blood from the arm. This almost immediately diminishes the pain and allays the vomiting. It is often necessary to repeat this bleeding within the space of two hours. 15

2. Whether the patient has a looseness or not, a clyster of a decoction of mallows, or of barley water and oil, should be given every two hours.

3. The patient should drink very plentifully of warm almond milk (No. 4), or barley water. 20

4. Flannels, dipped in hot water, should be continually applied over the belly, shifting them every hour, or rather oftener.

5. If the disease, notwithstanding, continues violent, the patient should be put into a warm bath, the extraordinary success of which I have observed. 25

When the pains and fever are ceased, so that the patient recovers a little strength and gets a little sleep, it will be proper to give him two ounces of manna, and a quarter of an ounce of Epsom salt dissolved in a glass of clear whey. Manna alone may suffice for delicate constitutions. All sharp purges would be highly dangerous. 30

§[205]. It is sometimes the effect of a general inflammation of the blood, and is produced like other inflammatory diseases by extraordinary labour, very great heat, heating meats or drinks. It is often the consequence of other colics which have been injudiciously treated. 35

During the progress of this violent disease no food is to be allowed. And we should not be too inattentive to such degrees of pain as sometimes remain after their severity is over, lest a scirrhus should be generated, which may occasion the most inveterate maladies. 40

§[206]. An inflammation of the intestines, and one of the stomach, may also terminate in an abscess. And it may be apprehended that

one is forming when, though the violence of the pain abates, there still remains a flow, heavy pain with general inquietude, little appetite, frequent shiverings, the patient at the same time not recovering any strength. In such cases the patient should be allowed no other
 5 drinks but what are directed in this chapter, and some soups made of pulse [i.e., legumes], or other farinaceous food.

The breaking of the abscess may sometimes be discovered by a slight fainting fit, attended with a perceivable cessation of a weight in the part where it was lately felt. And when the pus is effused into
 10 the gut the patient sometimes has retchings to vomit, a swimming in the head, and the matter appears in the next stools. In this case there remains an ulcer within the gut which, if either neglected or improperly treated, may pave the way to a slow wasting fever, and even to death. Yet this I have cured by making the patient live solely
 15 upon skimmed milk, diluted with one third part water, and by giving every other day a clyster consisting of equal parts of milk and water, with the addition of a little honey.

20 *Of the bilious colic.*

§[207]. The bilious colic discovers itself by very acute pains, but is seldom accompanied with a fever, at least not until it has lasted a day or two. And even if there should be some degree of a fever,
 25 yet the pulse, though quick, is neither strong nor hard. The belly is neither tense nor burning hot. The urine comes away with more ease and is less high-coloured. Nevertheless the inward heat and thirst are considerable. The mouth is bitter. The vomiting or purging, when either of them attend it, discharge a yellowish humour or
 30 excrement. And the patient's head is often dizzy.

§[208]. The method of curing this is:

1. By injecting clysters of whey and honey; or, if whey is not readily procurable, by repeating the clyster No. 5.

2. By making the sick drink considerably of the same whey, or of
 35 a ptisan made of the root of dog's grass (the common grass) and a little juice of lemon, for want of which, a little vinegar and honey may be substituted in place of it.[†]

3. By giving every hour one cup of the medicine No. 32; or where

[†]Pullet (or rather chicken) broth, made very weak, may often do instead of ptisan, or serve for a little variety of drink [Rast (see *Advice*, 313)]. Beef tea also may be used for the same purpose [JW].

this is not to be had, half a dram of cream of tartar at the same short intervals.

4. Fomentations of warm water and half-baths are also very proper.

5. If the pains are sharp in a robust strong person, and the pulse is strong and tense, bleeding should be used.

6. No other nourishment should be given except some thin soups, made from vegetables, and particularly of sorrel.

7. After plentiful dilution with the proper drink, if no fever supervenes, if the pain still continues and the patient discharges but little by stool, he should take a moderate purge. That directed [in] No. 47 is a very proper one.

§[209]. This bilious colic is habitual to many persons, and may be prevented by an habitual use of the powder No. 24, by submitting to a moderate retrenchment in the article of flesh-meat, and by avoiding heating and greasy food, and the use of milk.

Of colics from indigestions, and of indigestion.

§[210]. Under this appellation I comprehend all those colics which are either owing to any overloading quantity of food taken at once, or to a mass of aliments formed by degrees in such stomachs as digest but imperfectly, or which result from noxious mixtures of aliment in the stomach such as that of milk and acids, or from food either not wholesome in itself or degenerated into an unwholesome condition.

This kind of colic may be known from any of these causes having preceded it, [and] by its pains, which come on by degrees, being less fixed than in the colics before treated of. These colics are also without any fever, heat, or thirst, but accompanied with giddiness and efforts to vomit.

These disorders are not dangerous in themselves, but may be made such by injudicious management, as the only thing to be done is to promote the discharges by warm drinks. There are a considerable variety of them which seem equally good, such as warm water or even cold water with a toast, a light infusion of camomile, common tea, or balm—it imports little which, provided the patient drinks plentifully. In consequence of which the offending matter is discharged, either by vomiting or a considerable purging; and the speedier and more in quantity these discharges are, the sooner the patient is relieved.

If the belly is remarkably full and costive, clysters of warm water and salt may be injected. The expulsion of the obstructing matter is also facilitated by rubbing the belly heartily with hot cloths.

It is often found that after these plentiful discharges, and when the
 5 pains are over, there remains a very disagreeable taste in the mouth, resembling the savour of rotten eggs. This may be removed by giving some doses of the powder No. 24, and drinking largely of good water.

It is an essential point in these cases to take no food before a perfect recovery.

10 §[211]. Some have been absurd enough to fly to some heating cordial, to Venice treacle, aniseed water, geneva or red wine. But there cannot be a more fatal practice, since evacuations are the only thing which can cure the complaint. And should this endeavour of stopping them succeed, the patient is either thrown into a putrid fever or
 15 some chronical malady; unless nature, wiser than such a miserable assistant, should prevail over the obstacles opposed to her recovery and restore the obstructed evacuations in the space of a few days.

§[212]. Sometimes an indigestion happens with very little pain, but with violent retchings and cold sweats. And not seldom the
 20 malady begins only with a sudden and unexpected fainting. The patient immediately loses his senses, his face is pale and wan. He has some hiccups which, joined to the smallness of his pulse and to the circumstance of his being attacked very soon after a meal, makes this disorder distinguishable from a real apoplexy. Neverthe-
 25 less, when it rises to this height, it sometimes kills in a few hours. The first thing is to throw up a sharp clyster, in which salt and soap are dissolved. Next to get down as much salt and water as he can swallow. And if that is ineffectual, the powder No. [34⁴³] is to be dissolved in three cups of water, one half of which is to be given
 30 directly; and if it does not operate in a quarter of an hour, the other half. Generally speaking, the patient's sense begins to return as soon as he begins to vomit.

35 *Of the flatulent or windy colics.*

§[213⁴⁴]. Every particular which constitutes our food, whether solid or liquid, contains much air. If they do not digest soon

⁴³Orig., 'No. 4'; a mistake, because it is not a powder. Tissot had said '34'.

⁴⁴The numbering '§215' is mistakenly duplicated at this point; reducing the correction needed in numbering to two.

enough, or but badly; if they contain an extraordinary quantity of air; or if the guts being compressed anywhere in the course of their extent, prevent that air from being equally diffused (which must occasion a greater proportion of it in some places) then the stomach and the guts are distended.

5

This species of colic rarely appears alone but is often complicated with the other sorts, of which it is a consequence, and is more especially joined with the colic from indigestions. It may be known, like that, by the causes which preceded it; by its not being accompanied either with fever, heat, or thirst; the belly's being large and full, though without hardness; being unequal in its largeness, which prevails more in one part of it than in another, forming something like pockets of wind, sometimes in one part, sometimes in another; and by the patient's feeling some ease merely from the rubbing of his belly, as it moves the wind about, which escaping either upwards or downwards affords him still greater relief.

10

15

§[214]. When it is combined with any different species of the colic it requires no distinct treatment and it is removed by the medicines which cure the principal disease.

20

Sometimes however it does exist alone, and then it depends on the windiness of the food taken by the person affected with it—such as new wine, beer, especially very new beer, certain fruits, and garden stuff. It may be cured by chaffing the belly with hot cloths, by the use of drink moderately spiced, and especially by camomile tea. When the pains are abated, and there is no fever, the patient may take a little aromatic or spiced wine, which is not to be allowed in any other kind of colic.

25

When a person is frequently subject to colic pains it is a sign that the digestive faculty is impaired, the restoring of which should be carefully attended to, without which his health must suffer considerably.

30

Of colics occasioned by cold.

35

§[215]. When any person has been very cold, especially in his feet, it is common for him to be attacked within a few hours with violent colic pains, in which heating and spirituous medicines are very pernicious, but which are easily cured by rubbing the legs well with hot cloths and keeping them afterwards for a considerable time in warm water, at the same time drinking freely of a light infusion of camomile, or toast and water.

40

The cure will be effected the sooner if the patient is put to bed and sweats a little, especially in the legs and feet.

If the pain be excessive, it may be necessary to give a clyster of warm water, to keep the legs several hours over the steam of hot water and afterwards in the water, to drink plentifully of an infusion of camomile. If the distemper is not subdued by these means, blisters should be applied to the legs, which I have known to be highly efficacious.

§[216]. It appears through the course of this chapter that we must be on our guard against heating and spirituous medicines in colics, as they may not only aggravate but even render them mortal. In short they should never be given. And when it is difficult to discover the real cause of the colic, I advise country people to confine themselves to these remedies which cannot be hurtful. Let the patient drink warm water plentifully, and let the belly be often fomented in pretty warm water, which is the best fomentation of any.

I have mentioned nothing here of the use of any oils in this disease. I advise a total disuse of them, since they may be of bad consequence in many respects.

§[217]. Chronical diseases not coming within the plan of this work, I purposely forbear treating of them. But I think it my duty to admonish those subject to them that they should: 1) avoid with the greatest care the use of sharp, hot, violent medicines, vomits, strong purges, elixirs. 2) They should be thoroughly on their guard against all those who promise them a very speedy cure, by the assistance of some specific remedy. 3) They should be convinced they can entertain no reasonable hope of being cured without an exact conformity to a proper regimen, and a long perseverance in a course of mild and safe remedies. 4) They should continually reflect that there is little difficulty in doing them great mischief, and that their complaints require the greatest knowledge in those persons to whom the treatment and cure of them are committed.

Chapter XXII

Of the Iliac Passion, and the Cholera Morbus

§[218]. The iliac passion is the most tormenting of all diseases.

If the intestines are closed up in any part, all the food is stopped and the continual motion which is observed in the bowels to force everything downwards is done a direct contrary manner, and forces everything towards the mouth.

The disease begins sometimes after a costiveness of some days. At other times it is preceded by pains in the belly, especially round the navel, which pains, increasing by degrees, become at last very violent. Some feel a hard tumour round the belly, as if it was a cord. Flatulencies are heard, some come out upwards. And the vomitings, which supervene soon, increase till the patient throws up all that he has taken, with inexpressible pain. At the beginning he casts up the last food which he took with some yellowish matter, and his drink. But afterwards the matter becomes stinking. And when the disease is come to a height, the matter has a smell which is called the smell of excrement, but which is more like the smell of a corrupted dead body. Sometimes likewise, if the patient has taken injections of a strong smell, the same is found in what is vomited up. But I never saw anybody vomit up real excrements, nor the composition of clysters. During all the distemper the patient has not one stool, the belly is tense, the urine suppressed, or thick and stinking. The pulse, which at first was pretty hard, becomes quick and small.⁴⁵ The strength is lost. The patients rave. There comes on almost always a hiccup, and sometimes general convulsions. The extremities grow cold, the pains and vomitings cease, and the patient dies.

§[219]. As this disease is highly dangerous, the moment it is apprehended it is necessary to oppose it. The smallest error may be of fatal consequence, and hot liquors kill the patient in a few hours.

This disease should be treated precisely in the same manner as an inflammatory colic.

1. The patient should be plentifully bled, if the physician has been called in before the sick has lost his strength.

2. He should receive opening clysters made of a decoction of barley water, with five or six ounces of oil in each.

3. We should endeavour to allay the violent efforts to vomit, by giving every two hours a spoonful of the mixture No. 48.

4. The sick should drink plentifully, in very small quantities, very often repeated, of an appeasing, diluting drink, which tends to promote both stools and urine. Nothing is preferable to the whey No. 49, if it can be had immediately. If not, give simple clear whey sweetened with honey, and the drinks prescribed [in] §[204], art. 3.

5. The patient is to be put into a hot bath, and kept as long as he can bear it; repeating as often daily as his strength will permit.

⁴⁵ Orig., 'slow'; but this contradicts 'quick'. We restore 'small', which was the word in Tissot.

6. After bleeding, warm bathing, repeated clysters, and fomentations, if all these have availed nothing, the smoke of tobacco may be introduced in the manner of a clyster.

5 I cured a person of this disease by conveying him into a bath, immediately after bleeding him, and giving him a purge on his going into the bath.

§[220]. If the pain abates before the patient has quite lost his strength, if the pulse improves, if the vomitings are less, if he feels some rumbling in his bowels, if he has some little discharge by stool, and if at the same time he feels a little stronger, his cure may reasonably be expected. But if he is otherwise circumstanced, he will soon depart. It frequently happens, a single hour before death, that the pain seems to vanish and a surprising quantity of extremely fetid matter is discharged by stool. The patient is suddenly seized
15 with a great weakness and sinking, falls into a cold sweat, and immediately expires.

20 *Of the cholera morbus.*

§[221]. This disease is a sudden, abundant, and painful evacuation by vomiting and by stool.

It begins with much wind and slight pains in the belly, followed with large evacuations either by stool or by vomit at first, but when-
25 ever either of them has begun the other quickly follows. The pulse is almost constantly feverish, is sometimes strong at first, but soon sinks into weakness, in consequence of the prodigious discharge. Some patients purge a hundred times in the compass of a few hours. They may even be seen to fall away. After a great number of them
30 they are afflicted with cramps in their legs, thighs, and arms. When the disease rages too highly to be assuaged, hiccups, convulsions, and a coldness of the extremities approach. There is a scarcely intermitting succession of fainting fits, the patient dying either in one
35 of them or in convulsions.

It commonly prevails towards the end of July and in August, especially if the heats have been very violent, and there have been little or no summer fruits, which greatly conduce to allay the putrescent acrimony of the bile.

40 §[222⁴⁶]. Our first endeavour should be to drown this acrid bile by

⁴⁶In original, §223 is here repeated; reducing the amount of the corrected numbering to one.

the most mitigating drinks. Wherefore the patient should continually take in either barley water or pure water, with one eighth part milk. Or he may use a very light decoction of bread, which is made by gently boiling a pound of toasted bread in five or six quarts of water for half an hour.

5

A very light soup made of a pullet, or one pound of lean veal, in four quarts of water is very proper. Whey is also employed to good purpose. And in those places where it can be easily had, butter-milk is the best drink of any. But whichever of these drinks shall be thought preferable, it is a necessary point to drink very plentifully of it.

10

2. If the patient's attendants use Venice treacle, mint water, syrup of white poppies (called 'diacodium'), opium, or mithridate, it either happens that the disease and all its symptoms are heightened or, if the evacuation should actually be stopped, the patient is thrown into a more dangerous condition.

15

§[223]. If the pains and evacuations gradually abate, it will still be proper to persevere in the medicines already directed, though somewhat less frequently. And now we may allow a few soups from mealy substances. And as soon as they are quite ceased, he must be referred to the regimen so frequently recommended to persons in a state of recovery, when the concurring use of the powder No. 24, taken twice a day, will greatly assist to hasten and establish his health.

20

25

Chapter XXIII

Of the Diarrhoea

§[224]. Those fluxes which attack suddenly, without any preceding distemper, which are not attended with strong pains or a fever, are rather an advantage than disadvantage. They evacuate matter that has been long amassed, which, were it not carried off, would produce some distemper.

30

These purgings then must not be stopped. They go away generally of themselves when all the hurtful matter is discharged, and they require no medicine. All that ought to be done is to diminish the quantity of food; to abstain from eating flesh, eggs, and wine; to live on soup, pulse [i.e., legumes], or a little fruit raw or baked; and to drink a little more than usual.

35

40

§[225]. If after five or six days the distemper continue, and the pains increase, then it must be stopped. For that effect a man must

be put into a regimen. And if the diarrhoea was accompanied with a great loathing, risings at the stomach, foulness of the tongue, and a bad taste in the mouth, the powder No. 35 must be given. If these symptoms should not happen, the powder No. 51 should be administered, and during the three hours after this medicine he should take every half hour a cup of weak broth.

If the diarrhoea, stopped by this medicine, should return at the end of some days, it would be a proof that there remains a tenacious matter which has not been discharged. In this case the medicines No[s]. 21, 23, or 47⁴⁷ must be given; and afterwards, the patient must take, fasting, for two mornings, the half of the powder No. 51.⁴⁸

§[226]. A purging is often neglected for a long time, from which neglect they degenerate into perpetual ones. In such cases the medicine No. 35 should be given first; then every other day for four times successively he should take No. 51. During all which time he should live on nothing but panada, or on rice boiled in weak chicken broth. A strengthening stomachic plaster has sometimes been successfully applied, which may be often moistened in a decoction of herbs boiled in wine. Cold and moisture should be avoided, which frequently occasion immediate relapses, even after the looseness had ceased for many days.

Chapter XXIV

Of the Dysentery

§[227]. The dysentery is a flux, with strong gripings, and frequent inclinations to go to stool. There is commonly a little blood in the stools, but not always.

The dysentery is generally epidemical—it begins sometimes at the end of July, oftener in August, and ends when the frost begins.

§228.⁴⁹ It begins with a shivering for some hours, and great pains in the belly, which sometimes last many hours before the evacuations begin. The patient has vertigos, inclinations to vomit. He grows pale. His pulse however is not feverish, but generally small.

⁴⁷Tissot had '21, 25, or 27'; it is unclear whether JW changed purposefully or miscopied.

⁴⁸Orig., '57'. This error was also drawn to JW's attention by John Valton; Wesley's quick correction in his letter of Feb. 9, 1775, was to suggest it should be '5'. We have restored to '51', as in Tissot.

⁴⁹In original §228 is duplicated, bringing the numbering in all editions back into agreement from this point.

At last the stools come on. The first ones are often of a liquid and yellowish matter, but very soon they are mixed with glairy matter, and that glairy matter is coloured with blood. The pains increase, and the stools become so frequent that the patient has eight, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteen of them during the space of an hour. Then the fundament is irritated, the tenesmus (which is an inclination of going to stool, though there is no matter inwardly) joins to the dysentery, and occasions often a falling down of the fundament. And this is a fresh pain for the patient, who discharges sometimes worms, thickened glairy matter which resembles pieces of the guts, and sometimes clots of blood.

A raging delirium sometimes comes on before the minute of expiration. I have seen a very unusual symptom accompany this disease in two persons, which was an impossibility of swallowing for three days before death.

Many of the sick have not the least fever, or a thirst is less common in the disease than in a simple looseness.

§229. The most efficacious remedy is a vomit. That of No. 34, if taken on the first invasion of it, often removes it at once; and always shortens its duration. That of No. 35 is not less effectual. If the stools prove less frequent after the operation of either of them, it is a good sign; if they are no ways diminished, the disease is like[ly] to be obstinate.

The patient is to be ordered to a regimen, abstaining from all flesh-meat with the greatest attention, until a perfect cure. The ptisan No. 3 is the best drink for him.

The day after the vomit he must take the powder No. 51, divided into two doses. The next day he should take no other medicine but his ptisan. On the fourth the rhubarb must be repeated, after which the violence of the disease commonly abates. His diet during the disease is nevertheless to be continued exactly for some days, after which he may be allowed to enter upon that of persons in a state of recovery.

§230. The dysentery sometimes begins with an inflammatory fever, a feverish hard, full pulse, with a violent pain in the head and loins, and a stiff distended belly. In such a case the patient must be bled at once, and daily receive three or even four of the clysters No. 6, drinking plentifully of the drink No. 3.

When all dread of an inflammation is over, the patient is to be treated in the manner just related—though often there is no necessity for the vomit. And if the inflammatory symptoms have run high, his first purge should be that of No. 11, and the use of the rhubarb may be postponed till about the conclusion of the disease.

I have cured many dysenteries by ordering the sick no other remedy but a cup of warm water every quarter of an hour, and it were better to rely on this simple remedy than to employ those of whose effects we are ignorant.

5 §231. It sometimes happens that the dysentery is combined with a putrid fever, which makes it necessary, after vomit, to give the purges No. 23 or [No.] 47, and several doses of No. 24, before the rhubarb is given. No. 32 is excellent in this combined case.

10 When the dysentery is blended with symptoms of malignity, after premising the prescription No. 35, those of No. 38 and [No.] 39 may be called in successfully.

15 §232. When the disease has already been of many days standing, without the patient's having taken any medicines, or only such as were injurious to him, he must be treated as if the distemper had but just commenced; unless some symptoms foreign to the nature of the dysentery had supervened upon it.

20 §233. Relapses sometimes occur in dysenteries some few days after the patients appeared well, much the greater number of which are occasioned either by some error in diet, by cold air, or by being overheated. They are to be prevented by avoiding these causes of them, and may be removed by putting the patient on his regimen, and giving him one dose of the prescription No. 51.

25 This disease is sometimes combined too with an intermitting fever, in which case the dysentery must be removed first and the intermittent afterwards.

30 §234. A prejudice which still generally prevails is that fruits are noxious in a dysentery, whereas ripe fruits of whatever species, and especially summer fruits, are the real preservatives from it. They thin and wash down the humours, especially the thick glutinous bile—ripe fruits being the true dissolvents of such, by which indeed they may bring on a purging, but such a one as is a guard against a dysentery.

35 We had an extraordinary abundance of fruit in 1759 and 1760, but scarcely any dysenteries. Whenever I have observed dysenteries to prevail I made it a rule to eat less flesh and plenty of fruit. I have never had the slightest attack of one, and several physicians used the same caution with the same success.

40 I have seen eleven patients in a dysentery in one house, of whom nine ate fruit and recovered. The grandmother and one child, whom she loved more than the rest, did not. She managed the child after her own fashion, with burnt wine and spices but no fruit. She conducted herself in the very same manner, and both died.

In a country seat near Berne, in the year 1751, when these fluxes made great havoc and people were severely warned against the use of fruits, out of eleven persons in the family ten ate plentifully of plums, and not one of them was seized with it. The poor coachman alone rigidly observed that abstinence from fruit, and took a terrible dysentery. 5

This distemper had nearly destroyed a Swiss regiment in garrison in the south of France. The captains purchased the whole crop of several acres of vineyard, where they carried the sick soldiers and gathered the grapes for such as could not bear being carried into the vineyard, those who were well eating nothing else. After this not one more died, nor were any more even attacked with the dysentery. 10

A clergyman was seized with a dysentery, which was not in the least mitigated by any medicines he had taken. By mere chance he saw some red currants. He longed for them and ate three pounds of them between seven and nine o'clock in the morning. That very day he became better, and was entirely well on the next. 15

§235. It is necessary that each subject of this disease should have a close stool apart to himself, as the matter discharged is extremely infectious. And if they make use of bedpans, they should be carried immediately out of the chamber, the air of which should be continually renewed, sprinkling vinegar frequently in it. 20

It is also necessary to change the patient's linen frequently, without which precautions the distemper becomes more violent and attacks others who live in the same house. 25

§236. It has happened, by some unaccountable fatality, that there is no disease for which a greater number of remedies are advised than for the dysentery. Of these many boasted compositions, some are only indifferent but others pernicious. The only true method of cure is that I have advised, the purpose of which is evacuating the offending matter. All those methods which have a different scope are pernicious, and the method most generally followed (which is that of stopping the stool by astringents, or by opiates) is the worst of all, and even so mortal a one as to destroy a multitude of people annually and throw others into incurable diseases. 30 35

Chapter XXV

The Treatment of Diseases peculiar to Women

§237. Besides the preceding diseases, to which women are liable in common with men, their sex also exposes them to others peculiar 40

to it, and which depend upon four principal sources, which are: their monthly discharges, their pregnancy, their labours in child birth, and the consequences of their labours. It is my present design only to give some general directions on these four heads.

5 §238. Nature, who intended women for the increase and the nourishment of the human race at the breast, has subjected them to a periodical discharge of blood—which circumstance constitutes the source from whence the infant is afterwards to receive nutrition and growth.

10 This discharge commences generally with us between the age of sixteen and eighteen. Young maidens before this are often (and many for a long time) in a state of weakness, which is termed the ‘green sickness’. And when the terms are slow and backward, it oc-
 15 casions grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases. Nevertheless, it is improper to ascribe all the evils to which they are subject at this term of life to this cause. The fibres of women (which are intended to give way when they are extended by the growth of the child) and its inclosing membranes should necessarily be less stiff and rigid,
 20 and more lax and yielding, than the fibres of men. Hence the circulation of their blood is more slow and languid than in males. Their blood is less dense, their fluids are more liable to stagnate and to form obstructions.

§239. The disorders to which such a constitution subjects them might, in some measure, be prevented by assisting the feebleness of
 25 their natural movement through constant exercise. But this assistance, which is more necessary for females than males, they are partly deprived of by education, as they are usually employed in managing household business and light sedentary work. They stir about but little, whence their natural tendency to weakness increases. Their
 30 blood circulates imperfectly. The humours tend to a general stagnation, and none of the vital functions are completely discharged.

From such causes they sink into a state of weakness many years before this discharge could be expected. This state disposes them to be inactive. A little exercise fatigues them, whence they take none at
 35 all. It might prove a remedy of their complaint. But as it is disagreeable to them, they reject it, and thus increase their disorders.

Their appetite declines with the other vital functions, the usual kinds of food never exciting it. Instead of which they indulge themselves with whimsical cravings, and often of the oddest and most
 40 improper substances for nutrition.

After the duration of this state for a few years, the ordinary time of their monthly evacuations approaches, which however make not

the least appearance, for two reasons. The first is that their health is too much impaired to accomplish this new function at a time when all the others are so languid. And the second is that, under such circumstances, the evacuations themselves are unnecessary, since their final purpose is to discharge (when the sex are not pregnant) that superfluous blood which they were intended to produce. And this superfluity of blood does not exist in women who have been long in a low and languishing state. 5

§240. Their disorder however continues to increase, and this increase is attributed to the nonappearance of their monthly efflux. Whereas the disorder is not owing to that suppression, but this is the effect of their disorder.⁵⁰ 10

So that all the complaints of young maidens are not owing to the want of their customs. Nevertheless it is certain some are, for instance when a strong young virgin in full of health, who manifestly abounds with blood, does not obtain this discharge at the usual time. Then this superfluous blood is the fountain of very many disorders.⁵¹ 15

§241. These discharges are suppressed, in the circumstances mentioned [in] §238, by a continuance of the disease which was first an obstacle to their appearance. And in other cases they have been suppressed by cold, moisture, violent fear, and very strong passion; by indigestion, or too hot and irregular diet; by exercise too long continued; and by unusual watching. 20

§242. The great facility with which this evacuation may be suppressed, diminished, or disordered, the terrible consequences of such interruptions, and irregularities of them are cogent reasons to engage the sex to use all possible care, in every respect, to preserve the regularity of them, by avoiding during their approach and continuance every cause that may prevent or lessen them. 25 30

⁵⁰ JW omits: 'Neither is it unusual to see young lads, who have received from nature and from their parents a sort of feminine constitution, education, and habitude infested with much the same symptoms as obstructed young women. Country girls, who are generally more accustomed to such hard work and exercise as country men, are less subject to these complaints than women who live in cities' (*Advice*, §353, p. 356).

⁵¹ JW omits: 'If the lazy inactive city girls are more subject to the obstructions, which either arise from the weakness and languor I have formerly taken notice of or which accompany it, country girls are more subject to complaints from this latter cause (too great a retention of superfluous blood) than women who live in cities, and it is this last cause that excites those singular disorders which appear so supernatural to the common people that they ascribe them to sorcery' (*Advice*, §354, pp. 356–57).

Besides the caution with which they should avoid these general causes just mentioned, every person ought to remember what has most particularly disagreed with her during that term, and forever constantly to reject it.

5 §243. There are many women whose customs visit them without the slightest impeachment of their health. Others are sensibly
disordered on every return of them. And to others again they are
very tormenting, by the violent colics, of a longer or shorter duration,
10 which precede or accompany them. I have known some of these
violent attacks last but some minutes, and others which continued
a few hours. But some have persisted for many days, attended with
vomiting, fainting, with convulsions from excessive pain, with vomiting
15 of blood, bleedings from the nose, which have brought them to the very jaws of death. Some are subject to these symptoms every
month, from the first appearance to the final termination of these
discharges, except proper remedies and regimen, and sometimes a
happy childbirth, remove them. Others complain but now and then,
every second, third, or fourth month. And there are some again who,
20 having suffered very severely during the first months or years, suffer
no more afterwards. A fourth number, after having had their customs
for a long time without the least complaint, find themselves afflicted
with cruel pains at every return of them if, by imprudence, they have
incurred any cause that suppressed, diminished, or delayed them.
25 This consideration ought to suggest a proper caution even to such as
generally undergo these discharges without pain. Since all may be
assured that, though they suffer no sensible disorder at that time,
they are nevertheless more delicate, more easily affected by the passions
of the mind, and have also weaker stomachs at these periods.

30 §244. These discharges may also be sometimes too profuse in
quantity. In such cases recourse may be had to the directions I shall
give hereafter.

§245. Finally, after their continuance for a certain number of
years (rarely exceeding thirty-five) they go off of their own accord,
35 and necessarily, between the ages of forty-five and fifty. And this
crisis is generally very troublesome, and often very dangerous.

§246. The evils mentioned [in] §239⁵² may be prevented by avoiding the causes, and:

1. By obliging young maidens to use considerable exercise, especially
40 as soon as there is the least reason to suspect the approach of
the green sickness.

⁵²Orig., '§238'; an apparent mistake.

2. By watching them carefully, that they eat nothing unwholesome or improper. The best drink for them is water, in which red hot iron has been extinguished.

3. They must avoid hot sharp medicines, and such as are intended to force down their terms, which are frequently attended with pernicious consequences and never do any good. And they are still the more hurtful as the patient is the younger.

4. If the malady increases, it will be necessary to give them some remedies. But these should not be purges, nor diluters, and decoctions of herbs, salts, and a heap of other useless and noxious ingredients. But they should take filings of iron, which is the most certain remedy in such cases. These filings should be of true simple iron, and not steel, and care should be taken that it be not rusty, in which state it has a very little effect.

At the beginning of this distemper, and to young girls, it is sufficient to give twenty grains daily, enjoining due exercise and a suitable diet. When it prevails in a severer degree, and the patient is not so young, a quarter of an ounce may be safely ventured on. Certain bitters or aromatics may be joined to the filings, which are numbered in the appendix 54, 55, 56, and constitute the most effectual remedies in this distemper, to be taken in the form of powder, of vinous infusion, or of electuary. When there is a just indication to bring down the discharge, the vinous infusion No. 55 must be given, and generally succeeds. But I must again repeat it (as it should carefully be considered) that the stoppage of this discharge is frequently the effect, not the cause, of this disease; and that there should be no attempt to force it down, which, in such a case, may sometimes prove more hurtful than beneficial, since it would naturally return of its own accord with the strength of the patient. There are some cases particularly in which it would be highly dangerous to use hot and active medicines. Such cases for instance as are attended with some degree of fever, a frequent coughing, a bleeding, with great leanness and considerable thirst. All which complaints should be removed before any hot medicines are given to force this evacuation, which many very ignorantly imagine cures all other female disorders—an error that has occasioned the loss of many women's lives.

§247. The other sort of obstructions described [in] §241⁵³ require a very different treatment. Bleeding, which is hurtful in the former sort, has often removed this. Bathing of the feet, the powder No. 20,

⁵³ Orig., '§240'; an apparent mistake.

the whey, have frequently succeeded. But at other times it is necessary to accommodate the remedies and the method to each particular case, and to judge of it from its own peculiar circumstances and appearances.

5 §248. When these evacuations naturally cease through age, if they stop suddenly and all at once, and had formerly flowed very largely,

1. Bleeding must be directed.

2. The usual quantity of food should be somewhat diminished, especially of flesh, of eggs, and of strong drink.

10 3. Exercise should be increased.

4. The patient should frequently take in a morning, fasting, the powder No. 24, which is very beneficial in such cases as it moderately increases the natural excretions by stool, urine, and perspiration; and thence lessens that quantity of blood which would otherwise superabound.

15 Nevertheless, should this total cessation be preceded by, or attended with, any extraordinary loss of blood, which is frequently the case, bleeding is not necessary. But the regimen and powder just directed are so. To which the purge No. 23, should now and then
20 be joined, at moderate intervals. The use of astringent medicines at this critical time might dispose the patient to a cancer of the womb.

Many women die about this age, as it is an easy matter to injure them then; a circumstance that should make them very cautious in the medicines they recur to. On the other hand, it also frequently
25 happens that their constitutions alter for the better after this. Their fibres grow stronger. They find themselves more hearty and hardy. Many former infirmities disappear, and they enjoy a healthy and happy old age. I have known several who threw away their spectacles at the age of fifty-two or fifty-three, which they had used five
30 or six years before.

35 *Of disorders attending gravitation, or the term of going with child.*

§249. In gravitation, women are subject to pains of the stomach, to vomiting in a morning, to headache and toothache. In this case once bleeding will for the most part suffice, and that no very plentiful one. Especially as we may assist this principal remedy by others
40 of a more gentle kind, such as gentle purgatives, moderate exercise, and a thin spare diet.

§250. Sometimes after carrying too heavy burdens, after too much or too violent work, after receiving excessive jolts, or having had a fall, they are subject to violent pains of the loins, which extend down to their thighs and terminate quite at the bottom of the belly, and which commonly import that they are in danger of miscarrying. 5

To prevent this consequence they should:

1. Immediately go to bed; and if they have not a mattress, they should lie upon a bed stuffed with straw, a featherbed being very improper. They should keep themselves quite still in this situation for several days. 10

2. They should directly lose eight or nine ounces of blood from the arm.

3. They should not eat flesh, flesh-broth, nor eggs, but live solely on soups made of mealy substances. 15

4. They should take every two hours half a paper of the powder No. 20, and should drink nothing but the ptisan No. 2.

Some sanguine robust women are very liable to miscarry at a certain stage of their pregnancy. This may be obviated by their bleeding some days before that time approaches, and by their observing the regimen I have advised. 20

Of delivery or childbirth. 25

§251. The errors which are incurred during actual labour are numberless, and too often irremediable. I shall only mark one. This is the custom of giving hot irritating things whenever the labour is very painful or slow—such as castor or its tincture, saffron, sage, rue, savin, oil of amber, wine, Venice treacle, wine burnt with spices, coffee, brandy, aniseed water, walnut water, fennel water, and other 30
drams or strong liquors. All these things, far from promoting the woman's delivery, render it more difficult by inflaming the womb (which cannot then so well contract itself) and the parts through 35
which the birth is to pass, in consequence of which they swell, become more straitened, and cannot yield or be dilated. Sometimes these stimulating hot medicines bring on haemorrhages, which prove mortal in a few hours.

§252. A considerable number both of mothers and infants might be preserved by the directly opposite method. As soon as a woman who was in good health, before the approach of her labour being 40

robust and well made, finds her travail come on, and that it is painful and difficult, far from encouraging those premature efforts, and from furthering them by those pernicious medicines, she should be bled in the arm, which will prevent the swelling and inflammation, assuage the pains, relax the parts, and dispose everything to a favourable issue.

During actual labour no other nourishment should be allowed except a little panada every three hours, and as much toast and water as the woman chooses.

Every fourth hour a clyster should be given, consisting of a decoction of mallows and a little oil. In the intervals between these clysters she should be set over a kind of stove, or in a pierced easy chair, containing a vessel in which there is some hot water. The passage should be gently rubbed with a little butter, and stupes wrung out of a fomentation of simple hot water, which is the most efficacious of any, should be applied over the belly.

By this method many labours, which seem difficult at first, terminate happily. And this safe manner of proceeding at least affords time to call in further assistance. Besides the consequences of such deliveries are healthy and happy. When, by pursuing the heating practice, even though the delivery be effected, both the mother and infant have been so cruelly, though undesignedly, tormented that both of them frequently perish.

I acknowledge these means are insufficient when the child is unhappily situated in the womb, or when there is an embarrassing conformation in the mother. Though at least they prevent the case from proving worse, and leave time for calling in help.

Of the consequences of labour or childbirth.

§253. The usual consequences of childbirth are: 1) an excessive haemorrhage, 2) an inflammation of the womb, 3) a sudden suppression of the lochia or usual discharges after delivery, and 4) the fever and other accidents resulting from the milk.

Excessive bleedings or floodings should be treated according to the manner directed [in] §250. And if they are very excessive, folds of linen, which have been wrung out of a mixture of equal parts of water and vinegar, should be applied to the belly, the loins, and the thighs. These should be changed for fresh moist ones as they dry, and should be omitted as soon as the bleeding abates.

The inflammation of the womb is discoverable by pains in all the lower parts of the belly, by a tightness of the whole, by a sensible increase of pain upon touching it, a kind of red stain or spot that mounts to the middle of the belly as high as the navel (which spot, as the disease increases, turns black, and then is always a mortal symptom), by a very extraordinary degree of weakness, an amazing change of countenance, a light delirium, a continual fever with a weak and hard pulse, sometimes incessant vomitings, a frequent hiccup, a moderate discharge of a reddish, stinking, sharp water, frequent urgings to go to stool, a burning heat of urine, and sometimes an entire suppression of it. 5 10

This dangerous disease should be treated like inflammatory ones. After bleeding, frequent clysters of warm water must by no means be omitted. Some should also be injected into the womb, and applied continually over the belly. The patient may also drink continually, either of simple barley water with a quarter of an ounce of nitre in every three pints of it, or of almond milk No. 4. 15

§254. The total suppression of the lochia should be treated exactly in the same manner. But if, unhappily, hot medicines have been given in order to force them down, the case will generally prove a most hopeless one. 20

§255. If the milk fever run[s] very high, the barley ptisan directed in §253, with a very light diet, consisting only of panada, or made of some other mealy substances, and very thin, generally remove it.

§256. Delicate women, who have not all the attendance they want, and such as are obliged to work too soon, are exposed to many accidents. And hence, the separation of the milk in their breasts being disturbed, there are knots as it were, which are very painful and troublesome. They often happen on the thighs, in which case the ptisan No. 58 is to be drank, and the poultice No. 59 must be applied. These two remedies gradually dissipate the tumour, if that can be effected. But if matter is actually formed, a surgeon must open the abscess and treat it like any other. 25 30

Should the milk curdle in the breast, it is of the utmost importance immediately to dissolve that thickness, which would otherwise degenerate into a hardness and prove a scirrhus; and from a scirrhus, in process of time, a cancer. 35

This may be prevented by an application to these small tumours, as soon as ever they appear. For this purpose nothing is more effectual than the prescriptions No. 57 and [No.] 60. But under such menacing circumstances, it is prudent to take the best advice as early as possible. 40

From the moment these hard tumours become obstinately so, and yet without any pain, we should abstain from every application—all are injurious, and greasy, sharp, resinous and spirituous ones often change the scirrhus into a cancer. Whenever it becomes manifestly
5 such, all applications are equally pernicious, except that of No. 60. Cancers have long been thought incurable. But within a few years past some have been cured by the remedy No. 57; which nevertheless is not infallible, though it should always be tried.

§257. The nipples of women who give milk are often fretted or
10 excoriated, which proves severely painful to them. One of the best applications is the most simple ointment, being a mixture of oil and wax melted together, or the ointment No. 66. Should the complaint prove very obstinate, the nurse ought to be purged, which generally removes it.

Chapter XXVI

Directions concerning Children

§258. Nearly all the children who die before they are one or two
20 years old die with convulsions. People say they died of them, which is particularly true, as it is in effect the convulsions that have destroyed them. But then these convulsions are the consequences of other diseases, which require the utmost attention. The four principal causes are: the meconium (the excrements contained in the
25 body of the infant at the birth), acidities (or sharp and sour humours), the cutting of the teeth, and worms. I shall treat briefly of each.

Of the meconium.

§259. The stomach and guts of the infant, at its entrance into
35 the world, are filled with a black sort of matter which is called the 'meconium'.

The evacuation of this excrement is procured by making them drink some water, to which a little sugar or honey is added, which will dilute this meconium and promote the discharge of it by stool, and sometimes by vomiting.

40 To be more certain of expelling all this matter they should take one ounce of compound syrup of succory, which should be diluted with a little water, drinking up this quantity within the space of four

or five hours.^u This syrup is greatly preferable to all others given in such cases, and especially to oil of almonds.

Should the great weakness of the child seem to call for some nourishment, there would be no inconvenience in allowing a little biscuit well boiled in water, which is pretty commonly done, or a little very thin light panada. 5

Of acids or sharp humours.

§260. Notwithstanding the bodies of children have been emptied, yet the milk very often turns sour in their stomachs, producing vomitings, violent colics, convulsions, or a looseness. There are but two purposes to be pursued in such cases: to carry off the sour humours, and to prevent the generation of more. The first of these intentions is best effected by the syrup of succory, or violets. 10 15

The generation of further acidities is prevented by giving three doses daily, if the symptoms are violent—and but two, or even one only, if they are moderate—of the powder No. 61, drinking after it balm tea. 20

It has been a custom to load children with oil of almonds as soon as ever they are infested with gripes.^v But it is a pernicious custom, and attended with very dangerous consequences.

§261. Infants are commonly most subject to colics during their earliest months, which abate as their stomachs grow stronger. They may be relieved in the fit by clysters of a decoction of camomile flowers, in which a bit of soap of the size of a hazelnut is dissolved, or by a piece of flannel wrung out of a decoction of camomile flowers, with the addition of some Venice treacle applied hot over the stomach and on the belly. 25 30

But a certain means to prevent these colics, which are owing to children's not digesting their milk, is to move and exercise them as much as possible, having a due regard however to their tender time of life. 35

^uThis method is used whenever the mother does not suckle her child. But when she does, these remedies seem useless. The mother should give her child the breast as soon as she can. The first milk, the 'strippings' as it is called in quadrupeds, which is very serous or watery, will be serviceable as a purgative; it will forward the expulsion of the meconium, prove gradually nourishing, and is better than biscuits or panada [Rast (see *Advice*, 277–78)]. 40

^vA little magnesia alba will be more proper for children than any oils whatever [Kirkpatrick (see *Advice*, 379)].

§262. Before I proceed to the third cause of the diseases of children I must take notice of the first cares their birth requires, that is the washing of them the first time, merely to cleanse, and afterwards to strengthen them.

5 The whole body of an infant just born is covered with a gross humour, which is occasioned by the fluids in which it was suspended in the womb. There is a necessity to cleanse it directly from this, for which nothing is so proper as a mixture of one third wine and two thirds water; wine alone would be dangerous. This washing may be
10 repeated some days successively. But it is a bad custom to continue to wash them warm, the danger of which is augmented by adding some butter to the wine in the water. If this gross humour that covers the child seems more thick and glutinous than ordinary, a decoction of camomile flowers, with a little bit of soap, may be used.
15 The regularity of perspiration is the great foundation of health. To procure this the skin must be strengthened. But warm washing tends to weaken it. Therefore children should be washed, some few days after their birth, with cold water, in the state it is brought from the spring.

20 For this purpose a sponge is employed, with which they begin by washing first the face, the ears, the back part of the head (carefully avoiding the mould of the head), the neck, the loins, the trunk of the body, the thighs, legs and arms, and in short every spot. This method which has obtained for so many ages will appear shocking
25 to several mothers. They would be afraid of killing their children by it. Yet they cannot give a more substantial mark of their tenderness to them than by subduing their fears and their repugnance.

Weakly infants are those who have the greatest need of being washed, and it seems scarcely credible how greatly this method
30 conduces to their strength.

They should be washed very regularly every day, in every season, and every sort of weather. And in the fine warm season they should be plunged into a large pail of water, into a brook, a river, or a lake.

After a few days of crying they grow so well accustomed to this
35 exercise that it becomes one of their pleasures, so that they laugh all the time of their going through it.

The first benefit of this practice is the keeping up their perspiration, and rendering them less obnoxious to the impressions of the air and weather. And it is in consequence of this that they are
40 preserved from a great number of maladies, especially from knotty tumours, from obstructions, from diseases of the skin, and from convulsions.

§263. But care should be taken not to undo the benefit of this washing by the bad custom of keeping them too hot. There is not a more pernicious one than this, nor one that destroys more children. They should be accustomed to light clothing by day and light covering by night, to go with their heads very thinly covered, and not at all in the day time, after the age of two years. They should not sleep in chambers that are too hot, and should live in the open air both summer and winter as much as possible. Children who have been kept too hot are very liable to colds. They are weakly, pale, languishing, bloated. They are subject to hard knotty swellings, a consumption, all sorts of languid disorders, and either die in their infancy or only grow up into a miserable valetudinary life.

§264. I must add that infancy is not the only stage of life in which cold bathing is advantageous. I have advised it with remarkable success to persons of every age, even to that of seventy. And there are two kinds of diseases in which cold baths succeed very greatly—that is, in weakness of the nerves, and when perspiration is disordered. When persons are liable to colds, feeble and languishing, the cold bath reestablishes perspiration, restores strength to the nerves, and by that means dispels all the disorders which arise from these two causes in the animal economy. It should be used any time before dinner.

Of the cutting of the teeth.

§265. Cutting of the teeth is often very tormenting to children. If it proves very painful, we should during that period:

1. Keep their bellies open by clysters, consisting only of a decoction of mallows.

2. Their ordinary quantity of food should be lessened for two reasons: first, because the stomach is then weaker than usual; and next, because a small fever sometimes accompanies the cutting.

3. Their usual quantity of drink should be increased a little. The best for them is an infusion of the leaves or flowers of the lime tree, to which may be added a little milk.

4. Their gums should frequently be rubbed with a mixture of equal parts of honey and mucilage of quince seeds, and a root of marsh mallows or liquorice may be given them to chew.

Of worms.

§266. The symptoms which make it probable they are infested with worms are slight, frequent, and irregular colics. A great quantity of spittle running off while they are fasting. A disagreeable smell of their breath, especially in the morning. A frequent itchiness of their noses, which make them scratch or rub them often. A very irregular appetite, pains at the stomach and vomitings. Sometimes a costive belly, but more frequently loose stools of indigested matter. The belly larger than ordinary, the rest of the body meagre. A thirst which no drink allays. And often great weakness, with some degree of melancholy. Their urine is often whitish, some as white as milk. Sometimes they are afflicted with palpitations, swoonings, convulsions, long and profound drowsiness, cold sweats which come on suddenly, fevers which have the appearances of malignity, obscurities and even loss of sight and of speech, palsies either of their hands, their arms, or their legs, and numbnesses. They have often the hiccup, a small and irregular pulse, ravings, and (what is one of the least doubtful symptoms) frequently a small dry cough.

§267. There are a very great multitude of medicines against worms. The wormseed is a very good one. The prescription No. 62 is also a very successful one. And the powder No. 14 is one of the best. Flower of brimstone, the juice of cresses, acids, and honey water have often been serviceable. But the first three I have mentioned, succeeding by a purge, are the best. No. 63 is a purging medicine that the most difficult children may easily take.

A disposition to breed worms always shows the digestions are weak and imperfect, for which reason children liable to worms should not have food difficult to digest. A long continued use of filings of iron is the remedy that most effectually destroys this disposition.

Of convulsions.

§268. I have already said that the convulsions of children are almost constantly the effect of some other disease, and especially of some of the four I have mentioned. Others sometimes occasion them.

The first of them is the corrupted humours that often abound in their stomachs and intestines, the consequence of too great a load

of aliments or of such as the stomachs of children are incapable of digesting.

It may be known that the convulsions of a child are owing to this cause by a loathing stomach, by a foul tongue, a great belly, by its bad complexion, and its disturbed unrefreshing sleep.

A diminution of the quality of the food, and the purge No. 63, generally remove such convulsions.

§269. The second cause is the bad quality of their milk. Whether it be that the nurse has fallen into a violent passion, some considerable disgust, or a great fright. Whether she has ate unwholesome food, drank too much wine, or strong drink. Whether she is seized with a descent of her monthly discharges and that has greatly disordered her health, or whether she be sick. In all these cases the milk is vitiated, and exposes the infant to violent symptoms.

The remedies for convulsions, from this cause, consist:

1. In letting the child abstain from this corrupted milk until the nurse shall have recovered her state of health and tranquillity.

2. In making the child drink plentifully of a light infusion of the lime tree flowers.* In giving it no other nourishment for a day or two, except panada and other light spoon meat, without milk.

3. In purging the child with an ounce, or an ounce and a half, of manna.

A third cause which produces convulsions is the smallpox and the measles. Such convulsions require no other treatment but that proper for the disorder.

§270. It is evident from what has been said that convulsions are commonly a symptom attending some other distemper, rather than an original distemper. That they depend on many different causes. That hence there can be no general remedy for them. And that the only means which are suitable in each case are those which are proper to oppose the particular cause producing them.

The greater part of the pretended specifics which are employed in all sorts of convulsions are often useless, and oftener prejudicial. Of this last sort are,

1. All sharp and hot medicines, spirituous liquors, oil of amber, other hot oils and essence, volatile salts, and such other medicines

* Lime tree flowers have an agreeable flavour, which is communicated to water by infusion, and raises with it in distillation. These flowers may be gathered in most places in Britain in the month of July. They are considered by [Friedrich] Hoffman and several other writers as a specific in all kinds of spasms and pains, and even sometimes in the epilepsy [JW].

as by the violence of their action are likelier to produce convulsions than to allay them.

2. Astringent medicines, which are highly pernicious whenever the convulsions are caused by any sharp humour that ought to be discharged by stool, or when such convulsions are an effort of nature to effect a crisis. Besides that there is always some danger in giving them to children without mature consideration, as they often dispose them to obstructions.

3. Opiates, such as Venice treacle, mithridate, [and] syrup of poppies are also attended with the most embarrassing events in regard to convulsions, and are improper for nine-tenths of those they are advised to. It is true they often produce an apparent ease for some minutes, or hours. But the disorder returns with greater violence for this suspension, because they have augmented all the causes producing it.

Indeed there are some cases in which they are absolutely necessary, as: 1) when the convulsions continue after the original cause of them is removed; 2) when they are so violent as to threaten life, and when they prove an obstacle to the taking proper remedies; and 3) when the cause producing them is of such a nature as is apt to yield to the force of anodynes; as when, for instance, they have been the immediate consequence of a fright.

Some children are very obnoxious to convulsions. In general, cold bathing, and the powder No. 14 are serviceable in such circumstances.

General directions with respect to children.

§271. I shall conclude this chapter by such advice as may contribute to give children a more vigorous constitution, and to preserve them from many disorders.

First then, we should be careful not to cram them, and to regulate both the quantity and the set time of their meals, which is a very practicable thing even in the very earliest days of their life when the woman who nurses them will be careful to do it regularly. Perhaps indeed this is the very age when such a regulation may be the most easily effected.

Sickness is the only circumstance that can warrant any alteration in the order and intervals of their meals. And then this change should consist in a diminution of their usual quantity, notwith-

standing a general and fatal conduct seems to establish the reverse. And this pernicious fashion authorizes the nurses to cram these poor little creatures the more, in proportion as they have a real need of less feeding. They conclude, of course, that all their cries are the effects of hunger, and the moment an infant begins then they immediately stop his mouth with food, without once suspecting that these wailings may be occasioned by the uneasiness of an over-loaded stomach, or by pains whose cause is neither removed or mitigated by making the children eat—though the mere action of eating may render them insensible to slight pains for a few minutes.

Those who overload them with victuals, in hopes of strengthening them, are extremely deceived, there being no one prejudice equally fatal to such a number of them. Whatever unnecessary aliment a child receives weakens, instead of strengthens him. The stomach, when over-distended, suffers in its force and becomes less able to digest thoroughly. The excess of food last received impairs the concoction of the quantity that was really necessary. Which, being badly digested, is so far from yielding any nourishment to the infant that it weakens it, proves a source of diseases, and concurs to produce obstructions, rickets, the evil, slow fevers, a consumption, and death.

Another unhappy custom prevails with regard to the diet of children when they begin to receive any other food besides their nurse's milk, and that is to give them such as exceeds the digestive power of their stomachs, and to indulge them in a mixture of such things in their meals as are hurtful in themselves, and more particularly so with regard to their feeble and delicate organs.

To justify this pernicious indulgence, they affirm it is necessary to accustom their stomachs to every kind of food. But this notion is highly absurd, since their stomachs should first be strengthened, in order to make them capable of digesting every sort of food. And crowding indigestible, or very difficult digestible, materials into it is not the way to strengthen it. To make a foal sufficiently strong for future labour, he is exempted from any till he is four years old, which enables him to submit to considerable work without being the worse of it. But if, to inure him to fatigue, he should be accustomed immediately from his birth to submit to burdens above his strength, he could never prove anything but an utter jade. The application of this to the stomach of a child is obvious.

I shall add another important remark and it is this, that the too early work to which some children are forced becomes of real prejudice to the public. Hence families themselves are less numerous,

flowers sweetened with honey. And supposing nothing else to be had, some warm water with the addition of a little salt.

7. Notwithstanding the sick discover tokens of life, we should not cease to continue our assistance, since they sometimes expire after these first appearances of recovering.

[8.] Lastly, though they should be manifestly reanimated, there sometimes remains an oppression, a coughing and feverishness. And then it becomes necessary sometimes to bleed them in the arms, and to give them barley water plentifully.

§274. Having thus pointed out such means as are effectual, I shall briefly mention some others which it is the custom to use.

1. These unhappy people are sometimes wrapped up in a sheep's, or calf's, or a dog's skin, immediately flayed from the animal. But their operations are more slow, and less efficacious, than the heat of a well-warmed bed.

2. The method of rolling them in an empty hogshead is dangerous, and misspends a deal of important time.

3. That also of hanging them up by the feet ought to be wholly discontinued. The froth which is one of the causes of their death is too thick and tough to discharge itself by its own weight. This must also be hurtful by its tending to increase the overfullness of the head and lungs.

At the very time of writing this, two young ducks who were drowned have been revived by a dry bath of hot ashes.^x The heat of a dung heap may also be beneficial, and I have been informed, by a sensible spectator of it, that it effectually contributed to restore life to a man who had remained six hours under water.

Chapter XXVIII

Of Substances Stopped between the Mouth and the Stomach

§275. The food we take in descends from the mouth through a very strait passage, the gullet, which joins to the stomach.

It happens sometimes that bodies are stopped in this channel, without being able either to descend or to return up again.

The danger of such cases does not depend so much on the nature of the obstructing substance as on its size, and of the manner in

^xBy much the most effectual application is common salt heated to a considerable degree [JW].

which it forms the obstruction. And frequently the very food may occasion death, while substances less adapted to be swallowed are not attended with any violent consequences.

§276. Whenever any substance is thus detained in the gullet there are two ways of removing it—that is, either by extracting it, or pushing it down. The safest is to draw it out, but this is not always the easiest. And as the efforts made for this purpose greatly fatigue the patient, if the occasion is urging, it may be eligible to thrust it down, if there is no danger from the obstructing body's reception into the stomach.

The substances which may be pushed down without danger are all common nourishing ones.

The substances we should endeavour to draw out, though it be more painful, are all those whose consequences might be dangerous if swallowed. Such are all totally indigestible bodies, as cork, linen rags, wood, stones, metals. And more especially if any further danger may be superadded to that of its indigestibility from the shape of the substance swallowed. Wherefore we should chiefly endeavour to extract pins, needles, fish bones, pointed fragments of bones, bits of glass, scissors, rings, or buckles.

When such substances have not passed in too deep, we should endeavour to extract them with our fingers. If they are lower we should make use of nippers or a small forceps. In case of necessity they might be made very readily out of two bits of wood. But this attempt to extract rarely succeeds if the substance has descended far.

§277. If the fingers and the nippers fail, crotchets (a kind of hook) may be employed.

These may be made at once with a pretty strong iron wire, crooked at the end. It must be introduced in the flat way, and for the better conducting of it, there should be another curve or hook at the end it is held by, to serve as a kind of handle to it. Which has this further use, that it may be secured by a string tied to it, a circumstance not to be omitted in any instrument employed to avoid such ill accidents as have sometimes ensued from these instruments slipping out of the operator's hold.

This crotchet is also very convenient whenever a substance somewhat flexible, as a pin or a fishbone, stick as it were across the gullet.

§278. Another material employed on these occasions is the sponge. Its property of swelling considerably, on being wet, is the foundation of its usefulness here.

If any substance is stopped in the gullet, but without filling up the whole passage, a bit of sponge is introduced, into that part that

flowers sweetened with honey. And supposing nothing else to be had, some warm water with the addition of a little salt.

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If any substance is stopped in the gullet, but without filling up the whole passage, a bit of sponge is introduced, into that part that

is unstopped, and beyond the substance. The sponge soon grows larger in this moist situation, and indeed the enlargement of it may be forwarded by making the patient swallow a few drops of water. And then drawing back the sponge by the handle it is fastened to, as
5 it is now too large to return through the small cavity by which it was conveyed in, it draws out the obstructing body with it.

Sponge is also applied in another manner. When there is no room to convey it into the gullet, because the obstructing substance engrosses its whole cavity—and supposing it not hooked into the part,
10 but solely detained by the straitness of the passage—a pretty large bit of sponge is to be introduced close to the obstructing substance. Thus applied, the sponge swells, and thence dilates that part of the passage that is above this substance. The sponge is then withdrawn a little, and but a very little, and this substance being less pressed
15 upon above than below, it sometimes happens that the contraction of the lower part of the passage causes that substance to ascend. And as soon as this first loosening of it has happened, the total disengagement of it easily follows.

§279. When all these methods prove unavailable, there remains
20 one more, which is to make the patient vomit. But this can scarcely be of service but when such obstructing bodies are simply engaged in, and not stuck into the sides of the oesophagus—since under this latter circumstance vomiting might occasion further mischief.

If the patient can swallow, a vomiting may be excited with the
25 prescription No. 8, or with No. 34 or [No.] 35. By this operation a bone was thrown out which had stopped in the passage four and twenty hours.

When the patient cannot swallow, we may excite him to vomit by twirling about the feathery end of a quill in the bottom of the
30 throat. But, if the obstructing body strongly compresses the whole circumference of the gullet, then no other resource is left but giving a clyster of tobacco. A certain person swallowed a large morsel of calf's lights,⁵⁴ which stopped in the middle of the gullet and exactly filled up the passage. A surgeon unsuccessfully attempted
35 various methods to extract it. But another, seeing the patient's visage becoming black and swelled, and his eyes ready to start, as it were, out of his head, caused a clyster of an ounce of tobacco boiled to be thrown up. The consequence of which was a violent
40 vomiting, which threw up the substance that was so near killing him.

⁵⁴I.e., calf lung as an organ meat.

§280. When it is more convenient to push the obstructing body downwards, it has been usual to make use of leeks, or wax candle (oiled and but a very little heated, so as to make it flexible), or of a piece of whalebone, or of iron wire, one extremity of which may be thickened and blunted in a minute with a little melted lead. Small sticks of some flexible wood may be as convenient for the same use, such as the birch tree, the hazel, the ash, the willow. All these substances should be very smooth, for which reason they are sometimes covered with a thin bit of sheep's gut. 5

§281. Should it be impossible to extract the bodies mentioned [in] §276, we must prefer the least of two evils, and rather run the hazard of pushing them down than suffer the patient to perish in a few moments. 10

One of these four events is always the case after swallowing such things. They either 1) go off by stool, or 2) they are not discharged and kill the patient, or else 3) they are discharged by urine, or 4) are visibly extruded to the skin. 15

§282. I shall add some general directions.

1. It is often usual to take a considerable quantity of blood from the arm, especially if the patient's breathing is extremely oppressed or when we cannot speedily succeed in our efforts to remove the obstructing substance, as the bleeding is adapted to prevent the inflammation which the frequent irritations from such substances occasion, and as by its disposing the whole body into a state of relaxation it might possibly procure an immediate discharge of the offending substance. 20 25

2. Whenever it is manifest that all endeavour, either to extract or to push down the substance are ineffectual, they should be discontinued, because the inflammation occasioned by persisting in them would be as dangerous as the obstruction itself. 30

3. While the means already advised are making use of, the patient should often swallow. Or if he cannot, he should frequently receive (by injection through a crooked tube that may reach lower down than the glottis) warm water, either alone or mixed with milk, or a decoction of barley, of mallows, or of bran. A twofold advantage may arise from this. First, these softening liquors smooth and sooth the irritated parts. Secondly, an injection, strongly thrown in, has often been more successful in loosening the obstructing body than all attempts with instruments. 35 40

4. When after all we are obliged to leave this in the part, the patient must be treated as if he had an inflammatory disease. He must be bled, ordered to a regimen, and have his whole neck surrounded 40

with emollient poultices. The like treatment must be used, though the obstructing substance be removed, if there is room to suppose any inflammation left in the passage.

5 A proper degree of agitation has sometimes loosened the inher-
ing body more effectually than instruments. It has been experienced
that a blow with the fist on the middle of the back has often disen-
gaged such obstructing bodies. And I have known two instances of
patients who had pins stopped in the passage and who, getting on
horseback to ride out in search of relief at a neighbouring village,
10 found each of them the pin disengaged after an hour's riding. One
spit it out and the other swallowed it, without any ill consequence.

6. When there is an immediate dread of the patient's being suf-
focated, when bleeding him has been of no service, when all hope
of freeing the passage in time is vanished, and death is seemingly
15 at hand, the operation of opening the windpipe must be presently
performed—an operation neither difficult to a tolerably expert sur-
geon, nor very painful to the patient.

7. When the substance that was stopped passes into the stomach,
the patient must immediately be put into a very gentle regimen. He
20 should avoid all sharp and inflaming food, wine, spirituous liquors,
all strong drink, and coffee, taking but little nourishment at once,
and no solids without their having been very well chewed. The best
diet would be that of mealy soups, made of various leguminous
grains, and of milk and water, which is much better than the com-
25 mon custom of swallowing oils.

§283. The Author of nature has provided that in eating noth-
ing should pass by the glottis into the windpipe. This misfortune
nevertheless does sometimes happen, at which every instant there
ensues an incessant cough, an acute pain, with suffocation. All the
30 blood being forced up into the head, the patient is in great anguish,
being agitated with violent motions, and sometimes dying on the
spot.

In a case thus circumstanced, the patient should be struck often
on the middle of the back. Some efforts to vomit should be excited.
35 He should be prompted to sneeze with any cephalic snuffs, which
should be blown strongly up his nose.

If all these methods are ineffectual, bronchotomy must speed-
ily be performed. By this operation some bones, a bean, and a fish
bone have been extracted, and the patient has been delivered from
40 approaching death.

