

The Rise of a Medical Specialty: The Medicalisation of Elite Equine Care c.1680 – c.1800

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Abstract

There are currently very few historians of veterinary medicine and outside of their scholarship there is almost nothing that has been written about veterinary history in the past thirty years. This is despite the fact that medical historians have created a large body of scholarship since the 1980s, including studies of political movements, social and cultural histories, histories of ideas of the medical profession, histories of specific diseases and histories of science. The lack of veterinary history is also striking because there has been a plethora of research coming from the field of human/animal relations. Furthermore, the history of animal care before formal veterinary education (1790s) is even more neglected and the scholarship that does exist is over forty years old and generally anachronistic—save the work of Louise Curth. This is all despite the outstanding changes that were occurring during the eighteenth century in Britain.

Part of the reason that the current interpretations of eighteenth-century animal care are so anachronistic is due to the focus of historians upon the emergence of the London Veterinary College (1792) as an enlightened step toward progression. This is far from correct because a new medical specialty emerged in animal care over a century before the College. This thesis shows that those involved in the gentlemanly practice of farriery created a new specialised field of farriery that was much more medical. Like midwifery, oculism and dentistry, equine medicine became a new medical specialism. This is demonstrated by analysing elite farriery literature published between 1550 and 1800, by reconstructing the identity of eighteenth century farriery practitioners (especially those that claimed to be gentlemen), by uncovering the practice of these elite practitioners in horse hospitals and anatomy lectures. These findings suggest a new narrative of the history of animal care, showing that veterinary medicine was a product of the larger changes in equine medicine occurring well before the 1790s.

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Introduction: Horses and Horse Medicine

On June 6, 1704, William Taylor, the steward of Petworth House, regretfully sent a letter describing an accident to the sixth Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse. Taylor apologetically wrote that a horse had struck the front leg of a prized colt, causing the bone to shatter and protrude through the skin. Before Taylor wrote the letter, a farrier set the bone, then covered the wound in an ointment and splinted the leg, but argued that the colt would never walk again. Compound fractures were often fatal due to infection, and many owners put horses out of their misery quickly after such an accident. However, the value of this colt caused Taylor and the farrier to resort to any available option to prolong the colt's life while Taylor corresponded with Somerset.

During the time between correspondences with Somerset, Taylor solicited medical care and advice from other medics, including the apothecary Mr. Haslam, who also concluded that the wound was untreatable. Nearly eight days later, Taylor received Somerset's response, which directed him to call for the best bonesetter in the country—Somerset did not want to lose the colt.¹ Mr. Newland the 'best bonesetter in this country' came, but also concluded that 'nobody could have done beter to it then the ffarryer had done'.²

Nevertheless, knowing the value of the horse, Taylor was not willing to dispose of it, so he had the farrier bring the colt inside the house, dress its leg again and hoist its body up off the ground in a sling to stop the colt from putting any pressure on the leg. Somerset also later sent for the king's farrier, Andrew Snape, but ultimately it was hopeless. This, however, did not stop Somerset from attempting to repair the horse's leg at any cost. This

¹ West Sussex Record Office, 'Copy Letters from William Taylor, Steward at Petworth, 6th Duke of Somerset', PHA 6323-6325, No. 101a; No. 101 b; No. 101 c.

² West Sussex Record Office, 'Copy Letters from William Taylor, Steward at Petworth, 6th Duke of Somerset', PHA 6323-6325, No. 101 c.

desperate and prolonged search for medical assistance indicates that there was a whole world of practitioners caring for eighteenth-century horses. The creature was so valuable that a Duke wrote about it and no fewer than four individuals—two farriers, one local and one metropolitan, one apothecary and one bonesetter—became involved. It also raises the questions explored in this thesis.³

Medical historians have created a large body of scholarship since the 1980s, including studies of political movements, social and cultural histories, histories of ideas of the medical profession, histories of specific diseases and histories of science. Additionally, they have contributed to important new areas of work, such as the history of environment, the history of emotion and the history of the body. Nevertheless, most of these fields of research are primarily interested in medicine and the human body, and rarely focus upon animal medicine or the animal body. This neglect is striking because until the twentieth century, Europeans relied extensively upon nonhuman, especially equine, bodily labour—it was a horse-drawn world.

In 1993 Roy Porter wrote that, ‘among ‘medical historians’, the history of animal medicine is unfortunately, virtually never addressed in its own right’.⁴ He argued that this is an important, though neglected, part of medical history⁵ and that the study of it should

³ West Sussex Record Office has several series of letters with similar content from the Petworth House Archives, such as ‘Copy Letters from William Taylor, Steward at Petworth, to Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset’, PHA 6323-6325, No. 6, No. 33, No. 53, No. 56, No. 59b, No. 62c, No. 65, No. 66, No. 68, No. 69, No. 77, No. 78a, No. 79a, No. 79b, No. 80, No. 81, No. 89b, No. 100a, No. 101a, No. 101c, No. 107, No. 109; ‘Letters from Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset, to William Taylor, Steward at Petworth’, PHA 6322 No. 10, No. 11, No. 14, No. 15, No. 28; ‘Letter book of Morgan Jones, Steward to the Duke of Somerset at Petworth’, PHA 6375, f.5, f.9, f.11, f.14, f.5a, f.5b, f.19, f.20, f.22, f.27, f.33, f.39, f.41, f.42, f.45, f.48, f.60, f.66, f.67, f.68, f.70.

⁴ Roy Porter, ‘Man, Animals and Medicine at the Time of the Founding of the Royal Veterinary College’, in A.R. Michell (ed.), *The Advancement of Veterinary Science* (4 vols, London, 1993), vol. 3, p. 19.

⁵ Important examples of eighteenth-century medical history as it relates to animals include, Anita Guerrini, *Experimenting with Humans and Animals: from Galen to Animal Rights* (Baltimore, 2003); Nicolaas Rupke (ed.), *Vivisection in Historical Perspective* (London, 1990); Joanna Swabe, *The Burden of the Beasts: A Historical Sociological Study of Changing Human-Animal Relations and the Rise of the Veterinary Regime* (London, 1997); D.G.C. Allan and R.E. Schofield, *Stephen Hales: Scientist and Philanthropist* (London,

draw on the social history of medicine and the history of human/animal relations.⁶ Since then, nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians have produced important work about animal disease and the professionalising of veterinary medicine.⁷ Nevertheless, there is still little scholarship on the history of animal medicine in the eighteenth century.⁸ This is regardless of the increasing amount of scholarship being produced in the field of human/animal relations.

Within the past two decades the interdisciplinary study of non-human animals has developed into a new robust academic discipline, which sprouted from the earlier research of Keith Thomas (*Man and the Natural World*, 1983), Brian Harrison (*English Historical*

1980); R.B. Fisher, *Edward Jenner 1749-1823* (London, 1991); D.E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London, 1976); M. Daly, 'Vivisection in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *British Journal of Eighteenth Century Studies*, 12 (1989), 57-67; A. Maehle, 'Literary Responses to Animal Experimentation in Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-century Britain', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), 27-51.

⁶ Foundational examples of historical works discussing human/animal relations in the long eighteenth century are Mark Blackwell (ed.), *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-century England* (Lewisburg, 2007); Mary Fissell, 'Constructing Vermin in Seventeenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1997), 1-29; Erica Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: of Animals, Humans and other Wonderful Creatures* (Illinois, 2004); Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1987); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London, 1983); Keith Tester, *Animals and Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights* (London, 1991).

⁷ For histories about the veterinary profession see, O. Charnock Bradley, *History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College* (Edinburgh, 1988); Connie Ford, *Aleen Cust, Veterinary Surgeon: Britain's First Woman Vet* (Bristol, 1990); Ernest Cotchin, *The Royal Veterinary College London: a Bicentenary History* (Buckingham, 1990); D. Karasszon, *A Concise History of Veterinary Medicine*, trans E. Farkas (Budapest, 1988); Iain Pattison, *The Veterinary Profession 1791-1948* (London, 1983); idem., *A Great British Veterinarian Forgotten: James Beart Simonds, 1810-1904* (London, 1990); idem., *John McFadyean: a Great British Veterinarian* (London, 1981); L. P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine, 1785-1795* (Cambridge, 1962); C.W. Schwabe, *Veterinary Medicine and Human Health* (Baltimore, 1984); Ruth Thompson, *The Remarkable Gamgees* (London, 1974); Jean Ware, *The Several lives of a Victorian Vet* (London, 1979); For works on animal diseases and medicine see, Abigail Woods, *A Manufactured Plague: the History of Foot-and-Mouth Disease in Britain* (London, 2004); idem., 'The Construction of an Animal Plague: Foot and Mouth Disease in Nineteenth-century Britain', *Social History of Medicine*, 17 (2004), 23-39; Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain, 1830-2000* (Basingstoke, 2007); Michael Worboys, 'Germ Theories of Disease and British Veterinary Medicine, 1860-1890', *Medical History*, 41 (1997), 182-196.

⁸ Garry Alder, *Beyond Bokhara: the Life of William Moorcroft Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon 1767-1825* (London, 1985); John Broad, 'Cattle Plague in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 31 (1983), 104-115; Lise Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease: an Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge, 2005); idem., 'Glanders: Medicine and Veterinary Medicine in Pursuit of a Contagious Disease', *Medical History*, 25 (1981), 363-384; idem., 'Rinderpest and Mainstream Infectious Disease Concepts in the Eighteenth Century', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 129-150; Joanna Swabe, *Animals, Disease and Human Society: Human-Animal Relations and the Rise of Veterinary Medicine* (London, 1999).

Review, 1973) and F. M. L. Thompson (Horse-Drawn Society, 1970). This new discussion of animals as historical figures has caused animals to float to the surface of historical discourse and created a niche for new historical methodology and approaches to the past. This field of research has emerged as part of the historical interest of the subaltern or the histories of women, slaves and others whose voices are often lost. Erica Fudge for example has called for a new historical method and way of seeing non-human animals. She argues, 'the history of animals cannot just tell us what has been, what humans thought in the past; it must intervene, make us think again about our past and, most importantly, about ourselves. The History of animals can only work at the expense of the human.'⁹ This view has become influential because it has begun to question anthropocentric views of the past. In some ways this has become problematic to relativist historians, but it has helped develop a very interdisciplinary approach to the field. Many interdisciplinary groups have emerged, such as *Killing Animals* and journals like *Society and Animals* and *Anthrozoos*. In the very early development of this field, scholars like Keith Thomas began focusing upon the early modern period of British history to demonstrate distinct shifts in human/animal relationships. This creates little doubt that the emergence of new specialties in animal care came from the changing relationships between humans and animals in the eighteenth century.

To begin to understand this shift one needs to turn to the relationships between humans and animals in Tudor and Stuart England. Attitudes towards animals were often harsh and fostered physical abuse; animals were generally seen in very practical ways. Man was given dominion over animals and could deal with them as he saw fit, which was supported by Christian doctrines and interpretations of the Bible. Man believed that there was a

⁹ Erica Fudge, 'A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals', in Nigel Rothfels (ed.), *Representing Animals* (Bloomington, IN, 2002), p. 15.

ladder of primacy and that he was superior to all of God's creatures on earth. The nature of rural society meant that man's relationship with animals was often dictated by the needs of man. Humans worked animals to death, trained them, beat them and ate them without remorse and without emotional ties.¹⁰ Erica Fudge has recently demonstrated, however, that during the early modern period there were a plethora of competing ideas vying for power in England and the animals played an important part of who the human actually was during this period.¹¹

Nevertheless, most historians agree that these relationships changed during the eighteenth century. British authors and artists produced a wealth of literature that was indicative of this movement, such as Hogarth's *Four Stages of Cruelty* and Swift's civilised horses in *Gulliver's Travels*. Thomas argues that urbanity and town life grew causing a physical separation of humans and animals. Though the extent of separation can be disputed because there was an increased number of horses in London and other urban centers, many rode in carriages and hackney coaches, representing this separation.¹² The expanding merchant class also placed distance between themselves and the rural and agrarian world that previously required physical contact between humans and animals. This was also accompanied by a new polite culture that fostered codes of manners and refined behavior. Therefore, the relationship between them became much less physically interactive and much more intellectually and emotionally real. One way of understanding and developing this new relationship was through the study of nature, which ironically gave reason for many to dissect and vivisect animals and cage them in zoos. Man was now uncovering the

¹⁰ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*.

¹¹ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 2006), p. 3.

¹² Rob Boddice, *A History of Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain: Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals* (New York, 2008), pp. 84-85.

handiwork of the great Creator and justified to do so, through taxonomy, physiology and science.

This polite and intellectual society was then poised to develop even further sensibilities. Men began new ways of looking at animals and attempting to preserve and protect them. A new discourse of care emerged from Steele's newspaper, the writing of Fielding and as mentioned above the art of Hogarth. Driven by the educated professional classes cruelty to animals was seen in a negative light and many philanthropic initiatives began to protect animals on an equal level with Man. As Bentham argued, animals can suffer just like Man, therefore they were on equal ground. Rob Boddice, however, has recently argued that these sensibilities or cognitions of animal rights were actually concerned more with the degradation of the polite and civilised gentleman than protecting animals. These sentiments dovetail well especially with the relationship between man and horse. Karen Raber and Treva Tucker's *Culture of the Horse* for example has begun to demonstrate the central importance of the horse in early modern Europe and its role in shaping the identity and status of its owner and rider. This close connection to the horse developed new ways of treating the horse and new ways that the horse represented English society.

Though many were caught up in the transformation and obsession with equine culture during the eighteenth century, Donna Landry has recently demonstrated that there was a specific 'cultural shift for which certain highly valued horses, representations of those horses, and stories about them were largely responsible.'¹³ In many ways this 'shift' is the topic of this dissertation focused upon elite upper-class horse care and the emergence of those that cared for them. Her book and the change happening within the eighteenth century meet together well with the previous literature from Keith Thomas and Keith

¹³ Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 5.

Tester, but also serve as a much more specific historical example and go much further by discussing a particular species. Because Landry's claims are so relative to this dissertation, it is important to take a closer look at her arguments.

First, Landry focused on what she calls 'Noble Brutes'. She is suggesting that some horses were seen as having the ability to obtain an anthropomorphic status like nobility.

Furthermore, as the rest of her title states ('How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture') these beasts changed English culture between 1650 and 1750. As over 200 eastern horses were imported to England it created a small group of highly valued horses that overwhelmingly appealed to the upper echelons of society. These horses transformed riding and racing styles in conjunction with English literature and especially sporting art. The grandeur of George Stubbs' 'Whistle Jacket' exemplifies the self-supporting nobility of such beasts; and demonstrates how they transformed English culture. Like Landry's focus, this dissertation will also look at the upper classes and their new relationship to horses. Therefore, Landry's focus upon how this relationship changed in horsemanship practices is highly influential and important.

She argues that 'the arrival of the eastern blood horse encouraged' better treatment and care of these horses. She makes a distinct comparison with the high status and care of horses amongst Asian desert nomads to the low status and poor care of horses in the agricultural societies of early modern Europe. The Asians, especially the Ottomans, believed that the horses were intelligent and emotional beings that would react better to personal association to its rider if the rider was respectful and kind. On the other hand, the Europeans saw horses as emotionless brutes placed in the hands of men to do with them as they pleased, such as Thomas argued earlier. They would beat the horse and expect that it would react only to the forceful hand of man. Landry argues that the English were

overwhelmed by the nomad's ability to effortlessly control their horses and that their respectful treatment of horses was imported along with Asian horses. Landry even speculates that 'Swift embeds within Gulliver's reportage to the master Houyhnhnm a miniature indictment of contemporary horse-keeping practices' in reflection of the juxtaposition of European to Ottoman treatment of horses.¹⁴ She further argues that 'No horse picture of the eighteenth century is more radical in its houyhnhnmization of its subject than *Whistlejacket*', by George Stubbs (1762).¹⁵ It is this point about the shifting care of horses that this dissertation is concerned. It, however, focuses upon the medical care of horses rather than the general care of horses.

The historians who have written most extensively about the medical care of animals produced their work on the topic more than thirty years ago and describe the practitioners of animal medicine in Georgian England as ignorant, backward and unskilled.¹⁶

As we shall see, the historiography of eighteenth-century animal medicine is not only vague but also anachronistic and misleading. The five authors who largely created it, Frederick Smith, J. F. Smithcors, L. P. Pugh, Ernest Cotchin and Iain Pattison, agree that the eighteenth century was, in Smith's words, 'a period of remarkable interest since it witnessed the transfer of the art of Veterinary Medicine from ignorant and untrained men

¹⁴ Landry, *Noble Brutes*, p. 128.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁶ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (4 vols, London, 1976); J. Fred Smithcors, *The American Veterinary Profession: its Background and Development* (Ames, Iowa, 1963); *idem.*, 'Animal Disease in Colonial America', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 32 (1958), 171-176; *idem.*, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art: a Narrative Account to 1850* (London, 1958); *idem.*, 'Medical Men and Veterinary Medicine in America', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 33 (1959), 330-341; Smithcors and Smith echo late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century polemic: John Lawrence, *The History and Delineation of the Horse* (London, 1809); *idem.*, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses: an on the Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation* (2 vols, London, 1796, 1798); Bracy Clark, *A Short History of the Horse, and the Progress of Horse-knowledge* (London, 1824).

to the graduates of the first Veterinary School in the United Kingdom.’¹⁷ These authors saw the foundation of the College as a revolution and, indeed, as the only significant event in the eighteenth century because it created “progress” in veterinary medicine. L. P. Pugh wrote, ‘during the first three-quarters of the century, there had been no corresponding advance in knowledge or skill amongst those responsible for the treatment of sick animals. . . . this period (1785–1795) [was] one of transition, and . . . the most important stage in the history of veterinary progress in this country.’¹⁸ Nevertheless, the College did not triumph rapidly, and there was no direct shift from ‘ignorance’ to enlightenment. In 1794 the LVC nearly went bankrupt, but it was saved by the army’s need for equine medics during the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁹ It ultimately achieved a royal charter in 1844 and legal control of animal medicine in 1881, but in its early years, the LVC was hardly a beacon of knowledge and the veterinary surgeon created little competition for other equine medics. There was only a small trickle of veterinary surgeons graduating from the LVC (only six graduates within the first three years), and after 1795, students graduated after only months of instruction, which gave them fewer skills than some farriers and other equine medics.²⁰ Additionally, in order to understand animal medicine in the eighteenth century, historians need to look beyond the veterinary surgeon, something that older authors have not done. There has been no extensive research on farriers and other equine medics in the eighteenth century, and none of the literature systematically compares these other practitioners to the veterinary surgeon. Therefore, the historiography of eighteenth-century animal medicine remains little studied, as are the connections between veterinary surgery and farriery, horse doctoring and equine surgery. Therefore, eighteenth-century animal medicine resembles older versions of the history of medicine, in which practitioners

¹⁷ Smith, *Early History of Veterinary Literature*, vol. II, p. vii.

¹⁸ Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine*, pp. xi and 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95–117.

²⁰ Cotchin, *The Royal Veterinary College London*, p. 13.

looked to the past for connections with their current profession, often leaving aside or denigrating seemingly unrelated events or practitioners.

This thesis will challenge the approach of previous veterinary historians and aims to redefine the historiography of eighteenth-century animal medicine and more specifically of equine medicine. To do so, I draw upon approaches developed in the social history of human medicine in the last twenty-five years,²¹ as well as upon wider literatures on human/animal relations²² and social and cultural history.²³ I also develop recent work on the farrier by Joan Lane and Louise Curth.²⁴ The latter has shown the extensive overlap in the theoretical frameworks of animal care and human medicine in this period.

Additionally, she has shown that the model of the medical marketplace is a particularly

²¹ For examples of early modern social and cultural medical histories see, Lucinda Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: the Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1987); Harold Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* (Ithaca, NY, 1986); idem., *The Regulation of Medical Practice in London Under the Stuarts, 1607-1704* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1986); Margaret Pelling, 'Medical Practice in Early Modern England: Trade or Profession?', in Wifred Prest (ed.), *The Professions in Early Modern England* (London, 1987); idem., *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners 1550-1640* (Oxford, 2003); Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, *In Sickness and in Health: the English Experience 1650-1850* (London, 1988); idem., *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-century England* (Stanford, CA, 1989); Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985).

²² For hunting see, Donna Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936', *Social Text*, 11 (1984-1985), 20-64; For zoos see, Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie: The Amazing True Story of the Royal Collection of Wild Beasts* (London, 2004); Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions* (New York, 1989); Robert Jones, "'The Sight of Creatures Strange to Our Clime": London Zoo and the Consumption of the Exotic', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2 (1997), 1-26.

²³ For important examples see, A. Dundes, *The Cockfight: A Casebook*. (Madison, WI, 1994); Jenifer Ham and Matthew Senior (eds.), *Animals Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History* (New York, 1997); Robert Darnton (eds.), *The Great Cat Massacre* (London, 1984); Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin, *Zoo Culture* (Urbana, Illinois, 1999); Haraway, *Primate Visions*; Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston, 1993). AL Tsing, 'Empowering Nature, or some Gleanings in Bee Culture' in Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney (ed.), *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis* (New York, London, 1995); Adrian Franklin, *Animals & Modern Cultures: A Sociology of Human-animal Relations in Modernity* (London, 1999); Keith Tester, 'The Pleasure of the Rich is the Labour of the Poor: some Comments on Norbert Elias "An Essay on Sport and Violence,"' *The Journal of Historical Sociology*, 2 (1989), 161-172.

²⁴ Joan Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England' in A.R. Michell (ed.), *The Advancement of Veterinary Science* (4 vols, London, 1993), vol. 3, 99-118; Louise Hill Curth, 'Animals, Almanacs and Astrology: Seventeenth Century Animal Health Care in England', *Veterinary History*, 12 (2003), 33-53; idem., 'Almanacs as Medical Mediators' in C. Osborne and W. de Blecourt (eds.), *Mediating Medicine: Cultural Approaches to Illness and Treatment in Early Modern and Modern England* (London, 2004), 56-70.

useful way of understanding the seemingly confused structure of animal care.²⁵ In summary she states,

There were a variety of medical options for animals, some of which could be purchased or bartered for in the market-place, as well as those that were available 'free of charge'. The three major categories of farriers, horseleeches or common farriers, and leeches for lowlier kind of animals were supplemented by treatments carried out by laymen. There were also large numbers of popular medical works which allowed husbandmen, herds-men, shepherds, and a host of other workers to supplement their knowledge.²⁶

I shall demonstrate that these models need to be refined and adapted for the study of eighteenth-century animal care. First, the intellectual bases of animal medicine shifted over the eighteenth century as new medical and anatomical ideas appeared and developed in both human and animal medicine.²⁷ Second, there are clear signs that some practitioners trained in human medicine began to specialise in, and describe themselves as expert in, some areas of animal medicine.²⁸ Finally, the category 'animal medicine' is too broad. Horse care was the most lucrative area of animal care and produced the most specialised practitioners. It came to be organised very differently from the care of other animals, even with specialist horse hospitals. Therefore, this thesis will focus upon equine medicine.

²⁵ Idem., 'The Care of the Brute Beast: Animals and the Seventeenth-Century Medical Marketplace', *Social History of Medicine*, 15 (2002), 375-392.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 392.

²⁷ See for example, Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (eds.), *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, NY, 2006); Lester King, 'Medical Theory and Practice at the Beginning of the 18th Century', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 1-15; idem., *Medical World of the 18th Century* (Huntington, 1971); idem., *The Philosophy of Medicine: the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).

²⁸ See Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (London, 1738); William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720); Thomas Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery* (London, 1758); William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* (London, 1788).

Horses were the most valuable animals in the eighteenth century. It is certainly the case that cows, sheep and pigs received some “medical” care, but in most circumstances it was less specialised than equine care (this thesis focuses upon elite specialised care).²⁹ Despite the national attention the government and Royal Society gave to cattle plague, there was little need for continual medical care for each individual bovine.³⁰ Care for cattle in epizootics, not regular individual care over a long period, was the only major concern in the eighteenth century. Widespread interest in cattle medicine was therefore sporadic. Bovine medicine remained in the hands of cow leeches and the occasional surgeon or physician aiding in a cattle epizootic.³¹ Additionally, even though dogs and cats caught the eye of sentimentalists, they were far less valuable and required much less care than the horse. Yet my focus should come as no surprise if one considers the role of the horse in eighteenth-century English society.

The Eighteenth-Century Horse

A number of scholars have recognised pre-twentieth-century England as a horse-drawn society. In the 1970s Joan Thirsk and F. M. L. Thompson began historical inquiry into the horse’s significance.³² Since then there has been a noticeable growth in this scholarship,

²⁹ Cromwell Mortimer, ‘Some Account of the Distemper raging among the Cow’, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 43, (1744-45), 532-537; Theophilus Lobb, *Letters Relating to the Plague and Contagious Distempers*, (London, 1745); Dr. Barker, *An Account of the Epidemical Distemper Amongst the Black Cattle* (London, 1745); E. Litton, *The Theory of the Distemper Among the Horned Cattle* (London, 1750); S.I. A *Dissertation on the Epidemical Distemper Among the Horned Cattle* (London, 1751); Daniel Layard, *An Essay on the Nature, Cause and Cure of the Contagious Distemper Among the Horned Cattle in these Kingdoms* (London, 1757); idem., ‘Discourse on the Usefulness of Inoculation of the Horned Cattle’, *Philosophical Transactions*, 50, (1757-58), 747-753.

³⁰ Lise Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, pp. 35-65.

³¹ See, Thomas Bates, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 30 (1718), pp. 872-885; J. Barker, *An Account of the Present Epidemical Distemper Amongst the Black Cattle* (London, 1745); Theophilus Lobb, *Letters Relating to the Plague, and other Contagious Distempers* (London, 1745); Cromwell Mortimer, ‘Some Account of the Distemper Raging Among the Cow’, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 43, (1744-1745), 532-537; C.A. Spinage, *Cattle Plague: A History* (London, 2003).

³² Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading, 1978); F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse-Drawn Society* (London, 1970); see also, H.B. Barday, *The Role of the Horse in Man’s Culture* (London, 1980); John Clabby, *The Natural History of the Horse* (London, 1976); A.A. Dent and Daphne Machin Goodall, *A History of British Native Ponies: from the*

not least in cultural as well as economic history.³³ Recently Peter Edwards, Clay McShane and Joel Tarr have written thoroughly researched histories of horses in seventeenth-century England and the United States in the nineteenth century.³⁴ These have demonstrated the horse's widespread importance and role in both societies. Edwards' research, in particular, provides a fundamental starting point for my study of the horse in eighteenth-century English society.

For as he wrote,

Many thousands of ordinary people working in early modern England used the horse in a host of utilitarian tasks. They put loads on their horses' back or hitched them to a vehicle. . . . on farms, horses helped prepare the ground, pulling ploughs, harrows or rollers, and drew the wains, tumbrels, carts, wagons and even sledges, that carried farm produce off the fields or to market.³⁵

Bronze Age to the Present Day (London, 1988); Mark Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers* (London, 1977); D. Laird, *Royal Ascot* (London, 1976); M.M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London, 1976).

³³ E. Graham, 'Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England: James Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) and Gervase Markham's *Cavelarice* (1607)', in Erica Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and other Wonderful Creatures* (Chicago, 2004); A. Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Thrupp, 1999); idem., *The Medieval Warhorse* (Thrupp, 1994); Donna Landry, 'The Bloody Shouldered Arabian and Early Modern English Culture', *Criticism*, 46 (2004), 41-69; John Langdon, 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 30 (1980), 31-40; idem., 'Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth-and Thirteenth-Century England?', *Past and Present*, 103 (1984), 37-66; Sylvia Loch, *The Royal Horse of Europe: The Story of the Andalusian and Lusitano* (London, 1986); Arthur MacGregor, 'Horsegear, Vehicles and Stable Equipment at the Stuart Court: A Documentary Archaeology', *Archaeological Journal*, 153 (1996), 148-200; idem., 'The Royal Stables: A Seventeenth-Century Perspective', *Antiquaries Journal*, 76 (1996), 181-200.

³⁴ Peter Edwards, 'The Horse Trade of the Midlands in the Seventeenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 27 (1979), 90-100; idem., *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1988); idem., 'The Supply of Horses to Parliamentary and Royalist Armies in the English Civil War', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 68 (1995), 150-168; idem., 'The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart Staffordshire', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), 31-54; idem., *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London, 2007); Clay McShane and Joel Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 2007); See also, J. Edward Chamberlin, *Horse: How the Horse Has Shaped Civilizations* (New York, 2006); Rebecca Louise Cassidy, *Horse People: Thoroughbred Culture in Lexington and Newmarket* (Baltimore, 2007); Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800-1920* (Toronto, 2006); Karen L. Raber and Treva J. Tucker (eds.) *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (2006).

³⁵ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 183.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the horse had almost completely replaced oxen for farm labour. Horse-breeding practices paid particular attention to the sizes and kind of horses needed for farm labour and ultimately produced certain kinds of horses more suited to it. Consequently, 'Between 1636 and the mid eighteenth century, the proportion of ratepayers who had horses rose from three in five in 1636 (60.0 per cent) to just under three in four in 1701 (73.4 per cent), to over four in five in 1724 (81.1 per cent) and to six in seven at an unknown date between 1724 and 1742 (85.7 per cent).'³⁶ By 1790 the British were using around 1.2 million horses for agricultural labour and 'the horse population rose by a quarter between 1695 and 1750, and trade in horses probably grew faster', reaching 1.5 million horses.³⁷

E. A. Wrigley argued, 'The single most remarkable feature of the economic history of England between the later sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries was the rise in output per head in agriculture.'³⁸ He calculated there was 'a rise of 27 per cent in the horse power available per man on the land in the course of the eighteenth century.'³⁹ He based his conclusions upon the calculations of the political mathematicians Gregory King and Arthur Young.⁴⁰ In 1695 King estimated there were in England more than 500,000 cart and plough horses and more than 550,000 draught horses, and in 1779 Young calculated that there were 200,000 more draught horses than King had calculated. By combining these calculations, it is easy to see not only the increase in the number of horses, but also

³⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁷ J.A. Chartres, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in Joan Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V 1640-1750* (London, 1985), p. 446.

³⁸ E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 35.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 42.

⁴⁰ Gregory King, 'The LCC Burns Journal', in *The Earliest Classics: John Graunt and Gregory King*, facsimile with introduction by P. Laslett (Farnborough, 1973); Arthur Young, *Political Arithmetic: Containing Observations on the Present State of Great Britain* (London, 1779), pp. 45-57, 133, 148, 156, 179; see also, J.R. McCulloch, *A Statistical Account of the British Empire* (2 vols, London, 1837); F. M. L. Thompson, 'Nineteenth-Century Horse Sense', *Economic History Review*, 29 (1976), 60-81.

the obvious increase in horsepower. Horses were also a major source of power in quasi-industrial settings. Though Newcomen engines began to replace the horse as the source of power for draining coal mines from the 1720s, horses remained an important power source for gins and other machinery until after 1800. Moreover, horsepower remained the power supply for transporting supplies and goods to and from these industrialising settings.⁴¹

Demand for horses increased also because of the improvements of road systems and the huge growth of internal transport. The roads in England were in a horrid state before the eighteenth century,⁴² but turnpike trusts improved many routes, making travel easier, and created thousands of miles of new roads.⁴³ The first turnpike trusts began in the 1690s, but by 1750, there were 143 trusts and 3,386 miles of road under their care. By 1770 there were 519 trusts running 14,965 miles of road. When the government abolished turnpike trusts in 1836, there were 942 trusts running 21,991 miles of road in England and Wales.⁴⁴

Pack ponies and large draught horses were common, and horse-drawn carts, wains, carriages and wagons filled the roads. Edwards argues, 'The trend towards regional specialisation in agriculture and the concentrations of industry ensured that the roads carried a large and growing volume of goods around the country.'⁴⁵ Horse-powered carrier services expanded enormously, especially in the second half the eighteenth century.

Dorian Gerhold argued that 'the number of [carrier] services multiplied at least threefold

⁴¹ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p.201-203; J.E. Ward, 'John Spedding's Accounts of Horses Used in the Whitehaven Collieries etc., from 1715 Onwards', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 89 (1989).

⁴² Dorian Gerhold, *Carriers and Coachmasters: Trade and Travel before the Turnpikes* (Chichester, 2005).

⁴³ There are a variety of examples of general and specific histories of turnpikes. Theo Barker and Dorian Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700-1990* (Cambridge, 1996); William Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England: 1663-1840* (Cambridge, 2007); John Copeland, *Roads and Their Traffic 1750-1850* (Newton Abbot, 1968); B.J. Buchanan, 'The Evolution of the English Turnpike Trusts: Lessons from a Case Study', *Economic History Review*, 39 (1986), 223-240; Geoffrey Wright, *Turnpike Roads* (Shire, 1992); Kenneth Macmahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire* (York, 1964); Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Story of the King's Highway* (London, 1920); Eric Pawson, *Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 266-279.

⁴⁴ Eric Pawson, *The Turnpike Trusts of the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Innovation and Diffusion* (Oxford, 1975), fig. 4 and 5, p. 17.

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 188.

between 1681 and 1838,' and the great growth in internal trade increased the number of horses and further increased the demand for people to shoe and look after them.⁴⁶

As the number of horses increased in England, their value also increased. Edwards argues that the mean cost of horses rose 376.7 percent from the 1540s to the late 1600s.⁴⁷ By the end of the seventeenth century, all kinds of horses were increasing in price and value.

Better breeding and war demands increased the price of workhorses.⁴⁸ Large horses costing five pounds became more common on farms by the beginning of the eighteenth century. In addition, a gin horse costing more than seven pounds became common as well.⁴⁹ Comparing the price of coach horses, Edwards showed that between 1620 and 1659, average high-end horses sold for around thirty-one pounds and between 1660 and 1719 as high as 45 pounds.⁵⁰ Peter J. Bowden, however, attempted to compare regional prices of horses in the eighteenth century and found that prices of horses within individual regions did not vary much, 'yet the range of prices from transaction to transaction was often very large.'⁵¹ For example, he showed that a 'grey galloway' in Northumberland could cost from 1 pound 5 shillings to 53 pounds and 15 shillings. Thus, even the kind of horse could not determine the cost of the horse; their value was determined by a plethora of factors. Those meeting the ideal characteristics, however, could be sold for a much larger amount of money.

Additionally, more and more horses filled the streets of London pulling carts, hackney coaches, coaches and carrying people. Edwards wrote, 'A richly embellished coach,

⁴⁶ Dorian Gerhold, *Road Transport Before the Railways: Russell's London Flying Waggon* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 1.

⁴⁷ Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade*, p. 14.

⁴⁸ N. Russell, *Like Engend'ring Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 58-93.

⁴⁹ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, pp. 199, 205-206.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 221, table 10.

⁵¹ Peter J. Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices, Wages, Farm Profits, and Rents', in Joan Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume V 1640-1750* (London, 1985), p. 32.

adorned with the family's coat of arms and drawn by a fine team of matching horses, was an impressive sight and proclaimed the wealth and standing of the owner.'⁵² The demand for horses in London increased through the introduction of the coach in the mid-sixteenth century and then the introduction of the hackney coach from the seventeenth century. The regulated number of hackney coaches in London grew from 300 in 1654, to 1000 in 1771.⁵³ Traditional horse-drawn vehicles, such as waggon, carts and hackney coaches, crowded the streets of London and created a particular urban environment of traffic and a demand for more horses. This therefore created a new demand for their care.