When the esophagus is so fully and strongly closed that the pa-
tient can receive no food by the mouth, he is to be nourished by

clysters of soup, jelly, and the like, or by slices of raw flesh applied to the pit of the stomach.

Chapter XXIX

Of External Disorders, and such as require Surgical Applications 5

Of burns. 10

§284. When a burn is trifling, it is sufficient to clap a compress of several folds of soft linen upon it, dipped in cold water, and to renew it every quarter of an hour till the pain is entirely removed. But when the burn has blistered, a compress of very fine linen, spread over with the pomatum No. 64 should be applied over it, and changed twice a day. 15

If the true skin is burnt, and even the flesh under it be injured, the same pomatum may be applied. But instead of a compress, it should be spread upon a pledget of soft lint, to be applied very exactly over it; and over the pledget again, a slip of the simple plaster No. 65—which everybody may easily prepare; or, if they would prepare it, the plaster No. 66. 20

But besides this, whenever the burn has been very violent and is highly inflamed, the same means must be recurred to which are used in violent inflammations. The patient should be bled, put into a regimen, and drink nothing but the ptisans No. 2, and [No.] 4. 25

If the ingredients for the ointment called ‘nutritum’ are not at hand to make the pomatum No. 64, one part of wax should be melted in eight parts of oil, to two ounces of which mixture the yolk of an egg should be added. A still more simple application is that of one egg, both the yolk and the white, beat up with two common spoonfuls of the sweetest oil without any rankness. When the pain of the burn and all its other symptoms have very nearly disappeared it is sufficient to apply the oil cloth No. 66. 30 35

Of wounds.

§285. If a wound has penetrated into any of the cavities and has wounded any part contained in the breast or in the belly, or if it 40

has opened some great blood vessel, or has wounded a considerable nerve, there is an absolute necessity for calling in a surgeon. But when the wound affects only the fleshy parts and the small vessels, it may be easily dressed without such assistance—since, in general,
 5 all that is necessary in such cases is to defend the wound from the impressions of the air, yet not so as to give any material obstruction to the discharge of the matter that is to issue from it.

§286. If the blood does not flow out of any considerable vessel, but trickles almost equally from every spot of the wound, it may be
 10 permitted to bleed while some lint is speedily preparing. As soon as the lint is ready, so much of it may be introduced into the wound as will nearly fill it, without being forced in. It should be covered over with a compress dipped in sweet oil. And the whole dressing should
 15 be kept on with a bandage of two-fingers breadth, rolled on tight enough to secure the dressings, and yet so moderately as to bring on no inflammation.

This bandage with these dressings are to remain on twenty-four or forty-eight hours, wounds being healed the sooner for being less frequently dressed. At the second dressing all the lint must be re-
 20 moved. But if any of it should stick close, in consequence of the dried blood, it should be left behind, adding a little fresh lint to it; this dressing in other respects exactly resembling the first.

When, from the continuance of this simple dressing, the wound is become very superficial, it is sufficient to apply the plaster with-
 25 out any lint.

§287. When the wound is considerable, it must be expected to inflame before suppuration can ensue; which inflammation will be attended with pain, with a fever, and sometimes with raving too. In such a situation a poultice of bread and milk, with the addition of a
 30 little oil, that it may not stick too close, must be applied instead of the compress. Which poultice is to be changed, but without uncovering the wound, three or four times every day.

§288. Should some pretty considerable blood vessel be opened by the wound, there must be applied over it a piece of agaric of the oak
 35 (No. 67⁵⁵). It is to be kept on by applying a good deal of lint over it, covering the whole with a thick compress, and then with a bandage a little tighter than usual. If this should not be sufficient to prevent bleeding, and the wound be in the leg or arm, a strong ligature must
 40 be made above the wound with a tourniquet, which is made in a moment with a skein of thread or of hemp that is passed round the

⁵⁵ Orig., '76'; corrected to '67' as in Tissot.

arm circularly, into the middle of which is inserted a piece of wood or stick of an inch thickness and four or five inches long; so that by turning round this piece of wood, any tightness or compression may be effected at pleasure. But care must be taken: 1) to dispose the skein in such a manner that it must always be two inches wider than the part it surrounds, and 2) not to strain it so tight as to bring on an inflammation. 5

§289. All the boasted virtues of a multitude of ointments are downright nonsense or quackery.

Spirituous applications are commonly hurtful, and can be proper but in a few cases, which physicians and surgeons only can distinguish. 10

When wounds occur in the head, instead of the compress dipped in oil, the wound should be covered with a betony plaster; or when none is to be had in time, with a compress squeezed out of hot wine.

When the wound has penetrated to some internal part, no remedy is more certain than that of an extremely light diet. Such wounded persons as have been supposed incapable of living many hours after wounds in the breast, in the belly, or in the kidneys, have been completely recovered by living for several weeks on nothing but a barley (or other mealy) ptisans, without salt, without soup, without any medicine; and especially without the use of any ointments. 15 20

Of bruises.

§290. In a contusion happening to any inward part the blood is either internally effused or the circulation wholly obstructed in some vital organ. This is the cause of the sudden death of person after a violent fall, or of those who have received the violent force of heavy bodies on their heads, or of some violent strokes without any evident external hurt or mark. 25 30

When the accident has occurred in a slight degree, and there has been no great nor general shock, external applications may be sufficient. They should consist of such things as are adapted: first, to attenuate and resolve the effused blood; and secondly, to restore the tone and to recover the strength of the affected vessels. 35

The best application is vinegar (diluted, if very sharp, with twice as much warm water), in which mixture folds of linen are to be dipped, within which the contused parts are to be involved, and these folds are to be remoistened and reapplied every two hours on the first day. 40

Parsley, chervil, and houseleek leaves, lightly pounded, have also been successfully employed; and these applications are preferable to vinegar when a wound is joined to the bruise.^y

5 §291. It has been a common practice immediately to apply spirituous liquors, such as brandy or Arquebusade water. But these liquids, which coagulate the blood instead of resolving it, are truly pernicious.

10 It is still a more pernicious practice to apply in bruises plasters composed of greasy substances, rosins, gums, or earths. The most boasted of these is always hurtful, and there have been many instances of very slight contusions being aggravated into gangrenes by such plasters. Which bruises would have been entirely subdued by the economy of nature, if left to herself, in the space of four days.

15 Those suffusions of coagulated blood which are visible under the skin should never be opened, since they insensibly dissipate. Instead of which, by opening them, they sometimes terminate in a dangerous ulceration.

20 §292. The internal treatment of contusions is exactly the same with that of wounds, only that in these cases the best drink is the prescription No. 1, to three pints of which a dram of nitre must be added.

25 When any person has got a violent fall; has lost his senses, or is become stupid; when the blood starts out of his nostrils, or his ears; when he is greatly oppressed, or his belly feels very tight—which import an effusion of blood either into the head, the breast or the belly, he must first of all be bled upon the spot, and the means must be recurred to which have been mentioned [in] §289, giving the patient the least possible motion and by all means avoiding to jog or shake him, which would be directly killing him by causing a further effusion of blood. Instead of this, the whole body should be
30 fomented with some one of the decoctions already mentioned. And when the violence has been chiefly impressed on the head, wine and water should be preferred to vinegar.

35 Falls attended with wounds, and even a fracture of the skull, and with the most alarming symptoms, have been cured by these internal remedies, and without any other external assistance except the use of the aromatic fomentation No. 68.

40 It is proper, in all considerable bruises, to open the patient's belly with a mild cooling purge such as No[s]. 11, 23, 32, 49. The prescription No. 24, and the honeyed whey, are excellent remedies.

^y But nothing is equal to electrifying [JW].

§293. In these circumstances wine, distilled spirits, and whatever has been supposed to revive, is mortal. We should not be too impatient because the patients remain some time without sense or feeling. Turpentine is more likely to do mischief than good. So is spermaceti, dragon's blood, crab's eyes, and ointments of whatever sort. 5

§294. When an aged person gets a fall, though he should not seem in the least incommoded by it, if he is sanguine he should part with three or four ounces of blood. He should take immediately a few successive cups of tea sweetened with honey, and should move gently about. He must retrench a little from the usual quantity of his food, and accustom himself to very gentle, but very frequent exercise. 10

§295. Sprains or wrenches should be treated as a contusion.^z

The best remedy in this case is absolute rest, after applying a compress moistened in vinegar and water, which is to be renewed and continued till the marks of the contusion entirely disappear. Then indeed, and not before, a little brandy or Arquebusade water may be added to the vinegar. And the part should be strengthened and secured for a considerable time with a bandage, as it might otherwise be liable to fresh sprains, which would daily more and more enfeeble it. And if this evil is overlooked in its infancy, the part never recovers its full strength, and a small swelling often remains to the end of the patient's life. 15 20

If the sprain is moderate, a plunging of the part into cold water is excellent. But if this is not done immediately after the sprain, or if the contusion is violent, it is hurtful. 25

Of ulcers.

§296. When ulcers arise from a fault of the blood, it is impossible to cure them without destroying the cause. 30

Rancid oils are one of the causes, which change the most simple wounds into obstinate ulcers. 35

What distinguishes ulcers from wounds is the dryness and hardness of the sides of ulcers, and the humours discharged from them—which instead of being ripe consistent matter is a liquid of a disagreeable scent, and so sharp that if it touch the adjoining skin it produces redness or inflammation. 40

^z Electrifying cures all sort of sprains also [JW].

Sometimes the hardness is so obstinate that it cannot be mollified but by scarifying the edges with a lancet. But when it may be effected by other means, let a pledget spread with the ointment No. 69 be applied all over the ulcer, and this pledget be covered again
 5 with a compress of several folds, moistened in the liquid No. 70, which should be renewed three times daily. Though it is sufficient to apply a fresh pledget only twice.

To forward the cure, salted food, spices, and strong drink should be avoided. The quantity of flesh-meat should be lessened, and the
 10 body be kept open by a regimen of pulse [i.e., legumes], of vegetables, and by the habitual use of whey sweetened with honey.

If the ulcers are in the legs, it is of great importance, as well as in wounds of the same parts, that the patient should walk about but little, and yet never stand up without walking. Negligence in this
 15 material point changes the slightest wounds into ulcers, and the most trifling ulcers into incurable ones.

20 *Of frozen limbs.*

§297. It is common in rigorous winters for some persons to be pierced so with cold that their hands or feet are frozen just like a piece of flesh-meat exposed to the air.

If the person attempts to warm the parts that have been frozen,
 25 his case proves irrecoverable. Intolerable pains are the consequence, which are speedily attended with an incurable gangrene, and there is no means left to save the patient's life but by cutting off the gangrened limbs.

There is but one certain remedy in such cases, and this is to convey the person into some place where it does not freeze, but where it is but moderately warm. And there continually to apply to the frozen parts snow—if it be at hand; and if not, to keep washing them incessantly, but very gently (since all friction would at
 30 this juncture prove dangerous,) in ice water, as the ice thaws in the chamber. By this application the patients will be sensible of their feeling's returning very gradually to the part. In this state they may safely be moved into a place a little warmer, and drink some cups of the potion No. 13 or of another of the like quality.

Every person may be a judge of the danger of attempting to relieve such parts by heating them, and of the use[fulness] of ice water, by daily experience. Frozen pears, apples, and radishes, being
 40

put into water just about to freeze, recover their former state and prove eatable. But if they are put into warm water or into a hot place, rottenness, which is a sort of gangrene, is the immediate effect.

§298. When cold weather is extremely severe, and a person is exposed to it for a long time at once, it proves mortal in consequence of its congealing the blood and forcing too great a proportion of it up to the brain. So that the patient dies of a kind of apoplexy, which is preceded by a sleepiness. In this circumstance, the traveller who finds himself drowsy should redouble his efforts to move. For this sleep would prove his last.

The remedies in such cases are the same with those directed in frozen limbs. The patient must be conducted to an apartment rather cold than hot, and be rubbed with snow or with ice water.

And since it is known that many people have revived who had remained in the snow or had been exposed to the freezing air during five, or even six, days, and who had discovered no mark of life for several hours, the utmost endeavours should be used for the recovery of persons in the like circumstances.

Of kibes or chilblains.

§299. These begin with a kind of swelling, which at first occasions a heat, pain, or itching. Sometimes they go off without any application. But at other times their heat, itching, and pain increase, so that the patient is often deprived of the free use of his fingers by the pain, swelling, and numbness.

Whenever the inflammation mounts to a still higher degree small blisters are formed, which are not long without bursting. They leave a rawness, as it were, which speedily ulcerates, and frequently proves a deep and obstinate ulcer.

§300. In this case the veins, which are more superficial than the arteries, being more affected and straitened by the cold, do not carry off all the blood communicated to them by the arteries. Perhaps also the particles of cold which are admitted through the pores may act upon our fluids, as it does upon water, and occasion a congelation of them, or a considerable approach towards it.

Kibes occur most frequently to children, from their weakness and the greater tenderness of their organs. It is the frequent and strong alteration from heat to cold that contributes the most powerfully to them. And this effect of it is most considerable when the heat of the

air is at the same time blended with moisture, whence the extreme and superficial parts pass suddenly as it were out of a hot into a cold bath. A man sixty years of age, who never before was troubled with kibes, having worn for some hours on a journey a pair of furred
 5 gloves in which his hands sweated, felt them very tender and found them swelled up with blood. This man was at that age first attacked with chilblains, which proved extremely troublesome. And he was every succeeding winter infested with them, within half an hour after he left off his gloves and was exposed to a very cold air.

10 Chilblains which attack the nose often leave a mark that alters the physiognomy, the aspect, of the patient for the remainder of his life. And the hands of such as have suffered from very obstinate ones are commonly ever sensible of their consequences.

15 §301. We should first do our utmost to prevent them, and next endeavour to cure such as we could not prevent.

Since they manifestly depend on the sensibility of the skin, the nature of the humours, and the changes of the weather from heat to cold, in order to prevent them: 1)⁵⁶ the skin must be rendered
 20 firmer, 2) that vicious quality of the temperament must be corrected, and 3) the persons so liable must guard themselves as well as possible against these changes of weather.

Now the skin of the hands, as well as that of the whole body, may be strengthened by washing or bathing in cold water. And in fact I have never seen children who had been early accustomed to
 25 this as much afflicted with chilblains as others. But a more particular regard should be had to the skin of the hands, which are more obnoxious to this disorder than the feet, by making children dip them in cold water and keep them for some moments together in it every morning, and every evening too before supper, from the very
 30 beginning of the fall. It will give the children no pain, during that season, to contract this habit. And when it is once contracted, it will give them no trouble to continue it throughout the winter. They may also be habituated to plunge their feet into cold water twice or thrice a week. And this method, which might be less adapted
 35 for grown persons, must be without objection with respect to such children as have been accustomed to it, to whom all its consequences must be useful and salutary.

40 §302. But then further, 1) The children must be taught never to warm their hands before the fire. 2) They should never accustom themselves to wear muffs. They should never use gloves, unless

⁵⁶ Orig., 'first'.

some particular circumstances require it. But if any, let the gloves be thin and smooth.

§303. The first degree of this complaint goes off, as I have said, without the aid of medicine. But when they rise to the second degree, they must be treated like other complaints from congelation, with cold water, ice water, and snow. 5

No other medicine is so efficacious as very cold water, so as to be ready to freeze, in which the hands are to be dipped and retained for some minutes together, and several times daily. In short, it is the only remedy which ought to be applied when the patient has the courage to bear it. It is the only application I have used for myself, after having been attacked with chilblains for some years past, from having accustomed myself to a muff. 10

There ensues a slight pain for some moments after plunging the hand into water, but it diminishes gradually. On taking the hand out, the fingers are numbed with the cold. But they presently grow warm again, and within a quarter of an hour it is entirely over. 15

The hands, on being taken out of the water, are to be well dried and put into thin gloves. After bathing three or four times their swelling subsides, so that the skin wrinkles. But by continuing the cold bathing it grows tight and smooth again. The cure is completed after using it three or four days, and the disorder seldom returns the same winter. 20

The most troublesome raging itching is certainly assuaged by plunging the hands into cold water.

The effect of snow is, perhaps, still more speedy. The hands are to be gently and often rubbed with it for a considerable time. They grow hot, and are a very high red for some moments, but perfect ease quickly succeeds. 25

Nevertheless, a very small number of persons, who have extremely delicate skins, do not experience the efficacy of this application. It seems too active for them. It affects the skin like a blister, and increases instead of lessening the complaint. 30

§304. When this last reason, or as some other circumstance—such as the child's want of courage, the monthly discharges in a woman, a violent cough, habitual colics—forbid this application, some others must be substituted. One of the best is to wear, day and night, without ever putting it off, a glove made of some smooth skin, such as that of a dog, which seldom fails to extinguish the disorder in some days time. 35

When the feet have chilblains, socks of the same skin should be worn, and the patient keep his bed for some days. 40

§305. When the disorder is violent, the use of cold water prohibited, and the gloves just recommended have but a slow effect, the

diseased parts should be moistened several times a day with some decoction rather more than warm—which, at the same time, should be dissolving and emollient. Such is that celebrated decoction of the scrapings of the peel of radishes, whose efficacy is still further increased by adding one sixth part of vinegar to the decoction.

As soon as the hands are taken out of these decoctions, they must be defended from the air by dog-skin gloves.

§306. Vapours or steams are often more efficacious than decoctions. Whence instead of dipping the hands into these already mentioned, we may expose them to their vapours, with still more success. That of hot vinegar is one of the most powerful remedies. It may be needless to add that the affected parts must be defended from the air as well after the steams as the decoctions.

When the distemper is subdued by the use of bathings or steams, which make the skin supple and soft, then it should be strengthened by washing the parts with a little camphorated brandy, diluted with an equal quantity of water.

§307. When the nose is affected with a chilblain, the steam of vinegar and a covering for it made of dog-skin are the most effectual applications. The same treatment is proper for the ears and chin, when infested with them. Frequently washing these parts in cold water is a good preservative.

§308. Whenever the inflammation rises high, and brings on some degree of fever, the patient's usual quantity of strong drink and of flesh-meat must be lessened. His body should be kept open. He should take every evening a dose of nitre as prescribed [in] No. 20; and if the fever prove strong, lose some blood.

As many as are troubled with obstinate chilblains must be denied the use of strong liquor and flesh.

When the parts are ulcerated, besides keeping the patients strictly to the regimen of persons in a way of recovery, and giving them a purge of manna, the swelled parts should be exposed to the steams of vinegar. The ulcerations should be covered with a diapalma plaster, and the whole part should be enveloped in a smooth soft skin, or in thin cerecloths.

Of ruptures.

§309. Ruptures sometimes occur at the very birth. Though more frequently they are the effects of violent crying, of a strong forcing cough, or of repeated efforts to vomit in the first months of infancy.

They may happen afterwards at every age, either as consequences of particular maladies or accidents. They happen much oftener to men than women. And the most common sort, the only one of which I propose to treat, is that which consists in the descent of a part of the guts of the cawl into the scrotum.

5

When it occurs in little children, it is almost ever cured by making them constantly wear a bandage, which should be made only of fustian, with a little pillow or pincushion stuffed with linen rags, hair, or bran. There should be at least two of these bandages, to change them alternately. Nor should it ever be applied but when the child is laid on its back, and after being well assured that the gut or cawl has been safely returned into the cavity of the belly, since without this precaution it might occasion the worst consequences.

10

The good effect of the bandage may be further promoted by applying upon the skin and within the plait or fold of the groin some strengthening plaster, such as that mentioned §[97⁵⁷]. Here we may observe that ruptured children should never be let on a horse, nor be carried by any person on horseback, before the rupture is perfectly cured.

15

§310. In a more advanced age a bandage of fustian is not sufficient. One must be procured with a plate of steel, even so as to constrain and incommode the wearer a little at first. Nevertheless, it soon becomes habitual, and is then no longer inconvenient.

20

Ruptures sometimes attain a monstrous size, and a great part of the guts fall down into the scrotum. In this state the application of the truss is impracticable, and the patients are condemned to carry their burden for the remainder of their lives. Which may, however, be palliated a little by the use of a suspensory and bag, adapted to the size of the ruptures, when the part of the bowels which is fallen down inflames.

25

30

§311. The best means are:

1. As soon as ever this appears to bleed the patient very plentifully, as he lies down in his bed and upon his back, with his head a little raised and his legs somewhat bent, so that his knees may be erect. This is the posture they should always preserve as much as possible. When the malady is not too far advanced, the first bleeding often makes a complete cure, and the guts return up as soon as it is over. At other times this bleeding is less successful, and leaves a necessity for its repetition.

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⁵⁷ Orig., '144'. This is the number given in Tissot, but JW failed to revise reflecting his elision of several sections. We show the proper paragraph.

2. A clyster must be thrown up consisting of a strong decoction of the large white beet leaves, with a small spoonful of common salt, and a piece of fresh butter of the size of an egg.

3. Folds of linen dipped in ice water must be applied all over the tumour, and renewed every quarter of an hour. This remedy, when immediately applied, has produced the most happy effects. But if the symptom has endured violently more than ten or twelve hours, it is often too late to apply it. And then it is better to make use of flannels dipped in a warm decoction of mallow and elder-flowers, shifting them frequently. It has been known however that ice water, or ice itself, has succeeded as late as the third day.^a

4. When these endeavours are insufficient, clysters of tobacco smoke must be tried, which has often cured ruptures when everything else had failed.

Of boils.

§312. Whenever their inflammation is very considerable, when there are a great many of them at once, and they prevent the patients from sleeping, it becomes necessary to enter them into a cooling regimen and to make them drink plentifully of the ptisan No. 2.

Should the inflammation be very high, a poultice of bread and milk, or of sorrel a little boiled and bruised, must be applied to it. But if the inflammation is moderate, a plaster of the simple diachylon may be sufficient.

The boil commonly terminates in suppuration of a singular kind. It breaks open at first on its top, when some drops of pus come out. After which the core of it may be discerned, which may be drawn out entirely in the shape of a small cylinder. The emission of this core is commonly followed by the discharge of liquid matter. As soon as this discharge is made, the pain goes entirely off. And the swelling disappears at the end of a few days, by continuing to apply the simple diachylon.

^a Pieces of ice applied between two pieces of linen, directly upon the rupture, as soon as possible after its first appearance, is one of those extraordinary remedies which we should never hesitate to make immediate use of. We may be certain by this application, if the rupture is simple and not complicated from some aggravating cause, to remove speedily and with very little pain, a disorder that might be attended with the most dreadful consequences. But the continuance of this application must be proportioned to the strength of the person ruptured, which may be sufficiently estimated by the pulse [Rast (see *Advice*, 478)].

Of felons or whitlows.

§313. The danger of these small tumours is much greater than is generally supposed. It is an inflammation of the end of the finger, which is often the effect of a small quantity of humour extravasated, whether this has happened in consequence of a bruise, a sting, or a bite. At other times it has resulted from no external cause, but is the effect of some inward one. 5

This disorder begins with a slow heavy pain, attended by a slight pulsation. But in a little time the pain, heat, and pulsation or throbbing become intolerable. The part grows large and red, the adjoining fingers and the whole hand often swelling up. In some cases a kind of red streak, beginning at the affected part, is continued almost to the elbow. Neither is it unusual for the patients to complain of a very sharp pain under the shoulder, and sometimes the whole arm is excessively inflamed and swelled. The sick have not a wink of sleep, the fever and other symptoms quickly increasing. Indeed, if the distemper rises to a violent degree, a delirium and convulsions supervene. 10 15

This inflammation of the finger determines either in suppuration or in a gangrene. When the last of these occurs, the patient is in great danger if he is not speedily relieved, and it has proved necessary more than once to cut off the arm, for the preservation of his life. When suppuration is effected, if the matter lies very deep, the bone is often carious and lost. But how gentle soever the complaint has been, the nail generally falls off. 20

§314. The internal treatment in whitlows is the same with that in other inflammatory distempers. The patient must enter upon a regimen more or less strict, in proportion to the degree of the fever. And if this runs very high, and the inflammation be very considerable, there may be a necessity for several bleedings. 25

The external treatment consists in allaying the inflammation, in softening the skin, and in procuring a discharge of the matter as soon as it is formed. For this purpose, 30

1. The finger affected is to be plunged, as soon as the disorder is manifest, in water a little more than warm. The steam of boiling water may also be admitted to it. And by doing these things almost constantly for the first day, a total dissipation of the malady has often been obtained. But unhappily it is commonly neglected till the disorder has greatly advanced, in which state suppuration becomes absolutely necessary. 35

2. This suppuration may be forwarded by involving the finger with a cataplasm of bread and milk. This may be rendered still more 40

active by adding a few white lily roots, or a little honey. But this last must not be applied before the inflammation is somewhat abated and suppuration begins; before which term, all sharp applications are very dangerous. At this time, yeast or leaven may be advantageously used, which powerfully promotes suppuration.

A speedy discharge of the ripe matter is of considerable importance. But this particularly requires the attention of the surgeon, as it is not proper to wait till the tumour breaks. And this the rather as from the skin's proving sometimes extremely hard, the matter might be inwardly effused between the muscles, and upon their membranes, before it could penetrate through the skin. For this reason, as soon as matter is suspected to be formed, a surgeon should be called in, to determine exactly on the time when an opening should be made—which had better be performed a little too soon than too late, and a little too deep than not deep enough.

When the orifice has been made, and the discharge effected, it is to be dressed with the plaster No. 66, spread upon linen or with the cerecloth, and these dressings are to be repeated daily.

§315. When the whitlow is caused by a humour extravasated very near the nail, an expert surgeon cures it effectually by an incision which lets out the humour. Yet, notwithstanding this operation is in no ways difficult, all surgeons are not qualified to perform it, and but too many have no idea at all of it.

Proud flesh sometimes appears during the healing of the incision. Such may be kept down with sprinkling a little red lead or burnt alum over it. But if a 'caries', a rottenness of the bone, should be a consequence, there is a necessity for a surgeon's attendance.

*Of thorns, splinters, or other pointed substances
piercing into the skin or flesh.*

§316. If such substances are immediately and entirely extracted, the accident is generally attended with no bad consequences. Though more certainly to obviate any such, compresses of linen dipped in warm water may be applied to the part. But if any such body cannot be directly extracted, or if a part of it be left within, it causes an inflammation, which soon produces the same symptoms as a whitlow. Or if it happens in the leg, it inflames and forms a considerable abscess there.

§317. To prevent this, if the penetrating substance is still near the surface, and an expert surgeon is at hand, he must immediately make a small incision and extract it. But if the inflammation were already formed, this would be useless and even dangerous.

When the incision is improper, there should be applied to the affected parts (after conveying the steam of some hot water into it) a poultice of the crumb of bread, milk, and oil.

It is absolutely necessary that the injured part should be kept in the easiest posture, and as immoveable as possible.

If suppuration has not been prevented, the abscess should be opened as soon as ever matter is formed. I have known very troublesome events from its being too long delayed.

Of warts.

§318. Warts are sometimes the effects of a particular fault in the blood, which extrudes a surprising quantity of them. This happens to some children from four to ten years old, and especially to those who feed most plentifully on milk. They may be removed by a moderate change of their diet, and the pills prescribed No. 18.

But they are more frequently an accidental disorder of the skin, arising from some external cause.

In this last case, if they are very troublesome in consequence of their great size, their situation, or their long standing, they may be destroyed: 1) by tying them closely with a silk thread, or with a strong flaxen one waxed; 2) by cutting them off with a sharp scissors, and applying a plaster of diachylon, with the gums, over the cut wart, which brings on a small suppuration that destroys the root of the wart; and 3) by drying or, as it were, withering them up by some moderately corroding application, such as that of the milky juice of fig leaves, or of spurge. But people who have very delicate skins should not make use of them, as they may occasion a painful swelling. Strong vinegar, charged with as much common salt as it will dissolve, is a very proper application to them. A plaster may also be composed from sal ammoniac and some galbanum, which, being kneaded up well together and applied, seldom fails of destroying them.

Wens, if of a pretty considerable size and duration, are incurable by any other remedy except amputation.

Of corns.

§319. The general causes of corns are shoes either too hard and stiff, or too small.

5 The whole cure consists in softening the corns by repeated washings and soakings of the feet in pretty hot water. Then in cutting them, when softened, with a penknife or scissors, without wounding the sound parts. And next in applying a leaf of house leek, of ground-ivy, or of purslane dipped in vinegar, upon the part. Instead of these leaves, if any person will give himself the little trouble
10 of dressing them every day, he may apply a plaster of simple diachylon, or of gum ammoniacum softened in vinegar.

The increase or return of corns can only be prevented by avoiding the causes that produce them.

15 Chapter XXX

Of Swoonings

§320. There are various kinds of swooning, or fainting away. The slightest is that in which the patient perceives and understands, yet
20 without the power of speech. This happens frequently to vapourish persons, and without any observable alteration of the pulse.

If the patient totally loses sensation and understanding, with a very considerable sinking of the pulse, this is called a 'syncope', and
25 is the second degree of swooning.

But if this syncope is so violent that the pulse seems entirely extinguished, without any perceivable breathing, with a manifest chilliness of the whole body, and a wan livid countenance, it constitutes a third degree, which is the true image of death.

30 Swoonings result from many different causes, of which I shall enumerate the principal; and these are: 1) too large a quantity of blood; 2) a defect of it, and a general weakness; 3) a load at, and violent disorders of, the stomach; 4) nervous maladies; 5) the passions; and 6) some kinds of diseases.

35

Of swoonings occasioned by excess of blood.

§321. An excessive quantity of blood is frequently a cause of
40 swooning, and it may be inferred that it is owing to this cause when it attacks sanguine, hearty persons. And more especially when it

attacks them after being combined with any additional cause that suddenly increased the motion of the blood—such as heating meats or drinks, wine, spirituous liquors; smaller drinks (if taken very hot and plentifully) such as coffee, tea, or balm tea; a long exposure to the hot sun, or being detained in a very hot place; much and violent exercise, intense study or application; or some excessive passion. 5

In such cases:

1.⁵⁸ The patient should be made to smell, or even to snuff up, some vinegar. And his forehead, his temples, and his wrists should be bathed with it, adding an equal quantity of warm water, if at hand. Bathing them with distilled or spirituous liquids would be prejudicial in this kind of swooning. 10

2. The patient should be made, if possible, to swallow two or three spoonfuls of vinegar, with four or five times as much water.

3. The patient's garters should be tied very tight above his knees, as by this means a greater quantity of blood is retained in the legs, whence the heart may be less overladen with it. 15

4. If the fainting proves obstinate (that is, if it continues longer than a quarter of an hour), or degenerates into a syncope, an abolition of feeling and understanding, he must be bled in the arm, which quickly revives him. 20

5. After the bleeding the patient should be kept still and calm, only letting him drink, every half hour, some cups of elder-flower tea, with the addition of a little sugar and vinegar.

When swoonings which result from this cause occur frequently in the same person, he should, in order to escape them, pursue the directions I shall mention [in] §354. 25

The very same causes which occasion these swoonings frequently produce violent palpitations, preceding or following them. 30

Of swoonings occasioned by weakness.

§322. If too great a quantity of blood is sometimes the cause of swooning, it is oftener the effect of a contrary cause, want of blood. 35

This sort of swooning happens after great discharges of blood, after sudden or excessive evacuations, or such as are more slow but of longer duration (as, for instance, after an inveterate purging, excessive sweats, a flood of urine), such excesses as tend to exhaust nature, obstinate wakefulness, a long inappetency (which, by de- 40

⁵⁸ Orig., 'First of all'.

priving the body of its necessary sustenance, is attended with the same consequences as profuse evacuations).

These different causes of swooning should be opposed by the remedies adapted to each. But the assistances that are necessary at
 5 the time of swooning are nearly the same for all cases of this class.

1. ⁵⁹ The patients should be laid down on a bed, and being covered, should have their legs and thighs, their arms and their whole bodies, rubbed pretty strongly with hot flannels. And no ligature should remain on any part of them.

10 2. They should have very spirituous things to smell or snuff up, such as Hungary water, spirit of sal ammoniac, strong smelling herbs as rue, sage, rosemary, mint, or wormwood.

3. These should be conveyed into their mouths, and they should be forced if possible to swallow, some drops of brandy or of some
 15 other potable liquor, mixed with a little water; while some hot wine mixed with sugar and cinnamon, which makes one of the best cordials, is getting ready.

4. A compress of flannel, dipped in hot wine, in which some aromatic herb has been steeped, must be applied to the pit of the
 20 stomach.

5. If the swooning seems likely to continue, the patient must be put into a well-heated bed, which has before been perfumed with burning sugar and cinnamon, the frictions of the whole body with hot flannels being still continued.

25 6. As soon as the patient can swallow he should take some soup or broth, or a little bread or biscuit soaked in the hot spiced wine.

7. Lastly, during the whole time that all precautions are taken to oppose the cause of the swooning, care must be had for some days to prevent any fainting by giving them often, and but little at a time, some
 30 light yet strengthening nourishment, such as panada made with soup instead of water, new laid eggs very lightly poached, light roast meats with sweet sauce, chocolate, and soups of the most nourishing meats.

§323. Those swoonings which are the effect of bleeding, or of the violent operation of some purge, are to be ranged in this class.

35 Such as happen after artificial bleeding are generally very moderate, commonly terminating as soon as the patient is laid upon the bed. Persons subject to this kind should be bled lying down, in order to prevent it. But should the fainting continue longer than usual, some vinegar smelt to, and a little swallowed with some water,
 40 is a very good remedy.

⁵⁹ Orig., 'First'.

The treatment of such faintings or swoonings as are the consequences of too violent vomits or purges may be seen hereafter, §352.

Of faintings occasioned by a load or uneasiness at the stomach.

§324. It has been already observed that indigestions were sometimes attended with swoonings, and indeed such vehement ones as require speedy succour. The indigestion is sometimes less the effect of the quantity than of the quality or the corruption of the food contained in the stomach. Thus we see there are some persons who are disordered by eating eggs, fish, or any fat meat, being thrown by them into inexpressible anguish attended with swooning. It may be supposed to depend on this cause when these very aliments have been lately eaten, and when it does not depend on the other causes I have mentioned.

We should in this case revive the patients as in the former, by making them receive some very strong smell. But the most essential point is to make them swallow a large quantity of light warm fluid, which may serve to drown, as it were, the indigested matter. Which may soften its acrimony, and either effect the discharge of it by vomiting or force it down into the intestines.

A light infusion of camomile flowers, of tea, of sage, of elder-flowers, or of carduus benedictus operate with much the same efficacy.

The swooning ceases, or at least considerably abates in these cases, as soon as ever the vomiting commences.

When these swoonings are terminated, the patient must be kept for some days to a very light diet, and take at the same time, every morning fasting, a dose of the powder No. 38, which relieves the stomach of whatever noxious contents might remain in it and then restores its natural strength and functions.

§325. Another kind of swooning results from a cause in the stomach, but different from this we have just been treating of. It arises from an extraordinary sensibility of this organ, and from a general weakness of the patient.

Those subject to this malady are valetudinary persons, whose stomachs are at once very feeble and sensible. They have a little uneasiness after a meal if they indulge but a little more than usual, or if they eat any food not quite so easy of digestion. Nay, should the weather only be unfavourable, and sometimes without any perceivable cause, their uneasiness terminates in a swoon.

Patients swooning from these causes have more necessity for tranquillity and repose than for any other remedy, and it might be sufficient to lay them down on the bed. But some spirituous liquid may be held to their nose, while their temples and wrists are rubbed with it, and at the same time a little wine given.

This species of swooning is oftener attended with a little feverishness than the others.

10 *Of those swoonings which arise from nervous disorders.*

[§326.⁶⁰] As there is no organ unprovided with nerves, and hardly any function in which the nerves have not their influence, it may be easily comprehended that the vapours being a state which arises from the nerves exerting irregular motions, and all the functions of the body depending partly on the nerves, there is no one symptom of other diseases which the vapours may not produce or imitate. It is also very conceivable that the vapours are a real malady, of which the surprising oddity of the symptoms is a necessary effect, and that no person can any more prevent his being invaded by the vapours than he can prevent the attack of a fever or of the toothache.

§327. A few plain instances will furnish out a more complete notion of the vapours.

If an involuntary unusual motion in the nerves that are distributed through the lungs should straiten the little vesicles, or bladders, which admit the fresh air at every respiration, the patient will feel a degree of suffocation, just as if that straitening of the vesicles were occasioned by some noxious steam or vapour.

Should the nerves which are distributed throughout the whole skin, by a succession of these irregular motions, contract themselves, as they may from external cold, perspiration by the pores will be prevented. Whence the humours which should be evacuated through the pores will be thrown upon the kidneys, and the patient will make a great quantity of thin clear urine, a symptom very common to vapourish people. Or it may be diverted to the glands of the intestines, and terminate in a watery looseness, which frequently proves a very obstinate one.

Neither are swoonings the least usual symptoms attending from this source when they happen to a person subject to the vapours. And we may be certain they spring from this source when they hap-

⁶⁰ Number omitted in all four editions.

pen to a person subject to the vapours, and none of the other causes have lately preceded them.

Such swoonings, however, are very rarely dangerous, and scarcely require any assistance. The patient should be laid upon a bed. The fresh air should be freely admitted to him. And in such faintings the smell of burnt leather, of feathers, or of paper have often proved of great service.

§328. Persons also frequently faint away in consequence of fasting too long, from having eat[en] a little too much, from being confined in too hot a chamber, from having seen too much company, from smelling too overpowering a scent, from being too costive, from being forcibly affected with some discourse or sentiments; and, in a word, from a great variety of causes which make no impression on persons in perfect health but which violently operate upon them because their nerves are too acutely affected.

As soon as the particular cause is distinguished which has occasioned the present swooning, it is manifest this swooning is to be remedied by removing that cause of it.

Of swoonings occasioned by the passions.

§329. There have been some instances of persons dying within a moment, through excessive joy; and in very short time, from rage, vexation, and dread or horror. I shall consider here such faintings as ensue from rage and vehement grief or disappointment.

Excessive rage and violent affliction are sometimes fatal, though they oftener terminate in fainting. Excessive grief is especially accompanied with this consequence, and it is very common to see persons thus affected sink into successive faintings for several hours. Very little assistance can be given in such cases. It is proper, however, they should smell to strong vinegar, and frequently take a few cups of some hot and mild drink such as balm tea, or lemonade with a little orange or lemon peel.

It is not to be supposed that swoonings or faintings from excessive passions can be cured by nourishment. The condition into which vehement grief throws the body is that, of all others, in which nourishment would be most injurious. And as long as the vehemence of the affliction endures, the sufferer should take nothing but some spoonfuls of soup or broth, or a few morsels of some light meat roasted.

When wrath or rage has risen so high that the body, entirely exhausted by that violent effort, sinks down at once into excessive relaxation, a fainting sometimes succeeds, and even the most perilous degree of it.

5 It is the most that can be done here to let the patient be perfectly still a while, only making him smell to some vinegar. But when he is come to himself, he should drink plentifully of hot lemonade.

Sometimes there remain sicknesses at stomach, retchings to vomit, a bitterness in the mouth, and some vertiginous symptoms
10 which seem to require a vomit. But such a medicine must be very carefully avoided, since it may be attended with the most fatal consequence and lemonade with clysters generally and gradually remove these swoonings. If the sickness at stomach continue, the utmost medicine we allow besides would be that of No. 23, or a few
15 doses of No. 24.

*Of symptomatical swoonings, or such as happen in the progress
20 of other diseases.*

§330. Swoonings in the beginning of putrid diseases denote an oppression at the stomach, or a mass of corrupt humours; and they cease as soon as an evacuation supervenes, whether by vomit or
25 stool.

When they occur at the beginning of malignant fevers they declare the high degree of their malignancy, and the great diminution of the patient's natural strength.

In each of these cases vinegar, used externally and internally, is
30 the best remedy during the paroxysm; and plenty of lemon juice and water after it.

Swoonings which supervene in diseases, accompanied with great evacuations, are cured like those which are owing to weakness, and endeavours should be used to restrain or moderate the evacuations.

35 Those who have any inward imposthume are apt to swoon frequently. They may sometimes be revived a little by vinegar.

§331. Many persons have a slighter or a deeper swooning at the end of a violent fit of a fever. A spoonful or two of light white wine, with an equal quantity of water, affords all the succour proper in
40 such a case.

Every swooning fit leaves the patient in dejection and weakness. The secretions from the blood are suspended, the humours dis-

posed to stagnation, coagulations and obstructions are formed. And if the motion of the blood is totally intercepted, or considerably checked, polypi⁶¹ (and these often incurable) are formed in the heart or in the larger vessels.

5

Of hæmorrhages, or an involuntary loss of blood.

§332. Hæmorrhages of the nose, after inflammatory fevers, commonly prove a favourable crisis; which bleeding we should carefully avoid stopping, except it threatens the patient's life. 10

As they scarcely ever happen in health but from abundance of blood, it is improper to check them too soon, lest some internal obstructions should prove the consequence.

A swooning sometimes ensues after the loss of only a moderate quantity of blood. This swooning stops the hæmorrhage, and goes off without any assistance except the smelling to vinegar. But in other cases there is a succession of fainting fits without the blood's stopping, while at the same time slight convulsive motions ensue, attended with a raving, when it becomes necessary to stop the bleeding. And without waiting till these violent symptoms appear, the following signs will sufficiently direct us: as long as the pulse is pretty full, and heat of the body equally extended to the extremities, and the countenance and lips preserve their natural redness, no ill consequence is to be apprehended from the hæmorrhage, though it be very copious. 15 20 25

But when the pulse begins to falter, when the countenance and the lips grow pale, and the patient complains of a sickness at stomach, it is absolutely necessary to stop it. And considering the operation of remedies does not immediately follow the application of them, it is safer to begin a little too early than to delay them, though ever so little, too long. 30

§333. First then, tight bandages should be applied round both arms (on the part they are applied over in order to bleeding) and round the lower part of both thighs (on the gartering place), to detain the blood in the extremities. 35

2. Next the legs are to be plunged in warm water up to the knees. For by relaxing the blood vessels of the legs and feet they are dilated at the same time, and thence receive and, in consequence of the ligatures above the knees, retain the more blood. 40

⁶¹ Orig., 'polypuses'.

As soon however as the bleeding is stopped these ligatures (on the thighs) may be relaxed; or one of them entirely removed, allowing the others to continue on an hour or two longer. But great precaution should be taken not to slacken them entirely, nor all at once.

5 3. Seven or eight grains of nitre and a spoonful of vinegar, in half a glass of cool water, should be given the patient every half hour.

4. One dram of white vitriol must be dissolved in two spoonfuls of spring-water, and a tent of lint or bits of soft fine linen dipped in this solution are to be introduced into the nostrils, horizontally
10 at first, but afterwards to be intruded upwards and as high as may be, by the assistance of a flexible bit of wood or whale bone. But should this application be ineffectual, brandy, and even spirits of wine, mixed with a third part vinegar, have answered entirely well.

The prescription No. 67 may also be serviceable on this occasion.
15 It must be reduced to powder and conveyed up the nostrils as high as may be, on the point of a tent of lint, which may easily be covered with it.

5. When the flux of blood is totally stopped, the patient is to be kept as still and quiet as possible, taking great care not to extract the tent which remains in the nose, nor to remove the clots of coagulated blood which fill up the passage. The removing of these should be effected very gradually and cautiously, and frequently the tent does not spring out spontaneously till after many days.

§334. I have not said anything of artificial bleeding in these cases, as I think it at best unserviceable—since, though it may sometimes have stopped the morbid loss of blood, it has at other times increased it. Neither have I mentioned anodynes here, whose constant effect is to determine a larger quantity of blood to the head.

30 Applications of cold water to the nape of the neck ought to be wholly disused, having sometimes been attended with the most embarrassing consequences.

In all fluxes of blood great tranquillity, ligatures, and the use of the drink No. 2 or [No.] 4 are very useful.

35 People who are liable to haemorrhages ought to manage themselves conformable to the directions [in] §354. They should take very little supper, avoid all spirituous liquors, apartments that are over hot, and cover their heads but very lightly.

When a patient has for a long time been subject to haemorrhages,
40 if they cease, he should retrench his quantity of food and take some gentle opening purges, especially that No. 24, and frequently a little nitre in an evening.

Of convulsion fits.

§335. Convulsions are, in general, more terrifying than dangerous. They result from various causes, and on the removal of these their cure depends.

5

In the fit itself little is to be done.

As nothing shortens the duration or even lessens the violence of an epileptic fit, so nothing at all should be attempted in it—and the rather, because means often aggravate the disease. We should confine our endeavours solely to the security of the patient, by preventing him from giving himself any violent strokes, by getting something if possible between his teeth, such as a small roller of linen to prevent his tongue from being hurt or dangerously squeezed.

10

The only cause which requires immediate assistance in the fit is when the neck is so swelled and the face so very red that there is room to be apprehensive of an apoplexy, which we should endeavour to obviate by drawing eight or ten ounces of blood from the arm.

15

Some species of epilepsy are wholly incurable. And such as are susceptible of a cure require the utmost care and consideration of the most experienced physicians.

20

§336. Simple convulsive fits which are not epileptic are frequently of a long continuance, persevering with very few and short intervals for days and even for weeks.

25

The true cause should be found as soon as possible, though nothing should be attempted in the fit. The nerves are, during that term, in so high a degree of tension sensibility that the very medicines supposed to be strongly indicated often redouble the storm.

Thin watery liquors are the most innocent things that can be given, such as balm, lime tree, and elder-flower tea. A ptisan of liquorice root only has sometimes answered better than any other.

30

Of suffocating, or strangling fits.

35

§337. These fits (by whatever other name they may be called), whenever they suddenly attack a person whose breathing was easy just before, depend almost constantly on a contraction of the nerves in the vesicles of the lungs, or upon a stuffing of the same parts produced by clammy humours. The former go off of themselves, or may be treated like swoonings owing to the same cause (see §327).

40

§338. That suffocation which is the effect of a sanguineous fullness and obstruction may be distinguished by its attacking strong, sanguine persons who are great eaters, using much juicy nutritious food, and strong wine and liquors; when the fit has come on after any inflaming cause; when the pulse is full and strong, and the countenance red.

Such are cured:

1. By a very plentiful discharge of blood from the arm, which is to be repeated if necessary.

2. By drinking plentifully of the ptisan No. 1, to three pints of which a dram of nitre is to be added. And

3. By the vapour of hot vinegar, continually received by breathing.

There is reason to think that one of these fits is owing to humours in the lungs when it attacks persons whose temperament and manner of living are opposite to those I have just described; such as val-tudinary, weakly, phlegmatic, inactive persons, who feed badly or on fat, viscid, and insipid diet, and who drink much hot water, either alone or in tea-like infusions. And this cause is still more probable if the fit come on in rainy weather and during a southerly wind.

The most efficacious treatment is: 1) to give every half hour half a cup of the potion No. 8, if it can be readily had; 2) to make the patient drink very plentifully of the drink No. 12; and 3) to apply two strong blisters to the fleshy parts of his legs.

Those afflicted with this malady are commonly relieved as soon as they expectorate, and sometimes even by vomiting a little.

The medicine No. 25, a dose of which may be taken every two hours, with a cup of the ptisan No. 12, often succeeds very well.

But if neither this medicine, nor the prescription of No. 8, are at hand, an onion of moderate size should be pounded in an iron or marble mortar. Upon this a glass of vinegar is to be poured, and then strongly squeezed through a piece of linen. An equal quantity of honey is to be added to it. A spoonful of this mixture, whose remarkable efficacy I have been a witness of, is to be given every half hour.

Of the violent effects of fear.

§339. The general effects of terror are a great contraction of all the small vessels, and a repulsion of the blood into the large and internal ones. Hence follow the suppression of perspiration, the general

oppression, the trembling, the palpitations and anguish, from the heart and the lungs being overcharged with blood; and sometimes attended with swoonings. A heavy drowsiness and a kind of furious delirium happen in other cases, which I have frequently observed in children when the blood vessels of the neck were swelled and stuffed up, and convulsions, and even the epilepsy, have come on. 5

When the humours that should have passed off by perspiration are repelled to the intestines, a tedious looseness is the frequent consequence.

§340. Our endeavours should be directed to reestablish the disordered circulation, to restore the obstructed perspiration, and to allay the agitation of the nerves. 10

The custom is to give the patient some cold water directly. But when the fright is considerable, this is a very pernicious custom.

They should, on the contrary, be conveyed into some very quiet situation, leaving there but very few persons, and such only as they are thoroughly familiar with. They should take a few cups of pretty warm drink, particularly of an infusion of lime tree flowers or balm. Their legs should be put into warm water, and remain there an hour, if they will permit it, rubbing them gently now and then, and giving them every half-quarter of an hour a small cup of the said drink. When their composure is returned a little, and their skin has recovered its warmth, care should be taken to dispose them to sleep and to perspire plentifully. For this purpose they may be allowed a few spoonfuls of wine, on putting them to bed, with one cup of the former infusion; or, which is more effectual, a few drops of [Thomas] Sydenham's liquid laudanum, No. 48.⁶² 15 20 25

§341. It sometimes happens that children do not seem at first extremely terrified, but the fright is renewed while they sleep, and with no small violence. The directions I have just given must then be observed for some successive evenings, before they are put to bed. 30

Their fright frequently returns at the latter end of the night, and agitates them violently every day. The same treatment should be continued in such cases, and we should endeavour to dispose them to be asleep at the usual hour of its return. 35

By this very method I have dissipated the dismal consequence of fear of women in child-bed, which is so commonly mortal.

If a suffocation from this cause is violent, there is sometimes a necessity for opening a vein in the arm. 40

⁶² Orig., '44'; a mistake carried over from Tissot.

These patients should gradually be inured to an almost continual, but gentle, kind of exercise.

All violent medicines render those diseases which are the consequences of great fear incurable.

5

Of accidents or symptoms produced by the vapours of coal and of wine.

10 §342. When small coal, and especially when charcoal, is burnt in a chamber close shut, it is direct poison to a person shut up in it. The sulphurous oil which is set at liberty and diffused by the fire expands itself through the chamber, while those who are in it perceive a disorder in their heads, vertigos, sickness at stomach, a weakness,
15 and a very unusual kind of numbness; become raving, convulsed, and trembling. And if they have not presence of mind and strength to get out of the chamber, they die within a short time.

This vapour proves mortal in consequence of its producing an apoplectic disorder, blended at the same time with something convulsive, which sufficiently appears from the closure of the mouth
20 and the strict locking of the jaws.

Such as are sensible of the danger, and retreat seasonably from it, are generally relieved as soon as they get into open air. Or if they have any remaining uneasiness, a little water and vinegar, or lemonade, drank hot, affords them speedy relief. But when they are so far
25 poisoned as to have lost their understanding, if there be any means of reviving them, such means consist:

1. In exposing them to a very pure, fresh, and open air.

2. In making them smell to some very penetrating odour, as the
30 volatile spirit of sal ammoniac, and afterwards surrounding them, as it were, with the steam of vinegar.

3. In taking some blood from their arm.

4. In putting their legs into warm or hot water, and chafing them well.

35 5. In making them swallow, if practicable, much lemonade, or water and vinegar, with the addition of nitre.

A vomit would be hurtful, and the retchings to vomit arise only from the oppression on the brain.

Hence it amounts even to a criminal degree of imprudence to
40 sleep in a chamber while charcoal or small coal is burning in it.

§343. The bakers who make much use of small coal often keep great quantities of it in their cellars, which frequently abound so

much with the vapour of it that it seizes them the moment they enter. They sink down at once deprived of all sensation and die, if they are not drawn out of it soon.

One certain mean[s] of preventing such fatal accidents is, upon going into the cellar, to throw some flaming paper into it, and if this continue to flame out and consume, there is no reason for dreading the vapour. If it be extinguished, no person should venture in; but after opening the vent hole, a bundle of flaming straw must be set at the door, which serves to attract the external air strongly. Soon after, the experiment of the flaming paper must be repeated, and if it goes out, more straw is to be set on fire before the cellar door.

§344. Small coal is not so dangerous as charcoal, the danger of which arises from this, that in extinguishing it by the usual methods all those sulphurous particles of it, in which its danger consists, are concentrated. Nevertheless, small coal is not entirely deprived of all its noxious quality.

The method of throwing salt on live coals before they are conveyed into a chamber, or of casting a piece of iron among them to imbibe some parts of their deadly sulphur, is not without its utility, though by no means sufficient to prevent danger.

When the most dangerous symptoms disappear, and there remains only some weakness, numbness, and a little loathing at stomach, nothing is better than lemonade with one fourth part wine, half a cup of which should frequently be taken with a small crust of bread.

§345. The vapour which exhales from wine, and in general from all fermenting liquors, kills in the like manner with the vapour of coal. And there is always danger in going into a cellar where there is much wine in the state of fermentation, if it has been shut up close for several hours. There have been many examples of persons struck dead on entering one, and of others who have escaped out of it with difficulty.

When such accidents occur, men should not be exposed, one after another, by endeavouring to fetch out the first who sunk down upon his entrance. But the air should immediately be purified by the method already directed, or by discharging some guns into the cellar. And when the persons unfortunately affected are brought out, they are to be treated like those who were affected with the coal vapour.

§346. When caves that have been long shut are opened, or when deep wells are cleaned that have not been emptied for several years, the vapour arising from them produce the same symptoms. They

are to be purified by burning sulphur and saltpetre in them, or gunpowder, as compounded of both.

§347. The stink of lamps and of candles, especially when their flames are extinguished, operate like other vapours, though with less violence. Nevertheless there have been instances of people killed by the fumes of lamps fed with nut oil which had been extinguished in a close room. These last fumes prove noxious also in consequence of their greasiness, which being conveyed into the lungs, prevent their respiration. And hence we may observe that persons of delicate breasts find themselves quickly oppressed in apartments illuminated with many candles. The steam of vinegar is very serviceable in such cases.

15 *Of poisons.*

§348. There are a great number of poisons. But arsenic (or ratsbane) and some particular plants are the poisons which are most frequent in country places.

It is in consequence of its acrimony that arsenic destroys by an excessive inflammation, with a burning fire as it were in the mouth, throat, stomach, guts.

The best remedy of all is pouring down whole torrents of milk, or (where there is not milk) of warm water. Nothing but a prodigious quantity of such weak liquids can avail such a miserable patient. If the cause of the disorder is immediately known, after having very speedily taken down a large quantity of warm water, vomiting may be excited with oil, or with melted butter, and by tickling the inside of the throat with a feather. But when the poison has already inflamed the stomach and the guts, we must not expect to discharge it by vomiting. Whatever is healing or emollient, decoctions of mealy pulse [i.e., legumes], of barley, of oatmeal, of marsh mallows, and butter and oil, are the most suitable.

As soon as ever the pains are felt in the belly, clysters of milk must be very frequently thrown up.

If at the very beginning the patient has a strong pulse, a very plentiful bleeding may be considerably serviceable by its delaying and diminishing the inflammation.

And even though a patient overcome the first violence of this dreadful accident, it is common for him to continue in a languid state for a long time, and sometimes all his life. The most certain

method of preventing this is to live for some months solely upon milk and some new-laid eggs—just received from the hen, and blended in the milk, without boiling them.

§349. The plants which chiefly produce these unhappy accidents are: some kinds of hemlock, whether it be the leaf or the root; the berries of the deadly nightshade, which children eat by mistake for cherries; some cherries; some kind of mushrooms; and the seed of the stinking thornapple.

All poisons of this class prove mortal rather from the stupifying than from an acrid, sharp quantity. Vertigos, faintings, retchings to vomit, and actual vomitings are the first symptoms produced by them.

The patient should immediately swallow a large quantity of water, moderately seasoned with salt or sugar. And then a vomiting should be excited as soon as possible by the prescription No. 34 or [No.] 35. Or, if neither of these is readily procurable, with radish seed, pounded to the quantity of a teaspoonful, swallowed in warm water, soon after forcing a feather or a finger into the patient's throat.

After the operation of the vomit, he must continue to take a large quantity of water, sweetened with honey or sugar, together with a considerable quantity of vinegar, which is the true antidote against those poisons.

§350. If a person has taken too much opium, or any medicine into which it enters, he must be bled upon the spot, and treated as if he had a sanguine apoplexy, for opium in effect produces such a one. He should snuff up the vapour of vinegar plentifully, adding it also liberally to the water he is to drink.

Of acute pains.

§351. When a person sound and hale finds himself suddenly attacked with some excessive pain, in whatever part it occurs, without knowing either the nature or the cause of it, they may, till proper advice can be procured:

1. Part with some blood, which almost constantly assuages the pains, at least for some time.

2. Drink abundantly of some very mild temperate drink, such as the pisan No. 2, the almond emulsion No. 4, or warm water with a fourth or fifth part milk.

3. The whole part that is affected, and the adjoining parts, should be covered with cataplasms, or soothed with the emollient fomentation No. 9.

4. If, notwithstanding, the pain continues violent, and the pulse is neither full nor hard, the grown patient may take an ounce of syrup of diacodium, or sixteen drops of liquid laudanum. And when neither of these are to be had, an English pint of boiling water may be
 5 poured upon three or four poppy heads with their seeds, but without the leaves, and this decoction is to be drank like tea.

Persons very subject to frequent pains, and especially to violent headaches, should abstain from all strong drink—such abstinence being often the only means of curing them. And people are mis-
 10 taken in supposing wine necessary for as many as seem to have a weak stomach.

Chapter XXXI

15 *Of giving Remedies by way of Prevention*

§352. The habit of taking medicines is no indifferent matter. It is dangerous, and even criminal to omit them when they are necessary, but not less to take them when they are not wanted.

20

Of bleeding.

Of an inflammation of the blood, I have already spoken. Here I
 25 shall point out the symptoms which manifest an excess of blood.

[1) The first⁶³] is the general manner of the patient's living while in health—if he is a great eater and indulges in juicy nutritious food, and especially flesh-meat; if he drinks rich and nourishing wine, or other strong drink, and at the same time enjoys a good
 30 digestion; if he takes but little exercise, sleeps much, and has not been subject to any very considerable evacuation—he may well be supposed to abound in blood.

[Other symptoms include:] 2) the total stopping of some involuntary bleeding, to which he had been accustomed; 3) a full and strong pulse, and veins visibly filled with blood; 4) a florid lively ruddiness; 35 5) a considerable and unusual numbness, and a little oppression and heaviness from walking; 6) swimings of the head, especially on bowing down and raising it up at once; 7) frequent pains of the head to which the person was not formerly subject, and which seem not
 40 to arise from any defects in the digestions; 8) an evident sensation

⁶³ Orig., 'It is ...'; corrected to match Tissot and fit subsequent numbering.

of heat over the whole body; and lastly, [9)] frequent haemorrhages, and these attended with manifest relief and more vivacity.

People should, notwithstanding, be cautious of supposing an excess of blood from any one of these symptoms only. Many of them must concur, and they should endeavour to be certain that even such a concurrence of them does not result from a different cause. 5

But when it is certain, from the whole appearance, that such an excess doth exist, then a single or even a second bleeding is attended with good effects.

§353. On the other hand, when these circumstances do not exist, bleeding is in no wise necessary. Nor should it ever be practised in the following circumstances, except for some particular and strong reason: 1)⁶⁴ in a very advanced age, or in very early infancy; 2) when a man is naturally of a weak constitution, or has been rendered so by sickness, or accident; 3) when the pulse is small, soft, feeble, and the skin is manifestly pale; 4) when the extremities of the body are often cold, puffed up, and soft; 5) when his appetite has been small for a long time, his food but little nourishing, and his exercise great; 6) when the patient has been considerably emptied, whether by haemorrhages, a looseness, profuse urine, or sweat; 7) when he has long been afflicted with some depressing disease; 8) whenever a person is exhausted, from whatever cause; [and] 9) when the blood is in a thin, pale, and dissolved state. 10 15 20

Whatever be the situation of the patient, and however naturally robust, that bleeding which is unnecessary is noxious. Repeated bleedings weaken and enervate, hasten old age, diminish the force of the circulation, thence fatten and puff up the body, and next (by weakening the digestions) lead to a fatal dropsy. They disorder the perspiration by the skin, and leave the patient liable to colds and de- fluxions. They weaken the nervous system and render them subject to vapours and to all nervous maladies. 25 30

The quantity of blood which a grown man may part with, by way of precaution, is about ten ounces.

§354. Persons so constituted as to breed much blood should carefully avoid all those causes which tend to augment it (see §352). And when they are sensible of the quantity augmented, they should confine themselves to a light frugal diet on pulse [i.e., legumes], fruits, bread, and water. They should often bathe their feet in warm water, taking night and morning the powder No. 20. Drink of the pisan No. 1. Sleep but very moderately, and take much exercise. By using 35 40

⁶⁴ Orig., 'first'.

these precautions they may remove all the danger that might ensue from omitting to bleed at the usual season when the habit of bleeding had been long established of him.

5 *Of purges.*

§355. The stomach and bowels are emptied either by vomiting or by stools, the latter discharge being much more natural than the first. Nevertheless, there are some cases which require this artificial
10 vomiting. But these excepted, we should rather prefer those remedies which work by stool.

The signs which indicate a necessity for purging are: 1) a disagreeable taste in the mouth in a morning and especially a bitter taste, a foul furred tongue and teeth, disagreeable eructations,⁶⁵
15 windiness, and distension; 2) a want of appetite increasing gradually, without any fever, which degenerates into a total aversion to food; 3) retchings to vomit in a morning, fasting, and sometimes throughout the day (supposing such not to depend on a woman's pregnancy); 4) a vomiting up of bitter or corrupted humours;
20 5) a manifest sensation of a weight in the stomach, the loins, or the knees; 6) pains of the stomach, frequent pains of the head, or vertigo; sometimes a drowsiness, which increases after meals; 7) a pulse less regular and less strong than what is natural to the patient, and which sometimes intermits.

25 When these symptoms, or some of them, ascertain the necessity of purging a person not then attacked by any manifest disease, a proper purging medicine may be given him. The bad taste in his mouth, the continual belchings, the frequent retchings to vomit, the actual vomitings discover that the cause of his disorder resides
30 in the stomach and show that a vomit will be of service. But when such symptoms are not evident, the patient should take such purging remedies as are particularly indicated by the pains.

§356. But we should abstain from either vomiting or purging: 1) whenever the complaints of the patients are founded in their being
35 already exhausted; 2) when there is a general dryness of the habit, some inflammation, or a strong fever; 3) whenever nature is exerting herself in some other salutary evacuation—whence purging must never be attempted in critical sweats, during the monthly discharges, nor during a fit of the gout; 4) nor in such inveterate

⁶⁵ I.e., belching.

obstructions as purges cannot remove; 5) neither when the nervous system is considerably weakened.

§357. There are other cases in which it may be proper to purge, but not to give vomit. These cases are: 1) when the patient abounds too much with blood, since the efforts which attend vomiting greatly augment the force of the circulation, whence the blood vessels of the head and of the breast might burst. 2) For the same reason they should not be given to persons who are subject to frequent bleeding from the nose, or to vomiting of blood; [3)]to women who are subject to excessive or unseasonable discharges of blood, nor to those who are with child; 4) nor to ruptured persons.