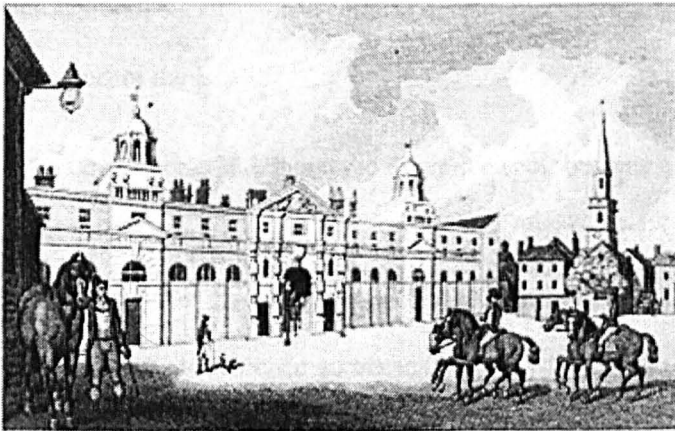
Furthermore, eighteenth-century English architects designed urban spaces with the horse in mind, not least by building mews. Giles Worsley writes, 'The mews was a distinctively English, and above all London, response to the problem of housing horses and coaches in dense urban developments.'⁵⁴ The large variety of mews (or stables) was a major part of the built structure of London. They ranged from small open areas for horses to the Royal Mews, which was an impressive classical building, one of the largest open spaces in London and a majestic place to keep the court's horses and coaches.⁵⁵ Horse owners built them throughout West London (varying in size and grandeur) until the early twentieth century. If they were prepared to build for horses, they would also pay to care for them.

⁵² Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 211.

⁵³ Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Circulation and Disorder: London Streets and Hackney Coaches, c. 1640-c. 1740', T. Hitchcock & H. Shore (eds.), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London, 2003), p. 41.

⁵⁴ Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (London, 2005), p. 112.

⁵⁵ Giles Worsley, 'Kent and the Royal Mews', *Country Life*, 181, no. 46, (1987), 185-189; idem., 'London's Greatest Stable: the Royal Mews, Pimlico', *Country Life*, 180, no. 4640 (1986), 194-96.



Royal Stables in the Mews, Charing Cross.
Engraved by J. Smith, after a drawing by J. G. Smith.

Illustration 0.1, Cook, *Royal Stables in the Mews, Charing Cross* (London, 1793).

However, the development of specialised and extremely costly equine culture probably did more than the general increase in horse numbers to create a demand for specialised equine medical services, for many of the eighteenth-century aristocracy and gentry were near obsessed with horses, with riding, racing and hunting. The horse was a symbol of prestige as well as a practical way of crossing the country. Many of the gentry and aristocracy focused their attention on the biology of horses and the thoroughbred.⁵⁶ Allegedly, stud master Mr. John Fenwick had horses worth 15,000 pounds at the end of the seventeenth century. Racehorses on average cost five times more in 1800 than they had cost in 1700, going from 20 pounds to 100 pounds.⁵⁷ Breeding practices increasingly caused the value of horses to rise and ‘by the turn of the seventeenth-century breeders and owners of racehorses were well aware of the genealogy of their horses.’⁵⁸ Guided first by Yorkshire breeders, breeding spread throughout the country, especially in Newmarket. The

⁵⁶ Russell, *Like Engend’ring Like*, pp. 93-122.

⁵⁷ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 115.

⁵⁸ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), p. 113; Russel, *Like Engend’ring Like*, pp. 93-110.

thoroughbred became a new cultural development, as Richard Nash argues, a ‘cultural metaphor’ of the English.⁵⁹

The value of horse care increased as equine sport became a common part of the English social calendar in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ In 1671 new laws opened up previously restricted land for the gentry to use for the hunt, which expanded equine sport to many who had not had such open access to land.⁶¹ By the middle of the eighteenth century, the athletic ability of horses infused with foreign blood improved English horses dramatically.⁶² This caused the gentry to breed or buy thoroughbred horses for the hunt, in order to keep pace with other hunters.⁶³ Therefore, there was an increase in the number of thoroughbred hunting horses, which only grew as hunting circles increased and competition between riders and their horses became more prevalent. The aristocracy formed hunting societies and groups of elite hunters, which gathered often to demonstrate their skill in riding and the quality of their horses—the Royal Hunt being the exemplar.⁶⁴

The increased interest in horseracing in the eighteenth century affected the value and importance of horses in an even bigger way. As Peter Borsay wrote, ‘Horse-racing was the most rapidly developing and commercially oriented of eighteenth-century physical

⁵⁹ Richard Nash, ‘“Honest English Breed”: The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor’, in Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (eds.) *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York, 2005).

⁶⁰ See, Donna Landry, ‘Learning to Ride in Early Modern Britain, or, The Making of the English Hunting Seat’, in Karen Raber and Treva Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse*; Richard Nash, ‘Honest English Breed: “The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor”’, in Karen Raber and Treva Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse*.

⁶¹ Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (London, 2007), pp. 115-125; idem., *England’s Revelry: a History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford, 2005); see also R. Carr, *Fox Hunting: A History* (London, 1976); R. Longrigg, *The History of Foxhunting* (London, 1975); idem., *The English Squire and his Sport* (London, 1977).

⁶² Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 74-103.

⁶³ Raymond Carr, *English Fox Hunting: A History* (London, 1976), p. 40.

⁶⁴ See, George Burrows, *Gentlemen Charles: A History of Foxhunting* (London, 1951); Augustus Osbaldeston, *The British Sportman or Nobleman, Gentleman and Farmer’s Dictionary* (London, 1792); T.G.T. Paget, *History of the Althorp and Pytchley Hunt* (London, 1902); William Taplin, *Sportsmans Dictionary* (2 vols, London, 1806).

recreations'.⁶⁵ Although horseracing had become popular in the Elizabethan period and the seventeenth century, during the eighteenth century, prizes were increased, racecourses became permanent and organised venues, and the Jockies Club regulated the races (1752).⁶⁶ Writing about Newmarket and horseracing in the eighteenth century, Laura Thompson argued, 'What was needed now were institutions. They took a while to come, but during the eighteenth century such a vast deal of organisation took place that, although it happened over a period of many years, it seemed to come in one great reforming rush.'⁶⁷ Horseracing became more enticing to gentlemen as the total prize money in England went from 13,500 pounds in the early eighteenth century to 33,500 pounds by 1760.⁶⁸ Many gentlemen invested a great deal of money into horseracing and especially the care of their horses.

The spread of equine portraits in eighteenth-century England, from John Wootton (*The Warren Hill*, 1714, to his two portraits of George II on horseback) onwards, shows the importance accorded to certain horses.⁶⁹ Works like Wootton's *A Bay Horse Got by the Leedes Arabian* (1715) were very large works (many around 2.25 x 3.5 meters) in oil, which aristocrats and the gentry displayed prominently in their country homes and great houses. 'The English Thoroughbred had become a microcosm of all that was splendid and British, an imperial icon,'⁷⁰ writes Donna Landry. Portraits of horses had become so important, E. K. Waterhouse argues, that horse artists wanted equal recognition as artists

⁶⁵ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 181.

⁶⁶ For general histories of English horse racing see, Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society* (London, 1969); Roger Longrigg, *The History of Horse-Racing* (London, 1972); Wray Vamplew, *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse-Racing* (London, 1976). Laura Thompson gives a lively description of some of the early years of the Jockey's Club in *Newmarket: From a James I to the Present Day* (London, 2000), pp. 91-123.

⁶⁷ Laura Thompson, *Newmarket*, p. 55.

⁶⁸ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 173-196.

⁶⁹ Stella A. Walker, *Sporting Art: England 1700-1900* (New York, 1972), pp. 56-61. Other similar artists were Jan Wyck, Peter Tillemans, and Francis Barlow.

⁷⁰ Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 140.

painting human portraits.⁷¹ Whether or not this is so, they were important visual statements. As Malcolm Warner wrote, 'The portrait of a horse was an expression of pride in ownership, a celebration of racing success, the record of a winning horse's appearance in its prime; it could even be an advertisement for its pedigree and services at stud.'⁷² George Stubbs's equine portraits represent the horse-mad eighteenth-century English aristocrat's obsession with fine horses. He even opened the Turf Gallery in 1794 to display the portraits he had painted of all the best racers since the 1760s.⁷³ Stubbs's horse paintings demonstrate the iconic status of horses and the value of the thoroughbred in Georgian culture. Their physical condition was a matter of keen attention.

Furthermore, aristocrats housed their horses extravagantly. Giles Worsley wrote, 'No animal has been so favoured by architects as the horse.'⁷⁴ English horse owners created expensive and carefully designed spaces for their horses. In Worsley's words, 'Horses do not need stables to live . . . yet, though practicality explains the need for stables, it cannot of itself justify the energies and resources that have been poured into their building, often far beyond functional requirements.'⁷⁵ In the early eighteenth century, aristocrats began adding grand Palladian stables to their country homes. These were separate buildings, which housed a large number of horses and the aristocracy's coaches. Often the stables were as architecturally significant as the house itself. 'Too numerous to count, such stables demonstrate again the great importance attached to the horse by eighteenth-century

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 142-163; E.K. Waterhouse, 'Lord Fitzwilliam's Sporting Pictures by Stubbs', *Burlington Magazine*, 88 (1946), p. 199.

⁷² Malcom Warner and Robin Blake, *Stubbs & the Horse* (London, 2004), p. 102.

⁷³ Basil Taylor, *Stubbs* (London, 1971), pp. 59-61; Robin Blake, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation* (London, 2005), pp. 64-70.

⁷⁴ Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (London, 2005), p. 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

aristocracy and gentry alike.⁷⁶ The Royal Mews and Chatsworth House stables are ideal examples of the possible size and grandeur of these structures.

This culture surrounding the horse created many jobs and supported trades such as saddlers, coachmakers, grooms, trainers, farriers and smiths. As Edwards argued, ‘Many thousands of people earned a living directly or indirectly from horses, and horse-related industries generated huge sums of money each year.’⁷⁷ It also produced an enormous and growing demand for the care and the health care of horses, ranging from shoeing and the removing of stones or thorns from hooves to the treatment of injuries and a variety of disease, such as Farcy and Glanders. By the end of the eighteenth century, equine health was so important that architects even designed stables according to medical theories. Owners of thoroughbred horses wanted stables that could protect their horses from disease, and Worsley argued that this amounted to a stable revolution in the 1790s, one which points in particular to an increased focus upon the health of the horse.⁷⁸ James Clark, farrier to George III—influenced by Stephen Hales and his ideas about ventilation—developed new ideas for preventing diseases by calling for larger living spaces and ventilation.⁷⁹ Clark and other farriers introduced the open box stable, where a horse had more room to move around.⁸⁰ Architects also designed large, panelled windows to allow fresh air to flow throughout the stables. Although, as Giles Worsley argues, styles and kinds of stables had changed throughout the early modern period in Britain, this new design developed from concern for equine health and ideas about health care, which may have grown in the later eighteenth century.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁷ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Worsley, *British Stables*, pp. 182-3.

⁷⁹ See, James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses* (Edinburgh, 1790), pp. 29-33; Stephen Hales, *A Description of Ventilators* (London, 1743).

⁸⁰ Worsley, *British Stables*, p. 182.

Eighteenth-Century Equine Medicine

One manifestation of this concern was the establishment of veterinary colleges throughout Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. Most historians agree that the dawn of veterinary education began during the French enlightenment. Robert Dunlop argued that Louis XV's establishment of military schools and their interest in medical care for horses, coupled with the Academy of Science's attention to comparative anatomy, created an environment that fostered veterinary education.⁸¹ Dunlop also argued that Claude Bourgelat, founder of the first veterinary school at Lyon, was able to establish the school because of his connections to government officials and military schools. Henri-Leonard-Jean Baptiste Bertin, the king's controller general, who was a supporter of agricultural improvement, knew and respected Bourgelat. This led to a government grant (1761) and later a royal charter (1764) for a school in Lyons and later one in Alfort.⁸² Although as Lise Wilkinson argued, it was 'emphasised in many accounts of the beginnings of veterinary education that the establishment of veterinary schools was because of the almost constant fight against cattle plagues in the eighteenth century',⁸³ Tatsuya Mitsuda has recently shown that interest in European veterinary schools came from equestrians' apprehension about equine care and that the schools maintained a focus upon equine medicine throughout the eighteenth century.⁸⁴ There is no doubt that the French concern about cattle plague contributed to an apparent "need" for veterinary schools, but, as Mitsuda has argued, cattle plague and a "scientific" concern for it arrived too late to affect

⁸¹ Robert Dunlop, *Veterinary Medicine: An Illustrated History* (New York, 1996), pp. 319-324.

⁸² Dunlop, *Veterinary Medicine*, p. 321.

⁸³ Lise Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, p. 65; See also John Broad, 'Cattle Plague in Eighteenth-Century England', p. 104; C.A. Spinage, *Cattle Plague: A History* (London, 2003), p. 103. John Gamgee, *The Cattle Plague* (London, 1866); George Fleming, *Animal Plagues* (London, 1871).

⁸⁴ Tatsuya Mitsuda, 'The Equestrian Influence and the Foundation of Veterinary Schools in Europe, c. 1760-1790', *eSharp*, 10 (winter, 2007).

the founding of French veterinary schools.⁸⁵ By 1800 there were twenty similar schools established throughout Europe, which also focused upon equine medicine.

One of this group of European schools, the London Veterinary College was established in 1791. The British, however, had been interested in new forms of education for equine medics as early as the 1760s. The English court farrier and entrepreneur, Edward Snape, for example, established a school in 1765 and another in 1791 (see Chapter 4). By the 1780s the idea of veterinary education gained more attention. James Jeffray, who would later become a Professor of Botany and Anatomy at the University of Edinburgh, proposed a plan to establish a veterinary college in that city in 1786. He attempted to gather support and raise a subscription to send himself to France for education so that he could then return to Scotland to establish a veterinary college.⁸⁶ Soon after, in 1788, James Clark, also attempted unsuccessfully to establish a government-funded school in Edinburgh.⁸⁷

The Odiham Agricultural Society in Odiham, Hampshire, driven by men such as author Thomas Burgess and the Bishop of Salisbury, proposed ideas for improving animal care that led to the founding of the London Veterinary College in 1791.⁸⁸ Ironically, they originally did not intend to establish a veterinary college; they were simply attempting to 'improve' farriery. On December 2, 1785, it was proposed to improve animal care through the 'study of farriery upon rational scientific principles'.⁸⁹ Seven months later, on June 7, 1786, no one had gathered any more information on how to proceed, but their scope had broadened to improving breeding, horse management and collecting cures and registers of diseases.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, by May 14, 1788, they decided to continue collecting cures and

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 10-14.

⁸⁶ James Jeffray, *An Address to the Public on the Present State of Farriery* (Edinburgh, 1786).

⁸⁷ James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases* (Edinburgh, 1788), preface.

⁸⁸ Royal Veterinary College Archives, Hawkshead Campus, Minutes of Meetings, vol 1, 1785-1793.

⁸⁹ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Vol. 1', p. 2.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

registers, and to send two young Englishmen to Paris to be educated at their veterinary colleges.⁹¹ By October of 1789 they had begun advertising and sent out 500 letters to obtain subscriptions for their plans.⁹² The minutes of the meetings, however, had still never expressed any desire to create a veterinary school. In March of 1790, however, Charles Vial de St. Bel's (Sainbel) *A Plan for Establishing an Institution to Cultivate and Teach Veterinary Medicine* proposed a detailed plan for a veterinary school, and he was actively looking for supporters that would finance his plan.⁹³ On August 5, 1790, five months later, Sainbel had presented ten copies of his plan to the Odiham Agricultural Society, and they concluded that 'such an institution for education in farriery is necessary'. But they argued that 'till such an institution is established', they would focus on three goals: (1) sending two boys to France for education, (2) collecting cures and creating a register of disease and (3) getting parliament to 'license' qualified farriers. Taking the improvement of farriery much more seriously and realising the importance of being in London to accomplish their three goals, the London College, headed by Thomas Burgess, Josiah Brooks and James Huntingford (later Granville Penn) was established. By January 12, 1791, the London College met and established its new intentions to build a horse hospital and establish the London Veterinary College.⁹⁴ It was within this meeting that the goals of Sainbel and the College met, and they offered Sainbel the position of professor of the London Veterinary College.⁹⁵ Sainbel was educated at Lyons and Alfort, and in 1773, Alfort Veterinary College appointed him assistant to the professor of anatomy. He later left for a position as a demonstrator in comparative anatomy at the Montpellier medical

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 3. The committee meeting for March 12, 1789, called for five or more boys to be sent to France for education, though it would later return to two.

⁹² Ibid., p. 4.

⁹³ Charles Vial de St. Bel, *Plan for Establishing an Institution to Cultivate and Teach Veterinary Medicine* (London, 1790).

⁹⁴ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 1', pp. 6-14.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 16-18; Royal Veterinary College Archive, 'Foundation Letters', Letter from Vial de Sainbel, 12 January, 1791, p. 9.



school. Then he became equerry to the king and worked at the Lyons riding academy. But by 1788 he had married an English woman and began soliciting support from important aristocrats in England for a new college. His ideas for a London veterinary college meshed perfectly with the London College's goals to "improve" farriery. Support grew quickly and the Duke of Northumberland became the president of the College. The majority of supporters were horse enthusiasts, and the College persuaded them to subscribe by offering them medical care for their horses at the hospital.⁹⁶

The establishment of the LVC is the best known example of change and specialisation in equine medicine during the eighteenth century in Britain. However, equine care had been changing throughout the century, and the LVC was a result of these changes and perhaps it is not even an example of specialisation. The increased demand for specialist horse-doctors did not automatically produce an entity called 'veterinary surgery'. Indeed veterinary surgery developed much later than one would expect if that were the case. By focusing only on practitioners who used the title veterinary surgeon, like L. P. Pugh and Frederick Smith, a true sense of equine medicine in the eighteenth century is lost. Farriery, for example, has become a pejorative term for many veterinary historians, especially when they compare farriers to veterinarians. This view neglects the fact that veterinary surgeons did not exist before the 1790s in Britain and that many equine medics practicing farriery were highly skilled and surpassed the veterinary surgeon in medical knowledge. Not to mention those developing farriery into a medical speciality were most often medics or gentlemen. Therefore, this thesis will focus upon those developing this new medicalised farriery to gain a true sense of when equine medicine became specialised and medical in the eighteenth century.

⁹⁶ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Accounts of All Animals Received and Discharged 1793-1809', demonstrates the importance of the hospital for attracting subscribers and can demonstrate the success of the hospital created the successes and failures of the LVC.

It will thus build upon the work of Joan Lane, who wrote, ‘...farriers and their technical training both deserve reappraisal’.⁹⁷ In one article, Lane uncovered information about the standing, income and education of some eighteenth-century farriers. As she stressed, they cared for the most important animal in English society, attending to its shoeing and caring for its fractures, illnesses and lesions. However, since Lane’s introduction, nothing major has been written addressing eighteenth-century farriery even though her work raises many questions. Did the identity of the farrier change over the eighteenth century? Did the farrier undertake procedures that were more complex in the eighteenth century? Was the eighteenth-century farrier concerned more with anatomy and medicine than previous farriers? Did the eighteenth-century farrier have a deeper well of knowledge than has previously been recognised? This thesis will begin to answer these questions.

I will not be taking on farriery or horse care as a whole. I will focus upon the elite horse care and the gentlemen that developed a new medical way of thinking about and practicing farriery. This thesis shows, as William Gibson put it in 1720, that a ‘new farrier’ emerged. This was actually a new style of farriery, more dependent upon medical practices and anatomical and physiological knowledge than “old farriery”. My analysis of farriery examines it as a form of writing, as a group of practitioners, as a set of practices and as a body of knowledge coming mostly from medics and gentlemen. Therefore, like Landry has argued, the “improved” treatment of horses, in medical terms, developed around elite upper class horses.

The first chapter analyzes equine medical literature from 1560 to 1800 and introduces this body of writing, which is a major source for the whole thesis. Surveying all horse-care literature during this period, I have built a database of the more than 450 editions of

⁹⁷ Lane, ‘Georgian Farrier’, p. 99.

farriery/equine-care books. This database demonstrates that in the early eighteenth century there was a change in the nature of this literature, in the authors writing on the topic and in how these authors described farriery. Increasingly, they associated it with medicine.

Chapter 2, *Gentleman Farriery*, argues that the farriery expressed in certain books was described as desirable knowledge for gentlemen and that these books formulated a polite way for gentlemen to direct farriery. It also demonstrates the emergence of medical gentlemen who practiced farriery as early as the 1720s. Chapter 3, *Farriers and Other Equine Practitioners*, discusses the plurality of equine medics, but focuses upon the farrier to understand the changing world of equine medicine by looking at his social/economic and geographical setting. It also briefly analyses the Worshipful Company of Farriers of London to see how and why the identity of the farrier was changing.

Chapter 4, *Eighteenth-Century Horse Doctoring, Shoeing and Surgery*, describes the work of the farrier by analysing three examples: a country farrier, a London farrier and the infirmary of the London Veterinary College. These examples demonstrate a wide variety of farriery practices, which often identified horse-doctors socially, economically and intellectually, and which varied according to geography. Important new practices are also highlighted, including the use of horse hospitals and farriery education, but the variety of farriery practices is also shown to be drawn together by their common focus on foot and leg care. Chapter 5, *Equine Medicine and Equine Medical Practice*, focuses on medicine—selling and applying/giving pills, potions and ointments, one particular practice that became the bread of butter of many horse-doctors practices in the eighteenth century. The chapter looks at new trends in equine pharmacopoeias and several examples of horse-doctors earning more money by focusing on the sale of equine medicine.

Chapter 6, Eighteenth-Century Equine Anatomy, Specialism and Farriery, demonstrates the increase of English equine anatomy from 1680 to 1800 and its importance to farriery practices and knowledge. Notably, this chapter shows that many farriers began practicing anatomy and developed a specialty in equine foot anatomy. Chapter 7, Eighteenth-Century Equine Disease: Glanders, Disease Theory and Contagion, explores the changing understanding of the most feared equine disease in the eighteenth century: Glanders. By analysing ideas about Glanders from prominent horse-doctors, I demonstrate the diversity and changing conceptions of equine disease. By focusing upon their concepts of the disease, it becomes clear that they were asking new questions about the disease because of their knowledge of anatomy and physiology.

This dissertation is based on four bodies of primary sources. First, I analyse printed farriery and equine-care books from 1500 to 1800. Second, I have collected farriery receipts and recipes from local archives throughout the United Kingdom. Third, I have analyzed the records of the Worshipful Company of Farriers, along with other company records as they pertain to farriery (e.g., smiths, apothecaries, surgeons). Fourth, I have also analyzed the manuscript archives of the Royal Veterinary College. In addition to these four areas of primary research, I have also searched the archives at the Wellcome Trust, Washington State University (the Smithcors Collection), the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, The National Archives and the British Library.

This thesis will add to the work being done by Louis Curth on early modern animal medicine and make a connection to the work done by Abigail Woods, Michael Worboys, Keir Waddington, Lise Wilkinson, Joan Schwabe and others working on the history of animal medicine more broadly. The argument of this thesis about the medicalisation of

farriery should draw, however, the attention of many other, more traditional medical historians.

This thesis describes the emergence of a specialism, a theme that has been explored in the eighteenth century by historians of midwifery, dentistry and oculism. As such, farriery can illuminate the history of medicine more generally. By concentrating on farriery rather than on animal medicine more generally, I hope to unpack the broad-brush approach of historians of animals and humans.

Chapter 1

Specialism, Change and Farriery/Equine Medical Literature, 1560–1800

Vernacular medical books are a rich resource for the early modern medical historian.

Scholars such as Paul Slack, Ginnie Smith, Charles Rosenberg and, most recently, Mary Fissell, have used this kind of literature to describe self-help and domestic medicine and to depict health care among the lower classes.¹ Despite the quality of this historiography, historians have not yet analysed the extensive vernacular literature concerning the health care of animals in the same period. This chapter will therefore analyse the advice literature about equine health care published between 1560 and 1800. Its analysis of the production and the content of this body of writing will reveal that in the early eighteenth century a new, more focused literature about farriery emerged. This made farriery a kind of medical specialism and marked a shift in the nature of the printed advice concerning the care of horses.² This was, I shall argue, part of a wider change in equine medicine at the time.

This thesis is not the first analysis of equine medical literature. In the *Veterinary Record* of the 1910s, Fredrick Smith published short biographies of authors from antiquity to the nineteenth century who had written about veterinary care. He then turned the biographies into a four-volume *Early History of Veterinary Literature*, a major resource for veterinary history to this day. However, his work now seems rather limited. Firstly, he always judged historical works by the yardstick of twentieth-century veterinary science rather than

¹ Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and the Reform 1626–1660* (London, 1975); Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979); Ginnie Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-Help and Advice in the Late Eighteenth Century', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge, 1985); Charles Rosenberg, 'Medical Text and Social Context: William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57 (1983), 22–42; Mary Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', in Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (ed.), *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450–c. 1850* (London, 2007).

² 'Horse care' is used as a general term including medical care.

discussing them within their historical context. Secondly, Smith's approach was very fragmented. He never tried systematically to trace trends in the literature about equine care. Thirdly, the development of library and short-title catalogues in the last century allows the twenty-first-century scholar to identify more works relating to horse care and horse medicine than Smith could.

I therefore searched ESTC using more than thirty keywords in the title and subject, including *farrier*, *farriery*, *horsemanship*, *husbandry*, *horse doctor* and *horse*. Having identified all possible items, I examined each one using EEBO, ECCO, the Wellcome Library, the British Library, the Comben Collection in the Science Museum Library and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons Historical Collection. Many of these books included advice about equine care alongside advice about horsemanship and other related matters. I therefore had to decide what books should count as manuals about farriery and equine medical care and what books should not. As a rule of thumb, my bibliography and database include all books with at least 15 per cent of their content discussing farriery/equine medicine.³

This literature survey identified more than 450 books discussing farriery/equine medicine between 1560 and 1800. These included horsemanship and husbandry works containing significant amounts of advice about farriery, works specifically concerned with farriery and even more specialised publications about topics such as shoeing, equine diseases or

³ The only other substantial printed sources with animal care advice were almanacs, but like Mary Fissell's discussion of medical works, I have excluded them. Louise Curth, 'Seventeenth Century Almanacs: Transmitters of Advice for Sick Animals', in Willem de Blecourt and Cornelia Osborne (eds.), *Cultural Approaches to the History of Medicine* (London, 2004); Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press, 1500–1800* (London, 1979).

horse medicines.⁴ Nevertheless, a review of all of them together reveals that there is a dramatic contrast between books published between 1560 and 1719 and those published between 1720 and 1800. The later period covers half the amount of time as the former, yet publishers issued twice as many books, averaging four times more books issued per decade. There are also major differences in the authorship, size, content and style of books written about farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 and those offering such advice published between 1720 and 1800. This chapter will analyse these periods in order to demonstrate the fundamental change in advice about equine care after 1720.

Farriery/Equine Medical Advice Published between 1560 and 1719

A comparison of the books with advice about farriery/equine medicine between 1560 and 1719 and popular medical books is revealing. Of the thirty-six titles, including a substantial amount of advice about farriery, 180 editions were published during this period.⁵ On average there were just over two editions on this topic issued each year, which is a relatively small number. In comparison, Mary Fissell's research has found there were more than 1,200 popular medical books issued between 1640 and 1720.⁶ Though this was only around one per cent of the total books published in England during this period, it amounted to fifteen to eighteen editions per year.⁷ There were as many popular medical

⁴ Counting editions of books is often complicated. In some cases, new editions of books are actually completely different books, but most are the same. William Taplin's *Stable Directory* is an example of this. In the case where ESTC, EEBO and ECCO list fewer editions than the actual book claims, the claim of the title page is not used. I have excluded the US or other foreign editions referred to on the covers of some English editions. Francis Clater, who wrote a vastly popular book, has only three editions on ESTC, but the title page claims to be the tenth edition. Finally, I exclude the editions after 1800 because I am analyzing consumption and production in a set period. Therefore, only the surviving editions are included. This happens mostly in the eighteenth century and if the claimed editions were counted this chapters claims would be further demonstrated, but they are not to avoid counting books that may not have existed.

⁵ The majority of the editions were issued between 1640 and 1700: 122/180.

⁶ Mary Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', pp. 113–114; Slack and Webster demonstrate that there was an obvious increase in publications during this period in vernacular medical texts. Slack, 'Mirrors of Health'; Webster, *The Great Instauration*.

⁷ Fissell, 'The Marketplace of Print', p. 114.

books published in the 1670s as the total number of books including advice about farriery/equine medicine produced from 1560 to 1719 (180). However, (attempting to compare apples to apples) most popular medical books were comparatively specialised and were focused upon specific topics such as midwifery, specific diseases, plague, herbals and surgery, whereas farriery books gave general advice.⁸ Fissell's research shows that only thirteen per cent (156) of the popular medical books gave general advice, which is similar to the number of books with advice about farriery/equine medicine produced during the same period.⁹ No one was producing books with specialised or topical advice about farriery/equine medicine, making the discrepancy between popular medical books and farriery books much more distinct. Additionally, advice about farriery/equine medicine had a much smaller readership than vernacular medical books.

Gentlemen were the predominant authors and readers of advice about farriery/equine medicine written in this period (1560 – 1719). Before dust jackets, the title page served as a space of advertisement where the publisher and author implicitly or explicitly identified their intended readership. Nearly every book refers to its readership as 'gentlemen' and seventy-five per cent of the authors claimed to be gentlemen (Figure 1.1). Though this claim can be seen as rhetorical, books like Thomas Blundeville's, a prolific author who wrote on topics from horsemanship to astronomy and mathematics, were intended for gentlemen devoted to riding, controlling the horse, breeding and other equestrian activities.¹⁰ Additionally, the printers and publishers precisely marketed these books to the gentleman—that there were 180 editions of only thirty-six titles demonstrates that few of these books did poorly. When publishers did not aim the books at the gentleman, they did

⁸ Ibid., pp. 116–117.

⁹ Fissell's research shows that there were approximately 156 popular medical books between 1640 and 1740.

¹⁰ A. Campling, 'Thomas Blundeville of Newton Flotman, co. Norfolk, 1522–1606, author and poet', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 21 (1921–23), 336–60.

not get issued a second time. For example, William Poole, a farrier, addressed *The Country Farrier* (1648) at other farriers. Even though it was a practical guide, written by an author with years of experience, there was only one edition issued. By contrast AS Gent’s *The Gentleman’s Complete Jockey* (1682) had seven editions. Whether or not AS was really a gentleman, he wrote for gentlemen, and his book resembled previous advice written by gentlemen about farriery/equine medicine.

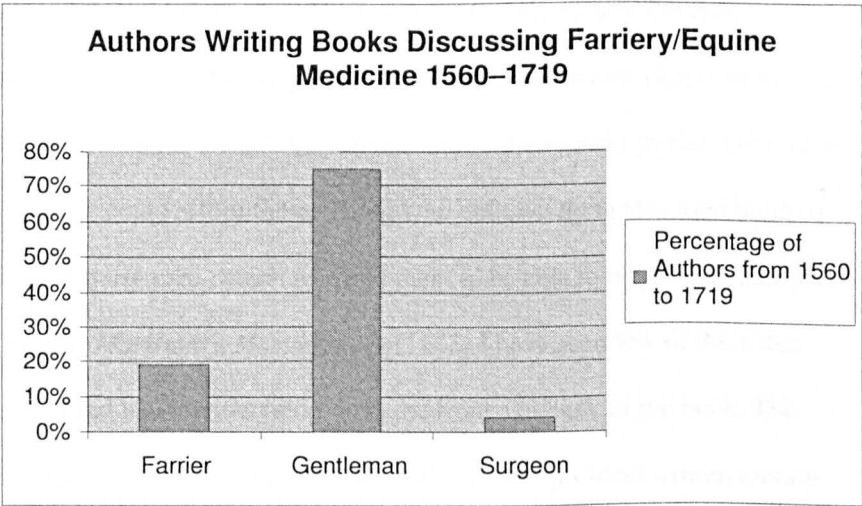


Figure 1.1, The Kind of Authors Writing about Farriery/Equine Medicine 1560–1719.

The cost and size of these books also narrowed the readership. Though none of them give their price on the cover, one can estimate their cost by their size. Median number of pages of books discussing farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 was more than 340 pages, and the books were generally quarto or folio size. Therefore, they would probably have been anywhere from two to three and half shillings each. In comparison, the median human medical vernacular book in this period cost 1 shilling 6 pence.¹¹ Fissell argues that the lowliest people could not afford most of these medical vernacular books. Even fewer people could afford books with farriery/equine medical advice in them. Books with advice

¹¹ Fissell, ‘The Market Place of Print’, p. 112.

about farriery/equine medicine in this period would have cost over 1/10 of the weekly income of the lower middling sort. The cost of these books made the gentleman the most likely consumer, and furthermore, most of these books included discussions of many other genteel topics, not least horsemanship in general.

The reading public also narrows the possible readership. Historians have estimated that 50 percent of men and 25 percent of women could read in 1700.¹² Women in London, however, had almost double the reading population. Therefore, the lowest orders of society were far less likely to have owned these books and of the reading public there were few that were interested or could afford them. Those who did own them also used them to keep financial records of horse care, which required them to be able to write. For example, of the dozens of copies of *Markham's Maisterpeece* (1615) I have seen few of them that do not have annotations and hand written records in the front and back of the book. The copy at Washington State University in the Smithcors Collection has hand written records of financial transactions by Mr. Long (1725), which include full sentence descriptions of the transaction.¹³

The way that the readers used the books can also indicate their social status. Some of the existing books indicated the owner's name and status, though few them have crests or seals on the front. One such owner, Richard Bennet the younger, left marks that indicate how he was using his book (*Markham's Masterpeece*, 1615). He wrote in the front and the back of the book on the blank pages. On the back cover he noted the chapter and page that

¹² D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980); Thomas Laqueur, 'The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England, 1500-1850', *Oxford Review of Education*, 2 (1976); M. Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4 (1979).

¹³ This, however, only demonstrates the readership around 1700, because generally the books with these annotations were not taken in the early seventeenth century.

gave directions on how to instruct grooms to care for horse hooves. Then on the page that he indicated, he cross-referenced that section to another section on how to preserve horse hooves.¹⁴ This demonstrates that Bennet's interest in the book was concerned with directing those that worked for him to care properly for his horses, which further demonstrates his higher socio/economic status because few could afford to employ grooms.

Horsemanship books included advice about farriery/equine medicine alongside advice about riding, breeding and controlling the horse—'the fower chiefest offices' of horsemanship. In the 1560s the English began publishing these guides. They mimicked European models; Thomas Blundeville, for example, wrote *The Fower Chiefest Offices*, a horsemanship manual in the 1560s, and then translated the writings of the Italian riding master, Claudio Corte, in the 1580s.¹⁵ Though farriery was just one of four topics usually discussed in horsemanship literature, in this period the most detailed printed advice about farriery was found in horsemanship books.¹⁶ William Gibson claimed in 1720 that Thomas Blundeville was the first English person to begin writing about farriery/equine medicine by copying the 'Italians', but also that the only other advice from the 1560s to 1720 came from the books of other horsemanship authors, who had copied Blundeville.¹⁷

Blundeville's *The Foure Chiefest Offices Belonging to Horsemanship* became one of the most commonly cited sources for farriery written in either the sixteenth or seventeenth century in England. Farriery remained one of the 'Foure Chiefest Offices' of horsemanship throughout the seventeenth century, but by the end of the seventeenth

¹⁴ Brigham Young University, Rare Books Collection, 636.1 M341m.