When any persons have taken too sharp a vomit, or a purge which operates with excessive violence, we should treat them as if they had been actually poisoned by violent corroding poisons—that is, we should fill them with draughts of warm water, milk, or barley water; and also bleed them, if their pains are excessive and their pulses strong and feverish. The super-purgation is then to be stopped by the calming medicines directed [in] §351, No. 4. Flannels dipped in hot water, in which some Venice treacle is dissolved, are very serviceable. But should the vomiting be excessive, without any purging, the patient should be placed in a warm bath.

§358. Purges frequently repeated, without necessity, are attended with much the same ill effects as frequent bleedings. They destroy the digestions, the stomach no longer exerts its functions, the intestines prove inactive. The patient becomes liable to severe colics. Perspiration is disordered, defluxions ensue. Nervous maladies come on, and the patient proves old long before the number of his years have made him so.

It is a prejudice generally received that persons who have little or no appetite need purging. But this is often false, because most of those causes which destroy the appetite cannot be removed by purging.

To persons whose stomachs contain much viscid matter, purges prove a very slight and deceitful relief. These humours are owing to that laxity of the stomach which purges augment since, notwithstanding they carry off part of these viscid humours, after a few days there is a greater accumulation of them than before. The real cure of such cases is affected by directly opposite medicines. Those mentioned [in] §187 are highly conducive to it.

§359. The custom of taking medicines infused in brandy, spirit of wine, or cherry water is always dangerous. For notwithstanding the present relief such infusions afford in some disorders of the stomach, they really by slow degrees impair and ruin that organ. And it

may be observed that as many as accustom themselves to drams go off just like excessive drinkers, in consequence of their having no digestion, whence they sink into a state of depression and languor, and die dropsical.

5 §360. Either vomits or purges may be often well omitted, even when they have some appearance of being necessary, by abating one meal a day for some time, by abstaining from the most nourishing sorts of food, by drinking freely of cold water, and taking extraordinary exercise. The same regimen also subdues, without the use of
10 purges, the various complaints which often invade those who omit taking purging medicines at those seasons in which they have made it a custom to take them.

§361. The medicines No. 34 and [No.] 35 are the most certain vomits. The powder No. 21 is a good purge when the patient is no
15 way feverish.

The doses recommended in the table of remedies are those which are proper for a grown man, of a vigorous constitution.^b Nevertheless there are some few for whom they may be too weak. In such circumstances, they may be increased. But we must be careful not to double
20 the dose, which has sometimes killed the patient. In case of purging not ensuing, we should rather give draughts of whey sweetened with honey. Or of warm water, in three pints of which an ounce or an ounce and a half of common salt must be dissolved, and this quantity is to be taken from time to time in small cups, moving about with it.

25 §362. A man should not drink after a vomit until it begins to work. But then he should drink warm water, or a light infusion of camomile flowers.^c

It is usual, after purges, to take some thin broth during their operation. But warm water, sweetened with sugar or honey, or an infusion of succory flowers, would be more suitable.
30

§363. The most certain preservative, and the most attainable too by every man, is to avoid all excess, and especially excess in eating and drinking. People generally eat more than thoroughly consists with health, or than permits them to attain the utmost vigour of
35 which their natural constitutions are capable. The custom is established, and it is difficult to eradicate it. Notwithstanding, we should at least resolve not to eat but through hunger, and always under a subjection to reason. Because, except in a very few cases, reason constantly suggests to us not to eat when the stomach has an aver-

^b Most of them are far too large for a common Englishman or woman [JW].

^c One quart, at four times, is commonly enough [JW].

sion to food. Sobriety of itself cures such maladies as are otherwise incurable, and may recover the most unhealthy persons.

Table

*Of the Prescriptions and Medicines referred to
in the Foregoing Treatise: which, with the notes beneath
them, are to be read before the taking
or application of any of the said medicines.* 5

The pound which I mean, throughout all these prescriptions, is that consisting of sixteen ounces. 10

The drinking glass or cup contains three ounces.

A spoonful is supposed to be half an ounce.

The small spoon or teaspoon contains thirty drops. Five or six of these are equal to a common soup-
spoon. 15

The basin or porringer may be estimated at eighteen ounces. A sick person should never be allowed to take more than a third part of this quantity of nourishment at any one time.

The doses in all the following prescriptions are adjusted to grown men, from the age of eighteen to that of sixty years. From the age of twelve to eighteen, two thirds of that dose will generally be sufficient. And from twelve down to seven years one half, diminishing this still lower in proportion to the greater youth of the patient. So that not more than one eighth of the dose prescribed should be given to an infant under one year. But their different constitutions will make a considerable difference in adjusting their different doses. It were to be wished that every person would carefully observe whether a strong dose is necessary to purge him, as exactness is important in adjusting the doses of such medicines as are intended to purge, or to evacuate in any manner. 20
25
30

No. 1. Take a pugil or large pinch between the thumb and two fingers of elder-flowers. Put them into an earthenware mug, with two ounces of honey and an ounce and a half of good vinegar. Pour upon them three pints and one quarter of boiling water. Stir it a little with a spoon to mix and dissolve the honey. Then cover up the mug, and when the liquor is cold, strain it through a linen cloth. 35

No. 2. Take two ounces of whole barley. Cleanse and wash it well in hot water, throwing away this water afterwards. Then boil it in five pints of water, till the barley burst and opens. Towards the end of the boiling, throw in one dram and a half of nitre (saltpetre), 40

strain it through a linen cloth, and add one ounce and a half of honey, and one ounce of vinegar.^d

No. 3. Take the same quantity of barley as before, and instead of nitre boil in it, as soon as the barley is put in to boil, a quarter of an ounce of cream of tartar. Strain it and add nothing else to it.^e

No. 4. Take three ounces of the freshest sweet almonds, and one ounce of gourd or melon seeds. Bruise them in a mortar, adding to them by a little at a time one pint of water. Then strain it through linen. Bruise what remains again, adding gradually to it another pint of water, then straining. And adding water to the residue, till full three pints at least of water are thus used. After which it may again be poured upon the bruised mass, stirred well about, and then be finally strained off. Half an ounce of sugar may safely be bruised with the almonds and seeds at first, and delicate persons may be allowed a little orange flower water with it.

No. 5. Take two pugils of mallow leaves and flowers, cut them small, and pour a pint of boiling water upon them. After standing some time, strain it, adding one ounce of honey to it. For want of mallows, which is preferable, a similar clyster may be made of the leaves of marsh mallows, lettuce, or spinach. A few particular constitutions are not to be purged by any clyster but warm water alone. Such should receive no other, and the water should not be very hot.

No. 6. Boil a pugil of mallow flowers in a pint of barley water for a clyster.

No. 7. Take three pints of simple barley water, add to it three ounces of the juice of sow-thistle, or of groundsel, or of the greater houseleek, or of borage.^f

No. 8. To one ounce of oxymel of squills, add five ounces of a strong infusion of elder-flowers.

No. 9. There are many different emollient applications which have nearly the same virtues. The following are the most efficacious.

^dThis makes an agreeable drink, and the notion of its being windy is idle since it is so only to those with whom barley does not agree. It may, where barley is not procurable, be made from oats [Tissot (see *Advice*, 587)].

^eIn some cases, instead of the barley, four ounces of grass roots may be boiled in the same quantity of water for half an hour, with the cream of tartar [Tissot (see *Advice*, 587)].

^fThese juices are to be procured from the herbs when fresh and very young, if possible, by beating them in a marble mortar, or for want of such (or a wooden mortar) in an iron one, and then squeezing out the juice through a linen bag. It must be left to settle a little in an earthen vessel, after which the clear juice must be decanted gently off, and the sediment be left behind [Tissot (see *Advice*, 588–89)].

1. Flannels wrung out of a hot decoction of mallow flowers.
 2. Small bags filled with mallow flowers—or with those of elder, of camomile, of wild corn poppy—and boiled either in milk or water.
 3. Poultices of the same flowers boiled in milk and water.
 4. A poultice of boiled bread and milk.^g 5
- No. 10. To one ounce of spirit of sulphur, add six ounces of spirit of violets; or, for want of the latter, as much barley water, of a thicker consistence than ordinary.
- No. 11. Take two ounces of manna and half an ounce of Epsom salt, dissolving them in four ounces of hot water and straining them. 10
- No. 12. Take of elder-flowers one pugil, of hyssop leaves half as much. Pour three pints of boiling water upon them. After infusing some time, strain, and dissolve three ounces of honey in the infusion.
- No. 13. The same drink, by only omitting the hyssop and adding instead of it as much more elder-flowers. 15
- No. 14. Let one ounce of the best Jesuit's bark in fine powder be divided into sixteen equal portions.
- No. 15. Take of the flowers of St. John's-wort, of elder, and of melilot, of each a few pinches. Put them into the bottom of a vessel containing five or six English pints, with half an ounce of oil of turpentine, and fill it up with boiling water. 20
- No. 16. The syrup of the flowers of the wild red corn poppy.
- No. 17. Very clear sweet whey, in every pint of which one ounce of honey is dissolved.
- No. 18. Take of hard white soap six drams, of extracts of dandelion one dram and a half, of gum ammoniacum half a dram, and with syrup of maidenhair make a mass of pills, to be formed into pills weighing three grains each. 25
- No. 19. Gargarisms may be prepared from an infusion of the leaves of red roses, or of mallows. Two ounces of vinegar and as much honey must be added to every pint of it, and the patient should gargle with it pretty hot. The deterging, cleansing gargarism is a light infusion of the tops of sage, adding two ounces of honey to each pint of it. 30
- No. 20. One ounce of powdered nitre, divided into sixteen equal doses. 35
- No. 21. Take of jalap, of senna, and of cream of tartar, of each thirty grains⁶⁶ finely powdered, and let them be very well mixed.
- No. 22. Take of China-root and of sarsaparilla, of each one ounce and a half; of sassafras root, and of the shavings of guaiacum

^g Boiled nettles are best of all [JW].

⁶⁶ JW reduced to 'twenty grains' in the *Works* edition.

(otherwise called 'lignum vitae'), of each one ounce. Let the whole be cut very fine. Then put them into a glazed earthen vessel, pouring upon them about five pints of boiling water. Let them boil gently for about an hour. Then take it from the fire, and strain it off
 5 through linen. This is called 'the decoction of the woods'. More water may, after the first boiling, be poured on the same ingredients, and be boiled up into a small decoction for common drink.

No. 23. Take one ounce of the pulp of tamarinds, half a dram of nitre, and four ounces of water. Let them boil not more than one
 10 minute. Then add two ounces of manna and, when dissolved, strain the mixture off.

No. 24. An ounce of cream of tartar, divided into eight equal parts.

No. 25. The preparation of Kermes mineral, otherwise called
 15 'Chartrusian powder'. Dr. Tissot orders but one grain for a dose. It has been directed from one to three.

No. 26. Take three ounces of the common burdock root. Boil it for half an hour, with half a dram of nitre, in three full pints of
 20 water.

No. 27. Take half a pinch of the herbs prescribed [in] No. 9, article 2, and half an ounce of hard white soap, shaved thin. Pour on these one pint and a half of boiling water, and one glass of wine. Strain the liquor, and squeeze it strongly out.

No. 28. Take of the purest quicksilver one ounce, of Venice turpentine half a dram, of the freshest hog's lard two ounces, and let
 25 the whole be very well rubbed together into an ointment.

No. 29. The yellow basilicon.

No. 30. Take of natural and factitious (or artificial) cinnabar
 30 twenty-four grains each, of musk sixteen grains, and let the whole be reduced into fine powder and very well mixed.^h

^hThis medicine was brought over from the East Indies by Sir George Cobb [(1670–1762)], and published under the name of the Jonquin [i.e., Tonquin] medicine. Its reputation was very considerable, and some success was even observed from its use in Europe. Dr. Nugent, physician in Bath, has published a case wherein its good effects were manifest; and Dr. Whytt, in his late treatise on nervous disorders, has given us a similar instance of the good effects of this medicine. It is to be observed, however, that in both these cases opium was given along with it; and in the latter, a plaster of galbanum and opium was applied to the throat [JW]. [Referring to Christopher Nugent (1698–1775), *An Essay on the Hydrophobia* (London: Leake and Frederic, 1753); and Robert Whytt (1714–66), *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of those Disorders which have been commonly called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysteric* (Edinburgh: T. Becket and P. du Hondt, 1765).]

No. 31. Take one dram of Virginia snake-root in powder, of camphor and of asafœtida ten grains each, of opium one grain, and with a sufficient quantity of conserve or rob of elder make a bolus.ⁱ

No. 32. Take three ounces of tamarinds. Pour on them one pint of boiling water. And after letting them boil a minute or two, strain the liquor through a linen cloth. 5

No. 33. Take seven grains of turbith mineral, and make it into a pill or bolus with a little crumb of bread.^j

No. 34. Six grains of tartar emetic.^k

No. 35. Take thirty-five grains of ipecacuana; which, in the very strongest constitutions, may be augmented to forty-five.^l 10

No. 36. The common blistering plaster.

No. 37. Take of the tops of ground-oak, of the lesser centaury, of wormwood, and of camomile, of each one pugil. Pour on them three pints of boiling water, and suffering them to infuse until it is cold, strain the liquor through a linen cloth, pressing it out strongly. 15

No. 38. Take forty grains of rhubarb, and as much cream of tartar in powder, mixing them well together.^m

No. 39. Take three drams of cream of tartar, and one dram of ipecacuanha finely powdered. Rub them well together and divide them into six equal parts; or twelve, for weak people. 20

No. 40. Take of the simple mixture one ounce, of spirit of vitriol half an ounce, and mix them. The dose is one or two teaspoonfuls in a cup of the patient's common drink. The simple mixture is composed of five ounces of treacle water camphorated, of three ounces of spirit of tartar rectified, and one ounce of spirit of vitriol. 25
If the patient has an insuperable aversion to the camphor, it must be

ⁱ When this is preferred to No. 30, of which musk is an ingredient, the grain of opium should be omitted, except once or at most twice in the twenty-four hours. Two doses of quicksilver, of fifteen grains each, should be given daily in the morning, in the interval between the other boluses [Tissot (see *Advice*, 594)].

^j This medicine makes the dogs vomit and slaver abundantly. It has effected many cures after the hydrophobia (the dread of water) was manifest. It must be given three days successively, and afterwards twice a week for fifteen days [Tissot (see *Advice*, 595)].

^k When people are ignorant of the strength of the tartar emetic (which is often various), or of the patient's being easy or difficult to vomit, a dose and a half may be dissolved in a quart of warm water, of which he may take a glass every quarter of an hour—whence the operation may be regulated according to the number of vomits or stools. This method, much used in Paris, seems a safe one [Tissot (see *Advice*, 595)].

^l In weak constitutions, ten grains are sufficient [JW].

^m For a weak constitution, fifteen grains of each are quite sufficient [JW].

omitted, though the medicine is less efficacious without it. And if his thirst is not very considerable, the simple mixture may be given alone, without any further addition of spirit of vitriol.

5 No. 41. Take half a dram of Virginia snake-root, ten grains of camphor, and make them into a bolus with rob of elderberries. If the patient's stomach cannot bear so large a dose of camphor, he may take it in smaller doses and oftener—viz. three grains, every two hours. If there is a violent looseness, diascordium must be substituted instead of the rob of elderberries.

10 No. 42. The *theriaca pauperum*, or poor man's treacle, in the dose of a quarter of an ounce. The following composition of it is the best. Take equal parts of round birthwort roots, of elecampane, of myrrh, and of rob or conserve of juniper-berries, and make them into an electuary, of a rather thin than very stiff consistence, with
15 syrup of orange peel.

No. 43. The first of the three medicines referred to in this number is that already directed No. 37. The second is as follows.

Take equal parts of the lesser centaury, of wormwood, of myrrh, all powdered, and of conserve of juniper-berries, making them up
20 into a pretty thick consistence with syrup of wormwood. The dose is a quarter of an ounce, to be taken at the same intervals as the bark.

For the third composition, take of the roots of calamus aromaticus and elecampane well bruised, two ounces; of the tops of the lesser centaury cut small, a pugil; of filings of unruined iron, two
25 ounces; of old white wine, three pints. Put them all into a wide-necked bottle and set it upon embers, or on a stove, or by the chimney, that it may be always kept hot. Let them infuse twenty-four hours, shaking them well five or six times. Then let the infusion settle and strain it. The dose is a common cup every four hours,
30 four times daily, and timing it one hour before dinner.

No. 44. Take a quarter of an ounce of cream of tartar, a pugil of common camomile. Boil them in 12 ounces of water for half an hour, and strain it off.

35 No. 45. Sal ammoniac, from two scruples to one dram for a dose. This may be made into a bolus with rob of elder. But a delicate stomach does not well admit of this salt.

No. 46. Take one pugil of camomile flowers, and as much elderflowers, bruising them well; of fine flour, three ounces; of ceruse and of blue smalt, each half an ounce. Rub the whole, and mix them
40 well. This powder may be applied immediately to the part.

Take of the ointment called 'nutritum' (see No. 64), made with the newest sweet oil, two ounces; of white wax, three quarters of

an ounce; and one quarter of an ounce of blue smalt. Melt the wax. Then add the nutritum to it, after the smalt finely powdered has been exactly incorporated with it. Stirring it about with an iron spatula or rod, till the whole is well-mixed and cold. This is to be smoothly spread on linen cloth.

5

A quarter of an ounce of smalt may also be mixed exactly with two ounces of butter or ointment of lead, to be used occasionally instead of this plaster.

No. 47. Take one ounce of Epsom salt and two ounces of tamarinds. Pour upon them eight ounces of boiling water, stirring them about to dissolve the tamarinds. Strain it off and divide it into two equal draughts, to be given at the interval of half an hour between the first and the last.

10

No. 48. Take of [Thomas] Sydenham's liquid laudanum, eighty drops; of balm water, two ounces and a half. If the first or second dose stops, or considerably lessens, the vomiting, this medicine should not be repeated.

15

No. 49. Dissolve three ounces of manna and twenty grains of nitre in twenty ounces of sweet whey.

No. 50. To two ounces of syrup of diacodium, or white poppy heads, add an equal weight of elder-flower water; or for want of it, of spring-water.

20

No. 51. A dram of rhubarb in powder.

No. 52. Take of sulphur vivum or of flower of brimstone, one ounce; of sal ammoniac, one dram; of fresh hog's lard, two ounces; and mix the whole very well in a mortar.

25

No. 53. Take two drams of crude antimony and as much nitre, both finely powdered and very well mixed; dividing the whole into eight equal doses.

No. 54.ⁿ Take of filings of iron (not the least rusty) and of sugar, each one ounce; of aniseeds powdered, half an ounce. After rubbing them very well together, divide the powder into twenty-four equal portions. One of which is to be taken three times a day, an hour before eating.

30

35

ⁿ The prescription No. 54, 55, 56 are calculated against distempers which arise from obstructions and stoppage of the monthly discharges; which No. 55 is more particularly intended to remove. Those of 54 and 56 are most convenient either when the suppression does not exist, or is not to be much regarded, if it does. This medicine may be rendered less unpalatable for persons in easy circumstances by adding as much cinnamon instead of aniseeds. And though the quantity of iron be small, it may be sufficient if given early in the complaint. One, or at the most two, of these doses daily being sufficient for a very young maiden [Tissot (see *Advice*, 601)].

40

No. 55. Take of filings of sound iron, two ounces; of leaves of rue, and of white horehound, one pugil each; of black hellebore root, one quarter of an ounce; and infuse the whole in three pints of wine in the manner already directed [in] No. 43. The dose of this is one
 5 small cup three times a day, an hour before eating.^o

No. 56. Take two ounces of filings of iron; of rue leaves and aniseeds powdered, each half an ounce. Add to them a sufficient quantity of honey to make an electuary of a good consistence. The dose is a quarter of an ounce three times daily.

10 No. 57. Take of the extract of the stinking hemlock with the purple spotted stalk, one ounce. Form it into pills weighing two grains each, adding as much of the powder of dry hemlock leaves as the pills will easily take up. Begin the use of this medicine by giving one
 15 pill night and morning. Some patients have been so familiarized to it as to take at length half an ounce daily.^p

No. 58. Take of the roots of grass and of succory well washed, each one ounce. Boil them a quarter of an hour in a pint of water. Then dissolve in it half an ounce of Epsom salt and two ounces of manna. And strain it off to drink one glass of it from half hour
 20 to half hour, till its effects are sufficient. It is to be repeated at the interval of two or three days.

No. 59. A poultice made of crumb of bread, with camomile flowers, boiled in milk, and the addition of some soap, so that each poultice may contain half a quarter of an ounce of it. And when
 25 the circumstances of female patients have not afforded them that regular attendance which the repetition of the poultice requires, as it should be renewed every three hours, I have successfully directed the hemlock plaster of the shops.

30 No. 60. Take a sufficient quantity of dry hemlock leaves. Secure them properly between two pieces of thin linen cloth, so as to make a very flexible sort of small mattress, letting it boil a few moments in water. Then squeeze it out and apply it to the affected part. It must thus be moistened and heated afresh, and reapplied, every
 35 two hours.

^o I choose to repeat here, the more strongly to inculcate so important a point, that in women who have long been ill and languid our endeavours must be directed towards the restoring of the patient's health and strength, and not to forcing down the monthly discharges, which is a very pernicious practice. These will return of
 40 course, if the patient is of a proper age, as she grows better [Tissot (see *Advice*, 601)].

^p I doubt the virtue of this medicine [JW].

No. 61. Take of the true white magnesia, two drams; of cinnamon powdered, four grains. Rub them very well together, and divide the whole into eight doses. One of these is to be given in a spoonful of milk, or water, before the infant sucks.

No. 62. Take of an extract of walnuts, made in water, two drams; and dissolve it in half an ounce of cinnamon water. Fifty drops a day of this solution is to be given to a child of two years old. And after the whole has been taken, the child should be purged. This extract is to be made of the unripe nuts, when they are of a proper growth and consistence for pickling.

No. 63. Take of resin of jalap, two grains. Rub it a considerable time with twelve or fifteen grains of sugar, and afterwards with three or four sweet almonds; adding, very gradually, two common spoonfuls of water. Then strain it through clear thin linen, as the emulsion of almonds was ordered to be. Lastly, add a teaspoonful of syrup of maidenhair to it. This is no disagreeable draught, and may be given to a child of two years old. And if they are older, a grain or two more of the resin may be allowed. But under two years old, it is prudent to purge children rather with syrup of succory, or with manna.

No. 64. Take of the ointment called 'nutritum', one ounce; the entire yolk of one small egg, or the half of a large one; and mix them well together. This 'nutritum' is made by rubbing very well together, and for some time, two drams of white lead, half an ounce of vinegar, and three ounces of common oil.

No. 65. Melt four ounces of white wax. Add to it, if made in winter, two spoonfuls of oil; if in summer, none at all, or at most not above a spoonful. Dip in this slips of linen cloth not worn too thin, and let them dry. Or spread it thin and evenly over them.

No. 66. Take of oil of roses, one pound; of red lead, half a pound; of vinegar, four ounces. Boil them together nearly to the consistence of a plaster. Then dissolve in the liquid mass an ounce and a half of yellow wax, and two drams of camphor, stirring the whole about well. Remove it then from the fire, and spread it on sheets or slips of paper, of what size you think most convenient. The ointment of Chambauderie, so famous in many families on the continent, is made of a quarter of a pound of yellow wax, of the plaster of three ingredients (very nearly the same with No. 66.), of compound diachylon, and of common oil; of each the same quantity, all melted together, and then stirred about well. After it is removed from the fire, till it grows cold. To make an oil cloth, it must be melted over again with the addition of a little oil, and applied to the linen as directed at No. 65.

No. 67. Gather in autumn, while the fine weather lasts, the agaric of the oak, which is a kind of fungus or excrescence issuing from the wood of that tree.

It consists at first of four parts, which present themselves successively: 1) The outward rind or skin, which may be thrown away.
 2) That part immediately under this rind, which the best of all. It is to be beat well with a hammer, till it becomes soft and very pliable. This is the only preparation it requires, and a slice of it a proper size is to be applied directly over the bursting open blood vessels.
 It constricts and brings them close together, stops the bleedings, and generally falls off at the end of two days. 3) The third part, adhering to the second, may serve to stop the bleeding from the smaller vessels. [4)] And the fourth and last part may be reduced to powder, as conducing to the same purpose.

No. 68. Take four ounces of crumbs of bread, a pugil of elder-flowers, and the same quantity of those of camomile and of St. John's-wort. Boil them into a poultice in equal quantities of vinegar and water.

If fomentations should be thought preferable, take the same herbs, throw them into a pint and a half of boiling water, and let them infuse some minutes. Then a pint of vinegar is to be added. And flannels or other woollen cloths dipped in the fomentation, and wrung out, are to be applied to the part affected.

For the aromatic fomentations, take leaves of betony and of rue, flowers of rosemary or lavender, and red roses, of each a pugil and a half. Boil them for a quarter of an hour in a pot with a cover, with three pints of old white wine. Then strain off, squeezing the liquor strongly from the herbs, and apply it as already directed.

No. 69. The plaster of diapalma.^a

No. 70. A mixture of two parts water and one part of vinegar of litharge.

No. 71. Take of the leaves of sow-bread and of camomile tops, of each one pugil. Put them into an earthen vessel with half an ounce of soap, and as much sal ammoniac, and pour upon them three pints of boiling water.

^aTo spread this upon lint, it must be melted down again with a little oil [Tissot (see *Advice*, 607)].

WESLEY'S ENGAGEMENT
WITH WILLIAM CADOGAN'S
*DISSERTATION ON THE GOUT,
AND ALL CHRONIC DISEASES*
(1771–74)

An Introductory Comment

In the twenty-first century gout is classed among the 'rheumatic' diseases, a group of painful inflammatory disorders that affect the joints, muscles, or connective tissue. Within the group, gout is probably the most common after osteoarthritis. Gout is experienced as an attack of sudden burning pain, stiffness, and swelling in a joint, particularly of a big toe—but it can attack other joints in the foot, ankle, knees, or elsewhere. These attacks can happen recurrently and over time can harm joints, tendons, and other tissues. It is now understood that gout is due to elevated levels of uric acid in the blood, sparked by a combination of diet (particularly high intake of meat and beer) and genetic factors. At high levels, uric acid crystallizes and the crystals deposit in joints, tendons, and surrounding tissues, resulting in the inflammatory attacks. The immediate attacks are treated with drugs to reduce the inflammation, but the underlying causes must be addressed by diet and lifestyle changes.

As the classification 'rheumatic' might suggest, gout has been recognized and treated as a disorder since at least fifth century BCE in Western cultures. It was understood largely within the model of the four humours up into the eighteenth century.¹ 'Rheum' is derived from a Latin word for 'flowing'. It named the watery or mucous secretions that flow from the eyes, nose, or mouth; but it was also used for the 'flowing' of humours within the body—or the results of such flowing. The English word 'gout' traces to another Latin word, *gutta*, meaning 'a drop'. In the classic model, gout was

¹The following summary draws particularly on Roy Porter and G. S. Rousseau, *Gout: The Patrician Malady* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chapters 2–7.

attributed to the morbid remains of one or more of the four humours flowing or 'dropping' into a joint (or an organ, like the stomach), causing swelling and pain.

From the earliest medical consideration it was clear that gout did not affect the population equally. It struck adult males much more than children or females—leading Hippocrates to quip that gout never developed in men before puberty, or in women before menopause. It was also more predominant among the upper classes. As a writer of Wesley's time put it, 'This disease is not bred in prisons or work-houses, nor engendered in the galley or the mine; but owes its production to the table of the epicure and the abuse of delicious wine.'²

The first treatise on gout published in the English language was apparently in 1669 by Benjamin Welles.³ But the most influential treatise prior to the eighteenth century was by Thomas Sydenham.⁴ In his treatise Sydenham stressed a distinction that shaped discussion through the next century. He argued that gout was not an 'acute disease' (like an infection), which could strike anyone at any time by accident; it was instead a 'chronic disease', a disorder to which persons became susceptible by failure to care for their health.⁵ In particular, it attacked 'those old men who . . . indulged themselves freely with splendid banquets, wine, and other spirituous liquors'.⁶ Sydenham suggested that these practices inhibited the proper digestion of the humours, allowing them to build up and 'fall' into joints, etc. For this reason he questioned reliance on the traditional practices of bleeding, purges, and sweating to treat gout, deeming them largely ineffective. Indeed, he argued that use of purges and emetics was counterproductive, because they drove the morbid humours back to stomach, while the body had naturally pressed them out to the extremities to lessen their damage.⁷ For the discomfort of specific attacks, Sydenham prescribed laudanum (a tincture of opium) and diet-drinks that excluded herbs that pro-

² Richard Blackmore, *Discourses on the Gout, Rheumatism, and the King's-Evil* (London: J. Pemberton, 1726), 60.

³ Benjamin Welles, *A Treatise of the Gout, or Joint Evil* (London: Herringman, 1669).

⁴ Thomas Sydenham, *Treatise of the Gout and Dropsy* (London: Robinson, et alia, 1683); rather than reprinting separately, this was incorporated into Sydenham's *A Collection of Chronical Diseases* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1692), 86–143. Since the original treatise is so rare, we will cite from the 1692 collection.

⁵ See Sydenham, *Collection*, 112–14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

mote heat in the stomach.⁸ But his greater attention was directed to preventing attacks, for which he recommended moderation in diet and use of alcohol, combined with exercise. To those already prone to attacks, Sydenham insisted that there could be no 'cure' by medicines alone; rather they should focus on changing the habit of their whole life.⁹ But he implied that those just beginning their lives might avoid gout altogether by consistent proper regimen, unless they have the misfortune that their fathers had the disease 'when they begat them'.¹⁰

Given that its sufferers included nobility, politicians, popular writers, and many medical doctors, gout became a prominent literary topic in the eighteenth century, in both medical and popular settings. Sydenham was a hero for the first generation of the century and his stance broadly set the tone. He also gave fodder for the two most lively debates. One debate sought to account for the frequent recurrence of gout within certain (wealthy) families. Could it be that a propensity to gout was inherited? Sydenham's comments in this regard were ambiguous. So was John Hancocke, in a 1722 treatise that left it an open question whether there was such a thing as 'hereditary gout'.¹¹ By contrast, four years later Richard Blackmore took it for granted that some cases of gout were hereditary, and that these were the hardest to treat—the best that one could hope for was to postpone their onset.¹² By 1730 it was common to accept 'hereditary gout', while recognizing also cases that were 'adventitious', occurring in persons with no prehistory in the family.¹³ William Grant represented the dominant view by the last quarter of the century—that 'gout is hereditary, as much as any disease can be. It is not a disease of any one humour, nor of any one organ, but of the whole constitution. It may be called the *temperamentum arthriticum*.'¹⁴

⁸ Ibid., 139, and (on drinks) 110–11, 125–26.

⁹ Ibid., 119–34.

¹⁰ Ibid., 97–98.

¹¹ John Hancocke, *Febrifugum magnum; or, Common water the best cure for fevers, and probably for the plague* (London: Halsey, 1722), 65. JW cited this book in *Consideratum*, Preface, §4.

¹² Blackmore, *Discourses*, 74–76.

¹³ See John Allen, *Dr. Allen's Synopsis medicinae; or, A Brief and General Collection of the Whole Practice of Physick* (London: et alia, 1730), 1:393. JW used this as a major source for *Collection of Receipts* and *Primitive Physic*.

¹⁴ William Grant, *Some Observations on the Origin, Progress, and Method of Treating Atrabilious Temperament and Gout* (London: T. Cadell, 1779), 20–21.

The second major debate about gout in the eighteenth century concerned whether one who was afflicted could truly be cured. A steady stream through the eighteenth century picked up on Sydenham's suggestion that gout, whatever its discomforts, was nature's way of preventing more serious acute diseases. This led some to insist that even seeking a cure was ill-considered and vain.¹⁵ The board influence of this view is evidenced by Horace Walpole's retort in 1785, 'when I am told of an infallible cure I laugh the proposal to scorn, and declare I do not desire to be cured.... I believe the gout a remedy, not a disease; and being so, no wonder there is no cure for it.'¹⁶ Anyone who promised an easy cure was considered a quack. The most 'optimistic' alternative of the time among physicians can be represented by John Hill, who joined Sydenham in maintaining that, while those who suffer gout should not expect a total cure, with proper diet and exercise they can 'blunt the sting of the disease'.¹⁷

The main way in which medical consideration of gout in the eighteenth century moved beyond Sydenham was replacing the explanatory model of the humours with a mechanistic model of the circulatory system. An early adaptor was George Cheyne, who argued that gout was most common in persons who (likely by heredity) had particularly narrow arterioles in their bodily extremities. This restricted the flow of blood, which resulted in stagnation and precipitates that blocked them further. Cheyne's therapy focused on widening the blood vessels and driving accumulated precipitates out, by such traditional practices as blisters and purgatives. Turning to prevention, Cheyne stressed a regimen of less meat, more milk and herbal diet-drinks, and avoidance of wines and distilled liquors.¹⁸ Cheyne's contemporaries, like Richard Blackmore, generally adopted the mechanistic account of gout, even as they differed a bit on regimen—such as defending a positive role for moderate use of wine.¹⁹

¹⁵ This argument was made playfully at the turn of the century in Philander Misaurus (pseudonym), *The Honour of the Gout* (London: Baldwin, 1699). The case was argued seriously by a physician in Marmaduke Berdoo, *An Essay on the Nature and Causes of the Gout, With a Few Conjectures on the Probability of Cure* (Bath: Hazard, 1772), 59.

¹⁶ Horace Walpole letter, July 25, 1785, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, edited by W. S. Lewis, et al, (New Haven: Yale, 1971), 25:597.

¹⁷ John Hill, *The Management of the Gout, by a Physician with his own Case* (London: Baldwin, 1758), 1–3.

¹⁸ See George Cheyne, *Observations concerning the Nature and Due Method of Treating the Gout* (London: Strahan, 1720).

¹⁹ Blackmore, *Discourses*, 101.

This was the state of the discussion when William Cadogan (1711–97) published his *Dissertation on the Gout* in April 1771.²⁰ Cadogan held the M.D. degree, was a fellow of the College of Physicians, and assumed the mechanistic account of gout that was now standard.²¹ So his *Dissertation* might have taken its place quietly among others of the century; except that Cadogan took the minority view on the two debated points of his time. Most notably, Cadogan attributed gout (and most other chronic diseases) *entirely* to matters of lifestyle—indolence, intemperance in diet and drink, and vexation (i.e., ‘stress’)—rejecting any hereditary element, beyond the loose sense that children might learn bad habits at home.²² On the question of cure, Cadogan denied as clearly as any of his predecessors that *medicine* could cure gout.²³ But his confidence in the ability of his proposed regimen to both relieve present attacks and avert future ones struck many as a promised cure. In part because of these claims, Cadogan’s *Dissertation* sparked a vigorous response—in print and in popular culture. Even Samuel Johnson, a long-time gout sufferer, weighed in at a dinner party in 1773, averring that while Cadogan’s pamphlet was ‘good in general’ it was ‘a foolish one in particulars’, especially ‘as it says that gout is not hereditary, and one fit of the gout when gone is like a fever when gone’.²⁴

Surveying the response to Cadogan’s *Dissertation*, the critics often dealt less with the debated issues of heredity and cure than with the ‘moralizing Enlightenment attack on luxury’ in his elaboration of the causes of (and proposed cure for) gout.²⁵ Some of their ire was directed toward Cadogan’s account of what constituted indolence, or caused vexation. But the sharpest retorts focused on his proposed ideal of temperance in diet and drink. At issue here was not only his prohibition of wine and distilled liquors, but his condemnation of such staples of the English diet as smoked and salted meat, pickles, and bread—as well as his invective against the British for typically overcooking their meat!

²⁰ William Cadogan, *A Dissertation on the Gout, and All Chronical Diseases, jointly considered, as Proceeding from the Same Causes; What these Causes are; and a Rational and Natural Method of Cure Proposed* (London: Dodsley, 1771). The publication was first advertised in *General Evening Post* (Apr. 16–18, 1771).

²¹ See *ibid.*, 19–21 (II.2 of Wesley’s abridgement).

²² See *ibid.*, 6–8 (I.7–10 of Wesley’s abridgement).

²³ *Ibid.*, 4 (sec. I.2 in Wesley’s abridgement).

²⁴ James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson* (London: Charles Dilly, 1785), 168–69.

²⁵ Porter and Rousseau, *Gout*, 104; see also their survey of the response to Cadogan on pp. 107–24.

In a letter published in the *Bristol Gazette* in 1771 (reproduced below) John Wesley noted that he suffered scattered attacks of gout from the early 1740s. He went on to stress that he ‘cured’ each attack within a few hours. As this would lead one to expect, Wesley included advice for treating gout from the first edition of *Collection of Receipts* (1745) through the last edition of *Primitive Physic* published during his lifetime (1791). Significantly, the first advice offered in *Collection of Receipts* was an echo of Thomas Sydenham’s regimen.²⁶ Two other receipts in that *Collection* were drawn from Robert Boyle.²⁷ Through the various editions of *Primitive Physic* Wesley continued to draw on published and other resources for additional receipts.

Given his personal interest, and his continuing pastoral role of providing advice in physic to his people, Wesley was naturally drawn to a publication on gout that caused the type of stir that attended Cadogan’s *Dissertation*. He was in Ireland when the book first appeared, but read it within a month of his return to Bristol. His initial reaction, recorded in his *Journal* on September 9, 1771, suggests that Wesley was aware of the swirling debate:

I read over Dr. Cadogan’s ingenious treatise on chronical distempers.²⁸ It is certainly true that ‘very few of them are properly hereditary’, that most of them spring either from indolence, or intemperance, or irregular passions. But why should he condemn wine *toto genere*, which is one of the noblest cordials in nature? Yet stranger, why should he condemn *bread*? Great whims belong to great men.²⁹

For many of the books that Wesley read, such a passing comment in his *Journal* is all that survives about his evaluation. But issues of health were too important—and Wesley’s resonance with Cadogan’s general thesis was too strong—for him to pass over this publication so quickly. Within two weeks of the note in his manuscript journal (the extract of which was not published until 1777), Wesley posted a public letter to the editor of the *Bristol Gazette*, which appeared in the September 26 issue. In this letter Wesley’s driving concern, after commending Cadogan on his ‘admirable’ book, was to challenge Cadogan’s dismissal of the ability of any medicine to cure gout. Wesley championed a remedy found in *Primitive Physic*, though he added

²⁶ *Collection of Receipts*, #112.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, #118 and #119.

²⁸ Recall the full title: *A Dissertation on the Gout, and all Chronic Diseases*.

²⁹ JW, *Journal*, Sept. 9, 1771, 22:290 in this edn.

‘if you afterwards give way either to indolence, intemperance, or any violent passion, your disease will infallibly return’. But this was Cadogan’s point! He did not deny that a particular medicine might relieve a specific attack of gout, only that medicine *alone* could ever insure ‘it would not return again’.³⁰ In other words, Wesley’s letter defended the ability of medicine to ‘cure’ gout in a narrower sense than that which Cadogan had attacked. The two men agreed that there was no hope for curing gout in the broader sense (of averting its return) apart from embracing an altered regimen of life.

Given this broader agreement, one can imagine Wesley’s concern that indignation raised by some specifics of Cadogan’s prescribed regimen might detract readers from his central point. This prompted Wesley to prepare an abridged version of Cadogan’s *Dissertation* with the goal—as he put it in his advertisement—of revising or removing those specifics that had been censured ‘with some reason’ in what was otherwise the ‘most masterly piece upon the subject which has yet appeared in the English language’.

Wesley opened his prefatory comments ‘To the Reader’ with a list of the aspects of Cadogan’s advice on diet and drink where he shared the broader public’s doubt. Leading the list was Cadogan’s warning about the unwholesomeness of smoked and salted meats, which Wesley judged to be exaggerated (§1), though he retained the warning in his abridged version.³¹ Even more exaggerated in Wesley’s view was Cadogan’s repeated attack on pickles (§2). In this case Wesley deleted the strongest attack, which characterized pickles as ‘the worst of all poisons’.³² The third advice where Wesley diverged from Cadogan concerned wine (§4). While hardly an advocate of inebriation, Wesley saw no problem in a daily glass of this noble cordial. So he omitted the section where Cadogan encouraged avoiding wine except for its use in medicines; or at most, an occasional glass for sake of society.³³ Wesley was even more mystified by Cadogan’s strong injunction against eating bread or anything made with white flour (§5), and again deleted the offending passage.³⁴ Finally there was Cadogan’s argument against overcooking meat—an advice that Wesley judged to be itself half-cooked and dangerous (§6), leading him to elide this section as well.³⁵

³⁰ See section I.10 of Wesley’s abridgement below.

³¹ See the abridgement below, section III.10.

³² See the note on section III.9.

³³ *Ibid.*, section III.4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, end of section III.12.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, section III.10.

In addition to these differences on diet and drink, Wesley appealed to personal experience in his 1771 letter to challenge Cadogan's seeming dismissal of any hereditary component in gout. Wesley reiterated this divergence in §3 of his prefatory comments to the extract of Cadogan, though here he offered a charitable reading that Cadogan meant only that *most* cases of gout were due to lifestyle rather than heredity. Wesley endorsed such a revised claim, and made only minor changes in the relevant sections of his extract.³⁶

Reflecting his general agreement with Cadogan's emphasis on regimen, Wesley followed his prefatory comments on points of divergence with paragraphs reiterating the health dangers of intemperance (§8), indolence (§§9–10), and vexation (or irregular 'passions' §11). As with the abridgements of Tissot, Wesley closed his comments by setting aside the limitation observed by the physicians of addressing only physical cures, and insisting on the interconnection of physical and spiritual health. In addition to adopting any regimen of life, each of us need to receive as well 'the love of God, that sovereign balm for the body as well as the mind' (§12).

Some other aspects of Wesley's abridged version of Cadogan's *Dissertation*, beyond those he acknowledges in 'To the Reader', deserve mention. In the first place, while Cadogan had inserted new material (starting with his third edition) by the time that Wesley prepared his abridgement, comparison suggests that Wesley drew upon the first edition (or unchanged second edition). None of the new material appears in Wesley's abridgement, even in settings where he included the text of the first edition that came immediately before and after the insertion.

Secondly, while Wesley titled his publication an 'Extract' of Cadogan's *Dissertation*, he did not simply pull out and republish a section. Rather, as with the two tracts by Tissot, Wesley abridged the entire volume, reducing the word count by nearly a third. He accomplished this in part by deleting most occasions where Cadogan provided redundant descriptions or multiple examples, as well as Latin references when the English equivalents were provided in the text. He also removed most of Cadogan's references to historic medical authorities, and eliminated some descriptions that were aimed exclusively at the sumptuous appetites of the wealthy.

Thirdly, several of Wesley's omissions were motivated by more than a concern to reduce the length of his 'Extract'. We have al-

³⁶ See the footnote added to section I.6; and the insertion of the word 'necessarily' in section I.7.

ready surveyed the motivations that Wesley acknowledged in his prefatory comments. A few other concerns are suggested by comparison of his extract to the original. For example, Cadogan's text has an 'Enlightenment' tone, appealing often to nature as the standard of truth and dismissing religion as superstitious; Wesley's abridgement elided the sharpest instances of this language,³⁷ while retaining confidence in the reliability of nature. Cadogan tended to guarantee the efficacy of his regimen; Wesley's abridgement was more circumspect in its confidence.³⁸ And Cadogan's rhetoric was often paternalistic or dismissive of the sensibleness of the general populace; Wesley generally omitted or toned down this attitude.³⁹

The final point that needs consideration is the setting in which Wesley's 'Extract' of Cadogan's *Dissertation* appeared. He may have prepared the abridgement shortly after reading the book in September 1771. But Wesley's attention was dominated at this time, and through the next two years, with bringing to press his collected *Works*. If he intended to release his abridged version of Cadogan as a separate tract, it apparently got lost in the shuffle. In late 1773 Wesley published Vol. 25 of his *Works*, which was devoted to *Primitive Physic* and *Advices with Respect to Health*. Perhaps sparked by this medical focus, the extract from Cadogan's *Dissertation* appeared as the first item in Vol. 26, issued early the next year. By 1774 the public debate about Cadogan had subsided, so there was little call to print the 'Extract' as a separate tract as well. There was particularly little need among Methodists, since the basic themes of Cadogan's regimen were already enshrined by Wesley in the section of the Preface of *Primitive Physic* extracted from George Cheyne.⁴⁰ But this did not stop Wesley from invoking Cadogan's name in future pieces like his 'Thoughts on "Nervous Disorders"'.⁴¹

Given that it was never published as an independent item, Wesley's 'Extract' of Cadogan appears only as a subunit of *Works* (*Bibliography*, No. 334) in this edition. The single appearance also means that there is no list of variants in Appendix A.

³⁷ See particularly the note on section III.9.

³⁸ See the notes on Cadogan's introduction, §2, and section V.14.

³⁹ See the notes on sections I.14 and V.7.

⁴⁰ See *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §16 above.

⁴¹ See 'Thoughts on "Nervous Disorders"', §5 below.

To the Printer of
The Bristol Gazette

[Bristol]

[c. September 24, 1771]

5

Sir,

1. Dr. Cadogan, in his admirable dissertation on the gout and other chronic diseases, says, 'Though I think the gout incurable by medicine, it is so far from being incurable in its nature that I am
10 firmly persuaded it may be more easily and more perfectly cured than almost any other chronic disease.'¹ I am sure it may. I know it from the experience of about thirty years.

2. Many years ago Mr. Sher[r]ington, then of Stratford upon Avon, afterwards one of the warders of the Tower, after being con-
15 fined by the gout eleven years together, was thoroughly cured in less than forty hours. Seventeen or eighteen years after, being then in London, he had another visit from it. He had recourse to his old remedy, was cured in a few hours, and had it no more till he died in a good old age.²

20 3. I was riding some years since into Wadebridge, a small town near St. Columb's in Cornwall,³ when a footman called after me and told me, 'Sir, my master begs to speak with you.' His master was a physician, Dr. Ward.⁴ He said, 'Sir, I was desirous, if ever I should see you, to return you thanks for one of the greatest benefits
25 I ever received in my life. Eight years I was laid up with the gout on that couch. One brought me your *Primitive Physic*. I used the remedy prescribed therein for a few hours, and have never ailed anything since.'

3 ¹William Cadogan, *A Dissertation on the Gout, and all Chronic Diseases* (London: Dodsley, 1771), 13.

²Leonard Sherrington (1679–1759), warder of London Tower, was buried in Bunhill fields, near the Foundery, the Methodist center in London. In §5 below JW seems to identify the method used by Sherrington as an application of warm treacle. But there is also a report that he was cured in 1744 by taking mineral water from a stream near Stratford upon Avon; see Charles Perry, *An Account of an Analysis made on the Stratford Mineral Water* (Northampton: W. Dicey, 1744), 71.

³Wadebridge is on the River Camel, about 7 miles northeast of St. Columb Major in Cornwall.

⁴See JW, *Journal*, Sept. 20, 1748 (20:249 in this edn.), where JW breakfasted with a Dr. W. of Wadebridge, 'who was for many years a steady, rational infidel. But it pleased God to touch his heart in reading the *Appeal [to Men of Reason and Religion]*. And he is now labouring to be altogether a Christian'.

4. Both my father and mother were troubled with the gout for many years. So that if hereditary right be admitted, I have a fair title thereto. Accordingly I have had it seven or eight times within these thirty years; twice in my right great toe, and five or six times in one or the other knee. But it is a rule with me never to let it stay twelve hours. I have generally cured it in six. 5

5. I cannot say that I ever knew more than one person who used Mr. Sher[r]ington's method without success. Nor did I ever know one, either man or woman, who found any ill consequence of using it. But undoubtedly the disorder will return, unless those who are now cured take Dr. Cadogan's advice: unless they use constant exercise, practice exact temperance, and avoid all irregular passions. You may be cured once and again by applying *fresh treacle* warmed (not *Venice treacle* but *common treacle*) and covering the part with flannel or soft locks of wool, renewing the application (if need be) once in twelve hours.⁵ But if you afterwards give way either to indolence, intemperance, or any violent passion, your disease will infallibly return, and you will live a cripple, or die a martyr to your folly. 10 15

John Wesley

20

Source: published transcription; *Bristol Gazette* (Sept. 26, 1771), p. 4.

⁵This cure appeared in the first edition of *Collection of Receipts* (see CR, #117 above), and remained through every edition of *Primitive Physic* (see §121, receipt #1 above).

An Extract from Dr. Cadogan's *Dissertation
on the Gout, and All Chronic Diseases*¹

Advertisement

5 A few things in this excellent tract have been censured with some reason. These are omitted or altered in the following extract. Which I therefore recommend to men of understanding as the most masterly piece upon the subject which has yet appeared in the English language.

To the Reader

15 1. We may give the due praise to Dr. Cadogan's tract without undertaking to defend it in every point. It may be allowed that he sometimes paints too strongly, though I believe with a good design. He knows how apt the generality of people are to aim a little below the mark, and on this account perhaps, sometimes places it higher than otherwise he would have done. With this view he seems a little to
20 exaggerate upon the unwholesomeness of *smoked* and *salted* meats. Undoubtedly these are hard of digestion to all sorts of people, and extremely unwholesome for sedentary persons, as well as those of a weak and tender constitution. Yet I would not condemn them in so
25 strong terms, considering how many thousands in the kingdom live chiefly upon them for many years and still remain in perfect health.

2. Another instance of this exaggeration we have in what he says concerning *pickles*. It may be allowed that they are not wholesome to persons of a delicate constitution. Perhaps too the using them in
30 large quantities may impair a good constitution. But still I cannot commend the condemning them universally as no less than poison. I really believe a man of a firm constitution might use a small quantity of them daily, yea for forty or fifty years together, without hurting himself at all.

35 3. Perhaps yet another instance of the same kind is his assertion that there are *no hereditary* distempers—that, in particular, there is

¹ William Cadogan, *A Dissertation on the Gout, and all Chronic Diseases* (London: J. Dodsley, 1771). Wesley's 'Extract' appeared only in JW, *Works* (Bristol: William Pine, 1774), 26:3–52.

no such thing in the world as an *hereditary* gout. He must certainly mean no more than that distempers are *not near so often* hereditary as we imagine. And that the gout in particular is *generally* owing to one or more of the three causes he assigns, consequently is contracted by ourselves and not derived from our parents. This may be allowed. And it is a very important truth, though little attended to. The far greater part of our chronical distempers are doubtless contracted by ourselves. But not all. I am living witness of the contrary, even with regard to the gout itself. Those who know me do not charge me with *intemperance*, either in meat or drink. I am not *indolent*; I never travel less than five thousand miles in a year. And I bless God I have no *violent passions*. Yet I have within these thirty years, had frequently the gout (of which my father was frequently ill, and my mother died) nine or ten times.

4. If, therefore, the Doctor really means that there are absolutely *no hereditary distempers*, I cannot subscribe to this opinion. Neither to his condemning of *wine* in general, several sorts of which (as Dr. Hoffman shows at large²) are so far from being unwholesome that they are some of the most powerful medicines yet known in some very dangerous diseases. I myself was ordered by Dr. Cheyne³ (not the warmest advocate for liquors), after drinking only water for some years, to take a small quantity of wine every day. And I am persuaded, far from doing me any hurt, it contributed much to the recovery of my strength. But it seems we are to make a pretty large allowance for what the Doctor says on this head, seeing he grants it will do you little or harm to take a plentiful cup 'now and then'.⁴ Enough, enough! Then it will certainly do you no harm if, instead of drinking that cup in one day (suppose once a week), you divide it into seven and drink one of them every day.

5. I cannot but think if your wine is good in kind, suited to your constitution, and taken in small quantities, it is full as wholesome as any liquor in the world except water. Yet the grievous abuse of it, which almost universally prevails, might easily prejudice a benevolent man against it, and make him endeavour to prevent its abuse

² Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742), *Opera omnia Physico-Medica*, 6 vols. (Geneva: De Tournes, 1748), 5:341–62. A set of these volumes is present among the Charles Wesley family library at MARC (MAW CW330–32), but they almost certainly belonged to JW originally; see *Bulletin of The John Rylands University Library* 88.2 (2006): 135.

³ George Cheyne (1671–1743).

⁴ Cadogan, *Dissertation*, 32.

by forbidding the use of it. But what could prejudice him against so harmless a thing as *bread*? 'Nay, he thinks it is not harmless, for if it stand by two or three days in water, it will turn the water quite sour.'⁵ What if it did? Does the Doctor know that most vegetables
 5 are *acescent*?⁶ And are they ever the less wholesome for that? But in fact, it does not. I have occasionally (not through design, but forgetfulness) made the experiment over and over. I have in London let a large toast lie several days in water, and the water did not contract the least sourness. So that I cannot but still conceive, of
 10 all vegetable food, there is none more wholesome than well-made wheaten bread.

6. If anything in his excellent tract is more whimsical than even his prejudice against bread, it is what he says concerning the wholesomeness of *flesh thoroughly* roasted or boiled.⁷ One would wonder
 15 anyone should imagine that flesh is more wholesome by being half raw. I regard no theory upon this head. I appeal to matter of fact. Now how many persons has the Doctor known with whom a proper quantity of such flesh as suited their constitution agreed well when little boiled, and disagreed when much boiled? Has he found *twenty*
 20 such? To this day I have found but *one*, among the many thousand persons with whom I converse every year. Yea, and I doubt the fact with regard to him. I doubt it is pure imagination, arising from reading the Doctor's book. And this may be the case with others also.

7. But allowing the Doctor is not infallible, allowing him to be mistaken in these and a few other particulars, his general plan is truly excellent. No reasonable man who looks round about him can doubt
 25 but ninety-nine chronical distempers in an hundred are occasioned by one or other of these causes which he has so judiciously assigned. He cannot doubt but ninety-nine in a hundred of those distempers
 30 which are supposed to be hereditary are really owing to one of these three causes: intemperance, indolence, or irregular passions.

8. The first of these, *intemperance*, extends much farther than is commonly imagined. For that may be intemperance to one which is
 35 not so to another. To every individual it is intemperance to use any *kind* of food, or such a *quantity* of any, either meat or drink, as in any degree impairs health. Yea, though the effect do not immediately follow, though it do not produce any present inconvenience. But if this be intemperance, how exceeding few practice temperance in

⁵ See *ibid.*, 47 n.

⁶ Tending to sourness; or sharp.

⁷ See Cadogan, *Dissertation*, 43.

food? And how many gouty, scrofulous, and scorbutic disorders are owing to want of it?

9. The most fruitful source of chronical distempers, next to intemperance, is *indolence*. But this word also we are to understand in a very wide extent. It here means the want of due exercise; the not using such a kind and such a degree of exercise, at least once every day, as each constitution requires. One would imagine indeed that commonsense would induce everyone to use this. But experience shows it does not. Although it is hardly credible to what degree it is neglected, even by those who have the greatest need of it. 'To how many hundreds' (said Dr. Freind⁸ to my eldest brother⁹), 'if not thousands, have I prescribed *exercise*? And how many have punctually followed my prescription? To this day, I know not one.'

10. Not that any one particular kind of exercise is necessary for all persons. Indeed Dr. Cheyne supposes the natural exercise of walking, where the strength suffices, to be preferable to any other.¹⁰ But it should be used every day, not less than an hour before dinner, or after supper. Where the strength will not admit of this, the want of it may be supplied by riding two hours at least on horseback every day before dinner or supper. If neither of these can be borne, the end of both may be answered by riding in a *carriage*. But then it must be constant, and long-continued; and it will have surprising effects. Dr. P., of Essex,¹¹ has cured almost all his neighbours who were afflicted with the gout by advising them to ride in their carriages eight hours a day—four in the morning, and four in the afternoon. Those who cannot afford this may use a 'chamber-horse', which will suit every constitution. Add to this a strictly temperate diet, and few chronical diseases will remain long.

11. I believe none will, provided the *passions* be regular, as well as the diet and exercise. But violent passions indulged, without any other cause, will destroy the finest constitution. As *acute* passions, anger and joy for example, have been known in a thousand instances to bring on acute distempers, so lingering passions occasion chronical disorders. How often does grief or hopeless love produce incurable consumptions? So true it is, 'the sorrow of this world worketh death',¹² temporal as well as eternal.

⁸ Orig., 'Friend'; Dr. John Freind (1675–1728).

⁹ Samuel Wesley Jr. (1691–1739).

¹⁰ George Cheyne, *An Essay on Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724), 94.

¹¹ John Piper (1688–1766); he has no publications, but JW knew him personally.

¹² 2 Cor. 7:10.

12. So far the doctor could go. None could more skillfully paint out the source of our disorders. But where is the cure for either lingering or impetuous passions, that either furiously overturn this house of earth, or sap the foundations of health and life by sure, though slow, approaches? Who knows not that the whole *materia medica*¹³ is of no avail in this case? The poor patient must cry out still, as did those two thousand years ago, '*Hei mihi, quod nullis Amor est medicabilis herbis!*'¹⁴ Grief, desire, 'hope deferred make the heart sick',¹⁵ with a sickness which drugs cannot cure. What can cure it but the peace of God? No other medicine under heaven. What but the love of God, that sovereign balm for the body as well as the mind? And this the poor may attain as well as the rich. For it is to be bought 'without money and without price'.¹⁶ It is purchased for us already, 'not with silver and gold [. . .] but with the blood of the Lamb without spot or blemish'.¹⁷ It is purchased for all: 'Ask, and it shall be given. [. . .] Everyone that asketh receiveth.'¹⁸

This the universal bliss;
 Bliss for every soul design'd:
 God's original promise this,
 God's great gift to all mankind.
 Blest in Christ this moment be:
 Blest to all eternity!¹⁹

¹³ The set of material substances used in the practice of medicine.

¹⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, I.523: '*Hei mihi, quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis!*' ('Alas, that love is curable by no herbs' – Loeb).

¹⁵ Cf. Prov. 13:12.

¹⁶ Isa. 55:1.

¹⁷ Cf. 1 Pet. 1:18–19.

¹⁸ Matt. 7:7–8.

¹⁹ CW, 'The Invitation', st. 4, *Redemption Hymns* (1747), p. 8.

Dr. Cadogan's Preface

[§1.] That men in good health, the young and gay in their career, should be negligent of it or abuse it, refusing to stop and listen to or take warning from others, is no great wonder. But it is very surprising that mankind in general should be mistaken and misled forever in the same perpetual round of fruitless attempts to repair and establish it. Not the ignorant vulgar only, but the sensible, the judicious men of parts and knowledge in other things, in this case blind, should pursue with the same vain hope, after repeated disappointments, the thousand and ten thousand idle arts and tricks of medication and quackery. 5 10

[§2.] It has been of great disservice, as well as discredit, to the art of physic and every fair practiser of it that men's expectations have been raised by the ignorant and presuming, or the honest and artful, to hope for too much from it—more than it ever did, or can do. Respite and relief may be had in most chronic cases; remedy, I fear, but in a very few, if it be expected from art alone. But a skillful and honest physician (unless he be sent for too late and dismissed too soon, which is generally the case) will employ those intervals of relief to introduce the powers of life and nature to act for themselves, and insensibly withdrawing all his medicines, and watching carefully over his patient's whole conduct, leave him confirmed, from conviction of their necessity, in such habits as may establish his health for life.¹ 15 20

[§3.] Possibly if men were better informed of the real causes of their diseases they might be less unreasonable in their demands, and learn to be contented with present relief, submitting with patience to that plan of life which alone can lead them to, preserve them in, permanent health.² 25 30

[I.]

A Dissertation on the Gout

[1.] However common it may be for men that suffer to complain of the evils of life as the unavoidable lot of humanity, would they stop but for a moment to consider them in the light of reason, they 35

¹ Cadogan's original was 'cannot fail to establish his health for life'; *Dissertation*, vi.

² JW omitted a section where Cadogan stressed that he had no desire to 'impeach the practice of physic in general' and characterizing 'physic fairly and honestly practised' as 'the first of professions'; *ibid.*, viii.

would find little or no foundation for them in nature; but that every man was the real author of all or most of his own miseries. Most of the complaints which the learned call chronic diseases we most undoubtedly bring upon ourselves by our own indulgences, excesses, or mistaken habits of life, or by suffering our ill-conducted passions to lead us astray or disturb our peace of mind. Whatever notions men have been taught or have received of other causes, such as accidental colds, or particularities of constitution, this or that thing disagreeing or surfeiting, these are too trifling to produce diseases that commonly last for life. There must be something more substantial, something more constant and permanent in our daily habits, to produce such inveterate evils. Though if you read authors or consult practitioners, what do you find but that you have taken cold (though you know not how), or that your complaints are gouty, rheumatic, bilious, nervous, etc.—words that satisfy, though they give no kind of idea, and seem to have gained credit only by the politeness of physicians who, while they are taking their patients money, are too well bred to tell them that it is by their own faults they are ill. To enquire a little further into this matter may be well worth our trouble.

[2.] Did men better understand the nature of chronic diseases in general, and whence they proceed, they could not be so unreasonable to think they might live as they list with impunity, expecting repeated remedy from art. Or did they know anything of the nature of medicine, they would find that, though fits of pain have been relieved, or sickness cured by it for a time, the establishment of health is a very different thing, depending upon other powers and principles. The first may be and often is done by medicine; the other never. That their opinion of medicine is vain and ridiculous must appear very evidently to anyone who recollects that the art of physic has now been practised, more or less regularly, above two thousand years and most assuredly there is not yet discovered any one certain remedy for any disease. Ought not this to make us suspect that there is no such thing? The skillful in medicine, and learned in nature, know well that health is not to be established by medicine. For its effects are but momentary, and the frequent repetition of it destructive to the strongest frames. That if it is to be restored, it must be by gently calling forth the powers of the body to act for themselves, introducing gradually a little more and more activity, chosen diet, and above all peace of mind, changing entirely that course of life which first brought on the disease; medicine co-operating a little. That this is the truth, all who know anything of

nature or art must know. And I may safely take upon me to say that, though I firmly believe health may be restored in most cases that are not absolutely mortal, I am very sure that no invalid was ever made a healthy man by the mere power of medicine. If this be the case, how must the initiated, according as their humanity is touched, either laugh at or pity the poor foolish world surrendering at discretion to the most ignorant quacks, pretending to infallible remedies which are not in nature? 5

[3.] At present I would say something of the gout, as I see now so many who are throwing away not only their money very foolishly, but all their future health also, in hopes of a medical cure for it; whereas such hopes are chimerical, and contradictory to every idea of true philosophy and common sense. 10

[4.] I think the real original causes of all chronic diseases are not many; [they] may be reduced to three: indolence, intemperance, and vexation. 15

[5.] From one or more of these three causes all, or most, chronic diseases are produced. For different diseases may have the same original cause, the difference proceeding from the various degrees of strength and vigour in bodies. So that what would be gout in one, in another might be rheumatism, stone, colic, jaundice, palsy, etc. The gout is confessedly a disease of the best constitution, and may therefore fairly stand as a representative of all the rest. As such I shall consider it for the present, and speak of these causes in their order. But it may be necessary to say a word or two of the gout itself before we enquire into its cause. 20 25

[6.] The gout is so common a disease that there is scarcely a man in the world, whether he has had it or not, but thinks he knows perfectly what it is. So does a cook-maid think she knows what fire is, as well as Sir Isaac Newton. It may therefore seem needless to say what it is. But I will venture to say what it is not, though contrary to the general opinion. It is not hereditary,^a it is not periodical, and it is not incurable. 30

[7.] If it were necessarily³ hereditary, it would be necessarily transmitted from father to son, and no man whose father had it could possibly be free from it. But this is not the case, the father's having it inclines or disposes the son to it. This is the *causa praedisponent* 35

^aThat it is sometimes hereditary I know by experience, but I believe not very frequently [JW].

³JW has added the adjective in this case.

of the learned, which of itself never produced any effect at all. There must be joined the *causa procatarctica*, or active efficient cause—that is, our own intemperance or mistaken way of life—to produce it. And accordingly, as this operates more or less, so will the gout be.

5 [8.] If it were hereditary it would appear in infancy and in women, which in general it does not. I may be told of some women who have had it. I believe never very young, nor till they had contributed to it themselves. For women, as well as men, may abuse a good constitution. I have heard likewise of a boy or two out of a million that had
10 it. But these boys had been suffered to sip wine very early, and been fed and indulged every way most unwholesomely.⁴

[9.] If the gout be a disease of indigestion, and therefore of our own acquiring, we must reason very ill, or rather not reason at all, when we say it is hereditary, any more than intemperance. There
15 are whole nations of active people knowing no luxury, who for ages have been free of it, but have it now since the Europeans have brought them wine and spirits.

[10.] If the gout be thought hereditary because it is incurable by medicine, the same may be said of every other chronic disease, none
20 of which ever are cured by it (I mean, so as not to return again). When was there a man who, having had one fit of rheumatism, stone, colic, etc. however happily relieved by art for a time, had it not again and again, or something worse in the place of it; till he became a confirmed invalid, and died long before his time—unless
25 some very remarkable alteration took place in the course of his life to confirm his health? So it is in the gout. A man gets a fit of it, and by abstinence, patience, time, and nature the crude acrimony producing it is subdued and exhausted, and he is relieved for that time.
30 In a few months he is taken again. Why? Not from anything inherent in his constitution, but because he returned to that way of habit of life that produced it at first, and will forever produce it while the strength of his body lasts.

[11.] It is natural enough for those who believe the gout hereditary
35 to think it also periodical, as if something innate and inherent in our constitutions produced it at certain times. But this is a great mistake. For if it were periodical, it must be regularly so. The only periodical disease I know of is the intermittent fever, which is as regular as a good clock. The returns of the gout are always very

⁴ JW omitted 'No diseases are hereditary but those of taint or infection, and malformation; the gout is none of these, and therefore is not hereditary'; cf. Cado-gan, *Dissertation*, 8.

uncertain, according to the quantity or quality of the accumulated indigestion within, and the strength of our bodies.

[12.] I come now to show that the gout is not incurable. If by the cure of the gout be meant the administering a pill or a powder or medicine of any kind to do it, I fear the gout is and ever will be incurable. It has been long and often attempted in vain, from the origin of physic to this day. Indeed there is a most glaring absurdity at first sight, that must strike any man of commonsense. If the gout be the necessary effect of intemperance (as I hope to show), a medicine to cure it must be something that will enable a man to bear the daily intemperance of his future life unhurt by the gout or any other disease—that is, something given now that will take away the effect of a future cause. As well might a medicine be given now to prevent a man's breaking his leg or his neck seven years hence. One would think the utmost that any rational man could expect from medicine was that it should have power to relieve and remove present disorders, leaving the body quite free, without pretending to insure it from future injuries. Here lies the error. Men think the gout to be something latent in the body now which, once well eradicated, would never again return. Not suspecting it to be no more than each day's indigestion accumulated to a certain pitch that, as long as the vigour of life lasts, always brings on every fit. Which once well over, the man has no more gout nor seeds of gout in him than he who never had it, and if he did not breed it again, most certainly would never have it again. A proof of this is that the gout has been often cured by a milk diet, which, as long as it lasted, has generally kept the patient free. But this method of cure I cannot approve, because it relaxes and enervates the body.

[13.] Though I think the gout incurable by medicine, it is so far from being incurable in its nature that I am firmly persuaded it may be more easily and more perfectly cured than almost any other chronic disease.⁵ For it is confessedly a disease of the strongest and best constitution relieving itself by throwing off bad humours from the vitals upon the extremities, where they do least harm to the powers and principles of life and health. And as these humours can be nothing more than the daily accumulations of indigestion, if a man can live without breeding constantly this indigested acrimony, he may most undoubted[ly] live free not only from the gout, but every other chronic disease also. And that he may live so with

⁵ JW omitted 'this is another strong argument that proves it not hereditary'; cf. *ibid.*, 13.

great ease and comfort⁶ I should endeavour to prove, I hope to the satisfaction of all thinking reasonable men.

[14.] I have said that indolence, intemperance, and vexation are the original causes of all or most of our chronic diseases. Every invalid that will be candid enough may trace all his complaints up to one or other of these causes.⁷ An accidental cold that happens but seldom can have no such effect; and men otherwise healthy, living in good habits, soon get rid of it. It is the constant course of life we lead, what we do or neglect to do habitually every day that, if right, establishes our health; if wrong, makes us invalids for life.

[15.] Men ignorant of the way of nature in the production and support of animals, not knowing what she requires to preserve them in health and vigour to their utmost period, have conceived very strange and very false ideas of diseases in general, and seem to think there are medicines opposed to each that will certainly remove and cure it. This makes them so solicitous to know the name of their complaint; which once ascertained, they think the remedy not far off. Poor men! Is not the gout sufficiently distinguished? But where is the remedy? Certainly not in the precarious skill of prescribing doctors, or the secret of ignorant and enterprising quacks. They fancy too that there is a great variety of constitution, with diseases unavoidably peculiar to each. That certain times of life must produce many, and that it is impossible to grow old without sickness of some kind or other. There is certainly no foundation in nature for any of these opinions, nor is there any real essential difference of constitution but of strong or weak, and this is produced more by habit than nature. The strong, by bad habits, will become weaker; and by good, the weaker stronger. But the most delicate frames may be as healthy as the strongest, for the same reason that a sparrow may be as healthy as an elephant. There is no disease necessarily peculiar to any time of life, however the changes into the different stages of it may affect the valetudinary. And it is possible for men to live to great age without any disease at all, for many have lived upwards of an hundred with uninterrupted health.

[16.] Not from the natural defects of our constitutions therefore, but the abuse of them, proceed all our chronic diseases. That is, from indolence, intemperance, or vexation.

⁶ Cadogan's original read '... live so not in a perpetual state of mortification and self-denial, but with great ease and comfort to himself, in the truest, most philosophic luxury'; *ibid.*

⁷ JW omitted Cadogan's caustic comment about 'the generality of men, who are so short-sighted as never to look back or forward far beyond the ken of their nose'; *ibid.*, 14.

[17.] Let us now proceed to enquire what must be the necessary effects of one or more of these causes acting daily upon the body. Whether in the strongest and most vigorous frames, it must not be the gout; in weaker, rheumatism, colic, stone, palsy, etc., or any or all of the nervous and hysterical class.

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[II.]

Of Indolence

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[1.] It seems to have been the design of Providence that all men should labour. That some are rich enough to purchase the labour of others is a mere accident with regard to individuals, in which the care of Providence appears to be no otherwise concerned than having unequally distributed those powers and abilities by which active and fiery spirits rise uppermost to preserve the harmony of subordination, without which society could never exist. The rich and great have so far forgot this first principle of nature that they renounce all bodily labour. And thus sacrificing health to indulgence and dignity, they do not enjoy the advantages of their superior stations, but in happiness fall often below the labouring hind. Nothing undermines the foundation of all our happiness, the health and vigour of the body, like it, or lays such a train of diseases to come. But I must endeavour to show in what manner.

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[2.] It is upon the minutest and almost invisible parts of the body our best health, strength, and spirits depend. These fine parts, commonly called capillaries, are little pipes or tubes, the extended continuations of the larger blood-vessels, through which the finest parts of the blood must constantly pass, not only to keep these very small channels always free and open, but also that the particles of the blood may in their passage be attenuated, broken, and rubbed into globules perfectly smooth and round, and easily divisible into still less and less, till they escape the sight assisted even by the microscope. Now the strength of the heart and arteries alone, in a sedentary course of life, is by no means sufficient to keep up and perpetuate this motion through these capillaries, but requires the assistance and joint force of all the muscles of the body to act by intervals, compress the veins, propel and accelerate the circulation of the whole mass of blood, in order to force and clear these pipes, and to triturate, cribrate, and purify⁸ the fluid passing through.

⁸I.e., grind up, sift, and purify.

Without this aid the little vessels would, by their natural elasticity, close up into fibres, or be obstructed by rough angular particles sticking in them and stopping all passage. Numberless evils of the chronic kind, especially all nervous diseases, owe their origin to this cause alone. Inactivity forms obstructions in these exquisitely fine parts, upon which the health and vigour of the body and mind depend, and lays the foundation of many diseases—which other circumstances, such as a cold, excess of any kind, infection from without, or a particular disposition of the body within, often make fatal.

[3.] Now I would ask any reasonable person whether he can conceive it possible to substitute any medicine that shall act upon the blood and vessels like the joint force of all the muscles of the body, acting and reacting occasionally in a regular course of daily labour or exercise? Unless this can be done, there can be no such thing as a lasting cure either for the gout or any other chronic disease. Yes sir, says a practitioner, cordials, volatiles, bracers, strengtheners will do this, will keep up an increased circulation. Possibly they may for a few hours. But their action soon subsides, and the stimulus ceases. They must therefore be repeated and repeated for life. And woe be to him that takes them, and to him that leaves them off, unless it be done with great judgment. While they act, they coagulate the juices and corrupt the whole mass of blood. And when omitted, the patient must feel all the languors and horrors of a crapulary fever; and must have recourse to them again and again, like a dram-drinker who cannot bear his existence but in a state of intoxication.

[4.] But these obstructions from crude particles of the blood, and this inaction of the capillaries, are not all the evils produced by indolence. That sprightly vigour which we feel and enjoy in an active course of life, that zest in appetite and refreshment after eating which luxury seeks in vain from art, is owing wholly to new blood made every day from fresh food prepared and distributed by the joint action of all the parts of the body. No man can have these delightful sensations who lives two days with the same blood. To introduce new juices the old must be first thrown off, or there will be a plethora: the first causes of many diseases. In a state of inactivity the old humours pass off too slowly. The insensible perspiration is so inconsiderable that there is no void to be filled. Consequently by degrees the appetite, which is the last thing that decays (that is, the desire of supply), must diminish and at last be totally lost. Here art can do wonders. It can procure evacuations: we can bleed, purge, and vomit. But to do any good by these the case must be recent, before the humours are vitiated by too long a stay in the body,

which will be the case very soon, for they are all in a perishable state. But then these artificial evacuations discharge all alike—the new, the middle, and the old juices; that is, the chyle, the blood, the serum, and lymph—and by this indiscriminate action make strange confusion on those that remain. Whereas in nature’s course there is a constant regular transmutation and succession from one state to another; that is, from chyle into blood, and blood into serum, and so on, till they are all elaborated and ground to such a minute fineness that they pass off in the vapour of insensible perspiration. In a state of indolence they do not pass off either so soon or so regularly as they ought, because there is no motion, nor consequently heat enough to throw off the vapour. They lodge in the body too long, grow putrid, acrimonious, and hurtful many ways. Like the matter formed in an ulcer, which while it is yet sweet, there is no balsam so healing;⁹ but when confined, it soon becomes corrosive, and like a caustic eats its way all round in fistulas. This shows the virulent acrimony of these confined and stagnating humours. Hence the breath and perspiration of indolent people is never sweet. And hence in jails, where these noxious vapours are collected and condensed from crowded wretches languishing in indolence, very malignant and pestilential fevers arise.

[5.] Perpetual blisters have been found to be serviceable in draining off some of these superfluous juices before they are much corrupted, and making, by a faint resemblance of nature’s action, a little more room for new. It is for this reason they do any good at all, by increasing the general circulation and forcing off a few of those humours that had circulated too long in the body, and were becoming acrid. By a vomit or a purge the discharge is a hundredfold more, but the good obtained not always so great, because by these the humours are indiscriminately thrown off, and much more of the new than the old. Many have used frequent bleeding to renew their blood, and I have known it do some good. But then it must be begun before the whole mass of humours be vitiated, and continued for life. Is it not strange that men should seek and prefer these violent artificial methods to the simple, easy action of nature, and choose rather to take a vomit or a purge than a walk, and wear a perpetual blister than make use of their limbs?

[6.] Thus indolence must lay the foundation of diseases, and according to the constitution and a few other circumstances will be

⁹ Cadogan had said ‘no balsam the surgeon can apply so healing’; cf. *Dissertation*, 25.

the kind of the disease. In the best, it may be gout or rheumatism; in weaker habits, colic, jaundice, palsy, with all of the hysterical and hypochondriacal class. In vain have ingenious men of sedentary life endeavoured to obviate the evil by abstinence. They do not find
 5 it answer, for the reason I have just given, that we cannot live two days in health and spirits with the same blood. There must be a new daily supply of that ethereal part of our food, called up to the brain to support its own, as well as the labour of the whole body. By this I mean the most elaborated refined part of all our juices which
 10 constantly repairs the smallest vessels and fibres. Whenever this fails we must necessarily feel languor and lassitude both of body and mind. With this difference, that in weariness of the limbs from much action the lees and coarser parts are thrown off also, and the first meal and first sleep soon supplies the defect. In mental labour
 15 the feculence remains to obstruct all appetite; there is no room, and therefore no call for supply. The whole man suffers and sinks.

[III.]

20 Of Intemperance

[1.] I come now to speak of intemperance. Indolence, blunting all our sensations, naturally leads us to intemperance. We want the whip and spur of luxury to excite our jaded appetites. There is no
 25 enduring the perpetual moping languor of indolence. We fly to the stimulating sensualities of the table and bottle. A momentary relief is obtained, to be paid for severely soon after. The next morning our horrors increase, and in this course there is no remedy but repetition. Thus whoever is indolent is intemperate also, and partly from
 30 necessity. And the evils necessarily following both these causes often make the rich and great more wretched than the poor, and the balance of happiness is held more equally between them.

[2.] I venture to say that nine in ten of all the chronic diseases in the world, particularly the gout, owe their first rise to intemperance. Indeed many a good man—who piques himself upon being
 35 the most sober creature alive, and never eats but of one or two plain dishes (as he calls them), nor exceeds his pint of wine at any meal; keeps good hours, and never sleeps above eight or nine—may be surprized to have his disease imputed to intemperance. And yet
 40 he is often ill, sick in his stomach, troubled with indigestion, and crippled by the gout. The case is, we judge of temperance and intemperance from our own habits, without any just idea of either.

The best way to explain what I mean by ‘intemperance’ may be to enquire what is nature’s law of temperance, and to deviate from that must be considered as intemperance. And here I must observe that temperance is a thing of which no Englishman can have the least idea, if he judges from his own or his neighbours’ habits. To form some notion of it he must have seen other countries, particularly Spain, Portugal, or Italy, and observed how men live there. What they call temperance, or even tolerable living, with us would be thought downright starving. In this view temperance is local and comparative. But what I mean is natural temperance, not depending upon place or custom. 5 10

[3.] I think there is an absolute, determined temperance, to be measured by every man’s natural appetite, digestion, and consumption while he continues in a good state of health. As long as a man eats and drinks no more than his stomach calls for, and will bear without the least pain, distention, eructation, and uneasiness of any kind, he may be said to live in temperance. 15

[4.] This is nature’s law; and the reverse of it, or indeed any great deviation from it, must be intemperance—when we eat without appetite, or urge beyond moderate satiety, provoked by incentives of any kind; or when we drink without thirst, for the sake of liquor.¹⁰ 20

[5.] Now let us compare this idea of temperance with the common course of most men’s lives, and observe their progress from health to sickness. I fear we shall find but very few who have any pretensions to real temperance. In early youth we are insensibly led into intemperance by the indulgence and mistaken fondness of parents, by wishing to make us happy by anticipation. Having thus exhausted the first degrees of luxury before we come to the dominion of ourselves, we should find no pleasure in our liberty did we not advance farther. Thus we go on till some friendly pain or disease bids, or rather forces, us to stop. But in youth all the parts of our bodies are strong and flexible, and bear the first loads of excess with less hurt, and throw them off soon by their own natural vigour, or with very little assistance from artificial evacuation. As we grow older, either by nature in due time, or excesses before our time, the body is less able to free itself and wants more aid from art. The man however goes on taking daily more than he wants. He feels himself oppressed and his appetite failing, his spirits sink for 25 30 35

¹⁰ JW omitted Cadogan’s continuation: ‘indeed I cannot allow him to be strictly temperate who drinks any wine or strong liquor at all, unless it be medicinally, or now and then for the sake of society and good humour, but by no means every day’; cf. *Dissertation*, 31–32.

want of fresh supply. He has recourse to dainties, sauces, pickles, provocatives of all sorts. These soon lose their power. And though he washes down each mouthful with a glass of wine, he can relish nothing. What is to be done? Send for a physician. ‘Doctor, I have
 5 lost my stomach. Pray give me’, says he, with great innocence and ignorance, ‘something to give me an appetite.’ As if want of appetite was a disease to be cured by art. In vain would the physician give him the best advice in two words, ‘*quaere sudando*’¹¹ (‘seek it by labour’). He would be thought a man void of skill if he did not im-
 10 mediately, or after a few evacuations, prescribe stomachics, bitter, spicy infusions in wine or brandy, vitriolic elixirs, bark, steel, etc. By the use of these things the stomach, roused to a little extraordinary action, frees itself by discharging its crude, austere contents into the bowels, to be thence forwarded into the blood. The man is
 15 freed for a time, finds he can eat again, and thinks all well. But this is a short-lived delusion. If he is robust, the acrimony floating in the blood will be thrown out, and a fit of gout succeeds. If less so, rheumatism or colic. But let us suppose it to be the gout, which if he lives moderately, drinking no Madeira or brandy to keep it out
 20 of his stomach, nature will relieve him in a certain time, and the gouty acrimony being conducted by the symptomatic fever, he will recover health. If assisted by judicious, mild, and soft medicines, he would recover sooner. But it is for a short time. For he returns to his former habits and quickly brings on the same round of complaints,
 25 all aggravated by each return, till he becomes a confirmed invalid and cripple for life. Then with a great deal of useless medication and a few journeys to Bath he drags on till, in spite of all the doctors he has consulted and the infallible quack medicines he has taken, he sinks below opium and brandy, and dies long before his time. This
 30 is the course I have lived to see many take. All this chain of evils is brought on and accumulated by indolence and intemperance, or mistaken choice of diet. How easily might they have been remedied, had the real causes been known and attended to in time!

[6.] I must here explain a little what I mean by provoking the ap-
 35 petite, which I take to be the general mode of intemperance among men. Custom has made all incentives to excess so common that those of daily use, far from being considered in the class of intemperance, are by people thought to be salutary and necessary. They never suspect the least evil from the common decoraments of the
 40 table: salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar. And yet I will venture to pro-

¹¹ Horace, *Satires*, II.ii.20.

nounce that excess in any of these must be doubly prejudicial to health. They are hurtful in themselves by their acrimony. And they provoke the appetite to bear an oppressive load, which the stomach itself would soon feel, were it not artificially stimulated to discharge it by wine and strong liquors immediately after. Thus one error brings on another, and when men have eaten too much, they drink too much by a kind of necessity. 5

[7.] If this be true of the common provocatives at every poor man's board, what shall we say of that studied, laboured extravagance at the tables of the rich—where the culinary arts are pushed to that excess that luxury is become false to itself, and though variety is aimed at, everything has the same taste, and nothing its own? I am sorry and ashamed that men understand it so little as to think that urging beyond natural satiety can afford any real enjoyment. But this they do, by all the researches of culinary and medical art. Introducing all the foreign aids to luxury, every provocative that can be found in acids, salts, fiery spices, and essences of all kinds to rouse their nerves to a little feeling. Not knowing the more they are irritated, the more callous they grow. The same things must now be more frequently repeated, increased in quantity, and exalted in quality. Till they know not where to stop, and every meal serves only to overload the stomach, to foul and inflame the blood, obstruct the capillary channels, bring on a hectic fever of irritation that, though it raise the spirits for the evening, leaves behind it all the horrid sensations of inanition and crapula the next morning. And but that nature is so kind as to stop them in their career with a painful fit of gout or some other illness, in which she gets a little respite, they would soon be at the end of their course. 10 15 20 25

[8.] Men bring all these evils upon themselves, either not knowing or not attending to two things: the one, that pleasure is a coy coquet, and to be enjoyed must not always be pursued; the other, that pleasure and happiness are as distinct things as riot and enjoyment. Besides, pleasure is not infinite, and our sensations are limited. We can bear but a certain measure, and all urging beyond it brings pain in its stead. Let the men of high experience bear me testimony that this is true of all the luxuries of the table, wine, music, women, and every sensuality. 30 35

[9.] But there are some not intemperate from choice but from custom or mistake,¹² not knowing their daily diet to be unwholesome 40

¹² JW omitted a section where Cadogan attributed this in part to 'their superstitious religion'; cf. *Dissertation*, 39.

and productive of their diseases. To these it may be of some use to have the unwholesome pointed out. Indeed men of laborious occupations, who work in the open air, bear great excesses and much unwholesome diet without much hurt. I never knew a sick or gouty
 5 gardener that was not a remarkable sot. But men of sedentary trades and business, shopkeepers of all kinds, feel much sooner and more heavily the ill effects of intemperance or mistaken choice in their meat and drink. Their first care therefore ought to be not to add the
 10 diseases of intemperance to those of inactivity, but proportion what they take as well in quantity as in quality to their consumption. But let us see how well they do this. They all say they live upon plain things, and never indulge in made dishes. But they will eat heartily of a goose or duck with a large quantity of sage, onion, pepper, and
 15 salt, a pig with similar preparation, and a hare with higher and more compounded seasoning. Do they ever eat veal without stuffing, or even a leg of mutton without caper sauce?¹³ They are surprised that such meals should rise on their stomachs with flatulence, sour and bitter hiccups and eructations, which if they did not keep them
 20 down with a sufficient quantity of wine, or sometimes a dram, they would be troubled with all the time of digestion. If this method quiet their stomachs for the present, they go on with it, regardless or ignorant of future consequences. Thus are these sharp, harsh, hot, and inflammatory things forced out of the stomach into the
 25 blood, before it has had time to dilute and subdue, or reject them and the superfluous load they bring along with them. And thus is laid the foundation of every disease that appears when these acrid and fiery particles are accumulated in the blood to a certain degree.

[10.] There are others whose pretensions to plain diet may seem
 30 better founded, but who nevertheless eat things unwholesome and very unfit for men of sedentary lives, such as salted and smoked flesh and fish of all kinds, hams, tongues, heavy flour puddings, toasted cheese—all which are of an hard and indissoluble texture,
 35 nor is it possible good nourishment should come from them. To this kind of food is owing the bad health of country people, and their children's rickety heads and limbs, and big and hard bellies.¹⁴

¹³ JW omitted Cadogan's next sentence: 'If ever they eat a steak or a chop, if it is sometimes without pepper, I believe it is never without pickles, the worst of all poisons'; cf. *ibid.*, 41.

¹⁴ JW omitted an entire section in Cadogan charging that most people overcook the meat they eat; they should avoid boiling meat, and only broil it; cf. *ibid.*, 43–44.

[11.] This leads me to another observation:¹⁵ that man being born to devour most of the fruits and animals of the earth and water, there ought to be a certain proportion of animal and vegetable substances in his food. The animal tending spontaneously to putrefaction, the vegetable correcting that tendency from going too far—thus from the due mixture of both qualities results that neutral¹⁶ property that is essentially necessary to produce good blood. And here I may observe that the error of most men's diet in every class of life is that the acid [foods], crude and austere, almost always abound. Not that they do not eat flesh-meat enough, but they spoil it in the preparation and cookery, taking off entirely all its tendency to dissolution and putrefaction by salting, smoking, pickling, potting, and preserving things that in their own simple nature would soon dissolve, but by these preparations are hardened and embalmed to keep for years like mummies. The same may be said of every kind of made dishes. The salts, spices, hot herbs, and acids with which they are seasoned and compounded preserve and harden them to keep for ever. The sauces and gravies they swim in have the same effect as so much pickle.

[12.] The nature of most chronic diseases, and their first symptom, heart-burn, plainly show the original cause to be acid crudity prevailing in the juices, producing coagulations, concretions, and obstructions of various kinds; all which are very manifest in the gout, rheumatism, stone, and most nervous cases. Many may be surprised at this and say it cannot be, for though they have these diseases they take little or no acids. But there are many things they take that are acescent—that is, liable to become acid, especially by the heat of the stomach. This they are not aware of, but they are in their nature much more prejudicial than things already sour. It may here be necessary to enumerate some of those things called acescent. These¹⁷ are sweets of most kinds,¹⁸ puddings, cakes, rich pastry, creams, confections.¹⁹

[13.] In this light we must also consider most sorts of seasonings, stuffings, forced meats, and compounded sauces. But the greatest

¹⁵ JW omitted Cadogan's next phrase: 'which perhaps none but physicians, or those who have studied well the nature of man and his aliments, are able to make'; cf. *ibid.*, 44.

¹⁶ Orig., 'nautral'.

¹⁷ Orig., 'There'; corrected to Cadogan text.

¹⁸ Cadogan said 'of every kind'; JW changed to 'most kinds'; cf. *Dissertation*, 47.

¹⁹ JW omitted a section where Cadogan rejected everything made of flour, particularly 'white flour' from which bran was removed; *ibid.*

acescent, or rather bane of all—high and low, rich or otherwise—whoever they are that take it constantly, is wine. Wine alone produces more diseases than all the other causes put together.

[14.] Water is the only liquor nature knows of or has provided
 5 for all animals; and whatever nature gives us, we may depend upon it, is best and safest for us. Accordingly we see that when we have committed any excesses or mistakes of any kind, and suffer from them, it is water that relieves. Hence the chief good of Bath, Spa,
 10 and many other medicinal waters,²⁰ especially to hard drinkers. It is the element that dilutes and carries off crudities and indigestions. The mineral virtues they contain may make them tolerable to the stomach, but do, as I believe, little more in the body. It is the water that cures.²¹

[15.] There is another capital mistake many labour under in the
 15 choice of their wine, preferring the strong, hot, and coarse sorts—Madeira, Port, Mountain—to the milder, more elegant, and certainly less unwholesome wines,²² accounting them better for the stomach. My observation has been that they who use these strong
 20 stomach wines to cure wind are never free from it, and all the gouty disorders of indigestion. Indeed, it cannot well be otherwise. For there is nothing so repugnant to natural digestion as the use of these strong liquors, which instead of dissolving harden everything. And thus forever, when the first warmth is gone off, leave a crapu-
 25 lary, crude, sour load of yesterday to ferment, fret, and irritate the stomach and bowels every day.

[IV.]

30 Of Vexation

[1.] I come now to the last general cause of chronic diseases: vexation—a very fruitful parent of many bodily evils, producing
 35 generally diseases of inanition much more difficult not only to be cured but relieved than those we suffer either from indolence or intemperance. But as it is not so common a cause of the gout as the

²⁰ Bath, Gloucestershire, and Spa, Belgium, were particularly known for their mineral water.

²¹ This paragraph is the only excerpt out of a long section where Cadogan castigates those who drink wine every day, arguing that it should be consumed no more than once a week; cf. *ibid.*, 48–52.

²² JW omitted Cadogan's identification of the less unwholesome wines as being from France and Italy.

other two, it may not be necessary to consider it very minutely at present. I shall content myself with observing only what may be of some use, that every great degree of vexation, whether in the shape of anger, envy, resentment, discontent, or sorrow, has most destructive effects upon the vitals, whether sudden and violent, or slow and lasting long. 5

[2.] The first immediate effect of violent grief or vexation is to take off the action of the stomach entirely. Let us suppose a man, in the best health, the highest good humour and spirits, as well as good stomach, sitting down to dinner with his friends, receives suddenly some very afflicting news. Instantly his appetite is gone and he can neither eat nor swallow a morsel. Let the same thing happen after he has made a hearty cheerful meal, as suddenly the whole power of digestion is cut off totally, as if it were become paralytic, and what he has eaten lies a most oppressive load. 10 15

[3.] Besides this pernicious effect of perverting the natural action of the stomach and intestines, the whole circulation of the blood is disturbed. The contradiction and dilatation of the heart (that is, the alternative action by which it opens to receive the blood from the veins, and closes again to force it out through the arteries) are broken and uneven. The heart flutters, palpitates. Now is overloaded with blood and in danger of suffocation, now receives none at all. Consequently all the secretions must be as irregular, some of the glands receiving too abundant a supply that either hurries through or oppresses and overpowers them, others none at all. Hence that hasty gushing of pale limpid urine in amazing quantities, those sudden bursts of unmeaning tears, sometimes great dryness and choking thirst, sometimes the overflowing of the mouth with water instead of saliva, and many other nervous and hysterical affections, all which indicate the greatest tumults and perturbations in the inmost recesses of the nervous and vital frame. 20 25 30

[4.] In slower, more silent, but longer continued grief the effects are similar, but not so violent. Many little strokes repeated will do the same thing in time that a great blow does at once. The function of the stomach will be more gently disturbed, its juices vitiated, and all its contents will turn sour, bitter, or rancid; so that no mild milky chyle or wholesome material of nourishment can ever come into the blood. The patient must languish with cachectic inanition, universal bad habit of body, or pine and waste. Whence arise various diseases succeeding each other always from bad to worse. And unless he can subdue his anxiety, and restore peace of mind, he must in time sink under it and die, as it is said, of a broken heart. 35 40

[5.] Vexation operating in this manner upon the organs of digestion and concoction, and disturbing and obstructing the natural progress of nutrition, must often produce diseases similar to those of intemperance. Its first effect is indigestion with all its symptoms: wind, eructation, heartburn, hiccup. It is no wonder therefore it should sometimes bring on a fit of gout (which, as I have said, is manifestly a disease of indigestion), and often the gout in the stomach and bowels. Indeed most cold, crude colics are of this kind. Schirrous concretions will also be formed in the spleen, liver, glands of the mesentery, and throughout the whole system of the belly. Many of these indurated tumours in time degenerate into cancers and cancerous ulcerations.

[6.] All the passions, when they are inordinate, may have injurious effects upon the vital frame. Excessive joy has sometimes given a fatal blow, and sudden bursts of laughter done great mischiefs, especially to delicate people.

[7.] I am fully and firmly persuaded that whoever will reflect with some degree of intelligence will in general be able to trace his complaints and diseases up to one or the other of these three causes. And whoever does this must infallibly see how vain and idle all his hopes and expectations of lasting remedy and established health must be from any kind of quacks, medicines, or indeed the common and too general practice of physic. When the whole is rested upon something given to swallow, how inadequate the means are to the end proposed? How can vomiting and purging supply the place of temperance; bleeding, blistering, and all artificial evacuation, of activity; cordials and opium, of peace of mind? Is not this to fill the body with harsh and unwholesome juices, and then tear it to pieces to get them out again? To make artificial holes and sores in the skin to renew the blood and discharge superfluities, instead of employing muscular motion to rub off and grind down all the acrimony of angular particles, and make them smooth and round, and easily divisible? And to employ intoxication and stupefaction to take off the sense of pain, and leave the cause where it was, or fix it faster? Can any reasonable person hope for health or long life by any of these unnatural methods, when these only are employed? Let him look round among his neighbours and tell me whether, not only all the gouty, but rheumatic, colicky, jaundiced, paralytic, dropsical people he has ever seen, are not either always so or by fits so; and whether those returning fits of these disorders do not always grow worse and worse, in spite of all their medication and quackery, till a complication or apoplexy comes

on that at last, though long before their time, puts an end to their miserable lives.

[V.]

*Of the Cure of the Gout and all other Chronic Diseases,
and the Repair of a broken Constitution* 5

[1.] Having set forth the real causes of the gout and all its congenial diseases, I come now to the most essential part: to administer all possible comfort to those whom suffering may have made attentive and docile, and willing to take health upon the terms it is possible to have it.²³ 10

[2.] Many attempts have been made to cure not only the gout but most other chronic diseases. Antimony and mercury elaborated into poisons by chemistry have been administered. Particularly the solution of sublimate has torn many a stomach to rags, so that it could never bear common food afterwards. The deadly nightshade, and hemlock, and many such dreadful poisons have been given as to restore health. The intention here seems to be 'kill or cure', to raise a violent agitation or fever in the body, in hopes it may prove strong enough to throw off the disease and medicine together. The effect has ever been, notwithstanding a little apparent relief from the first efforts, that it has sunk under both loads much sooner than by the disease alone. 15 20

[3.] Can anyone in his senses suppose that diseases a man has been his whole life contracting, and to which he is adding every day by perseverance in unwholesome diet and bad habits, are to be thus removed? Or that they will not return, be they conjured away ever so often, whilst he continues the same mode of life that brought them on at first? 25 30

[4.] What then is to be done? How and in what manner are chronic diseases to be cured, and health restored and established? The remedies are obvious: activity, temperance, and peace of mind. It will be said, 'The remedies are obvious but impractical. Would you bid the feeble cripple, who cannot stand, take up his bed and walk? The man who has lost all appetite, abstain? And the sleepless wretch racked with pain, enjoy peace of mind?' No certainly. I am not so absurd. These must be assisted by medicine. And if they have not exhausted 35

²³ JW omitted a section where Cadagon again denies that gout is hereditary, and on this basis rejects any medicine prescribed as a *preventative* to its occurrence; cf. *Dissertation*, 65–67.

all its power already, a little respite may be obtained that, with other aids co-operating, may be greatly improved to their advantage. And if rightly employed, they may get on from strength to strength, till they recover into perfect health. But it is not my design to expatiate
5 upon that particular kind of medical relief which every chronic case may require. My present purpose is to show that the gout, in most of its stages, may be cured—a present fit relieved, its return forever safely prevented, and the patient established in perfect health.

[5.] Let us suppose the case of a man from forty to fifty years of
10 age, who has had at least twenty fits of gout, by which most of his joints have been so clogged and disturbed as to make walking or any kind of motion very uneasy. Let him have had it sometimes in his stomach, a little in his head, and often all over him, so as to make him universally sick and low spirited, especially before a regular fit
15 has come to relieve him. This I apprehend to be as bad a case as we need propose. It will not be expected that every old cripple whose joints are burnt to chalk and his bones grown together, who must be carried from his bed to his table and back again, should be proposed as an object.

[6.] If the point be to assuage the violent raging of a present paroxysm, this may be safely done by giving some soft laxative, neither hot nor cold, but warm, either in small doses repeated so as to move the patient once or twice in twenty-four hours, or by a larger dose oftener in less time, according to the strength and exigency. This
25 may be followed by a few lenient absorbent correctors of acrimony or even gentle anodynes. Proper cataplasms may also be safely applied to the raging part, which often assuage pain surprisingly. With as much mild and spontaneously-dissolving nourishment as may keep the spirits from sinking too low. But I would wish them to sink
30 a little, and exhort the patient to bear that lowness with patience and resignation till nature, assisted by soft and succulent food, can have time to relieve him. This easy method of treating a fit of the gout would answer in any age. And if the patient was young and vigorous, and the pain violent, there could be no danger in taking
35 away a little blood. Thus in two or three days time I have often seen a severe fit made tolerable. And this is a better way of treating it with regard to future consequences than suffering it to take its course. For the sooner the joints are relieved from distension and pain, the less danger there is of their being calcined and utterly destroyed. But instead of this, the general practice is quite the reverse.
40 ‘Oh, keep up your spirits!’ they cry. ‘Keep it out of your stomach at all events (where, whenever it rages in a distant part, it is not at

all inclined to come). As you cannot eat, you must drink the more freely.' So they take cordials, strong wines, and rich spoon-meats. By urging in this manner a great fever is raised, the pain enraged and prolonged, and a fit that would have ended spontaneously in a week protracted to a month or six weeks. And when it goes off at last, it leaves such obstruction and weakness in the parts as cripple the man ever after. 5

[7.] But the most capital point of all is to prevent its return and to establish health. Most men would be very well pleased could this be done by any medical trick, with full liberty of living as they list.²⁴ 10

[8.] I think it needless here to take any pains to show the inefficacy of all the common modes of practice: vomiting, purging, bleeding, blistering, issues. They have been found ineffectual not only in the gout but all other chronic cases. All sensible practitioners know their effects but temporary, and that they are meant only as means of present relief. Let us see therefore by what practicable plan the person here described, when a fit of the gout is happily ended, may prevent its return, and so confirm his health that it shall not again be upset by every slight cold or trifling accident. 15

[9.] I have already shown that a certain degree of bodily motion is necessary every day, to raise the circulation to that pitch that will keep the fine vessels open and the old blood pure, and also make new from the fresh juices. If the patient cannot be brought to this, he has no chance of recovering health. If therefore he can neither walk nor ride at all, he must by degrees be brought to do both, in the following manner. Let a handy active servant or two be employed to rub him all over as he lies in bed with flannels, or flannel gloves, fumigated with gums and spices, which will contribute greatly to brace and strengthen his nerves and fibres, and move his blood without any fatigue to himself.^b This may take up from five to ten minutes at first, but must be repeated five or six times a day, supposing him totally unable to help himself. But if he can walk a hundred yards 20 25 30

^b A little friction may have little or no effect. But long continued, and repeated often, with fumigated flannels, it will do more to recover health, and support it afterwards, than most other things or methods. It promotes circulation and perspiration, opens the pores, forces the fine vessels, strains and purifies the blood, and this without the assistance of any internal stimulation. It is this that keeps horses in tolerable health with little exercise [Cadogan; abridged by JW]. 35

²⁴ JW omitted Cadogan's warning about how easily misled are 'poor silly creatures, ignorant of all philosophy and the nature of causes and effects'; cf. *Dissertation*, 72–73.

only, it will forward him greatly to walk those hundred yards every two hours. And if he can bear a carriage, let him go out in it every day, till he begins to be tired. The first day or two all this may fatigue him a little. But if he has patience to persevere to the fourth, I dare promise him an increase of strength, which he must employ as young merchant[s] do a little money, to get more. Thus he must go on rubbing, walking, and riding a little more and more every day, stopping always upon the first sensation of weariness to rest a little, till he be able to walk two or three miles at a stretch, or ride ten without any weariness at all. This is recommended with an intention to dislodge and throw off all remains of crude gouty concretions that may have obstructed his joints, or lain concealed in any of the recesses of his body; to free the circulation and all its secretions, perspirations, and discharges. And though this intention can never be but very defectively answered by medicines, it may certainly be assisted and greatly promoted by a few well-chosen mild antimonial, absorbent or saponaceous deobstruents that, like putting shot or gravel into a bottle, with a good deal of agitation will greatly help to make it clean, but without agitation will do nothing.

[10.] While we are thus endeavouring to resolve all old obstructions, to open the fine vessels, and strain and purify the blood, and by degrees to enable the man to use a certain degree of exercise every day, great care must be taken in the choice of his diet, that no new acrimony be added to the old. His food must be soft, mild, and in moderate quantity, so as to give the least possible labour to the stomach and bowels, that it may neither turn sour, nor bitter, nor rancid, nor any way degenerate from those qualities necessary to make good blood. Such things are, at first, new-laid eggs boiled very lightly, tripe, calves' feet, chicken, partridge, rabbits, most sorts of white mild fish (such as whiting or cod), and all sorts of shell-fish, particularly oysters raw. Very soon he will be strong enough to eat beef, veal, mutton, lamb, pork, venison. But these must all be kept till they are tender, and eaten without any compounded sauces or pickles whatever. Instead of which, boiled or stewed vegetables, and salads of lettuce and endive, may be used. And the luxury that is not unwholesome may be allowed: light puddings, custards, creams, blancmange, and ripe fruits of all kinds and seasons. But because wine undoubtedly produces nine in ten of all the gout in the world, wine must be avoided, or taken very sparingly.²⁵

²⁵ JW omitted a section where Cadogan gives advice on how to reduce gradually one's intake of wine; cf. *Dissertation*, 78–80.

[11.] The severity of these efforts need be continued no longer than the disease, or the effects of it, remain. When the patient shall have recovered his strength, he may preserve it upon the following plan.

[12.] He must never lose sight of the three great principles of health—activity, temperance, and peace of mind. With these ever in view, he may eat and drink of anything. But his diet must be plain, simple, solid, and tender. He must eat but of one thing or two at most at a meal, and this will soon bring him to be satisfied with about half his usual quantity. For all men eat twice as much as they ought to do, provoked by variety. He must drink little of any liquor. The drier every man's diet is, the better. He must drink little wine. Instead of supper, any good ripe fruit of the season would be salutary, preventing costiveness, and correcting and carrying off the heats and crudities of his indigestion. 5 10

[13.] His activity need be no more than to persevere in the habit of rubbing all over, night and morning, for eight or ten minutes; and walking three or four miles every day, or riding ten, or using any exercise equivalent to it. In bad weather I can see no great evil in throwing a cloak round his shoulders and walking even in the rain. The only difficulty is to summon resolution enough to venture out, and a little use would take off all danger of catching cold. If he dares not risk this, some succedaneum²⁶ must be used within doors; more especially when bad weather continues any time. I recommend it to all men to wash their feet every day, the gouty in particular, and not to lie abed above seven hours in summer, and eight in winter. 15 20 25

[14.] Some perhaps may say, 'This plan of yours is very simple. But will such a regimen cure the gout, stone, dropsy? Will it repair broken constitutions and restore old invalids to health?' My answer is that, if I may trust the experience of my whole life, and above all the experience I have had in my own person—having not only got rid of the gout, of which I had four severe fits in my younger days, but also emerged from the lowest ebb of life that a man could possibly be reduced to by colic, jaundice, and a complication of complaints, and recovered to perfect health; which I have now uninterruptedly enjoyed above ten years—I say, if I may rely upon all this, I may promise that the plan here recommended, assisted at first with the collateral aids of medicine, pursued with resolution and patience, will certainly procure to others the same benefits I received from it.²⁷ 30 35

²⁶ I.e., some substitute.

²⁷ JW omitted Cadogan's further claim that it would 'cure every curable disease'; *Dissertation*, 84.

[15.] What can the best physician do more than discover to his patients the real causes of their diseases? You will say he must find a remedy. He will, as long as he can. But I will tell you a secret. His remedies are chiefly evacuations, and as long as your body can bear scouring and cleansing he will do you some apparent service. But when it begins to wear out, his remedies will answer no longer. You must not repeat the cause so often, for he cannot build up as fast as you can pull down. In short, you must change all your bad habits for good ones. And if you have patience to wait the slow operations of nature properly assisted, you will have no reason to regret.

[16.] I say this to invalids in general, for thus may be cured not only the gout but very bad rheumatisms, sciaticas, rickets, stone, jaundice, dropsy, asthma, cachexies, and complications of many kinds. Whatever chronic disease will not give way to this method will be found, I greatly fear, too hard for any other. And should there be a particular case in which some fortunate violence may have apparently succeeded for a time, the return of the evil, or change to something worse, cannot be so well guarded against as by some such rational and natural institution of life.

‘THOUGHTS ON “NERVOUS DISORDERS”;
PARTICULARLY THAT WHICH IS
USUALLY TERMED
“LOWNESS OF SPIRITS”’
(1786)

An Introductory Comment

From the earliest roots of Western medicine it has been recognized that disorders that degrade human well-being are not limited to those whose effects are manifest in particular body organs or tissues, such as asthma, a cancer, or constipation. Some disorders are debilitating extremes in the disposition of the person as a whole, like mania or depression.¹

The classical approach to health in terms of the four humours was particularly concerned to account for these broader disorders. General well-being was attributed to proper balance of the humours. Natural variation in the predominance of one humour over the others accounted for typical differences in personal temperament, while excessive dominance of any humour was debilitating. For example, a prominence of black bile (*melaina chole* in Greek) was believed to make a person ‘melancholic’, and its excess manifest in increasingly ill temper, sullenness, brooding, and anger. The prominence of blood rendered a person ‘sanguine’, expressed in a ruddy countenance and a courageous, hopeful, and amorous disposition; qualities that rose to a level of inappropriateness in cases of excess. A preponderance of yellow bile disposed one to being ‘choleric’, or irritable and aggressive in temper and behaviour; traits that became more problematic with excess. Finally, mild dominance of phlegm resulted in a calm, self-possessed, and imperturbable temperament; while extremes of this humour were the cause of sluggishness and apathy.

¹The following summary draws in part on Edward Hare, ‘The History of “Nervous Disorders” from 1600 to 1840, and a Comparison with Modern Views’, *British Journal of Psychiatry* 159 (1991): 37–45; and Heather Beatty, *Nervous Disorders in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

Although these disorders impacted the whole person, they were connected in the classical model to particular body organs, because humours were understood to be created during the body's processing of food, drink, and air. The production of black bile was connected to the gall bladder; yellow bile, to the spleen; and blood, to the liver. The biggest challenge in the classical account was to explain how accumulation of humours in these organs (black and yellow bile, in particular), could influence the mind. The general response was to posit some sort of 'sympathy' (shared feeling) between the mind and the relevant organs. One prominent way of detailing this connection was the suggestion that the 'vapours' of the humours ascended from their productive organs in the lower abdomen up to the head.

Discussion of Nervous Disorders in Eighteenth-Century England

These classical notions are reflected in the names for emotional disorders through the early eighteenth century in England. The terms 'spleen' and 'vapours' appear repeatedly in titles of books.² These book titles often paralleled the first two terms with 'hypochondriacal' and 'hysterical' disorders respectively. *Hypochondria* is the Greek term for the parts of the body immediately below the ribs, including the liver, gall bladder, and spleen. By the early eighteenth century it had become an inclusive term for aggressive and melancholic disorders, which were assumed to be particularly characteristic of males. *Hystera* is the Greek word for uterus. During the same time period, 'hysteria' became an inclusive term for disorders characterized by fainting, hypersensitivity, and the like, which were often assumed to affect only women.³

² See, for example, John Purcell, *A Treatise of Vapours, Or, Hysterical Fits* (London: Newman & Cox, 1702); Sir John Midriff (pseudonym), *Observations on the Spleen and Vapours* (London: Roberts, 1721); Richard Blackmore, *A Treatise of the Spleen and Vapours: Or, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Affections* (London: Pemberton, 1725); Nicholas Robinson, *A New System of the Spleen, Vapours, and Hypochondriac Melancholy: Wherein all the Decays of the Nerves, and Lownesses of the Spirits, are mechanically Accounted for* (London: Bettesworth et al., 1729); and George Cheyne, *The English Malady: Or, A Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds, As Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal, and Hysterical Distempers* (London: George Strahan, 1733).

³ Cf. Bernard Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriac and Hysterical Diseases* (London, Tonson, 1730).

One other phrase found in these book titles is 'lowness of spirits'. From at least the time of Galen the conveyance of the impetus toward action from the mind to various body parts was explained by 'animal spirits', which were believed to be formed in the brain by refining vital spirits brought there by the blood, and then distributed via the spinal cord to the rest of the body. A lack of animation or impetus to action (as in depression or apathy) was attributed to deficiency of these spirits—i.e., 'lowness of spirits'.

While such residual influence of the classical account remained in the early 1700s, the humoral model had come under increasing question within the medical community over the prior century. These doubts were raised by heightened study of human anatomy. To begin with, little if any physiological evidence was found for distinguishing the humours (other than blood),⁴ or their connection to specific organs. Meanwhile, William Harvey's detailing of the circulation of blood provided a more compelling account of the connection between the liver and other organs than notions of 'sympathy' or rising 'vapours'. This success fostered closer study of the circulation of the blood through specific organs, which cast further doubt on the suggestion (for example) that blood leaving the spleen contained a higher level of 'black bile'.⁵ The crowning challenge of the seventeenth century to the model of the humours was Thomas Willis's detailed study of the brain and nervous system.⁶ Willis located the mind/soul (the centre of sensation, motivation, and personal disposition) in the brain (rather than pervading the body as a whole) and identified the nerves as the conduits of connection between the brain and the body. Thereby he fostered a growing restriction of the role of blood to circulating nutrients and oxygen through the body; while sensory, temperamental, and motivational well-being were increasingly assigned to the brain and its network of nerves. By the end of the seventeenth century the main debate was not over the role of the nervous system in disorders of this nature, but between competing accounts of how the impulses and dispositions of the brain were conveyed through the nerves. Willis continued to invoke animal spirits, suggesting that the nerves were hollow conduits through which these spirits flowed to and from the

⁴ 'Yellow bile', for example, was increasingly recognized as simply the yellowish serum left when blood clotted.

⁵ Cf. Blackmore, *Treatise*, 14.

⁶ See particularly Willis's *Anatomy of the Brain and Nerves* (1664) and *Pathology of the Brain and Nervous Stock* (1687); both published first in Latin.

brain.⁷ Others insisted that the nerves were more like solid strings, which conveyed impulses by variations in vibration.

The displacement of humoral theory by focus on the nervous system had several effects. By breaking connection of the uterus with hysteria, it encouraged recognition of the full range of emotional disorders in both men and women.⁸ By setting aside the typology of the four classic temperaments, it opened attention to a wider range of disorders, such as wandering pains, or the false imagination of suffering an ailment. And overall it encouraged the gathering of this range of ailments under the heading 'nervous disorders'—though some, like Robert Whytt, placed 'simple nervous' disorders alongside of hysteric and hypochondriac disorders.⁹

As nervous disorders became a more unified diagnostic group, estimates of their prevalence increased. In 1692 Thomas Sydenham judged that hysterical disorders (in which he included hypochondria) comprised about one-sixth of the ailments to which humans were prone.¹⁰ By 1725 Richard Blackmore doubled the relative percentage to one-third.¹¹ Few questioned at the time whether this increase was simply the result of shifting prior recognized ailments into the new category. Rather debate broke out over how to account for the recent *increase* of nervous disorders, particularly among the British.

One of the most influential contributions to the debate was George Cheyne's treatise *The English Malady*, published in 1733. Cheyne's preface echoed the estimate of nervous disorders comprising one-third of all ailments among his contemporaries, drawing the specific contrast that these were 'scarce known to our ancestors'.¹² Part of Cheyne's concern was to counter the public tendency to dismiss nervous disorders as demonic, fake, or delusional—by emphasizing

⁷ See JW's related suggestion of the nerves conducting 'ethereal fire' in §6 of his essay below, and *Desideratum*, Preface, §7.

⁸ Note how Thomas Sydenham combines discussion of hysteria and hypochondria in *The Compleat Method of Curing Almost All Diseases* (London: Randal Taylor, 1694), 5–6.

⁹ E.g., William Smith, MD, *A Dissertation on the Nerves; Containing An Account... of the Symptoms, Causes, and Cure of Nervous Diseases* (London: for the author, 1768). Cf. Robert Whytt, *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of those Disorders which have been Commonly called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysteric* (Edinburgh: Becket & du Hondt, 1765).

¹⁰ Thomas Sydenham, *A Collection of Chronical Diseases* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1692), 32.

¹¹ Blackmore, *Treatise of the Spleen*, iv.

¹² Cheyne, *English Malady*, ii.

physical factors that contribute to the ailments, like unhealthy diet, lack of exercise, and abuse of alcohol. But he went further, arguing that the English suffered nervous ailments to a *higher degree than other nations* because of the greater wealth and leisure they had achieved as a nation (providing more opportunities for gluttony and sloth). He also contended that the ones most susceptible to nervous disorders were persons 'whose faculties are the brightest and most spiritual, and whose genius is most keen and penetrating'.¹³ These claims sparked a cultural tendency over the next few decades to associate nervous disorders largely with the upper class, and to portray sufferers as particularly sensitive souls.¹⁴

Such glamorization of nervous disorders in the second quarter of the 1700s led more physicians to focus on their treatment. At the same time, prominent books devoted to this topic in the later decades of the century reduced reference to class, wealth, or the superior sensibilities of those suffering these ailments—thereby broadening their audience.¹⁵ What remained constant through the century was a primary focus on regimen in treating nervous disorders.¹⁶ Sufferers were instructed on proper diet, cautioned against use of alcohol, tea, and coffee, exhorted to get more exercise (with an emphasis on riding), and encouraged to consider moving to locales with more healthy air. Beyond this attention to the 'non-naturals', there were often also suggestions for those afflicted with nervous disorders to seek out diversions and sources of entertainment or delight (like music). The prescription of medicines played a decidedly secondary role—aimed mainly at lessening symptoms or promoting stronger constitutions. Anyone touting an elixir promising quick and lasting cures for nervous ailments was branded a quack.

John Wesley's Engagement with Nervous Disorders

John Wesley's awareness of and advice concerning nervous disorders mirrors the context just traced.¹⁷ He likely read Cheyne's

¹³ Ibid., 262.

¹⁴ Beatty, *Nervous Disorders*, 2, 19–24.

¹⁵ See the discussion of Robert Whytt in *ibid.*, 142.

¹⁶ What follows summarizes the survey of typical treatment in *ibid.*, 99–139.

¹⁷ For more on this point, see James G. Donat, 'John Wesley on the Estimation and Cure of Nervous Disorders', in Harry Whitaker et al. (eds.), *Brain, Mind and Medicine: Essays in Eighteenth-Century Neuroscience* (New York: Springer, 2007), 285–99.

English Malady shortly after it was published.¹⁸ If so, he drew little upon it explicitly until the last decade of his ministry, because Cheyne's focus on the upper class had little overlap with the main arena of Wesley's work as priest/physician. Yet Wesley's first mention of 'nerves' in a health context—in the section of the preface to *Primitive Physic* (1747) cautioning that 'coffee and tea are extremely hurtful to persons who have weak nerves'—was drawn from another book by Cheyne.¹⁹ By this point Wesley was convinced that some nervous ailments, and the tea that caused them, were no longer limited to the upper class; they were affecting the poorer of his societies.²⁰ This conviction led Wesley to elaborate this connection the following year in his *Letter to a Friend concerning Tea* (1748).

Beyond the preface, Wesley included only one ailment specifically identified with the nerves in the initial edition of *Primitive Physic*: 'A nervous Headache' (§129 in this edn.). This remained the sole entry until 1759, when he added to the 8th edition a section on 'Nervous Disorders' (§161).²¹ The new section was drawn almost entirely from John Hill's *Construction of the Nerves And Causes of Nervous Disorders*, published the previous year. The one comment in Wesley's own voice was that there is 'no remedy in nature for nervous disorders of every kind comparable to the proper and constant use of the electrical machine' (§161, #2). This claim was repeated (with the qualification 'palsies excepted') in 1760, in his preface to *Desideratum*.²²

His rapid incorporation of Hill's treatise suggests that Wesley kept an eye out for books on nervous disorders in the later decades of his ministry. He similarly cited Robert Whytt's *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of those Disorders which have been commonly called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysterical* (1765) within five years of its publication, in his abridgement of Tissot's *Advises with Respect to Health* and the *Primitive Physic*.²³

As noted in the general Introduction to this volume, however, it was a book Wesley read in 1742 that most shaped his advice related

¹⁸ In his Oxford diary JW records on Sept. 9, 1734, 'read Cheyne'. Since he had previously read Cheyne's earlier books, *Essay on Health* and *New Theory of ... Fevers*, this was most likely referring to the newly released *English Malady*.

¹⁹ See *Primitive Physic*, Preface, §16, II.10; drawing on Cheyne's *Essay on Health*.

²⁰ JW, *Journal*, July 6, 1746, 20:125 in this edn.

²¹ A single remedy for 'A nervous Fever' also appeared briefly in editions 15–16, which is included in this edition as §161, #4.

²² *Desideratum*, Preface, §7.

²³ See the note on prescription No. 30 near the end of *Advises* (1769); and *Primitive Physic*, §65, #3.

to emotional disorders in his later ministry. Up till that time Wesley's comments in his *Journal* echo a broadly shared assumption that emotional ailments have spiritual causes (including demonic influence), and can be effectively treated only by repentance, faith, and prayers for deliverance. In March 1742 Wesley read yet another book by George Cheyne, which argued that disorders like lunacy and madness are due to natural causes and require natural cures.²⁴ From that point on Wesley's comments on madness reflect more nuance. While he continued to insist that some cases were spiritual in origin, and were best treated accordingly, he increasingly emphasized the physical causes of these ailments, and the corresponding possibilities of cure.

This balance also characterized Wesley's mature pastoral and health advice related to nervous disorders, as seen in the opening paragraphs of his 'Thoughts' below. He was always ready to remind readers that some instances of supposed nervous ailments were 'no natural disorder of the body, but the hand of God upon the soul' (§1).²⁵ But he devoted the majority of his advice to the reality that 'there are nervous disorders which are purely natural' (§2). Much of his advice was pastoral, assuring his people that emotional 'heaviness' or 'wandering thoughts' caused by weakness of the nerves were 'no more imputed to you as a sin than the flowing of the blood in your veins'.²⁶ As such, the Methodist goal of 'perfection' remained a viable hope for those with nervous disorders, even if these ailments endured throughout their life.²⁷

As a priest/physician, Wesley usually joined this pastoral assurance with health advice, reflecting his conviction that there was also hope for lessening or overcoming the physical impact of most nervous ailments. His advice typically included a reminder of our

²⁴ See George Cheyne, *The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Body and Disorders of the Mind Depending on the Body* (London: Strahan, 1742), 78–95, esp. 90. JW notes reading this volume in *Journal*, Mar. 12, 1742, 19:256 in this edn. Cheyne emphasizes a sparse diet and cold baths for the cure.

²⁵ See, for example, Sermon 72, 'Of Evil Angels', II.11, 3:25 in this edn.; and Sermon 84, 'The Important Question', III.7, 3:193 in this edn.

²⁶ JW letter to Alexander Knox, Dec. 23, 1779, in Appendix C. See also Sermon 41, 'Wandering Thoughts', II.3 & IV.3, 2:129–30, 135 in this edn.; Sermon 47, 'Heaviness through Manifold Temptations', II.3, 2:225 in this edn.; Sermon 77, 'Spiritual Worship', III.6, 3:100 in this edn.; and JW to Mary Smith, May 2, 1783 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

²⁷ See particularly JW to Dorothy Furly, Sept. 15, 1762, 27:302 in this edn.; and JW to Dorothy (Furly) Downes, Nov. 21, 1783 (vol. 30 in this edn.).

need for divine assistance.²⁸ But he was clear that we should not rely upon prayer and faith alone; for ‘faith no more hinders the “sinking of the spirits” ... in a hysteric illness than the rising of the pulse in a fever’.²⁹ Wesley also cautioned against placing hope in any elixir or medicine to cure nervous disorders, because these treat only the symptoms, not the underlying cause.³⁰ Like the leading physicians of his day, Wesley attributed nervous disorders mainly to a lack of proper attention to the ‘non-naturals’; that is: 1) intemperance in meat or drink, either with regard to the quantity or quality; 2) want of exercise, or excess therein; 3) immoderate sleep or watching; 4) unwholesome air; 5) the diminution of some natural evacuation; [and/or] 6) irregular passions.³¹ As such, Wesley’s core advice was a return to proper regimen—the regimen (drawn from George Cheyne) found in the Preface (§16) of *Primitive Physic* since 1747. After his 1774 publication of the extract of William Cadogan’s *Dissertation on the Gout*, which highlighted three components of this regimen (exercise, temperance, and regulation of passions), Wesley occasionally applied this narrower prescription to nervous disorders (as he does below in ‘Thoughts’, §5).³² He also could focus tightly on the importance of rising early and avoiding too much sleep.³³ But these are best seen as highlighting aspects of the broader regimen, not displacing it.

As in culture at large, the topic of nervous disorders received increasing attention in Wesley’s publications and private letters through the course of his ministry. The most developed instance of this attention is a set of ‘Thoughts’ he composed in May 1784 and published as an essay in the *Arminian Magazine* two years later. While the final version of these thoughts was dated from the estate

²⁸ See JW to Susanna Knapp, Mar. 25, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.), where JW comments that her nervous disorder may perhaps ‘be entirely removed if you can take advice [on regimen]. And I think you can, by God’s assistance’.

²⁹ Sermon 47, ‘Heaviness through Manifold Temptation’, III.2, 2:227 in this edn.

³⁰ The best example is ‘Thoughts’, §10, below.

³¹ JW’s summary in *Survey of the Wisdom of God*, ‘Preternatural State of the Human Body’, §6 (earlier in this volume).

³² See also the response to the question of why ‘so many of our preachers fall into nervous disorders’ at the 1778 Annual Conference, in *Minutes* (1778), Q. 23, 10:483 in this edn.; and digested in the ‘Large’ *Minutes*, Q. 28, 10:916 in this edn.

³³ See *Minutes* (1768), Q. 23, A. 1.3, 10:361 in this edn.; Sermon 89, ‘The More Excellent Way’, I, 3:267 in this edn.; Sermon 93, ‘Redeeming the Time’, II.4–6, 3:326–27 in this edn.; JW to Susanna Knapp, Mar. 25, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.); and JW to Sarah Wesley Jr., July 17, 1781 (vol. 30 in this edn.). See also ‘Thoughts’, §7, below.

of David Leslie, sixth Earl of Leven, in Scotland, Wesley composed them over several days prior, as he visited Methodist societies across Scotland.³⁴ Thus, there is no sense that he understood concern for this issue to be limited to the upper class. Wesley's "Thoughts on "Nervous Disorders"" was never republished during his life, so the only variant reading is a correction that Wesley entered by hand in his personal copy (noted below).

³⁴ See JW, Diary, May 9–20, 1784, 23:485–86 in this edn.

Thoughts on 'Nervous Disorders';
Particularly That Which Is
Usually Termed 'Lowness of Spirits'¹

1. When physicians meet with disorders which they do not understand, they commonly term them 'nervous'—a word that conveys to us no determinate idea, but is a good cover for learned ignorance.² But these are often no natural disorder of the body, but the hand of God upon the soul, being a dull consciousness of the want of God, and the unsatisfactoriness of everything here below. At other times it is conviction of sin, either in a higher or a lower degree. It is no wonder that those who are strangers to religion should not know what to make of this; and that consequently all their prescriptions should be useless, seeing they quite mistake the cause.

2. But undoubtedly there are nervous disorders which are purely natural. Many of these are connected with other diseases, whether acute or chronical. Many are the forerunners of various distempers, and many the consequences of them. But there are those which are not connected with others, being themselves a distinct, original distemper. And this frequently arises to such a height that it seems to be one species of madness. So one man imagines himself to be made of glass. Another thinks he is too tall to go in at the door. This is often termed the 'spleen' or 'vapours'; often 'lowness of spirits'—a phrase that, having scarce any meaning, is so much the fitter to be given to this unintelligible disorder. It seems to have taken its rise from hence. We sometimes say a man is 'in high spirits'. And the proper opposite to this is, 'he is low-spirited'. Does this not imply that a kind of faintness, weariness, and listlessness affects the whole body, so that he is disinclined to any motion, and hardly cares to move hand or foot? But the mind seems chiefly to be affected, having lost its relish of everything, and being no longer capable of enjoying the things it once delighted in most. Nay, everything round about is not only flat and insipid, but dreary and uncomfortable. It is not strange if, to one in this state, life itself is become a burden—yea, so insupportable a burden that many who have all this world can give desperately rush into an unknown world, rather than bear it any longer.