¹⁵ Claudio Corte, *The Art of Riding* (London, 1584). Corte came to England under the Earl of Leicester. Thomas Blundeville commented about his horsemanship skills in his *The Fower Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship*. (London, 1566). See also, Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (Reading, 1978).

¹⁶ Thomas Blundeville, *The Fower Chiefest Offices of Horsmanship* (London, 1566).

century, advice about farriery overshadowed the other three 'offices' in some texts. For example, the English translation of Jacques Solleysel's *The Complete Horseman* became one of the most trusted sources in England for advice about farriery by the 1690s and primarily gave advice about farriery and reduced advice about the other three 'offices'.¹⁸ Nevertheless, from the 1560s through the 1700s detailed printed advice about farriery/equine medicine was most commonly found in horsemanship manuals.

Authors writing about husbandry also included advice about farriery/equine medicine in their books. For instance, Leonard Mascall began including farriery in his husbandry books as early as the late sixteenth century. His book *The Government of Cattle* included a large section with advice about farriery/equine medicine and had fourteen editions by the early seventeenth century.¹⁹ Though Mascall's book did not gain the subsequent praise that Blundeville's and Solleysel's books received, it was an important potential source for knowledge of farriery/equine medicine. Though other books, like *Cheap and Good Husbandry* (1614), also contained a good deal of advice about farriery, very few husbandry books used 15 per cent of their books to give advice about farriery, since they did not see farriery as a key role for husbandmen.

Gervase Markham, one of the most successful authors of works about horsemanship and husbandry, included advice about farriery in most of his books and wrote books specifically on farriery/equine medicine. G. E. Fussell noted that he was 'the most prolific writer in the first forty years of the century . . . and his productions continued to be

¹⁷ Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720), preface.

¹⁸ Jaques Solleysel, *The Complete Horseman*, trans., Sir William Hope (London, 1696).

¹⁹ Leonard Mascall, *The Government of Cattle* (London, 1587). Some of the subsequent editions did not include the section on farriery and equine medicine.

reprinted in the last sixty.²⁰ Markham's books on farriery and equine medicine were the most successful books containing advice about farriery/equine medicine from the 1610s to 1719. Of the thirty-six farriery/equine medical titles in this period, he wrote (or was given credit for writing) eight of them between 1593 and 1630. His three most popular books went through forty-three editions before 1719 and several more after 1720. At one point, he had five books selling at the same time. In conjunction with various publishers, he began producing books about the same topic (farriery and equine medicine) with different titles but similar content.²¹ In reaction, the Stationers' Company forced Markham to stop writing books with advice about farriery/equine medicine.²² Wendy Wall wrote that his books 'contributed to the business of producing national identity in the early modern period.'²³ She demonstrated how Markham argued for national differences in agriculture and husbandry in a way that gave the English a distinctive quality. Furthermore, his books and advice about farriery/equine medicine created a model and reference for farriery knowledge for other authors to use.²⁴

In 1610, Markham wrote the first work exclusively concerned with farriery/equine medicine, a development which may demonstrate horsemen's increasing concern with farriery. Markham wrote,

²⁰ G.E. Fussell, *The Old English Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull* (London, 1947), p. 21.

²¹ Several of the titles that overlap each other's content are: *Cavalrice, or the English Horseman* (1607); *How to Chuse, Ride, Train and Diet both Hunting-Horses and Running Horses* (1599); *Markham's Maister-Peece* (1610); *Markham's Method* (1615); *Markham's Faithfull Farrier* (1638); *The Complete Farrier, or the Kings Highway to Horsemanship* (1647); *The Perfect Horse-man: or the Experienced Secrets of Mr. Markhams 50 years practice*.

²² Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640*, (London, 1978), July 24, 1617.

²³ Wendy Wall, 'Renaissance National Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the publication of England,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), p. 767.

²⁴ See, Elspeth Graham, 'Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England: James Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) and Gervase Markham's *Cavalrice* (1607) in Erica Fudge (ed.) *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Chicago, 2004); F.L. Poynter, *Bibliography of Gervase Markham 1566?–1637* (London, 1962).

I can give the Reader no better a Reason to perswade him to reade my booke, then to shew him the reall use of horses well managed according to the Rules of Horsmanship, he is fit for feates of armes, and triumphs in war, and a great pittie it is that such an excellent beast should any way miscarry for want of knowing of his Natuall diseases and the cure thereof. I have now made the Souldier and all others Masters of Art in the cures of their horses . . . for it is a knowledge fit for a Gentleman both in peace and war.²⁵

The title page of *Markham's Maister Peece* states, 'A Compleat Horse-man shoves, that (he) *Rides, Keepest, and Cures, & all perfections*'. The book was thus aimed at horsemen, reassuring them that farriery was still only an arm of horsemanship and not a topic supported by its own merit. Markham argued farriery was important because the horseman needed to have complete control over the horse's body. The woodcut accompanying this statement pictures the horseman's ideal relationship to farriery (Illustration 1.1). This hierarchical image shows the 'compleat *Horse-man*' performing a *levade*, the pose that is often used in state portraits to depict the control and power of the monarch. Markham, however, placed the horseman over a series of images depicting farriery/equine medicine. Each image shows the horseman caring for the horse in a variety of ways, ranging from internal problems that require potions to taming the horse's fury to protect it from disease.²⁶ When Markham wrote specifically about farriery/equine medicine portion of his work was still aimed at the horseman and treated farriery as one of his key 'offices'.

²⁵ Markham, *Markham's Maister peece*, to the reader.

²⁶ For state portraits depicting the *levade*, see Velazquez, *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV*, 1634–35; Rubens, *Equestrian Portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, 1625.



Illustration 1.1, Gervase Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (1656), title page.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, advice about farriery/equine medicine was also included in racing manuals. These books, however, resembled previous horsemanship books. John Halfpenny's *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* (1672) had similar content to Markham's farriery books and read much like other horsemanship books. Publishers issued Halfpenny's book more than any other book with advice about farriery/equine medicine after Markham. The success of his book was possibly the catalyst for similar books, such as *The Experience'd Farrier* by ER gent, 1678; *The Gentleman's Compleat Jockey* by AS gent, 1682; *The Jockey's Guide and Farrier's Companion* by FM gent, 1687 and *The Gentleman's new Jockey* by GL gent, 1687. Many of these authors used the same structure and similar content as *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* and publishers issued them over 30 times before 1719.

This group of authors claimed that farriery was important knowledge the racer should possess, just as Blundeville and Markham had argued that farriery was one of the ‘Cheifyst Offices’ of the horseman. This is partly because these books were just a sub-category of horsemanship books, or in other words, they were horsemanship books aimed at the racer. ‘Interest in horse racing grew to such an extent that by the end of the seventeenth century race going had become firmly established in the social calendar. This was the period that witnessed the emergence of the modern racehorse, the thoroughbred.’²⁷ In *The Gentleman’s New Jockey*, G. L. argued that farriery was ‘so necessary to be known by the curious Enquirers into this Mystery, that without knowing them no Man can be an excellent Jockey, or an expert Farrier, nor consequently have his Judgement approved in anything material, relating to Horses or Horsemanship.’²⁸ These books had a similar readership as horsemanship books and their content was strikingly similar. This also shows that interest in farriery/equine medicine was connected to interests in racing.

The number of books with farriery/equine medical advice in them increased throughout the seventeenth century but decreased drastically between 1700 and 1719. Figure 1.2 graphs the number of new titles with advice about farriery/equine medicine for each decade from 1560 to 1719. There are two surges in the number of new titles—from 1600 to 1620 and from 1670 to 1690, caused first by Markham’s horsemanship books and then by racing manuals. Figure 1.3, however, graphs the number of editions issued throughout this period and two decades beyond of titles first printed from 1560 to 1719. This shows the increase in books with advice about farriery/equine medicine issued throughout the seventeenth century, which Figure 1.2 does not show, through the reissuing of older titles

²⁷ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man* (London, 2008), p. 89.

²⁸ G. L., *The Gentleman’s New Jockey* (London, 1687), to the reader.

and new titles. This was partly because Markham’s books became increasingly popular after the 1620s and were reprinted tens of times before 1700. Then a second surge of new titles and editions surrounding John Halfpenny’s book and racing manuals (1672) built upon the number of books with advice about farriery/equine medicine between 1670 and 1700. However, between 1695 and 1719, only three new titles were published and the number of editions fell from twenty-six in the 1680s to eight between 1710 to 1719. Between 1705 and 1719, Markham and Solleysel’s books were the only farriery books reprinted. Therefore, there is a drastic decline in books with advice about farriery/equine medicine from the late 1690s to 1719.

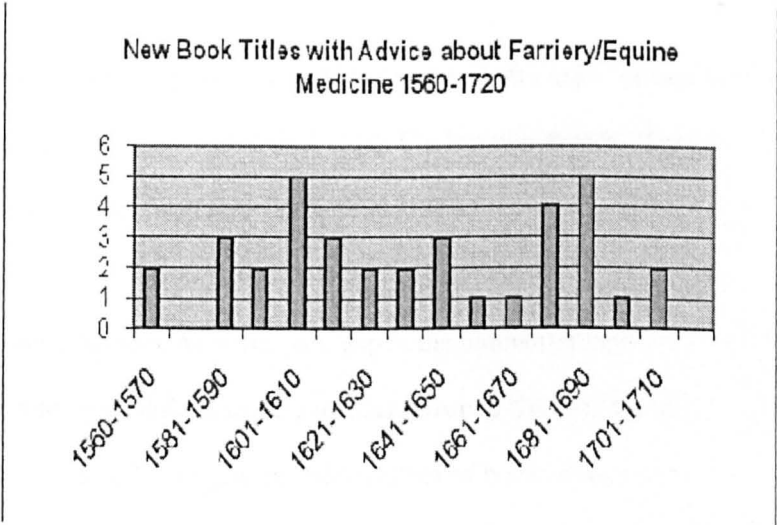


Figure 1.2, New Titles 1560–1719.

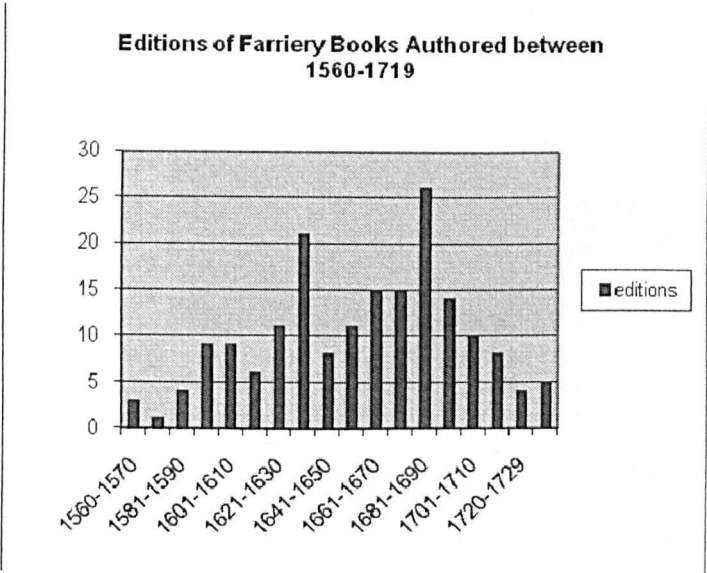


Figure 1.3 Editions of Farriery Books 1560 – 1719. (This graph includes only editions of titles that were originally printed between 1560 and 1719. The last two decades do not include editions from new titles, 1720–1739.)

This decrease is more accurately defined, however, as a gap in the number of books because the number of new titles and editions rapidly increases from 1720 to 1740. To demonstrate this more clearly, Figure 1.4 graphs the total number of books issued from 1720 to 1740 with advice about farriery/equine medicine. From c. 1720, publishers began issuing new titles more readily than the two previous decades, and in the 1730s there were more new authors writing about farriery/equine medicine and more new titles being issued than in any other decade since the 1560s. Many titles produced after 1720 were reissued and replaced the success of Markham’s and Halfpenny’s books. As will be shown, this also marks a fundamental shift in the way authors gave advice about farriery.

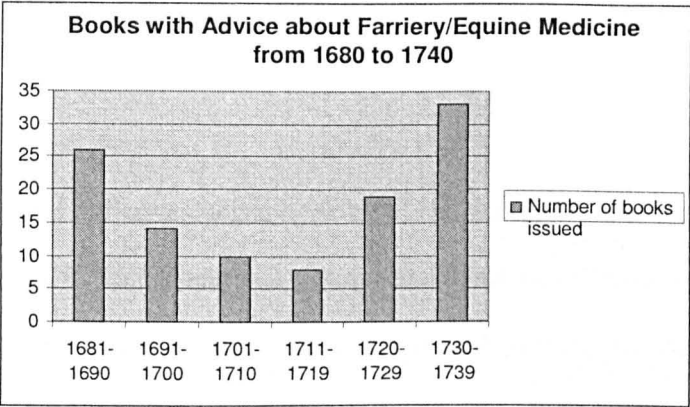


Figure 1.4, Books with Advice about Farriery/Equine Medicine from 1680 to 1740.

This new approach to farriery/equine medicine began with a series of books by William Gibson in the 1720s.²⁹ He lived from 1680 to 1750 and authored four of the most influential books on eighteenth-century farriery/equine medicine. Gibson’s influence found its way into almost every farriery book up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Originally trained as a surgeon,³⁰ he developed an interest in equine medicine while in the Sixteenth Dragoons.³¹ He wrote his third book, *The True Method of Dieting Horses*, for their benefit.³² His last book claimed he had treated hundreds of military and gentry horses to show he was qualified to write a practical guide from this experience.³³ J. F. Smithcors argued that Gibson’s experience as a surgeon in the military directly influenced his practice in equine medicine.³⁴ Further, his human medical training led him to connect farriery with contemporary medical theory and practice. His first three books, focused on equine anatomy, equine disease and equine pharmacy, themes that provided a new model for books with advice about farriery/equine medicine. Farriery/equine

²⁹ J. F. Smithcors, ‘William Gibson, Surgeon-farrier, on fevers,’ *History of Medicine*, 2 (1958), p. 210.
³⁰ West Sussex County Records Office, Chichester, MS, Pas 130/33, this is Gibson’s apprentice certificate.
³¹ William Gibson, *Farrier’s New Guilde* (1720), preface.
³² William Gibson, *True Method of Dieting* (1721), p. ij.
³³ William Gibson, *A New Treatise on the Disease of Horses* (1751), preface.
³⁴ J. F. Smithcor, ‘William Gibson, Surgeon-Farrier, on Fevers’, p. 210–211.

medicine broke away from horsemanship, husbandry and racing literature and became its own genre.³⁵

Contemporaries saw Gibson's farriery monographs as 'new' and wrote of him as the creator of a 'new farrier'. Sir William Hope, an equestrian and translator of Jacques Solleysell's book, thought Gibson's work was monumental and enlightening. He stated, 'I may truly venture to say of you, what a French person of quality once said of the great Duke of Newcastle, when he saw him ride on his finest manag'd horses, The bridge is now drawn up, and there in none to come after you.'³⁶ He continued, 'You have indeed writ so Learnedly upon the Subject, and so much like a Physician, that I am afraid they are only the more Expert and Judicious who can reap the wished for Benefit from your Labours: But be that as it will I am mightily well pleased that I can truly say, *Britain* has now a GIBSON, as *France* had formerly a SOLLEYSELL.'³⁷

A New Field—1720–1800

Many of Gibson's contemporaries agreed with Hope that his work marked a change in the way authors wrote about farriery/equine medicine. By the end of the eighteenth century veterinary surgeons were calling this shift the beginning of veterinary surgery. Only four decades after Gibson's death, John Lawrence, a prolific author on equine care, stated that William Gibson was 'the father of veterinary science, to who all succeeding authors as well as all true lovers of the Horse are under infinite obligation.'³⁸ Though Gibson was not

³⁵ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature*, (4 vol, London, 1976), vol II, p. 11–22; J.F. Smithcor, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art*, (London, 1958), pp. 255–257. idem., 'William Gibson, Surgeon – Farrier, on Fevers', pp. 210–220.

³⁶ Gibson, *Method of Dieting*, p. a.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. b.

³⁸ Lawrence, *A Philosophical* (1796), p. 28.

the ‘father of veterinary science’, he began a new way of writing about farriery and equine medicine that caused Lawrence to see his writing as similar to early nineteenth century veterinary writing and unlike books written before 1720.³⁹

After the publication of Gibson’s books, the number of farriery/equine medical books being produced increased and continued to increase throughout the century. From 1720 to 1800, authors wrote eighty-four new titles about farriery/equine medicine, which, in total, were issued over 300 times.⁴⁰ Figure 1.5 demonstrates that nearly twice as many works discussing farriery/equine medicine were published between 1720 and 1800 than from 1560 to 1719—twice the number of books in half the time. Additionally, there were four times more authors and three times more new titles in the later period. From 1720 to 1790 there was an average of 8.5 new titles printed per decade, considerably more than in 1560–1719 (2.25). (Figure 1.6) Additionally, in the 1790s, publishers issued 25 new titles. Figure 1.7 demonstrates that between fifteen and ninety editions of these books were printed each decade, averaging around thirty per decade. In comparison, the largest number of books printed in a decade between 1560 and 1719 was twenty-five with an average of ten books issued per decade. (Figure 1.2)

This new medicalised farriery literature, similar to vernacular medical books and self-care literature, gave people information. It can also be seen as part of the democratic world of medical knowledge and self-help in the eighteenth century. Like farriery literature, the number of eighteenth-century domestic medical texts was drastically increasing. Ginnie Smith argues that though there are no accurate estimates of numbers of titles, the estimates

³⁹ William Gibson, *The Farrier’s New Guide* (1720); idem., *The Farrier’s Dispensatory* (1721); idem., *The True Method of Dieting Horses* (1721); idem., *A New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (1751).

⁴⁰ For a comparison of a specific kind of human medical books during the same period of time see, Smith, ‘Prescribing the Rules of health’.

that do exist provide ‘an unconfirmed increase of 33 per cent in the British literature [which] indicates a significant market expansion.’⁴¹ In comparison, farriery/equine medical texts increased by over 100 per cent in the eighteenth century.

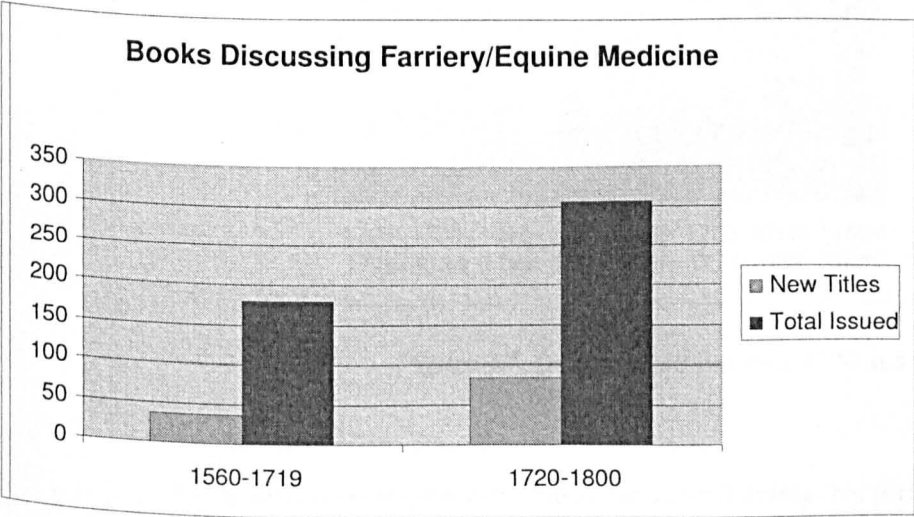


Figure 1.5, Comparison of Books Issued from 1560 to 1719 and from 1720 to 1800.

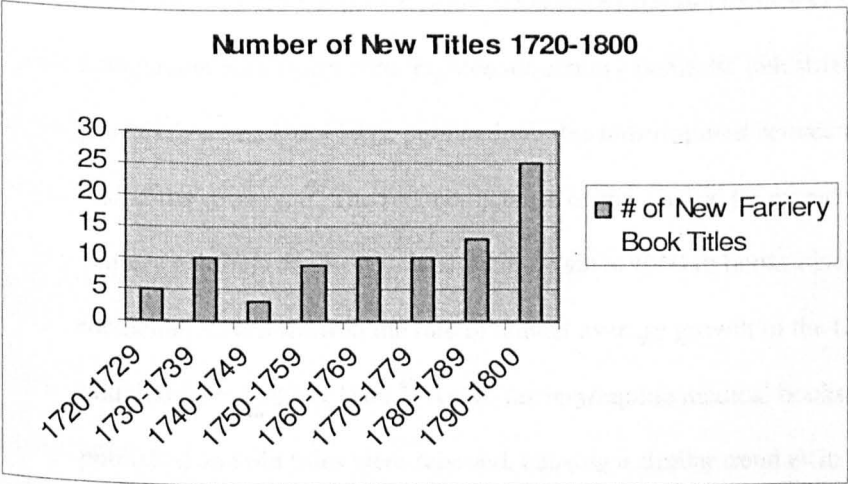


Figure 1.6, Number of New Titles 1720–1800.

⁴¹ Smith, ‘Self-help and Advice in the late 18c’, p. 252.

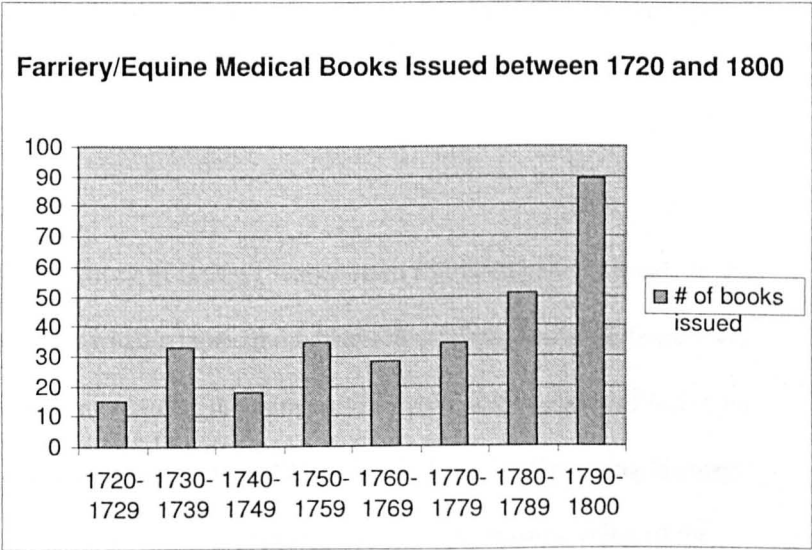


Figure 1.7, Books Issued Between 1720 and 1800.

The general book trade was drastically increasing during this period, which also resulted in an increase in farriery/equine medical books. James Raven wrote, ‘During the eighteenth century the pace of most book trades development was startling, even in comparison with many other eighteenth-century domestic industries. After vigorous growth from the late 1690s, publication rates mushroomed between the late 1740s and the end of the century.’⁴² The second increase of the general book trade at the end of the century parallels the most drastic increase since 1560 in books discussing farriery/equine medicine. Raven showed the rate of annual average growth in the book trade more than doubled from 1780 to 1800.⁴³ As for farriery/equine medical books, more new titles were published and old titles were reissued, causing a similar trend as in the general book trade from 1780 to 1800. Henry Bracken’s 1737 *Farriery Improv’d* (discussed below), for example, was reprinted twelve times after 1788,⁴⁴ and John Bartlet’s farriery books,

⁴² James Raven, ‘The Book Trade’, in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London, 2001), p. 2.
⁴³ James Raven, ‘The Book Trade’, *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*.
⁴⁴ Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv’d* (1737); William Burdon, *The Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier* (1730).

originally issued in the 1760s (discussed below), also began to be reprinted in the 1790s.⁴⁵

Authors like William Taplin issued new titles in the late 1780s that were reprinted throughout the 1790s.

Even though the publishing history of farriery works often followed general trends in the book trade, other factors clearly had a more immediate effect. First, while the book trade from 1690 to 1740 was growing rapidly, the number of farriery titles published fell to its lowest point since the sixteenth century in the 1710s. Second, books discussing farriery increased in number in the 1720s,⁴⁶ twenty years earlier than the mushrooming of the general book trade. Therefore, this boost is best explained by an increasing interest in farriery, the appeal of the new specialised way of writing about farriery/equine medicine, newfound interest in horseracing, increased mobility in travel, the hunt and other factors discussed in the introduction, like breeding.

One can demonstrate the change in books discussing farriery/equine medicine after 1720 relatively easily, through a simple search of ESTC. Seventeenth-century written works with 'horsemanship' in the title contain substantial amounts of advice about the medical care of horses, while the eighteenth-century texts are mostly riding books and horse management books.⁴⁷ (However, if one searches both periods of the database using just the word *farriery*, one would find most of the database's books, both horsemanship and general farriery books.) Moreover, from 1720 to 1800, books with advice about farriery/equine medicine began to specialise in topics such as anatomy, disease and

⁴⁵ John Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery* (1759).

⁴⁶ William Gibson, *The New Farrier's Guide* (1720).

⁴⁷ See, John Adams, *Analysis of Horsemanship* (1799); Henry William Bunbury, *Annals of Horsemanship* (1796); John Maples, *The Art of Horsemanship* (1780); J. L. Jackson, *The Art of Riding* (1765); William Cavendish, *A General System of Horsemanship*.

drugs.⁴⁸ There were also very specific topics discussed in single books, such as books about diseases, like Edward Snape's *A Treatise on Those Two Diseases in Horses Termed Glanders and Farcy* (1791), Richard Ford's *The Inoculation for Horses with Stranlges* (1790) and Thomas Prosser's *A Treatise on Strangles and Fevers in Horses* (1795). Additionally, some authors even wrote specifically about legs, hoofs and/or shoes, like Jeremiah Bridges' *No Foot No Horse* (1752), E. G. LaFosse's *Observations and New Discoveries Made upon the Horse and a New Method of Shoeing Horses* (1755) and James Clark's *Observations upon Shoeing Horses* (1770).

Authors writing between 1720 and 1800 distinguished themselves from the advice written by authors from 1560 to 1719, claiming superior knowledge. Gibson explained that seventeenth-century books discussing farriery were 'more like systems of old Astrology, than as if they had been composed for the cure of horses.' He explained that pre-1720 authors were 'not rightly acquainted with the Animal Oeconomy, [they] have accounted for many of the diseases, not from the True mechanism of the body of a horse, but in speculative and abstracted ways; which is so far from leading any one into the nature and cause of diseases, that it must rather bewilder [the] pupils, and bring them farther into the Dark.'⁴⁹ He and other authors after him proclaimed a higher knowledge from their understanding of physiology and anatomy, whereas older horse-care authors based their writings upon Galenic tradition and Italian horsemanship literature. Gibson chided the writings of Blundeville, Markham, DeGrey and Solleysel because they did not discuss anatomy and physiology sufficiently. After the middle of the eighteenth century, even the most practical and non-theoretical guides were expressing vascular theories of disease,

⁴⁸ William Gibson, *New Guide*, this is two books in one dealt with separately on anatomy and disease; idem., *Farrier's Dispensatory* (London, 1723); idem., *True Method* (London, 1721); idem., *New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (London, 1751).

⁴⁹ Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide*, sig. A3.

like the Farlow farrier, John Jones's *The Practical Farrier* (1790). Jones compiled a list of his recipes for each disease for the use of farmers. However, he also described each disease according to vascular theories and anatomic structure, such as his description for strangles: 'This disorder proceeds from an impure and corrupt state of the blood, or gross humour oppressing the brain.'⁵⁰ Even though his book was far from technical, he described the physiology and anatomy of the horse often. The anatomical structure of the horse body was commonly described in eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical books, whereas very few books discussing farriery/equine medicine from 1560 to 1719 even alluded to the anatomy of the horse. (See chapter 6) Many post-1720 authors attempted to medicalise farriery advice by derailing previous advice and combining practical farriery with medical theory and anatomy.

After 1720, the size of farriery books shifted, and the way readers used books with advice about farriery/equine medicine may well have changed in consequence. Figure 1.8 compares the sizes of the books issued from 1560 to 1719 and from 1720 to 1800, showing the percentages of each book size. Comparing the sizes of books between two different centuries is difficult because there were varying sizes of paper used between the two periods. To make the comparison as clear as possible, I have used the traditional terminology for the different sizes and a general idea of the vertical height of the books.⁵¹

From 1560 to 1719 nearly sixty per cent of the books were quartos and twenty per cent were octavo. Depending upon the number of pages in the books, a quarto was cumbersome and generally not a book you would carry around with you. Only eight of the

⁵⁰ John Jones, *The Practical Farrier* (Ludlow, 1790), sig. B.

⁵¹ This is very general, especially the vertical size. I did this in order to get an idea of the sizes without listing every book. For further descriptions of folds and sizes, see Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 57–109.

thirty-four titles were under 100 pages, and many were over 300 pages—the average being 231 pages. Markham, Halfpenny and Solleysell’s books were all quartos between 300 and 600 pages depending on the edition, not least because they also discussed other aspects of horsemanship. Readers would less likely to use these books as practical guides in the stable.

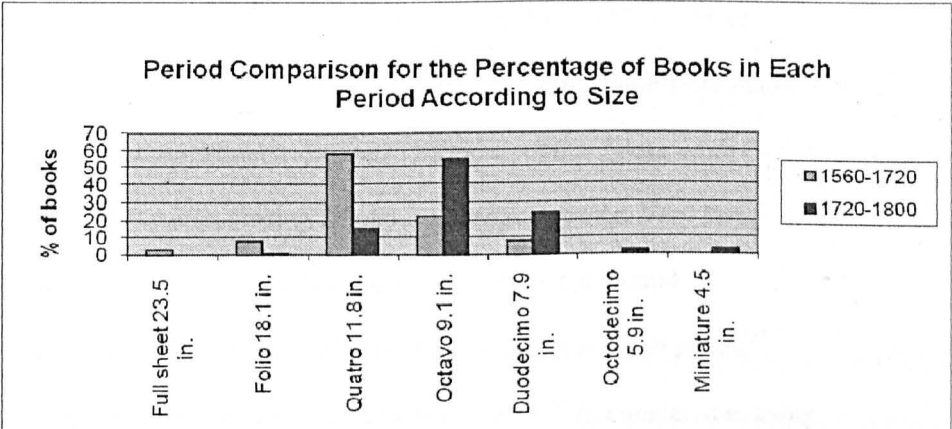


Figure 1.8, Size of Books.

However, from 1720 to 1800, books discussing farriery/equine medicine were smaller and more practical. Titles like *The Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier* and *The Traveller’s Pocket Farrier* show that many authors intended their readers to take their books with them to the stable, to carry them while travelling and to use the advice. Many of the books referred to their practicality. Even those that were larger than the average pocket claimed to contain practical advice about farriery.⁵² (Figure 1.8) After 1720, farriery books were rarely folios, while before 1720 they were never published in smaller formats,⁵³ as folios would have been awkward to carry. As these books changed in size, so did their probable use.

⁵² The Society of Country Gentlemen, *The Practical Farrier* (London, 1733); William Ellis, *Every Farmer his Own Farrier* (1759); John Leeming, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (1771); John Blunt, *Practical Farriery*; St. John Paulet, *Every Man His Own Farrier*; Francis Clater, *Every Man His Own Farrier*; William Griffiths, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (Wrexham, 1784); John Jones, *The Practical Farrier* (Ludlow, 1790); Edward Snape, *Practical Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1791); Samuel Drinkwater, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (London, 1796); William Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (London, 1796).

Gibson's *Farrier's New Guide* (1720) condensed Andrew Snape's folio *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683) into a smaller manageable size. Gibson did this, as did many others, to allow for a larger readership that would include farriers and surgeons.

The price of these books also decreased. After 1720, prices ranged from 6 pence for smaller books and pamphlets to 12 shillings for *The Stable Directory* (1788).⁵⁴ Most farriery books cost between 2 shillings and 3 shillings, 6 pence, though there were many books of around 100 pages that cost about 1 shilling. The most popular books were generally between 200 and 300 pages, costing around 2 shillings, 5 pence. Very large books, like William Merrick's *Classical Farrier*, were highly priced at around 12 shillings, and books sellers also sold popular editions of many books for high prices.⁵⁵ Generally, however, 4 shillings was the high end of farriery books.⁵⁶ In comparison, using a sample of sixty-two domestic medical titles from 1770 to 1820, Ginnie Smith argued, 'Lay and "semi-professional" works were more likely to be slim, small, cheap, and of the earlier "miscellaneous" format. Authors with an "interest", or ambition, wrote longer, more heavily structured works, of higher price and larger size. The average price of a family advice book ranged from six shillings to half a guinea and above for the most

⁵³ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 107.

⁵⁴ Book prices from 1720 to 1800 are only known for some books, some prices were printed on the covers and others listed in contemporary catalogues, but many were not listed at all.

⁵⁵ Merrick, *The Classical Farrier* (1788) had 800 pages.

⁵⁶ These catalogues include the cost of many of the databases farriery books, Bent, William. *The London Catalogue of Books in all Languages, Arts and Sciences, that have been Printed in Great Britain, Since the Year M.DCC* (London, 1773); J. Annereau, *Annereau's Catalogue, for 1800* (London, 1800); *Literature and Language An Appendix to the Catalogue of all Books and Pamphlets Published for Ten Years Past* (London, 1800); Benjamin White and Son. *A Catalogue of an Extensive and Curious Collection of Books in Every Language, and Class of Literature* (London, 1792); William Bent, *A General Catalogue of Books in all Languages, Arts, and Sciences* (London, 1785); William Bent, *The London Catalogue of Books* (London, 1791); William Bent, *The London Catalogue of Books* (London, 1799), p. 181; John Binns, *A Catalogue of Books, Containing Several Valuable Libraries* (Leeds?, 1789); John Binns, *A Catalogue of Books, for 1797, Containing several Valuable Libraries* (Leeds, 1797). Only eight books had prices on their title page.

detailed works.⁵⁷ The fluctuation in both the cases often depended upon the occupation of the author.

Even the common farrier could have afforded to buy some of these books. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a farrier made between 12 and 15 shillings per week, though some made much more than this.⁵⁸ (See chapter 3) Though farm labourers, making around 19 pounds per year, could not afford these books, farriers, making 27–40 pounds per year, may have been able to buy a farriery book.⁵⁹ Therefore, because of the reduced cost of farriery books, tradesmen and others could afford them, though gentlemen, horsemen and husbandmen continued to be the primary consumers.

Though the readership of farriery/equine medical books printed between 1720 and 1800 expanded, gentlemen remained the advertised target readership for most of the books. The title pages continued to advertise the books to gentlemen, but as books became smaller and more practical, one must see this as rhetorical. As we will see below, some of the books did not require extensive literacy skills because they were mostly made up of lists of ingredients for mixing pills and potions for horses. Therefore, the market for these books expanded. Some even rhetorically advertised their books for farriers, farmers and even labourers. It is difficult, however, to verify that people with lower socio-economic status owned or read these books. Nevertheless, many of the books had numerous editions and used books were frequently for sale. For example, almost two dozen booksellers between 1788 and 1800 from London to Glasgow advertised Francis Clater's *Every Man His Own*

⁵⁷ Smith, 'Self-help and Advice', p. 263.

⁵⁸ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 237. Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade* (London, 1761), p. 136–7.

Farrier (1783) in printed catalogues for as low as nine pence.⁶⁰ Low cost used books and minimal literacy requirements created a great deal of possibility that people with lower socio-economic status could have been owning and reading these books.

What is clear, however, is that the gentry were consuming these books. Using Clater's book as an example again, the catalogues that advertised *Every Man His Own Farrier* second hand were often collections that the books sellers bought from the gentry and nobility. Such as the collection advertised in *J. Todds Print Catalogue* (York, 1799), which had several copies of Clater's book and came from the collections of Marmaduke Tunstall and Lord Viscount Fairfax's collections. Additionally, gentry and noble ownership of farriery/equine medical books (1720-1800) is easily demonstrated from the marks left in the books. First, there are a good number of these kinds of books that have family seals on the inside cover. One example, in the Smithcours Collection, of a very practical book that one would expect farmers and farriers to be more interested in than the gentry (James Clark, *Observations on the Shoeing of Horses*, 1782), bares the seal of the right honourable lord Banff and the 1770 edition, which has the seal of William Charles De Meuron, Earl of Fitzwilliam. Second, some of the extant books list the owners in the first couple of pages. Existing examples of Henry Bracken's *Farriery Improv'd* include one copy (1737 edition) that claims to have been owned first by 'William Addison, St. Johns College Cambridge' then by 'Henry Harmen, M.D.' in 1850.⁶¹ There are also other copies of *Farriery Improv'd* that show similar kinds of ownership such as an 1738 edition

⁵⁹ Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'British Inequality during the Industrial Revolution: Accounting for the Kuznets Curve,' in Y.S. Brenner, Hatmut Kaelble, and Mark Thomas (eds.), *Income Distribution in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 62.

⁶⁰ Thomas Lucas, *A Catalogue of Two Libraries* (Birmingham, 1793).

⁶¹ Smithcours Collection, Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (London, 1737), title page.

owned by Thomas Tullis M.D., or a 1752 edition that was given by Captain Lockhart to Mr. Murray.⁶²

The Authors

Examining the authors of eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical books can add to our understanding of the changes in literature after 1720. Ginnie Smith showed the occupational diversity of authors within her sampling of domestic medical titles from 1770 to 1820. She writes, ‘On paper, twenty-six authors were stated M.D.s or held public positions, while seven implied they were full-time general practitioners. . . . Six authors . . . stated they were surgeons. . . . Five were chemists, pharmacists or purveyors of drugs. . . . Three more obviously dealt in drugs. . . . Eight were lay authors. . . . Two . . . could have been “genteel . . . and five were anonymous.”⁶³ Up to one third of the authors were laymen, but authors who practiced medicine or had some kind of medical training wrote more than two-thirds of the books.

The profile of the men writing books discussing farriery/equine medicine changed drastically after 1720. From 1560 to 1719, save one surgeon and several farriers, all of the authors claimed to be gentlemen/horsemen.⁶⁴ Though most of them claimed to have superior knowledge of farriery/equine medicine, none of the authors had medical/anatomical training. By contrast, Figure 1.9 demonstrates that after 1720 new

⁶² Washington State University, Smithcours Collection.

⁶³ Smith, ‘Self-help and Advice’, pp. 262–263.

groups, especially farriers and others claiming to have been trained in medicine/anatomy, including a handful of surgeons, a physician, druggists and apothecaries, and veterinary surgeons, published on farriery/equine medicine. Though gentility remained an important feature of authors' self presentation, medical knowledge and medical training also became influential to the success and popularity of their books. Surgeon and physician authors of farriery books formed the ideal combination of gentility and medical training. Many of these authors highlighted their experience and their years of practice, noting them on the title pages.⁶⁵

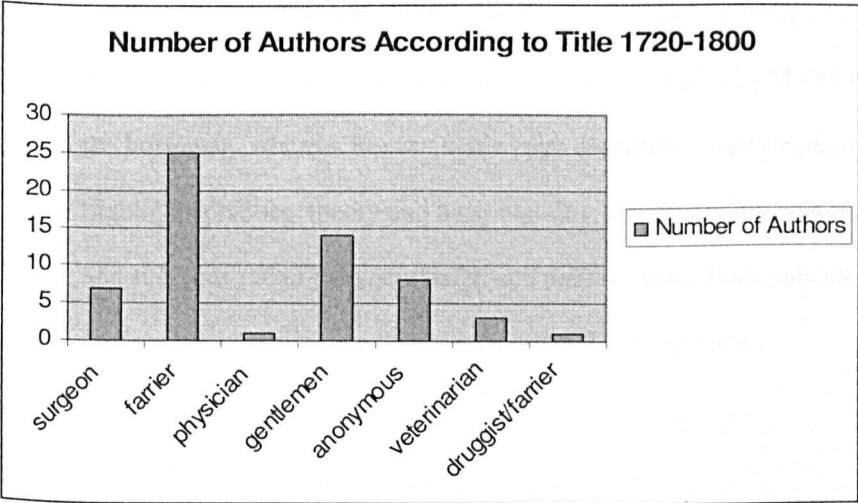


Figure 1.9, Number of Authors According to Title 1720–1800

The rhetoric of medical expertise became important in farriery/equine medical books. A good example of this new focus is John Reeves’s *The Art of Farriery* (1758). Reeves painted himself as a learned farrier who had developed an important ‘system’ of farriery

⁶⁴ Robert Barret, *The Perfect and Experienced Farrier* (1660); Thomas Grymes, *The Honest and Plaine Dealing Farrier*, (London, 1636); William Poole, *The Country Farrier* (London, 1648); Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683).
⁶⁵ Society of Country Gentlemen, *The Practical Farrier*, (1733); Matthew Allen *The Farriers Assistant* (1737); John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery in Theory and Practice* (1758); William Ellis, *Every Farmer His Own Farrier* (1759); John Blunt, *The Practical Farrier* (1773); John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*, (1790); William Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (1796); There are also a series of ‘Do it yourself books’.

from his ‘many years in the practice of Farriery, and acquired reputation by his success in curing the various Diseases of Horses’.⁶⁶ He also claimed on the title page that an ‘eminent physician . . . Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged’ his book, adding ‘such a just theory of Farriery, as will probably throw great light on the art and lead men to a more rational practice.’⁶⁷ Reeves’s work thus combined the strongest kinds of medical expertise: the practicality of a learned farrier and the theoretical knowledge of the physician. Moreover, in the conclusion, an eminent surgeon, Dale Ingram, wrote a chapter about equine leg anatomy and strains. Reeves’s book was the most popular book written by a farrier between 1720 and 1800.⁶⁸ Comparing Reeves’s title page to Markham’s title page demonstrates this shift. (Compare Illustrations 1.1 and 1.2.) Markham’s title page depicts the horseman, whereas Reeves’s title page describes farriery/equine medicine as an art and highlights practice, theory and anatomy. *The Art of Farriery* was supported by physicians and surgeons rather than gentlemen and nobles. Instead of a subcategory of horsemanship, farriery became more medically oriented and self-contained.

⁶⁶ Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.5.

⁶⁸ Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (1758). There were five editions of this book.

Geo. Baillie
ART of FARRIERY
 BOTH IN
THEORY and PRACTICE
 Containing the
CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, and CURE of all DISEASES
 incident to **HORSES.**
 WITH
ANATOMICAL DESCRIPTIONS,
 illustrated with **CUTS,**
 For the better Explaining
The STRUCTURE, and accounting for the VARIOUS
DISORDERS of these useful ANIMALS.
 AS ALSO
Many Rules relating to the Choice and Management of
HORSES of all Kinds, and useful DIRECTIONS how to
 avoid being imposed upon by **JOCKEYS.**
Wherein some egregious ERRORS of FORMER WRITERS are
 occasionally pointed out.

By **Mr. JOHN REEVES,**
 Farrier at Ringwood, Hants.^K
 The whole Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged by a **PHYSICIAN.**

To which is added,
A new Method of curing a STRAIN in the BACK SINEWS,
 and the **ANATOMY of a HORSE's LEG,**
 with some Observations on **SHORING,**
 By an **EMINENT SURGEON.**

L O N D O N :
 Printed for **J. NEWBERRY,** at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's
 Church-Yard ; and **B. COLLINS,** in Salisbury.
MDCCLVIII.

Illustration 1.2, *The Art of Farriery*

Authors like Reeves were far more influential than the few authors who were not focused on medicine or medically trained. Figure 1.10 categorises authors by occupation or status and graphs the number of editions their books had. Authors without claims to formal medical training (gentlemen and anonymous) wrote only 45 of the 307 books issued between 1720 and 1800 (14 per cent); medically/anatomically trained authors wrote the other 86 per cent. In comparison to Ginnie Smith's sampling of domestic and self-help

titles from 1770 to 1820, the percentage of laymen writing farriery/equine medical texts from 1720 to 1800 was half as many as in Smith’s results—even though there were almost no physicians who wrote farriery/equine medical books. Nevertheless, authors of farriery/equine medical books clearly became much more medically oriented in the eighteenth century.

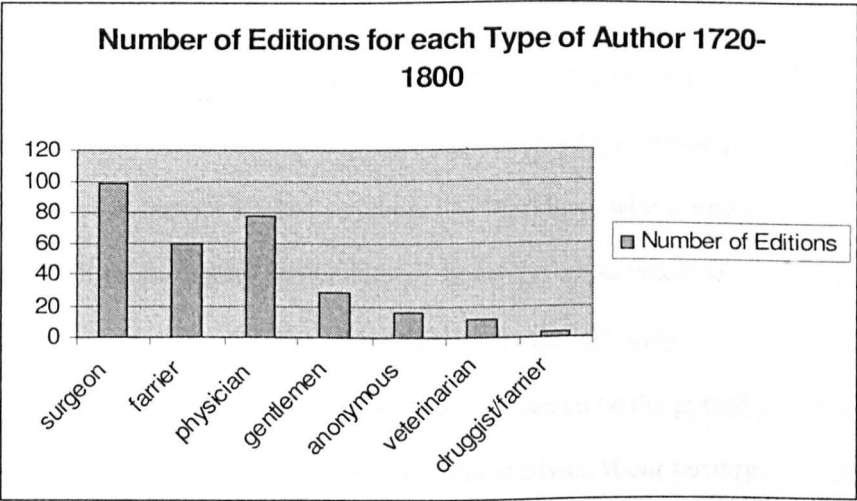


Figure 1.10, Type of Author and Number of Editions 1720–1800.

Furthermore, the laymen (gentlemen) who authored books discussing farriery/equine medicine after 1720 focused on medicine more heavily than the previous period’s laymen authors. For example, Patricius Goodall wrote *A Short Dissertation on the Pneumatic Engine*, which discussed a new therapeutic method for fumigating horses.⁶⁹ He saw farriery as distinct from horsemanship. Strickland Freeman, a horseman, also wrote specifically about ‘horse-medicine’. He saw farriery as a medical duty of the gentleman to preserve the horse body. His writing focused on specific medical practices and therapeutics in *Observations on the Mechanism of the Horses Foot* (1796). Though they were still horsemen, the literature they wrote had begun to describe farriery/equine

⁶⁹ Patricius Goodall, *A Dissertation on the Pneumatic Engine* (Nottingham, 1765).

medicine as a specialised medical knowledge similar to the way medics had begun describing farriery/equine medicine. Regardless of these changes, these laymen's books were not frequently reissued like they had been before 1720—John Halfpenny's book was reprinted thirteen times by 1719 and *Markham's Maister Peece* was reprinted twenty-five times by 1719.

Twenty-five farriers wrote works on equine care from 1720 to 1800, compared with only three farrier authors from 1560 to 1719. The knowledge and experience of farriers had only occasionally been included in farriery books by authors like Markham, who claimed to have consulted farriers. Eighteenth-century farrier authors, however, wrote practical books about general farriery and specialised topics within farriery, never including horsemanship. This may reflect greater literacy and intellectual confidence on the part of farriers, while also demonstrating a shift to more medically oriented advice about farriery. There were several authors, such as J. Thompson, author of *The Complete Horse Doctor*, who claimed that several gentlemen asked him to write his book because he had thirty-seven years of experience, and others like John Jones and John Reeves, who both claimed similar endorsements.⁷⁰ It is likely that most authors were from the highest levels of farriery practice, such as several of the King's farriers. Andrew Snape Jr. published his *Anatomy of an Horse* in 1683 and his descendant Edward Snape wrote two influential books in the 1790s.⁷¹ William Merrick, also farrier to the King, authored a large volume in 1788.⁷² However, the author most beloved by veterinary historians was the farrier to the King in Scotland, James Clark, who published on shoeing, disease prevention and equine

⁷⁰ John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*; John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*; J. Thompson, *The Complete Horse Doctor* (London, 1763).

⁷¹ Edward Snape, *A Treatise on those two Diseases in horses Termed Glanders and Farcy* (London, 1787); *idem.*, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery*.

⁷² William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier*.

physiology.⁷³ Many of these books authored by farriers were reprinted up to five times, like Reeves's, and most were reprinted at least two or three times.⁷⁴ Between 1720 and 1800 there were more than sixty editions of farriery books written by farriers.

Furthermore, the number of new farrier authors is demonstrative of how important the farrier had become as a source about horse medicine. Ginnie Smith found in her sample that physicians outnumbered most of the other kinds of practitioners writing about domestic medicine.⁷⁵ Like the physician in Smith's sample, farriers had written the most titles and become the dominant kind of author of farriery books. (Figure 1.9) Though farrier authors' books were not reissued as much as surgeons and physicians' farriery books, farriers had become a significant authority for advice about farriery.

An increasing amount of authors also came from medical occupations. (Figure 1.10 and 1.10) The first example of this is the veterinary surgeon and druggist/farrier.⁷⁶ Veterinary surgeons began writing after the LVC was created in the early 1790s, marking the emergence of 'new farriery' authors. After 1800, veterinary surgeons became increasingly important authority figures, although the content of their books was often similar to that of eighteenth-century farriery/equine medical writing. The druggist/farrier authors wrote books that would advertise their medicines and increase business. Like the veterinary surgeons, druggists began to write books in the 1790s. Francis Clater, wrote *Every Man His Own Farrier*, which had twenty editions by 1810, giving him international recognition.⁷⁷ Even though Smith's sample of domestic medical literature shows there were far fewer laymen authoring books (8 or 62), the number of farriery books being

⁷³ James Clark, *The Observations on the Shoeing of Horses* (Edinburgh, 1770); idem., *Treatise on the Prevention of Disease* (Edinburgh, 1788).

⁷⁴ John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery*.

⁷⁵ Ginnie Smith, 'Self-help and Advice in the Late 18C', p. 262. She showed that 26 of the 62 titles were authored by M.D.s and those that held public positions.

⁷⁶ OED shows the term veterinary surgeon first being used in 1790.

written by authors with medical occupations was clearly increasing and the authority for giving advice about farriery was also shifting.

A small group of surgeons wrote the majority of the most influential books on equine care from 1720 to 1800. One might suspect farriery was an outlet for surgeons, like the case of surgeons practicing midwifery in the 1720s, and that surgeons became farriers to avoid the overcrowded market for surgery. However, very few surgeons began practicing farriery, though many occasionally cared for horses. The few that did practice farriery had very few things in common with each other and practiced farriery for very different reasons—even though they all claimed they were improving it. William Prosser, surgeon-apothecary, claimed he was experienced and knowledgeable in physic, and only began farriery to improve the state of it in the 1790s.⁷⁸ Whereas, in the 1760s William Osmer and his brother practiced farriery to make a living even though they were both trained surgeons. Therefore, this group of surgeons entered farriery randomly throughout the century. Nevertheless, this small group had a powerful influence on eighteenth-century farriery. Though the seventeenth-century surgeon was associated with barbers, butchers and bleeders, during the eighteenth century the figure of the surgeon began to change. The creation of the Company of Surgeons in 1745, which later became the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800, marked one change in the perception of the figure of the eighteenth-century surgeon, while by the end of the century this figure became associated with refined practices, often being called apothecary-surgeon. Irvine Loudon identified this figure as marking the genesis of the general practitioner.⁷⁹ Though in reality many

⁷⁷ Francis Clater, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (1823, 23rd edition), preface.

⁷⁸ William Prosser, *Treatise on Strangles*, preface and advertisement.

⁷⁹ Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner 1750–1850* (Oxford 1986); M. Pelling, 'Medical Practice in the Early Modern Period: Trade or Profession?' in W. Prest (ed.), *Profession in Early Modern England* (London, 1986). T. Gelfand, 'The Decline of the Ordinary Practitioner and the Rise of the Modern Medical Profession' in S. S. Tatum and D. E. Larson (eds.), *Doctors, Patients and Society: Power*

surgeons did not match the image of this kind of surgeon, those who wrote farriery books often identified themselves with the ideal figure of a surgeon to bolster their credibility. Six surgeon authors wrote 15 titles about farriery/equine medicine from 1720 to 1800.⁸⁰ These works went through 98 editions. In contrast, from 1560 to 1719 there was only one surgeon who wrote a farriery book, which never had a second edition.

In addition to the surgeons who wrote farriery books, there was one physician who wrote on these matters who was also hugely influential. (Figure 1.10) Seventy-eight editions of the farriery works of Henry Bracken of Lancaster were published from 1720 to 1800. He began writing farriery books by editing several popular farriery books—*The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier* being the most popular, with twenty-five editions. Bracken made comments throughout Burdon's book at the bottom of each page, causing publishers to reissue it frequently throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. It also caused Bracken to begin writing about farriery independently. One can also see the connection between Burdon and Bracken by Burdon's abridgement of Bracken's work at the end of the century rather than producing a new book.⁸¹ Realising Bracken's interest in farriery/equine medicine and his potential to write books that would sell, J. Shuckburgh, the publisher of some of Burdon's editions, encouraged Bracken to write a book on farriery/equine medicine, which he had published two years later—*Farriery Improv'd*. It had thirty-five editions during this period, more than any other farriery medical book in

and Authority in Medical Care (Ontario, 1981). Ivan Waddington, *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution* (Dublin, 1984).

⁸⁰ William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (1720); idem., *The Farrier's Dispensatory* (1721); idem., *The True Method of dieting Horses* (1721); idem., *A New Treatise on the Disease of horses* (1751); William Osmer, *A Dissertation on Horses* (1756); idem., *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses* (1761); John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farrier* (1759); idem., *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (1766); Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier's and Horseman's complete Dictionary* (1766); John Blunt, *The Practical Farrier*; William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory*, Vol. I and II (1788 and 1790); idem., *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*; idem., *Mulum in Parvo*; Thomas Prosser, *A Treatise on Strangles and Fevers in Horses* (London, 1790).

⁸¹ William Burdon, *Bracken Abridg'd* (1796).

the database.⁸² Another of his most popular books, *The Traveller's Pocket Farrier*, also had many editions.⁸³ Further, Bracken wrote *Ten Minutes Advice*, which was very similar to the *Pocket Farrier* and often times confused with *The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier*. Bracken also edited and translated M. La Fosse's book on glanders and was intending to edit Andrew Snape's *The Anatomy of an Horse*.

Part of the reason Bracken's books were reissued so often was due to his authority as a physician writing about farriery. However, though his printers and publishers always portrayed him as an MD, David Harley has shown there is no record of Bracken taking an MD.⁸⁴ He may have been no different from a surgeon-apothecary, like William Taplin or Thomas Prosser, or an extremely early general practitioner.⁸⁵ In 1772, more than three decades after *Farriery Improv'd* was issued, J. Gregory wrote, 'If a surgeon or apothecary has had the education, and acquired the knowledge of a physician, he is a physician to all intents and purposes.'⁸⁶ Thus, though Bracken lived much earlier than the emergence of the general practitioner, his readers believed he was a physician and one of the most important authors writing about farriery in the eighteenth century. For example, Dr. A. G. Sinclair defended Bracken by appealing to his status as a physician in the 1790s after Taplin criticised Bracken in print.⁸⁷ John Bartlet argued that Bracken's books altered farriery definitively for the good of the art because he was the only 'Physician' to write extensively about equine medicine.⁸⁸ Therefore, his occupational status was highly important to the influence of his books. This may have been because he also wrote human

⁸² Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (1737 vol. I and 1743 vol. II).

⁸³ Bracken, *The Traveller's Pocket Farrier* (1742).

⁸⁴ David Harley, 'Ethics and Dispute Behavior in the Career of Henry Bracken of Lancaster: Surgeon, Physician, and Manmidwife,' in Robert Baker, Dorothy Porter, and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Codification of Medical Morality* (London, 1993), 47–72.

⁸⁵ Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner* (1986), see, ch. 1 and 2.

⁸⁶ J. Gregory, *Lectures on the Duties and Qualification of a Physician* (London, 1772).

⁸⁷ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory*; John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (1796).

medical books and debated several important human medical topics, such as midwifery and lithontriptics. He also drew the attention of several human medics in discussions about the horse eye from what he wrote about in *Farriery Improv'd*.⁸⁹ Therefore, Bracken's advice about farriery was highly influential partly because of his perceived occupation as a medical authority, showing that farriery advice had become medical.

Furthermore, the books of only five authors, including Bracken's, make up fifty-one per cent of editions of the farriery/equine medical books written between 1720 and 1800. Figure 1.11 graphs the number of editions each of these five authors had. Besides Burdon, whose book Bracken edited, these authors were all originally practitioners of human medicine. Thus, farriery advice was dominated by the advice that came from those in medical occupations. This says more about authority rather than content also, because most of the other forty-nine per cent focused on medicine also. Putting things in a broader perspective, there were more books published by these five authors than the total number of farriery books published from 1560 to 1719.

⁸⁸ John Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery*, preface.

⁸⁹ Henry Bracken, *The Midwife's Companion* (London, 1737); idem., *Lithiasis Anglicana* (London, 1739); idem., *Translation of Maitre Jan's Diseases of the Eye*; P. Kennedy, *Critical Letters from Dr. Henry Bracken (of Farriery) on Kennedy's Ophthalmographia or Treatise on the Eye* (London, 1739). See also Maehle, *Drugs on Trial* (London, 1999), pp. 55–125.

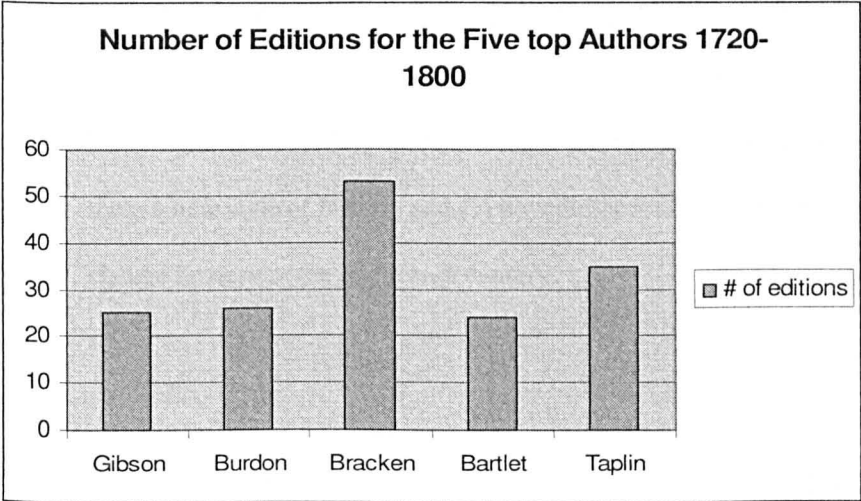


Figure 1.11, Number of Editions of the Top Five Authors.

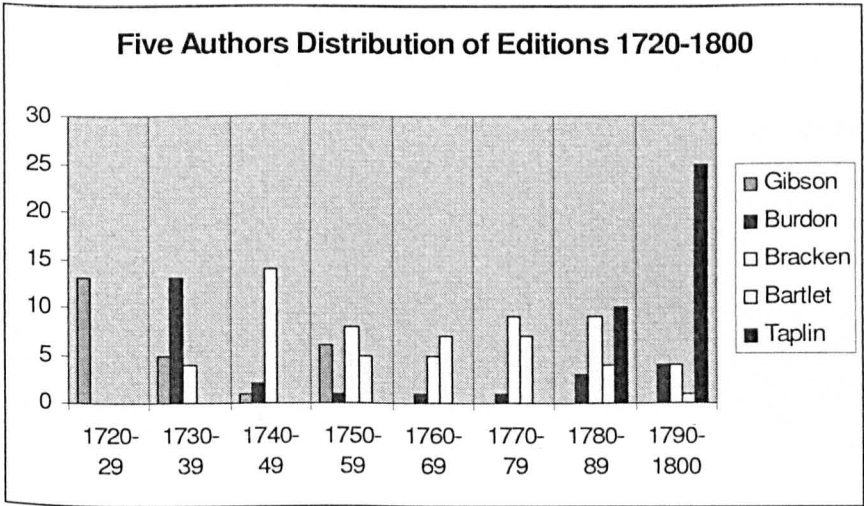


Figure 1.12, Distribution of Editions (Original in Colour)

Conclusion

By analysing farriery/equine medical literature I have demonstrated a major shift in the way authors gave advice about horse care beginning in 1720. This shift marks the medicalisation of farriery literature and highlights the possibility for even broader

developments in equine medicine during this period. The remainder of this dissertation addresses important questions this chapter has begun to develop, such as (1) did the medicalisation of farriery literature cause practitioners to become more medical, (2) was there a new style of farriery and (3) how did new ideas about anatomy and physiology change farriery in the eighteenth century?

Chapter 2

Gentility and Farriery

The last chapter showed that there was an extensive vernacular literature about the medical care of horses. Although there were considerable shifts in the nature of these advice books, most were largely aimed at and probably bought by gentlemen horse owners. In this chapter I will continue and extend my analysis of such sources and will, in two sections, highlight some of the interactions between gentlemanly culture and farriery. The first section will explore the emergence of the genre of books that proclaimed they allowed gentlemen to be their own farrier, or at least to be able to superintend their farriers. This section will show how this literature presented the knowledge of equine medicine as a desirable accomplishment for gentlemen—much as earlier seventeenth-century books presented it as a part of horsemanship—and also how this kind of book had a two-way relationship with the gentry's common practice of collecting and exchanging recipes for horse medicines. The second part of this chapter discusses how some of the authors of farriery books—especially the medically trained ones—sought to show that it was possible to be a member of gentlemanly society and to practice farriery as a living. Authors such as William Taplin not only appealed to the gentry but also defended their work as suitable for those who had come to be seen as the gentlemen of the faculty—practitioners of human medicine.

The Gentleman and Farriery

Since the 1990s a handful of historians have been creating an impressive body of scholarship on late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British polite society. Though

politeness and polite society are often ambiguous concepts, Philip Carter argued that, 'polite society can be said to consist broadly . . . of those who sought a reputation for refinement, whether this reputation be politeness or sensibility, sociability or snobbishness; and of those activities and locations within which individuals, conduct writers or social analysts claimed to detect and pursue refined behavior, whether this be the nation at large, the city or more intimate venues within these spheres.'¹ The interest in politeness, or the idea of measurable codes of manners, has expanded into a variety of different topics and has been an effective lens to view British culture. It has been studied as a subject within itself,² but also used as a tool to analyse art, English gardens,³ the production of high culture,⁴ science,⁵ civility,⁶ masculinity,⁷ politics and religion.⁸

Furthermore, even though medical practice was filled with impolite practices, some practitioners were able to join polite society and sidestep the degradation and derogation of blood and guts. Mary Fissell wrote, 'In the late seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, the behavior of medical practitioners—surgeons, apothecaries and even physicians—was governed by general codes of conduct, by the norms and constraints described by "manners" and "courtesy" . . . Virtually everyone who wrote about education

¹ Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (New York, 2001), p. 19.

² Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1985); Stephen Copley, 'Commerce, Conversation and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Periodical', *British Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, p. 18 (1985), pp. 63–77; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998).

³ Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1995).

⁴ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997).

⁵ Steven Shapin, *A History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994).

⁶ J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge, 1985); Paul Langford, *Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (New York, 1989).

⁷ Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*.

⁸ Lawrence E. Klein, 'Shaftesbury, Politeness and the Politics of Religion', in Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993); Paul Langford, 'Politics and Manners from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, p. 94 (1996), pp. 103–125.

for the professions during the eighteenth century agreed that manners mattered.⁹ Many medical practitioners sought after reputations of refinement and followed codes of polite conduct.¹⁰ Though medical practitioners did frequently fall short of obtaining positions in polite society,¹¹ some of their conduct and civic responsibilities caused them to be deemed polite.¹² Below the faculty, however, chemists, teeth drawers, bonesetters, cunning-folk and a plethora of other practitioners remained far removed from polite society.

Louise Curth has formulated a pyramid for animal practitioners in early modern England similar to the hierarchical pyramid of medical occupations, replacing the medical faculty with farriers. She argued that the Worshipful Company of Farriers shared some similarities to the College of Physicians, first because both had very few members, and second because they both had a 'monopoly' on their respective trades in London.¹³ Farriers, however, occupied the social apex of animal medicine only, a social status that by no means compared to the social status of physicians. Furthermore, farriers' association with the forge, horseshoes and labour was much more difficult to shed than were the labourious tasks associated with some of the gentlemen of the faculty. Although many did desire that farriers be educated like physicians and that they become more associated with refined medical practices, farriery was worlds apart from physic.

⁹ Mary E. Fissell, 'Innocent and Honorable Bribes: Medical Manners in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in Robert Baker, Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter (eds.) *The Codification of Medical Morality: Historical and Philosophical Studies of the Formalization of Western Medical Morality in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1993), pp. 19–20.

¹⁰ Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality: Barber Surgeons, the Body and Disease', in Lucinda Beier and R. Finlay (eds.), *London, 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986); Mary Fissell, 'Innocent and Honourable Bribes: Medical Manners in Eighteenth-Century Britain'.

¹¹ Ian Inkster, 'Marginal Men: Aspects of the Social Role of the Medical Community in Sheffield, 1790–1850', in J. Woodward and D. Richard (eds.), *Health Care and Popular Medicine in Nineteenth-Century England: Essays in the Social History of Medicine* (London, 1977).

¹² For discussion of hospital appointments see, Roy Porter, 'The Gift Relation: Philanthropy and Provincial Hospitals in Eighteenth-Century England', in L. Granshaw and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Hospital in History* (London, 1989); Adrian Wilson, 'Conflict, Consensus and Charity: Politics and Provincial Voluntary Hospitals in the Eighteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), pp. 617–18.

¹³ Louise Curth, 'The Care of the Brute Beast: Animals and the Seventeenth-century Medical Market-Place', *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 15 (2002), p. 383.

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, however, horsemanship literature bound the gentleman and farriery together. This is ironic because although riding and horsemanship were associated with gentility and polite culture,¹⁴ farriery was not considered a polite practice; it was a labourious necessity. By the 1720s, when farriery literature was no longer predominantly found in horsemanship literature, many gentlemen began to portray their interest in farriery differently by making it polite, describing themselves as polite practitioners, rather than simply as horsemen.

Capt. Burdon's Gentleman's Pocket Farrier (1730) by Captain William Burdon began a new way of describing a gentleman's role in farriery. Burdon wrote, 'It is not indeed Gentlemen's Business to Shoe, Drive or Clean Horses; those will and ought to be forever the provinces of Farriers, Coachmen and Grooms; but it is every Gentleman's concern to understand all the rest, and many do, much better than any of the former, by the advantage they have above the vulgar in Learning and Parts.'¹⁵ He did not expect the gentleman owner to perform the laborious side of horse care, but rather to know and understand 'everything else'. Assuming that gentlemen were educated, Burdon argued, they could ensure good horse care by understanding medicine better. Most importantly, Burdon posited that 'the Study thereof, is not unworthy the highest Rank of Men'.¹⁶ He noted that the Duke of Newcastle and Sir William Hope were high profile gentlemen who knew more about farriery than most people, and who prolifically and unabashedly wrote about it. Furthermore, to demonstrate the pedigree of gentlemen farriery, he claimed that through Virgil's willingness to aid in farriery, he 'cured many diseases of horses by methods they

¹⁴ Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship 1500–1800* (1989).

¹⁵ William Burdon, *Capt. Burdon's Gentleman's Pocket Farrier* (London, 1730), preface, b.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, preface, b2.

had never heard of; and this was his Introduction to the Acquaintance and Friendship of the Emperor, and all the great Men of his Age in Rome.’¹⁷

Burdon’s book began a body of advice literature that associated gentility with farriery. It argued that the gentleman horse owner should gain knowledge about farriery in order to supervise the practice of farriery. The gentleman could then ensure the health of the horse and stop the unnecessary deaths of horses. One can draw similar comparisons to books of agricultural advice in the eighteenth century, which often denigrated tenant farmers and farmhands in favor of a polite and enlightened knowledge on the part of the gentry.¹⁸

Burdon’s book was reissued frequently throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, but others began writing similar books. Just one year after Burdon’s book was first published, The Society of Country Gentlemen, Farmers, Grasiers, Sportsmen &c. compiled a similar book. Though little is known about this society, they claimed to continue Burdon’s work. They wrote, ‘Capt. Burdon’s Pocket-Farrier was the best and most useful book that has been publish’d for many years: And therefore, the better to introduce it as the Ground-work for our observations on Horses.’¹⁹ In total they published three books on farriery from 1732 to 1733.²⁰ The Society’s interest in publishing demonstrates that many gentlemen wished to spread and improve the knowledge of farriery. They used the most current and genteel books written by gentlemen and ‘every member of this society having consented to communicate his best receipts for the cure of the most common distempers.’ Gathering with the intentions of ‘improving’ husbandry,

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ For an example of this see, John Banister, *A Synopsis of Husbandry* (London, 1799), p. viii.

¹⁹ The Society of Country Gentlemen, Farmers, Grasiers, Sportsmen &c., *Full Instructions for Country Gentlemen, Farmers, Grasiers, Farriers, Carriers, Sportsmen &c.* (London, 1733), A2.

²⁰ The Society of Country Gentlemen, Farmers, Grasiers, Sportsmen &c., *The Gentleman’s Pocket Farrier Improved* (London, 1732); idem., *The Practical Farrier* (London, 1733).

these gentlemen and farmers gathered and compiled what they saw as the best knowledge of farriery.²¹

The anonymous *Gentleman Farrier* (1732) shows that this kind of farriery literature was also associated with the collection of recipes by gentlemen. It made very similar claims as Burdon's book and argued that the gentleman would improve farriery. The author believed gentlemen were the ones who could obtain and understand more knowledge about farriery and portrayed farriery knowledge as polite, something the gentleman should know, while also using recipe lists supposedly from the aristocracy. The title page announced that it contained 'the horse receipts by the late Duke of Devonshire, Earl of Orrery, Lord Carleton, Sir John Packington, General Seymour, Portman Seymour, Esq; Published by the direction of a person of Quality.'²² The author intended these recipes to represent a body of knowledge that could be trusted and depended upon because of their aristocratic and distinguished origin. Sara Pennell and Elaine Leong argue that 'recipes can be seen as analogous to particular forms of early modern financial transaction, notably bills of exchange, in that their realisable value was tied up with the trustworthiness of the relationship on which the exchange was based.'²³ In this way *The Gentleman Farrier* offered bills of exchange backed by the aristocracy, which built upon the authority of gentlemen in farriery through their possession of such valuable recipes. Like other didactic writing in the eighteenth century, literature like *The Gentleman Farrier* used persons of 'skills, knowledge and experience' to conjure a 'conversation between the expert and the

²¹ Society of Country Gentlemen, *Full Instructions*, to the reader.