¹ *Arminian Magazine* 9 (1786): 52–54, 94–97.

² JW is echoing Robert Whytt: 'physicians have bestowed the character of "nervous" on all those disorders whose nature and causes they are ignorant of' (Whytt, *Observations*, iii).

3. But what are the causes of this strange disorder? One cause is the use of spirituous liquors. This is one of the horrid effects which naturally follow the swallowing that fashionable poison. That liquid fire lays the foundation of numberless diseases, and of this in particular. It is amazing that the preparing or selling of this poison should be permitted (I will not say in any Christian country but) in any civilized state. 'O, it brings in a considerable sum of money to the government.' True. But is it wise to barter men's lives for money? Surely that gold is bought too dear, if it is the price of blood. Does not the strength of every country consist in the number of its inhabitants? If so, the lessening their number is a loss which no money can compensate. So that it is inexcusable ill husbandry to give the lives of useful men for any sum of money whatever.

4. But a more extensive cause of this disorder than the use of drams, I apprehend, is the use of tea—particularly where it is taken either in large quantities, or strong, or without cream and sugar.³ 'Nay, weak tea is far more hurtful.' This is a senseless, shameless falsehood. I long drank hot sugar and water instead of tea, and it did me no hurt at all. But three cups of strong tea will now make my hand shake so that I can hardly write. And let any try the experiment. If any tea make his hand shake, it will not be weak tea but strong. This has exceedingly increased the number of nervous complaints throughout the three kingdoms.⁴ And this furnishes us with a satisfactory answer to the common question, 'Why are these complaints so general now, which were scarce heard of two or three centuries ago?'⁵ For this plain reason, two or three centuries ago no tea was drank in either Britain or Ireland.

5. But allowing both tea and spirituous liquors to have contributed largely to the increase of nervous disorders, yet it may be doubted whether one or both of them are the principal causes of them. The principal causes of them (particularly among those who do not work for their living) are, as Dr. Cadogan justly observes, indolence, intemperance and irregular passions.⁶

³ Note that Wesley is not calling now for total abstinence from tea, as in his earlier *Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* (1748), but for moderation.

⁴ I.e., England, Scotland, and Ireland. 'Britain' would include England and Scotland.

⁵ Cf. Cheyne, *English Malady*, ii.

⁶ William Cadogan, *A Dissertation on the Gout, and All Chronical Diseases* (London: Dodsley, 1771), 6; reproduced in JW's extract, I.4.

First, indolence, the not using such a degree of exercise as the constitution requires. To illustrate this: Our body is composed of earth, water, air, and fire; and the two latter are as necessary as the two former. To supply these that curious engine, the lungs, continually take in the air, to every particle of which a particle of fire is attached; which being detached from it, is mingled with the blood.⁷ Now exercise quickens the motion of the lungs, and enables them to collect from the air a due quantity of fire. The nerves are the conductors of this ethereal fire,⁸ vulgarly called the 'animal spirits'. If this is duly diffused through the whole body, we are lively and vigorous. If it is not (which without exercise it cannot be) we soon grow faint and languid. And if other disorders do not ensue, those termed 'nervous' surely will, with that whole train of symptoms which are usually comprised in what is termed 'lowness of spirits'.

6. Intemperance is another principal cause of this—if not intemperance in drink, which is not quite so common, yet intemperance in meat, the taking more of it than nature requires. Dr. [George] Cheyne well observes it is not generally the quality, but the quantity, of what we eat which hurts us.⁹ What hurts the nerves in particular is the eating too much animal food, especially at night—much more, the eating at one meal foods of several different kinds. If we consider how few observe this, we shall not wonder that so many have nervous disorders. Especially among those that have an opportunity of indulging themselves daily in variety, and who are hereby continually tempted to eat more than nature requires.

7. But there is another sort of intemperance of which, I think, Dr. Cadogan does not take the least notice. And yet it is the source of more nervous diseases than even intemperance in food. I mean intemperance in sleep, the sleeping longer than nature requires. This alone will account for the weak nerves of most of our nobility and gentry. Not that I would insist upon the old rule,

⁷ JW drew this understanding from John Freke; see *Desideratum*, I.5–7. He reiterated it in an addition in his own voice to the 3rd edn. of *Survey of the Wisdom of God* (1777), 1:139, 'But may it not be doubted whether the primary end of respiration be not to supply the whole animal machine with the ethereal fire, a particle of which is connected with every particle of air? Is not this detached from it by the action of the lungs and thence communicated to every part of the body? And is not this the true vital flame, the original source of life and motion?' It also appears in JW's 1788 sermon 'What is Man', §§3–4, 4:20–21 in this edition.

⁸ Cf. *Desideratum*, Preface, §7.

⁹ See George Cheyne, *The English Malady; or, A Treatise of Nervous Diseases of all Kinds* (London: George Strahan, 1733), 159–65.

*Sex horas quivis poscit, septemque scholaris;
Octo viator habet; nebulo quisque novem.*¹⁰

I would allow between six and seven hours to an average, to a healthy man; or an hour more, between seven and eight hours, to an unhealthy man. And I do not remember that in threescore years I have known either man or woman who laid longer in bed than this (whether they slept or no) but in some years they complained of 'lowness of spirits'.

The plain reason of which seems to be, while we sleep all the springs of nature are unbent. And if we sleep longer than is sufficient, they are relaxed more than is sufficient, and of course grow weaker and weaker. And if we lie longer in bed, though without sleep, the very posture relaxes the whole body—much more when we are covered up with clothes, which throw back on the body whatever perspires from it. By this means it is stewed in the moist vapour. It sucks in again what nature had cast out, and the flesh is (as it were) parboiled therein, and becomes more and more soft and flabby. And the nerves suffer at least as much hereby as any other part of the habit. I cannot therefore but account this, the lying too long in bed, the grand cause of our nervous disorders.

8. And this alone sufficiently answers the question, 'Why are we more nervous than our forefathers?' Because we lie longer in bed. They—rich and poor—slept about eight, when they heard the curfew bell; and rose at four, the bell ringing at¹¹ that hour (as well as at eight) in every parish in England. We rise (if not obliged to work for a living) at ten, eleven, or twelve. Is it any wonder then, were there no other cause, that we complain of 'lowness of spirits'?

9. Yet something may be allowed to 'irregular passions'. For as long as the soul and body are united, those undoubtedly affect the body—the nerves in particular. Even violent joy, though it raises the spirits for a time, does afterwards sink them greatly. And every one knows what an influence fear has upon our whole frame. Nay, even 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick',¹² puts the mind

¹⁰ A traditional Latin couplet, rendered in verse in *AM* 10 (1787), p. 224:

Six hours for sleep the human frame requires;
Hard students may to seven incline;
To eight, the men whom toil or travelling tires;
But lazy knaves will all have nine.

¹¹ Orig., 'all'; changed by JW in his personal copy of *AM*.

¹² Prov. 13:12.

all out of tune. The same effect have all foolish and hurtful desires. They 'pierce us through with many sorrows'.¹³ They occasion a deep depression of the spirits. So, above all, does inordinate affection, whereby so many, refusing to be comforted, sorrow even unto death.

10. But is there no cure for this sore evil? Is there no remedy for lowness of spirits? Undoubtedly there is, a most certain cure, if you are willing to pay the price of it. But this price, is not silver or gold, nor anything purchasable thereby. If you would give all the substance of your house for it, it would be utterly despised. And all the medicines under the sun avail nothing in this distemper. The whole *materia medica*¹⁴ put together will do you no lasting service. They do not strike at the root of the disease. But you must remove the cause, if you wish to remove the effect.

But this cannot be done by your own strength. It can only be done by the mighty power of God. If you are convinced of this, set about it trusting in him and you will surely conquer.

First, sacredly abstain from all *spirituous liquors*. Touch them not, on any pretence whatever. To others they may sometimes be of use, but to nervous persons they are deadly poison.

Secondly, if you drink any, drink but little tea; and none at all without eating, or without sugar or cream. 'But you like it without.' No matter. Prefer health before taste.

Thirdly, every day of your life take at least an hour's exercise between breakfast and dinner. (If you will, take another hour before supper, or before you sleep.) If you can, take it in the open air; otherwise, in the house. If you cannot ride,¹⁵ or walk abroad, use within a dumb bell, or a wooden horse.¹⁶ If you have not strength to do this for an hour at a time, do it at twice or thrice. Let nothing hinder you. Your life is at stake. Make everything yield to this.

Fourthly, take no more food than nature requires. Dine upon one thing (except pudding or pie). Eat no flesh at supper, but something light and easy of digestion.

Fifthly, sleep early and rise early. Unless you are ill, never lie in bed much above seven hours. Then you will never lie awake. Your flesh will be firm, and your spirits lively.

Sixthly, above all,

¹³ Cf. 1 Tim. 6:10.

¹⁴ Collection of physical medicines.

¹⁵ Orig., 'rise'; changed by JW in his personal copy of *AM*.

¹⁶ See the description of both items in the introduction.

Give not¹⁷ your passions way;
*God gave them to thee under lock and key.*¹⁸

Beware of anger! Beware of worldly sorrow! Beware of the fear
 that hath torment!¹⁹ Beware of foolish and hurtful desires! Beware 5
 of inordinate affection! Remember the kind command, 'My son,
 give me thy heart!'²⁰ Then shall there be no more complaining of
 'lowness of spirits'! But the peace of God, which passeth all under-
 standing, shall keep thy heart and mind in Christ Jesus!²¹

Melville House²² 10
 May 20, 1784

¹⁷ Orig., 'Give not to'; changed by JW in his personal copy of *AM*.

¹⁸ Cf. George Herbert, *Church Porch*, st. 24:

Lose not thy self, nor give thy humours way:
 God gave them to thee under lock and key.

¹⁹ See 1 John 4:18.

²⁰ Prov. 23:26.

²¹ See Phil. 4:7.

²² Melville House, an estate near Collessie in Fife, Scotland, was the seat of David Leslie (1722–1802), sixth Earl of Leven. JW was being hosted by the Countess Wilhelmina (Nisbet) Leslie (c. 1724–98) and her children. See JW, *Journal*, May 20, 1784, 23:312 in this edn.

MEDICAL ADVICE AND RECEIPTS IN THE 'ARMINIAN MAGAZINE'

An Introductory Comment

In addition to his new sermons and essays, and a serialization of his *Survey of the Wisdom of God*, John Wesley filled the *Arminian Magazine* with a plethora of extracts—both long and short—of published material by other authors that he thought would be of interest to his readers. He also inserted many manuscript letters and other communications from Methodist preachers and followers. A common genre for inclusion were accounts of miraculous cures of ailments, when no physic could help.¹ But through the years that Wesley exercised editorial control over the magazine a few scattered health receipts and pieces of medical advice also show up. In every case but one, these were drawn from published sources (either directly or via an intermediary setting). Two of the items included in *AM* 8 (1785), drawn from Theophilus Lobb, were already present in *Primitive Physic*, drawn from another of Lobb's publications. The items are gathered here in the interest of providing as complete of a record as possible of Wesley's engagement in the role of 'priest/physician'.

¹ See, for example, *AM* 5 (1782): 251–57, 312–318; 9 (1786): 43–44; and 10 (1787): 35–37.

A Cure for the Cancer in the Breast

AM 7 (1784): 555

Keep it moist with linseed oil, and often wash it with milk.

5 A Method of Saving Frozen Limbs
by a Native of Russia

AM 8 (1785): 222

10 In Russia it is customary in severe frosty weather, instead of giving the hat on meeting, as with us, for people to stop and peep into each other's faces. If nothing is amiss, they pass in silence. But if the nose, the ears, or either cheek appears frozen,² notice is given by the stranger, by saying, 'Sir, your nose, or your right ear', etc., and so passes on. Upon this the affected person applies a poultice of snow, and in a short time it recovers.

15 In February 1772 I haled out of the mud three river turtles and, carrying them home, they remained some weeks in a[n] open cellar. When finding them (in a very severe frost) froze as stiff and hard as ice, I determined to make a trial. They were instantly put into a
20 pail of water, fresh drawn from a well. In a few hours the two largest were well recovered, and as lively as when I caught them.

25 In the winter of 1769 I had a box of four oranges froze as hard as ice. They were put into water just as drawn from a well. They recovered and squeezed as well as if they had not been froze. One of them I placed in a window. It froze quite hard a second time, and was in like manner recovered and became as sound as ever.³

A Remedy for the Palsy

AM 8 (1785): 327

30 Mr. William Morris of New Street, in Cloth-Fair, London, aged sixty-one years, a barber by trade and the watchman in Bartholomew Close, was taken on Friday, June 13, 1760, with the palsy in his right hand, so far as his wrist.

35 He had neither pain nor feeling in his hand or fingers, which of course became useless.

² JW or the editor added a note 'It is to be understood that the person whose nose, etc., is frozen is insensible of its being so, there being no feeling in the frozen part.'

³ This account appeared originally in *Pennsylvania Magazine* 2 (1776): 64–65 signed 'T. C. D.' One of JW's contacts in North America may have sent it to him, as JW also published two poems taken from *Pennsylvania Magazine* 1 (1775): 183, 280–81 in AM 1 (1778): 596–98.

He was three weeks an outpatient at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and used a variety of medicines without benefit.

July the 5th, he read in the *Westminster Journal* Dr. Lobb's account of a boy cured of lameness by the outward application of a liquor made with the yolk of a new-laid egg and water.

In two or three days after, he began the use of the egg-liquor; his wife rubbing his hand and fingers with it three or four times a day, for about a quarter of an hour, and in a week's time he recovered the use of his hand, and became able to shave again.⁴

Method of Curing a Violent Sprain

AM 8 (1785): 327–28

Suppose it be in the ankle.

1. Let it be fomented with vinegar, a little warm, four or five minutes at a time, once every four hours; this will render the circulation of the fluids in the parts affected more easy, and either prevent a swelling, or promote its subsiding.

2. Let the person stand three or four minutes at a time on both his feet, in their natural posture, and sometimes move the sprained foot; and sometimes, when sitting with his foot on a low stool, let him move it, this way and that, as he can bear it; this will contribute much to contract the over-stretched vessels, and to recover a due circulation of their fluids through them.

3. Let a gentle, dry friction, with a warm hand, be sometimes used to the parts affected, which will conduce much to the same ends.

4. Two hours after every application of the vinegar, let the part be just wet with the rectified spirits of wine, and then gently rubbed.

By these means persons have recovered from the effects of very violent sprains in as few days, as some others have been weeks in recovering by different ways of management; such as a continual resting of the strained foot, and disuse of its motions.⁵

A Certain Cure for Arsenic, or the Bite of a Viper

AM 10 (1787): 329

Salad oil taken warm and repeated discretionally, will infallibly prevent any bad consequences if the arsenic has not been taken very

⁴Theophilus Lobb, *Medicinal Letters* (London: James Buckland, 1763), 29–30. JW had added this receipt in 1770 from Lobb's *Good Samaritan* in a section for 'Lameness' in *Primitive Physic* (see §143).

⁵*Ibid.*, 23–24. JW had been printing this treatment regimen, from Lobb's *Good Samaritan*, in *Primitive Physic* since 1770 (see PP, §212, receipt #7).

long before. It is the true antidote for arsenic, and the bite of a viper. I could therefore wish, that no one would neglect making use of it as soon as it is discovered that any person has swallowed arsenic.

And as to the bite of a viper, let the wound be well rubbed as soon as possible with warm oil, over a chafing dish, repeatedly at different times; and that alone will effectually cure. But if the poison has extended too far into the body before the oil has been applied, then the patient must drink warm oil at different times, always bathing the wound also with it, and likewise that part of the body where pain may be felt; and this will effectually cure without any other remedies.

With regard to arsenic, I must observe, that a gentle vomit given just after taking it, and then repeatedly drinking very fat mutton broth, will also effectually cure it.⁶

On the Power of the External Absorption of the Human Body by Dr. Wilkinson

AM 10 (1787): 652–54

The intolerable thirst accompanying an ardent fever is mitigated by immersing the body in warm water. This is frequently proved by the physicians in Italy, where the practice is much used.

It is very well known that the human body gains a considerable additional weight by bathing in warm or cold water. A man whose weight before immersion does not exceed one hundred and forty pounds, having been fifteen minutes in the bath, after being wiped perfectly dry, shall be found heavier on weighing again by sometimes thirty, sometimes forty ounces, and frequently more.

If a man in extreme thirst immerses himself in water, his sensation of thirst is removed, though he does not by the mouth take in a drop of the fluid. Therefore it appears that the spongy absorbency of his own body is the means by which his drought is relieved.

Immersion in seawater is attended with the same refreshing effect, though drinking that fluid be generally apt to cause thirstiness. We may therefore conclude that the particles of salt which give taste to the seawater are larger in diameter than the diameters of the absorbent orifices, and that the particles of liquid in which the salt floats and is dissolved are less in diameter than the mouths of the absorbents; and consequently that the skin, like a filter, separates the saline parts from the menstruum which contains them and imbibes or admits the aqueous element in its pure and divested

⁶ *Scots Magazine* 34 (May 1772): 242.

simplicity, which thereby becomes well adapted to the purposes of the animal economy. It is probable that no menstruum whatsoever is so perfect and immediate a solvent for saline bodies as this fluid vehicle of the sea-salt when pure and unmixed. This appears by the great and wonderful benefits derived from sea-bathing, especially in scrofulous or scorbutic disorders. Sea-bathing, properly directed, gives relief in all the tribe of diseases which are generally allowed to proceed from a redundancy of saline or acrimonious particles floating in the vital juices, or accumulated upon the glands which are appointed to separate them from those fluids, that they may be discharged (their egress being facilitated by the preparatory comminution and previous dissolution in the most convenient aqueous menstruum).

It does not seem impossible, therefore, that even a dropsy may be cured by sea-bathing. I could procure a striking instance of its efficacy in this disease, were it to my present purpose. A theory might also be advanced to show how this disorder may be occasioned by a concretion of saline particles forming obstructions in the urinary emunctories,⁷ as founded upon experiment, and careful examination and inspection of hydropical subjects; which concretions dissolving and expelled, the cure is accomplished. But I shall pretermit these disquisitions, my design being only to show that the body has an absorbent power in a much greater degree than is generally supposed, and to mention how, in some cases, a proper attention to this quality may become extremely useful to mankind.

There is not, perhaps, a more terrible calamity incident to the seafaring part of the human race than the extreme want of water. Many and very frightful are the effects of this unhappy exigence. Who can peruse the accounts mentioned in almost every printed voyage that is published of the sufferings of seamen from this grievous misfortune, without feeling a sympathetic horror and concern at the affecting narrative of the deplorable extremities to which the victims of this disaster are frequently driven? Like a ship on fire at sea, they burn in a deluge of surrounding waters. Many schemes have therefore been concerted to prevent these miseries by compassionate people—which have yet, I fear, all proved either ineffectual or impracticable. But though the attempts hitherto made for the attainment of this great and beneficent intention have not been attended with competent success, yet I hope to be pardoned if, from the foregoing consideration on the absorbency of the human body

⁷ Orig., 'emunsbories'; a misreading of the original.

which it is presumed they sufficiently demonstrate, I am a little sanguine in my hopes of effectuating the desirable purpose by a method that will appear obvious to all who have attended to those strictures which experience will prove are too perfectly founded in
 5 fact to admit of any controversy.⁸

A Remedy for Corns on the Feet

AM 11 (1788): 98

10 Roast a clove of garlic on a live coal, or in hot ashes; apply it to the corn and fasten it on with a piece of cloth. This must not be made use of till the moment of going to bed. It softens the corn to such a degree that it loosens, and wholly removes the core in two or three days, however inveterate. Afterwards wash the foot with warm water. In a little time the indurated skin that forms the horny tunic of
 15 the corn, will disappear, and leave the part as clean and smooth as if it had never been attacked with any disorder; it is right to renew this application two or three times in twenty-four hours.⁹

A Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog

20 AM 11 (1788): 496

Dry salt is an immediate remedy for the bite of a mad dog. It should be kept on a considerable while, and renewed as often as it grows moist.¹⁰

⁸ *The Medical Museum; or a Repository of Cases, Experiments, Researches and Discoveries* (London: Richardson and Clark, 1763–64), 2:123–25. See the related discussion in *Primitive Physic*, §249, receipt #2.

⁹ Pierre-Joseph Buc'hoz, *The Toilet of Flora* (London: W. Nicoll, 1772), 14; as reprinted in *Scots Magazine* 34 (1772): 700.

¹⁰ *Scots Magazine* 34 (Nov. 1772): 592.

APPENDIX A

WESLEY'S TEXT: EDITIONS, TRANSMISSION, PRESENTATION, AND VARIANT READINGS

The introduction to Appendix A for the four volumes of Sermons (4:421–30) provides a detailed description of Wesley's publishing practices, the challenges these practices present for preparing a critical edition of his *Works*, and the guidelines adopted in this edition for selecting and presenting the main copy-text. As a general summary, the text of each of the treatises in this volume is that of the first edition, but incorporates as well all substantive revisions which certainly or almost certainly derive from Wesley (thus we limit ourselves to editions published in Great Britain, in English, and with some connection to Wesley).

The purpose of this appendix is to indicate the textual history of each treatise and provide a guide to textual variants among editions. Brief details are given for every edition of a treatise published during Wesley's life, including his collected *Works* of 1771–74. The relationship among these editions is then indicated graphically in a stemma. Finally, there is a list of variant readings with designation of the edition within which they appear. If the edition designation is followed by an arrow (e.g., B→), this means that the variant reading listed occurs in that edition and in all edition connected from it downward in the stemma. If there is no arrow, the variant occurs only in the edition(s) listed. Using this list, it is possible to determine the substantive textual content of every edition (within the parameters of the guidelines used in this edition for handling abbreviations and the like; see 4:428–29).

A Collection of Receipts for the Use of the Poor

A		Bristol: Felix Farley, [1745].	A
B	[2nd]	Newcastle: John Gooding, 1745.	
C	3rd	Bristol: Felix Farley, 1746.	B
		(For further details see <i>Bibliography</i> , No. 105.)	
			C

Variants

page	line	
75	32	A→B, 'see Art. 133'; C, 'see Art. 142'.
83	20	A→B, 'see Art. 89'; C, 'see Art. 93'.
90	05	A→B read 'Or root of leaves or'; a misprint.
91	06	A→B, 'see Art. 106'; C, 'see Art. 112'.

Primitive Physic;
or, An Easy and Natural Method of Curing most Diseases

1	[1st]	London: [Strahan] for Thomas Trye, 1747.	1
2	2nd	Bristol: Printed [by Felix Farley, c. 1750].	2-4
3	[3rd]	Dublin: Printed for Oliver Nelson, 1752.	5
4	[4th]	Dublin: Printed for Oliver Nelson, 1754.	8
5	5th	Bristol: Printed by [Farley] for J. Palmer, 1755.	9
	[6th]	no known surviving copies]	10
	[7th]	no known surviving copies]	12-13
8	8th	Bristol: Printed by John Grabham, 1759.	14
9	9th	London: Printed by William Strahan, 1761.	15-16
	[10th]	Dublin: Printed for John Fisher, 1761; <i>slightly corrected</i> 8th edn.].	Works
10	10th	Bristol: Printed by William Pine, 1762.	17
			20
			21-23

- [10th Dublin: John Fisher, 1763; *slightly corrected* 8th edn.¹].
- [10th Bristol: William Pine, 1763; *spurious attribution to Pine* of Dublin 10th edn.].
- [11th no known surviving copies]
- 12 12th Bristol: Printed by William Pine, 1765.
- 13 13th Bristol: Printed by William Pine, 1768.
- 14 14th Bristol: Printed by William Pine, 1770.
- 15 15th London: Printed by Robert Hawes, 1772.
- Works* *Works*, 25:3–149. Bristol: William Pine, 1773. [revision of 14th edn.]
- 16 16th London: Robert Hawes, 1774.
- 17 17th London: Robert Hawes, 1776.
- [18th no known surviving copies]
- [19th no known surviving copies]
- 20 20th London: J. Paramore, 1781.
- 21 21st London: J. Paramore, 1785.
- 22 22nd London: Printed and sold at the New Chapel, 1788.
- 23 23rd London: Printed and sold at the New-Chapel, 1791.
(For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 138.)

Variants

- | page | line | |
|------|------|---|
| 123 | 16 | 5→17 lack 'In the first case'; and have 'use' instead of 'take'. |
| 123 | 16 | 5→17 lack 'half a pint of'. |
| 123 | 17 | 5→14 end after 'guaiacum'. |
| 123 | 17 | 5→17 lack 'for five minutes'. |
| 124 | 29 | 1→14 lack '(suppose the next day)'. |
| 125 | 10 | <i>Works</i> (1773) adds at end of sentence 'an hour before the fit'. |
| 125 | 11 | 2→16 lack 'small'. |
| 125 | 12 | 14→16 read 'ten, twelve, or fifteen drops'. |
| 125 | 19 | 1→4 lack ', and sometimes a purge,'. |
| 125 | 20 | 5→10 read 'If this' instead of 'If a vomit'. |
| 127 | 05 | 1→4 lack the parenthetical comment. |
| 127 | 09 | 1→5 lack 'but not head foremost'. |

¹ See the footnote on this edition in the Introduction to the text of Primitive Physic above.

- 127 18 1→10 read 'Though many have' rather than 'But many have'.
- 128 15 10→16 read 'vomit an hour after the cold fit begins' instead of 'vomit ... before the cold fit begins'.
- 128 22 12→16 read 'ten grains' instead of 'twenty grains'.
- 129 28 1→4 have 'a gallon' instead of 'six quarts'.
- 130 04 17→23 change to read 'Meantime boil a handful of sage' and append to prior receipt.
- 130 06 1→17 have 'Anoint with' instead of 'Wash with'.
- 130 30 1→4 read simply 'Or [apply] Venice treacle'. [this one moved up a line]
- 130 32 5→8 have 'a pint of seawater' instead of 'just so much ... purge'.
- 131 11 8v10 have 'backwards' instead of 'backward'.
- 133 05 10→13 had this remedy in a shortened form: 'Or use water wherein sliced liquorice is steeped, as a common drink.'
- 133 11 10→13 have 'spoonful' instead of 'ounce'.
- 133 12 1→9 have 'gas of sulphur' instead of 'aqua sulphurata'.
- 133 12 1→17 lack 'or fifteen drops of elixir of vitriol'.
- 133 13 1→14 and *Works* have '... evening, and at bed-time till you are well'.
- 134 07 10→13 change 'spoonful' to 'ounce'; 14→17 change to 'two spoonfuls'.
- 134 08 1→8 lack 'every morning and night'.
- 134 17 5→8 specify 'a pint of seawater'.
- 136 05 1→4 lack '(to prevent)'.
- 136 10 1→8 lack 'To cure it'.
- 136 29 *Works* reads 'See the extract'.
- 137 10 5→17 read simply 'Make tight ligatures'.
- 137 12 1→4 begin simply 'Apply tops'.
- 137 34 1→17, except *Works* have 'half a pint' instead of 'teacupful'; 20, 'quarter of a pint'.
- 138 01 1→13 prescribe 'four' rather than 'two' spoonfuls.
- 138 25 1 lacks the parenthetical comment.
- 138 32 1→8 lack 'spoonful'; assumed from previous receipt.
- 139 05 1→12 have 'Resolve' rather than 'Dissolve'.
- 140 12 2→14 read 'knob' instead of 'knot'.
- 141 15 1 omits 'Perhaps for four or five hours'.
- 142 14 1→4 titled only 'A Cancer'.

- 143 09 9→16 lack 'mixed with oil'.
- 143 21 5→9 have 'gas of sulphur' instead of 'aqua sulphurata'.
- 145 27 1→4 lack '(to cure)'.
- 145 31 1→4 begin 'Or (if broke) tincture ...'.
- 145 36 1→4 lack 'changing them'.
- 146 03 14→16 lack 'at least'.
- 146 04 14→16 add at the end of the sentence ' ; afterwards their hands and feet'.
- 146 20 1→4 lack 'or Whooping-Cough'.
- 146 21 1→4 start 'Or use ...'; because have a prior receipt.
- 147 01 14→17 have 'salt of wormwood' instead of 'salt of tartar'.
- 148 08 17 changed 'six grains' to 'six drops'.
- 148 21 1→4 lack '(to prevent)'.
- 148 24 1→4 lack 'Or'.
- 148 32 5→16 begin 'To cure, wash with'; because did not have separate section (to cure).
- 148 32 The *Works* (1773) edition omits 'Tried' and the asterisk; but adds the comment 'I find nothing equal to this'.
- 149 04 *Works* (1773) titles 'A fresh Cold'.
- 149 29 1→4 lack '(in the fit)'.
- 150 01 20→23 drop 'drink largely'; apparently assuming 'a quart'.
- 150 02 1→16 have 'two scruples to half a dram' instead of 'thirty to forty grains'.
- 150 04 1→8 have 'forty to a hundred drops'; 9→16 have 'thirty to sixty drops'.
- 151 01 1→4 lack 'a glass of'.
- 152 02 2→4 have 'in extremis' instead of 'at the point of death'.
- 152 34 5→8 had 'five grains' instead of 'twenty drops'.
- 153 05 1→16 have 'for a month' instead of 'for three to four weeks'.
- 153 06 1→4 have 'take an ounce of quicksilver'; 5→9 have 'take of quicksilver and gas of sulphur'.
- 153 10 2→4 have 'use of' instead of 'fumes of'.
- 153 10 2→4 lack 'lead, or'.
- 153 24 2→4 lack 'Or'.

- 154 07 1 has 'Drink nothing but' instead of 'Take no food but'.
- 154 07 2→4 lack 'churned in a bottle'.
- 155 16 14→20 have 'Tried by my father' instead of 'This cured my father'.
- 157 30 1→19 have 'Wash the feet often' instead of 'Frequently wash the feet'.
- 157 34 1→4 begin 'Or [apply] the yeast'.
- 158 01 1→11 lack 'after paring them close'.
- 158 01 1→10 have 'fresh ivy leaves' instead of 'bruised ivy leaves'.
- 158 10 2→4 have 'piece' instead of 'little piece'.
- 158 27 2→4 begin 'Very frequently, a large nutmeg ...'.
- 159 20 9→15, *Works* have 'advise' instead of 'desire'.
- 159 24 1→8 have 'a pint and half' instead of 'a pint'.
- 161 33 1→14 have 'sup it' instead of 'sip it'.
- 162 16 1→14 have 'olibanum' instead of 'frankincense'.
- 162 31 1→8 lack 'smooth and'.
- 163 34 1→7 lack 'Or'.
- 163 36 5→8 have 'drop into the ear' instead of 'drop into it'.
- 163 37 1 begins 'drop into the ear three ...'.
- 164 33 1→17 have 'ten days' instead of 'ten nights'.
- 165 01 1 lacks 'or four'.
- 165 04 1→16 are titled 'To cause an easy Delivery'.
- 165 05 14→16 begin 'N.B. The mother's ...'.
- 165 16 1→4 titled 'The Diabetes' instead of 'A Diabetes'.
- 165 21 5→14, *Works*, read 'alum posset drink'.
- 165 22 1→4 read 'Or drink morning and evening a quarter of pint of alum posset-drink, made as strong as your stomach will bear.'
- 167 07 1→4 lack 'twice or thrice a week'.
- 167 16 *Works* omits 'I suppose he took it from hence'.
- 168 18 1→4 lack 'or, wash the mouth with juice of lemons'.
- 168 20 9→16 elide 'half a pint of'.
- 168 24 1→4 lack 'It frequently cures in that time'.
- 169 12 14→16 say simply '(See Dr. Tissot)'.
- 169 20 1→4 have 'put into it' instead of 'put in'.
- 169 20 1→14 lack 'or onion'.
- 171 06 1 has 'ear' instead of 'eye'; a mistake.
- 171 27 9→20 lack 'a suffusion of sixteen, and'.

- 171 28 9→13 lack 'of twenty-four years standing'.
 172 11 1→4 lack '(i.e. *stercus humanum*)'.
 172 28 12→17 have 'drops of a syrup made with double-refined'.
 173 01 5→13 lack 'cankers or'.
 173 12 1→17 lack 'or Eyelids'.
 173 20 1→17 lack 'or eyelid'.
 175 09 2→4 lack 'Going to bed'.
 176 36 9→17 have 'two pugils' instead of 'two handfuls'.
 177 10 9→17 added 'by a long course of using'.
 177 31 1→4 read 'Or of peony root dried and grated fine'.
 177 33 *Works* changes 'half a spoonful' to 'two teaspoonfuls'.
 177 35 1→16 lack 'morning and evening'.
 178 03 8→13 have 'four drops' instead of 'five to six drops';
 14→17 have 'five drops'.
 178 08 *Works* replaces 'asarabacca' with 'garden scurvy-grass'.
 178 32 1 has 'see Art. 39'; 2→4, see Art. 43'.
 180 06 1→17 have 'pint and half' instead of 'pint or two'.
 180 19 1→4 read 'Or, for a change, use pippin tea, or pippin posset drink, or wood-sorrel'; 5→20 read 'Or, for a change, use pippin or wood-sorrel tea, or pippin posset drink or wood-sorrel posset drink'.
 180 22 1→14 have 'caprifolium' instead of 'woodbine'.
 180 27 2→5 end 'brown paper smeared therewith'.
 180 28 15→17 omit 'head and'.
 181 25 14→16 have simply 'Or a treacle plaster'.
 181 25 *Works* omits 'Tried'; but adds 'This has all, and more than all, the effect of a blister'.
 182 02 1→4 add ', a little at a time' after 'every fit'.
 183 31 8 reads 'should use' instead of 'should not use'; a mistake.
 183 36 15→21 have 'hereby' instead of 'thereby'.
 184 10 14 has 'other Vermin' instead of 'Bugs'.
 184 25 10→16 read 'in oxycrate (i.e. vinegar and water)'.
 185 27 9→14 lack 'powdered'.
 185 35 1 reads 'dram' instead of 'spoonful'.
 186 15 15, *Works* have 'powdered seed of flax-weed'.
 187 10 21 has 'page 124' instead of 'page 125'; a mistake.
 188 03 12→14 lack '(either sparks or clinkers)'.

- 188 10 2→4 read 'Boil half a handful of tansy in mountain [wine]. Drink one or two glasses in bed.'
- 189 21 10→16 have 'surely' instead of 'frequently'.
- 190 18 1→9 have 'mornings' instead of 'months'.
- 190 20 9→12 have 'twelve' instead of 'twenty'; 13 has 'fourteen'.
- 190 25 12→14 lack 'the unspotted'.
- 190 32 8 adds 'As Art. 39'; in 9, 'Art. 41'; in 10, 'Art. 41' (but should be 43); in 12→13, 'Art. 60'.
- 190 33 2→17 lack '(commonly called *lignum vitae*)'.
- 191 24 2→10 have 'into the palm' instead of 'upon the palm'.
- 191 27 1→4 lack 'if you have caught cold'.
- 191 33 1→4 have 'any camphorated spirits' instead of 'camphorated spirits of lavender'.
- 192 06 1→4 say 'ground-ivy root'.
- 193 15 *Works* has 'garden scurvy-grass' instead of 'asarabacca'.
- 194 16 5→16 (not *Works*) add 'of ipecacuanha, or *carduus* tea'.
- 195 19 1→16 have 'next morning' instead of 'next day'.
- 195 21 1→4 read 'slowly juice' instead of 'slowly the juice'.
- 196 22 14→18 lack 'page 120'.
- 198 14 2→4 have 'three days' instead of 'three nights'.
- 198 23 1→4 have 'of strawberry leaves, or of nettles'.
- 198 25 20 lacks ', morning and evening'.
- 198 26 1→4 have 'a large burr root'; 5→16 have 'a large burdock root'.
- 198 27 1→16 (not *Works*) have 'Let it soak therein for twenty-four hours, covered close. Drink a draught of this three or four times, and it will not fail.' in place of the last sentence.
- 199 20 1→4 begin 'Drink daily for six weeks a strong decoction...'
- 199 27 1→17 have 'searsed' instead of 'sifted'.
- 199 28 1→17 have 'searse' instead of 'sift'.
- 199 35 5→13 lack 'or a stubborn humour in the eyes'. [move this line down three]
- 202 06 1→14 have 'Drink up this ...'.
- 202 07 1→16 read 'It cures also the quinsy and all sorts of white swellings on the joints'.
- 202 12 12→17 lack 'morning and evening'.

- 202 24 1→17 have 'infusion of watercresses' instead of 'decoction of watercresses'.
- 202 24 1→17 lack 'morning and evening'.
- 203 14 5→9 have 'gas of sulphur' instead of 'aqua sulphurata'.
- 204 26 1→4 read 'Plunge into cold water, and keep as long under it, as can be done without drowning'.
- 205 01 8→10 read 'Apply ashes of trefoil mixed with hog's lard. This has cured one that was bit on the nose.'
- 205 23 1→10 has 'dracontia' instead of 'dragon's blood'.
- 206 10 5→16 lack 'take three or four purges, and'.
- 207 21 1→4 lack 'with a spoonful of fine flour stirred in it'.
- 207 35 10 reads 'surely cures the whites'.
- 208 03 1 lists only 'horsetail'.
- 208 29 1 lacks 'a little'.
- 209 15 8→17 read 'French bean whilst young'.
- 210 09 8 has 'Dr. Uvedale' instead of 'Dr. Hill'.
- 211 19 1→4 lack the qualification 'if you are under fifty'.
- 212 32 1→4 lack 'or beating'.
- 213 20 *Works* has 'wine vinegar' instead of 'vinegar'.
- 214 02 12→13 lack 'fasting'.
- 214 05 20→21 have 'thin skins' instead of 'skin'.
- 216 01 14 has 'Sup' instead of 'Sip'.
- 216 08 14→17 lack 'page 38'.
- 216 19 1→4 lack 'to the side'.
- 216 26 2→16 had 'one or two drams' instead of 'one to two grains'.
- 217 03 20 adds 'every half hour'.
- 217 05 12→17 have 'salt of wormwood' instead of 'salt of tartar'.
- 217 32 1→4 lack 'warmish'.
- 218 03 1→17 lack 'and take it'.
- 218 07 *Works* adds 'or quickbeam'.
- 218 21 1 has 'two ounces' instead of 'two drams'.
- 218 25 2→4 are titled 'The Quincy (to prevent)'.
- 218 26 2→4 begin '(To cure:) Apply'.
- 219 01 14→17 lack '(for ten or twelve minutes together)'.
- 219 03 14→17 has only 'vinegar' instead of 'water and vinegar'.

- 219 20 15→16 have 'eight or ten drops' instead of 'eight to twenty drops'.
- 219 27 23 misnumbers as '158'.
- 220 01 20→23 only editions beginning 'To cure'.
- 220 19 9→16 lack 'or June'.
- 220 20 9→17 lack 'the quantity of'.
- 222 12 15→17 have 'garlic, pounded' instead of 'pounded garlic'.
- 224 26 *Works* has 'four or five minutes' instead of 'till soft'.
- 224 30 9→13 say 'water' instead of 'warm water'.
- 224 31 9→16 read 'This also cures palsies, weakness ...'.
- 225 01 20→21 say 'page 66'; referring to an earlier edition of *Advices*.
- 226 06 20→23 alone have the introduction 'A diet-drink'.
- 226 06 1→4 have 'half a pint' instead of 'half a pound'.
- 226 06 1→8 have 'lignum vitae' instead of 'lignum guaiacum'.
- 226 07 20→23 alone have the parenthetical remark.
- 226 13 1 reads 'Walk a little after it'; 2→4 read 'Wash a little after it'.
- 228 10 5 has 'Art. 419' [should be 415]; 8 has 'Art. 430'; 9 has 'Art. 445'; 10 has 'Art. 454'; 12 has 'Art. 515'; 13 has 'Art. 515' [13].
- 229 02 9 has 'Art. 115' [should be 114]; 10 has 'Art. 115' [should be 117].
- 229 10 9→13 titled 'Sinew shrunk from a cut'.
- 229 19 1 has 'self-head' instead of 'allheal'; 2→8 have 'self-heal'.
- 229 26 1→8 has 'constant drink' instead of 'whole food'.
- 229 26 1→4 end after 'milk and water'; 5→8 end after 'milk and water mixed'. 8 added a separate receipt: 'Or [the best food is] bread dipped in milk and water'.
- 229 28 1→8 read 'The best food is milk and apples'.
- 230 12 22→23 misspell as 'Dr. Auxham'
- 231 14 1→8 have 'gargle with' instead of 'swallow gently'.
- 233 08 2→16 (but not *Works*) specify 'Venice treacle'; but 12→16 then add 'Or common treacle'.
- 234 03 1→4 have 'successively' instead of 'omitting a day between'.
- 234 08 2→20 lack 'or sweet orange'.

- 234 11 2→20 have 'twenty to forty drops' instead of 'ten to twenty drops'.
- 234 13 1→20 have 'glass full' instead of 'glass'.
- 235 02 1→20 specify 'white pepper'.
- 235 06 1→9 have 'slice of' instead of 'crust of'.
- 235 09 1→4 have simply 'Or drink warm water largely'.
- 235 16 8→16 begin 'In the fit slice ...'.
- 235 23 1→5 begin 'Boil onions in wine and salad oil. Apply this as ...'.
- 235 24 1→17 read 'part to the back and part to each groin'.
- 235 29 1→5 start 'Or, in extremity, give ...'.
- 235 33 1→4 is titled 'The Stone (to cure)'.
- 236 02 1→14 lack 'in a fire-shovel'.
- 237 08 12→13 read 'Drink half of it at a time, fasting'.
- 237 16 1→5 begin 'Take a spoonful of juice ...'.
- 238 02 1→20 have simply 'honey' instead of 'clarified honey'.
- 238 24 9→16 are titled simply 'A Surfeit'.
- 238 25 9→10 have 'Take a nutmeg ...'; 12→22 have 'Take about a nutmeg ...'.
- 239 05 5→8 specify 'half a pint of seawater'.
- 239 20 1→17 have 'under the stream that falls from a mill; or under ...'.
- 239 21 1→16 have 'any pains' instead of just 'pains'.
- 240 14 2→4 have 'Art. 453'; 5 has 'Art. 429' [should be 425].
- 240 21 1 reads simply 'Or gargle with water in which alum is dissolved'.
- 241 11 8→12 & *Works* have 'tooth' instead of 'teeth'.
- 241 17 1 lacks 'or boiled'.
- 241 35 15→16 have 'nourishment and hold'.
- 242 06 1→4 have instead 'root of an iris'.
- 243 28 12→16 are titled only 'Extreme Thirst'.
- 244 13 1→4 list only 'Thorns or bones' in the title.
- 244 24 1 specifies 'celandine gathered in June or July'.
- 245 15 5→13 end 'quicksilver in water'.
- 245 19 1→ lack 'or windy dropsy'.
- 247 22 17→21 end 'electrified daily'.
- 248 02 1→16 have 'half a pint' instead of 'pint'.
- 250 24 1→4 are titled simply 'The Vertigo'.
- 251 18 1→4 are titled simply 'Vigilia'.

- 251 24 5→14 prescribe 'small doses' of camphor; 15→16 change to 'a few grains'.
- 251 26 8→14 lack the specification 'from ten to thirty grains'.
- 251 31 Works has 'take' instead of 'use'.
- 252 05 1 is titled only 'Bite of a Viper'.
- 253 16 1→16 lack 'across the grain'.
- 253 20 1→17 have 'salt of wormwood' instead of 'salt of tartar'.
- 253 25 Works omits 'for twenty-four hours'.
- 255 07 5→20 have 'holy oak' instead of 'hollyhock'.
- 255 24 5→9 have 'gas of sulphur' instead of 'aqua sulphurata'.
- 256 28 20 lacks 'every morning'.
- 256 31 5→13 have simply: 'Or boil an ounce of quicksilver in half a pint of spring-water. Use this for common drink.'
- 257 03 1→17 have simply 'a dram'.
- 259 17 13 mistakenly omits 'Anoint'; 14→16 lack 'Anoint therewith'.
- 263 01 1→13 lack 'frequently'.
- 264 24 1→13 lack 'generally'.

A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| A | | London: Strahan, 1748. | A |
| B | 2nd | Bristol: Felix Farley, 1749. | I |
| C | | <i>Works</i> , 24:264–83. Bristol: William Pine, 1773. | B |
| | | (For further details see <i>Bibliography</i> , No. 155.) | I |
| | | | C |

Variants

- | page | line | |
|------|------|--|
| 276 | 20 | 'since' omitted in A→B; added in C. |
| 276 | 24 | C changes 'occasion that' to 'occasion the'. |
| 278 | 01 | C changes 'fruitless expenses' to 'needless expenses'. |
| 284 | 03 | A has 'drink it all'; 'at' added in B→C. |
| 286 | 06 | B→C change 'recovered hereby' to 'recovered thereby'. |

The Desideratum; or, Electricity Made Plain and Useful

A		London: [William Strahan] for W. Flexney, 1760.	A
B	[2nd]	Bristol: W. Pine, 1771.	B
C		<i>Works</i> , 24:284–368. Bristol: William Pine, 1773.	C
D	4th	London: R. Hawes, 1778.	D
E	3rd	London: New Chapel, 1790.	E
		(For further details see <i>Bibliography</i> , No. 239.)	

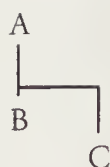
Variants²

page	line	
304	08	C→D change 'Mr. Franklin' to 'Dr. Franklin'.
304	10	C→D change 'Mr. Franklin' to 'Dr. Franklin'.
304	21	D changes 'physical part' to 'medical part'.
315	33	E omits 'Rubbed brimstone, rosin and wax receive it.'
323	29ff	D omits §42.
334	21	D changes 'on the rosin' to 'on the stool with glass legs'.
337	16	C changes 'Fuller's Rents in Holborn' to 'Lincoln's-Inn-fields'.
343	01	D changes 'on rosin' to 'on the stool'.
343	03	D reads 'Lumber Court' instead of 'Lumbard Court'.
345	07	A has 'From these' rather than 'From thence'.
345	14	D changes 'on the rosin' to 'on the stool with glass legs'.
348	12	A, B, E have 'Bednal Green' rather than 'Bethnal Green'.
350	23	A→C, E misspell 'Spitalfields' as 'Spittlefields'.

²The first edition has several small errors, like 'it's' for 'its', that are ignored in this list.

Thoughts on the Sin of Onan

- A London: n.p., 1767.
 B [2nd] n.l.: n.p., 1774.
 C Bristol: n.p., 1779. Abridged and
 titled 'A Word to Whom it may
 Concern'.
 (For further details see *Bibliogra-*
phy, No. 304.)



Variants

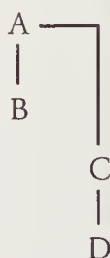
- | page | line | |
|------|------|---|
| 374 | 09 | C reads 'French tract of Dr. Tissot'. |
| 375 | 01 | C changes the drop title to 'A Word, etc.'. |
| 375 | 01 | C adds the note: 'N.B. Much of this treatise is extracted from Dr. Tissot'. |
| 375 | 21 | C changes 'returning to his infamous practice' to 'returning to the same'. |
| 376 | 10 | C substitutes 'the fatal' for 'a fatal'. |
| 376 | 13 | C reads ', and the growth'. |
| 377 | 02 | C omits 'which he repeated every day'. |
| 377 | 04 | C omits 'more frequently than before'. |
| 377 | 38 | B omits 'Thirdly, A total relaxation of the nervous system'. |
| 378 | 07 | A and C read 'of changes of the weather'. |
| 378 | 08 | C changes 'weakening of the' to 'weakness of'. |
| 378 | 13 | C omits the entire first letter. |
| 378 | 38 | C changes 'and in my breast' to 'and my breast'. |
| 379 | 16 | C changes 'the fits' to 'the fit'. |
| 379 | 22 | C changes 'or dreadful' to 'to dreadful'. |
| 379 | 25 | C changes 'torturous' to 'torturing'. |
| 379 | 27 | C omits 'to the furor uterinus ...infamy'. |
| 379 | 31 | C changes 'inward disorders' to 'inward disorder'. |
| 380 | 23 | B changes 'in England) when women' to 'in England) women'. |
| 380 | 28 | C omits §§13–14, and its numbering of paragraphs (starting with §15) is 'XIII, XIV, XVI, XV, XIX, XXI, XVIII, XIX ...'. |
| 380 | 29 | B→C change 'Those especially' to 'These especially'. |

- 381 01 C changes 'hastens the attack' to 'hasten the attack'.
- 381 09 C changes 'What pity' to 'What a pity'.
- 381 13 C changes 'cast away in' to 'cast in'.
- 381 20 C changes 'toward man' to 'toward men'.
- 382 20ff C omits 'A consumption ... country'.
- 382 27 C changes 'one does' to 'one do'.
- 382 34 C changes 'but in letting' to 'but by letting'.
- 383 12 C changes 'plants, of' to 'plants to'.
- 383 32 C changes 'fat or greasy' to just 'greasy'.
- 383 34 C omits 'such are all sorts of cabbage'.
- 383 35 C has 'acid' instead of 'acrid'; apparently an error.
- 383 36 C omits 'are seldom proper in this. And'.
- 383 38 C omits ', and exceeding sparingly'.
- 384 01 C omits 'all' and 'fed in healthy places, and'.
- 384 02 C omits 'lamb, or'.
- 384 03 C omits 'turkey'.
- 384 08 C omits '; or to stew them slowly in their own juices'.
- 384 12 C reads 'And the use of it is it prevents'.
- 385 12ff C omits 'The noble cures ... temptation'.
- 385 28 C changes 'and is mortal' to 'it is mortal'.
- 385 32 C changes 'a notable decline' to 'hurt'.
- 386 02 C changes 'has also all' to 'has all'.
- 386 04 C omits 'which, at the first view might appear serviceable'.
- 386 05 C omits 'and ever attended with great inconveniencies'.
- 386 14 C changes 'digestions' to 'digestion' and omits 'and procure over-copious urines, which exhaust the patients'.
- 386 22 C omits 'it may serve for meat and drink'.
- 387 04 C omits 'It stands demonstrated that'.
- 387 05 C changes 'and that the' to 'and the'.
- 387 11 C omits 'by an insistence on its importance, especially to valetudinarians'.
- 387 17 C omits 'or contributes more to render it disquieting, heavy, or overwhelming'.
- 387 23 C changes 'means of motions' to 'means of motion'.¹
- 387 25 B→C change 'as the battledore ... better still' to 'in the house. Particularly a wooden horse'.

- 387 30 C changes the opening sentence to 'The noblest restorative is the cold bath'.
- 387 31 C omits 'I order the former to be taken three times a day'.
- 387 32 C changes 'cold bath' to 'it'.
- 388 05 C omits 'I knew ... much refreshed'.
- 388 06 C changes 'also for a' to 'for the'.

Advices with Respect to Health

- A Bristol: William Pine, 1769.
- B *Works*, 25:150–454. Bristol: William Pine, 1773.
- C 3rd London: R. Hawes, 1776.
- D 4th London: New Chapel, 1789.
(For further details see *Bibliography*, No. 315.)



Variants

- | page | line | |
|------|------|---|
| 403 | 35 | C→D omit footnote a. |
| 404 | 40 | B alone contains footnote b. |
| 410 | 23 | B changes 'force it violently' to just 'force it'. |
| 412 | 29ff | C→D omit 'the patient has drank for several days, and'; B rewrites sentence as 'Until the patient has drank for many days, and the heat ... this filth cannot be thoroughly removed'. |
| 413 | 16 | B deletes last sentence of paragraph. |
| 413 | 28 | A, C, D read 'the four following'. |
| 413 | 28 | B rewrites sentence as: 'At such a term we may prevent, or at least mitigate, the most perplexing disorders, by carefully observing the following points'. |
| 414 | 20 | B omits 'a downy coverlet, or'. |

- 414 25 B omits the parenthetical material.
- 416 30 B changes 'the very thought of' to 'his'.
- 418 04 B changes 'procure a complete termination of' to 'fully cure'.
- 418 17 C→D change 'healthiest of all' to 'best for them'.
- 418 40 B changes 'breast' to 'lungs'.
- 420 11 B deletes 'at once'.
- 423 36 B changes 'the matter it contains' to 'itself'.
- 430 24 B changes 'their legs sometimes in' to 'their legs in'.
- 431 23 B changes 'the best are often ineffectual' to 'the best often is ineffectual'; C→D change to 'the best is often ineffectual'.
- 431 31 B changes 'Whenever they are both' to 'When they are both'.
- 432 33 In footnote h, B changes 'ten hours' to 'a few hours'.
- 432 35 B shortens footnote i to: 'A mixture of oil and spirit of hartshorn, as a liniment and application round the neck, deserves the first place amongst local applications against the inflammatory quinsy'.
- 433 39 B shortens footnote j to: 'Dr. Pringle prefers a decoction of figs in milk and water, to which he adds a small quantity of spirit of sal ammoniac'.
- 433 19 B reduces to '...fifth, and on the seventh or eighth, the patient is entirely well'.
- 443 15 B omits 'but attended with violent wakenings'.
- 444 17 B changes 'defluxion from the brain' to 'defluxion from the glands'.
- 446 40 Footnote m appears only in B.
- 450 25 B omits 'upon the parts'.
- 452 10 B omits 'too, by reason the spittle of the person so bit is sooner infected'.
- 453 32 A has 'dissolved. With the addition', omitting 'This'.
- 454 36 B changes 'most raging' to 'utmost raging'.
- 454 39 B omits 'the appearance of'.
- 456 41 B omits 'persons in the smallpox'.
- 457 40 B changes 'but warm water' to 'but water'.

- 458 11 C→D change 'may suffice then' to 'may suffice'.
- 458 42 B omits footnote o.
- 458 32 A begins sentence 'First, immediately'; B→D begin sentence 'Immediately'.
- 458 36 B changes 'drowsiness and' to 'drowsiness or'.
- 459 20 A→B have 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 459 36 B changes 'very effectually to his cure' to 'and are very effectual to cure'.
- 461 23 B omits 'would degenerate into a dangerous thickness'.
- 463 08 B changes 'Notwithstanding, the patient' to 'Yet the patient'.
- 464 07 B has 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 464 18 B omits the last two sentences of the paragraph.
- 471 36 A reads 'very rarely', omitting 'needful'.
- 473 04 A reads 'they are to be put'; corrected to 'he is to be put' in B→D.
- 473 13 B omits 'when he would procure them sleep,'.
- 476 08 B has 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 476 09 B changes 'If fevers' to 'If the fever'.
- 476 23 B changes 'every other eight days' to 'every eight days'.
- 477 03 B substitutes 'twenty grains' for 'half a quarter of an ounce'.
- 478 32 B changes 'proper assistance' to 'proper help'.
- 480 18 B changes 'Whenever, even' to 'If, even'.
- 480 32 B changes 'And if the complaint be very mild' to 'But if the complaint be mild'.
- 480 33 B changes 'which some people dust' to 'dusted'.
- 480 40 In footnote s B omits 'and is frequently used by the common people of this country'.
- 481 01 B changes 'afford him the speediest' to 'afford the speediest'.
- 482 15 A→B have 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 482 20 A→B have 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 483 22 A has 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 485 42 B reads 'And at may'; a printer's error.
- 487 01 A→B omit 'cream of'.

- 487 07 C→D change 'particularly of sorrel' to 'particularly sorrel'.
- 487 15 B omits 'and the use of milk'.
- 488 01 B omits this sentence.
- 488 15 B omits 'wiser than such a miserable assistant'.
- 489 21 A omits 'of the food'. B changes to 'windiness of the food: such as beer, especially very new beer, certain fruits'.
- 489 24 B changes 'by the use of drink moderately spiced, and especially camomile tea' to 'or by camomile tea'.
- 490 16 B changes 'pretty warm water' to 'warm water'.
- 490 32 A→B end paragraph with 'confined (Tissot had 'confided'); C→D change to 'committed'.
- 491 18 C→D change 'the patients rave' to 'the patient rave' (failing to adjust verb number).
- 491 34 B changes 'diluting drink' to just 'drink'.
- 493 23 C→D have '94' instead of '24'; a mistake.
- 493 41 B changes 'distemper continue' to 'distemper continues'.
- 495 01 B changes 'the first ones are' to 'the first are'.
- 497 15 B changes 'red currants' to 'currants'.
- 500 01 B changes 'these general causes' to 'the general causes'.
- 500 10 B omits 'violent attacks'.
- 500 11 B changes 'and others which continued a few' to 'or'.
- 500 30 B omits 'in quantity'.
- 500 30 A reads 'Besides which, in such cases'.
- 501 12 B omits 'in such cases'.
- 502 19 A has '13' instead of '23'; a mistake.
- 503 28 B changes 'This is the custom' to 'That is the custom'.
- 504 15 C→D change 'fomentation' to 'fermentation'; a mistake.
- 504 20 C→D change 'When by' to 'But when'.
- 505 24 C→D change 'remove it' to 'removes it'.
- 505 30 A→B read 'and the poultices'; a mistake.
- 508 28 A has 'Weekly' instead of 'Weakly'; a mistake.

- 509 22 A→B read 'They should be used' instead of 'It should be used'; a mistake.
- 509 42 A→B have 'march mallows'; a misspelling retained from Tissot.
- 511 21 B omits 'or an ounce and a half'.
- 517 38 C misnumbers '278' as '272'.
- 524 01 B omits 'chervil'.
- 528 11 B omits 'the physiognomy'.
- 531 29 C→D move 'when the part of the bowels which is fallen down inflames' to the beginning of the next sentence/section.
- 533 22 C→D change 'effected' to 'affected'; a mistake.
- 538 19 B changes 'aromatic herb has' to 'aromatic hath'.
- 545 29 B changes 'Thin watery' to 'These watery'.
- 546 21 A→B have 'portion' instead of 'potion'.
- 548 32 C→D change 'their arm' to 'the arm'.
- 549 17ff B omits this paragraph.
- 551 07 B omits ', some cherries'.
- 552 03 C→D change 'or sixteen' to 'or ten or twelve'.
- 552 07 B changes 'violent headaches' to 'headaches'.
- 552 25 B changes 'symptoms which manifest' to 'signs and causes of'.
- 552 27 B omits the opening clause and changes 'if he' to 'If a man'.
- 552 35 A reads 'florid ruddiness', omitting 'lively'.
- 554 13 B omits 'and especially a bitter taste'.
- 556 41 B omits footnote b.
- 559 02 B omits 'of elder' and 'of wild corn poppy'.
- 559 09 B changes 'two ounces' to 'an ounce'.
- 559 17 C→D change 'portions' to 'proportions'.
- 559 36 B changes 'of each thirty grains' to simply 'twenty grains'.
- 560 10 B changes 'two ounces' to 'an ounce'.
- 562 04 B changes 'ten grains' to 'six grains'.
- 563 09 B changes 'Take one ounce' to 'Take half an ounce'.
- 563 24 B changes 'flower of brimstone' to 'flour of brimstone'.
- 564 11 B changes 'weighing two grains' to 'weighing a grain and a half'.

- 565 12 B changes 'with twelve or fifteen grains' to 'with ten or fifteen grains'.
- 566 26 B changes 'or lavender' to 'or of lavender'.
- 566 29 A has 'diaphna' instead of 'diapalma';
a mistake.

Oct. 10. 1780

Your Diet may be Bread & pudding, Sage,
Take many Necessaries, with Grapes.
Your Drink, Tea (Green) & Lemonade: as
much as your Stomach will take.
When the Flux is gone, use light Diet still,
& return by degrees to your usual food.
But do not, have a weak or bad, or Malt Drink.
Rather take Toast & Water, with a little Red
Wine, or a very little Brandy. J. W.

This is the hand writing of the
Late Rev Wm Wesley that man of God
and was his prescription for me when
I had the Decentury or Bloody flux, of which
disorder a great number died I followed
this direction & thank God recovered.

Abm Bowney

APPENDIX B

PRESCRIPTION FOR ABRAHAM BRAMES

Abraham Brames (1742–1812) was a class leader and society steward among the Methodists in Rochester and Brompton, Kent, until 1788. He was also a local preacher, from at least 1769.¹ On October 17–18, 1780 John Wesley was visiting Sevenoaks, Kent, about twelve miles southwest of Rochester.² While in Sevenoaks Wesley learned that Brames was suffering a bout of dysentery. On October 18 Wesley wrote out this advice for Brames. There is no address on the sheet, or anything else to suggest that it was part of a letter. Instead, it stands as the only known surviving manuscript in Wesley’s hand intended solely as a prescription.

[Transcription of Wesley’s advice]

Oct. 18th, 1780

Your diet may be bread pudding, sago, salep, or any rice-meats, with grapes.³

Your drink, tea (green) and lemonade, as much as your stomach will take.

When the flux is gone, use light diet still, and return by degrees to your usual food.

But do not, for a week or two, use malt drink. Rather take toast and water, with a little red wine, or a very little brandy.

J. W.

[Brames’s endorsement on the verso]

This is the handwriting of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley, that man of God, and was his prescription for me when I had the dysentery or bloody flux, of which disorder a great number died. I followed this direction and, thank God, recovered.

Abm. Brames

Source: MARC, MA 1977/204. This image and transcription are published with the permission of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, and the trustees for Methodist Church Purposes, The Methodist Church in Britain.

¹ For more on Brames, see *Methodist Magazine* 39 (1816): 201–10.

² JW, *Journal*, Oct. 17, 1780, 23:188 in this edn.

³ Cf. the similar directions added in 1781 to *Primitive Physic* (§117, receipt #6 above).

APPENDIX C

HEALTH ADVICE THROUGH CORRESPONDENCE

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a glimpse of John Wesley carrying on his ministry of priest/physician in correspondence with friends and fellow Methodists in the later decades of his life. The first section illustrates Wesley *offering health advice*, through his correspondence with Alexander Knox. The second section illustrates *descriptions of health concerns* that correspondents like Elizabeth Ritchie included in their letters, often in response to Wesley's solicitation.

I. John Wesley Letters to Alexander Knox

This first section focuses on letters that Wesley wrote to Alexander Knox (1757–1831).¹ Knox was a native of Londonderry, Ireland. On John Wesley's first visit to Londonderry in 1765, Alexander's father (also named Alexander, d. 1770) hosted Wesley at their home.² The Knox family hosted Wesley several times over the next decade, as well as other Methodist preachers. The first surviving evidence of Wesley's specific engagement with the younger Alexander is a personal note of advice dated June 6, 1775, when Knox was eighteen years of age. This initiated a running correspondence between the two over the next fifteen years, of which forty-nine letters from Wesley to Knox (after the initial note) have survived.³ While the letters often deal with business and other matters, a prominent strand (particularly in the early letters) is Wesley's advice to Knox on both spiritual and physical health. Knox had been sickly since infancy, which impacted him psychologically as well. Wesley's advice engaged all of these dimensions.