²² Anonymous, *The Gentleman Farrier* (London, 1732).

²³ Sara Pennell and Elaine Leong, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace'', in Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis, (eds.) *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1450–c.1850* (London, 2007), p. 134; see also Sara Pennell, 'Perfecting practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England', in Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (London, 2004).

reader'.²⁴ Though the gentleman was not claiming to be the expert in this literature, he was an important part of obtaining expert knowledge from medical practitioners and building the sense of communication through farriery literature to the gentleman. Furthermore, the purpose of the book was 'to inform those gentlemen who are lovers of horses, how to preserve them in health, know their distempers, and cure them with little trouble and expense.'²⁵ This book rhetorically disregarded farriers, relying solely on gentlemanly knowledge. By doing so, the author reflected the gentleman's superiority over the farrier as the holder of equine medical knowledge. It also demonstrates that the gentleman's knowledge of farriery did not always come directly from farriery advice literature, but that knowledge about recipes went back and forth on a two-way street between printed literature and the personal recipe collections of gentlemen.

The gentry also collected horse recipes and used them, as Leong and Pennell argued, as 'social capital'.²⁶ This is plain to see in equine medical recipes as early as 1730, when the Society for Country Gentlemen published their book, which compiled their collection of recipes.²⁷ Throughout the eighteenth century, gentlemen and horse owners collected recipes for equine drugs and ointments. When horse owners called on farriers or other practitioners to care for their horses, they often noted the recipes the farrier used so that they would not have to pay a farrier for the same services again, and then exchanged the best recipes with other horse owners.²⁸ This tradition persisted from the 1730s and gave the Odiham Agricultural Society a basis for improvement in the 1780s, when they made

²⁴ Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 13.

²⁵ Anon, *Gentleman Farrier*, preface.

²⁶ Elain Leong and Sara Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern "Medical Marketplace"', in Jenner and Wallis (eds.) *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies*, p. 133.

²⁷ Society for Country Gentlemen, *The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier Improved* (London: 1733), preface.

²⁸ Wellcome Archives, MS 7455, 7458, 7525.1, 2477, 994, 995, 1357, 1795, 7073, 1364, 144, 1625, 3151, 3500, 3950, 4124, 4263, 4632, 7456, 7457, 7459, 7788; North Yorkshire County Records Office, Northallerton, MS ZV 4, ZV 4-1, ZV 7, ZV 8-1; University of Durham Archives, Durham, SR; 18 B/C 1720-1730; Buckinghamshire Records Office, Aylesbury, D138/16/6/1.

their first proposal to improve farriery by collecting the best recipes from gentlemen around the country. They, like the *Society for Country Gentlemen*, felt that farriery would benefit from their collections.²⁹

Horse owners collected recipes most often in horse recipe books, but also occasionally copied them in account books, in general recipe collections and in the margins of printed farriery literature.³⁰ In one example of a horse medicine recipe book, the unknown owner kept track of the cost of farriery and recorded the recipes used by each farrier, noting whether or not the recipes and practitioners were good.³¹ Robert Philips's recipe book, compiled in 1762, noted the cost of farriery and the recipes used. He also cut out square pieces of the back pages to give to farriers as receipts.³² Others compiled and collected recipes in cookery books and other general account books.³³ They ranged from softbound pocket books to large, hardbound folios. The majority of them, however, were small and practical, allowing the owner to take them to the apothecary or farrier shop and request a specific medicine. Within the books, the horse owners would often list the name and trade of the persons from whom they had received the recipe.

A close examination of these recipes books further demonstrates how gentlemen were interested in authoritative recipes and often obsessed with collecting them. The recipe

²⁹ Royal Veterinary College Archives, Minutes of Meetings vol I.

³⁰ Wellcome Archives, MS 7455, 7458, 7525.1, 2477, 994, 995, 1357, 1795, 7073, 1364, 144, 1625, 3151, 3500, 3950, 4124, 4263, 4632, 7456, 7457, 7459, 7788; North Yorkshire County Records Office, Northallerton, MS ZV 4, ZV 4-1, ZV 7, ZV 8-1; University of Durham Archives, Durham, SR; 18 B/C 1720-1730; Buckinghamshire Records Office, Aylesbury, D138/16/6/1.

³¹ Wellcome Archives, MS 7455.

³² Wellcome Archives, MS 7457, for other examples of horse recipe books see MS 4124, 7456, 7459; North Yorkshire County Records Office, Northallerton, MS ZV 4, 4-1, 7, and 8-1.

³³ Wellcome Archives, MS 7458 is agricultural account book, MS 7525 is a chemists account book with horse recipes, MS 2477 is J. Garside's general recipe book including both human and animal recipes, MS 1357 is Robert Bristow's cookery book, MS 1795 is another cookery book with horse recipes, MS 7073 is Caleb Lowdham's recipe book, which separates human and animal recipes, MS 3500 which is Mrs. Meade's recipe book attaches noteworthy individuals to each of the horse recipes, pp. 46-53, 177.

books included both human and animal recipes, usually noting which was which, although the horse recipes occasionally came from human practitioners. Demonstrating how the gentry looked for the best recipes regardless of the providing practitioner's occupation, several owners titled their books as equine recipe books, but included only human recipes intended for horses.³⁴ One can easily explain this by looking at some of the patterns of recipe exchange: in an attempt to obtain a cure or remedy, the owners would often approach a medical practitioner who was better acquainted with the human pharmacopoeia.³⁵ Horse owners copied recipes from apothecaries, grooms, gentlemen, farriers, surgeons and 'quacks', and in many circumstances, horse owners even used and copied proprietary human medicines as horse cures.³⁶ Furthermore, horse owners saw a surgeon or apothecary as more knowledgeable about pills and potions, even though they did not know much about the equine pharmacopoeia. Eusebius Ashby, the son of George Ashby of Quenby, compiled two large hardbound 'receipt books' that were meticulously, even obsessively, documented.³⁷ He recorded dates, recipes, receipts and where and from whom he copied those items. The author makes it clear he was taking recipes from, for example, specific gentlemen, such as Dr. Richard Pool, mountebank and soldier;³⁸ Dr. Hely;³⁹ apothecaries;⁴⁰ druggists;⁴¹ and especially farriers like William Tomson, London farrier and soldier. In one instance Ashby described a circumstance in which a cowleech cured William Freer's horse of Farcy, and then Ashby recorded the recipe the cowleech used, while later he followed up with Freer's horse to note that the farrier William Gent cured the same horse with a swollen leg from Farcy.⁴² Under certain categories of disease,

³⁴ Wellcome Archives, MS 7788, 7456.

³⁵ Wellcome Archives, MS 7456.

³⁶ Wellcome Archives, MS 7458; British Library, MS 39289 f.98.

³⁷ Wellcome archives, MS 994 and 995.

³⁸ Wellcome archives, see, MS 994, p. 58.

³⁹ Wellcome archives, see MS 994, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Wellcome archives, see MS 994, Mr. Orme and others titled apothecary.

⁴¹ Wellcome archives, see MS 994, Jon Aires.

⁴² Wellcome archives, MS 994, p. 52.

he compares the recipes of kinds of practitioners. Ashby also frequently recorded the recipes taken from apothecaries or apothecary/farriers, like one Mr. Orme. Ashby often recorded the recipes Mr. Orme prescribed for his horse. This demonstrates that some apothecaries not only made up medicines according to horse owners' instructions, but also took part in diagnosing horses and prescribing medicine for them. The *Times* printed advertisements for druggists, bookstore owners, and apothecaries willing to compile the most famous horse pills.⁴³ (See Chapter 5 for further details.)

Dr. Henry Bracken and other farriery authors commented on the ubiquity of these recipe books. Bracken was opposed to the excessive use of horse pills. To his dismay, some nobles and gentlemen approached him to compile a book on farriery and offered him their best recipes to be included in it.⁴⁴ Bracken proclaimed that every gentleman had a book of this kind and wrote that they merely fed the abhorrent practice of apothecaries. Bracken argued, 'Seeing he who has his head full of receipts, has his head full of nonsense, by reason there is not any such thing as practicing by receipts, and a number of them only serve to perplex and confound the reader.'⁴⁵ Because these receipt books were so prominent amongst the gentry, Bracken was one of few that spoke poorly of these lists. John Barlet and others fully recognised the importance of recipe books and wanted to use them to their advantage to increase their incomes. Bartlet insisted that 'there are few gentlemen who have not a receipt book by them'. Therefore, he believed it was his duty to

⁴³ See, *The Times*, 27 Mar 1792, p1 issue 2265, col A; *The Gentleman Farrier*, Preface. 'First, my Chymical preparations I had from the most eminent Chymists in London...I had my Woods and Gums from the most noted Druggists in London...' See also Chapter 5.

⁴⁴ Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd* (London, 1739), preface.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

improve the recipes to assure their quality.⁴⁶ James Clark also argued that gentlemen ‘immediately apply to their receipt-book’ for farriery.⁴⁷

This tradition of recipe books and printed literature for gentlemen about farriery demonstrates how gentlemen were involved in farriery. Emerging in the same period, a new kind of this type of literature began to be published. These books were written by medical gentlemen (Gibson, Bracken, Bartlet, etc.). They too argued for polite medical practice and their books most likely appealed to similar gentlemen readers, but they wanted to ‘improve’ equine medicine by adding to it in reference to developments in human medicine.

Exchanging recipes for horse cures was just a part of ensuring good horses and good stables. Giles Worsley, for example, argued that a new elaborate stable design emerged first in the sixteenth century with the emergence of the new expensive coach horse, and in the later eighteenth century, new expensive stable designs became prevalent to meet the demands for the eighteenth century thoroughbred.⁴⁸ In both of these cases, the aristocracy and gentry built these expensive structures to care for their horses and as social capital.

Medical Practitioners, Gentility and Farriery

As we saw in Chapter 1, until after 1720 almost no gentlemen of the faculty wrote about farriery, perhaps partly because they did not want to be associated with farriery. John Lacy’s play *The Dumb Lady, or, The Farrier Made Physician* (1672), for example, characterised the farrier as a drunken, hammer-wielding smith, with nothing but the

⁴⁶ John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (Eton, 1766), p. x.

⁴⁷ James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses* (Edinburgh, 1788), ch. X.

⁴⁸ Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (London, 2005), p. 182.

education of a mountebank.⁴⁹ In the play two ostentatious gentlemen force Dr. Drench (the farrier), after several beatings, to admit that he was a physician trained in Padua. However, Lacy comically makes the farrier, though ignorant, able to do the physician's job just as well. Indeed the farrier begins to recognise the likenesses between a physician and a farrier: 'Why, a drench is a potion, and potion is a drench only the distinction is, when you put it into a horn, then 'tis a drench for a horse and why you put it into a vial-glass, 'tis a potion for a man, nay, I'll discover all their secrets.'⁵⁰ On reflection, Dr. Drench was quick to decide that he could surely do the same:

Let me see how to behave myself like a Doctor now; I will first take my mistress by the pulse, and look up gravely at the ceiling all the while; then ask what she took last, and when she'd a stool, and there's half a Doctors work; then I'll prescribe something that will neither do hurt nor good, so leave her to luck, and there's the other half of the Doctor; then (to amuze the people) I'll give her the powder of a dried Dock-leaf, with Apothecaries hard name to it; and if that will not mend her, I'll give her a drench, for women have sturdie stomach, and why not as strong of constitution as Horses?⁵¹

Lacy's satire depended upon society's normal perception of the farrier as ignorant.⁵² The figure of the physician was defined by virtuous qualities, advanced education and gentility, while the figure of the farrier lacked these qualities. Lacy, however, brings these two figures together through their common interest in medicine to comically portray the stark social differences. Even the physician's education became similar to the farrier's: 'I once served a Mountebank,' says the farrier, 'and have some of his canting terms, and for ought

⁴⁹ John Lacy, *The Dumb Lady, or, the Farrier made Physician* (London, 1672).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² It adapted Moliere's *Le Medicin Malgre Lui* by using a similar story, with the exception of replacing a drunk with Dr. Drench's character.

I know may prove as good a Physician, as if I'd served an Apprenticeship at Padua. Well, Gentlemen, what disease is it I must cure?'⁵³

The lack of polite and virtuous qualities that separate the farrier and the physician is addressed in “gentleman farriery” literature. Some of the boundaries between the two figures began to be changed when this literature began to describe farriery in more polite terms, which encouraged some medical gentlemen to also begin writing farriery books. Dr. Henry Bracken is one of those who helped make it respectable for medics to concern themselves with farriery, not least when he edited, corrected and expanded Burdon's *Gentleman's Pocket Farrier*, thereby building the medical knowledge of gentlemen. He wrote, “The following remarks . . . were occasioned by the publication of the late book, entitled, *The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier*, wrote [sic] by Captain Burdon; and as it is peculiar to a great mind to approve of all laudable, attempts, so the lowest assistances to knowledge cannot want the favours of the wisest.”⁵⁴ Bracken's avowed intent was to improve farriery by including in Burdon's book the ‘wisest’ medical advice.⁵⁵

Bracken's qualification as a physician made him an important author for associating farriery with medical practitioners. He argued, ‘No one will doubt but that more skill is required in coming at the knowledge of a horse's Distemper than a man's’ and that though few ‘ingenious men’ had treated the subject, it was a worthy subject to study for medical

⁵³ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁴ William Burdon, *The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier* (London, 1748), dedication.

⁵⁵ Bracken practiced as a ‘physician, surgeon and man midwife’ in Lancaster. He was born to the wife of an innkeeper in 1697 and died in 1764. He ‘served one of the most experienced and ablest practitioners of his time, six years; (to wit) the late Dr. Thomas Worthington, of Wigan in Lancashire, and after wards perfecting my self in this knowledge, in the chamber of midwifery, at the famous hospital of Paris, (viz. the Hotel de Dieu).’ Additionally, Bracken attended Boerhaave's lectures in Leyden and assisted him in his private practice. In a dedication to Boerhaave, Bracken wrote, ‘I know no other person to who I am more indebted (for my knowledge in the physical science) than your self.’

practitioners.⁵⁶ Bracken saw farriery as a subject connected to many other worthy subjects that his ‘brethren’ studied, such as comparative anatomy, Newton’s Laws of Motion, optics and mathematics. He saw farriery as a part of the study of nature, claiming it was a worthy study for gentlemen and physicians. Furthermore, he argued the practice of physic was still physic regardless of whether you practiced it on horses or humans. He wrote, ‘Therefore, I say let not my Brethren murmur and complain at me, as if I were debasing the Profession, seeing it is certainly Fact, that he who cannot write sensibly about the Distempers in brute Creatures, is not fitly qualified to prescribe for Man, by reason ’tis plain he has not studied nature thoroughly.’ He argued further that the study of nature—the focus of physicians and comparative anatomists from Harvey to Willis to Boerhaave—had included the study of animals and that horse medicine was merely another branch of the study of nature. He attempted to distance gentlemen from the idea of ignorance, which was associated with farriery, by associating the intellectual practices of the natural philosopher with farriery. Bracken concluded, ‘Let us not wonder, then, to see a physician take pen in hand, in order to write down a discourse upon the distempers in horses, seeing as I have said before the property of body is alike in human and brute creatures: and, besides, there is full as much learning required to treat tolerably upon this subject, as there is in compiling any other physical treatise’.⁵⁷ Therefore, by defending his writing, he also challenged the criticism of physicians studying farriery.

Dr. Bracken studied and wrote about a variety of subjects to improve farriery, including therapeutics, anatomy, etiology and other medical topics; he also practiced farriery occasionally. He wrote, ‘I have not omitted any Thing necessary to be known by those who desire to lend a *helping* hand in the cure of diseases in horses, which I myself,

⁵⁶ Bracken, *Farriery Improv’d*, preface.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

sometimes through Charity, sometimes through Curiosity, have *often* done, for the Benefit of these dumb but serviceable creatures, which are not below the study of the most able hand.⁵⁸ As in Burdon's description of how the gentleman should become involved with farriery, Bracken stayed aloof from the direct practice of farriery, but engaged with it intellectually—often *helping* the farrier. Bracken's expertise became directly associated with Burdon and the idea of gentlemen's polite involvement in farriery.

In his writings, Bracken explained that many people urged him to write a complete treatise on diseases of the horse. In response, Bracken wrote *Farriery Improv'd* in two volumes, in which he treated farriery more fully.⁵⁹ There were 434 subscribers to Bracken's book, many of whom subscribed for multiple copies. The majority of the subscribers were esquires (183) and gentlemen (185), but there were also military leaders, reverends, barristers, earls and dukes. It is interesting to note that there were also twenty-one medical practitioners, fourteen of whom were MDs. The group was composed of various country doctors and several doctors from London, including Dr. Nathaniel Cotton, the poet physician trained in Leiden under Boerhaave.⁶⁰ These subscribers demonstrate that in addition to aristocrats, a few medical gentlemen were also interested in farriery and that Bracken was not the only MD interested in horse medicine. The subscribers were from all around the country—from Liverpool to Newcastle to London—and it is apparent that many horse owners were interested in a farriery book authored by a physician.

Bracken's *Farriery Improv'd* intended to offer gentlemen contemporary knowledge about medicine for their horses, but his 'improvements' often developed theoretical human medical thought. He drew on ideas proposed by followers of Newton about light,

⁵⁸ Ibid., preface.

⁵⁹ Ibid., A2.

⁶⁰ R. Anderson, 'Life of Cotton', in *The Works of the British Poets*, 11 (London, 1795), pp. 1105–8.

chemistry and mathematics. His text referred to the work of contemporary natural philosophers and physicians like James Keil, Robert Boyle, Richard Mead, Thomas Willis, Antoine Maître-Jan, Thomas Hales, William Cheselden, Edward Baynard, Nehemiah Grew and many others. Bracken, thus, ‘improved’ farriery by updating it and disassociating it from outdated medical knowledge and medical practice. Bracken synthesised new etiological theories in human medicine and equine medicine.⁶¹ Mechanical theories and new ideas in physiology gave way to new theories about causes of disease, such as the short-range forces of gravity that maintained a natural balance in the blood.⁶² This caused Bracken’s book to appear complex and up to date.

To emulate Newton’s established method for defining reality, Bracken used mathematics to measure and calculate the horse body and its functions. He wrote, ‘This wonderfully surprising genius [Sir Isaac Newton] made such discoveries, by the help of geometrical reasonings on matters of fact, as must be an eternal monument of honour to his memory’.⁶³ Many gentlemen of the faculty were drawn to Newton’s methods and ideas, like Bracken.⁶⁴ Stephen Hales, for example, had recently performed gruesome experiments on horses to calculate their blood pressure.⁶⁵ Using Hales’s work as an example, Bracken tried to find what he called medical ‘matters of fact’ through mathematical calculations of the quantity of blood in the horse’s body. He wrote that mathematics was the ‘why for a wherefore’ and could enable a better understanding of equine physiology. He measured

⁶¹ Roger French and Andrew Wear, (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989); A. Wear, R. K. French & I. M. Lonie *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985); L. S. King, *The Philosophy of Medicine: The Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); idem., *The Road to Enlightenment 1650–1695* (London, 1970); idem., *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, 1958); Robert Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists*; Theodore M. Brown, *The Mechanical Philosophy and the “Animal Oeconomy”* (New York, 1981).

⁶² King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 59–94.

⁶³ Bracken, *Farriery Improv’d*, p. vii.

⁶⁴ For several examples see, Tore Frangsmyr, J.L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century* (escholar, 2003); John Henry (ed.), *Newtonianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2005).

⁶⁵ Stephen Hales, *Haemastaticks* (London, 1733).

the amount of blood in the horse body, the velocity of the circulating blood in health and sickness and the speed of the blood circulating in the arteries, veins and capillaries.⁶⁶

These calculations also attempted to rectify farriery's long dismissal of using the pulse to indicate disease—a major tool in genteel medical practice.⁶⁷

As I have shown in Chapter 1, a group of surgeon authors began publishing books about farriery from the 1740s to the 1790s, which referenced Bracken often and became associated directly or indirectly with the concept of “gentleman farriery”. William Osmer, a surgeon by trade, practiced farriery and authored several books about it.⁶⁸ Many surgeons writing books about farriery often cited his books. Thomas Wallis and James Blunt both compiled dictionaries of farriery for the gentleman, synthesising the majority of their dictionary entries from other surgeons' books about farriery.⁶⁹ In this way, farriery books written by surgeons often ignored other farriery books and referenced only books written by surgeons, from Gibson to late-eighteenth-century surgeons. In the last decade of the century, Thomas Prosser, William Taplin and William Moorcroft also added to this group of farriery books by amalgamating ideas from previous surgeon-authored farriery books into their own books.⁷⁰ However, the most influential surgeon who compiled farriery knowledge directly for the gentleman was John Bartlet.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Bracken, *Farriery Improv'd*, pp. 50–54; See also the work of Dr. Stephen Hales in *Haemastaticks*.

⁶⁷ For examples of farriers using the pulse as therapeutic after Bracken see, William Griffiths, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (Wrexham, 1784), pp. 1–2; James Clark, *A Treatise on Prevention of Diseases Incidental in Horses* (Edinburgh, 1788), pp. 217–238; Also see, W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, (eds.), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁶⁸ William Osmer, *A Dissertation on Horses* (London, 1756); idem., *Treatise on Diseases and Lameness in Horses* (London, 1759).

⁶⁹ Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier's and Horseman's Complete Dictionary* (London, 1764); James Blunt, *The Practical Farrier* (London, 1773).

⁷⁰ See, Thomas Prosser, *A Treatise on the Strangles and Fevers in Horses* (London, 1795); William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* (London, 1793); William Moorcroft, *Directions for using the Contents of the Portable Horse Medicine Chest* (London, 1795); Taplin's *Stable Directory*, for example, references Gibson (21), Bracken (14) and Osmer (5) by name throughout to discuss their work.

⁷¹ John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery* (London, 1753); idem., *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (London, 1766).

Besides his books, we know little about Bartlet, other than that he was a surgeon who practiced somewhere around Eton.⁷² His books utilised Bracken's work throughout but also focused upon how farriery could be polite or gentlemanly, as Burdon had proposed in his books. He wrote two books on farriery, both of which went through multiple editions.⁷³ He argued that to 'improve' farriery, gentlemen needed to begin studying and making contributions to the knowledge of farriery. He wrote, 'But till gentlemen make this a more general study, and thereby become better judges of physical merit we must not be surprised to find them sometimes imposed on by such conceited matters.'⁷⁴ Nearly thirty years after Bartlet's first book was printed, John Lawrence wrote, 'I have no doubt, he [Bartlet] has acted as a stimulus to many gentlemen of the faculty to undertake veterinary science.'⁷⁵

To convince gentlemen to practice farriery, Bartlet's *The Gentleman's Farriery* described a more polite supervisory role for the gentleman. He also argued that this role was supported by gentlemanly knowledge (gentleman recipe lists, Bracken's intellectual farriery, etc.). He wrote, that he

thought he should make no unacceptable present to the public, if he collected from the best authors on this subject such particular symptoms of distempers, as would lead to the discovery of the real one, and distinguish it from the other of the similar nature. By due attention to this plan, every gentleman would soon judge of the ability of his farrier, before he follow the direction here laid down.⁷⁶

⁷² F. Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (4 vol, London, 1976), vol 3, p. 69.

⁷³ John Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery* (London, 1759); idem., *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (London, 1766).

⁷⁴ Bartlet, *Gentleman's Farriery*, p. iii.

⁷⁵ John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on the Horse* (London, 1795), p. 32.

⁷⁶ Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery*, sig. A2.

He wrote for gentlemen who did not have the practical experience of diagnosing horses with disease and believed that ‘it is this knowledge of the symptoms of diseases, that distinguishes the rational physician from the empirical pretender: it is this that accounts for the superior ability and judgement which appears between one physician and another; and it is hence only any progress can be made in the healing arts.’ To convince his readers his book was a practical guide, Bartlet claimed he originally wrote his book to assist his own practice, to ‘save the trouble of turning over on every occasion the various writers on this subject.’⁷⁷

In the 1790s the London Veterinary College embraced the same ideology as books like Burdon’s, Bartlet’s and Taplin’s—that gentlemen should practice farriery. The front piece of Vial de Sainbel’s *Lectures on the Elements of Farriery* resembles Burdon’s and Bartlet’s descriptions of gentlemanly farriery. Illustration 2.1 depicts Sainbel in gentlemanly attire in front of the London Veterinary College, giving directions to a farrier. The contrast between Sainbel’s clothing and the farrier’s leather apron and tattered appearance conjure the distinct difference between a farrier shoeing and a gentleman giving medical instruction, and how this distinction emerged in 1790s veterinary surgery.

⁷⁷ Ibid., X.

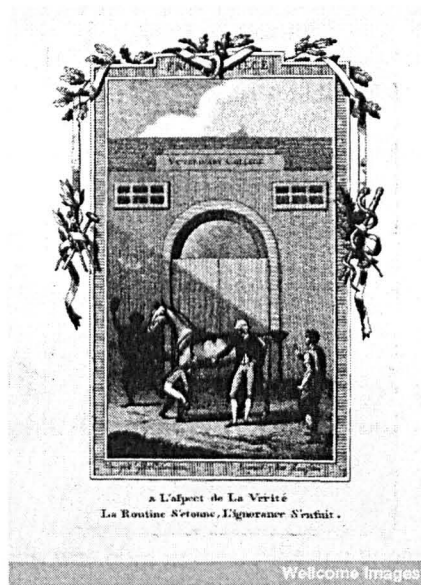


Illustration 2.1, London Veterinary College

Therefore, from the 1730s, both ‘self-help’ books and other instructional texts tried to ‘improve’ farriery, to introduce new ideas developed in human medicine and to raise the status of certain kinds of farriery. The intellectual and social ambitions represented by these works and their authors anticipated and encouraged the rise in practitioners’ reputations institutionalised by the LVC and the emergence of individuals calling themselves veterinary surgeons. This literature, however, shows that L. P. Pugh, Frederick Smith and Iain Pattison have overstated the originality of veterinary authors. Smith, for example, wrote, ‘It must be evident from the detailed account which has been given of the veterinary literature of the eighteenth century that no real advance was being made, and for many years it had been recognised that this was due to the absence of a school for the study of diseases and the training of students.’⁷⁸ There is no doubt that the LVC was founded on the principle of improving farriery, but the real question is whether the LVC was just one of many manifestations of “gentleman farriery”. This question can be

⁷⁸ Frederick Smith, *Early History of Veterinary Literature* (London, 1796), vol. 2, p. 180

analysed by looking at the influence and writing of William Taplin, who practiced farriery in the late 1780s and 1790s, in the middle of what Pugh anachronistically calls the transition from farriery to veterinary surgery.⁷⁹ By looking at Taplin's life and practice, one can see not only the medical gentleman practicing farriery, but also how those interested in farriery became attached to veterinary surgery.

William Taplin: The 'Equestrian Physician' and the Veterinary Surgeon

William Taplin was born in the 1740s and apprenticed in Middlesex to the apothecary George Harding from 1763 to 1770. Taplin considered himself a doctor or a surgeon-apothecary, and from 1770 to the mid 1780s he practiced surgery for 'families of the first respectability'.⁸⁰ During this period of his life, he became very interested in racing and equine sport. At the beginning of the 1770s⁸¹ he became a member of elite hunting circles and met influential individuals who supported him throughout his career. By the end of the 1780s, Taplin had become the most popular equine health care author in England;⁸² he built a large London receptacle for horse care and created the largest network of equine medical sales for pills in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 5).

Taplin described himself and his books as noticeably different from Gibson and Bracken and their books, believing that he represented a new kind of farriery author. However, his rhetoric about farriery improvement was nearly identical to that of "gentleman farriery"

⁷⁹ L. P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine* (Cambridge, 1962), p. xiii.

⁸⁰ William Taplin, *A Compendium*, pp. 66–67.

⁸¹ He wrote tracts attacking the game laws and defending the aristocrat's monopoly of hunting; William Taplin, *Observations on the Present State of Game in England* (London, 1772); see also, idem., *An Appeal to the Representatives on Part of the People Respecting the Present Destructive State of the Game* (London, 1792).

⁸² William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* (2 vols, London, 1788, 89); idem., *A Dose for the Doctors* (London, 1789); idem., *Practical Observations* (London, 1790); idem., *Mulum en Parvo* (London, 1796); idem., *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (Brentford, 1796); idem., *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary* (2 vol, London, 1803); idem., *Sportsman's Cabinet* (2 vol, London, 1803).

literature of the 1750s. His text continuously criticised farriery books such as Burdon's, Bracken's and Osmer's, yet it borrowed from their works. Part of his disdain for their works was their intellectual approach, mostly developed by Bracken. On the other hand, he generally praised Bartlet because of his practical approach to farriery. Nevertheless, Taplin's methods of 'improving' farriery were very similar to Bracken, Bartlet and Osmer's methods.

Like Bartlet, Taplin called for gentlemen to practice farriery and questioned the farrier's capabilities. He argued that equine medicine required a great deal of medical education and asked,

Can they [farriers] be expected to understand the chemical processes of *mercury*, *antimony*, and other dangerous medicines they constantly put into use, without knowing their origins, preparations, combinations of principles, or their exact line of distinction that renders them *salutary remedies* or *powerful poisons*?⁸³

Like previous authors, Taplin explicitly appealed to the higher classes to make a change in farriery.⁸⁴ He stated, that it was surprising that

The intellectual faculties of many distinguished members of the different learned societies should be absorbed in abstruse contemplations and intense lucubration upon the antiquity of a coin, etc. . . . whilst a branch of science and study, involving the health, safety, and preservation, of the most beautiful and esteemed animal this kingdom has to boast, is neglected as derogatory to the man of letters.⁸⁵

He condemned the common farrier as ignorant and unqualified to practice equine medicine. Taplin insisted that if the 'ancient' system of farriery continued, 'little chance of exploding entirely the heterogeneous and inconsistent *farrago* so long in use universal

⁸³ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory* (London, 1796), p. vii.

⁸⁴ Taplin, *Sporting Dictionary*, see 'Farrier'.

⁸⁵ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory*, pp. xi–xii.

satisfaction is not to be expected, or approbation obtained.⁸⁶ He explained that when an internal problem arose, it was ‘a matter of hypothesis and conjecture’ for farriers, followed by ‘Some powerful “*Mandragora*” of the “*Materia Medica*” that would either “*kill or cure*”’. He went as far as appealing to each gentleman to question every farrier about the quality of the medicine and the reasons for applying it before allowing the farrier to medicate any horse.⁸⁷ Taplin’s book, *The Gentleman’s Stable Directory*, was intended for aristocratic and gentry equine sports enthusiasts to use in their stables for advice about equine medicine. He petitioned his readers to begin a more serious study of farriery, writing,

It is a truth generally acknowledged and universally lamented that, amidst all the improvements of the present age, none had received so little advantage from the rays of refinement as the Art of Farriery . . . it is neglected as derogatory to the dignity of a man of letters . . . a subject of so much consequence has been for many years submitted to the arbitrary dictation of the most illiterate part of the community.⁸⁸

Taplin’s most profound influence was upon the sporting world, which probably made up the primary readership of his books. His obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* stated,

Mr. T’s lively effusions, liberal opinion, and acute judgement, as a writer and veterinary surgeon, will long be remembered by the sporting world. Among his lesser productions, many are to be found in the early volumes of the Sporting Magazine; particularly some delightful descriptions of the Royal chase in Windsor forest, written in the genuine spirit and language of a true sportsman.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁸⁸ Taplin, *Gentleman’s Stable Directory* (London, 1789), p. v.

⁸⁹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 77 (1807), p. 180.

Though the first two Hanoverian kings did not carry on the Royal Hunt, George III reestablished it at the end of the century. He rebuilt the Master of His Majesty's Stag Hounds' residence, Swinely Lodge, where the king stayed during the hunt and where many aristocratic gatherings took place.⁹⁰ William Taplin was part of this circle through his connections with the Earl of Sandwich and was appointed the Master of His Majesty's Stag Hounds in 1783.⁹¹ Twenty years after this appointment, Taplin wrote he 'had the inexpressible Happiness of partaking with your Lordship the Pleasures of the Chase during the Whole of that Period; to have witnessed your Lordship's humane, polite, and condescending Attention to various Individuals, upon the most distressing Emergencies; to have been repeatedly honoured by your Lordship's public Patronage and private Favor.'⁹²

One of his literary and medical opponents attributed all of Taplin's success to this position.⁹³ Taplin certainly used it to his advantage, stating, 'This pleasing incense to literary vanity could be increased only by the constantly accumulating encomiums, and *most substantial* proofs of private approbation, from some of the first characters within the circle of *The Royal Hunt and Favor*.'⁹⁴ Taplin perpetuated this support by publishing well-written anecdotes of the chase in the *Racing Calendar*, and the support of the racing world propelled him into the spotlight and gave credibility to his work in equine medicine.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ See, Joseph Pote, *Les delices de Windsore; or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor Castle* (Eton, 1778), see 'Swinely Lodge'; Anon., *Ambulator: or a Pocket Companion in a Tour Round London* (London, 1793), p. 31; *The Beauties of the Royal Palaces or, a Pocket Companion to Windsor* (Windsor, 1796), pp. 228–9.

⁹¹ G. Martelli, *Jemmy Twitche: a Life of John Montagu, 4th earl of Sandwich, 1718–1792* (1962); P. Rowley, 'Owsley Rowley and the Sandwich family, 1778–1792', *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 2 (1987), 29–32; P. Rowley, 'Owsley Rowley and the Sandwich family, 1778–1792', *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 2 (1988), 22–32; P. Rowley, 'Owsley Rowley and the Sandwich family, 1778–1792', *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 2 (1990), 35–39; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl: a Life of John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich* (London, 1993); R. A. Austen-Leigh, (ed.), *The Eton College Register, 1753–1790* (1921), pp. 271–2; Taplin, *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 54–55.

⁹² Taplin, *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary*, dedication.

⁹³ A. G. Sinclair, *Critical Observations and Remarks on the Stable Directory* (London, 1792), pp. 1–18, 54.

⁹⁴ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory* (London, 1788), p. vii–viii.

⁹⁵ See for example, William Taplin, *Sporting Dictionary* (London, 1803), vol I, p. 502; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1807, p. 180; *Racing Calendar* November (1791).

Furthermore, attempting to make farriery more polite, Taplin distinguished between its laborious and its intellectual/physic side. He split these sides into ‘operative farriery’ and ‘prescriptive farriery’. Taplin explained that ‘the degrading, dirty, and inferior offices of . . . the operative FARRIER . . . descends to the rough and laborious business of the FORGE, making, fitting and setting the SHOES.’⁹⁶ Taplin saw operative farriery as consisting of shoeing and blacksmithing tasks (though, in fact, anything that was labour intensive he added to the practice of an operative farrier). He described prescriptive farriery as being similar to a physician practicing medicine—the farrier would diagnose the horse’s illness and give the owner advice, such as which medicines to obtain from the apothecary. He stated, ‘As the operative part of FARRIERY is not intended to come within the purpose of our present plan, but is entirely submitted to those whose immediate profession it is to be most clearly informed of’.⁹⁷ To Taplin farriery was divided between kinds of practices, which came with social consequences.