This set of correspondence was chosen for a sample in part because it is so complete, gathered in a single collection at the Museum of The Upper Room, in Nashville, Tennessee (the excerpts below are transcribed with the permission of the Museum). This

¹ For biographical reflection on Knox, see *WHS* 22 (1939): 67–71; and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

² See JW, *Journal*, May 11, 1775, 21:507–8 in this edn.

³ None of Knox's letters to JW survive.

correspondence also reflects Wesley's engagement with different types of correspondents. His relationship with Knox at first was pastoral guidance to a member of his movement. But Knox chose to distance himself from the Methodism of his youth in his early twenties, joining the Church of England in Ireland. This is reflected in both the reduced number and the tone of letters starting in 1780; Wesley now engaged Knox more as a long-time friend, who occasionally provided financial and other aid to the Methodist cause, and who kept Wesley abreast of deaths in his family.

One other reason for choosing this set of correspondence is how it appears in the largest current published collection of Wesley's later letters. This edition, by John Telford, contains only twenty-two of the fifty items, and eight of the letters included silently elide sections containing health advice.⁴ This is because Telford had no access to the holographs, only to excerpts that Knox transcribed in his published *Remains*.⁵ The full text of all the letters will appear in this edition. We extract here only the sections focussed on health advice (both spiritual and physical); but thereby we supply the missing sections to the letters in Telford.

June 6, 1775⁶

I advise you:

Never to rest till you are altogether a Christian, all devoted to God in soul and in body.

25 Never to sit up much later than nine, nor lie later than five. You want eight hours sleep.

In spite of all hindrances, to ride at least an hour every fair day.

To dine moderately on mutton or veal; I believe mutton is rather the best.

30 To eat as much as you like of spinach, turnips, asparagus, artichokes, and summer fruits: particularly strawberries, gooseberries, currants, mulberries, grapes, and damascene [i.e., damson] plums.

To go into the water every mild day. And

⁴ John Telford (ed.), *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 8 vols. (London: Epworth, 1931). The letters with elided sections are dated Jan. 27, 1776; May 28, 1776; June 5, 1778; Sept. 27, 1778; Oct. 28, 1778; July 31, 1779; Jan. 28, 1780; and Nov. 18, 1780.

⁵ Alexander Knox, *Remains*, 2nd edn. (London: Duncan and Cochran, 1837), 4:1–20.

⁶ This first item is not technically a letter; there is no address information. JW was in Londonderry that day and likely hand-delivered this note of advice to young Alexander Knox.

To expect that God will do nothing but good both to your soul and body.

Source: holograph (hand delivered); Upper Room Museum, L-2.

Endorsement: by Knox, 'Directions given to me by / The Rev. John Wesley, M.A.'. 5

January 27, 1776

My Dear Alleck,

I wrote a particular answer to your last a day or two after I received it. It is well if someone did not intercept it; otherwise I know not how it could miscarry. Your illness will continue just so long as is necessary to suppress the fire of youth, to keep you dead to the world, and to prevent your seeking happiness where it never was nor ever can be found. Considered in this view, it is a great blessing and a proof of God's watchful care over you. I suspect the eruption which you speak of to be neither better nor worse than the itch. If so, the taking internal medicines is as wise as the taking them to kill lice or fleas. I wonder that, to this day, many excellent physicians are ignorant of this. I advise you to look into the *Primitive Physic*. Those medicines are both cheap and safe. The bark is not a safe medicine (I mean if you take it in specie.⁷ As far as infusions or light decoctions of it, they are excellent medicines). [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-3. 25

April 1, 1776

My Dear Alleck,

I am fully persuaded all your disorders depend upon a deep scurvy. What influence the bark may have upon this I cannot tell; however, I have no objection to a decoction or infusion of it. I object only to your taking it in specie, because I can never reconcile to common sense the introducing ounce after ounce of powdered post into an human stomach. But I really think you rather want antiscorbutic medicines, such as watercresses, or decoction of nettles, or burdock. This accounts for your almost continual depression of spirits, which is a bodily as well as spiritual malady. And it is permitted to repress the fire of youth and to wean you from the desire of earthly things. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-4. 40

⁷I.e., ingest the (powdered) Peruvian bark itself.

May 28, 1776

My Dear Alleck,

I received yours a day or two ago at my return from the north of Scotland. The scurvy is either hot or cold. The hot scurvy is constantly attended with costiveness. The cold scurvy tends to the opposite extreme. In the former, juice of nettles; in the latter, Seville oranges are a sovereign remedy. But I judge *your* disorder to be but partly natural, and partly divine—the gift of God, perhaps by the ministry of angels, to balance the natural petulance of youth; to save you from foolish desires, and to keep you steady in the pursuit of that better part which shall never be taken from you. Whether you have more or less sorrow, it matters not. You want only more faith. This is the one point. Dare to believe! On Christ lay hold! See all your sins on Jesus laid, and by *his* stripes you are healed. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-5.

August 10, 1776

[...] A thought comes into my mind that you will not fully recover your health without change of air. I am afraid the sea air does you more hurt than the seawater does you good. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-6.

September 20, 1776

[...] Two or three physicians had informed the provost of Brechin (in Scotland) that ‘they had done all that was within their power, but nothing would avail. His son must expect to have his fits till his dying day.’ He took six or eight drops of laudanum, fasting, for six or seven mornings and has had no fit since. Nevertheless, bathing may be added thereto, while the weather permits. Look up! Is not health at hand, both for soul and body? You have no business with fear. It is good for nothing. We are ‘saved by hope’.⁸ [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-7.

December 5, 1776

Dear Alleck,

It is worthwhile to try whether bathing in fresh water would not have the same effect as bathing in salt. In many cases I know it is

⁸Rom. 8:24.

not the *salt* water, but the cold water, which works the cure. Very probably Mrs. Knox's⁹ complaint might be cured by eating a small crust of bread, or half an ounce of sea-biscuits, every morning fasting. But I will not promise this will take effect, unless she adds to it another remedy—resignation. [...]

5

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-8.

March 19, 1777

Dear Sir,

10

If the returns of your disorder are more and more gentle, there is reason to hope it will be at length totally removed. Very probably, if you live to five or six and twenty, your constitution will take a new turn.¹⁰ But it is certainly the design of him that loves you to heal both body and soul. And possibly he delays the healing of the former that the cure of the latter may keep pace with it. As 'it is a great loss to lose an affliction',¹¹ he would not have you lose what you have suffered. I trust it will not be lost, but will be for your profit, that you may be partaker of his holiness. [...]

15

20

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-9.

May 20, 1777

[...] You have great reason to bless God for the continuance of your health, and expect from him every good thing. That he may fill you all with the spirit of a healthful mind is the prayer of [...] J. Wesley

25

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-10.

30

July 29, 1777

[...] No, God has not forgotten you. You must not say, 'He hideth away his face, and he will never see it.'¹² Surely God hath seen it; and he cannot despise the work of his own hands. But he frequently delays giving bodily health till he heals soul and body together. Perhaps this is his design concerning you. But why do not you go to

35

⁹ Alexander's widowed mother (name unknown), who died in 1792.

¹⁰ In fact, Knox's health improved significantly at age twenty-three.

¹¹ Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of the Rev. Philip Henry* (London: Parkhurst & Lawrence, 1698), 59.

¹² Ps. 10:11.

the salt water? If you are short of money, let me have the pleasure of assisting you a little. Meantime I give you a word for your consideration, 'Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? And why art thou disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God! I shall yet give him thanks, who is the help of my countenance, and my God.'¹³ [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-11.

August 29, 1777

[...] I should imagine, if you have a little fair weather in September, it will be worth your while to make a short trial of the saltwater, were it but for a week or two. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-12.

15

October 22, 1777

[...] For all this, I have little doubt of seeing you an healthy as well as an happy man. But it is true, nothing less than almighty power can heal either your soul or body. And is not this enough? Have not you reason to rejoice, that 'salvation cometh of the Lord'?¹⁴ I pray, on whom can you better depend? Who loves you better than him? Away then with despair! Hope unto the end! [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-13.

25

December 2, 1777

[...] Almost every disorder of the bowels, whether it be attended with purging or not, may be recovered by warm lemonade.

An odd circumstance is just now brought to my remembrance. A gentleman who used to be seized with fits in the night [was told], 'Let one wake you every night after you have been asleep about half an hour, keep awake about half an hour longer, and then sleep the rest of the night.' He did so, and the fits came no more.

If you have not tried it already, you might afterwards try what laudanum will do, taking eight or ten drops in any warm liquid for six or seven mornings, fasting. If this also fails, I doubt it would not be worth¹⁵ your while to have a bathing vessel in the house and to use it twice or thrice a week. You might pour into the cold [water] a

¹³ Ps. 43:5.

¹⁴ Jon. 2:9.

¹⁵ I.e., 'I think it might be'.

tea-kettle full of boiling water, lest it should chill you. And perhaps it would be well to put in a pound or two of salt. Then it will be near as good as going into the sea. If your disorder continues still, you must leave Ireland. [...]

5

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-51.

February 26, 1778

[...] With regard to your health, both of body and mind, if you could take one advice it would have a surprising effect. It is this: 'Take no thought for the morrow.'¹⁶ You know not how much even your body suffers by this. Today only is yours. Look up, and he will bless you all today. [...]

10

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-14.

15

April 2, 1778

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-15.

20

June 5, 1778¹⁷

My Dear Alleck,

I advise you:

1. Never sit up later than ten.

25

2. Never rise later than six.

3. Walk at least an hour daily in the open air; if it rains all day, in the dining room.

4. Choose such diet, both for quantity and quality, as you find sits light upon your stomach. In general, both mutton and beef are easier on digestion than lamb or kid, and yield better nourishment than veal or chicken.

30

5. Eat as much spinach, cresses, and summer fruits as agrees best with your stomach.

6. Take your little purge once a month till Michaelmas;¹⁸ then twice a month till Christmas.

35

[... proceeds with spiritual advice]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-16.

¹⁶Matt. 6:34.

¹⁷Compare this to JW's initial note of advice three years earlier, June 6, 1775.

¹⁸The Feast of St. Michael, Sept. 29.

July 11, 1778

My Dear Alleck,

It is a natural effect of your bodily weakness, and of the turn of your mind, that you are continually inclined to write bitter things
5 against yourself. Hence you are easily persuaded to believe him that tells you that you 'are void of every degree of saving faith'. No; that is not the case. For salvation is only by faith; and you have received a degree of salvation. [...]

10 *Source*: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-17.

August 16, 1778

My Dear Alleck,

15 You have long been under that temptation of despising the day of small things;¹⁹ although indeed, they are not small things which God has done for you already. That you are still too lukewarm is most certain. You have need to stir up the gift of God that is in you.²⁰ And you have need to praise him that his hand is still over you
20 for good, preserving you from presumptuous sins. You ought to be sensible of this, and to be thankful for it, which you may be without 'applauding yourself'.

That you have 'no right to expect the continuance of your health'
25 is undoubtedly true. That is, you cannot claim it from God's justice; you do not merit it at his hands. But is this the measure whereby he deals with his poor creatures? Does he give us no more blessings than we deserve? Does he treat us in all things according to his justice? Not so; but mercy rejoices over judgment!²¹ Therefore expect
30 from him not what you deserve, but what you want²²—health of soul and health of body. Ask, and you shall receive. Seek, and you shall find!²³ Not for your worthiness, but because 'worthy is the Lamb'.²⁴ [...]

35 *Source*: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-18.

¹⁹ See Zech. 4:10.

²⁰ See 2 Tim. 1:6.

²¹ See James 2:13.

²² I.e., what you 'lack' or 'need'.

²³ See Matt. 7:7–8.

²⁴ Rev. 5:12.

September 27, 1778

My Dear Alleck,

I am afraid the late return of your fits was in some measure my fault, because I did not provide you with the remedy which probably would have prevented it. I thought of it indeed, but went no farther when you said your grandmother would send you down to the saltwater. I doubt you have not been there this fine autumn, and now the year is too far spent.

Some time since, I was reading an account of a person in France, whom his confessor absolutely forbade (for such a time) to think of his sins, and ordered him 'to think only of the mercies of God in Christ'. It had an admirable effect on that desponding man. I know not but it might have the same upon you. Do not look down, but look up. Let not the corruptible body press down the soul! And give no place to the evil one, who would keep you continually poring on the dark side of the prospect. There is good determined concerning you, and not evil. God has not forsaken you. Thou shalt not die, but live, and declare the loving-kindness of the Lord.²⁵ He has, indeed, chastised and corrected you, but he hath not given you over to death. But you must not coop yourself up in the house. You must be in the open air as much as possible; nay, and you should be on horseback as often as you can. But just now a thing comes into my mind which may concern you. A few days after I left you, one of our brethren told me, 'I was troubled with fits from my infancy. I had all possible advice, but in vain. So that I despaired of help. But one morning I dreamed a person came and told me "Go down to the bridge, and take this herb (which he showed me) and take a large glassful of the juice of it every morning".' He did so and was totally cured. Who knows but it may have the same effect upon *you*? The herb was pellitory of the wall. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-19.

October 28, 1778

[...] The directing us to this or that *means* is as much an answer to prayer as if the cure was *immediately* wrought. But it will be a double blessing if you give yourself up to the Great Physician, that he may heal soul and body together. And unquestionably this is his design. He wants to give you and my dear Mrs. Knox both inward and outward health. And why not now? Surely all things are ready! Believe, and receive the blessing.

²⁵ See Ps. 118:17.

There can be no doubt but your bodily disorder greatly affects your mind. And it will affect you more if ever you are costive, which therefore you should take care to prevent, and that by diet rather than physic—by boiled, baked, or roasted apples in particular.
 5 Meantime you should be out every fair day on horseback or on foot. Nothing will help without air and exercise.

I really think if you should live till spring, and be able to remove to England, you would find a surprising change for the better. You would be as it were in a new world. The spirit of the people would
 10 revive your spirits, in a manner you have not known before. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-20.

December 20, 1778

15 Dear Alleck,

It is beyond doubt that the scurvy is one part, if not the chief part, of your disorder. And I do not know that you can take a better method to remove it than that which you now take. I do not want that eruption to strike in. Probably the pellitory strikes it out. And
 20 it is not unlikely it may gradually die away, without any particular application.

The great lesson you have to learn at present is to take no thought for the morrow.²⁶ God gives you tolerable health today. The morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. [...]

25 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-21.

January 25, 1779

[...] You must take care always to keep the body open with one gentle purgative or another, and use all the exercise you can. Every fair
 30 day you should ride. Very probably when you find peace with God your bodily disease will be healed. And who knows how soon? [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-22.

35 June 4, 1779

[...] Steadily attend to that business whereto you are called by the providence of God, and you need not doubt he will give you such a measure of bodily health as is most expedient for you. [...]

40 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-23.

²⁶ See Matt. 6:34.

July 31, 1779

[...] If you had firm and constant health, I do not see how you could have been saved. You would have been so admired, caressed, and applauded by your well-meaning relations, and perhaps by others, that it would have been next to impossible for you to have escaped the depths of pride and the height of vanity. But God was merciful to you, and sent this affliction to humble and prove you, and show you what was in your heart. In the meantime nothing is more sure than that all these things will work together for some good. [...]

I think if you had any notice of it, electrifying would prevent a fit. And if you was daily electrified for a month, it would remove the whole disorder. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-24.

December 23, 1779

Dear Alleck,

The whole account of yourself which you still give convinces me more and more of what I have once and again observed concerning the nature of your disorder. It is undeniable 1) that you have a bodily complaint. Your nerves are greatly disordered; and although it is only now and then that this rises so high as to occasion a fit, yet it has a constant influence upon you so as to cause a dejection of spirits. This dejection is no more imputed to you as a sin than the flowing of the blood in your veins. 2) Although I will not say you have no faith, yet it is certain your faith is small; and you are fearful, because you are of little faith. This is another source of your uneasiness. 3) You want to have the love of God fully shed abroad in your heart. You have only now and then a little touch of thankfulness, a small spark of that divine fire. And hence anger, or at least fretfulness and peevishness, more or less, will naturally arise. Add to these 4) the main cause, diabolical agency. Satan will surely take occasion, from the situation you are in, to inject a thousand thoughts; and will then accuse you for them. But he, not you, shall answer for them to God. God is on your side. He knows whereof you are made, and Jesus careth for you. He keeps you and my dear Mrs. Knox as the apple of an eye. His Spirit helps your infirmities. He is purifying you in that furnace; and when you have been tried, you shall come forth as gold. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-25.

January 28, 1780

Dear Alleck,

It will certainly be worth your while to make a trial of that mineral water. It is highly probable God will make it a means of lessening,
 5 if not removing, your bodily disorder. That this is in a considerable degree scorbutic I cannot make any question, as one almost constant symptom of the scurvy is a great depression of the spirits. Another is eruptions, sometimes appearing then disappearing again. And mineral waters have frequently availed in these cases (as
 10 Dr. Rutty²⁷ often observed) after all other means prescribed by the most skillful physicians had been tried in vain. [...]

And I cannot advise you in the meantime to shut yourself up at home. It is neither good for your body nor your mind. You cannot possibly have bodily health without daily exercise in the open air; and
 15 you have no reason to expect the spirit of an healthful mind unless you use the means that God has ordained. You well know faith cometh by hearing.²⁸ I should therefore advise you to lose no opportunity of hearing, and trust God with the event. You are not likely to be in a more uncomfortable state than you are already. And which is
 20 the greater evil of the two, even supposing the worst? Certainly your having two fits is a less evil than your losing fifty precious opportunities. O break through that fear, which is a mere snare of the devil. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-26.

25

November 18, 1780

[...] As you found some relief by that easing of your stomach, this reminds me of an odd case which occurred many years ago. Dr. Middleton²⁹ of Bristol advised my housekeeper in a desperate
 30 disorder to take a few grains of ipecacuanha every Saturday morning. In four weeks she was perfectly cured. And her disorder never returned. I really think it will be worth your while to make the experiment.

As I have frequently observed to you, I am still persuaded it is chiefly your body which presses down your soul; and if it please
 35 God to heal your body, I doubt not your mind will be far easier. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-27.

²⁷ John Rutty (1697–1775), a distinguished Quaker physician in Dublin.

²⁸ See Rom. 10:17.

²⁹ John Middleton (c. 1680–1760), of Bristol.

December 23, 1780

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-28.

September 3, 1781

5

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-29.

July 30, 1782

10

[...] There is no doubt but there is a natural disorder in your body which (for want of better language) we call weakness of nerves. And there is a disorder in your mind which is surely natural, namely unbelief. But without question there is something preternatural too, for Satan knows whereof you are made and will not fail to press every advantage which bodily weakness gives him. [...]

15

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-30.

October 22, 1782

20

[...] The epidemic distemper has had the same effect on many in various parts of England, especially where the Peruvian bark has been given in any considerable quantity. This has turned the fever in a few days or weeks into a true pulmonary consumption. And I do not recollect any instance in which a consumption caused by the bark has been cured. [...]

25

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-31.

30

December 2, 1782

[on death of Knox's sister Sarah; otherwise nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-32.

35

February 10, 1783

[on building a new preaching house; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-33.

40

April 5, 1783

[...] Enjoy your present health, and expect the continuance of it. And is not this a token of better things at hand? Peace be with all your spirits! [...]

5 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-34.

April 23, 1783

10 [...] You have no business to take thought for the morrow about sickness or health, or anything else. It is your part to make the best of today. What if you took a journey with Mr. [Thomas] Abraham? It would be good both for your soul and body. [...]

15 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-35.

May 3, 1783

My Dear Alleck,

20 Since I came to Ireland my health and strength are more fully restored than they have been for several months. And my journey will undoubtedly be attended with another good consequence. My friends in England will not be under such dreadful apprehensions if I should have to take another journey to Ireland. [...]

25 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-36.

December 7, 1783

[nothing specifically health-related]

30 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-37.

February 7, 1784

35 [...] As to the love of praise, I do not doubt but you have much more of it than you want. And I am persuaded the Great Physician shows you the disease on purpose that he may cure it. But yet, I apprehend you a little mistaken. You blame yourself where no blame is. 'To be pleased with the approbation of our fellow creatures' is no part of corrupt nature. It belongs to our pure nature; and to cherish it *in a degree* is a duty, and not a sin. [...]

40 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-38.

March 18, 1784

[...] The twenty days illness which I had in August last left me much [better] than it found me. All my illnesses tend to improve my health, but none so much as my fever in the north of Ireland. That gave me quite a new constitution, so that since that time I have almost forgot what weariness means. I am never tired either *of* my work, or *in* my work, either in speaking or travelling. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-39.

September 26, 1784

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-40.

March 19, 1785

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-41.

May 6, 1785

[nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-42.

June 8, 1785

[...] You say: 'The reason why I do not go out is this, I am afraid of falling in the street. And I do not attend the church or the preaching-house for fear I should fall down there and disturb the congregation.'

This is the clear state of the case. The question is, then, is this reason sufficient, or is it not?

I am fully persuaded it is not. For first, you are by no means sure that you shall fall down in the church or in the congregation. You have great reason to hope you shall not. Although I should not wonder if your fits were now both more frequent and more severe than they are.

But secondly, Does not common sense teach us *e malis minimum*?³⁰ Now I insist upon it that your falling in the street or the congregation once every month is a less evil than the shutting yourself up. So that were it pronounced by a voice from heaven, 'Either shut thyself

³⁰ 'Out of evils, [choose] the least.'

up, or endure this shame once a month, or even once a week; take thy choice' it would be wisest to choose the latter, for it is incomparably the less evil of the two.

It is indisputably plain to every impartial person that, by thus
 5 cooping yourself up, you hurt your body. By want of air and exercise you weaken it continually. I wonder you have not fits every day. And you hurt your soul by neglecting the ordinances of God, which you have no authority to do unless you was sick in bed. [...]

10 *Source:* holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-43.

July 10, 1785

[...] What I advise you to is this: every fair day walk to, if not round, the churchyard. When you are a little hardened by this, you may venture
 15 at a convenient opportunity (suppose on a Sunday morning) to attend the public worship. Till you do I cannot say you are in God's way, and therefore I am not sure you will find his blessing. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-44.

20

December 8, 1785

Dear Alleck,

I do not believe that any fistula is incurable, even without any incision at all. I suppose the late king [George II] was near seventy when
 25 he told his physicians, 'I will not be cut. Either cure me without cutting, or I will die.' They did then effect a perfect cure, without any cutting at all. And several years since a young man came to me, at the return from one of my journeys, and told me he had used Sir Kenelm Digby's remedy, set down in the *Primitive Physic*,³¹ and that it had
 30 perfectly cured his fistula in six weeks time. When I mentioned that to Dr. Crommelin³² (whom I would trust beyond any other physician in Ireland), he told me, 'Sir, I have myself cured several fistulas by the same medicine. Only I prescribe but half the quantity.'

[...] I incline to think, your late illness will prevent your fits, by
 35 driving the humour the other way. [...]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-45.

³¹ JW was referring to the receipt for treating a fistula that included powdered copperas; Digby popularized this as 'the powder of sympathy' (see above, *Primitive Physic*, §112, remedy 4).

³² Apparently Alexander Crommelin (namesake of his father [1670–1737]), who had studied at Lisburn and Edinburgh.

April 23, 1787

[on business matter; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-46.

May 16, 1787

5

[on business matter; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-47.

April 11, 1789

10

[on upcoming visit; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-48.

June 4, 1789

15

[on a lay preacher; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-49.

July 26, 1790

20

[condolences on death of Knox's brother; nothing specifically health-related]

Source: holograph; Upper Room Museum, L-50.

II. Elizabeth Ritchie Letters to John Wesley

25

In order to provide medical advice through letters, Wesley needed to know the health challenges of his correspondents. Thus he made requests like: 'I beg, if you love me, you will send me a minute account how you are both in body and mind.'³³ It is hard to know how many of Wesley's correspondents complied with such requests because much of his in-correspondence, particularly for the later decades of his life, survives only as published in the *Arminian Magazine*. From the few cases where the full text of a letter survives to compare with the version in the *Arminian Magazine*, it is clear that Wesley almost always elided this personal information. As such, the best sources for letters describing health challenges to Wesley are among the surviving papers of his correspondents, since some kept record copies of the letters they sent to him.

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The specific request for 'a minute account' quoted above was addressed to Elizabeth Ritchie (1754–1835), daughter of a surgeon/

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³³ JW to Elizabeth Ritchie, Jan. 17, 1775 (vol. 29 in this edn.).

apothecary in Otley, Yorkshire. Ritchie became active in the Methodist society in Otley and, starting in May 1774, one of Wesley's regular correspondents. Among items in the Frank Baker Collection of Wesleyana in The David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke University is a set of Ritchie's surviving papers (Box CO 6). These include record copies of many of her letters to Wesley. Most of these have not been published previously. The few that Wesley included in the *Arminian Magazine* have sections elided. These letters will be transcribed in their entirety in The Wesley Works Editorial Project website section devoted to John Wesley's In-Correspondence. However, we present below (with permission of Duke University) excerpted sections of letters where Ritchie comments on her health, or that of her father or friends, from 1774 through 1780.

August 19, 1774

Revered and Dear Sir,

I am sorry I have ever given you cause to complain of me.³⁴ My not speaking to you about my health was chiefly owing to my want of thought at the time I was with you.³⁵ The wants and infirmities my outward man often feels are almost forgotten while my spirit seems to be wholly seeking the things which are above. It is true I have a feeble body, but this at times is so strengthened that I am enabled to do things without feeling any present disadvantage, which others who appear to be far stronger seem unable to do. Hitherto I have used very few means, and had little advice from anyone, being willing if my father or any other thought anything necessary to use it. But [I] seldom sought for aught, desiring to give both soul and body to him who I knew could do in all things as he saw best for me. But if the Lord hath inclined your heart, dear sir, to care not only for spiritual health but also for my natural strength, I am willing to tell you all I can, and will endeavour to use the means you prescribe.

It is near three years since I caught cold at an improper time, which in a short space brought on a consumptive complaint. All my friends thought me near gone, but the Lord unexpectedly raised me up again. Since that time my constitution has never been strong.

³⁴ JW's complaint about Ritchie not mentioning her health challenges was likely in his letter to her of July 31, 1774. This letter is known only through an excerpt that Joseph Benson included in his edition of JW's *Works*, and Benson typically excluded such personal comments.

³⁵ JW had been at Ritchie's home in May 1774.

But for some time lately I have no cough, no shortness of breath; this seems entirely gone. But [I] have in the general a continued lax [i.e., diarrhoea], often much pain in my bowels. Sometimes I have the headache. But being bled in the foot about eight weeks since, have since that time been rather better in my head. But for some weeks have had a breaking out, especially about my elbow and knees. It is of the scurvy kind—a white scruff peels off without either itching or soreness. Since this broke out I have been better of myself. It has hindered me bathing (my father not thinking it proper for me to bathe while thus broke out), which used to be of great service to me and strengthened me much. The scurvy some of my friends thought proceeded from the poorness of my blood, and advised me to live better. But my blood was not at all thin nor bad, though rather inclined to the sizzly [i.e., thick and viscous]. I seldom eat flesh meat, though very few things disagree with me and my appetite in the general is such as gives me to feel I eat to live. Thus, sir, I have endeavoured to tell you how I am, as near as I can. I hope you will bear with my prolixity. It is a subject I am unaccustomed to write on. But you, I know, will excuse me. [...]

October 18, 1774

[...] I have used lemons lately, but could not get oranges—the old ones being sold off and the new ones not come. As soon I can get them, [I] shall endeavour to follow your directions. I think I am rather better of all the complaints I last mentioned, though none of them are quite removed. I have lately been permitted to feel the effects of the fall by a violent toothache. The Lord gave me strength equal unto my day. I felt this was needful to exercise my patience. At present, the violence of my pain is removed, but I have still a bad cold, and still pain in my face. I know when the end for which my Lord has permitted this light affliction is accomplished, it will be removed. [...]

January 10, 1775

[...] Last Saturday I was taken very ill, and about 10:00 in the forenoon went to bed. My complaint seemed a violent colic. They endeavoured to make me warm by applying hot flannels, and giving me tincture of rhubarb and senna mint, which after some time had the desired effect. Toward evening it went off, and I still continue better. The Lord kept me comfortable in my soul while exercised with violent pains. [...]

March 14, 1775

[...] Since I last wrote, my health has been much as usual. I do not yet feel much difference, but am through mercy able to do all the providence of God calls me to. Exercise I feel exceeding good,
 5 and think the using more of this than I often can at home has been one means in the hand of God for my good. The electrifying I feel very useful, but have not had it in my power to use it much. My brother has ordered a machine, but we have not got it yet. [...]

10 February 18, 1777

[...] As to my health, it has been much better this last winter than for some time past. The cause has been removed. Sometimes I have still pain in my side and breast, accompanied with shortness
 15 of breath. But upon the whole I am much better than I used to be, and sometimes I think it is likely the Lord may prolong my days to a distant period. [...]

August 1, 1777

[...] As to my own health, the pain in my breast and side is often
 20 very violent but not so constant as used to be. My cough is better, but my spitting of blood is again returned, and the discharge larger than it used to be. My fever and night sweats are abated, and my strength considerably more than when I saw you. I can now bear to
 25 ride five or six miles on horseback at a time without much weariness. And as change of air is thought proper for me, [I] intend going to Park Gate next week; and if I continue as I am after having been there a little, to Cross Hall. [...]

September 1, 1777

[...] Many of the questions you asked were almost answered in my last. But as I love to show my readiness to comply with every-
 30 thing you propose, excuse me if I should write the same thing over again. To what outward means my recovery may be attributed, I dare not say. A decoction of the bark I constantly took, three times
 35 a day. The tar pills and buttermilk, with all the exercise I could bear, and much summer fruit, has also been strictly adhered to. But indeed, my dear sir, though these may have been all useful in their place, I think the prayer of faith has prevailed with my gracious
 40 Lord to continue me in a state of trial yet a little longer. And sure the life he has so miraculously spared will be all devoted to him to whom my more than all is due.

I think my disorder took a turn the Thursday night you was at Otley. In the family you prayed in faith and God, even our God, inclined his gracious ear. For about a fortnight I seemed at a stand (but now think I was a little recovering though it was so slowly I could then hardly discern it). But after then I began to gain my strength amazingly, and in about a month many of my complains greatly declined. And from that time to this my Lord has been gently restoring my decayed frame. And I am now to all appearances not far from what I used to be, though in many respects I still feel weaker than I used to be before this visitation. I still continue to take the bark medicine and live chiefly on buttermilk. The doctors are quite surprised with me, and Mr. [William] Hey says he never thought to see me thus—though he yet will not pronounce me out of danger. My shortness of breath and cough are greatly better, and I now spit very little; sometimes it is a little blood. My lax [i.e., diarrhoea] continues as bad as ever, and sometimes rather worse. Since I came here, dear Miss [Mary] Bosanquet has wished me to resume the pills, which I had left taking. And when my fever is coming on I take a little of the saline mixture. [...]

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September 25, 1778

[...] My health is better than when you were here. I have been three weeks in the north, chiefly on the edge of a cold moor. It has agreed with me well. [...]

25

January 30, 1779

[...] I bless God, my health is greatly restored. When I have much exercise of any kind I think my strength is not equal to what it was formerly. And Mr. [William] Hey tells me he thinks it would be better for me to eat animal food once a day, as the want of strength may in a great measure proceed from my diet. [...]

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June 30, 1779

[...] My dear father's health has been but very indifferent since you was in Yorkshire; so that, contrary to what I had intended, I have been at home or only at Park Gate ever since. In the daytime he is much as usual. But if he go[es] to bed before one or two [o']clock, [he] is generally forced to rise, else to all appearance he would be suffocated. Soon after he is in an upright posture, he seldom fails to find relief. Of late we generally sit up with him till past the time these fits come on, and then he sometimes rests pretty well the rest of the night.

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Last week I heard but a very poor account from Cross Hall. Dear sister [Mary] Bosanquet had had for some time what Mr. [William] Hey (who attended her) calls an inflammation on her lungs. At the first he apprehended no danger, but only thought her complaint
5 would prove tedious. Lately he begged she would call a physician and told her he feared her disorder would terminate in a consumption. She told him she was satisfied with his judgment and begged he would proceed with her as he thought proper. He immediately blistered her side, and if that does not answer the end designed [he]
10 intends to fix a seton there.

Sister Tripp is also much worse and had come to a resolution to have the cancer cut out of her breast. But when Mr. Hey examined it, in order to prepare for the operation, [he] was much surprised to find it so far spread (for by the account she had all along given him,
15 he thought it either rather better or at least at a stand) and seemed to think, from many symptoms, the whole mass of blood so affected that it was likely to answer no material end. A young woman near Leeds farther gone than Nancy was cured by using hemlock poultices and drinking a decoction of the inner rind of elm bark, so
20 that (though Mr. Hey would if she chose it still cut her breast) she prefers trying these things at least for some time. [...]

APPENDIX D

THE *PRIMITIVE PHYSIC* CONTROVERSY

(Letters, Poems, and Reviews from December 1775
through January 1777) .

'Antidote' [#1], 'To the Rev. John Wesley' (Dec. 25, 1775)	677–78
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'Public Applause', 'To Mr. Hawes, Author of <i>An Examination . . .</i> ' (c. June 5, 1776)	710–12
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'Detester of Hypocrisy', <i>To That Fanatical . . . Mr. Wesley</i> (c. Sept. 1776)	724-28
William Hawes, 'To the Public' (c. Jan. 1, 1777)	728-29

From 'Antidote' [#1]

December 25, 1775

Reverend Sir,

Happening to look into your pamphlet called *Primitive Physic*, one of the first remedies that I cast my eye upon was, 'To one poisoned, *give one or two drams* of distilled verdigris.'¹ Everyone who has the least acquaintance with the powers of medicine will, I believe, be equally startled with myself at reading such a prescription. I could scarce believe my eyesight for some time, nor can at present by any means account for the ignorance and presumption of a man who deals out as an antidote one of the most active poisons in nature in such an enormous dose, and this in such an undetermined quantity as if the exact dose were immaterial.

But not to prejudice the reader by my own opinion, who have no connection with nor much knowledge of any branch of medicine, let us see what Dr. Lewis says concerning verdigris.

Verdigris (says he) is rarely or never given internally. Some recommend it indeed in the dose of *a grain or two*, as an emetic, which operates almost as soon as received into the stomach, and which may therefore be of use where poisonous substances have been taken, to procure their immediate rejection. It appears, however, highly imprudent to have recourse on such occasions to a remedy in itself so dangerous and so virulent; and more especially as a speedy evacuation may be obtained by means of substances that are not only innocent, but at the same time weaken the force of the poison, by diluting and obtunding it—as warm water, milk, oils.²

Thus you see, sir, Dr. Lewis calls the giving of verdigris, even in the *one hundred and twentieth part* of your dose, highly imprudent. Nay, it is very probable that your dose of two drams would effectually poison 20 or 30 people, or operate very sensibly on every man, woman, and child in one of your largest congregations. Far be it from me to suppose that you had any bad design in publishing this prescription. To the honour of our country, wilful poisoning is but rare, and antidotes would be seldom wanted, were it not that, during every winter, there are many of the common people who are poisoned, as it is called, by eating mussels.³

¹ See §177, receipt #1 in this edn.

² William Lewis, *An Experimental History of the Materia Medica* (London: Baldwin, 1761), 19.

³ Orig., here and in next paragraph, 'muscles'.

Your book, sir, which I have before me, is the 16th edition; so that it is probable near twenty thousand have been sold and dispersed amongst people of inferior rank. Give me leave to put a case, which, if it has not already happened, is extremely likely to happen every day. A person is poisoned by eating mussels; get Mr. Wesley's book and see what he recommends; the first remedy for one poisoned is one or two drams of distilled verdigris,⁴ as it is an antidote, and recommended by *him*, be sure to get enough of it; if, or rather when, the patient dies, his death is laid to the mussels, and under the sanction of your name, verdigris is given again when the same occasion offers.

I leave it to your own judgment, to find out by what method you can recall these *firebrands of death* that you have scattered so plentifully through the land. But I hope you will be speedy and not wait for the interposition of the censors of the College of Physicians, who, as guardians of the public health, have a right to and I doubt not will, if necessary, interfere in a case which calls so loudly for immediate redress. Antidote

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Dec. 25, 1775), p. 1; *London Chronicle*, 38 (Dec. 23–26, 1775), p. 612.

John Wesley's reply to Antidote [#1]

To the Printer of the Gazetteer

December 28, 1775

Between twenty and thirty editions of the *Primitive Physic* (or, a rational and easy method of curing most diseases) have been published either in England or Ireland. In one or more of these editions stand these words: 'Give one or more drams of distilled verdigris'.⁵ I thank the gentleman who takes notice of this, though he might have done it in a more obliging manner.

Could he possibly have been ignorant (had he not been willingly so) that this is a mere blunder of the printer? That I wrote 'grains', not 'drams'? However, it is highly proper to advertise the public of

⁴ Note provided in original: 'Distilled verdigris is full as acrid as the common sort.'

⁵ See §177, receipt #1 in this edn.

this; and I beg every one that has the book would take the trouble of altering that word with his pen.

Yours, etc.

J. Wesley

5

Source: published transcriptions; *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 1, 1776), 2; *Lloyd's Evening Post* (Dec. 29, 1775 – Jan. 1, 1776), 4.

From 'Fly-Flap'

10

January 1, 1776

To the Rev. Mr. Wesley,

Instead of making such an apology as the public had a right to expect, from the nature and extreme danger of the blunder contained in your *Primitive Physic* relative to taking so destructive a quantity of distilled verdigris in the case of poison, I cannot help considering your answer as a most crafty piece of evasion and only worthy of an unfeeling quack, regardless of and sporting with the health and lives of his fellow creatures.

15

In the true style of such a person, you begin your answer by mentioning what you call your *Primitive Physic's* having passed through between twenty and thirty editions. Had you not been lost to shame, as well as humanity, on this occasion, it must have occurred to you that this circumstance must be an exaggeration of your fault, as a book, which has been greedily bought by the ignorant in the nature and principles of medicine for whom it is declaredly intended, ought to have been corrected with the utmost care. But it seems as if you designed to balance the number of its editions in exultation, against the most evident and most dreadful consequences.

20

The weak attempt to throw blame upon the printer is as uncandid as it appears improbable. The words 'drams' and 'grains', are so unlike that it is almost impossible to mistake the one for the other. At least, it argues an unpardonable carelessness to have suffered so dangerous an error to have appeared not only in one but, as yourself owns, perhaps in more, which probably means in most of the editions. However, it is a debt required of you by the public, to point out that edition of your work which may be used *without* the hazard of losing their lives, by following yours or your printer's prescriptions.

25

30

35

Yours, etc.,

Fly-Flap

40

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 4, 1776), p. 2.

From 'Civis'

Soho [London]

January 2, 1776

To the Rev. Mr. Wesley,

5 When an honest man is convinced of his error, he immediately repairs it by an ingenuous confession. But if it has been attended with consequences dangerous to society, he will do more; he will earnestly endeavour by all possible means to amend the past, or at least to prevent the like consequences in the future; and the integ-

10 rity of his heart will plead strongly in his favour. Had you, reverend sir, acted thus discreetly in a recent instance, you would have had a claim to the indulgence of the public. But the despicable apology you have had the effrontery to offer in print renders you totally inexcusable in the mind of every unprejudiced person.

15 A writer in this paper of the 25th of last month has detected an error of the most pernicious tendency in your *Primitive Physic*. You begin your apology by telling us that between twenty and thirty editions have been published in England and Ireland. What has Ire-

20 land to do with this matter, unless it be to make us conclude that your work has done havoc in other countries besides this? Those numerous editions of which you boast ought to have been so many motives to care and circumspection. Is it not the constant practice of every writer (the most slovenly excepted) to revise each sheet before it is committed to the press? Was it not a duty highly incum-

25 bent upon you sir, in return for the very generous encouragement you have met with from the public, to examine every page with a watchful eye, and to correct with the most scrupulous caution any error therein before it was printed? Or, when you had not done so, one would think any regard for the safety of your fellow-creatures

30 would have induced you to take a review of the pamphlet, when finished, in order to discover whether any material error had crept in, and in such case to print a fresh leaf, or an *erratum* at least with every copy. But was your thirst of gain too ardent to suffer a moment's delay? Or did more important avocations (political ones perhaps)

35 render you totally forgetful of your duty in this particular?

With an air of conscious dignity you say, 'The gentleman might have taken notice of this in a more obliging manner.' Undoubtedly, an uncommon degree of respect is due to the *reverend* Mr. Wes-

40 ley, even when publishing a book containing a *prescription of poison* by way of *antidote*! I truly declare that I am entirely a stranger to the writer who has detected that egregious blunder. In my humble

opinion, he has delivered his sentiments like a man of sense and a gentleman; and what is more, like a man who has a due concern for the welfare of society—in which point you, reverend sir, appear miserably defective!

‘Could he possibly have been ignorant (had he not been willingly so), that this is a *mere* blunder of the printer?’ Nothing like a good assurance; *hic murus aheneus esto*.⁶ But how comes it, worthy sir, that *you* could possibly have been ignorant of this so long? The printer’s blunder cannot save you credit, for I believe every impartial reader will agree with me that had not the writer, who so unfortunately galls you, detected this fatal prescription, it would have remained undiscovered by *you*.

But supposing, as you say, that person to have been *willingly* ignorant of the printer’s blunder, could your numerous readers have been aware of it, especially the lower, uninformed classes of people, who have purchased your book? I will appeal to your own congregations. I will venture to say there is not one person in fifty who would not place an unlimited confidence in a recipe that has the sanction of your name. And do you weakly imagine that your caution, inserted in a few newspapers of a day, will be sufficient to counteract the poisonous prescription in your books dispersed over the three kingdoms? How will you answer it to your own conscience? How will you answer it to your country?

I have the 16th edition of your book now before me (printed in London) in which I observe a postscript dated indeed so long ago as 1755, but which you have thought proper to subjoin to the preface in this edition. Your postscript begins thus: ‘It was a great surprize to the editor of the following collection that there was so swift and large a demand for it. This encouraged him *carefully to revise the whole*, with several alterations, which it is hoped may make it of greater use to those who love common sense and common honesty.’⁷

Now sir, who would not have reason to conclude from hence that this *last edition* had undergone the same *careful revisal* as any former one? Else to what purpose, I ask, is that paragraph made to strike the reader’s eye in the name of *common sense* and *common honesty*!

I am persuaded you cannot answer these plain truths to the satisfaction of the public, and in charity I will believe not to your own. You preach repentance to others; be penitent yourself. Make, if possible, amends for the mischief your book has occasioned, by

⁶ Horace, *Epistles*, I.i.60; ‘let this be your brazen wall of defense’.

⁷ See *Primitive Physic*, Postscript [I] above.

using all the means in your power to prevent the like mischief in future. Need I point out to you these means?

You will immediately advertise an *erratum*, not once, but repeatedly from time to time, in the several London papers and in all the country papers throughout the kingdom, as well as in those of Scotland and Ireland. You will give particular charge to your deacons and other superintendents of every one of your congregations to make known this caution to *all* your people. You will suppress the sale of your pamphlet in its present state, and without further delay apply yourself to a careful, diligent revisal of the whole. Believe me, there is more than *one* blunder to be found in it. But future animadversion, I hope, will be precluded.

I now take my leave of you, reverend sir, with a word of advice. If ever hereafter you should give occasion to be set right in any matter that concerns the public, assume less importance. Have a more humble opinion of yourself, and less indifference when the life of your neighbour is in danger.

Civis

20 *Source*: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 4, 1776), pp. 1–2.

From 'A Friend to Truth'

January 2, 1776

25

*Pro bono publico*⁸

One *drachm* of 'distilled verdigris', according to an experienced apothecary, contains *sixty* grains. And according to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's letter or card in the *Gazetteer* of the first instant, 'one or more' editions of his pamphlet on that subject, through the 'blunder of his printer', have been published containing a confession of the *fatal blunder*! This the reverend gentleman, with his *usual levity*, treats so lightly as only to thank his corrector, or the gentleman that took notice of it, without humanely or candidly expressing any *sorrow* for this sad *blunder*, or marking how many *more* than *one* edition contains this fatal mistake. But was it not the blunder or fault of the editor or publisher, as well as of the printer, who should surely have revised and corrected the press, and not let so fatal a blunder or mistake go forth to the public?

⁸'For the public good.'

How many thousands may have fallen by it is not easily estimated. But [it] is hoped this, with other *fatal* blunders and mistakes in politics, will at last teach this reverend Methodist gentleman, scholar, Christian, physician, and politician, to be more serious, and remember in his next *Calm Address*⁹ the adage of ‘*ne sutor ultra crepidam*’,¹⁰ that 5

One science only will one genius fit,
So vast is human knowledge, so narrow human wit.¹¹

10

He will therefore for the future *to his pulpit and text*, as the cobbler should to his stall and last,¹² lest by his pamphlets, sermons, and prescriptions he brings his other foot and ‘grey hair, with sorrow to the grave’.¹³

A Friend to Truth 15

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 13, 1776), p. 2.

From ‘Antidote’ [#2]¹⁴ 20

c. January 8, 1776

To the Rev. Mr. John Wesley,

Being possessed of the *eighth* edition of your *Primitive Physic*, printed in 1759, I looked for your famous poisonous recipe, and there it stands, sure enough, though the *title page* declares that this edition is *corrected*, and the *postscript* that you have been encouraged carefully to *revise* it. Notwithstanding, therefore, your *correctness* and *care*, I am afraid that the recipe, instead of having escaped in *one or more editions*, as you artfully insinuate, stands unmolested in more than twenty editions. This you are better convinced of than disposed to acknowledge. 25 30

Antidote

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 10, 1776), p. 2. 35

⁹ Referring to JW’s *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775).

¹⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, xxxv.81; ‘shoemaker, stick to your shoes’.

¹¹ Alexander Pope, ‘Essay on Criticism’, ll. 60–61.

¹² The form used in making shoes.

¹³ Gen. 42:38.

¹⁴ In a letter on January 25, the original ‘Antidote’ indicated that this letter was not from him.

From 'XXX'

c. January 20, 1776

I find that Mr. Wesley is too proud, too self-sufficient, and too much wrapped up in his present supposed state of self-importance to vouchsafe either Mr. Caleb Evans, or any other correspondent, anything in the shape of an answer.

I cannot help thinking that he hath not yet pleaded the true and genuine apology for his blundering prescription of distilled verdigris. If he had spoke out, he would have owned, 'that not being an adept in *weights and measures*, he really mistook a *dram* for a *grain*'.

Every person who has only passed the threshold of arithmetic knows the difference between averdupoize and troy weights. And everybody knows that medicines are weighed by troy weights. But I have often thought that many arithmetical books are herein very faulty; that in hasty arrangement of such articles as are weighed by troy weight *in general*, you find *medicines*, without the least hint, till two or three pages forward, that *apothecary's troy* is a particular specific kind of troy weight, different in the intermediate divisions from troy weight *in genere*. Thus it often happens that people who (according to a *favourite* misapplication of a text in scripture) generally 'run as they read',¹⁵ and fling books aside as soon as they fancy themselves possessed of what they were *prepossessed* in favour of *before*, are perpetually falling into great errors. Mr. Wesley's whole progress in life stands as a proof that he is one of that species of readers. In that mode he has read the Scriptures, and in that mode (it is probable) doth he read every book, from the Pentateuch of Moses down to [Edmund] Wingate's *Arithmetic*.

I have often met with many persons (who either never did know, or have forgot what they once knew) who have insisted in conversation that apothecary's weights were *exactly* the same with common troy weights. But being reminded that they never heard the term 'penny weight' used in medicine, nor the two terms 'scruple' and 'drachm' (or 'dram') in common troy, they will immediately correct themselves and reply that the terms are indeed different, but in quantity and effect it is the same thing whether you say 'ounce', 'penny weight', and 'grain', as the common troy; or 'ounce', 'scruple', and 'dram', as the apothecary's troy. And here, unless they are so lucky as to be corrected again, it is odds but they go off, *full gallop*, with the idea that a scruple is the 20th part of an *ounce*, and a dram the 24th part of a scruple. And if this had been the case, Mr.

¹⁵ Cf. Hab. 2:2.

Wesley's *dram* of distilled verdigris would have been only equal to a *grain*, and might have been innocent. But every intelligent person knows that the apothecary's ounce is first divided into 8 *drams*, each dram subdivided into three *scruples*, and each scruple into 20 *grains*; and that the term 'grain' is common to both modes, and in both is the 480th part of an ounce. 5

If Mr. Wesley has a desire that the world should not estimate his abilities so lightly as to conceive *him* capable of a mistake of that nature, I think he would do well, and it is incumbent on him, to answer the two following queries: 10

First, can he name to us any one edition of his book (published previously to the detection of this error in the *Gazetteer*) where the *supposed misprinting* of 'dram' for 'grain' stands corrected? 15

Second, is it corrected in the body of the work, as it ought to be? Or is it only slightly referred to in the errata, with a '*Vide page ditto, line ditto, pro dram, lege grain*'? 20

I hope he will be able to answer both these queries in the affirmative, especially the last. For (as Mr. Wesley knows very well) few people ever look in the errata, unless they happen to be gravelled in the construction of some confused sentence; and it would be very hard upon Mr. Wesley's *patient readers* to have so many chances against their lives as (according to the following calculation) they would stand subject to: First, *twenty to one*, that they never cast an eye upon the errata; and next, *forty to one*, that they do not understand a syllable of Latin. 25

I am, sir, etc.,

XXX

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 24, 1776), pp. 1–2. 30

From 'Antidote' [#1]

c. January 23, 1776 35

To the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.

'O thou man of God, there is death in thy pot.' 40

I went into the country soon after I called on you to prevent the fatal effects of your enormous prescription of *one or two drams* of

verdegris. On my return to town I find your very unsatisfactory and evasive reply. Motives of humanity and benevolence have induced several gentlemen, in my absence (who are entirely strangers to me), to favour the public with their remarks on your publication, and their directions how you ought to proceed to prevent, as far as possible, its destructive consequences. As you have not thought proper to take any farther notice, I think it incumbent on me, as a duty I owe to the public and in justice to myself, to declare that *I do really think that you wrote ONE OR TWO DRAMS OF VERDE-*
 10 *GRIS in your prescription, and that the printer is not to blame.*

One of the gentlemen, who has signed 'Antidote', to whom I am totally unknown, tells you he has your *eighth edition*, which agrees exactly with the *sixteenth* in prescribing *one or two drams*, and not *grains*.

You have been called on to tell the public which is the edition that is free from this unlucky blunder of the printers. You make no reply. When you produce an edition with the words 'one or two grains of verdegris' in this prescription, you may assure yourself the public shall be again convinced that there is still *death in the pot*, and you will have farther occasion to hide yourself behind this unfortunate printer.

20 But I forget myself. My style is offensive to you. It will therefore be a 'more obliging manner' of communicating my thoughts to produce a passage from a book, with the letter of which at least you are well acquainted.

25 There was a dearth in the land, and the sons of the prophets were sitting before him [Elisha], and he said unto his servant, Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets.

And one went out into the field to gather herbs and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild gourds his lap-full, and came and
 30 shred them into the pot of pottage, *for they knew them not.*

So they poured out for the men to eat; and it came to pass as they were eating of the pottage that they cried out and said, *O thou man of God, there is death in the pot*; and they could not eat thereof.

35 But he said, then bring meal, and he cast it into the pot. And he said, Pour out for the people, that they may eat; and there was no harm in the pot.¹⁶

I make no comment. I neither expound or apply. The public are left at large to find out who gave the false alarm of a dearth of phys-
 40 ic in the land, and then ostentatiously produced his great pot of

¹⁶ 2 Kings 4:38–40.

Primitive Physic; or who was the officious person who gathered his lap-full of wild gourds and, ignorant of their good or bad qualities, shred them into the pot. But where shall the[y] find the holy hand to cast in the healing meal, that there may be no harm in the pot!

Indeed, Mr. Wesley, it is much your wisest and best way to throw away the whole mess. 5

Antidote

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 25, 1776), p. 2. 10

John Wesley to the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*

c. January 23, 1776

Sir,

Last week an angry man (sometimes styling himself 'Antidote', sometimes 'S. E.' or 'P. P.') inserted two letters in some of the papers.¹⁷ From what motive was this done? I return him his motto, 'Satis apparet cur versus facitatur'.¹⁸ It sufficiently appears, from the remarkable words which conclude his second letter: 'I think Mr. Wesley may be a very good divine. But when he writes upon physic, he proves himself extremely weak and ignorant; and when he writes upon politics, he proves himself an artful knave.' Here the vizor drops off. The *Primitive Physic* might have escaped, had it not been for the *Calm Address*.¹⁹ But he will show no mercy to this poor tract, in order to be revenged on the other. 15 20 25

'But how came this tract into the world, and from what motive was it published?' Above fifty years ago Mr. Boyle's *Remedia Parabilia, or Remedies Easy to be Procured*²⁰ fell into my hands. I transcribed many of them for my own use, adding a few more from books or conversation, and afterwards from a treatise I found in Carolina entitled *Every Man his own Physician*.²¹ After proving the virtue of many of these, near forty years since I published *Receipts for the Use of the Poor*. Some years after, this was greatly enlarged and printed 30

¹⁷ Neither of these letters has been located in any of the prominent London papers, but their general tenor can be gained from JW's quotations in this response.

¹⁸ Horace, *Ars Poetica*, l. 470; 'It is not easy to discover why he bothers himself with writing'.

¹⁹ JW's *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775).

²⁰ JW apparently means Robert Boyle (1627–91), *Some Receipts of Medicines, For the most part Parable and Simple. Sent to a Friend in America* (London, 1688).

²¹ John Tennent (c. 1700–90), *Every Man His Own Doctor: or, The Poor Planter's Physician* (Williamsburg, VA: William Parks, 1734).

under the title of *Primitive Physic*. My motive for printing it stands in the title-page, in the well-known sentence,

*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*²²

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Come we now to the charge. This writer begins with a round peremptory assertion: 'He treats the whole body of physicians and apothecaries as a set of ignorant and designing knaves.' Shamelessly false! In this very piece, I speak of Dr. Cheyne and Dover with honour, as well as the great and good Dr. Sydenham.²³ 'He treats all chemical and Galenical medicines as useless and dangerous compounds.' Galenicals! A cruelly hard word, which this writer does not seem to understand. I acquit him from being either apothecary or physician. Why, I recommend few but Galenical medicines; such simple and uncompounded medicines as Galen himself used to prescribe.

'But the greatest part of them are inefficacious.' How do you know? Have you ever tried them? 'Some are extremely dangerous.' Point out six, if you can, out of seven or eight hundred. 'And the doses are for the most part indeterminate.' Not so. For the most part they are determinate; and whenever they are not, common sense is sufficient to determine.

'The greatest part of them he does not mark tried. How then can he recommend them?' Perfectly well. Partly on the testimony of those who have tried them, though I have not; partly on the authority of eminent physicians, such as Dr. Willis, Sydenham, Radcliff[e], Freind, and Mead.²⁴

Hitherto we had only general charges. Now we come to particulars. [1.] 'He recommends cold bathing in deep consumptions.' My words are, 'Cold bathing has cured many deep consumptions.'²⁵ It has so; yet I do not recommend it (as you affirm) 'for every kind of consumption'. That is a gross wilful slander. Let him prove it that can.

²² Terence, *Self-Tormentor*, 25; JW translates in his *Letter on Tea* as 'I am a man; nothing human is foreign to me'.

²³ George Cheyne (1671–1743), Thomas Dover (1660–1742), and Thomas Sydenham (1624–89).

²⁴ Thomas Willis (1621–75), Thomas Sydenham (1624–89), John Radcliffe (1652–1714), John Freind (1675–1728), and Richard Mead (1673–1754). No published receipts have been traced with confidence to Freind or Radcliffe in *Primitive Physic*.

²⁵ See above, *Primitive Physic*, §49, receipt #1.

2. 'He recommends bleeding six ounces every day.' I do not recommend it at all. I barely transcribe a case from Dr. Dover.²⁶ The words 'if he live' are his, not mine. But I now add I have known the experiment tried, and I never knew it kill one patient.

3. 'For a pleurisy and a quinsy he recommends trifling things.' 5
Trifling or not, they cure, and that without any bleeding; nay, three times in four, without any internal medicine.

4. 'He advises the cold bath for the following diseases.' So far I advise this: I say on the authority of Dr. Barnard and Sir John Floyer 'it frequently cures' these diseases.²⁷ And does it not? Can 10
any man deny it? If he can, these physicians must bear the blame.

5. Nay, 'Mr. Wesley is bold enough to recommend the cold bath, without *any kind of restriction* and without any previous evacuation.' O blush, if you *can*. Blush, if you have any regard left, either for 15
truth or shame! My very words are use the cold bath 'unless you are in a far advanced age, or extremely weak'.²⁸ But when you use it, on any account whatever, it is proper to bleed or purge *before you begin*.

Who can account for these palpable, barefaced falsehoods, advanced without rhyme or reason? Only on this supposition: a red 20
hot American will say anything to blacken one that loves King George.

Whatever candid men have to object, either against the *Primitive Physic* or any other part of my writings, I am willing to consider, and shall be thankful to those who do it in a calm dispassionate 25
manner. Fifty years ago I imagined I knew a great deal; now I am convinced I know exceedingly little. And the voice of my heart both to God and man is, 'What I know not, teach thou me.'²⁹

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

John Wesley

Source: published transcription; *Lloyd's Evening Post* (Jan. 26–29, 1776), 102.

²⁶ See above, *Primitive Physic*, §49, receipt #9.

²⁷ John Floyer (1649–1734), *The Ancient Psychrolousia Revived; or, an essay to prove cold bathing both safe and useful ... also a letter of Dr. [Edward] Baynard's* (London: Samuel Smith & Benjamin Walford, 1702). See the table of diseases cured by cold-bathing appended to *Primitive Physic*.

²⁸ JW cited receipt 23 of *Primitive Physic*, as it appeared in *Works* (Pine), 25:26 (see above, §3, receipt #4).

²⁹ Cf. Job. 34:32.

John Wesley's Reply to 'Antidote', 'XXX', etc.

c. January 26, 1776

To the Printer of the Gazetteer

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In one respect I am much obliged to the gentlemen (or gentleman) who spend so much time upon the *Primitive Physic*, and would humbly entreat them to say something about it (no matter what) in half a dozen more of your papers. If nothing was said about
 10 it, most people might be ignorant that there was any such tract in the world. But their mentioning it makes many inquire concerning it, and so disperses it more and more.

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The gentleman signing himself 'XXX' in your last week's paper (probably Mr. 'Antidote') seems now to have shot his last bolt, and that feebly indeed. But he begins magnanimously: 'Mr. Wesley is too proud, too self-sufficient, and too much wrapped up in his self-importance to vouchsafe either Mr. Caleb Evans or any other correspondent anything in the shape of an answer.' How grievously does this man stumble at the threshold! With what glaring, palpable falsehood does he set out! Have I not given a direct answer, both to Mr. Evans³⁰ and 'Antidote' and 'S. E.' and 'P. P.'³¹ in the public papers?

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However, I am obliged to him for informing me of the difference between 'ounces, scruples, drachms, or drams, and grains'. Otherwise, after mistaking a dram for a grain, I might have mistaken an ounce for a dram.

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But a dreadful objection comes next: 'Some people "run as they read"'.³² Mr. Wesley's whole progressive life stands as a proof that he is one of that species of readers. In that mode he hath read the scriptures, and in that mode doth he read every book.' There is some truth in this. For several years, while my brother and I travelled on foot, our manner was for him that walked behind to read aloud some book of history, poetry, or philosophy. Afterwards for many years (as my time at home was spent mostly in writing) it was my custom to read things of a lighter nature chiefly when I was on horseback. Of late years, since a friend gave me a chaise, I have read them in my carriage. But it is not in this manner I treat the Scriptures: these I read and meditate upon day and night. It was not *in*

³⁰ See JW's letter of Dec. 9, 1775, above.

³¹ See JW's letter of c. Jan. 23, 1776, above.

³² See Hab. 2:2.

running that I wrote twice over the *Notes on the New Testament* (to say nothing of those on the Old), containing above 800 quarto pages.

‘But was this *supposed misprint* of dram for grain ever corrected before the error was detected in the *Gazetteer*?’ Your next question answers this: ‘Or was it only referred to in the errata, with “*pro dram, lege grain*”?’ 5

I add a word concerning the former objection. I do still in a sense ‘run as I read’. I make haste, though I do not hurry. It behooves me so to do, as my work is great and my time is short. For how much can a man expect to remain who has seen between seventy 10 and eighty years? And may I not plead for some indulgence, even on this account, if I am mistaken in more points than one?

Source: published transcription; *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Jan. 31, 1776), 2. 15

Publication of

William Hawes, *An Examination of Mr. John Wesley’s
‘Primitive Physic’*

[February–April 1776] 20

Advance Advertisement

Next month will be published *An Examination* of a pamphlet written by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, entitled *Primitive Physic*; showing that a great number of the prescriptions therein contained are founded on ignorance of the medical art, and of the power and operation of 30 medicines; and that it is a publication calculated to do essential injury to health and constitution of those persons who place confidence in it.

By W. Hawes, Apothecary

Published by the same author, *The Effects of Dr. James’s Powders, in the late Dr. Goldsmith’s Illness. To which is added, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Powerful Medicines in the beginning of Fevers and other Acute Diseases*. The third edition, with corrections and an appendix. 35

N.B. Mr. Hawes thinks it his duty, as a member of society, to return his thanks to the writer who signed himself ‘Antidote’, in this paper, 40

on the 25th of December last, who happily discovered the prescription of one or two drachms of verdigris advised to counteract poison; as he acknowledges that it was his humane and sensible letter to Mr. Wesley which made him examine critically the other parts of this work; and although there are not many prescriptions that have so immediate a tendency to destroy the persons who may take them, yet there are very many that evince the extreme imprudence of those who follow so injudicious and erroneous a guide.

10 *Source: The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Feb. 3, 1776), p. 1 [and repeated in several settings in following days].

Publication Announcement

15 First edition: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Apr. 27, 1776), p. 4.

20 Third edition with corrections and appendix: *St. James' Chronicle* (May 2–4, 1776), p. 3.

Serialization

25 The *Gazetteer* published a series of excerpts, in recognition of the fact that Hawes credited the letter by 'Antidote' for sparking his work. See (July 13, 1776), 2; (July 19, 1776), 2; (July 23, 1776), 2; (July 25, 1776), 2; (Aug. 3, 1776), 2; and (Aug. 24, 1776), 2.

30 Commendation of
William Hawes, *An Examination of Mr. John Wesley's*
'Primitive Physic'

Colchester
May 11, 1776

Medical Society

40 *J. H. Lisle, F. R. S., President*

Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. Hawes for the present of his valuable *publication*, and for

the unwearied pains and industry that he has taken in the promotion of *true medical knowledge*, as well as in exposing the *ignorance* and *dangerous tendency* of pretenders to the science of medicine; and also for his attention to the Society, and the interest thereof.

P. R. Newell, Secretary 5

Source: published excerpt; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* (May 25, 1776), p. 2.

Public Debate on 10
William Hawes, *An Examination of Mr. John Wesley's*
'Primitive Physic'
[May 17, 1776]

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Debate advertised

Society for Free Debate
Queen's Arms, Newgate Street 20

Tomorrow [Friday, May 17] the following question will be debated: Is a certain apothecary justifiable in the liberties he has taken with the Rev. Mr. Wesley in a recent publication called *An Examination of 'Primitive Physic'*? 25

Source: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (May 16, 1776), p. 3.

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Debate portrayed

A correspondent who was present at the Queen's Arms in Newgate Street when the question relative to Mr. Hawes's *Examination of Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'* was debated observes that the advertisement dated from that place was partial, as there never was a more complete and honourable victory than that obtained by Mr. Hawes, since there was not a single hand held up in opposition to his conduct. He further observes that, notwithstanding the majority of speakers were against that worthy gentleman, his advocates found no 35
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difficulty in supporting so just a cause as that of reason and humanity. By an examination of the grand principles of the noble science of physic, they clearly proved Mr. Hawes's superiority over Mr. Wesley in point of medical knowledge. The latter appeared imprudent (if not criminal) in having undertaken so important a task as that of composing a system of physic without sufficient abilities to execute it with judgment and propriety; while Mr. Hawes stood confessed a man of skill in his profession, the friend of his fellow creatures, and the just censurer of a vain pretender to an acquaintance with a science of which he was totally ignorant.

Source: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (May 25, 1776), p. 3.

Published Reviews of
William Hawes, *An Examination of Mr. John Wesley's*
'Primitive Physic'
(London: for the Author, 1776)

I.

Those who reflect that the science of medicine can only be improved by observation, and who likewise know how much advantage it has derived from the discoveries in natural philosophy, will entertain but a very unfavourable idea of *Primitive Physic*. Had Mr. Wesley prudently restricted himself within the limits of his profession, by elucidating the principles of *primitive religion*, he might have edified his readers much more, without either endangering their temporal welfare, or exposing his own opinions to the imputation of medical ignorance, of which he is so clearly convicted in this examination. A person may dogmatize with plausibility on speculative subjects, but the errors of practical empiricism are open to the plainest detection.

Source: *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature* 41 (Apr. 1776): 406.

II.

The design of this publication is sufficiently apparent from the very prefix title page. Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physic* has now gone

through between twenty and thirty editions; yet this, we think, is the first attack that has been made upon it by any of the faculty, though its author has endeavoured to give the world very unfavourable ideas of physicians and apothecaries both as to their abilities and integrity.

With a good intention and much credulity Mr. Wesley, it must be owned, has prescribed many remedies that are trifling, and some that are pernicious. Of the latter class is No. 683, 'To one poisoned. Give one or two drachms of distilled verdigris, it vomits in an instant.'³³ Some just animadversions on this in the *Gazetteer* of December 25, 1775, 'as being sufficient to poison twenty or thirty people', gave rise to these remarks. And in truth Mr. Wesley's saying, in answer, that 'this is a mere blunder of the printer (*drachms* for *grains*) in one or more of the editions', when it has actually been found in many more,³⁴ and it is supposed has passed through all; and when 'drams' and 'grains' are so unlike that no printer could easily mistake them; and his only advertising the error in one or two papers, instead of cancelling the leaf—are not consistent with his usual candour and humanity.

From such a miscellaneous production it is difficult to know what to select. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with one or two paragraphs which we think may be generally useful:

Mr. Wesley (says this writer) has given sundry directions respecting young children, and their diseases. But I must do him the justice to observe that he has never once recommended Godfrey's cordial.³⁵ And, indeed, this is a very pernicious opiate, however frequently it may be administered by ignorant nurses.

They give it to children for their own ease, without considering or understanding its tendency. It has unquestionably been productive of much mischief. It tends to ruin the constitution of children, and the consequences of taking it have been much more frequently fatal than is generally apprehended. It is the earnest wish of the writer that this hint may be duly attended to by parents and those who have the care of young children. The state of our national population is at too low an ebb for the lives of children to be sacrificed to the ignorance of old women, or to the indolence of nurses [p. 29].

³³ See §177, receipt #1 in this edn.

³⁴ Footnote in review: 'The 5th, the 8th, and 16th, mentioned by this writer; to which may be added the 19th and 13th, now lying before us.'

³⁵ Godfrey's Cordial contained one grain of opium in each two ounces.

This caution is doubtless highly proper. We wish therefore to extend it as much as possible, and may it sink deep into the hearts of all nurses, all parents, who peruse this article! When they know that this sleep is *the sleep of death*, as being procured merely by intoxication, no other arguments surely can be wanting to prevail with them to restrain and abolish the use of this destructive dram.

The other passage we shall select may be useful to another branch of our readers, the drinkers of punch.

I have often observed (says this practitioner) upon enquiring, when sent for to patients affected with complaints of the stomach or bowels, that they had overnight or the preceding day *drank punch*; and, from the effects and the smell of the matters thrown up, had every reason to think that, instead of lemon juice, the acid used was the vitriolic spirit.³⁶ And indeed it is hardly possible for anyone to know, in such a farrago as punch, what kind of ingredients it consists of [p. 79].

To prevent such bad consequences, he advises the *punch drinkers* to become *punch makers*, and also dissuades the making it with preserved *lemon juice*, 'as it is always rushing into new fermentations, and though not so bad as vitriol, yet it is by no means so wholesome as the juice when squeezed immediately from the fruit itself.'

Just and seasonable as these and many other observations are, much more weight would they have had with the reader, and reflected much more credit on the writer, if less *lemon-juice* had been squeezed into them, if they had been free from a sourness and rancour full as nauseating as the *vitriolic spirit* with which a man of Mr. Wesley's acknowledged abilities, and (we must add) integrity and zeal in *the labour of love*, deserves not to be treated, however fallible and mistaken he may be in his prescriptions both for the soul and the body, politic as well as natural. Such treatment may irritate and provoke, but can never convince or conciliate an opponent. Yet, strange as it seems, 'Mr. H. has no personal animosity against Mr. W. to whom he is totally unknown' [p. 83]. We are sorry that he does not know himself.

Source: *Gentleman's Magazine* 46 (May 1776): 226–227; reprinted in *Scots Magazine* (June 1776): 325–26.

³⁶ I.e., sulphuric acid.

III.

Highly as we think the public indebted to many of the medical practitioners of the present times, there are few to whom it owes greater obligations than to the worthy author of this publication. 5
The part he has taken in the institution of the society for the recovery of drowned persons, in conjunction with his ingenious colleague Dr. [Thomas] Cogan, does him particular honour. And though his zeal in the case of Dr. [Oliver] Goldsmith may have been misconstrued as tending to decry a powerful and efficacious medicine, he 10
certainly acted the part of a judicious apothecary in advising against its indiscriminate and injudicious administration.

In the present case it is to be lamented that the infamous publication to which it is intended as an antidote did not fall sooner into his hands, as it is morally impossible (if what the author of it declares respecting its sale be true³⁷) that it must not have been eventually the cause of many *murders*! We can hardly speak of it, indeed, with common patience—as whatever excuse may be made for the quackery of ignorant old women, we cannot help thinking that a man of 15
Mr. Wesley's education, knowledge of the world, and pretensions to religion, conscious as he must be of his ignorance of medicine and his influence over others (if possible more ignorant than himself), deserves for this piece of physical empiricism neither more or less than to be *hanged*. For in murder, accessories are principals. 20
And though he might not be guilty of malice aforethought, he certainly did it at the instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before his eyes; which in a professed divine is truly diabolical.

The recipes contained in Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physic* are no 30
fewer than one thousand and twelve; from the remarks on many which Mr. Hawes sufficiently proves that no person can 'with any degree of safety, rely on a compilation so extremely injudicious; the pretended remedies contained therein being often of no use, and those which might be of utility generally unattended with such directions, or regard to times and circumstances, as would be necessary to render them efficacious; and indeed, often calculated only to produce the most dangerous and fatal effects' [p. 9]. 35

We shall content ourselves with quoting only two: 40

³⁷ Note in review: 'Having gone through, as Mr. Wesley informs the public, twenty or thirty editions.'

'No. 445. For a *Bloody Flux*, drink cold water as largely as possible till the flux stops.'³⁸

Well said, Dr. Sangrado.³⁹ It is plain that if the patient is carried off by the flux before it stops, he will not have drank cold water enough, or as largely as possible.

'No. 683. *To one poisoned*, give one or two drachms of distilled verdigris.'⁴⁰

A dose that would effectively poison twenty or thirty people, though not poisoned before. But this, *Doctor Wesley* says, is an error of the press that has escaped the corrector in *one* or *more* of the *twenty* or *thirty* editions of the publication. For 'drachms' read 'grains'. We should be apt, indeed, to make many grains of allowance for errors of the press, by which we are so often made to write nonsense. But Mr. Hawes assures us that this excuse 'is an artful evasion. For this error is in the fifth, the eighth, and the sixteenth editions; and there is the reason to believe that it has passed through every edition; for though Mr. Wesley has been publicly called upon to point out the edition in which there was not this error, he has not been able to point out any one' [p. 66]. Mr. Hawes, indeed, sufficiently exposes the effrontery of this reverend quack. His pamphlet, however, is not confined merely to the pointing out such errors as might prove most fatal; his medical remarks and observations serving to set those persons right whom Mr. Wesley may have misled. We earnestly recommend it, therefore, as particularly useful, and even necessary, to all such as pay regard to Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physic*.

Source: *London Review Of English And Foreign Literature* 3 (May 1776): 412–13.

IV.

The number of editions that Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physic* hath passed through, replete as it is with ignorance, error, and absurdity, affords such an instance of assurance on the one hand, and credulity on the other, as can scarcely be paralleled.

³⁸ See §117, receipt #2 in this edn.

³⁹ 'Dr. Sangrado' was a character in Alain-René Lesage's novel *Gil Blas*, portrayed as a quack.

⁴⁰ See §177, receipt #1 in this edn.

To point out the gross blunders of that work, and to guard the unwary from the dangers to which an implicit confidence in it would expose them, is the present writer's laudable design.

In the preface to this *Examination* Mr. Hawes tells us that the 'writer, or rather compiler, of the *Primitive Physic* has laboured to give mankind the most unfavourable ideas of the practitioners in physic and pharmacy' [p. i]; in proof of which he cites this passage from Mr. Wesley's performance, viz.:

'Experience shows that one thing will cure most disorders, at least as well as twenty put together. Then why do you add the other nineteen? Only to swell the apothecary's bill; nay, possibly, to prolong the distemper, that the doctor and he may divide the spoil' [*Primitive Physic*, p. xiv].

This representation of the gentlemen of the faculty (says Mr. Hawes) may possibly not be thought very candid, nor very equitable. And if Mr. Wesley's conduct as a divine, a politician, and a practitioner in physic were to be examined with the same degree of candour that he hath exercised towards others, he would certainly not appear in the most advantageous light. At least it would be manifest that he was far enough from *perfection*, though that is a doctrine for which he is well known to be a very zealous advocate. But perhaps those who are not thoroughly initiated in Mr. Wesley's peculiar tenets may not have a proper idea of what those qualities are which are necessary to constitute a perfect man. It is certain that, if Mr. Wesley be of this character, a regard to truth is not so necessary to it—of which the Rev. Evans of Bristol can afford ample testimony.⁴¹

But however uncandid, or unjust, Mr. Wesley's representation of the gentlemen of the faculty may be, it seemed necessary to promote the sale of his *Primitive Physic*. And in this his views appear to have been answered; *sixteen editions* at least having been printed of this compilation; and that this large sale has not arisen from the merit of the performance will, I am confident, be acknowledged by every man skilled in the treatment of diseases [pp. ii–v].

⁴¹The review reproduces this footnote from Hawes:

'Vide the second edition of Mr. [Caleb] Evans's letter to Mr. Wesley, in which he has been convicted of premeditated falsehood, upon the clearest and most unexceptional evidence. Mr. Wesley's attempt towards a defence upon this subject in the newspapers, serves, *if possible*, to render him still more contemptible.

'The writer of this meddles not with political disputes, but takes the liberty to observe, that some regard to truth was thought necessary, in old fashioned systems, to constitute the character of an honest man, of whatever party he might be.'

With respect to the mode in which our author has conducted his *Examination*, we observe that he has, upon the whole, acquitted himself, though not in a brilliant, yet in a very decent manner. If his remarks are not always sagacious, if his distinctions are not always accurate, and if his ridicule is not always poignant, it must be allowed that his animadversions are commonly just; that he has clearly convicted Mr. Wesley of the most disgraceful ignorance; and that he has satisfactorily evinced the dangerous tendency of that gentleman's *Primitive Physic*.

Source: *Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal* 54 (May 1776): 419–20.

V.

Sensible, shrewd, and sarcastic. The author appears to possess a considerable share of medical knowledge, and to have attacked Mr. Wesley with the joint force of wit, ridicule, and argument, as the reader may judge from the following extracts.

*Old Age.*⁴²

No. 629. *Take tar-water morning and evening. Tried.*

No. 630. *Or, decoction of nettles; either of these will probably renew the strength for some years.*

No. 631. *Or, be electrified daily.*

Mr. Wesley, who is a most incomparable practitioner, has remedies for a disease of all others the most inveterate; viz. *old age*. *Tar water* is a 'tried' remedy; or if that *tried* prescription should be found not sufficiently efficacious, *decoction of nettles*; and 'either of these' (he says) 'will probably renew the strength for some years'. Or if the patient feels old age an unconquerable disorder, he recommends being *electrified daily*. This hint is worthy the attention of the ingenious Dr. [Joseph] Priestley. As when the arcana of electricity are completely laid open, an electrical shock judiciously administered, and repeated with sufficient frequency, might peradventure extend a man's life to a thousand years. Or if it were only *five hundred*, it might be as advantageous to the public as Dr. Priestley's discoveries respecting fixed air, though these have justly entitled this gentleman

⁴² See *Primitive Physic*, §163 in this edn.

to that applause which he hath universally received in the philosophic world [pp. 62–63].

No. 652 to 664. These are external applications for the cure of the piles.⁴³ But they deserve little regard. This is one of those disorders which, though very painful, generally tend to do great good to the constitution. For when a person is of a sanguineous or melancholic temperament, or his vessels act very strongly, this is the most happy determination that nature can take; and although the piles may return several times, and no evacuation of blood be occasioned, yet the stimulus is tending that way; and if the pain and uneasiness should be removed by repellents or astringents, it will often be at the hazard of the life of the patient. I have been a melancholy eyewitness of the truth of this assertion in two or three cases in my own practice, where persons, from the uneasiness they suffered, have (contrary to my advice) rashly applied some astringent, which has suddenly removed the piles, and made a very slight and salutary complaint terminate in an apoplexy [p. 63].

The following hints to punch-drinkers may prove useful to some readers:

As we are on the subject of vomiting, the reader will perhaps excuse me if I make a little digression, relative to what has appeared to me to be a frequent cause of a propensity to vomiting. I have often observed upon enquiry, when sent for to patients affected with complaints of the stomach or bowels, that they had over-night, or the preceding day, *drank punch*; and the effects, and the smell of the matters thrown up, had every reason to think, that instead of lemon juice, the acid used was the vitriolic spirit; and, indeed, it is hardly possible for anyone to know in such a farrago punch, what kind of ingredients it consists of.

I am firmly convinced that there is hardly anything tends so much to weaken and relax the stomach, and bring on various ill consequences, such as indigestion, loss of appetite, etc. as bad punch. And therefore I earnestly advise the *punch drinkers* to have their fruit, spirits, etc. brought to them separately, and to become *punch makers*; by which means they will know what the compound consists of, and that it is not a composition of bad sprits, vitriol, etc. Indeed, I would recommend that preserved *lemon juice* should never

⁴³ See *Primitive Physic*, §171 in this edn.

be used, as it is always running into new fermentations, and though not so bad as vitriol, yet is by no means so wholesome as the juice when squeezed immediately from the fruit itself. As vomiting and other disagreeable symptoms affecting the stomach may eventually injure the whole system, because the stomach can never be long disordered without mischief arising to the animal economy in general, therefore these hints may not be unworthy of attention. And if they are productive of any utility, there will be the less reason to apologise for the digression [p. 79].

Source: Westminster Magazine (May 1776): 259–60.

VI.

The design of this pamphlet appears to be very laudable, being intended, as the writer says, to prevent these fatal accidents which arise from the use of the various improper prescriptions upon which he has here animadverted. We believe there was some necessity for such a publication, having remembered to have seen in the public prints some severe and just strictures on Mr. Wesley's directions for using verdigrease as an antidote to poison. Mr. Hawes appears to have convicted that gentleman of being equally ignorant and credulous, and has urged his proofs with the united force of ridicule and professional knowledge.

The following extracts will afford a specimen of the writer's manner of treating his subject. The reader will be pleased to observe that the passages printed in italics are taken from Mr. Wesley's pamphlet, to each of which Mr. Hawes's remarks are subjoined.

No. 135. Take horse spurs and dry them by the fire till they will beat to powder; sift and infuse two drachms in two quarts of ale; drink half a pint every six hours; new milk warm.—It has cured many. Tried.

No. 136. Apply goose dung and celandine beat together, and spread on a fine rag. It will both cleanse and heal the sore.⁴⁴

Mr. W. advises *horse spurs* as an internal medicine and *goose dung* as an outward application, together with many other remedies for the cure of cancers equally unaccountable. It is a melancholy truth that ignorant men have always curatives in abundance for incurable

⁴⁴ See §26, receipts ##9–10 in this edn.

complaints. As for the medical virtues of the many prescriptions advised by Mr. W. for cancers, there can be little more objection to them than to his powder of toad in the convulsive asthma [pp. 25–26].

5

A Cancer in the Mouth. No. 141 to 150.⁴⁵

Mr. W. has prescribed several external applications for the cure of cancers affecting the mouth. And although one has the mark of ‘infallibility’ affixed to it, and another the word ‘tried’, notwithstanding all his boasted remedies it will be highly prudent in so serious a complaint to apply to a good surgeon, who, it may reasonably be presumed, will make use of those applications which his experience and judgment inform him are the most likely to prove successful.

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I shall conclude my observations on cancers with one general remark; which is that interested and designing men have called every ulcer of *difficult cure* which attacks the breast or mouth a cancer, and unfortunately the person so afflicted is unable to distinguish the one from the other. But it may safely be affirmed that no real cancer was ever cured, it being a disease dependent on the laws of fermentation, and for that reason cannot be eradicated out of the constitution; as one particle of cancerous matter remaining is sufficient to renew all the aggravated symptoms of this horrid distemper. It is well known that experienced and able surgeons daily cure the worst ulcers. And it is equally well known that the humane and worthy part of that profession lament the many impostors who are every day starting up, to deceive the public with their pretended nostrums, and which too often, by their corrosive applications, increase the misery and hasten the death of the unhappy sufferer [p. 26].

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25

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*Old Age.*⁴⁶

35

No. 629. *Take tar-water morning and evening. Tried.*

No. 630. *Or, decoction of nettles; either of these will probably renew the strength for some years.*

No. 631. *Or, be electrified daily.*

40

⁴⁵ See §28 in this edn.

⁴⁶ See §163 in this edn.

Mr. Wesley, who is a most incomparable practitioner, has remedies for a disease of all others the most inveterate; viz. *old age*. *Tar water* is a 'tried' remedy; or if that *tried* prescription should be found not sufficiently efficacious, *decoction of nettles*; and 'either of these' (he says) 'will probably renew the strength for some years.' Or if the patient feels old age an unconquerable disorder, he recommends being *electrified daily*. This hint is worthy the attention of the ingenious Dr. [Joseph] Priestley. As when the arcana of electricity are completely laid open, an electrical shock judiciously administered, and repeated with sufficient frequency, might peradventure extend a man's life to a thousand years. Or if it were only *five hundred*, it might be as advantageous to the public as Dr. Priestley's discoveries respecting fixed air, though these have justly entitled this gentleman to that applause which he hath universally received in the philosophic world [pp. 62–63].

No. 652 to 664.⁴⁷

These are external applications for the cure of the piles. But they deserve little regard. This is one of those disorders which, though very painful, generally tend to do great good to the constitution. For when a person is of a sanguineous or melancholic temperament, or his vessels act very strongly, this is the most happy determination that nature can take. And although the piles may return several times, and no evacuation of blood be occasioned, yet the stimulus is tending that way. And if the pain and uneasiness should be removed by repellents or astringents, it will often be at the hazard of the life of the patient. I have been a melancholy eyewitness of the truth of this assertion in two or three cases in my own practice, where persons, from the uneasiness they suffered, have (contrary to my advice) rashly applied some astringent, which has suddenly removed the piles, and made a very slight and salutary complaint terminate in an apoplexy [p. 63].

*To Stop Vomiting.*⁴⁸

No. 943. *Apply a large onion slit to the pit of the stomach. Tried.*

That a slit of onion applied externally should be a good and a *tried* remedy for an internal disease is somewhat extraordinary. But ex-

⁴⁷ See §171 in this edn.

⁴⁸ See §276 in this edn.

traordinary remedies can excite no surprise to any man who is well read in Mr. W.'s *Primitive Physic*, and who gives any degree of credit to the marvellous assertions which are contained therein.

No. 945. *Infuse an ounce of quicksilver in a large glass full of water for twenty-four hours. Then drink the water: I.*

This is given as an infallible prescription, for the unerring letter 'T' is affixed to it. But as the writer is no friend of implicit faith, he is apt to entertain some doubts of its efficacy. When a person is afflicted with a vomiting, according to Mr. W.'s rule, he must wait twenty-four hours before he can apply his remedy. And when it is procured, it is not very probable that any good effects can be produced from it, as not the ten thousandth part of a grain will be dissolved in the menstruum (the water), and will prove as insipid and inefficacious as the water would have done before the digestion of the quicksilver and water had taken place.

Mr. Wesley prescribes many remedies to stop vomiting. But he never once recommends the mints, camomile, or carduus, though infusions of these stomachic and bitter vegetables are often very serviceable in many complaints of the stomach, such as sickness, retchings, and vomiting. Indeed, Mr. Wesley, in his wonderful performance, seems disposed to fall out with the good old women, as well as with the apothecaries. For the remedies that the former have and do often prescribe with success, he has taken no notice of. But he has in sundry diseases recommended things much more absurd and injurious than what are advised by them.

As we are on the subject of vomiting, the reader will perhaps excuse me if I make a little digression, relative to what has appeared to me to be a frequent cause of a propensity to vomiting. I have often observed upon enquiry, when sent for to patients affected with complaints of the stomach or bowels, that they had over-night, or the preceding day, *drank punch*; and the effects, and the smell of the matters thrown up, had every reason to think, that instead of lemon juice, the acid used was the vitriolic spirit; and, indeed, it is hardly possible for anyone to know in such a farrago punch, what kind of ingredients it consists of.

I am firmly convinced that there is hardly anything tends so much to weaken and relax the stomach, and bring on various ill consequences, such as indigestion, loss of appetite, etc. as bad punch. And therefore I earnestly advise the *punch drinkers* to have their fruit, spirits, etc. brought to them separately, and to become *punch makers*; by which means they will know what the compound consists of, and that it is not a composition of bad sprits, vitriol, etc.

Indeed, I would recommend that preserved *lemon juice* should never be used, as it is always running into new fermentations, and though not so bad as vitriol, yet is by no means so wholesome as the juice when squeezed immediately from the fruit itself. As vomiting and other disagreeable symptoms affecting the stomach may eventually injure the whole system, because the stomach can never be long disordered without mischief arising to the animal economy in general, therefore these hints may not be unworthy of attention. And if they are productive of any utility, there will be the less reason to apologise for the digression [pp. 77–79].

Source: *London Chronicle* (May 25–28, 1776), 1.

VII.

Mr. Wesley's ignorance, or what is worse his versatility and duplicity, both in religion and in politics, have been lately sufficiently detected and exposed. One thing more was wanting to complete his character, and that was to show the world what an excellent physician he also was. This our author hath done effectually. And before Mr. Wesley dabbles any more with politics, it becomes him to defend himself, or satisfy the world how he came to put the words 'tried' and 'infallible' to prescriptions which, instead of curing, bid fairer for killing the patient. As Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physic* is in the hands of almost all his followers, we wish them have also the performance now before us, to prevent their trifling with dangerous diseases and suffering irreparable mischief, if not becoming self destroyers. Mr. Hawes's views are laudable, and his observations judicious. The remarks on Wesley's receipts are according to his own arrangement of them, and we shall select a few as a specimen of the abilities of each person.

Abortion, to prevent.

No. 1. *Use a decoction of lignum guaiacum; boiling an ounce in a quart of water.*⁴⁹

Of all the remedies to prevent abortion, this is one of the most improper; for if it were to produce any effect, it would be the very reverse. As this wood contains a stimulating essential oil, it would

⁴⁹ See *Primitive Physic*, §1, receipt #3 in this edn.

be disposed to increase the action of the heart and arterial system, so that this medicine in all probability will make the woman more liable to abort [p. 10].

No. 22. *A teaspoonful of salt of tartar, in spring water. This also cures double tertians, triple quartans, long lasting fevers, and most diseases arising from obstructions, especially if sena be premised twice or thrice.*⁵⁰ 5

There cannot be put together an assemblage of greater absurdities, as this medicine can have no other tendency than to cause the afflicted to trifle with acute diseases. In fact, in this one section is included the greatest part of the diseases incident to the human body, as the celebrated [Hermann] Boerhaave says that most diseases arise from obstruction. Mr. W[esley]'s assertion, therefore, that this alkaline salt will cure so great a variety of disorders must certainly be a matter of very serious consequence, as so great a number of complaints come under his description in which salt of tartar could produce no good effect. And thus the greatest injury must often be received by those deluded persons who are prevented by their ill-placed confidence in this recipe of Mr. Wesley's, from having recourse to such medicines as would effectually relieve them [p. 12]. 10 15 20

No. 25. *Apply to each wrist a plaster of treacle and soot.—Tried.*⁵¹ 25

As the word 'tried' is affixed to this sooty application, it may be presumed the Mr. W[esley] or his chimney-sweeper, have experienced its efficacy [p. 13]. 30

No. 51. *Fill the mouth with salt.*⁵²

Mr. W[esley] here recommends filling the mouth with salt; but the most likely consequence of this would be *killing the patient*, by the stoppage of all respiration [p. 17]. 35

No. 73. *Dry and powder a toad, make it into pills, and take one every hour, till the convulsions cease.*⁵³

⁵⁰ See §3, receipt #2 in this edn.

⁵¹ See §3, receipt #3 in this edn.

⁵² See §7, receipt #8 in this edn.

⁵³ See §10, receipt #14 in this edn.

Of all Mr. W[esley]'s remedies for the convulsive asthma, *powder of toad* is the most curious. But it is suited to the credulity of the frequenters of the Foundry [p. 20].

5 No. 135. *Take horse spurs, and dry them by the fire, till they will beat to powder, sift and infuse two drachms in two quarts of ale; drink half a pint every six hours; now milk warm—It has cured many. Tried.*

10 No. 136. *Apply goose dung and celandine beat well together, and spread on a fine rag. It will both cleanse and heal the sore.*⁵⁴

Mr. W[esley] advises *horse spurs* as an internal medicine and *goose dung* as an external application, together with many other remedies for the cure of cancer equally unaccountable. It is a melancholy truth that ignorant men have always curatives in abundance for incurable complaints. As for the medical virtues of the many pre-
15 scriptions advised by Mr. W[esley] for cancers, there can be little more objection to them than to his powder of toad in the convulsive asthma [pp. 25–26].

20 No. 169. *Take six grains of laudanum.*⁵⁵

As Mr. W[esley] uses the word 'grains', he must undoubtedly mean *solid opium*. Now opium is one of those 'Herculean medicines' which he so pathetically dissuades his readers from the use of in his
25 preface. And yet he here prescribes a dose of this powerful narcotic, which would in all probability cause ninety-nine persons out of an hundred to *sleep forever*. In disorders in common, the faculty seldom administer above one grain, and scarcely ever exceed two grains [p.
30 31].

No. 424. *Drink every hour a spoonful of juice of ground-ivy. It cures in twenty-four hours. Use the decoction when you have not the juice.*⁵⁶

35 In a rash fever, as it is termed by Mr. W[esley] and other ignorant people, he recommends that the patient should drink ground-ivy juice or decoction. This prescription is equally bold and unsupported. It is entirely inapplicable to the disease, and none but the weak and credulous will expect any relief from it [p. 47].

⁵⁴ See §26, receipts ##9–10 in this edn.

⁵⁵ See §33, receipt #7 in this edn.

⁵⁶ See §109, receipt #1 in this edn.

No. 433. *Use the cold bath daily, and drink a draught of water from the spring.*⁵⁷

The cold bath is recommended for the cure of a flux, which must be exceedingly improper, as by suddenly contracting the superficies of the body a load of fluids will be determined to the interior parts, so that the quick and great distention of the interior vessels will have a tendency rather to increase the flux than to cure it [p. 53]. 5

Mr. Wesley directs that to one poisoned should be given one or two drachms of distilled verdigrease. [...] Two drachms are sufficient to poison above forty persons, and that such a direction should have been given in a book intended for general use, and which has passed through many editions, is a most alarming consideration and ought to have given Mr. W[esley] the greatest concern [pp. 64–65]. 10

If Mr. Wesley had considered the lives of his fellow creatures as an object of much concern, the least he could have done, it might reasonably be presumed, would have been to have cancelled the leaf wherein this dangerous blunder was, and to have caused another to be printed and inserted in the unsold books. But he has done nothing like this. He has only advertised the error in one paper; at least I have seen it in no more. Since he has been attacked on this subject, I have caused one to be bought in Paternoster Row, which had in it this dangerous prescription, not even altered with the pen. I have, indeed, since sent for one to the Foundry, wherein the blunder was slightly corrected with the pen. But was this all that ought to have been done by Mr. W[esley], as a man of humanity? Or can his negligence in this respect be judged consistent with any due regard to the lives of his fellow creatures? Indeed, it is somewhat extraordinary that when the unexpected success of the *Primitive Physic* had caused Mr. Wesley, as he says, ‘carefully to revise the whole, and to publish it again, with alterations’, so enormous a blunder should have passed through all editions. For this appears to have been in fact the case. But the truth probably was that Mr. W[esley]’s ignorance first occasioned this dangerous prescription, and the same ignorance continuing prevented it from being corrected in any of the editions. This, however, shows how little Mr. W[esley]’s judgment is to be depended on. And the little concern he expresses for leading his readers into an error, which to some may have proved so fatal, is a strong evidence of his insensibility. And when we consider the very extensive sale of his book, the credulity of his followers, and the 15 20 25 30 35 40

⁵⁷ See §116, receipt #13 in this edn.

extreme ignorance which is manifested in many of his prescriptions, may not we say nearly in his own words, 'How many inconveniences must this have occasioned! How many constitutions may hereby have been ruined! How many valuable lives have been lost!'⁵⁸ [pp. 67-68]

No. 943. *Apply a large onion slit to the pit of the stomach. Tried.*⁵⁹

That a slit onion applied externally should be a good and a *tried* remedy for an internal disease is somewhat extraordinary. But extraordinary remedies can excite no surprise to any man who is well read in Mr. W[esley]'s *Primitive Physic*, and who gives any degree of credit to the marvellous assertions which are contained therein [pp. 77-78].

Source: London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer 45 (July 1776): 381-83.

From 'Public Applause'

[London]
c. June 5, 1776

To Mr. Hawes,
Author of An Examination of Mr. Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'.

Sir,

Nothing can prove more fatal, more baneful, or more destructive to the human race than divinity, physic, and politics, when exhibited by artful and unprincipled bunglers. Because the first must tend to the ruin of the soul, the second to the ruin of the body, and the third to the downfall of mighty and powerful empires. To prove which (particularly the last) we need not wander far back to the annals of history, nor travel to remote realms in search of instances. There has, I doubt not, always been impious divines, seditious quacks, and ignorant and profligate politicians, who have each committed horrid mischiefs in their different professions. But I never till this era found all these enormities united in *one* person,

⁵⁸ Note in review: 'See Wesley's preface, page 28.'

⁵⁹ See §276, receipt #1 in this edn.

who attempted to poison the soul by religious doctrines, the body individual by quackism, and the body politic by a jesuitical and daring attempt to vindicate the violent measures of government to tax three millions of unrepresented free-born Englishmen.

However, I am happy to find that he has not succeeded in any 5
of his dark designs; that his various baneful publications have met with an efficacious antidote. But although his unscriptural doctrines have been sufficiently defeated by some worthy members of the Church of England, and his unconstitutional principles by virtuous patriots; yet sir, give me leave to say that none of his adversar- 10
ies have gained so complete a victory, none of them have been so universally approved of by the public, as your very able and truly learned refutation of his unhermetic *Primitive Physic*.

It afforded me inexpressible satisfaction to find that the Medical Society had held forth your very humane and virtuous endeavours 15
to the public, by giving you their thanks for your industrious and indefatigable efforts to refute the above pamphlet, and *to restore true medical knowledge*.⁶⁰

Sensible that the most salutary consequences must arise to the public at large from that laudable undertaking, permit me sir to render 20
you my hearty thanks for the same in the name of a grateful public.

The restoration of true medical knowledge has indeed been greatly wanted in this country for some time past, but much more so of late years, during which this metropolis in particular has become 25
overflowed with a swarm of quacks from all nations (but chiefly from Germany), to the great prejudice of the credulous part of the community.

But sir, since you have made a successful beginning towards this very requisite reformation, I shall take the liberty to furnish you with 30
a plan which, if put in practice, will at once clear the metropolis of those infectious vermin, quacks, and by which (of course) true medical knowledge will be restored to its ancient lustre and dignity, viz.:

1. That the whole respectable medical gentlemen in this great city form themselves into an association, and raise a subscription 35
amongst themselves for the purpose of prosecuting, according to law, every physical practitioner who has not completed his studies at a British university, and who cannot produce his diploma from the same.

2. To put a stop to the custom of granting royal letters patent to 40
quack medicines, particularly to such (which indeed they all are) as

⁶⁰ See above, May 11, 1776.

are mercurial or antimonial preparations. The efficacy of mercury and antimony is best known in the medical world, and made use of in certain cases and under certain circumstances. But to make them universal medicines, and to give them the sanction of royal patents, is in fact no less than granting patents to destroy mankind in the same manner as they are granted to destroy bugs and rats. And

3. To treat with the different Irish and Scottish universities, and particularly that of St. Andrew, not to grant a degree to any person but such as is entitled to it by having completely finished his studies there. I say particularly the University of St. Andrew's because I can point out certain persons within my own knowledge in London who never have been within sight of an university, nor ever had any education, and yet obtained (by what means I know not) a diploma from the above university, and now practise as physicians.

If this plan should be executed, I doubt not but it will answer the salutary purpose of abolishing all manner of quackism, and of restoring true medical knowledge, and you will acquire still more

Public Applause

P.S. By way of hint, I recommend to your vigilance an inspection into the characters and medical abilities of a set of men who have lately opened a medical asylum.⁶¹

Source: published transcription; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (June 7, 1776), pp. 1–2.

'Anti-Fanaticus' on William Hawes's *Examination*

To Mr. Hawes

On His Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic

When first the title of your book I view'd,
With indignation warm my bosom glow'd:
Shall Hawes, I cried, the generous Hawes, descend
With Wesley, vile impostor, to contend?

⁶¹ A medical asylum on Welbeck Street, St. Mary le Bone, announced election of a president of the board in *Public Advertiser* (May 2, 1776), p. 2.

Vex'd, from my hands I flung the book with rage,
 Nor deign'd the reading of a single page;
 Till calmer reason to my aid return'd,
 And urg'd the reading of the work I spurn'd. 5

Now soon I found that all my fears were vain:
 Not strife with Wesley, but a cause humane;
 Not just contempt had stirr'd the author's mind,
 But public good, and care for humankind. 10

And now well pleas'd each hum'rous page I view,
 And think this character is justly due:
 Your book, dear Sir, from *death* may recuse more,
 Than can to *life* your noble plan restore.⁶² 15

Anti-Fanaticus

Source: published transcription; *Westminster Magazine* (July 1776):
 386–87. 20

John Wesley to William Hawes

[London]
 July 20, 1776 25

To Mr. Hawes, Apothecary and Critic

Sir, 30

My bookseller informs me that since you published your remarks
 on the *Primitive Physic, or A Natural and Easy Method of curing most*
Diseases there has been a greater demand for *it* than ever. If, there-
 fore, you would please to publish a few farther remarks, you would
 confer a farther favour upon 35

Your humble servant,

John Wesley

Source: published transcription; *Lloyd's Evening Post* 39 (July 19–
 22, 1776), 79. 40

⁶²The author notes that the reference is to the 'Plan for the Recovery of Persons
 Drowned, instituted by Dr. Cogan and Mr. Hawes'.

From William Hawes

Strand
July 24, 1776

Sir,

- 5 Your short letter, addressed to me, in this paper on Monday last⁶³ is a most astonishing proof of your effrontery and insensibility. I believe it impossible for any man of common probity, or of common humanity, under such circumstances to have answered the charge which I have brought against you in the manner that you have done.
- 10 And I have little doubt but the generality of the public will now join with me in the opinion that, notwithstanding your pretensions to sanctity, you are a consummate hypocrite.

- I have openly charged you with publishing a book *replete with ignorance* and calculated to *injure the health*, and in some cases *destroy*
- 15 *the lives*, of all who depend on it. And in the opinion of most impartial readers, and of many of the ablest medical practitioners, I have proved this charge. In answer to which you say that my *Examination* of your *Primitive Physic* has promoted the sale of it, and in this consideration you exult. Is it possible that any man influenced by the
- 20 common feelings of humanity could have published such an answer to such a charge? Would the most mercenary quack that ever disgraced a stage in Moorfields have satisfied himself with no better a vindication of his character? The ignorance with which your book abounds, and its pernicious tendency, I may venture to assert have
- 25 been demonstrated. And if your mean and avaricious spirit can find satisfaction in reflecting on the *profits* of your book, you have no right to rank with any but the most base and unworthy of mankind.

W. Hawes

- 30 *Source*: published transcriptions in *Lloyd's Evening Post* 39 (July 24–26, 1776), 95; and *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Thursday, July 25, 1776), 1–2).

John Wesley to *Lloyd's Evening Post* [on William Hawes]

- 35 July 29, 1776⁶⁴

Sir,

It is easy to discern what were the motives that induced Mr. Hawes to make so violent an attack upon the *Primitive Physic*. The chief,

⁶³The transcription in *Gazetteer* reads 'addressed to me and published in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of the 22d instant'. It then appended a copy of JW's letter.

⁶⁴The letter is dated July 27 in *London Chronicle* and *Gazetteer*.

doubtless, was that kind of zeal which swallows up both justice and mercy. Had the *Calm Address*⁶⁵ never appeared, the *Primitive Physic* might have slept in peace. His consciousness of this made him endeavour to cover the sore place. 'I have not' (says he) 'been induced to this by any consideration of the part Mr. Wesley has taken in the *political world*' (p. 83). Believe it who can. He cannot contain himself even to the end of his preface! 'See', says he, 'the second edition of Mr. [Caleb] Evans's letter to Mr. Wesley, in which he has been convicted of premeditated falsehood.' Not so. Both Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Olivers have answered that charge effectually.⁶⁶ But be it as it may, he must recommend Mr. Evans's letter. There the secret lies. Yet I will not say he had not a farther motive, resentment for my betraying the common practice of apothecaries. Whether the cap fits him or no, I cannot tell. I fear it does, or he would not be so angry.

Hence it is that he is so liberal of sarcasm and general recollections both on me and my tract: 'Mr. Wesley's character, both as a divine, a *politician*, and a practitioner in physic, is far enough from perfection' (poor perfection, brought in by head and shoulders!), 'though he is a zealous advocate for it.' 'An injudicious collection of pretended remedies.' 'A publication calculated to do essential injury to mankind.' 'He gives, at his first setting out, a satisfactory evidence of his total want of medical knowledge.'

'He says neither the knowledge of astronomy, natural philosophy, nor even anatomy itself is *absolutely necessary* to the cure of most diseases.' I do say so still. And yet I may possibly know a little anatomy and natural philosophy. Neither is the 'evidence of my total want of medical knowledge' quite satisfactory. I have read a few medical books (more I perceive than Mr. Hawes ever saw). I have conversed with many physicians, and I have attended sick beds for more than fifty years. By this time, therefore, I may be fairly supposed to have gained a little more, even of medical knowledge.

His regard for the Rev. Mr. Toplady (a gentleman that uses no ceremony with friend or foe, from whom he borrows large quotations, plentifully abusive, and whose whole spirit he has drank

⁶⁵ JW's *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775).

⁶⁶ John William Fletcher, *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's "Calm Address to our American Colonies"* (London: R. Hawes, 1776); and Thomas Olivers, *A Full Defense of the Rev. John Wesley, in answer to the several personal reflections cast on that gentleman by the Rev. Caleb Evans* (London: s.n., 1776).

in) I conceive is a third, and no small, motive to his publication.⁶⁷ May I sum up all his motives in the words of an author whom I found many years ago in the Bodleian library? 'I write this book 1) to please my friends, 2) to vex my enemies, 3) to get money, and 4) reputation.'

I have only leisure to add a few cursory remarks:

P. 24. 'Where did Mrs. Bates live?'⁶⁸ Consult Sir John Floyer, and you may learn both the place and other circumstances of the story.

P. 31. You call the chicken broth 'an insignificant remedy for the cholera morbus, prescribed by Mr. Wesley'.⁶⁹ Nay, it was prescribed by Dr. [Thomas] Sydenham to all his patients, when that disease was epidemic in London.

P. 33. If Mr. Hawes had ever read Sir John Floyer's works, he would have spared these pointless witticisms. The account of Mrs. Watts,⁷⁰ as well as Mrs. Bates, rests on his authority, not mine.

P. 35. 'In all the various colics, Mr. Wesley has not advised one purgative or laxative remedy.' I do not say Mr. Hawes is now convicted of premeditated falsehood, but I say his memory fails him. Let him refresh it by looking at no. 195.⁷¹ If that is not a laxative remedy, I am ignorant indeed.

P. 46. He is witty upon the assertion, that 'plunging into cold water has cured an high fever, attended with delirium'.⁷² Strange! Is Mr. Hawes as little acquainted with Dr. [Thomas] Willis's works as with those of Dr. Sydenham? There he may read at large the account of the young woman in those circumstances whom the doctor cured, restored to perfect health, by plunging her in the Thames.

Ibid. 'Mr. Wesley prescribes *forty* remedies for an ague! And yet, he says, experience shows that *one* thing will cure most disorders, at least as well as *twenty* put together in one medicine.' True, as twenty *put together* in one medicine. But do I prescribe twenty of

⁶⁷ See William Hawes, *An Examination of Mr. John Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'* (London: for the Author, 1776), 55–56; for quotes of Augustus Montague Toplady, *The Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity Asserted* (London: Vallance & Simmons, 1775), vi–viii. Toplady, now a staunch Calvinist Methodists, offered here the earliest known published ridicule of a treatment prescribed in *Primitive Physic* (applying raw beefsteak to gout in the foot), noting that Edward Townsend used the treatment and still died.

⁶⁸ Hawes had raised this question in regard to receipt #130 in the 1774 edn. of *Primitive Physic* (§26, receipt #2 above in this edition).

⁶⁹ Hawes had referred to receipt #168 in the 1774 edn. (§33, receipt #2 above).

⁷⁰ Hawes had referred to receipt #197 in the 1774 edn. (§45, receipt #1 above).

⁷¹ Wesley was citing receipt #195 in the 1774 edn. (§43, receipt #3 above).

⁷² Hawes had quoted from receipt #413 in the 1774 edn. (§106, receipt #1 above).

these *so put together*? No, never. Yet even here I do not charge Mr. Hawes with *premeditated falsehood*, but forgetfulness.

P. 47. 'He seems not to know that an ague and an intermitting fever are the same disease.' I know the contrary. Every ague is an intermitting fever, but every intermitting fever is not an ague. 5

P. 48. 'Mr. Wesley classes fevers under the following heads.' No, it never was my design to *class fevers*; but merely to speak of a few, one after another.

P. 50. 'Whoever prescribes thus, whether Mr. Wesley, or any other quack' (civil enough), 'will be in danger of violating the eighth 10 commandment' (commonly called the sixth⁷³).

Ibid. 'Mr. Wesley does not once advise an emetic or purgative at the beginning of fevers.' No! Look at page 31.⁷⁴ Yet still I will not accuse you of *premeditated falsehood*. Rather, I say this is the third time you have accused me falsely, out of *forgetfulness*. 15

P. 55. That Dr. T[ownsend]⁷⁵ died at Bath I do not deny, and perhaps of the gout in the stomach. But that the *beefsteak* repelled it from his feet I do deny, for it does not *repel* at all. I have tried it myself more than once, or I should hardly have been alive now.

P. 64. 'If the lancet be not freely used in the pleurisy, it will terminate in an abscess.' I know the contrary. I know it may be perfectly cured without using the lancet at all. Although I thought it strange when Dr. Cockburn,⁷⁶ of St. James's, told me, 'Sir, I never bleed in a pleurisy. I know no end it answers which I cannot answer by other means, without wasting the strength of the patient.' And he 20 accordingly cured my brother of a very high pleurisy, in about nine hours time.⁷⁷ 25

P. 66. 'He has insinuated, with a jesuitism truly characteristic of himself.' Polite indeed! Set this also to the account of the [*Calm*] *Address*. 30

P. 67. 'Astonishing effrontery!' Is this the voice of a gentle apothecary, or a friend [of] Mr. T[oplady]?

⁷³ I.e., 'thou shalt not kill' rather than 'thou shalt not bear false witness'.

⁷⁴ On p. 31 of the 1774 edition of *Primitive Physic*, the first receipt given for a 'Tertian Ague' (which is an intermitting fever) is 'taking a purge one day, and the next bleeding, in the beginning of the fit' (§3, receipt #1 above).

⁷⁵ Edward Townsend, dean of Norwich cathedral, and the case raised against JW by Augustus Toplady.

⁷⁶ William Cockburn (1669–1739), of St. James's Street, Westminster, made his fortune from a remedy for dysentery which he developed for the British navy.

⁷⁷ See the entry for May 18–19, 1738, in S T Kimbrough Jr. & K.G.C. Newport (eds.), *The Manuscript Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 2008).

P. 72. 'We have Mr. Wesley's authority for it that a poultice of powdered coal has cured even a carious bone.'⁷⁸ Pity Mr. Hawes should thus betray his ignorance! Does he not know that the account of this eminent cure, wrought by a surgeon at Montpellier, was published in several magazines not many years ago?

P. 78. 'This is given as an *infallible* medicine.' No. I believe no medicine is infallible. The letter 'I' means only (as I observe in the preface) that many *account* it so.

However, I again thank Mr. Hawes for his publication. I am glad to learn of him, or any man. I have accordingly read it over with care, in consequence whereof, in the edition of the *Primitive Physic* which I am now preparing for the press,⁷⁹ I have omitted forty or fifty remedies. I have endeavoured to guard others. I have adopted several of his practical observations. So that I have reason to hope the present edition will be more useful than any of the former.

John Wesley

P.S. From Mr. Hawes's letter of the 25th instant I learn that he has lost all patience as well as good manners. Hence he splutters out abundance of Billingsgate language,⁸⁰ without either fear or wit. As the weather is hot, I would humbly advise him to take a cooling position. Neither could anyone at all object, in so melancholy a tale, to a 'free use of the lancet'.

Source: published transcriptions in *Lloyd's Evening Post* 39 (July 31–Aug. 2, 1776), p. 113; *London Chronicle* 40 (Aug. 1–3, 1776), p. 117; and *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Aug. 2, 1776), p. 2.⁸¹

From 'Talus'

c. August 1, 1776

Rev. Sir,

Destitute as you are of the feelings of humanity, I do not wonder at your affected air of sovereign contempt for Mr. [William] Hawes in a late scandalous letter, dated July 20th, the whole of which is a downright grimace, that you only wanted to screen for your malice. And that the pretence of a greater demand for your *now repro-*

⁷⁸ Hawes was citing receipt #741 in the 1774 edn. (§194, receipt #5 above).

⁷⁹ Wesley published the 17th edition of *Primitive Physic* (London: Robert Hawes) in late 1776.

⁸⁰ I.e., profanity; as common in the Billingsgate fish market.

⁸¹ There are a few minor variants among versions; we follow *Lloyd's Evening Post*.

bated pamphlet is no other than an indecent cover for putting this last weak effort of your rage in print. But perhaps, reverend sir, in your list of virtues this *pretended unconcern* is reckoned not the *least* among them; and yet others may think, and some I doubt not will dare to call it, a *mere brutish obstinacy*, or the more filthy obstinacy of a priest. 5

Talus

Source: published transcription; *London Chronicle* (Aug. 3–6, 1776), 127. 10

William Hawes [Reply to Wesley's public letter
of July 27]

Strand 15
August 6, 1776

Sir,

Mr. Wesley at length appears to be sensible that an answer was necessary to my *Examination* of his *Primitive Physic* of a different kind from that which he thought proper to publish in your *Evening Paper*⁸² of the 20th of July. I rejoice to find that he has not yet lost all his feelings, which I confess I before began to be apprehensive was the case. But my letter addressed to him in the same paper of the 26th ult. seems to have had a considerable effect upon him, notwithstanding the affected contempt with which he appears to treat it. With his usual art, indeed, he has drawn up his last letter as if he intended to publish another answer before he saw my last. But no impartial person can suppose this. It must have been very ridiculous in him to have exposed himself by such a letter as that which was published in your paper of the 20th of July ult., if he had then intended to have published another containing the least appearance of argument.⁸³ 20 25 30

Mr. Wesley has discovered that I was induced to make 'so violent an attack upon the *Primitive Physic*' by the displeasure which I had conceived against him on account of his writing the *Calm Address to the Colonies*. In this he is totally mistaken. I meddle too little with politics to have been led to write against him by any such motives. He says, 'Believe it who can.' Those who know me will easily believe it, and I flatter myself that my general conduct in life has been such 35

⁸² Here and on two later occasions the *Gazetteer* version specifies 'in *Lloyd's Evening Post*'.

⁸³ The *London Chronicle* version omits this first paragraph.

as to entitle me to some credit with the public. Nor was I induced to write against him by my attachment to Mr. [Caleb] Evans or Mr. [Augustus] Toplady. The one of those gentlemen I never saw, and the other I have not the pleasure of being much acquainted with.

My reason for mentioning Mr. Evans's charge against Mr. Wesley was that it affected, not his political sentiments, but his veracity as a man. And I believe it is not the opinion of any impartial person that a *satisfactory* answer to this charge has been published, either by Mr. [John] Fletcher or Mr. [Thomas] Olivers.

My motives for writing *An Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic* were truly assigned in that publication. I thought his book calculated to do essential injury to my fellow-creatures, and that I acted the part of a good member of society in pointing out its pernicious tendency. I am still of the same opinion, and have the satisfaction to have good reason to believe that the impartial public concur with me in sentiment.

I have charged Mr. Wesley, in the 66th page of my *Examination*, with an artful insinuation in one of his letters, calculated for no other purpose but to deceive. Instead of answering this charge, he intimates that I am deficient in politeness towards him. I believe that throughout the whole affair I have written with full as much politeness as *such* a man deserved. Had I supposed it possible for *a good man* to have written such an answer to such charges against him as those brought in the *Examination* as was published by him in your paper of July the 20th ult., I should have answered him in a different style. But I thought it impossible for any well-intentioned man, in such circumstances, to have written in such a manner. I am still of the same opinion, and on this subject I have not met with a single person who has differed from me.

Mr. Wesley is displeased that I knew not readily where to find the cases to which he refers in two or three places in his *Primitive Physic*, though he quotes no authorities. And indeed, it is not generally his method, in his publications, to acknowledge from whence he borrows his materials; for his character as a *plagiary* is well established.⁸⁴ But Mr. Wesley has such a knack at misrepresenting the cases which he may happen to derive from a good author, or states the facts in so awkward a manner, that it may well be doubted whether the original writers themselves, from whom he has borrowed them, would know them again in his book. At least it can

⁸⁴ A chief claim in Caleb Evans's attack upon JW's *Calm Address* was that it was simply a plagiarization of Samuel Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*.

hardly be considered as a mark of *ignorance* in another man not to know them again, however well he may be acquainted with the original authors. And indeed there is no man of extensive reading who does not forget many things that he has read. Nor is there perhaps any man in Europe, besides Mr. Wesley, who would charge another with *ignorance*, merely for not remembering every case that may have published in *magazines*. To obtain the reputation of knowledge with Mr. Wesley, it is necessary that a man should be a very diligent, exact, and retentive reader of those learned monthly publications. 5

As to [Thomas] Sydenham, he is an author entitled to the highest regard from every professor of the medical art. And I was no stranger to his having recommended *chicken-broth* in the *cholera morbus*. But it was only as a watery fluid to correct and dilute the bile, and not as a remedy for the disease, as Mr. Wesley ridiculously does. Dr. Sydenham advises as a medicine sixteen drops of *liquid laudanum*. Whereas Mr. Wesley, as *another remedy*, prescribes *six grains of laudanum*; by which he must mean *solid opium*, a prescription which would be fatal to ninety-nine persons out of a hundred. When Mr. Wesley has recourse to a good author, it is not unusual with him to render what he borrow from him useless or pernicious, by his own absurdity and want of knowledge in that science to which he pretends.⁸⁵ 10 15 20

The last edition of *Primitive Physic* contains prescriptions that would kill those who should make use of them. With this Mr. Wesley has been some months publicly acquainted, and yet these pernicious books are now, to my knowledge, sold in London, not altered even with the pen. Had he been possessed of the least humanity, he would have taken care that this should not be the case. He would have reprinted those leaves, and called in those books that were in the hands of the booksellers which contained the dangerous prescriptions. But no *gain* was to be made of this. Though somewhat may possibly be got by the *new edition*, which we are now informed is in the press. And however pernicious the tendency of the book may be, the *disinterested* compiler will be abundantly gratified if it can be made to sell *more and more*. The honest frequenters of the Foundry will be carefully informed by Mr. Wesley, or his learned deputies if he should not be present himself, that when service is over *it may be had at the door*. 25 30 35

Upon the whole, without at present troubling the public with any 40

⁸⁵The concluding sentence of this paragraph is found only in the *Gazetteer* and *London Chronicle*.

further observations upon this subject, it may be sufficient to observe that, notwithstanding all that Mr. Wesley has urged in his own vindication, or that of his book, I believe those who impartially attend to the many observations on the *Primitive Physic* contained in my *Examination*, to very few which Mr. Wesley even attempts to reply, will be convinced that his compilation is extremely injudicious, and of a very injurious tendency, and that it was a real service to the public to endeavour to put a stop to its dispersion. He indeed says himself that, in consequence of my *Examination*, in a new edition of his *Primitive Physic*, which he is now preparing for the press (and for a sale of which he hopes from the credulity of his followers), he shall omit *forty or fifty remedies*. He also says he shall *guard others*, and adopt several of my *practical observations*.⁸⁶

It therefore affords me some satisfaction to find that if what I have written should not wholly prevent injudicious people *from attending to Mr. Wesley's 'Primitive Physic'*, which as a medical compilation is unworthy of the least regard, yet *I shall at least have been the means of rendering it less pernicious*.

W. Hawes

N.B. As Mr. Wesley has been kind enough to prescribe for me in a postscript to his last, I will repay the civility by prescribing for him also in my turn, as I should be extremely sorry to have *less benevolence* than himself. I will take the liberty of recommending the following prescription, as what would be of unquestionable service to him. Take one ounce of *veracity*, half an ounce of *modesty*, one ounce of *religion* (unmixed with *hypocrisy*), and two ounces of *honesty*; the whole to be mixed up with a sufficient quantity of *medical skill* somewhat superior to that of a *Moorfields quack*, and to be taken once in twenty-four hours, with a large draught of *warm water, cold water, tar-water, or red-hot flint-water* (see the *Primitive Physic*, 180, 181, 182, 183⁸⁷), which so ever may be most agreeable to the patient.

Source: published transcriptions in *Lloyd's Evening Post* 39 (Aug. 7–9, 1776), p. 140; *London Chronicle* (Aug. 8–10, 1776), 140; and *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (Aug. 8, 1776), p. 2.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Hawes added a note at this point quoting the entire last paragraph of Wesley's letter.

⁸⁷ These are the first four remedies listed for 'The Colic (in a fit)' in the 1770 edn. of *Primitive Physic*.

⁸⁸ We follow the *Lloyd's Evening Post* version, which was clearly the earliest; but note the significant variants and one key addition.

From 'A Methodist' to Editors of *London Review*

August 16, 1776

Gentlemen,

After the many instances you have given the public of your impartiality and candour; and, in some cases, even for that insulted and exploded sect, the 'Methodists', I am extremely surprized in looking over one of your late numbers at the very harsh expression by which you testify your disapprobation of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*. The author, you say, 'deserves neither more nor less than to be *hanged*'. Surely, gentlemen, if you have seen that divine's letter to Mr. Hawes, printed in the newspapers, setting forth the still increasing sale of the above-mentioned tract, you must be convinced that it is not so pernicious a publication as the faculty represents it; unless you suppose people mad enough wilfully to poison themselves. The faculty have their interests to serve, as well as Mr. Wesley; and, as doctors differ, you will probably think proper to retract the severity of your censure—which, I can assure you, has given great offence to many of your other well-wishers; and to none more than to

Yours,

A Methodist 20

[Editorial response:]

We are sorry to give any of our well-wishers offence, and therefore, having read Mr. Wesley's letter to Mr. Hawes, and being too well convinced that many people are mad enough to poison themselves, we do readily retract the expression complained of; viz. 'that the author of the *Primitive Physic* deserves neither *more nor less* than to be *hanged*'; it being, on the contrary, our present opinion that, if he be the writer also of the letter in question and is not absolutely non-campos, *hanging* is *too good* for him.

30

Source: *London Review Of English And Foreign Literature* 4 (August 1776): 159.

From 'Squib' for the *Gazetteer*

35

Ye grave medical tribe, attend well to my call;
 Ye grave divines, politicians, and all.
 Wesley's *Primitive Physic* is surely most able
 To cure all our ills—to make government stable:
 He quotes old dull authors, collects their vagaries,
 Convicts beyond doubts, tho' himself often varies.

40

To high Church a most crafty zealot he came,
 But missing preferment (pray was he to blame?).
 He soon thought *perfection* a practical scheme,
 To pleasure some few, and to get him a name;
 5 This brought him to riches, to credit, to shame;
 For no mortal on earth can perfection e'er claim.
 He's one day America's friend and defender,
 The next day as ready her rights to surrender.
 10 This Tri-Arch: divine, politician, and quack,
 Is willing to doom free-born sons to the rack;
 But all this he's unable to do, or confound
 The sons of those heroes, who in honour are bound
 To defend those just laws, our country's clear rights,
 15 Our godlike forefathers bequeathed to our *mights*.
 No cowardly offspring from Britons e'er sprung,
 No trio-faced parson such deeds ever sung;
 For Britons are hardy, bold, generous and free,
 Despising all *hypocrites* of every degree.
 20 But Wesley they say all our colics can cure;
 Drink water! Drink water! Oh, drink water that's pure;
 Sure this is uncertain, tho' uncertain more civil
 Than sending of freemen in chains to the devil.
 25 This meek gospel divine, this deep-learn'd politician,
 And Trio-Arch quack, must sure mend the nation.
 This government's *slave*, and subtle defender,
 Can't persuade Yankee heroes their rights to surrender.
 30 — Squib

Source: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (August 7, 1776),
 p. 2.

From 'A Detester of Hypocrisy'

35

*To that Fanatical, Political, Physical Enthusiast, Patriot,
 and Physician, the Reverend Mr. W[esle]y.*
 40 As in some country town we often find
 The draper, mercer, and the laceman join'd,

So, great monopolist, are found in thee,
 Myst'ries more weighty, and in number three.
 Hail, holy mountebank! from whose weak stage
 Enthusiasm whines, who lately us'd to rage.⁸⁹
 Hail, great successor of the frantic mission! 5
 Hail to thee, scruvy, pious politician!
 Who stand'st with Satan's fav'rites on a level,
 And gratis get'st diploma from the devil.⁹⁰
 Thrice do we hail thee by thy new addition, 10
 Pois'ner in print, and primitive physician.⁹¹
 How often hast thou fill'd the ears and eyes
 Of gaping crowds with horror and surprise?
 How oft, with hypocritic frenzy meet, 15
 Snuffled damnation in the publick street?
 Each list'ner call'd half devil and half beast;
 Nor till thy saintship well was pelted, ceas'd.
 O, matchless impudence! and close combin'd
 With ignorance, to sport with humankind! 20
 Forever cursed be that fatal day
 When first you learnt that trade—to preach and pray.
 Fathers and mothers, widows, wives, till death,
 May rue the minute when you drew your breath. 25
 How many idle vagrants hast thou made,⁹²
 Who else had liv'd upon a wholesome trade;
 Who now their industry shall use no more,
 But to mislead a mob and swell thy store? 30
 For ever cursed be that fatal day

⁸⁹ Original note: 'Whoever has heard the deceased saint [Whitefield], and his present successor, will easily perceive the contrast between the bellowing vociferations of the squinting professor, and the drawling languor of this lank-hair'd retailer of perdition.'

⁹⁰ Original note: 'For who but the devil could so harden a man's heart that it should permit him to publish and rejoice in the sale of a performance evidently calculated to put a few shillings into the pocket of the diabolical author at the expense of the healths, and perhaps the lives, of his fellow-creatures?'

⁹¹ Original note: 'Mr. Hawes has proved, in his very ingenious *Examination of the Primitive Physic* just published, that some of Mr. W[esley]'s prescriptions would absolutely kill those who were so weak as to make use of them.'

⁹² This is a reference to Wesley's itinerant lay preachers.

When first in politics you went astray,⁹³
 When such a wretched fool, so low a thing,
 In print presum'd to dictate to his king;
 Then many a wretch in peace had slumber'd well,
 5 And only fear'd thy visionary hell.
 But doubly cursed be that dreadful day
 When to the press thy pamphlet made its way.
 That anticlimax, what could make thee tread,
 Forsake the heart to tamper with the head?⁹⁴
 10 Art thou so dead to shame, so callous grown
 To all disgrace, the brethren's or thy own?
 In vain thy predecessor tried to botch
 That vile—adventure of the lady's watch.⁹⁵
 15 Given for sale to sooth a widow's woe,
 And found within the *holy* man's bureau.
 Hast thou so soon forgot the forty pounds
 Laid by against th' exciseman went his rounds?
 The squinting wretch in vain a husband shunn'd,
 20 And what from Ruth he squeez'd, Tom made refund.
 Hast thou so soon forgot thy own reproach,
 When late you whin'd and canted for a coach?
 All your long service in the faith you told,
 25 And represented you was weak and old;
 Strok'd your lank hair, which then more flaccid hung,
 And faith and spirit trembled on your tongue;
 Trembled for fear thy most audacious talk
 Should not prevail, and thou be forc'd to walk.
 30

⁹³Original note: 'The writer alludes to the *Calm Address* and other political matters lately published by Mr. W[esley].'