Even in his own practice he practiced ‘prescriptive’ farriery, but to maintain his polite practice he hired farriers for ‘operative’ farriery. He wrote, ‘from . . . [its] original formation as a business, [farriery was] the most *dangerous, laborious, and least compensated*, trade (or profession) of any in the kingdom; consequently none but the most indigent or illiterate . . . could be prevailed upon to undertake it.’⁹⁸ Since the trade was laborious and in some circumstances little compensated, there was little incentive for gentlemen to become farriers. Taplin recognised this problem:

The degrading, dirty, and inferior offices to which the *manual* or operative FARRIER must incessantly become liable in the course of his PRACTICE, renders it readily to be believed, that those whose EDUCATION have been sufficiently

⁹⁶ Taplin, *Sportsman's Dictionary*, pp. 247–8.

⁹⁷ Taplin, *Gentleman's Stable Directory*, p. 26.

⁹⁸ Taplin, *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary*, p. 245.

liberal to qualify them for a scientific initiation in the STUDY OF PHYSIC and ANATOMY, as well as a perfect knowledge of the PROPERTY of MEDICINE cannot be expected to descend to the *rough* and *laborious* business of the FORGE, making, *fitting* and *setting* the SHOES, as well as many other equally difficult and hazardous operations to which the subordinate must perpetually become subject in the course of his practice.⁹⁹

Therefore, even if he was not going to practice operative farriery, Taplin still needed the general farrier. His intention was to use the farrier as an employee or journeyman to perform the labourious side of equine medicine. Taplin wrote that ‘little expectation of reformation can be indulged, till those heterogeneous contrast become reconciled, or the practical duties respectively performed by the *prescriptive* powers of the EQUESTRIAN PHYSICIAN on the *one part*, and an implicit obedience is exacted from the OPERATIVE FARRIER on *the other*.’¹⁰⁰

Therefore, Taplin’s farriery consisted primarily of giving advice—orally or by letter—and of selling equine medicine. He built a ‘Medical Dispensary’ where he could give advice and sell pills and potions to ‘some of the most distinguished characters’ in England.¹⁰¹ As his fame increased, his medicines began making him a small fortune, and in 1794 he moved to Edgeware Road in London. From the success of his dispensary he built an ‘Equestrian Receptacle’ to house more than 100 horses and care for them medically.¹⁰² Taplin travelled up to one mile from the receptacle to give advice, but no farther. If gentlemen paid a subscription fee, they could bring their horses in and pay for horse physic. In addition to his prescriptive practice, Taplin had farrier apprentices and

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 247.

¹⁰⁰ Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Taplin, *Gentleman’s Stable Directory*, vol 4, p. 435; Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office, MS 1033/256.

¹⁰² *The Times*, 19 November 1795, p. 4, col A.

journeymen who performed the operative side of equine medicine.¹⁰³

Taplin's *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* was intended to enable gentlemen to control their stable in a polite manner. His prescriptive practice appeared to be physician-like, and he knew his title as a gentleman and his connection to the Royal Hunt came before even the title 'Doctor'. Nevertheless, he began calling himself an 'equestrian physician', recognising that having the title of physician put him one step closer to obtaining the same polite status as some physicians. However, the title 'equestrian physician' did not catch on, and as 'veterinary surgeon' became the name most commonly used for educated equine practitioners, he changed his title to veterinary surgeon. In 1803 he wrote that 'the VETERINARY SURGEON (or equestrian physician) and *operative farrier* (or shoeing-smith)' should be separated and that the veterinary surgeon should be paid better.¹⁰⁴

Having argued for a new quasi-professional status, and having practiced farriery as a learned physician, Taplin claimed he had redefined farriery. He argued that the widespread reading of his books and the success of his practice played an important part in developing the new environment in which the London Veterinary College was established.

The Veterinary College is a national establishment . . . and derived its origin and institution from the following circumstance. In January 1789, issued from the press, a Treatise upon Farriery, in an octavo volume, under the title of 'The Gentleman's Stable Directory', by the present writer; the popularity of which occasioned it to pass through seven editions in the first twelve months, which number has since

¹⁰³ Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office, 1033/256, Henry Morse's Indenture of Apprenticeship as farrier to William Taplin, 15 August 1795. Within this document, it is stated that he was apprenticed for operative farriery.

¹⁰⁴ Taplin, *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary*, pp. 445–446. Taplin referred to himself as a veterinary surgeon sometime after the London Veterinary College had their first graduates. However, he still maintained the title 'equestrian physician' into the first half of the 1790s.

been exactly doubled. In the course of the work, it was repeatedly regretted, that, amidst the infinity of improvements for which the English were so remarkable, the system of farriery should still remain in its original state of barbarism. In a few months after which, advertisements appeared in the different prints, under sanction of the 'ODIHAM AGRICULTURE SOCIETY', proposing a public subscription for sending a certain number of lads annually to France to study farriery. The author of the *Stable Directory*, who was then preparing his second volume for the press, availed himself of the opportunity to congratulate the promoters of so laudable an undertaking . . . Whether it was from the force of this admonition, or the effect of chance, is not material; the scene within a period of two or three months was totally changed.¹⁰⁵

Taplin was not claiming that he began the college, but that his book, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory*, created the awareness of the need for a learned equine doctor and sparked an excitement that caused many to take action. He further wrote:

Recent circumstances have, however, occurred, to give the PRACTICE of FARRIERY a new complexion; but, unluckily, in the extreme; for the appearance of 'The Gentleman's Stable Directory' a few years since, and the success of its author in his indefatigable endeavours, and energetic exertions, to promote a reformation in the shamefully neglected, erroneous, and cruel system of FARRIERY (newly ycleped 'Veterinary Surgeons') as numerous as the necessitous medical adventures in almost every town and village of the kingdom.¹⁰⁶

Many gentlemen saw Taplin as one of the foremost experts in farriery, and gentlemen who created the LVC would consider him for important positions at the college.

¹⁰⁵ Taplin, *Sporting Dictionary*, vol 1, pp. 436–7.

¹⁰⁶ Taplin, *Sporting Dictionary*, vol 1, p. 246.

When the Odiham Society announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* its intentions to establish a veterinary college, Taplin began writing to the Society, offering to act as superintendent.¹⁰⁷ He assumed the Society was already considering him, writing, 'I might have excited your attention through various channels of some eminence and much respectability.'¹⁰⁸ His assumption was most likely correct, since many of the College's supporters were heavily involved in sport and racing, including Sir Charles Bunbury, who would become one of the College's most noteworthy subscribers and was one of the racing world's most prominent supporters.¹⁰⁹ Taplin's opponents also suspected that the Society was considering Taplin for an important position.¹¹⁰ An anonymous author claiming to be Bracken (d. 1764) sent the Society a letter advising them to reject *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* that Taplin had offered as a gift and to refuse correspondence with him.¹¹¹ The Society ignored this letter, however, and continued to accept Taplin's letters and even encouraged him to draw up a plan for the position he wanted, 'the Department of the Superintendent General'.¹¹²

Taplin's intention was to be the head of the Veterinary College and to control it completely. In a detailed outline, he constructed fourteen duties that included policymaking, professor management, medicines, medical care and management of the

¹⁰⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1790), pp. 298, 497.

¹⁰⁸ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from William Taplin to the Odiham Society, January 4, 1791', p. 7; Minutes of Meetings vol. 1, January 12, 1791, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹ See, W. Vamplew, *The Turf: a Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London, 1976); John Lawrence, *A Memoir of...Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, Baronet* (Ipswich, 1821).

¹¹⁰ Taplin mocked and disregarded Bracken, Bartlet and Gibson's writings in his books, which caused some to strike out at him and claim that he was plagiarist.

¹¹¹ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from Philo, Bracken to the Odiham Society, February 9, 1791', p. 9–11.

¹¹² Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from Taplin to the Odiham Society, September, 5 1791',; 'Letter from Taplin to the Odiham Society, September 18, 1791',; 'J.H. Secretary to Mr. Taplin, September 26, 1791', pp. 37–38, 41–43, 46.

stable and stable workers.¹¹³ The reaction from the College was, however, not what he expected. Though the secretary, William Huntingford, received Taplin's letter, further correspondence never reached Taplin or the Society for a matter of months. In the end, the College's reply was as follows: 'the nature of your proposal is such as to render it impossible for the College to take it, in any manner under their consideration, as you may collect from their own regulations; and that your mistake must have been in some degree occasioned by an entire misconception of the nature of the establishment'.¹¹⁴ There are no records describing how much debate there was about Taplin's proposal, but the committee rejected Taplin's plan because it disregarded their recently established regulations. Taplin's plan would have replaced the superintending committee, which consisted of prominent gentlemen and medics such as William Fordyce, Matthew Baillie and Sir George Baker. Taplin was, no doubt, unaware of this committee, but the Veterinary College must have been interested in Taplin's support in some way because he had over 600 gentlemen subscribers to his London receptacle, and was thus a major competitor to the LVC's own subscription horse hospital. What transpired between the two is not known, but it is apparent that the LVC had taken Taplin seriously until his plans came to contradict the plans of the college.

Nevertheless, Taplin's books and rhetoric may well have contributed to the establishment of the LVC and the emergence of the veterinary surgeon. The Odiham Agricultural Society began their campaign for the improvement of farriery in almost the same manner as societies in the 1730s. The minutes of the Odiham Society record the gathering of

¹¹³ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from Wm. Taplin to the Odiham Society, October 20, 1791', pp. 51–58.

¹¹⁴ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from the Secretary of the Veterinary College to Wm. Taplin', p. 87.

information for the improvement of farriery from 1785 to 1790.¹¹⁵ The Society collected receipts, recipes and essays from gentlemen. The recipe collections were intended to develop the bulk of farriery 'currency' and knowledge.¹¹⁶ The College's first actions for improvement were no different from the actions of the gentlemen interested in farriery before them. The gentlemen of the Society later proposed Parliamentary licensures for well-trained equine medics and gathered donations to send two young men to Paris for an education in veterinary surgery.¹¹⁷ Their desire for qualified and educated farriers was fostered by decades of "gentleman farrier" literature, and interest became even more acute by the multiple editions and reprintings of Taplin's *Gentleman's Stable Directory* just before the Odiham Society began purposing a veterinary college. In addition to sending two young men to France for schooling, the Odiham Society improved farriery by building Charles Vial de Sainbel's plan (read to the Society August 5, 1790) for a veterinary college in London.

This analysis is completely contrary to L. P. Pugh's account of the establishment of the LVC. Pugh stated, 'As far as one can tell, he [Taplin] was the only member of the old generation of farriers to attempt to associate himself with the new venture in veterinary science.'¹¹⁸ He also wrote, 'Taplin, who although better than a quack, was a very mediocre practitioner and writer'.¹¹⁹ Pugh naively argued that the 'old' generation of farriers were eventually 'forced to conform to the new standards imposed' by the LVC and then misleadingly suggested that there was hard and fast division between old and new generations of learned farriers. These misrepresentations of pre-1785 farriery and of Taplin, in addition to the complete disregard for social and intellectual developments in

¹¹⁵ Royal Veterinary College, 'Minutes of Meetings, vol 1, 1785–1793', pp. 5–8.

¹¹⁶ Pennell and Leong, 'Recipe Collections'.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹⁸ L. P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine*, p.28.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

farriery, led Pugh to conclude that veterinary surgery developed in the 1790s because of the 'low standard of farriery'.¹²⁰ This conclusion, however, is the results of poor, one-sided reading of post-1790 veterinary literature. It also ignores the Odiham Agricultural Society's first proposal to improve farriery by collecting recipes and essays from gentlemen, which connects the veterinary education movement with attempts to 'improve' farriery going back to as early as the 1730s.¹²¹ We will also see later (in Chapter 4) that the idea of education and a horse infirmary were also not unique.

John Lawrence, a horse enthusiast and subscriber to the LVC, saw the veterinary surgeon as just one way to meet the call for improvement and believed that getting doctors to practice farriery was the answer to the problem. He complained, 'But the pride of medical gentlemen will not suffer them to incur the fancied degradation of becoming horse and cow doctors', saying that 'were there a cordial and general encouragement, I am convinced there would be no want of able veterinary practitioners'.¹²² 'Improvement' in Lawrence's mind would only come about, as Burdon, Bracken and Bartlet argued, through a rise in the intellectual and social status of equine medicine. Lawrence argued that farriery 'must . . . be pronounced an honourable office, and altogether fit and becoming for the *homo generosus*, or gentleman'.¹²³ In other words, veterinary education was an attempt to create this 'office'. Nevertheless, Lawrence saw veterinary surgeons as capable practitioners, but not as capable as they could be if more gentlemen were more willing to become veterinary surgeons. Therefore, Lawrence's sentiments placed veterinary surgeons in the first decade of the nineteenth century in the same predicament as pre-1785 farriers—seeking polite status.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

¹²¹ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Volume I', pp. 1–5.

¹²² John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (London, 1796), vol. 2, p. 221.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 222.

In order to establish their graduates as learned gentlemen, the LVC recruited gentlemen of the medical faculty to fill professor positions. One of Taplin's equals and literary opponents, Thomas Prosser, became the assistant to Vial de Sainbel. Prosser was an apothecary-surgeon who had followed the call of Bracken and Bartlet.¹²⁴ Because of his health, Prosser did not retain his position at the College long, and Delabare Blaine, a surgeon who became an expert in dog and horse anatomy, replaced him.¹²⁵ Additionally, after Sainbel died in 1793, the surgeon Edward Coleman became principal of the College for nearly forty-six years.¹²⁶ The medical practitioners and aristocrats who were on the board, chose Coleman because he was a surgeon, even though there were many farriers who had much more practical experience. They were convinced that a surgeon, with some interests in comparative anatomy, would be the best candidate.

The LVC also attempted, in its first three years, to recruit students from among young surgeons, the sons of surgeons and the sons of gentlemen. In their attempts to do so, they contacted surgeons, like Mr. William Cock of Brighton, to encourage them to enroll at the LVC.¹²⁷ William Moorcroft, who was one of the first veterinary professors for a short time, was another young surgeon the Veterinary College originally wanted to recruit. He was educated at the French veterinary college after practicing surgery in London. Between 1791 and 1793 the College began recruiting the sons of surgeons through letters and by

¹²⁴ Thomas Prosser, *A Treatise on the Strangles and Fevers of Horses*; Royal Veterinary College, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter from Mr Prosser to the secretary, January 8, 1791'; Minutes of Meetings vol. 1, January 12, 1791, p. 16.

¹²⁵ See, Delabare Blaine, *The Anatomy of the Horse* (London, 1796).

¹²⁶ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter to Mr. Coleman, surgeon, from the secretary.'

¹²⁷ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter to Mr. Wm. Cock, Surgeon from the secretary, September 22, 1792'.

word of mouth.¹²⁸ Other students such as Henry Eldred of Lynn had just completed their general schooling before entering the LVC. Additionally, many of the subscribing members were encouraged to enroll their own sons. Sam Bloxam, for example, became an early pupil and was the son of a subscribing M. P.¹²⁹ There was an obvious bias towards those who were educated and had surgical backgrounds. Additionally, after 1796 sergeant farriers in dragoon regiments, who were the highest-ranking farriers, also became targets for veterinary education.¹³⁰

Despite the attempts to recruit surgeons and children of the gentry class, even the first graduates of the College criticised the LVC for falling short of creating a new respectable office for the veterinary surgeon. Richard Lawrence and James White criticised the College for straying from its original intentions to create, as John Lawrence wrote, an 'honourable office . . . for the *homo generosus*, or gentleman.' Bracy Clark, a trained surgeon and one of the first graduates of the College, is a distinguished example of this group, who later became a prolific veterinary author. He fostered and attempted to establish the idea of a respectable veterinary surgeon. Clark wrote for and became a member of the Linnaeus Society, while also contributing many new ideas and practices to equine medicine.¹³¹ After 1796, recruitment at the LVC was often times more concerned with filling classes rather than finding gentlemen and the course work went from three

¹²⁸ Royal Veterinary College Archives, College Foundation Letters, 'Letter to Mr. R. James, Surgeon, from the secretary of the Veterinary College, September 10, 1792'; 'Letter to Mr. James, surgeon from the secretary, October 6, 1792'; 'Letter to Wm. Bond from the secretary, October 6, 1792'; 'Letter to Mr. Henry Alred from the secretary, October 6, 1792'; 'Letter to Mr. Wilkinson, surgeon, from the secretary, January 31, 1793'; 'Letter to Mr. Clay, surgeon, from the secretary, April 19, 1793'; 'Letter to Mr. Cooper, surgeon, from the secretary, May 24, 1793'.

¹²⁹ Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine*, p. 64.

¹³⁰ Edward Coleman, *Observations of the Structure, Oeconomy, and Diseases of the Foot of the Horse* (London, 1798).

¹³¹ See, Bracy Clark, *An Essay of the Bots of Horses and Other Animals* (London, 1815); idem., *An Essay on the Gripes of Horses* (London, 1816) idem., *An Essay on the Causes and Cure of Running Thrush in Horses Feet* (London, 1821); idem., *Hippodomia* (London, 1829); idem., *Hippiatria; or, the Surgery and Medicine of Horses* (London, 1838).

years to three months. Clark was the editor of the journal *Farrier and Naturalist* that called for refinement and change in animal medicine in the 1820s and often denigrated the LVC. Clark was a gentleman and there were clear similarities between him and other surgeons who practiced farriery in the eighteenth century. Clark's work itself reflected the knowledge of Gibson, Bracken, Bartlet and Osmer. The *Farrier and Naturalist* reproduced some of their works, which connected Clark to these previous authors and their goals. Furthermore, all of these authors attempted to create an 'honourable office', but Clark attempted to reform veterinary medicine while Gibson, Bracken and Bartlet attempted to reform farriery.

Though veterinary historians have often seen the establishment of the LVC as a light coming from the darkness and emerging from the Odiham Agricultural Society's stroke of genius, there was no swift revolution in veterinary surgery at the end of the eighteenth century. The training of the LVC students merely added to the plurality of practitioners caring for horses. If one examines those authors discussing gentlemanly farriery and 'improvement' from the 1720s to the 1790s, the LVC appears much less original, and its origins appear to share much with the work of older practitioners like Taplin. By analysing this kind of farriery literature one can see the importance of both ideas of gentlemanliness and calls for the "improvement" in farriery from the 1720s up to the establishment of the LVC. However, the LVC and authors on farriery were only small groups of equine medics. Therefore the next chapter will broaden our focus and discuss the many providers of equine medicine by analysing the social standing, geographical distribution and organisation of farriers.

Chapter 3

Farriers and Other Equine Practitioners

Older narratives of the history of medicine were built upon the structures and regulations surrounding the hierarchical order of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. However, in the 1980s and 1990s, medical historians developed ideas surrounding what is now called ‘the medical marketplace’ that replaced the tripartite hierarchy with a commercial system of health care and a diverse medical pluralism.¹ Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis wrote, ‘As the medical marketplace literature revealed, in any year a sick person might visit a wart-charmer, get a remedy from a neighbor or bookseller, pay for a surgeon and hire a horse leech.’² Like the older narratives of the early modern history of medicine, older veterinary historians also confined medical care to a small group of practitioners. Frederick Smith wrote, ‘In the eighteenth century two classes of men engaged in treating the diseases of animals, one the farrier, whose especial care was horses the other the “cow-leech,” or “cattle doctor,” who appears to have mainly confined himself to cattle and sheep.’³ Louise Curth, however, has begun to ‘redress this situation by applying the “medical market-place” model to pre-veterinary medicine.’⁴ She demonstrated that animal

¹ Mark S.R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis give a great description and chronology of the term ‘the medical marketplace’ and its historiography in their edited volume *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies* (London, 2007), pp. 1-3. Several of the fundamental works in this literature are, Roy Porter, ‘The Patient’s View: Doing Medical History from Below’, *Theory and Society*, 14 (1985), 175-198; Lucinda M. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: the Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1988); Irvine Loudon, ‘The Nature of Provincial Medical Practice in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Medical History*, 29 (1985), 1-32; Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’, in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979).

² Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis, ‘The Medical Market Place’, in Jenner and Wallis (eds.) *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-c. 1850*, p. 2.

³ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (London, 1976), vol. 2, p. 3.

⁴ Louise Curth, ‘The Care of the Brute Beast: Animals and the Seventeenth-Century Medical Market-Place’, *Social History of Medicine*, 15 (2002), p. 3.

medical care was similarly diverse and commercial, with care coming from farriers to self-help and housewives to cow-leeches.

The plurality of equine medical practitioners and the freedom to choose between practitioners was a general feature of the eighteenth century. (Illustration 3.1) One thing that played a part in this was the ubiquitous daily interaction with horses by tradesmen, farmers, the gentry and, in fact, most of British society. Workers like hackney drivers, coach drivers, farm hands, yeomen, farmers, etc. depended upon horses for their occupations, while a score of other workers, like grooms and stable workers, were employed to care for the horse. Regardless of whether a person worked with the horse or on the horse or were just worried about your horse's appearance and performance, the health of horses was an important concern. As a result, many workers and even aristocrats cared for horses in some way.

The groom, in particular, cared for horses even though in most cases he only brushed and fed them and cleaned their stables. However, one groom became well known for his knowledge of farriery. John Wood claimed he had been the king of Sardinia's groom and was, in the 1760s, the Earl of Rochford's groom. Rochford believed that his skill in farriery surpassed most farriers and encouraged Wood to author *A New Compendious Treatise on Farriery*. The work obtained 364 subscribers from around the country to fund the printing costs. His book synthesised current ideas and practices of farriery, commenting upon learned topics such as anatomy and physiology.⁵ This example demonstrates the capabilities of stable workers practicing farriery.

Farmers also directly engaged in the care of horses, even though their involvement in care was non-medical most of the time. In *Every Farmer His Own Farrier* (1759), William

⁵ John Wood, *A New Compendious Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1767).

Ellis wrote ‘there are many Reasons why the Farmer should also get a competent Knowledge of the Art. A farrier may live, as many do, at a Distance; a horse taken ill in the Night, may be dead before he can arrive; he may be from his Home; or may be ignorant and headstrong, administering Medicines to the Destruction of the Beast; Or if he cures him, it is too often the Farmer’s hard Fortune to find himself oppressed by an extravagant and unreasonable Demand.’⁶ Ellis’s book offered practical advice for farmers through anecdotal experiences of other farmers who had to give medical care to their horses. In one example he explained how a farmer gave his son a farm and his son acted as a ‘good husbandman’, but ‘failed by the Loss of his Horses, which died to the Number of Twenty in a few Years.’⁷

The work of tradesmen, such as loriners, spurriers and smiths, touched on horse medicine and horse care. In London, guilds combined these tradesmen together and freedom from any guild allowed tradesmen to practice any trade. One reason horses required frequent care was their need for horseshoes, and the smith-work that was required to create horseshoes inevitably connected the smith with horse care. Additionally, smiths were often hired to pull thorns from horse’s hoofs and repair cracked hoofs. Furthermore, horseshoeing was included as an important part of both eighteenth-century farriery and veterinary medicine.⁸

Farriers cared for the horse by shoeing and caring for it medically. Farriers most commonly shod the horse and worked with the forge like the smith, but also bled, purged and applied bandages. (Chapter 4) Shoeing the horse did not necessarily require an expert

⁶ William Ellis, *Every Farmer His Own Farrier* (London, 1759), p. iv.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Though there are many farriery books that demonstrate this point, Sainbel’s book describing his first lectures at the LVC idealise the point. Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Lectures on the Elements of Farriery; or, the Art of Horse-Shoeing, and on the Diseases of the Foot* (London, 1791).

in medicine and farriers that were experts in medicine were not necessarily the best shoers. One finds a wide variety of self-descriptions by farriers in the eighteenth century: horse doctor, smith-farrier, army farrier, sergeant farrier, surgeon-farrier and farriers. Furthermore, owners often chose a farrier by the farrier's knowledge and education. As we will see, there were a variety of kinds of farriers and horse owners picked and chose according to their needs.

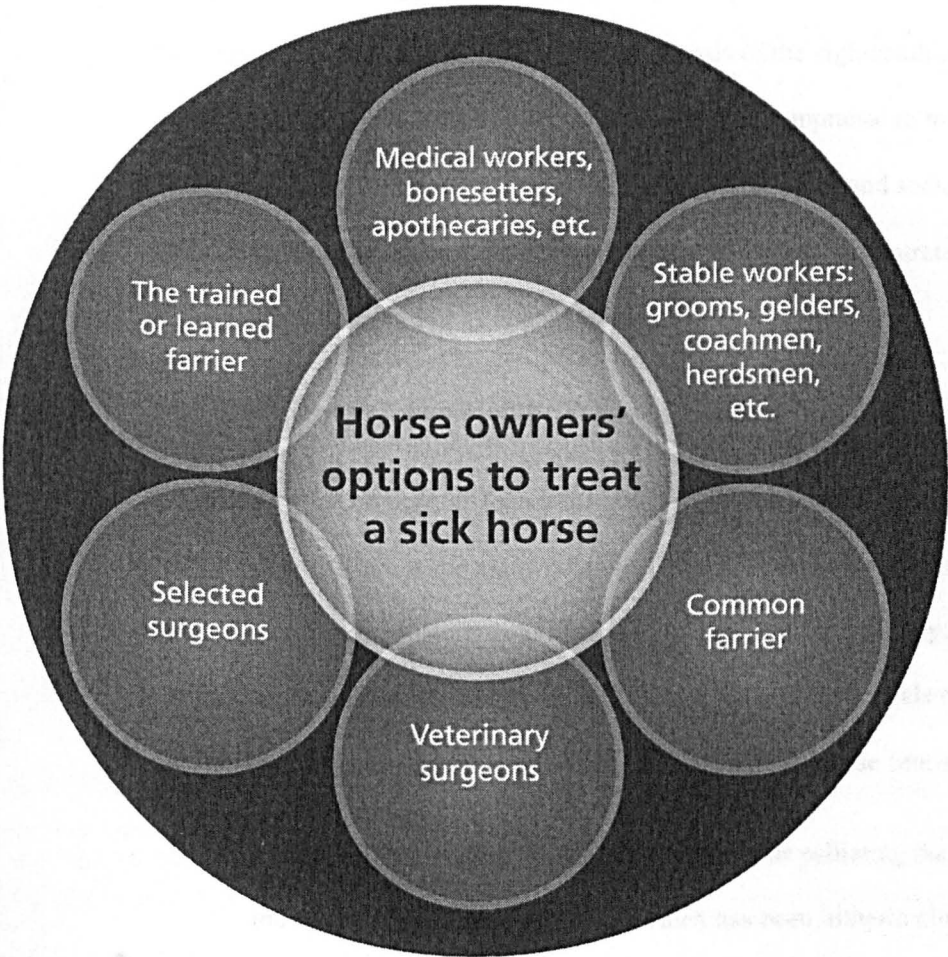


Illustration 3.1, Equine Medical Plurality

The examples shown in Illustration 3.1 show not just a range of carers, but also show horse care as a continuum of tasks from feeding and brushing to combing to shoeing to bleeding to drenching, etc. However, there is not complete confusion, because farriers were clearly seen as more expert, both in shoeing and in medical assistance. However, we do not know much about farriers. Joan Lane has written, 'Farriery undeniably slipped down the social scale as the college-educated practitioners came into prominence but farriers deserve to be judged in their own contemporary terms, not by the values of a later century. They attended the most valuable animals of the eighteenth century for some of the most demanding and affluent clients. Their time for reappraisal in more favourable light is sadly overdue.'⁹ Therefore, this chapter examines the work and social/economic status of those described as farriers, the places in which they were concentrated and the Worshipful Company of Farriers and its control of London farriery.

Early Modern Definitions of the Farrier

One reason that farriers, as Joan Lane noted, have been denigrated by veterinary historians like Pugh and Smith is the many polemical attacks upon farriers by some eighteenth-century authors that historians have tended to reproduce uncritically, as I showed in the introduction. Authors seeking to bolster their "medical" credentials often wrote of farriers as ignorant. Equestrian William Osbaldiston exemplified these sentiments:

The art and knowledge of preventing, curing or palliating the various diseases incident to horses; the practice of which has been hitherto almost entirely confined to a set of persons who are not only totally ignorant of anatomy, but also of the general principles of medicine. It is not therefore surprising, that their prescriptions

⁹ Joan Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian London', in A.R. Michell, *History of the Healing Profession: Parallels between Veterinary and Medical History* (Wallingford, 1993), vol. 3, p. 99.

should be equally absurd as the reasons they give for administering them. It cannot indeed be expected that farriers, who are almost universally illiterate men, should make any real progress in their profession. They prescribe drougths, they rowel, cauterize, &c. without being able to give any other reason for their practice, but because their fathers did so before them. How can such men deduce the cause of a disease from its symptoms, or form a rational mode of cure, when they are equally ignorant of the causes of diseases and the operation of medicines?¹⁰

Throughout the eighteenth century farriery and horsemanship dictionaries written by surgeons and gentlemen echoed this critique. For example, surgeon John Blunt wrote in *The Practical Farrier; or, The Complete Dictionary*:

the care of horses has been committed to farriers, who, totally ignorant of the true principles of science, were incapable of forming rational conclusions: and have therefore frequently with a desperate hand, applied such remedies as served rather to confirm than to eradicate the disorder: to say the truth, nothing less can be expected from persons who were inattentive to the symptoms of disorders, ignorant of anatomy, and totally unacquainted with the power of those medicines they were hardy enough to administer.¹¹

By comparing the knowledge and practice of the surgeon, physician and equestrian with that of the farrier, authors often concluded that the farrier was ignorant. Many farriers, they said, were not educated in anatomy, materia medica or other bodies of medical knowledge. Nevertheless, the previous chapter makes clear that these authors bolstered their own gentility and medical credentials by denigrating the farrier.

¹⁰ William Osbaldiston, *The Universal Sportsman* (Dublin, 179?), p. 165.

¹¹ John Blunt, *Practical Farriery; or, the Complete Directory* (Dublin, Peter Hoey, 1773), p. iv.

Some authors, including surgeons and gentlemen, were more measured. Captain William Burdon declared that ‘A farrier is as useful a trade as any other in his majesty’s Dominions; we commonly call him Doctor, because he professes Physick and Surgery among horses; and some are good sensible Men, but people who are able to give their Sons learning, seldom bind’em to that Trade; so that Farriers are obliged to take such apprentices as they can get, without regard to their education . . . Thus many are illiterate and some totally incapable of improvement.’¹² Burdon clearly did not group farriers into one body.

Some farriers counterattacked. Writing about surgeons and physicians practicing farriery, some farriers claimed that the craft should be learnt from practice and not books. John Lane demonstrated this attitude at the end the century.

Let us examine the works of all those, that have written on the practice of Farriery, since the days of Gibson, whether foreigners or natives, that have styled themselves M.D. Surgeons, or Veterinarians, and reduce even that part of their theory, which can be comprehended, to practice. What does it prove but a delusion! For, if the practitioners of any country were so ignorant of their profession, as those writers have so freely upbraided them with, the greater part of these noble animals would be useless.¹³

Lane claimed that these authors ‘vilified the characters of those, the most useful bodies of men in the kingdom, charging them with ignorance and brutality, of which they are perfectly innocent; and all this, with no other view, but to promote (their) own interest.’

¹² William Burdon, *The Gentleman’s Farriery* (London, 1730), preface.

¹³ John Lane, *The Principles of English Farriery Vindicated*, p. 6.

He claimed that surgeons, physicians and veterinary surgeons ‘professed much’ and ‘performed little’.¹⁴

Additionally, there were also farriers who had much book learning in addition to their practical experience. The farrier to the king in Scotland, James Clark, is a perfect example of this kind of farrier. He wrote several books on the care of horses, including a veterinary surgery textbook *The First Lines of Veterinary Physiology and Pathology*.¹⁵ He knew and read natural philosophy, surgery, medicine and anatomy, and in 1793, the London Veterinary College asked him to become their veterinary professor. In addition, an Edinburgh veterinary college—that never materialised—selected him to be their professor. His final book was his lectures for the veterinary college he had been proposing.¹⁶

If one looks at other less polemical sources, there is some evidence that well before the emergence of medically trained experts like Gibson, there were some highly skilled practitioners who were recognised as very accomplished. Physician Dr. John Wallis, for example, wrote to the Royal Society describing an extraordinary cure.¹⁷ Wallis was a founding member of the Royal Society and major contributor to the *Philosophical Transactions*.¹⁸ In an anecdote in the *Philosophical Transactions* Wallis described a farrier who successfully cared for a large abdominal wound on his brother’s horse. This is interesting because it demonstrated that at least one farrier could perform abdominal surgery successfully, despite the many failed attempts to operate on horse abdomens throughout the century. His brother’s horse leaped over a fence, but one of the stakes in

¹⁴ Ibid., 6-8.

¹⁵ James Clark, *Observations on Shoeing Horses* (Edinburgh, 1770); Idem., *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases* (Edinburgh, 1788); Idem., *First Lines of Veterinary Physiology and Pathology* (2 vol., Edinburgh, 1806).

¹⁶ Clark, *First Lines of Veterinary Physiology and Pathology*, preface.

¹⁷ John Wallis, ‘An Account of the Extraordinary Cure of a Horse That Was Staked into His Stomach; Communicated by the Reverend Dr. John Wallis, D. D. R. S. Soc.,’ *Philosophical Transactions*, 19 (1683-1775), 178-180.

¹⁸ See, Robert G. Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists* (Berkeley, 1980).

the fence penetrated its stomach, 'so dangerously that that the stake entered far into his body, and into the cavity of his maw or ventricle'. 'A farrier was then sent for, (Thomas Bishop¹⁹ the younger of Wallingford, about five miles off).'²⁰ The farrier cleaned the wound, stitched it from the inside, leaving the outer layer of skin unstitched so he could remove the inner stitches later. Though it took a month or so for the horse to heal, 'the wounds were closed and perfectly cured.' Wallis then claimed they sold the horse for double the original cost.

Wallis portrayed the farrier as a skilled medical practitioner. Interestingly, Wallis mentioned Thomas Bishop by name instead of just referring to him as a nameless farrier. Bishop's will shows that he was similar to other farriers of his time economically, which causes one to question whether the distrust and rhetoric about the ignorant farrier reflects the reality of how society viewed the farrier in the eighteenth century.²¹ Wallis's letter demonstrates that some farriers were trusted and skillful medical practitioners.

One of the reasons that farriers had an ambiguous reputation and were hard to categorise was that their work was hybrid in nature—partly artisan, partly medical. Moreover, there was considerable variation among those who could be described as farriers or horse doctors. They performed a variety of practices ranging from making shoes for horses to performing surgery and giving physic. A farrier who made most of his living shoeing horses had little need to immerse himself in medical literature or even to read, whereas, the opposite is also true. Many performed all the practices attached to the farrier, but some focused purely on one or the other practice; the next section will begin to analyse what the most popular areas of focus were.

¹⁹ National Archives, 11/586, Thomas Bishop.

²⁰ Wallis 'An Account', p. 178.

²¹ National Archives, MS 11/586.