⁹⁴Original note: 'On reflection it does not seem strange that he should prefer the body to the soul, for by his publication he has plainly evinced that where his own temporal interest comes in competition with the life of others, he prefers the former. Had the whole question been confined to others, it is most likely he cares for neither.'

⁹⁵Original note: 'This story [about Whitefield] is too well known to need a comment, as also the story of the frail brother who was detected at Bath in a crim. con. [i.e., "criminal conversation," or adultery; a reference to James Wheatley] and, for the honour of the holy fraternity, ordered to decamp, which he did without beat of drum. The story of the forty pounds, the present apostle's great affection for a chariot, his whinings to obtain it, and the number of disciples he lost by it, are all too public in the neighbourhood of the saints to need further explanation.'

And wilt thou now, as impudent as base,
 Attempt to give the Faculty disgrace;⁹⁶
 Men of long practice, eminence, and knowledge,
 Train'd up to physic, members of a college?
 Does not thy canting give enough of wealth, 5
 But must thou likewise prey upon our health?
 Poison the principles with doctrine vile,
 With drams of verdigrease our bowels spoil;⁹⁷
 And like the satyr, as in fable told, 10
 From the same breath at once blow hot and cold?⁹⁸
 Thank heaven thou shall not, for there still remain
 Who can and will thy wicked course restrain.
 Art thou in vice, by practice, grown so bold,
 To thank opponents that thy poison sold,⁹⁹ 15
 So wrapt in av'rice, lost to sober sense,
 To sell the peoples lives for eighteen pence?¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Original note: 'Mr. W[esley], in the preface of his *Primitive Physic*, speaks of physicians and apothecaries in the most illiberal and unmanly terms, as such language seemed necessary to promote the sale of his venomous and ignorant pamphlet. But happily Mr. Hawes has opened the eyes of the public, and is the only gentleman of the faculty that stood forth to support himself and brethren. He has undeniably proved the rashness, folly, and wickedness of this divine empiric, in attempting to impose upon the public the most horrid truth, which he calls a *rational* and *easy* method of curing most diseases. He might have said in some cases also *certain*, for the operation of some of the prescriptions would have been that never-failing and decisive exhibition called *death*.'

⁹⁷ Original note: 'One of his vile prescriptions is a *dram* or *two* of verdigrease; another, *six grains* of opium for a dose. The writer most earnestly requests every one who has the misfortune to be possessed of Mr. W[esley]'s book to read Mr. Hawes's answer, as their health, nay even their lives, are much interested in this inquiry. He also submits it to the faculty whether it is expedient that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, through the hands of his physicians, setting forth the fatal consequences which may ensue from this pamphlet, and earnestly requesting, as he tenders the lives of his loving subjects and to deter others from the like offense, that the *Primitive Physic* be publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.'

⁹⁸ Original note: 'Mr. W[esley] prescribes *cold water*, *hot water*, *tar water*, and *flint water* for the cholic. —Mr. Hawes says this unaccountable professor prescribes hot and cold remedies in the same breath. See his *Examination*, p. 32.'

⁹⁹ Original note: 'Mr. W[esley], July 24th, in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, very wickedly addressed Mr. Hawes, thanking him for his publication as it increased the sale of his pamphlet. Mr. Hawes answered this address July 26th in the same paper with that spirit and good sense which does him great honour.'

¹⁰⁰ The revised 17th edition of *Primitive Physic* rose in cost to eighteen pence.

Thank heav'n thou canst not, while there lives a Hawes,
And learned Pringle stamps him with applause.¹⁰¹

A Detester of Hypocrisy

5 *Source*: published as a broadsheet in 1776 with no printer named. This transcription is from a surviving copy in the British Library (shelfmark 1876.e.9.8). The exact time of publication is unclear, but it was after the exchange of letters in July 1776.

10 From William Hawes

[Strand]

[c. January 1, 1777]

To the Public,

15 As Mr. Wesley has published another edition of his *Primitive Physic*, though the numerous errors and absurdities of it have been clearly pointed out, Mr. Hawes, who is thoroughly convinced that it is still a book which can be of no real service whatever, either to the poor or to the rich, takes the liberty of earnestly recommending to the public his *Examination* of Mr. Wesley's publication, which will
20 enable them to judge how little adapted the *Primitive Physic* is to be of any use, that it may be of the most mischievous consequences, and that nothing but that 'love of money which is the root of all evil'¹⁰² could have induced Mr. Wesley to a republication.

25 Mr. Hawes has, however, the satisfaction to reflect that he has been the means of rendering a bad book somewhat less pernicious. In the new edition of *Primitive Physic* Mr. Wesley has omitted one hundred and eighty-four of his absurd remedies; he has paid more attention to the doses of medicines, and inserted a few of Mr. Hawes's practical remarks, though without acknowledgment. But
30 the book is still replete with absurdity and ignorance, and cannot be

¹⁰¹ Original note: 'The writer is well assured that Sir John Pringle [President of the Royal Society, and Physician-in-ordinary to the King] has spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Hawes's *Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic*. But as the shafts of ridicule have often succeeded beyond more solid opposition, we have endeavoured to attack him from that quarter. There are few misfortunes without some alleviations; let us hope that this publication of Mr. W[esley], replete with evil, will in the end have a contrary effect. Mr. Hawes has checked its course. Let us indulge ourselves in the agreeable expectations that the many corroborating proofs of the doctor's possessing a mischievous head and wicked heart may open the eyes of some worthy person now misled by him, to the utter destruction of those three professions he now unwarrantably exercises—politics, quackery, and fanaticism.'

¹⁰² Cf. 1 Tim. 6:10.

in the least beneficial to the sick, but on the contrary must be productive of great injury, especially in acute diseases, trying absurd remedies which may occasion the death of many persons who, if properly treated at first, would have speedily recovered.

Source: Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser (Jan. 4, 1777), p. 4;
Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser (Jan. 18, 1777), p. 3.

APPENDIX E

GLOSSARY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TERMS FOR MEDICAL CONDITIONS, INSTRUMENTS, MEASURES, AND TREATMENTS

[drawn mainly from the *Oxford English Dictionary*]

Abortion – in eighteenth-century this applied mainly to spontaneous abortions; i.e., miscarriages.

Acrimony – bitter pungency to the organs of taste or smell.

Ague – an acute or high fever, alternating with chills; or a disease characterized by such fever, especially when recurring periodically (often malaria).

Aliment – a general term for food or nourishment.

Anasarca – a dropsical affection of the subcutaneous tissue of part of the body, producing a very puffed appearance of the flesh.

Animal spirits – the (supposed) agent responsible for sensation and movement, originating in the brain and passing to and from the periphery of the body through the nerves.

Anodyne – a pain reducing (or analgesic) medicine.

Apoplexy – unconsciousness or incapacity resulting from a cerebral haemorrhage or stroke.

Ascarides – a genus of intestinal worms; thread-worms.

Ascites – a collection of serous fluid in the peritoneal cavity; dropsy of the abdomen.

Asthma – a number of disorders involving difficulty of breathing.

Basilicon – a name given to several ointments supposed to possess 'sovereign' virtues.

Blister – anything applied to raise a blister (draw the 'humours' to the surface); a vesicatory.

Bolus – medicine of round shape adapted for swallowing, larger than an ordinary pill.

Bronchocele – a situation where a segment of bronchus is filled with mucus and completely enclosed so the mucus cannot drain out.

- Cachexy – a depraved condition of body, in which nutrition is everywhere defective.
- Calcined – reduced to dry powder or ash by burning.
- Cancer – used broadly of various types of non-healing sores or ulcers; including canker sores.
- Canine appetite – a voracious hunger.
- Cannula – a small reed or pipe, used to drain or introduce fluids.
- Cataplasm – a poultice or plaster.
- Cawl – the membranous layer of fatty tissue that covers and supports the intestines and organs in the lower abdominal area; i.e., omentum.
- Cerecloth – a cloth smeared with wax, used as a plaster.
- Chafing-dish – a vessel to hold burning charcoal or other fuel, for heating anything placed upon it.
- Chilblain – small, itchy, painful lumps that develop on the skin, produced by exposure to cold temperatures.
- Chincough – an epidemic distemper, especially of children, characterized by a violent and convulsive cough: now more commonly called whooping-cough.
- Chlorosis – a disorder believed to occur almost exclusively in young, virginal women soon after puberty, characterized by a greenish pallor of the skin, cessation or irregularity of menstruation, and weakness; also called ‘green sickness’.
- Cholera morbus – combined diarrhoea and vomiting.
- Choleric – a person having a predominance of choler among the bodily humours. Choler is one of the four cardinal humours, identified as bile (or as present within bile) and described as hot and dry in nature, and supposed when predominant to cause irritability or irascibility of temper.
- Clyster – (JW initially spelled ‘glyster’) a medicine injected into the rectum, to empty or cleanse the bowels, to afford nutrition, etc.; an enema or a suppository.
- Colic – a condition involving severe pains in the belly, due to various affections of the bowels or other parts.
- Colic, bilious – bowel pain accompanied with vomiting green mucus; takes its name from connection to the gallbladder (source of bile); possibly a gallbladder attack.
- Colic, dry – bowel pain not accompanied by diarrhoea and often limited urination; many cases likely owed to lead poisoning.
- Colic, hysteric – pain in the pit of the stomach, accompanied with vomiting green mucus.
- Colic, nervous – same as dry colic.

Colic, windy – bowel pain accompanied by significant passing of gas.

Conserve – a confectionary or medicinal preparation made from some part of a plant (as the flowers, leaves, roots, or fruit) preserved with sugar.

Consumption – any disease that causes wasting of the body; particularly tuberculosis.

Cordial – a medicine for stimulating, cheering, or invigorating the heart.

Costiveness – constipation.

Decoction – a liquor in which a substance, usually animal or vegetable, has been boiled, and in which the principles thus extracted are dissolved; specifically as a medicinal agent.

Diabetes – a disorder characterized by the passage of large quantities of urine or by incontinence of urine.

Diuretic – a medicine for inducing discharge of urine.

Dram (drachm) – in medical use, was 60 grains or 1/8 of an ounce.

Draught – the quantity of drink swallowed at one act of drinking.

Dropsy – an accumulation of watery fluid in the serous cavities or the connective tissue of the body; now called an edema.

Electuary – a medicinal substance mixed with honey or another sweet substance.

Emulsion – a milky liquid, consisting of water holding in suspension minute particles of oil or resin by the aid of some albuminous or gummy material.

Eye, pearl in – cataracts.

Falling sickness – epilepsy.

Felon – an inflamed sore, especially under or near the nail of a finger or toe; a small abscess or boil.

Fistula – an elongated pipe-like ulcer or abscess.

Flat-worm – a cestoid worm (e.g., *Tænia solium*) that, when adult, infests the digestive canal of humans; i.e., tapeworm.

Flesh-brush – a brush used for rubbing the surface of the body, in order to excite the circulation.

Flooding – in pregnancy; to suffer a uterine haemorrhage.

Fluor albus – ‘white flow’; a vaginal discharge; i.e., leucorrhœa.

Flux – diarrhoea; or other abnormally copious flows of blood, excrement, etc. from the bowels or other organs.

Fomentation – application to the surface of the body either of flannels, etc. soaked in hot water, whether simple or medicated, or of any other warm, soft, medicinal substance.

Fumigate – treat by exposing to smoke or fumes.

Fundament – the orifice of the intestines, the anus.

Ganglion – a tumour or cyst, especially one filled with viscous fluid.

Gangrene – necrosis (death) of an area of tissue in the body, especially as a result of impairment of its blood supply, often accompanied by bacterial infection and putrefaction.

Gargarism – a liquid to gargle.

Gill – a measure for liquids, containing one fourth of a standard pint (or in some areas a half of a standard pint).

Glairy – adjective meaning viscid or slimy.

Gout – a constitutional disease occurring in paroxysms, usually hereditary and in male subjects; characterized by painful inflammation of the smaller joints, especially that of the great toe, and the deposition of sodium urate in the form of chalk-stones; it often spreads to the larger joints and the internal organs.

Gout, in the stomach – often related to lead poisoning.

Gravel – aggregations of urinary crystals which can be recognized as masses by the naked eye (as distinguished from sand); (also) the disease of which these are characteristic. ‘Also popularly used to indicate pain or difficulty in passing urine with or without any deposit.’

Gravitation – pregnancy.

Green sickness – see Chlorosis.

Gripping / Gripes – strong constriction or contraction (usually of the bowels).

Gutta serena – blindness for which there was no discernible cause (by eighteenth-century instruments); the eye looks normal.

Hectic fever – applied to that kind of fever which accompanies consumption or other wasting diseases, and is attended with flushed cheeks and hot dry skin.

Hemicrania – a headache confined to one side of the head.

Hysteria – functional disturbance of the nervous system, characterized by such disorders as anaesthesia, hyperaesthesia, convulsions, etc.; women being much more liable than men to this disorder, it was thought to be due to a disturbance of the uterus and its functions.

Iliac passion – pain associated with the ileum (part of the small intestine).

Imposthume – a purulent swelling or cyst in any part of the body; an abscess.

Inanition – exhaustion; particularly as resulting from want or insufficiency of nourishment.

Infusion – a dilute liquid extract obtained from a substance by soaking it with, or steeping it in, water.

The Itch – scabies; a contagious disease, in which the skin is covered with vesicles and pustules, accompanied by extreme irritation, now known to be produced by the itch-mite.

Jaundice – a morbid condition caused by obstruction of the bile, and characterized by yellowness of the conjunctiva, skin, fluids, and tissues, and by constipation, loss of appetite, and weakness.

Julep – often, simply a liquid sweetened with syrup or sugar, and used as a vehicle for medicine; sometimes, a medicated drink used as a comforting, or gently stimulating mixture.

Kibe – an ulcerated chilblain.

Kilderkin – a cask with the capacity of half a barrel.

King's evil – a skin disease; scrofula, or struma, a tuberculous swelling of the lymph glands, once popularly supposed to be curable by the touch of royalty.

Lachrymal fistula – plugged / infected tear duct.

Languor – a state of fatigue, inertia, or lethargy.

Lassitude – exhaustion.

Leprosy – any disease causing scaliness, loss of pigmentation, or scabbiness of the skin; now, specifically the chronic disease caused by the bacterium *Mycobacterium leprae*.

Lethargy – a disorder characterized by morbid drowsiness or prolonged and unnatural sleep.

Linctus – a medicine to be licked up with the tongue.

Lippitude – soreness of the eyes; blariness.

Loathing – specifically a strong distaste for food.

Lochia – fluid discharged from a woman's vagina after childbirth.

Looseness – mild diarrhoea.

Lues Venerea – 'bane of intercourse'; i.e., syphilis.

Lunacy – intermittent insanity, supposed by some to be brought about by changes of the moon.

Mad dog – dog infected with rabies.

Malignant – potentially fatal; extremely severe.

Melancholy – ill temper, sullenness, brooding, anger; associated with an excess of black bile, one of the four cardinal humours, in the body.

Menses nimii – excessive flow in menstruation.

Milk, coagulated – mastitis; a breast infection inhibiting breast feeding.

Mithridate – any of various medicinal preparations, usually in the form of an electuary compounded of many ingredients, believed to be a universal antidote to poison or a panacea.

Mortification – death of a part of the body; i.e., gangrene.

Nettle-rash – a rash of itching red spots on the skin, resembling that caused by the sting of a nettle and caused by allergic reaction to food, etc.

Palsy – paralysis or paresis (weakness) of all or part of the body, sometimes with tremor.

Paralytic – not just full paralysis, but any impairment of normal movement, like tremors or shaking of the hand.

Paroxysm – an episode of increased acuteness or severity of a disease.

Peripneumony – pneumonia.

Pessary – a device, often ring-shaped, placed in the vagina to support a prolapsed or malpositioned uterus.

Phlegm – one of the four cardinal humours, described as cold and moist, an excess causing apathy; but also used specifically of bronchial mucus brought up by coughing.

Phlegmatic – characterized by an excess of the bodily humour phlegm; not easily excited to feeling or action, stolidly calm, self-possessed, imperturbable; (with pejorative connotation) sluggish, apathetic, lacking enthusiasm.

Piles – haemorrhoids; ‘blind piles’ are those not actively bleeding.

Pin and web – an opacity of the cornea; possibly due to a lesion or cataract.

Plague – an infectious disease characterized by high fever, initial involvement usually of lymph nodes or the lungs, haemorrhage, and shock, caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, chiefly transmitted to humans from rodents (or other mammals) by fleas.

Plaster – a solid medicinal or emollient substance spread on a bandage or dressing and applied to the skin, often becoming adhesive at body temperature.

Pledget – a small, often medicated, compress or wad of lint, cotton wool, or other soft absorbent material for applying over a wound.

Pleurisy – pain in the chest or the side, especially when stabbing in nature and exacerbated by inspiration or coughing; technically caused by inflammation of the lining around the lung.

Pomatum – Latinized form of ‘pomade’; i.e., a scented ointment.

Posset – a drink made from hot milk curdled with ale, wine, or other liquor, flavoured with sugar, herbs, spices, etc., and often drunk for medicinal purposes.

Poultice – a moist, usually heated mass of a substance with a soft, pasty consistency, applied to the skin, usually by means of a bandage or dressing, in order to promote healing, reduce swelling, relieve pain, etc.

Proud flesh – abundant or excessive granulation tissue associated with a healing wound.

Ptisan – a wholesome or medicinal drink (now spelled ‘tisane’).

Ptyalism – excessive salivation.

Pugil – a pinch or small handful.

Purge – a medication to excite either bowel movement or vomiting.

Putrid – rotten or in a state of decomposition.

Quinsy – inflammation or swelling of the throat or part of the throat; often tonsillitis or strep throat.

Raving – a fit or bout of delirium or madness.

Reins – the body region of the kidneys.

Rheum – watery or mucous secretions, especially as collecting in or dripping from the eyes, nose, or mouth.

Rheumatism – an abnormal flow or flux of humours into a part of the body, causing pain or stiffness in joints, muscles, or organs.

Rickets – a disease of children caused by vitamin D deficiency, which results in deficient mineralization of bone with skeletal deformity.

Ringworm – fungal infection of the keratinized layer of the skin or of the hair or nails, in some forms manifesting itself as circular patches of inflammation or broken hairs; assumed to be caused by worms.

Rob – a syrup made by the concentration of fruit juice, usually by boiling and often with the addition of sugar, used especially for medicinal purposes.

Roundworm – a large, parasitic nematode worm, *Ascaris lumbricoides*, which has a rounded cross-section and is found in the intestines of humans.

Rupture – hernia, especially in the groin area.

Rupture, windy – a hernia distended by gas.

St. Anthony's fire – an intense skin rash or inflammation, such as from erysipelas or ergotism.

St. Vitus's dance – a disorder characterized by rapid, uncoordinated jerking movements primarily affecting the face, hands, and feet.

Sanguine – characterized by the predominance of blood over the other three humours, and indicated by a ruddy countenance and a courageous, hopeful, and amorous disposition.

Scald head – a head diseased with ringworm or some similar affliction.

Sciatica – pain in the hip.

Scirrhus – a hard tumour or swelling, typically not painful.

Scorbutic – symptomatic of or proceeding from scurvy.

Scruple – a third of a dram, or 20 grains.

Scurvy – a disease characterized by general debility of the body, extreme tenderness of the gums, foul breath, subcutaneous eruptions and pains in the limbs, induced by exposure and by a too liberal diet of salted foods; now recognized as due to insufficient ascorbic acid (vitamin C) in the diet.

Seton – a thread, piece of tape, or the like, drawn through a fold of skin so as to maintain an issue or opening for discharges.

Shingles – inflammation or infection of the skin circling the chest, especially when accompanied by heat and redness; Wesley attributed to a type of worm.

Smallpox – an acute infectious disease characterized by high fever, headache and backache, and a rash which affects especially the face and extremities and consists of pustules which heal with scarring.

Stomachic – a medicine for treating stomach disorders.

Stone – a hard morbid concretion in the body, esp. in the kidney or urinary bladder, or in the gallbladder.

Straitness – tightness of chest, shortness of breath.

- Strangury – blockage or irritation at the base of the bladder, resulting in severe pain and a strong desire to urinate.
- Sudorific – a preparation that promotes perspiration.
- Suffocation – impeded respiration, causing distress but not necessarily death.
- Suffusion – of eyes, watery or weeping eyes.
- Suppuration – the formation or discharge of pus; the maturation of an abscess.
- Surfeit – overindulgence in eating or drinking; gluttony.
- Syncope – a deep or serious fainting.
- Thrush – a disease, chiefly of infants, characterized by white vesicular specks on the inside of the mouth and throat, and on the lips and tongue; now known to be caused by a parasitic fungus.
- Tincture – a solution, usually in alcohol, of some principle (like myrrh) used in medicine.
- Tympany – swelling of the abdomen with air or gas.
- Ulcer – an open sore attended with a secretion of pus or other morbid matter; often on the external parts of the body.
- Uvula – Wesley uses for the entire soft palate in the mouth, not just the conic projection from the posterior edge of the soft palate.
- Vapours – used, primarily in reference to women, for mental disorders such as hysteria, mania, depression, light-headedness, fainting, flush, etc., which were thought to be caused by internal emanations.
- Ventricle – used for the stomach or digestive tract.
- Vertigo – condition in which a person has a sensation of whirling, either of external objects or of themselves, and tends to lose equilibrium and consciousness.
- Vesication – a blister or blistering.
- Vigilia – insomnia.
- Vomica – an abnormal pus-containing cavity, usually in a lung, caused by deterioration of tissue.
- Vulnerable – an adjective indicating something that has healing properties; particularly used of herbs.
- Wen – a sebaceous cyst.
- White swelling – a form of swelling without redness; specifically:
a) a tuberculous arthritis of a joint, or b) *phlegmasia alba dolens*, milk-leg, white-leg.

Whites, the – a thick, whitish discharge from the vagina or cervical canal; i.e., leucorrhœa.

Whitlow – a suppurative inflammatory sore or swelling in a finger or thumb.

Worm fever – a fever caused by the irritation of intestinal worms.

Worms – particularly in the digestive tract; roundworms and tapeworms.

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NAMES OF MEDICINAL HERBS, MINERALS, AND OTHER REMEDIES

[drawn mainly from the *Oxford English Dictionary*]

- Agaric (of the oak) – a bracket fungus that grows on oak trees.
- Agrimony – any of various plants constituting the genus *Agrimonia*.
- Alabaster – an ornamental stone consisting of a fine-grained, compact, translucent form of gypsum or calcite.
- Alder – a European tree, *Alnus glutinosa*, common on riverbanks and damp woodland across the northern hemisphere.
- Allheal – any of various plants reputed to be effective in treating a variety of conditions; including a) marsh betony, b) yarrow, c) mistletoe, d) self-heal, e) valerian.
- Alum, burnt – an astringent mineral sal (hydrated double sulphate of aluminum and potassium), reduced to a dry powder by fire; typically used as a styptic.
- Amaranth – a genus of ornamental plants (*Amarantus*) with coloured foliage, of which the Prince's Feather and Love-lies-bleeding are species.
- Amber – fossilized tree resin.
- Amber, salt of – succinic acid.
- Amber, syrup of – powdered amber mixed with succinic acid and opium; used as a sedative or anodyne.
- Amber oil – powdered amber mixed with honey and oil of rose; for curing ear problems or dimming eyesight.
- Ammoniacum – a gum-resin exuded from the stem of the perennial herb *Dorema ammoniacum* of the umbel family (*Apiaceae*); used as a compounding agent or cement.
- Angelica – *Angelica archangelica*, commonly known as garden angelica or wild celery.
- Aniseed – the seed of the anise, used as a carminative, and in the preparation of aniseed oil, etc.
- Antimony, crude – the element *Stibium*, calcined and powdered.

Antimony, ceruse of – crude antimony mixed with spirit of nitre, and distilled till no more fumes will rise.

Antimony, sulphur of – a natural occurring compound of antimony and sulphur.

Apple water – cider.

Aqua sulphurata – sulphur water; some dilution of sulphuric acid.

Arquebusade water – *eau d'Arquebusade*, a concoction containing numerous herbs made in Switzerland.

Arsesmart – a name of the plant Water-pepper (*Polygonum hydropiper*).

Asafœtida – a concreted resinous gum, procured in central Asia from the *Narthex asafetida* and allied umbelliferous plants; used as an antispasmodic.

Asarabacca – the plant *Asarum europæum*, sometimes called Hazewort; used as a purgative and emetic.

Aqua vitae – unrectified alcohol; or ardent spirits of the first distillation.

Balm – name of some fragrant garden herbs; the chief are Balm Gentle or Balm-mint (*Melissa officinalis*) and Bastard Balm (*Melittis melissophyllum*).

Balm of Gilead – see balsam of Mecca.

Balsam (or balm) – an aromatic vegetable juice; or substances like sulphur dissolved in oil or turpentine.

Balsam of capivi – an oily resin of several species of *Copaifera*, a genus of trees growing in South America and the West Indies.

Balsam of Mecca – a resin from the shrub then known as *Balsamodendron opobalsamum* (now more commonly *Commiphora gileadensis*) is also called Balsam of Gilead.

Balsam of Peru – a balsam derived from the tree *Myroxylon balsamum* var. *pereirae*.

Balsam of sulphur – made with oil of turpentine and brimstone.

Balsam of Tolu – a balsam derived from the tree *Myroxylon balsamum*.

Balsamic aether – see Wesley's guide for preparing (*PP*, §9, receipt #7).

Barbados aloes – the gummy sap of *Aloe barbadensis*.

Barbados tar – the tar-like substance derived from bituminous coal, mined in Barbados.

Barley-sugar – a confection, usually in twisted sticks, made from sugar, by boiling in a decoction of barley.

Bay-salt – salt obtained in large crystals by slow evaporation; originally, from sea-water by the sun's heat.

Bear's-foot – popular name of various species of Hellebore, especially of the Black Hellebore (*Hellebore foetidus*).

Bear's-foot, syrup of – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §282, receipt #7).

Beef-tea – the juice of beef extracted by prolonged simmering in a very little water, used as a nutritious food for invalids.

Benzoin – a dry and brittle resinous substance, with a fragrant odour and slightly aromatic taste, obtained from the *Styrax benzoin*, a tree of Sumatra, Java, etc.

Betony (or wood betony) – a plant (*Stachys betonica*) of the Labiate order, having spiked purple flowers and ovate crenate leaves; betony plaster is made using its juice.

Betony, marsh – *Stachys palustris*.

Birthwort – the genus of shrubs *Aristolochia*.

Bitter-sweet – the woody nightshade, *Solanum dulcamara*, a common shrub plant in Britain.

Black soap – any of various types of dark-coloured soap—specifically: a) a soft soap made from alkali and animal blubber or fish oil; or b) a soap originating in Africa made from the ashes of certain leaves and bark together with oils such as shea butter, palm oil, or coconut oil.

Blackthorn – a Eurasian thorny shrub or small tree, *Prunus spinosa*.

Blue smalt – see smalt.

Bole armoniac – a soft friable fatty earth, usually of a pale red colour.

Borage – the common British species (*Borago officinalis*) has bright blue flowers, and stem and leaves covered with prickly hairs; esteemed as a cordial.

Boerhaave's fever-powder – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §105, receipt #10).

Box, oil of – made from the shrub boxwood; an anodyne.

Boxwood – a species of flowering plant, *Buxus sempervirens*.

Bramble – a rough prickly shrub; specifically the blackberry-bush (*Rubus fruticosus*).

Brimstone – sulphur.

Brine – water saturated with salt.

Bristol-water – water of warm springs at Clifton near Bristol, used medicinally.

Brooklime – a succulent herb (*Veronica beccabunga*) common on

the edges of ditches; used in teas or syrups for its mild diuretic and laxative properties.

Broom – a shrub, *Sarothamnus scoparius*, bearing large handsome yellow flowers; abundant on sandy banks, pastures, and heaths in Britain.

Brown paper – course paper, used for wrapping packages.

Buckbean – a water plant (*Menyanthes trifoliata*) common in bogs in Britain, thought to cure gout.

Burdock – a coarse weedy plant (*Arctium lappa*, and kindred species) with prickly flower-heads called burs, and large leaves like those of the dock; typically used as a diuretic.

Burdock, decoction of – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §199, receipt #4).

Burnet – the popular name of plants belonging to the genera *Sanguisorba* and *Poterium*.

Butcher's broom – common name of *Ruscus aculeatus*, also called Knee Holly.

Butter of wax – a butyraceous oil, obtained from wax by distillation.

Calamint – a genus of aromatic herbs, *Calamintha*; particularly the common calamint, *Calamintha officinalis*.

Calamus aromaticus – the British herb Sweet Flag or Sweet Rush (*Acorus calamus*); used for its sedative, laxative, or diuretic properties.

Calomel – mercurous chloride, a preparation much used in medicine in the form of a white powder with a yellow tinge.

Camomile – an aromatic creeping herb (*Anthemis nobilis*) found on dry sandy commons in England, with downy leaves, and flowers white in the ray and yellow in the disk; the flowers were valued for their bitter and tonic properties.

Camphor – a whitish translucent volatile substance, with a bitter taste and strong odor, prepared by distillation and sublimation from *Camphora officinarum*, a tree indigenous to Java, Sumatra, Japan, etc. Often added to other remedies, then said to be 'camphorated'.

Cantharides – the dried beetle *Cantharis vesicatoria* or Spanish fly; used externally as a rubefacient and vesicant, internally as a diuretic.

Caprifolium – an old name for woodbine or honeysuckle.

Cardamom – a spice consisting of the seed-capsules of *Elettaria cardamomum*.

- Carduus – any of the prickly herbaceous plants of the genus *Carduus*; or thistle.
- Carduus benedictus – the ‘blessed thistle’ (*Carbenia benedicta*); used as a stimulant, diaphoretic, and emetic.
- Castile soap – a fine hard soap made (orig., in Spain) with olive oil and soda; either the white or the mottled.
- Celandine – *Chelidonium majus*; sometimes called swallow-wort; its thick yellow juice was supposed to be a powerful remedy for weak sight.
- Centaury, lesser – *Centaureum erythraea*, a plant of the gentian family; valued for reducing fever.
- Ceruse – ‘white lead’, a compound of carbonate and hydrate of lead used as a white paint and for preparing medical ointments.
- China-root – the thick fleshy root-stock of a shrubby climbing plant (*Smilax china* L.), closely akin to Sarsaparilla.
- Chervil – a garden pot-herb (*Anthriscus cerefolium*, formerly *Chærophyllum sativum*).
- Chickweed – a small weedy plant, *Stellaria media*.
- Chicory – the plant *Cichorium intybus*, with bright blue flowers, found wild in the south of England.
- Cider whey – made by mixing equal parts of cider and milk (and sometimes also water), boiling it down and straining off any particulates.
- Cinnabar – the red or crystalline form of mercuric sulphide; originally applied to native cinnabar, a rhombohedral mineral, usually of adamantine lustre.
- Cinnabar, factitious – made by combining mercury and sulphur.
- Cinquefoil – the plant *Potentilla reptans*.
- Clary – a labiate plant, *Salvia sclarea*, cultivated in English gardens as a pot-herb.
- Clivers – the climbing plant *Galium aparine* or Goosegrass, which adheres by its minute hooked bristles to hedges or shrubs, the clothes of passers-by, etc.
- Cocculus indicus – the commercial name of the dried berries of *Anamirta cocculus*, a climbing plant found in Malabar and Ceylon.
- Cochineal – a dye-stuff consisting of the dried bodies of the insect *Coccus cacti*, found on several species of cactus in Mexico and elsewhere; used as a dye and an antispasmodic.
- Colewort, green with red veins – Swiss chard.
- Colewort, red – red cabbage, *Brassica capitata rubra*.
- Coltsfoot – the leaves of *Tussilago farfara*, a common weed in waste

or clayey ground, with large spreading cordate leaves downy beneath, and yellow flowers.

Columbine – the English name for plants of the genus *Aquilegia*, especially the long-cultivated *Aquilegia vulgaris*, or common columbine.

Comfrey – the English name of *Symphytum officinale*, a tall plant, common on margins of streams and ditches, with rough leaves, and drooping clusters of yellowish-white or reddish-purple bell-shaped flowers.

Corn poppy – see red corn poppy.

Cow-heel – the foot of a cow or ox stewed so as to form a jelly.

Crab's eyes – a round concretion found in the stomach of the crayfish and some other crustacea, consisting mainly of carbonate of lime.

Cream of tartar – purified and crystallized potassium bitartrate.

Daffy's elixir – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §40, receipt #8; and after §288).

Damask rose – a species or variety of rose, supposed to have been originally brought from Damascus; originally the *Rosa gallica* var. *damascena*.

Dandelion – the well-known plant, *Taraxacum dens-leonis*.

Devil's-bit – *Scorzoneroïdes autumnalis*, a perennial herbaceous plant with dandelion-like yellow flowers; also called autumn hawkbit.

Diachylon, simple – or 'lead plaster'; an adhesive plaster made by boiling together litharge (lead oxide), olive oil, and water; prepared on sheets of linen as a sticking-plaster which adheres when heated.

Diachylon, compound – 'lead plaster' with the addition of gum ammoniac, galbanum, and sagapenum, dissolved with wine, and boiled to a consistency of honey.

Diacodium – syrup prepared from poppy-heads; used as an opiate.

Diapalma – a desiccating or detersive plaster composed of palm oil, litharge, and sulphate of zinc.

Diascordium – a medicine made of the dried leaves of *Teucrium scordium*, and other herbs.

Dock – a number of plants of the genus *Rumex*.

Dock, sharp-pointed – *Rumex conglomeratus*.

Dog grass – any of several kinds of couch grass, specifically common couch, *Elymus repens*, and the closely related *Elymus caninus*, reputed to be eaten by dogs to produce vomiting.

Dracontia – *Dracunculus vulgaris*, a species of aroid known vari-

- ously as the common dracunculus, dragon arum, and the black dragon. In Greece, the plant is called drakondia.
- Dragon's blood – a bright red resin that is obtained from different species of a number of plant genera.
- Drams – distilled liquors like gin and rum; name came from typical serving size.
- Elder – a low tree or shrub, *Sambucus nigra* (family *Caprifoliaceæ*), called, the common or black-berried Elder.
- Elderberry – the berries of *Sambucus nigra*.
- Elder-flowers – white flowers from the shrub *Sambucus nigra*.
- Elecampane – a perennial plant, Horse-heal (*Inula helenium*), with very large yellow radiate flowers and bitter aromatic leaves and root; used as a tonic and stimulant.
- Epsom salt – the salt (chiefly composed of magnesium sulphate) obtained from a mineral water native to Epsom, England.
- Essence of bardana, Dr. Hill's – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §186, receipt #3).
- Euphorbium – a gum resin obtained from certain succulent species of *Euphorbia*. It is an extremely acrid substance, formerly used as an emetic and purgative.
- Eyebright – a European medicinal plant of the genus *Euphrasia*, used to treat eye disorders; also called euphrasy.
- Felon-wort – the bittersweet nightshade, *Solanum dulcamara*; traditionally used to treat felons.
- Fennel – a fragrant perennial plant (*Foeniculum vulgare*).
- Fennel water – a spirituous liquor prepared from fennel seed.
- Fig-tree – a tree of the genus *Ficus*, especially the *Ficus carica*.
- Fixed air – carbonic dioxide; see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §227, receipt #4).
- Flax-weed – *Linaria vulgaris*, or toad-flax.
- Flea-bane – a name given to various plants, particularly of the genus *Inula*; especially *Inula dysenterica* and *Inula pulicaria*.
- Forge water, smith's – water in which heated irons have been dipped, as by a blacksmith.
- Foxglove – the popular name of *Digitalis purpurea*.
- Frankincense – an aromatic gum resin, yielded by trees of the genus *Boswellia*.
- French bean – any of various varieties of the haricot or kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), typically cultivated for their pods, which are eaten when green as a vegetable.

- Fuller's earth – a fine-grained clay used in cleansing wool, and as an astringent.
- Fumitory – a plant of the genus *Fumaria*, usually *Fumaria officinalis*.
- Galangal – the aromatic rhizome of certain Asian plants of the genera *Alpinia* and *Kaempferia*, of the ginger family.
- Galbanum – a gum resin obtained from certain Persian species of *Ferula*.
- Gall – likely Wesley did not mean the secretion of the gall bladder, but was shortening a common name, 'gall of the earth', given to the lesser centaury (due to its bitterness).
- Gamboge – a gum resin obtained from various trees of the genus *Garcinia*, used as a purgative.
- Garden cress – a type of cress widely cultivated for its leaves, which have a tangy peppery flavour, *Lepidium sativum*.
- Geneva spirit – gin.
- Gentian-root – the root of the plant *Gentiana lutea*.
- Germander – any of the plants constituting the genus *Teucrium*.
- Gladdon – a popular name for the iris.
- Glauber's salts – sodium sulphate; named after the one who first produced it in a lab, Johann Rudolf Glauber (1604–1670).
- Goosegrass – see clivers.
- Goulard's extract of lead – a solution of lead acetate and lead oxide used as an astringent. It was named after its introducer, Thomas Goulard.
- Grains of paradise – the seed capsules of *Amomum meleguetta* of Western Africa.
- Gromwell – common name for any of the plants of the genus *Lithospermum*, characterized by hard stony seeds, which were used in medicine.
- Ground-ivy – the herb ale-hoof, *Nepeta glechoma* or *Glechoma hederacea*, a common labiate plant having bluish-purple flowers and kidney-shaped leaves.
- Ground-oak – a species of dwarf oak.
- Groundsel – any plant belonging to the genus *Senecio*, esp. *Senecio vulgaris*; a common European weed.
- Guaicum – a genus of trees and shrubs native to the West Indies and the warmer parts of America, especially *Guaiacum officinale* and *Guaiacum sanctum*. The heartwood of these is used as a medicine, called 'lignum vitae' or 'Guaicum lignum'.

- Gum ammoniac – is a gum-resin exuded from the stem of the perennial herb *Dorema ammoniacum* native to north Africa.
- Gum arabic – a water-soluble gum exuded by certain acacias (especially *Acacia senegal*).
- Gum benjamin – a corruption of ‘gum benzoin’; see benzoin.
- Gum guaicum – a resin attained from *Guaiaicum officinale*.
- Gum storax – see storax.
- Gum tacamahac – a resin yielded by a Mexican tree, *Bursera tomentosa*.
- Hairif – a popular name for clivers.
- Hartshorn – the substance obtained by rasping, slicing, or calcining the horns of harts (red deer); formerly a chief source of ammonia.
- Hartshorn, salt of – carbonate of ammonia; smelling salts.
- Hartshorn, spirit of – an aqueous solution of ammonia.
- Haws – the fruit of a hawthorn bush.
- Hazel – a small tree of the genus *Corylus*, having as its fruit a nut.
- Heartsease – the wild pansy, *Viola tricolor*, or other species of viola.
- Hellebore, black – *Helleborus officinalis* and *Helleborus niger*, a plant valued for its purgative powers; especially the roots.
- Hellebore, white – *Veratrum album*, a plant valued for its purgative properties; typically used in a powder form.
- Hemlock – *Conium maculatum*, is odoriferous and has purple spotted stalks; used as a sedative but poisonous in strong doses; common use is as a plaster, with pain relief properties.
- Hemp – an annual herbaceous plant, *Cannabis sativa*.
- Henbane – the common name of the annual plant *Hyoscyamus niger*, growing on waste ground, having dull yellow flowers streaked with purple, and narcotic and poisonous properties.
- Hepatic aloes – liver-coloured or dark brownish-red aloes; *Aloe socotrina*.
- Herb Robert – a common wild species of Crane’s-bill or Geranium (*G. robertianum*).
- Hiera picra – a purgative drug composed of aloes and canella bark, sometimes mixed with honey and other ingredients.
- Hollyhock – the plant *Althæa rosea*; many varieties, with flowers of different tints of red, purple, yellow, and white, were cultivated in gardens.
- Honeysuckle – broadly used of any of several herbaceous plants rich in nectar; especially red clover, *Trifolium pratense*, and white

- clover, *Trifolium repens*; more specifically used of woodbine (see below).
- Horehound – a labiate herb, *Marrubium vulgare*, having stem and leaves covered with white cottony pubescence; used as a remedy for coughs.
- Horse-radish – a cruciferous plant (*Cochlearia armoracia*), with white flowers and broad rough leaves, commonly cultivated for its root.
- Horsetail – the common name of the genus *Equisetum*, consisting of cryptogamous plants with hollow jointed stems, and whorls of slender branches at the joints.
- Hound's-tongue – *Cynoglossum officinale*; also called dog's-tongue.
- Houseleek – *Sempervivum tectorum*, a perennial plant with pink flowers and a thick stem and leaves.
- Hungary water – an early alcohol-based perfume; the oldest surviving recipes call for distilling fresh rosemary (and possibly thyme) with strong brandy; while later formulations contain lavender, mint, sage, marjoram, costus, orange blossom, and lemon.
- Hyssop – a small bushy aromatic herb, most commonly *Hyssopus officinalis*; used medicinally, especially in decoctions.
- Ipecacuanha – the root of *Cephaelis ipecacuanha*, a South American small shrubby plant, which possesses emetic, diaphoretic, and purgative properties.
- Iris – a genus of plants, the type of the natural order *Iridaceæ*.
- Irish slate – an argillaceous slate containing ferric sulphate, used medicinally in the form of powder.
- Isinglass – a firm whitish semitransparent substance (being a comparatively pure form of gelatin) obtained from the sounds or air-bladders of some fresh-water fishes, esp. the sturgeon.
- Jack – a name for the pike; also for *Caranx pisquetos* and other carangoid fishes.
- Jalap – a purgative drug obtained from the tuberous roots of *Exogonium purga* and some other convolvulaceous plants; the active principle is the resin contained in the tubers.
- Jalap, tincture of – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §142, receipt #6).
- Jesuit's bark – see Peruvian bark.
- Juniper-berry – bluish-black or purple berries on a number of species of evergreen shrubs and trees, genus *Juniperus*; the berries

have a pungent taste and yield a volatile oil used as a stimulant and diuretic; the oil can be concentrated as a conserve or rob.

Kermes mineral – or ‘Chartrusian powder’; amorphous trisulphide of antimony, of a brilliant red colour.

Lapis calaminaris – calamine.

Laudanum – a name for various preparations in which opium is a main ingredient.

Laurel-leaves – leaves of the Bay-tree or Bay-laurel, *Laurus nobilis*.

Lavender – the plant *Lavandula vera*, a small shrub with small pale lilac-coloured flowers; an oil obtained by distillation of the blossoms used in medicine.

Lavender, spirit of – oil of lavender combined with alcohol.

Lavender cotton – a name for Ground cypress (*Santolina chamæcyparissus*).

Lead, Goulard’s extract – a solution of lead acetate and lead oxide, used as an astringent.

Lead, red – a red oxide of lead, formed by exposing litharge to hot air.

Lead, white – a mixture of lead carbonate and hydrated lead oxide.

Lentisk – the mastic tree (*Pistacia lentiscus*).

Liquorice – the rhizome (also called liquorice-root) of the plant *Glycyrrhiza glabra* (see Spanish liquorice for the medicinal/candy extract).

Lily – the flower, bulb, and roots of the white lily (*Lilium candidum*) were used internally as well as externally for therapeutic purposes.

Lime water – see Wesley’s guide for preparing (PP, §6, receipt #3; or §227, receipt #9).

Lingum vitae – see guaiacum.

Linseed – the seed of flax.

Litharge – protoxide of lead (PbO) prepared by exposing melted lead to a current of air.

Liverwort – the plant *Marchantia polymorpha*, which has lobed, liver-shaped leaves, and was thought to be effective against liver disorders.

Logwood – dry logs stored for fuel.

Lucatellus’s balsam – a syrup made of olive oil, wax, and turpentine; coloured red by the addition of dragon’s blood.

Lunar caustic – nitrate of silver, which burns and destroys living tissue when brought in contact with it.

- Mace – an aromatic spice consisting of the fleshy aril or covering surrounding the seed in the fruit of the nutmeg tree, *Myristica fragrans*, dried and used (chiefly in powdered form) to flavour savoury dishes, sauces, etc. (the kernel of the seed being the source of nutmeg).
- Madder – a herbaceous scrambling plant, *Rubia tinctorum*, cultivated particularly for the reddish-purple dye obtained from the root.
- Madder root, decoction of – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §10, receipt #10).
- Madeira wine – a distilled or fortified wine made in the Madeira islands, off the coast of Portugal.
- Magnesia alba – hydrated magnesium carbonate, a white powder used medicinally as an antacid and laxative.
- Maidenhair – a fern (*Adiantum capillus-veneris*) with delicate, pale green, fan-shaped pinnules; syrup of maidenhair is made from a concentrate of its leaves, sweetened with sugar or honey and mixed with water or milk.
- Mallow – a common European plant of waysides and waste places, *Malva sylvestris*; widespread in Britain.
- Malt – barley or other grain prepared for brewing, distilling, or vinegar-making; especially by steeping, germinating, and kiln-drying.
- Marseilles vinegar – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §174, receipt #2).
- Marsh mallow – the plant *Althaea officinalis*.
- Manna – a dried, sweet exudate or gum produced by various plants when cut, damaged, or punctured; especially one rich in mannitol exuded from the branches of the manna ash.
- Marigold – a plant with golden or bright yellow flowers, of the genus *Calendula*.
- Marjoram – aromatic herbs of the genus *Origanum*.
- Marum – a kind of thyme, *Thymus mastichina*.
- Masterwort – *Peucedanum ostruthium*, a plant regarded as a panacea on account of the sudorific, diuretic, and other medicinal properties of its root.
- Mastic – an aromatic gum or resin which exudes from the bark of the lentisk or mastic tree, *Pistacia lentiscus*.
- Mead – an alcoholic liquor made by fermenting a mixture of honey and water.
- Melilot – particularly the yellow melilot, characterized by trifoliate leaves and long racemes of small yellow flowers, which are dried and used in making plasters, poultices, etc.

- Mercurius dulcis – mercurous chloride; see calomel.
- Mercury – a metallic element which is a heavy, silvery-white liquid at room temperature.
- Mint – any of various aromatic plants constituting the genus *Mentha*.
- Mistletoe – a yellowish-green hemiparasitic shrub, *Viscum album*.
- Monk's rhubarb – either of two species of dock formerly grown as medicinal plants or pot-herbs, (originally) patience dock, *Rumex patientia*, and (in later use) *Rumex pseudoalpinus*.
- Mother of thyme – wild thyme, *Thymus polytrichus*; or in some regions, basil thyme, *Acinos arvensis*.
- Motherwort – the Eurasian herbaceous plant *Leonurus cardiaca*, used to treat heart diseases.
- Mountain sage – wood sage, *Teucrium scorodonia*.
- Mountain wine – a distilled or fortified sweet wine produced in Malaga, Spain.
- Musk – a reddish brown substance with a strong, persistent odour secreted by a gland of the male musk deer, esp. *Moschus moschiferus*.
- Mustard – any of the yellow-flowered annual plants of the family *Brassicaceae*.
- Myrrh – a bitter, aromatic gum resin exuded by various Arabian and African trees of the genus *Commiphora*.
- Neat's-foot oil – oil made from boiled cow heel.
- Negus – a drink made from wine (usually port or sherry) mixed with hot water, sweetened with sugar and sometimes flavoured.
- Nettles – any of various plants with inconspicuous green flowers and (usually) stinging hairs that constitute the genus *Urtica*.
- Nitre – originally *natron*, native sodium carbonate (obs.). In later use, sodium or potassium nitrate.
- Norway tar – a volatile oil derived from distilling the sap of pine trees.
- Nutritum – an ointment consisting of an emulsion of an oil and vinegar; especially one containing litharge.
- Oil of paper – made by mixing ashes of burned paper with olive oil.
- Olibanum – an aromatic gum resin obtained from trees of the North African genus *Boswellia*.
- Oxycrate – a mixture of vinegar and water, used as a medicinal preparation.
- Oxymel – a medicinal drink or syrup made of vinegar and honey, sometimes with other ingredients.

- Panada – a dish consisting of bread boiled to a pulp in water, sometimes flavoured with sugar, currants, nutmeg, or other ingredients.
- Pellitory of Spain – any of several plants with pungent-tasting leaves or roots, especially a daisy-like plant of North African origin, *Anacyclus pyrethrum*.
- Pellitory of the wall – either *Parietaria officinalis* or *Parietaria judaica*, which tend to grow upon or at the foot of walls.
- Pennyroyal – the leaves from a creeping mint, *Mentha pulegium*, native to damp heath.
- Pepperwort – *Lepidium latifolium*, a plant cultivated for its pungent leaves and root.
- Peruvian bark – the bark of various species of the *Cinchona* tree, from which quinine is now procured; formerly ground into powder and taken to relieve a fever.
- Phillyrea – either of two evergreen shrubs having dark green leaves and inconspicuous, greenish-white flowers; *Phillyrea latifolia* and *Phillyrea angustifolia*.
- Pimpernel – any of several plants of the genus *Pimpinella*; especially burnet saxifrage, *Pimpinella saxifraga*.
- Pippin – a kind of sweet apple.
- Plantain – any of various low-growing plants constituting the genus *Plantago*.
- Plumbago – spotted persicaria, *Persicaria maculosa*.
- Poppy – often referring specifically to the opium poppy, *Papaver somniferum*.
- Port – a distilled or fortified wine made in Portugal.
- Primrose – an early-flowering European primula, *Primula vulgaris*, found in woods, hedges, etc.
- Proof spirit – distilled alcoholic liquor that is of proof strength.
- Puffballs – various gasteromycete fungi characterized by a globose fruiting body which on the rupturing of the outer wall at maturity discharges a cloud of powdery spores.
- Purslane – a low-growing succulent plant, *Portulaca oleracea*, with small yellow flowers in the axils of its fleshy leaves, which is widely grown as a salad vegetable or herb.
- Quick grass – any of several weedy grasses, especially couch grass, *Elymus repens*.
- Quickbeam – any of several trees of the genus *Sorbus*, especially the European rowan (*Sorbus acuparia*).
- Quicklime – lime which has not yet been slaked; calcium oxide.

Quicksilver – see mercury.

Quince – the tree *Cydonia oblonga* which produces a pear-shaped fruit; the juice of the fruit, the seeds found within the fruit, and the leaves were used medicinally.

Raisin of the sun – grapes allowed to continue on the vines until the clusters were dried by the heat of the autumn; or, at minimum, raisins dried only by sunlight, without use of lye or other agents.

Ranunculus – meadow plants with palmate leaves and bright yellow flowers, members of the family *Ranunculaceae*; especially buttercups.

Rattlesnake root – *Polygala senega*, a species of flowering plant in the milkwort family.

Red coral – an arborescent species of coral, found in the Red Sea and Mediterranean.

Red corn poppy – *Papaver rhoeas*, a common weed in Europe.

Red nettle – a form of common nettle, *Urtica dioica*, or Roman nettle, *Urtica pilulifera*, with reddish parts.

Red sand – common name for crystalline form of lithic acid, found in urine.

Ribwort – a Eurasian plantain commonly found in grassland, *Plantago lanceolata*, which has lanceolate leaves with prominent ribs; also called narrow-leaved plantain.

Rock alum – crystalline alum of high purity, esp. that prepared from Italian alunite.

Rose conserve – made by pounding freshly-gathered rose petals with sugar.

Rose water – made by seeping rose petals in water.

Rosemary – an aromatic evergreen shrub.

Rosin, (yellow) – distillate of turpentine.

Rosin, white – distillate of white turpentine.

Rue – any of various dwarf shrubs in the genus *Ruta*, especially *Ruta graveolens*, which has yellow flowers and bitter, strongly scented feathery leaves.

St. John's-wort – any plant of the genus *Hypericum*; especially *Hypericum perforatum*, the flowers and foliage of which are used in herbal medicines.

Saffron – an orange-red product consisting of the dried stigmas of *Crocus sativus*; used as a cordial and sudorific.

Sage – an aromatic herb of the genus *Salvia*; 'red sage' is *Salvia miltiorrhiza*; 'white sage' is *Salvia apiana*.

- Sal ammoniac – i.e., salt of Ammon, a hard white opaque crystalline salt, ammonium chloride.
- Sal-prunella – potassium nitrate fused and cast in balls, cakes, or sticks; for soar throats.
- Sal volatile – ammonium carbonate.
- Salep – (or saloup) a nutritive meal, starch, or jelly made from the dried tubers of various orchidaceous plants, chiefly those of the genus *Orchis*.
- Saltpetre – potassium nitrate.
- Sarsaparilla – the dried roots of plants of the various species of *Smilacæ*; especially Jamaica sarsaparilla, *Smilax officinalis*; used in a medicinal preparation.
- Sassafras – a small tree native in North America, *Sassafras officinale*, also called Sassafras Laurel and Ague-tree; both the dried bark and the root were used in medical concoctions.
- Savin – a small bushy juniper, *Juniperus sabina*; oil from its berries or young shoots was used medicinally.
- Savory – any plant of the genus *Satureja*, comprising aromatic herbs and low shrubs from the Mediterranean and south-west Asia.
- Saxifrage – any plant of the genus *Saxifraga*, especially *Saxifraga granulata*.
- Scammony – a gum-resin obtained from the tuberous roots of *Convolvulus scammonia*, used as a strong purgative; also, the dried tuberous root from which the drug is prepared.
- Scarlet cloth – the colour red was for a time believed to have curative powers; particularly associated with blood diseases or red rashes like thrush.
- Scurvy-grass – a cruciferous plant, *Cochlearia officinalis*, believed to possess anti-scorbutic properties.
- Scurvy-grass, garden – *Cochlearia hortensis*.
- Sea-wormwood – the species of wormwood *Artemisia maritima*.
- Self-heal – a name for various plants believed to have great healing properties, esp. *Prunella vulgaris*, *Sanicula europæa*, and formerly *Pimpinella saxifraga*.
- Senna – the dried leaflets of various species of *Cassia*, used as a cathartic and emetic.
- Sensitive plant – the plant *Mimosa pudica*, which has leaflets that fold together when touched.
- Seville orange – the fruit of *Citrus aurantium*, whose pulp is bitter and which is now used chiefly for making marmalade.
- Silverweed – a common wayside plant of the genus *Potentilla* (*P. anserina*) with prostrate rooting stems and silvery leaves; goose-grass or wild tansy.

- Small beer – a beer/ale that contains very little alcohol, typically about 0.75%; it was sometimes unfiltered and porridge-like.
- Smallage – any of several kinds of celery or parsley; especially wild celery, *Apium graveolens*.
- Smalt – cobalt oxide.
- Snake-root – a medicinal preparation made from the root of *Polygala senega* or *Aristolochia serpentaria*.
- Soapwort – one or other of the herbaceous plants belonging to the genus *Saponaria*.
- Socotrine aloes – a drug prepared from the juice of the *Aloe socotrina*, and originally obtained from the island of Socotra.
- Solomon's seal – a plant, *Polygonatum multiflorum*, the stems of which bear on the upper part broad sessile leaves and drooping green and white flowers.
- Sorrel – one or other of certain small perennial plants belonging to the genus *Rumex*.
- Southernwood – a hardy southern European shrub, *Artemisia abrotanum*.
- Sow-bread – *Cyclamen europaeum*, a plant whose fleshy tuberous root-stocks are eaten by swine.
- Sow-thistle – one or other of the species of *Sonchus*; common European weeds characterized by their sharply-toothed thistle-like leaves and milky juice.
- Spanish liquorice – made from the evaporated juice of the root of the plant *Glycyrrhiza glabra*, commonly sold in black cylindrical sticks.
- Spanish snuff – a very fine red or yellow snuff, mixed with an oily earth.
- Spearmint – the common garden mint, *Mentha viridis*.
- Speedwell – one or other species of *Veronica*, an extensive genus of small herbaceous plants with leafy stems and small blue (rarely pink or white) flowers.
- Spermaceti – a liquid wax derived from sperm whales.
- Spirit of salt – hydrochloric acid.
- Spleenwort – one or other of various ferns belonging to the genus *Asplenium*.
- Spurge – one or other of several species of plants belonging to the extensive genus *Euphorbia*, many of which are characterized by an acrid milky juice possessing purgative or medicinal properties.
- Squill – the bulbous-rooted sea-shore plant *Scilla maritima*; the sea-onion.

- Stavesacre – a plant of the species *Delphinium staphisagria*; the seeds of this plant, used to destroy vermin, and formerly as an emetic.
- Steel, salt of – usually, iron chloride (but used also for the sulphate or other salts of iron).
- Stomach tincture – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §221, receipt #5).
- Storax – a fragrant gum-resin from the tree *Styrax officinalis*; often sold in small tear-shaped drops called 'storax in tears'.
- Stoughton's drops – see Wesley's guide for preparing (after PP, §288).
- Succory – the plant *Cichorium intybus*.
- Sulphur vivum – naturally occurring sulphur, a grayish stone.
- Sulphur, flower of – a very fine form of bright yellow sulphur powder obtained by sublimation.
- Sulphur, oil of – sulphuric acid.
- Sulphur, spirit of – sulphuric acid.
- Sweetmeats – sweet food, as sugared cakes or pastry, confectionary; preserved or candied fruits, sugared nuts.
- Tamarinds – the fruit of the tree *Tamarindus indica*, a brown pod containing one to twelve seeds embedded in a soft brown or reddish-black acid pulp; the pulp was valued for its medicinal qualities.
- Tansy – an erect herbaceous plant, *Tanacetum vulgare*.
- Tar-water – see Wesley's guide for preparing (PP, §6, receipt #1).
- Tartar, salt of – the liquid obtained by dry distillation of tartar; it contains pyrotartaric acid and other substances.
- Tartar-emetic – common name in pharmacy of potassio-antimonious tartrate.
- Thistle – the common name of the prickly herbaceous plants of the genus *Carduus*.
- Three-leaved grass – an old name for clover.
- Toast – a slice or piece of bread browned at the fire, then put in wine, water, or other beverage.
- Tonquin medicine – a mixture of cinnabar and musk.
- Treacle – a medicinal compound, usually a kind of salve, composed of many ingredients, supposed to protect against or serve as an antidote to venomous bites, poisons generally, and malignant disease.
- Treacle beer – a light ale or beer brewed from treacle and water.
- Treacle, poor man's – or *Theriaca pauperum*; some equate with

garlic; in other collections it is a paste made from juniper berries.

Treacle, Venice – a famous and expensive form of treacle, containing up to sixty different ingredients and purported to possess universal protective powers.

Trefoil – a plant of the genus *Trifolium*, having triple leaves; a clover—commonly applied to species or varieties other (esp. smaller) than those cultivated under the name of ‘clover’.

Turbith mineral – a cathartic drug prepared from the root of East Indian jalap, *Ipomoea turpethum*, an Indian and Australian plant.

Turlington’s balsam – see Wesley’s guide for preparing (after *PP*, §288).

Tutty – an impure oxide of zinc obtained from the flues of smelting furnaces, or a similar substance occurring as a native mineral, used chiefly as a polishing powder.

Valerian – *Valeriana officinalis*.

Valerian root, tincture of – see Wesley’s guide for preparing (*PP*, §161, receipt #1).

Varnish, black – made from East Indian tree *Melanorrhæa usitatissima*.

Verdigris – basic acetate of copper.

Venice soap – a mottled soap made with olive oil and soda, with a little sulphate of iron in solution, or sulphate of zinc.

Venice turpentine – made by distilling the resin of the larch tree (*Larix occidentalis*); used for waterproofing horse hoofs.

Verjuice – the acid juice of green or unripe grapes, crab-apples, or other sour fruit, expressed and formed into a liquor.

Virginia snake-root – see snake-root.

Vitriol – sulphuric acid.

Vitriol, blue – deep blue, crystalline copper sulphate pentahydrate.

Vitriol, elixir of – see Wesley’s guide for preparing (*PP*, §9, receipt #6).

Vitriol, Mynsicht’s elixir of – aromatic sulphuric acid with several other ingredients, including cinnamon.

Vitriol, Roman – same as blue vitriol.

Vitriol, white – zinc sulphate.

Wake-robin – also called cuckoo-pint, or Lords-and-Ladies; *Araceæ maculatum* is a species of the family arum native to Britain.

- Wall-July-flower – *Cheiranthus cheiri*, a plant growing wild on old walls, on rocks, in quarries, etc., and cultivated in gardens for its fragrant flowers.
- Wall rue – a small fern, *Asplenium ruta-muraria*.
- Walnut – the common walnut-tree, *Juglans regia*.
- Water dock – *Rumex hydrolapathum*; also called ‘great water dock’.
- Water dock, decoction of – see Wesley’s guide for preparing (PP, §199, receipt #17).
- Water fern – any of various ferns often found growing near water; like the royal fern, *Osmunda regalis*.
- Water gruel – thin liquid food of oatmeal or other meal boiled in water.
- Water lily – any of various aquatic plants constituting the family *Nymphaeaceae*, having large, rounded floating leaves and showy emergent flowers.
- Water parsnip – any of the aquatic or semiaquatic umbelliferous plants of the genus *Sium*; especially *Sium suave*.
- Watercress – any of several hardy perennial aquatic or semiaquatic plants of the genus *Nasturtium*.
- Whey – in combinations like celery-whey, cider-whey, or mustard-whey; milk forced to curdle or coagulate by the added ingredient.
- White bryony – *Bryonia alba* is a vigorous vine in the family that includes squashes and melons, from Europe and Northern Iran. Other common names include English mandrake and wild hops.
- White copperas – protosulphate of zinc.
- Whitethorn – the common hawthorn of Europe, *Crataegus monogyna*.
- Wild ash – any of several trees of the genus *Sorbus*; especially the European rowan (*Sorbus acuparia*); also called quickbeam.
- Wood betony – see betony.
- Wood sage – the perennial herb *Teucrium scorodonia*.
- Wood-sorrel – the common name of *Oxalis acetosella*.
- Woodbine – a name for various plants of a climbing habit; in early use, convolvulus and ivy; or particularly honeysuckle, *Lonicera periclymenum*.
- Wormseed – a name for the dried flower heads of various plants, as swine’s fennel or sulphurwort, which were assumed to have the ability to expel parasitic worms.
- Wormwood – the plant *Artemisia absinthium*, proverbial for its bitter taste; the leaves and tops are distilled to yield an oil or syrup.

Yarrow – the common name of the herb *Achillea millefolium*.

Yellow water-flower-de-luce – *Iris pseudacorus*.

Zedoary – the aromatic tuberous root of one or more species of
Curcuma, of the East Indies.

Zibethum occidentale – human faeces.

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