Smiths and Farriers

The changing definitions of the eighteenth-century farrier become clearer when one analyses the original meaning of the word 'farrier' and the London organisation of farriers. As F. R. Bell explained, the term 'farrier' derives from the Latin 'ferrarius', which comes from the root word horseshoe, 'ferrum'.²² Their work with horseshoes and metal associated them with smiths. Shoeing horses was the main work done by farriers in early modern England.²³ This can be demonstrated by the London farriers guild from 1356 to the 1700s.²⁴

In 1356, the Mayor and Alderman of the city of London recognised the 'Marshalls of the Citty of London.'²⁵ ('Marshalls' being farriers)²⁶ The guild had power to regulate

²² F.R. Bell, 'The Days of the Farrier', *Veterinary History*, 9 (1977), p. 3; see also, Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Elements of the Veterinary Art*, (London, 1797), preface.

²³ See, Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidston, MS, U269 A457 D; U269 A457 A; Bundle A includes two bills, 1625 and 1629, which have one year's receipts and represents the most extensive example of a seventeenth century farrier; MS, U269 A457 A; U269 A457 C; U269 A457 D; U269 A 495; U269 A495; U908 E6 1.

²⁴ Few records from the farriers guild survived the fire of London in 1666 and the guild's minute books only begin in 1720. Only 3 books and 27 papers remained containing the records of the London farrier's guild before 1690. The clerk, George Daggett wrote in 1690, 'Mr. Strugnell (the previous clerk) did at the time of his surrender deliver up two Register Bookes belonging to the said Company and the one about accounts and the other about apprentices both which reached to about forty years then last past, and also a little booke of some few things of little concern.' The current records at the Guildhall Library only have one of the record books (vol. 1 Register of apprentice bindings) and a contemporary binding of the loose papers spoken of by Daggett. However, by analyzing Minutes of Courts of Alderman and Common Council 1275-1495, Repertories of the Court of Alderman and Journals of the Common Council and The Worshipful Company of Farrier's letters attempting to re-establish their livery in the 1690s, one can begin to get a glimpse of the early history of the London guild.

²⁵ See, Guildhall Library, MS 5534, see 'Letter of George Daggett', and the letters about Livery.

²⁶ Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-book G* (London, 1905), p. 78. In the minutes of the Court of Alderman it is written, 'it was ordained by the Mayor, Aldermen, and good men of the Mistery of Farriers that if any one of the said mistery commit a trespass in the futre, he shall on his first conviction by the Wardens of the Mistery pay to the Chamber of the Guildhall 40d; on his second, half a mark; his third, 13s 4d; and on his fourth, abjure the mistery, &c.'

membership, training, quality of work and prices.²⁷ After the initial founding of the farrier's guild, few records describe it or its powers, but the Court of Aldermen continued to recognise the farriers as a body of artisans.²⁸ Like many smaller guilds, the farriers were often grouped together with other crafts, such as the blacksmiths. Hence, archivists found many records of the Blacksmith's company among the archives of the Farrier's company, some of which describe the union of the Blacksmiths and Spurriers. There is also a copy of the ordinances of the fraternity of St. Eloy and its members in 1424. This fraternity united the blacksmiths, farriers and loriners. In addition, the Blacksmiths' records include the ordinances of the farrier's company of 1356, which they copied in 1556. There were also copies in the Farrier's records of the Blacksmiths' founding documents.²⁹ These two groups of manuscripts indicate that the farriers were closely associated with the blacksmiths. They also indicate that by the end of the sixteenth century, the farriers were beginning to collect evidence of their independence and right to govern over the farriers in London.³⁰ In 1609 the Court of Aldermen challenged whether the Painter-Stainers could legally practice the trade of a farrier.³¹ This demonstrates wider concerns in the London trade economy, where freemen practiced any trade they wanted, and it demonstrates one concern farriers had about controlling their trade.³²

In 1617 the Court of Aldermen recognised the farriers again as a separate London guild, re-defining and re-establishing the powers and control of the farrier guild. The court

²⁷ Ibid., 82. Several months later Richard de Hertelee and John de Oxon were elected as the Masters of the guild and 'sworn to keep the said mystery.' The same day the council convicted eight men of 'false work'. In 1372, the Common Council recorded, 'no farrier with the franchise of the City take for the shoeing of a horse with a shoe of eight nails and above more than 2d; and for a shoe of less than eighte nails more than 1 1/2 d; and from removing a shoe more than 1/2d, on pain of imprisonment and a fine at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen', p. 303.

²⁸ The City of London, *Calendar of Letter-books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of London: Book K* (London, 1911), p. 121.

²⁹ Guildhall Library, MS 2890.

³⁰ Guildhall Library, MS 5535; George Unwin, *Guilds and Companies of London*.

³¹ Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Repertory 29, folio 28.

³² W. Bohun, *Privilegia Londini* (London, 1702), p. 115.

ordered that no farrier should have a 'forge or farriers' shop' within the city without membership,³³ and by 1619 the guild began recording the farrier apprenticeships in London.³⁴ By 1628 the farriers guild was well aware of many non-farriers practicing farriery and though they could do little about freemen of other guilds, they took action against non-freemen.³⁵ In 1691 a petition to re-establish the guild's livery showed that there were records demonstrating the guild paying taxes from 1632 onward.³⁶ Between 1632 and 1673 there are no records of the company other than apprenticeships, but in 1673 a group of farriers re-established the guild by obtaining a royal charter.

In 1673, 49 farriers established the Worshipful Company of Farriers and received a royal charter. Several of the organising members were from the Snape family. The Snapes had been the farriers to the king throughout the seventeenth century. Andrew Snape Senior and Junior, Robert Snape and Richard Snape were part of the first group of farriers. Andrew Snape Junior became the second Master of the guild, and Andrew Snape Senior, Robert Snape and Richard Snape all became master wardens. Like the Snapes, the organising members claimed to be the most important and successful farriers in London, some 'worth 1,000 [pounds] some 500 [pounds] and the meanest is reputed to be worth 100 [pounds] and upward'.³⁷

The 1673 Charter defined the craft of the farrier. It never once mentioned forges or horseshoes as part of farriery. The associated regulations focused on 'preserving the horse' not the making of horseshoes.

³³ Repertories of the Court of Alderman, Repertory 33, folio 150-150b.

³⁴ Guildhall Library, MS 5526, 'Registers of apprentice bindings', vol 1, 1619-1744.

³⁵ Repertories of the Court of Alderman, Repertory 42, folio 106-106b; see also Kellett, 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation', pp. 383-385; Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 100-148.

³⁶ Guildhall Library, MS 5534, copies of letters re-establishing livery, 1692-1724.

³⁷ Guildhall Library, MS 5534, '1673/4 Chartre'.

The Art and Trade is of great antiquity and of great use and benefit to our subjects for Preserving of horses that divers unexpert and unskilfull persons inhabiting with the liberties of the said cities have of late taken upon them the said Art and Mistery who have thereby for want of due knowledge and skill in the right way of preserving of horses destroyed many horses in or near the same city . . .³⁸

Its intent was to regulate the practice of horse medicine. Though the majority of the 1673 charter dealt with administrative issues, it did claim the power to regulate medical practice and medicines for horses, and

Having first obtained a warrant . . . to enter into any shopps, cellars, stables or other suspected places within the said cities, liberties, precincts, and places aforesaid, there to search for, seeke, and finde out all and every misdemeanor and defective works and medicines to the intent that due and legall prosecution may be had and taken against all and every such offenders.³⁹

Therefore, the WCF charter demarcated farriers as equine medics, not metalworkers, and though common opinion would always associate the farrier with the work of the smith, the WCF defined the farrier differently. Overall, the WCF Charter attempted to claim a monopoly on horse medicine, not making shoes and other metal equine paraphernalia. The WCF demonstrates a move towards more medical definitions of the farrier in late seventeenth-century London, which became more pronounced by the late eighteenth century. The London directories, however, suggest that the practice of farriers did not entirely escape concerns with shoeing, but as the last chapter demonstrated with the example of Taplin, some farriers dealt with shoeing in new ways.

³⁸ Guildhall Library, MS 5534, '1673/4 Chartre'.

³⁹ Ibid.

One mid-eighteenth-century description of the farrier's trade was in R. Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (1747). He wrote, 'The farrier is a compound of the Smith and Doctor'.⁴⁰ The farrier, according to Campbell, was not exactly like the smith or the doctor, so he described how the farrier was related to each. Comparing the farrier to the smith he wrote that the farrier 'makes shoes for Horses, and puts them on' and that 'If we consider him as a Smith, or a Surgeon, he requires not very delicate hands, his Work is coarse, and as clumsily performed'. Comparing farriers and doctors, he argued that farriers were unlike doctors because they worked on horses, but that they were still very capable of performing physic. He wrote that the farrier 'is supposed [to be] acquainted with all the Diseases incident to that useful Animal, and possessed of the Method of Cure', and that they had 'a certain *Materia Medica* of [their] own adapted to the Constitution of [their] Patient, and administered to the Horse without consulting the Faculty of Physicians, or understanding one Word of their Dispensary'. He went on to state that farriers had 'particular Terms of Art peculiar to [themselves], affects Mystery in [their] Profession as much as the Graduate of the College'. Finally, in comparison with the doctor, he wrote that the farrier 'requires just as much Judgment and Sagacity, though not quite so much Learning'. This comparative definition demonstrates that by 1747 the farrier was seen as a hybrid between a smith and a doctor.

In Joseph Collyer's 1761 publication *Parent's and Guardian's Directory and the Youth's Guide, in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*, Collyer wrote, 'The Farrier is a compound of the Smith, the Doctor, and the Surgeon.' For the most part, however, he echoed Campbell's definition, but added that 'The boy designed for this business ought not only learn to read and write, but also to get some knowledge of anatomy, particularly that of a horse; and indeed the more knowledge he gets of medicine and surgery, the better prospect

⁴⁰ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 237.

will he have of obtaining a good living by this business.’ Additionally, Collyer indicated that he was aware of the shift in farriery literature, (see the review outlined in chapter 1), writing that the farrier ‘ought . . . to become thoroughly acquainted with the excellent works published, within these thirty years, by several ingenious and learned gentlemen on the diseases of horses.’ Therefore, Collyer’s definition of the farrier seems to reflect the shift, argued for in Chapters 1 and 2, toward a more medical farriery.

In 1775 John Ash gave two definitions of a ‘farrier’ in his dictionary. He wrote that the farrier was ‘one who shoes horses, one who professes to cure the diseases incident to horses’.⁴¹ In his definition the smith and doctor were replaced with descriptions of practices (shoeing and curing). Nevertheless, to be a farrier, one did not need to shoe and cure horses; one could practice one or the other. Furthermore, Ash’s definition of ‘farriery’ is also revealing. He wrote, farriery was ‘the act of trimming the feet and curing the diseases of horses.’ In other words, ‘farriery’ did not include making horseshoes or nailing them onto the horse’s hoof. Therefore, a farrier could be one who shoes horses, but farriery was the medical practice of a farrier. Ash’s definition suggests that farriery had become medical.

Late eighteenth-century London directories support Ash’s suggestion. David Wright sifted through the extant London directories from 1800–1811 and compiled a list of farriers and equine practitioners.⁴² His research shows that there was a wide variety of practitioners in the capital practicing farriery. There were 308 equine practitioners listed in the directories during this period—some who shoed, some who both shoed and cured and some who did one or the other, demonstrating the emergence of specialism. For example, 134 of the

⁴¹ John Ash, *The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1775), see, farrier.

⁴² D. W. Wright, ‘London Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the 18th Century,’ *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1987), 17-26; idem., ‘Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the London Trades Directories, group II. 1800-1811,’ *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1988/89), 131-157.

practitioners were called 'smith-farriers'. Though the author called 57 per cent of the equine practitioners farriers, horse doctors or veterinary surgeons, 43 percent were called smith-farriers. The directories distinguished between the different kinds of equine medics. Just as Ash's definition suggested, farriers were often a smith or a doctor but not necessarily both. The directories demonstrate that horse owners would be looking for one kind or the other. These directories also demonstrate that though most equine medics were medically oriented, there were significant numbers who were smith-farriers.

On the other hand, as the directories demonstrate, some farriers only or primarily practiced equine medicine and therefore called themselves 'horse doctors'. J. Thompson, a long-time farrier, wrote *The Complete Horse Doctor*. Though his text reflects the hybrid definition of a farrier, he calls the farrier 'doctor'. This title became more common throughout the eighteenth century, and though most farriers continued to call themselves farriers,⁴³ by the end of the eighteenth century, many authors of English dictionaries turned to calling farriers horse doctors.⁴⁴ Others also attempted to identify themselves as equine medics by using titles such as surgeon-farrier,⁴⁵ equestrian physician⁴⁶ and veterinary surgeon. The balance between smithing and doctoring apparently changed over time.

⁴³ See, The Wellcome Institute Archives, London, MS 994, 995. These are both receipt books where a gentleman recorded horse pill recipes. The author refers to the farrier as Dr. Hely throughout the text. See also, George Colman, *The Spleen, or, Islington Spa; a Comick Piece, of Two Acts* (Dublin, 1776).

⁴⁴ A *Dictionary of the English Language, both with regard to Sound and Meaning* (London, 1794), farrier; Daniel Fenning, *The Universal Spelling-book: or a New and Easy Guide to the English Language* (Dublin, 1796), p. 130; A *Pronouncing Dictionary of the English language* (London, 1796), farrier.

⁴⁵ See, William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier*.

⁴⁶ See, William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Farriery*.

Farriers and their Pay

As I have shown above, the WCF charter wrote of farriers worth 100 to 1,000 pounds, whereas John Lacy portrayed the farrier as poor. This section will review what we can know of the wealth of farriers, estimate how much was spent on farriery and examine how much some farriers were paid by some horse owners with many horses.

One way of determining the wealth of farriers is through inventory records; however, there are very few inventories of farrier's belongings and they record the assets of some late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century farriers only. Nevertheless, in a sample of ten farrier inventories in London, it appears that Lacy's portrayal of the farrier was correct.⁴⁷ Five of the farrier's assets only amount to 19 to 39 pounds and the other half were between 136 and 198 pounds. In comparison, Peter Earle has shown with a sample of sixteen apothecaries that their average gross assets were over 2,000 pounds, but he gave an example of an apothecary who died young (27), whose assets were similar to those shown in the sample of farriers' assets.⁴⁸ In West Sussex, in the same period, assets found in farrier inventories were even lower—between 7 and 158 pounds.⁴⁹ In comparison, blacksmith inventories in West Sussex showed assets ranging from 10 to 434 pounds, but averaging 115 pounds.⁵⁰ Therefore, this sample of inventories reveals a range of wealth, but indicates that farriers were generally not wealthy.

⁴⁷ London Metropolitan Archives, AM/PI/01/1680/025; AM/PI/02/1674/18; AM/PI/01/1680/25; AM/PI/01/1684/114; DL/AM/PI/01/1687/25; AM/PI/2/1694/17; AM/PI/02/1698/05; AM/PI/2/1701/4; AM/PI/02/1727/09.

⁴⁸ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (London, 1989), pp. 109 and 120-121. By comparing farriers to apothecaries one needs to take into account that Campbell noted that no other trade could make so much money with such low costs of setting up a business.

⁴⁹ West Sussex County Records Office, STCIII/M F.77; STCI/30 F.179; STCI/32 F.105; STCI/17 F.259; STCIII/I F.122; STCI/35 F.115.

⁵⁰ West Sussex County Records Office, STCI/24 F.96; STCI/32 F.165; STCI/31 F.288; STCI/21B F.39/ STCI/29 F.64; STCIII/N F.16; STCI/41 F.341; STCI/30F.782; STCIII/M F.125; STCI/32 F.258; STCI/37

Though it is difficult to calculate the earnings of farriers, there are some indications of their income. First, however, one must take into account the low cost of apprenticeship fees. In George Kearsley's *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (1786) very few other trades charged as little as did farriers; some that did were 'cat gut spinners', 'hair cutters' and 'muffin makers'. (Table 3.1) Nevertheless, Kearsley showed that the journeyman farrier made around 20 pounds with board each year. Peter Earle wrote, 'Few journeymen or book-keepers got more than 20 pounds a year on top of their board.'⁵¹ Joan Lane has argued the farrier's pay was similar to the apothecaries. She wrote, 'Interestingly at this period the journeyman farrier, young but qualified, could earn from 31 to 39 pounds a year, compared with the contemporary apothecary's 40 pounds'.⁵² Campbell explained a new journeyman was paid 12 to 15 shillings per week.⁵³ Kearsley's table of crafts also demonstrates farriers' income to be comparable to the apothecary, blacksmith, chemist and druggist as journeymen.⁵⁴ Additionally, Collyer argued farriers could set up their own business for as little as 50 pounds (1761).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, only 20 years later, in 1786, Kearsley wrote that the journeyman farrier made more than 34 pounds a year and it took 100 to 400 pounds to set up as a master.⁵⁶ In an environment where 'it was unrealistic to expect to save enough from wages alone to set up in business, except in the lowest levels of shopkeeping and catering and in artisan trades', the low cost of setting up a business as a farrier was a beneficial part of the trade.⁵⁷ There is little data on the amount master farriers made, but it is clear that like William Taplin and others, farriers could become

F.330; STCI/O F.74; STCI/34 F.440; STCI/Q F.3; STCI/31 F.441; STCI/30 F.593; STCI/30 F.345; STCI/42 F.287; STCI/43 F.502; STCI/29 F.43.

⁵¹ Peter Earle, *Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 106.

⁵² Joan Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England,' in A.R. Michell (ed.), *History of the Healing Professions: Parallels between Veterinary and Medical History* (London, 1993), vol 3, 99-119.

⁵³ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, farrier; Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, farrier.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory*, p. 136.

⁵⁶ George Kearsley, *Kearsley's Table of Trades, for the Assistance of Parents and Guardians, and for the Benefit of those Young Men* (London, 1786).

⁵⁷ Peter Earle, *Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 106.

substantial medical entrepreneurs. This can be shown, contrary to the inventories, by analysing farriers' wills.

Trade	Apprentice fee	Sum to set up in business	Journeyman without board a week	Journeyman with board a year	Laborious
Apothecary	50-500	100-150	---	20-30	
Black Smith	5-20	50-300	12s-1.4	18-20	L
Chemist	20-200	100-3000	15s-1.4	30-36	
Druggist	20-200	100-1000	---	20-35	
Farrier	2-6	100-400	12s-18s	---	L

Table 3.1, George Kearsley, *Kearsley's Table of Trades* (London, 1786).

An examination of over 400 farrier wills (1650–1800) makes it clear that there were some farriers that had a substantial amount of money when they wrote their wills and that farriers bequeathed more valuables and money in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth century. Figure 3.1 shows that there was an increasing amount of wills in the eighteenth century. Connecting wills with wealth, however, has many problems because of the common standards for writing wills, which makes it difficult to decipher between changing standards for writing wills and significant differences between farriers' financial worth. Nevertheless, the distinct difference in wealth and the increase in farrier wills suggest there was a change in most farriers worth. The eighteenth-century wills list more items than seventeenth-century wills and seventeenth-century wills more commonly list only an estate. This comparison presents a problem because it is unclear whether the seventeenth-century wills simply recorded less detail or if the farriers actually owned less. However, looking at their wills shows seemingly average tradesmen consuming more goods and owning more land. Two examples of this are Thomas Bishop and Robert Wood. Bishop was a Berkshire farrier and a member of a family of farriers. In 1722, he bequeathed more than 200 pounds, several copyholds, several estates and his husbandry

crop. If he had been the average journeyman farrier, making 35 pounds a year, the cash he left represented was more than five years' pay. Additionally, he owned several pieces of land and two houses. Though one estate was probably his shop, it is significant that he had two. As a farrier it was uncommon to have several copyholds and be able to bequeath the crops produced on the land.⁵⁸ Bishop was a landed farrier. Robert Wood, who was a London farrier, had less land, but more cash. He left 500 pounds and two houses in London.⁵⁹

Many more eighteenth-century farrier wills listed items reflecting affluent lifestyles. Thomas Coates, a Middlesex farrier, owned large stables connected to his shop and the rights to part of a river that ran by his shop and stables.⁶⁰ Furthermore, at the time Coates wrote his will (before 1717), he bequeathed 1,700 pounds. Having a stable connected to his shop suggests he was including horse care, housing and feeding along with farriery. In addition, having the ability to bequeath 1,700 pounds makes him wealthy—wealthy enough to buy the rights to part of a river. Additionally, he had two annuities worth eight pounds a year, and one worth 16 pounds a year. Like Coates, many farriers' wills increasingly left annuities for relatives. Reflecting the impact of new financial technologies, farriers left annuities worth 5 to 40 pounds. This also shows that farriers were conscious of their assets. Buying an annuity required a farrier to be aware of his financial options and have enough money to invest in these options without creating problems in his current finances, whereas, traditional accounts of the farrier generally dismiss financial options such as these.

⁵⁸ National Archives, PROB, 11/655, 'Will of Thomas Bishop'.

⁵⁹ National Archives, PROB, 11/568, 'Will of Robert Wood'.

⁶⁰ National Archives, PROB, 11/560, 'Will of Thomas Coates'.

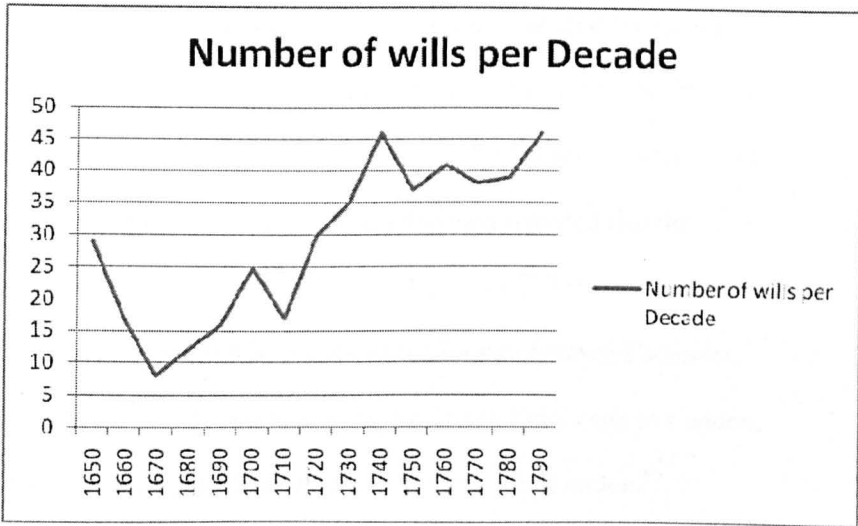


Figure 3.1, Number of Farrier Wills at the National Archives, 1650 to 1800.

Many horse owners attempted to reduce the cost of horse care. John Trusler, the author of *The Way to be Rich and Respectable*, advised gentlemen on how to appear as if they made 1,000 pounds a year when they actually only made 400 pounds a year. One of the ways that he suggested was to cut the cost of horse physic. He wrote, ‘Your servant should be able to bleed, and as to physic, *the Gentleman’s Pocket-farrier*, price 1s . . . will direct how to cure an ailing horse.’⁶¹ These suggestions created competition for the farrier and enabled farriery to cost little more than the 1 shilling. If horse owners followed this advice, they would need a farrier only in dire circumstances. Nevertheless, even with these price-cutting measures, Trusler calculated that four horses would cost the owner 14 shillings 8 pence per year for shoeing and 6 shillings 7 pence for physic.⁶² He intended his estimates to be the very least one could pay for farriery without neglecting the horse. The need for shoeing and healthy horses provided a steady income for farriers, despite the fact that some horse owners tried to spend as little money as possible.

⁶¹ John Trusler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable* (London, 1780), p. 39.
⁶² John Trusler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable* (London, 1720), pp. 21-23.

The number of horses in London indicates that there was a continuous need for farriery. Oliver Goldsmith recorded that London supplied around 13,000 horses for the military in 1778.⁶³ In addition, with the same height and size requirements for horses, London could have supplied four times that amount.⁶⁴ In 1722, William Maitlain reported that the government had counted 17,601 horses on the north side of London.⁶⁵ This suggests that there were 40,000 to 50,000 horses in London, outside of the influx of traveler's horses. John Donaldson, in estimating the cost of shortening the road from Edinburgh to London, calculated that from Edinburgh alone, 10,950 horses a year traveled to London.⁶⁶ Additionally, horses from all over England travelled to London. With the increasing population of horses and the constant influx of travelers, London greatly needed farriery. This was also the case throughout England and Wales because, as mentioned in the introduction, there were 1.2 to 1.4 million labour horses alone. Several books calculated the cost for farriery for each horse at 1 pound 1 shilling and 3 pence per year.⁶⁷ This is a very conservative estimate and does not include expensive medical care for accidents or the care for diseases like glanders and farcy. Using this estimate, owners of labour horses paid nearly 1.5 million pounds each year for farriery. Dividing this estimate among the number of farriers in England and Wales in any given year in the eighteenth century would

⁶³ Oliver Goldsmith, *A History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* Vol. II (London, 1778), p. 370.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 370-372; see also Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England* (London, 1984), ch. XXI; F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse Drawn Society* (Bedford, 1970); Clay McShane and Joel Tarr, *The Horse in the City* (Baltimore, 2007); Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London, 2007); *idem.*, *The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁶⁵ John Entick, *A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent* Vol. II (London, 1766), see p. 394; see also *Three Tracts on the Corn Trade and Corn Laws* (London, 1793), p. 208; see also the calculations of John Donaldson, *Sketch's of a Plan for an Effectual and General Reformation of Life and Manners* (London, 1794), pp. 99-104.

⁶⁶ John Donaldson, *Sketch's of a Plan for an Effectual and General Reformation of Life and Manners* (London, 1794), pp. 99-104.

⁶⁷ *The way to be Rich and Respectable, Addressed to men of small Fortune* (London, 1780), pp. 38-39; *The Inventory of Sir John Blunt* (London, 1720), pp. 21-23; William Henry Hall, *The Royal Encyclopaedia; or Complete Modern Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, on an Improved Plan* (London, 1797), p. XXII. Through extant receipts for farriers throughout the country, this is not always the case, but is a good estimate for horses that needed little medical care other than preventative care and shoeing.

give an estimate of the earnings each farrier would have made if the 1.5 million pounds was divided equally among them, but how many farriers there were is unknown. In London, however, using the number of horses estimated above (50,000), one can see that the cost of farriery would be around 53,125 pounds each year (this is a very low estimate).⁶⁸ Therefore, if this were split between the average number of master farriers of the WCF (160), each would have been paid 332 pounds each year. These estimates, however, can only be estimates if one realises that (1) there was no equal pay, (2) there was a competitive market for farriery, (3) this is an estimate of earnings only and does not represent actual pay and (4) overhead costs for a farrier varied according to the cost of shoes, medicine and the number of journeymen and apprentices a master had.

Turning away from rough general estimates, it is worth examining the range of payments to farriers by individual horse owners, which were recorded in collections of bills, receipts and account books. Through this it is clear that the income of a farrier varied from very little to a great deal for a tradesman. This depended upon a variety of factors, such as the quality and number of horses a patron owned. For example, John Steven, farrier of Nottingham, received only seven pounds in five years from George Dunston Esq.,⁶⁹ and John Webb, farrier of Sherborne, billed a farmer in Snitterfield, Warwickshire, for nine pounds and eleven shillings for three years of farriery.⁷⁰ These farmers most likely had only a few workhorses and a farrier being paid at these rates would need a large group of patrons to make a living. In comparison single owners paid some farriers much more. Joan Lane analysed the records of Joseph Powell, farrier to George Cornewall at Moccas, to

⁶⁸ Guildhall Library, London, MS, 05528, 05529, 05530. There were 765 masters between 1674 and 1800, with around 160 practicing at a time. This calculation is assuming each would be paid evenly.

⁶⁹ Nottingham County Records Office, MSS, DDN 212/19.

⁷⁰ Nottingham County Records Office, MSS, DDE 149/90.

demonstrate this.⁷¹ She showed that Powell was working for a prominent horse racer and owner of a significant number of horses. As I show below, only half the amount Peter Hay, farrier to the Earl of Egremont, received each year (Table 3.2).⁷² Over the course of 13 years, Hay was paid more than 258 pounds and Powell was paid more than 110 pounds for farriery. Hay averaged more than 20 pounds a year and Powell averaged around 9 pounds a year from a single patron. These figures do not represent each farrier's total income for each year because this was only one client, but they do show the potential of making large sums of money (for a farrier) from a single nobleman.

Year	Peter Hay	Joseph Powell
1744	31.1.0	
1774	11.14.8	7.12.2
1777	45.14.5	2.16.7
1778	38.11.0	2.4.1
1779	29.6.11	6.0.0
1780	20.18.4	16.6.6
1781	14.19.1	7.13.6
1783	18.0.11	4.5.5
1784	10.9.10	17.5.4
1785	22.11.2	6.6.0
1787	14.12.9	11.19.1
1788	15.5.6	18.17.3
1789	12.9.8	9.6.11
Total	258.0.3	110.12.10

Table 3.2, Yearly pay of Peter Hay from George O'brien Wyndham and Joseph Powell from George Cornwall.

⁷¹ Joan Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England', in A.R. Michell (ed.), *The Advancement of Veterinary Science: The Bicentenary Symposium Series* (London, 1993), vol III, 99-118.

⁷² Hay's practice will be analysed in the next chapter.

Additionally, although it is difficult to know the pay of most kinds of farriers, it is clear that certain kinds of farriery cost horse owners more. Some farriers, like Taplin in the last chapter, avoided the laborious side of farriery and made much more money from physic. Lane showed that the Marquess of Rockingham 'noted paying' 51 pounds 3 shillings in one year to Henry Worrall for farriery, 'a necessary but routine expense' to care medically for expensive horses.⁷³ Charles Adams, a West Sussex farrier, did not shoe horses and was making money from horse physic alone. In four months, a single owner paid Adams 44 pounds 7 shillings and 9 pence. In a single visit, Adams charged the owner 2 pounds 2 shillings to cure a gelding, which was double the average cost of a year's worth of farriery for one horse. Additionally, he frequently gave four 'doses of physick' for 10 to 17 shillings.⁷⁴ (See Table 3.3) If this had been Adams's only customer, though this is unlikely, he would have been paid 132 pounds in one year if he had similar work for the rest of the year. In comparison with other West Sussex farriers, he was paid six times more. Other West Sussex farrier's receipts show them grossing around 20 pounds a year from each horse owner, because they mostly shod horses.⁷⁵

October 1781	November 1781	December 1782	January 1782
One cure	One rowelling	4 doses of physick	8 doses of physick
One drink	One cure	4 doses of physick	Pot of ointment
One drink	3 doses of physic	3 doses of physick	3 doses of physick

⁷³ Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England', p. 102.

⁷⁴ West Sussex Records Office, MS PHA 8052, 'Char Adams farrier bill'.

⁷⁵ See for examples, West Sussex County Archives, PHA 8101 'farrier's bill', 8079 'farrier's bill', 8051 'farrier's bill', 7548 farrier's bill', 7545 'farrier's bill', 7543 farrier's bill', 7541 'farrier's bill', 7539 'farrier's bill', 7536 'farrier's bill', 7531 'farrier's bill', 7455 3 of 4 'farrier's bill', 6611 'farrier's bill', 6608/32 'farrier's bill'.

6 doses of physic Blooding 4 horses A dose of oyntment	Blooding 2 horses Rowelling and curing Scoworing drink	Curing foot Blooding 7 horses 8 doses of physick	One cure One cure 2 scouring drinks 4 doses of physic 4 doses of physic 2 drinks Blooding 4 horses 2 doses of physic rowelling
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Table 3.3, Charles Adams’s Farrier Receipts.

Year	Amount (pound.shilling.pence)
1810	30.14.2
1811	26.6.1
1816	16.18.2
1823	19.6.0
1824	9.15.6
1826	18.3.6
1829	5.18.2

Table 3.4, Egremont’s Receipts for Alex Henderson.

Most country farriers, however, had steady work shoeing horses and the amount each owner paid the farrier fluctuated with the amount of medical care the horses needed. Alex Henderson of Cheshire was the farrier for the Earl of Egremont’s horses from 1810–1829. Egremont paid Henderson once a year, but records for twelve of the years are missing. (See Table 3.4) The receipts show Henderson made from five to thirty pounds each year.

The variation in pay depended upon the amount of medical care Henderson gave to Egremont's horses. When he mostly shod the horse, he made less money.⁷⁶

Therefore the amount farriers were paid depended upon several factors. First, farriers who were close to large stables with expensive racehorses or where there were large numbers of horses were paid better than other farriers, due to the kind of care and the amount of horses that needed care. Lane wrote, 'The grandest houses and stables employed only a minority of farriers in the eighteenth century . . . most men worked for the lesser gentry'.⁷⁷ Second, certain kinds of farriery cost more—medical care was often much more expensive, though less frequently needed. Finally, although I have shown that most of the evidence for larger farriery payments was rural and came from the gentry, the largest potential for wealth was in London and other urban centres that attracted large numbers of horses and enabled farriers to practice more medicine.

Urban and Metropolitan Farrier

There are strong indications that the most specialised kind of farriery was urban and metropolitan. Writing about nineteenth-century America, Clay McShane and Joel Tarr argue, 'Humans could not have built nor lived in the giant, wealth-generating metropolises that emerged in that century without horses.'⁷⁸ They argue that horses were not just part of the urban environment, but that they actually caused it in many ways.⁷⁹ They wrote, 'Horses, too benefited from the new human ecology. Their populations boomed, and the urban horse, although probably working harder than his rural counterpart, was

⁷⁶ West Sussex County Records Office, PHA, MS 10,416; MS 10,628; MS 10,739; MS 10, 415; MS 10,418; MS 11,1194 bdle 1 of 2; MS 11,192.

⁷⁷ Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England', p. 102.

⁷⁸ Clay McShane and Joel Tarr, *The Horse in the City* (Baltimore, 2007), p. 1.

⁷⁹ See, Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, 1984).

undoubtedly better fed, better housed, and protected from cruelty.⁸⁰ Michael Thompson described Victorian England, in which after 1851 most people lived in towns and cities, as a 'horse-drawn society'.⁸¹ Nevertheless, even seventeenth century London streets were filled with horses, which made farriery an urban trade.

London directories list an abundance of farriers. As mentioned above, D.W. Wright sifted through the extant London directories and found 130 farriers listed between 1791 and 1799 and an additional 308 farriers listed in the directories between 1800 and 1811.⁸²

Other urban centers also had significant numbers of farriers listed in directories, like Bristol (Table 3.5),⁸³ which had a population of 61,000 (1801). Between 1775 and 1793, Bristol directories listed 20 farriers. When you compare the number of farriers listed in London directories and the population of London, which was 900,000 in 1801, with Bristol, it is apparent that other urban centers also had many farriers.

Nevertheless, identifying provincial farriers and farriers in urban centers outside of London is often difficult.⁸⁴ Directories, a key source for urban trades, are one way of locating farriers throughout England. However, they are far from comprehensive and very few of them list farriers until the end of the eighteenth century. There are also few issued for small towns and cities. Furthermore, it is impossible to be sure how each of the directories were compiled and why each trade was included or not included in the various directories. Finding a farrier listed under a specific town or city may have been included

⁸⁰ McShane and Tarr, *The Horse in the City*, p. 1.

⁸¹ F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse-Drawn Society* (London, 1970).

⁸² D. W. Wright, 'London Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the 18th Century,' *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1987), 17-26; idem., 'Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the London Trades Directories, group II. 1800-1811,' *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1988/89), 131-157.

⁸³ The two Bristol directories listed far more farriers than other directories outside of London.

⁸⁴ Provincial medicine has been a disputed topic within early modern medicine, however, Ian Mortimer has recently produced wealth of research describing it in south eastern England. Ian Mortimer, 'The Rural Medical Marketplace in Southern England c. 1570-1720', in Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450-1850* (London, 2007); See also, R. M. S. McConaghey, 'The History of Rural Medical Practice', in F. N. L. Poynter (ed.), *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain* (London, 1961).

because the compiler of the directory believed the readership of the directory would be looking for a farrier in that specific location. When this was not the case, though there may have been farriers in the city or town, they may not have been listed because they were less distinguished than other tradesmen.

Nonetheless, there are trade directories outside of London that list farriers and give a sense of where one could find a farrier at the end of the eighteenth century. Directories for major cities and towns (1760–1800) included farriers, including Bristol, Bath, Dublin, Edinburgh, Worcester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Chester, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield.⁸⁵ Additionally, several regional and county directories listed farriers.⁸⁶ Each of all the directories lists from 1 to 12 farriers in each major city. (Table 3.5)

These directories suggest that there were relatively few higher status farriers outside of London and other large cities. Those needing farriery in small cities and towns either had the option to go to the city to find a farrier or (more likely) use other local options, such as smiths, grooms or self-care. For example, *Bailey's* regional directories for the north and south of England include listings for small towns and cities, but Bailey did not list any farriers. In urban environments there was a greater demand for horse-doctoring and shoeing, so farriers were often listed and distinguished from smiths and other metal workers in bigger cities. Also, directories did not list smith-farriers in small towns because of their low social status, and the sound of the forge guided most visitors to their location

⁸⁵ *Bailey's Northern Directory* (Warrington, 1781); *The New Bath Directory* (Bath, 1792); *The New Birmingham Directory* (Birmingham, 1774); *The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston and Willenhall Directory* (Birmingham, 1780); *Matthews's New Bristol Directory* (Bristol, 1793); *Sketchley's Bristol Directory* (Bristol, 1795); *Chester Guide* (Chester, 1797); *The Dublin Directory* (Dublin, 1760); *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool, 1774); *Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory* (Manchester, 1800); *A Directory for the Towns of Manchester and Salford* (Manchester, 1788); *The Newcastle and Gateshead Directory* (Newcastle, 1784); *The Nottingham Directory* (Nottingham, 1799); *A Directory of Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1797); *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory* (London, 1794); *The Worcester Directory* (Worcester, 1788); *The Worcestershire Guide* (Worcester, 1788).

⁸⁶ William Bailey, *Bailey's Northern Directory* (London, 1781); *ibid.*, *Bailey's British Directory* (London, 1784); Anon., *The Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Bilston, and Willenhall Directory* (Birmingham, 1780); John Grundy, *The Worcestershire Guide* (Worcester, 1797).

making listings unnecessary, with the possibility that farriers were described as smiths. Therefore, most of the directories that listed farriers were directories for cities that also listed a larger number of smiths (Table 3.5, see Bristol and Liverpool) and those with fewer or no smiths in the city generally listed smith-farriers (see Sheffield and Manchester). This correlation shows that urbanity and specialisation were connected to the relationship between the smith's and the farrier's work. In a Birmingham regional directory for the 1780s, there were five farriers listed in Birmingham (there were also a significant number of smiths listed), but the rest of the towns and cities included in the directory listed neither farriers nor smiths, except Wolverhampton, which had one smith-farrier listed. No directories that included small towns and cities included farriers in their listings for those places. For example, *The Worcestershire Guide* listed farriers in Worcester only. The population of a given town and the need for specialists like farriers determined the number of farriers listed. A Birmingham regional directory, for example, had three farriers and two smith-farriers listed for Birmingham in 1780 and 13 surgeons (population of around 24,000 in the 1750s). In comparison, Dudley, which had a much smaller population, had only three surgeons and no farriers. Therefore, population and size of cities and towns often determined the number of farriers and farriers acted as smiths-farriers when the city did not have smiths.

<u>City</u>	<u>Directory</u>	<u>year</u>	<u>farrier</u>	<u>smith- farrier</u>	<u>smith</u>
Bath	<i>The New Bath Directory</i>	1792	1	0	0
Birmingham	<i>The New Birmingham Directory</i>	1774	1	0	3
Bristol	<i>Sketchley's Bristol Directory</i>	1775	11	1	6
Bristol	<i>Matthew's New Bristol Directory</i>	1793	7	2	6
Chester	<i>Chester Guide</i>	1781	3	0	0
Chester	<i>Chester Guide</i>	1782	1	0	1
Chester	<i>Chester Guide</i>	1795	1	0	0
Chester	<i>Chester Guide</i>	1797	2	0	0
Edinburgh	<i>A Directory for Edinburgh</i>	1795	0	1	0
Liverpool	<i>Gore's Liverpool Directory</i>	1774	1	2	5
Liverpool	<i>Gore's Liverpool Directory</i>	1781	1	2	6
Liverpool	<i>Gore's Liverpool Directory</i>	1796	1	0	6
Liverpool	<i>Schofield's New Liverpool Directory</i>	1800	1	0	0
Manchester	<i>The Manchester and Salford Directory</i>	1781	1	4	0
Manchester	<i>A Directory for the Towns of Manchester and Salford</i>	1788	3	0	0
Manchester	<i>Scholes's Manchester and Salford Directory</i>	1794	3	0	1
Manchester	<i>Scholes's Manchester and Salford Directory</i>	1797	2	2	1
Manchester	<i>Banck's Manchester and Salford Directory</i>	1800	0	3	0
Newcastle	<i>The Newcastle and Gateshead Directory</i>	1782	1	1	2
Newcastle	<i>The Newcastle and Gateshead Directory</i>	1795	0	2	2
Nottingham	<i>The Nottingham Directory</i>	1799	7	0	2
Sheffield	<i>A Directory of Sheffield</i>	1797	0	5	0
Worcester	<i>A Worcestershire Guide</i>	1797	5	0	1
Worcester	<i>The Worcester Guide</i>	1788	3	0	2

Table 3.5, Directories Listing Farriers, Smiths and Smith-Farriers

By understanding farriery as an urban practice, one can begin to see why farriers increasingly turned to medical practices and did less work with metals. Furthermore, it was within London that farriers organised themselves unlike anywhere else in the country.

The Worshipful Company of Farriers

For centuries, London tradesmen organised themselves into guilds that combined artisans who did similar work. The guilds provided services protecting the artisan's trade and

products from untrained and non-members. They controlled the training (apprenticeship)⁸⁷ and the membership (journeymen and masters), which restricted competition from non-members. Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, guilds have drawn the interest of historians of London's social structure and economy from medieval times to the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ Recently historians have begun again to highlight the importance of guilds in the metropolis.⁸⁹ They have raised questions about how the guilds survived through such events as the Fire of London and the Civil War, and despite the ever-expanding size of London and its economy.⁹⁰ One particularly important vein in this scholarship focuses upon the power that guilds had over the trades and how this power deteriorated from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. Historians have shown that the power of London guilds began to decline as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁹¹ As different economic structures and conditions emerged, guilds eventually maintained only social functions rather than economic ones.⁹² They lost the ability to control the trade to new 'proto-industrial' systems as the suburbs expanded

⁸⁷ For introductions and arguments about apprenticeship see, Richard Aldrich, 'The Apprentice in History', in Patrick Ainley and Helen Rainbird (eds.), *Apprenticeship: Towards a new Paradigm of Learning* (London, 1998), 14-24; Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), 52-83; Stephan Epstein, 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Preindustrial Europe', *Journal of Economic History*, 58, no. 3 (1998), 684-713; idem., 'Apprenticeship', in Joel Mokyr (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 146-149.

⁸⁸ For examples of the declining control of guilds from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century see, J.R. Kellet, 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation Control Over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London', *Economic History Review*, 10 (1957-58), 381-394; George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1938), especially pp. 341-351; idem., *Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 218-227.

⁸⁹ For two important edited volumes see, Patrick Wallis and Ian Gadd (eds.), *Guilds and Association: Essays on the History of European Guilds* (London, 2006); idem., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800* (London, 2002).

⁹⁰ Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis, 'Introduction', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London*, pp. 2-4; Kellet, 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation Control' pp. 383-385.

⁹¹ Kellet, 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation', pp. 383-385; Paul Hohenberg, 'Urban Manufactures in the Proto-Industrial Economy: Culture Versus Commerce?', in Maxine Berg (ed.) *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe* (London, 1998), pp. 161-166.

⁹² Jan de Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 54 no. 2 (1994), 249-270.

and innovated.⁹³ J.R. Kellett looked specifically at the 'breakdown' of the guilds by analyzing the 'practical connection with their trade'.⁹⁴ Giorgio Riello has analysed the breakdown of the cordwainers and shoemakers company in a similar manner. He analyses the power of the company according to how much the guild controlled the actual trade.⁹⁵ He wrote, 'the degree of association between guild and trade should reflect the power of a company'.⁹⁶ Analysis using this method reveals much about farriery and the control of farriery in eighteenth-century London.

By the 1680s and 1690s, the recruitment of apprentices had fallen notably among London guilds. Though early literature, such as Unwin's *The Gilds and Companies of London*, argued apprenticeship was declining as early as the sixteenth century,⁹⁷ most see this happening at the end of the seventeenth century, with a complete change by 1780 to 1815. Kellett and Kahl, for example, showed that by 1700, most enrollments for apprenticeships had dropped drastically, and by 1750 they had dropped again by almost 50 per cent.⁹⁸ There were, however, variations on the control of apprenticeship for each guild. Riello writes, 'The Cordwainers proved a distinctive case for both the timing and causes of apprenticeship's decline. The fall in the number of apprentices was a relatively late

⁹³ Vanessa Harding, 'City, Capital, and Metropolis: The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London', in Julia Merritt (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 136-137; Donald Coleman, 'Proto-Industrialisation: A Concept Too Many', *Economic History Review*, 36, no. 3 (1983), 435-438; Franklin Mendels, 'Proto-Industrialization, the First Phase of the Industrialization Process', *Journal of Economic History*, 32, no. 1 (1972), 241-261.

⁹⁴ Kellett, 'the Breakdown of Gild and Corporation'.

⁹⁵ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, p. 135; Keith Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 238-239.

⁹⁶ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, p. 135.

⁹⁷ George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*; Stella Kramer, *The English Craft Guilds and the Government* (New York, 1905); E. Power, 'The English Craft Guilds in the Middle Ages', *History*, 4 (1920), 259-297; Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660* (London, 1930), p. 236.

⁹⁸ Kellett, 'Gild and Corporation Control', pp. 388-389, footnote #2 on 389; W. F. Kahl, 'Apprenticeship and Retail Trades in London', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 7 (1956); see also, K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, pp. 228-269.

phenomenon, beginning only after 1710.⁹⁹ He argues that it was unique for the Cordwainers to have taken three decades to decline between 1710 and 1740. During this period, the amount of Cordwainer apprentices dropped by 57 per cent, then during the period between 1740 and 1800 the amount of apprentices reduced by 76 per cent.¹⁰⁰

Comparing this data to the WCF shows their unique amount of control over their trade. In the period from 1710–1740, apprenticeships had reduced by only 33 per cent, and between 1740 and 1800 it had reduced by only 13 per cent more. The WCF never reached (percentage wise) the decline in apprenticeships the Cordwainers saw in 1740, even by 1800. Figure 3.2 shows that like other London guilds, by the 1690s apprentice enrollment reduced. However, the WCF slowly declined for almost 70 years beginning in the 1680s, then increased in the 1760s before finally leveling out at about 50 per cent of the average amount of apprentices in the previous century. The slow decline of apprenticeships in the WCF is unusual, as is the way it bottomed out at just under 50 per cent of the total average number of apprentices in the seventeenth century. This is partly because the horse trades, such as the WCF, responded to the increase in equine activities in the eighteenth century, as discussed in the introduction. One can also see similar developments in the Worshipful Company of Coachmakers and Coach Harness Makers of London, because they too obtained a royal charter in the 1670s (1677) from Charles II. There are, however, several other factors.

Outside of the overall decline, WCF apprenticeship changed drastically in two ways around 1700. From 1619–1640 over 88 per cent of all apprentices came from counties outside of London and Middlesex. (Figure 3.3) By 1700 this number had fallen to just 60 per cent, and by the last two decades of the eighteenth century it had fallen to just 37 per

⁹⁹ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142, Figure 5.2.

cent. John Wareing has shown that compared to the rest of the London trades, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, as overall apprenticeships reduced significantly, apprentices from London increased from 18 per cent to over 50 per cent of the total apprentices enrolled.¹⁰¹ Looking at Figure 3.3’s dominant orange and light blue colours, one can see that by the 1640s, the number of apprentices from London and Middlesex had reached a number that would remain constant for the next 140 years until the last two decades of the eighteenth century. (The WCF averaged 132 apprentices every twenty years from London and Middlesex from 1619 to 1800.) Therefore, as apprenticeships declined, it came from a reduction of the number of children from families living outside of London and Middlesex who were sent to London to be trained in farriery.

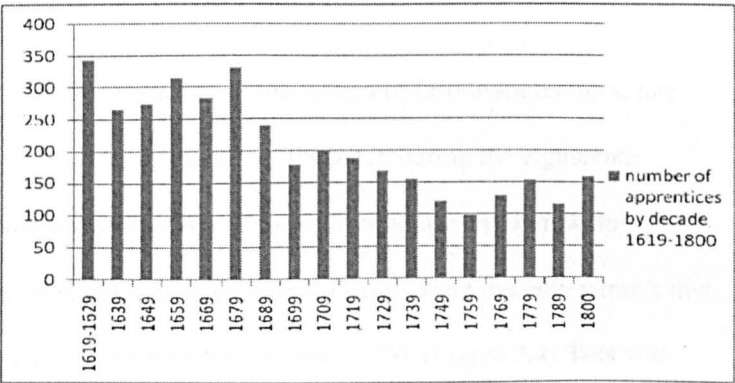


Figure 3.2, Number of Apprentices Recorded by the WCF, 1619–1800.

¹⁰¹ John Wareing, ‘Changes in the Geographical Distribution of the recruitment of Apprentices to the London Companies 1486-1750’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6, no. 3 (1980), p. 246, figure 2.

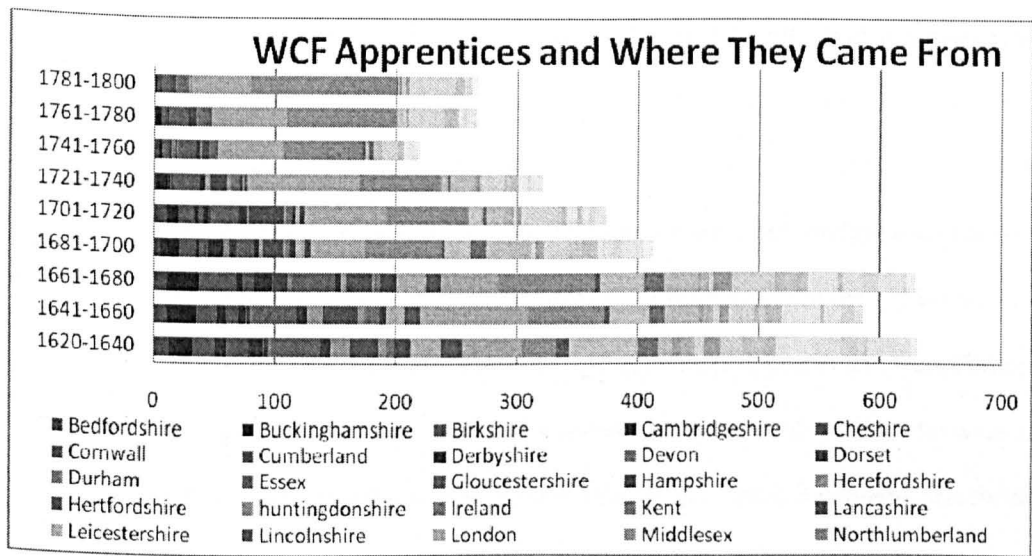


Figure 3.3, Number of WCF apprentices and Where they Came From. (Original in Colour)

By analysing the different kinds of occupations of the fathers of farrier apprentices, one can see that apprenticeship was an inbred strength of the WCF during the eighteenth century. Of the nine most common occupations of the fathers whose children were apprenticed in London for farriery, the fathers who were farriers were the only parents that continued to have their sons apprenticed with farriers after 1700. (Figure 3.4) This was despite the fact that in most trades ‘Very few men . . . were in fact apprenticed to masters of the same surname . . . most apprentices seem to have found masters with who . . . they nor their parents had any prior relationship of any sort.’¹⁰² From 1619 to 1800 fathers who were farriers consistently apprenticed their sons to farriers. On the other hand, in the seventeenth century the majority of apprentices’ fathers were husbandmen (436) and yeomen (373), but after 1700 there only 124 fathers who were husbandmen and yeomen. (Figure 3.4) Therefore, like the decreasing number of farrier apprentices being apprenticed

¹⁰² Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 91.

in London from outside of London/Middlesex, the number of apprentices whose fathers were husbandmen and yeomen were also decreasing. Furthermore, 64 per cent of the apprentices whose fathers were farriers came from London/Middlesex. Figure 3.6 also shows that by 1700 fathers who were farriers were not sending their children to London to be apprenticed and that even fathers from Middlesex sent their children less often than in the seventeenth century. Therefore, geographically, Londoners were filling London apprenticeships more often and, occupationally, sons of fathers who were farriers more often filled apprenticeships. Taking this all into count, it explains that the unusual lack of declining percentages, compared to other guilds in the eighteenth century, was because as the guild shed geographical and occupational diversity, it remained strong from its farrier base in London. The strength of this base and the controlling power that came from it, however, was eventually eroded.

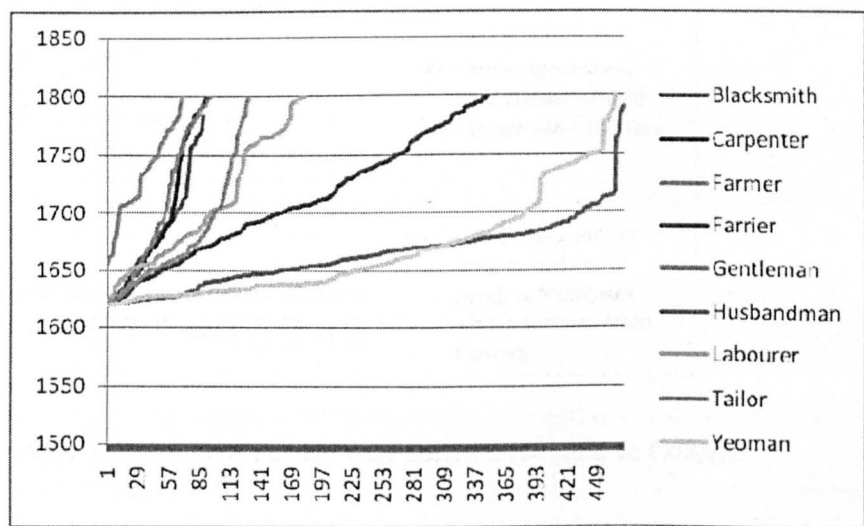


Figure 3.4, The Nine Most Common Trades of the Fathers who Apprenticed their Sons to Masters in the WCF 1619–1800. (Original in Colour)

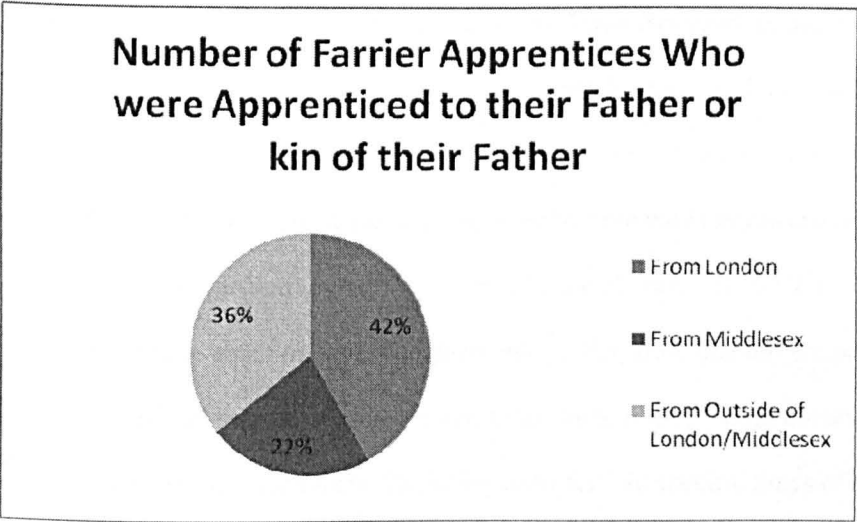


Figure 3.5, Apprentices and Fathers. (Original in Colour)

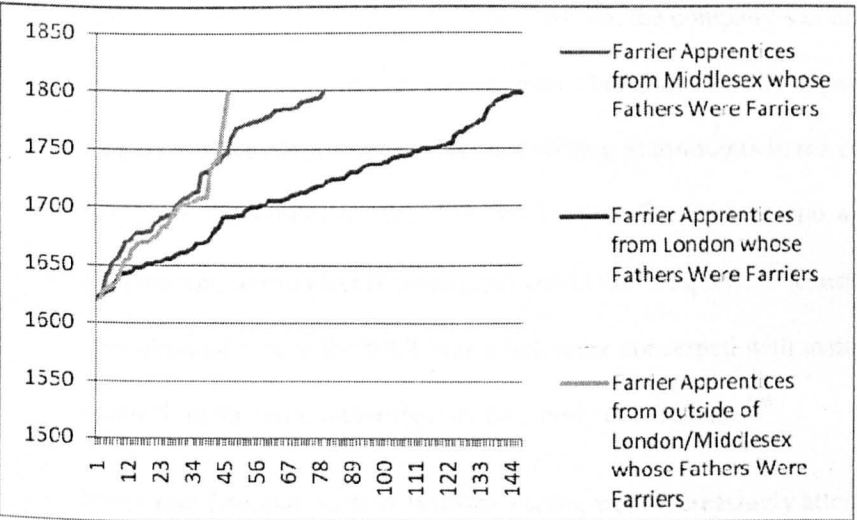


Figure 3.6, Farrier Apprentices Whose Fathers were Farriers. (Original in Colour)

Although the guild knew that its power over the trade was decreasing along with the number of apprentices, they actively attempted to control its own members throughout the period of decline. The WCF court was always concerned with appointing members to leadership positions within the guild as well as maintaining membership fees. The WCF

prosecuted those who refused to serve by fining them and, in some cases, suing them.¹⁰³ In most cases, the Court of Assistants of the WCF prosecuted its members found negligent of payment or other infractions. The WCF sent some, however, to the Common Council Court at the Guildhall. Those prosecuted had not paid their quarterage or had refused to fill an administrative position. In hard financial times, the WCF became even more aggressive about membership payments.¹⁰⁴ For those that did not pay, the WCF summoned them to court and fined them; then, if they would not attend the assistant's court the clerk sued them, including court fees. In specific times of financial trouble, the WCF began electing members who had not paid their quarterage to offices within the Company to enable them to double the fine (a fine for late payment and a fine for not filling administrative positions).¹⁰⁵ In 1764–65, the company's court went too far in their attempts to exert control over its members when the company began prosecuting farriers that were in the King's military for not serving as assistants in the company.¹⁰⁶ In 1774, the House of Commons ordered the WCF not to fine farriers who worked for the government, nor to elect them to positions in the company.¹⁰⁷ These were, however, uncommon, because the WCF was much more concerned with maintaining their power by controlling the trade rather than its own body of members.¹⁰⁸

Many non-freeman, such as William Taplin, were increasingly attempting to practice farriery throughout the eighteenth century. From the 1749 to the 1770s the company began regularly enforcing control over the trade. When a tradesman became a freeman of

¹⁰³ Guildhall Library, MS 05523, for examples of suing see, Book II, 1747; Book III, June 24, 1777; Book IV, July 7, 1796.

¹⁰⁴ Guildhall Library, MS 05522, 05531, 05529, 05528, 05530, 05526.

¹⁰⁵ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, April 1, 1779.

¹⁰⁶ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, July 15, 1761, October, 14, 1761; Book III, July 3, 1777.

¹⁰⁷ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, June 25, 1764, February 23, 1774.

¹⁰⁸ Giorgio Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, p. 138-139; Steven Kaplan, 'The Character and Implications of Strife among the Masters inside the Guilds of Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Social History*, 19, no. 4 (1986), p. 630-631.

London they were able to practice any trade.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, non-freemen practicing farriery remained an area the guild wanted to control. In 1734, the Court of Common Council had reinforced the WCF's ability to require non-freemen to take up livery with the company,¹¹⁰ and although the company was aware of these practitioners, there were very few stopped from practicing farriery until the 1740s. In 1749 the WCF officially consulted John Brown Esq., councilor at Law, to confirm the ability of the Company to force non-freeman practicing farriery to take up livery of the company.¹¹¹ On June 26, 1749, a new bylaw was put in place,¹¹² which 'Ordered that the Clerk do prepare a New Bye Law inflicting a Penalty on Persons using the Farriers Trade not being free of the Company and refusing to become Members.'¹¹³ This represented a new resolution to protect the farrier's trade from 'foreigners'.

In the 1750s the company began taking action against non-members and pursued many to take up freedom with the WCF. Kellett, writing about the WCF, stated, 'The enrolment of freemen, which had averaged six per year in the 1750's and fallen to one in 1760 and three in 1761, soared to seventy-four in 1762.'¹¹⁴ This drastic increase was due to the WCF's aggressive measures to force 'foreigners' to take up their freedom. The WCF began providing the clerk with money to sue those that would not take up their freedom. In 1750, the court prosecuted William Lacey and Joseph Stevens, both non-freeman practicing farriery. In 1755, the WCF prosecuted Francis Fortescue, who was required to appear before the Court of Assistants to pay his fine and quarterage for the time he had been

¹⁰⁹ Kellet, 'The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London', pp. 383-384; Michael Berlin, "'Broken all in Pieces": Artisans and the Regulation of Workmanship in Early Modern London', in Geoffrey Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot, UK, 1997), p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book I, June 24, 1734.

¹¹¹ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book II, January 26, 1749.

¹¹² Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book II, June 26, 1749.

¹¹³ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book II, June 24, 1749.

¹¹⁴ Kellett, 'The Breakdown of Gild and Corporation', p. 391.

practicing farriery.¹¹⁵ Though they could not prosecute every non-member, they hoped to better control the trade in London by using these non-members as examples.

In support of the company, the Court of Common Council passed an act in 1758, which enforced their ability to control the trade, even amongst freemen of other trades.¹¹⁶ 'All and every person and persons . . . who now are or hereafter shall be intituled to the Freedom of any other Company within this City . . . in pursuance of this Act to be made free of the said Company of Farriers . . . upon payment.'¹¹⁷ Interestingly, Geoffrey Wilson became the first WCF liveryman to be on the Court of Common Council in 1758.¹¹⁸ Having him on the Council, no doubt, contributed to the passage of the 1758 act supporting the farriers. In demonstration of this established authority, the Court of Common Council prosecuted Mr. Maddock in 1759, and ordered him to take his oath before the Lord Mayor.¹¹⁹ The act and support of the Common Council encouraged the company to continue the prosecutions. These prosecutions, however, were few because of the cost. Interestingly the WCF took additional action against non-freemen after gentlemen began complaining to the WCF about 'quack' farriers.¹²⁰ Concerned about the quality of farriery for their horses, these gentlemen saw members of the WCF as competent practitioners and others as 'quacks'. As a reaction to these complaints, the clerk of the company sent a letter in 1762 (much cheaper than prosecutions) to all those that had not taken up their freedom with the company stating,

¹¹⁵ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book II, January 31, 1750, November 10, 1755.

¹¹⁶ Guildhall Library, MS 05534, 'Act of Common Council'.

¹¹⁷ 'Copy of the Act of Common Council for the Regulation of the Company, 1758', in Leonard C.F. Robson, (ed.) *The Farriers of London: Being an Account of the Worshipful Company of Farriers, As Described in the Records of the Company* (private printing, 1949), p. 58

¹¹⁸ For a list of WCF liverymen on the Court of Common Council 1757-1979 see Leslie B. Prince, *The Farrier and His Craft* (London, 1980), p. 17.

¹¹⁹ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book II, November 9 and December 5, 1759.

¹²⁰ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, September 22, 1762..

I am directed by the Master and Wardens of the Farriers Company to acquaint you that by virtue of a Royal Charter granted the Company by King Charles the 2d No person (not being made free of the Farriers Company) can exercise the trade of the farrier in the cities of London and Westminster or within Seven Miles thereof without being liable to a prosecution by Law; This is to require you forthwith to be made free of the said Company, otherwise the company are determined to put their laws in execution.¹²¹

After the clerk sent the letter and others had been prosecuted, 21 people voluntarily took up freedom from the WCF.¹²² In conjunction with these efforts, general members of the company began giving statements and testimonies against delinquent practitioners, which led to additional prosecutions.¹²³ Sometimes the court forced the practitioner to 'shut up his shop and quit the trade' or take up their freedom with the company.¹²⁴ By 1764 the WCF court began giving the Beadle a paid incentive to find non-freemen practicing farriery.¹²⁵ The court, had by this time, reached its highest point of controlling the craft in the eighteenth century. In 1765 the WCF sent 500 copies of the 1758 Act of Common Council to practitioners who had not taken up freedom or livery of the Company,¹²⁶ which was the largest attempt of the WCF to control the trade of farriery in eighteenth-century London. The decades between 1750 and 1780 mark the most concentrated attempts of the WCF to control the trade.

However, outside of the 70 or so farriers forced to join the WCF during this period, control of the trade slowly slipped away from them. Beginning at the end of the 1760s

¹²¹ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, September 22, 1762.

¹²² Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, October 7 and November 4, 1762.

¹²³ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, August 4, 1763.

¹²⁴ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, February 3, 1763.

¹²⁵ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, Book III, November 9, 1764.

¹²⁶ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, November 9, 1765.

there was a general decline in prosecutions by the court. In 1767, the WCF lost a case at the King's Bench at Westminster, which would have solidified their attempts to control the trade.¹²⁷ Though there are few details of this case, the WCF spent 25 pounds prosecuting Mr. William Osmer.¹²⁸ They usually only spent five pounds prosecuting individuals that refused to take up livery, but this case was much more important. Osmer was a surgeon who successfully worked as a farrier in London and represented the medically trained gentlemen involved in farriery discussed in Chapter 2.¹²⁹ Because of his prominence in London and the fact that he was an authoritative figure in farriery because of his books *A Dissertation of Horses* and *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses*, the WCF chose him as a target and example. This demonstrates that the WCF was not only aware of the rise of medically trained practitioners as authorities of farriery, but also that these new practitioners was eroding the authority of the WCF. Leading to the demise of the WCF, King's Bench threw the case out because of 'lack of evidence'. The tension between the WCF and this new kind of authority re-emerged in 1776, but with no legal actions, when Edward Snape, farrier to the king and a foreigner, requested to have the charter read, to clarify its authority. As we will see in the next chapter, Snape was a professor of farriery with his own school and hospital in London that would have threatened the WCF more than even Osmer, but there are no recorded actions against him by the WCF. From this point on, discussion of trade regulation reduced rapidly in the meetings of the WCF. However, it is significant that the WCF did aggressively attempt to control the practice of farriery and had more success than other guilds before the inevitable loss of control over the trade became a reality. Even amongst its members, it regulated almost no part of the trade in the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century.

¹²⁷ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, April 3, 1767.

¹²⁸ Guildhall Library, MS 05532, January 1, 1767.

¹²⁹ William Osmer, *A Dissertation of Horses* (London, 1756); idem., *A Treatise on the Disease and Lameness of Horses* (London, 1761); Godalming Museum, Godalming, PWD/15/6/1.

This was despite its charter's claim that it would control the quality of equine medicines and the practice of farriery. The competitive commercial market of equine medicine caused a multitude of practitioners to practice farriery and new authority figures emerged that caused the WCF to erode. Ironically, during the first meeting of the London College, held on August 5, 1790, before they had decided to create the LVC, they proposed to petition parliament to create 'licensed farriers . . . who have . . . served seven year apprenticeships under a Licensed Farrier.'¹³⁰

The medicalisation of farriery is apparent in farriery literature, gentleman farriery, receipts and farriery records as well as in the WCF charter of 1673. Additionally, as Britain became urban, cities became places where farriers could specialise in medicine and leave smithing work to the smiths. By the second half of the eighteenth century the WCF had clearly lost an uphill battle to control equine medicine and learned farriers, surgeon-farriers, apothecaries, druggists, veterinary surgeons and others challenged their authority.

This chapter has said something about the position of the farrier in the eighteenth century, highlighting the variety of kinds of farriers, from shoeing-smiths to surgeons to doctors, and the varying amounts of money each farrier made according to whom the farrier worked for and the kind of services the farrier performed, with physic and surgery being more lucrative. Additionally, I have argued the farrier was a primarily urban and metropolitan occupation, with the majority of farriery activity initially taking place in London, but spreading as other cities in Britain became more urbanised. This chapter has also demonstrated farriery to be a complicated and diverse occupation and demonstrates that the cliché of the ignorant farrier is exaggerated at best and false in some cases.

¹³⁰ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings, vol. I', pp. 6-7.

Chapter 4

Eighteenth-Century Horse Doctoring, Shoeing and Surgery

The last chapter focused on the identity of eighteenth-century equine medical practitioners. The next two chapters will analyse eighteenth-century farriery, including practices and therapeutics. Medical historians have shown the importance of analysing common practices of surgeons and other medical tradesmen.¹ The work of Lucinda Beier, in particular, highlights the importance of describing common surgical practices in the seventeenth century,² and Irvine Loudon's work on leg ulcers describes one of the most common surgical practices in the eighteenth century.³ The practice of the farrier, however, has received little attention. Though Louise Curth has suggested human and animal medical practice were similar, she argued that very few records have survived from early modern Britain that describe the practice of farriers.⁴ However, Joan Lane demonstrates that many eighteenth-century recipes and receipts survived in collections of wealthy estate owners.⁵ Her work describes the pay and working environment of the farrier and reproduces several farrier bills, describing the practice of John Webb, a Sherbourne farrier.

¹ Lucinda Beier, 'Seventeenth-Century English Surgery: The Casebook of Joseph Binns' in C. Lawrence (ed.), *Medical Theory, Surgical Practice. Studies in the History of Surgery* (London, 1992); Vivian Nutton, 'Humanist Surgery' in Andrew Wear, Roger French, and I. M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1986); Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease' in Lucinda Beier and Roger Finlay (eds.), *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500–1700* (London, 1986); Margaret Pelling, 'Occupational Diversity: Barbersurgeons and the Trades of Norwich, 1550–1640', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 56 (1982), 484–511; O. Temkin, 'The Role of Surgery in the Rise of Modern Medical Thought', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 25 (1951), 248–259; Philip Wilson, *Surgery, Skin and Syphilis: Daniel Turner's London (1667–1741)*.

² Lucinda Beier, 'Seventeenth-century English Surgery'.

³ Irvine Loudon, 'Leg Ulcers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 31 (1981), 263–273; idem., 'Leg Ulcers in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries. II. Treatment', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 32 (1982), 301–309.

⁴ Louise Curth, 'The Care of the Brute Beast: Animals and the Seventeenth-Century Medical Market-place', *Social History of Medicine*, 15, no. 3 (2002), 375–392.

⁵ Joan Lane, 'The Georgian Farrier' in A.R. Michell, *The Advancement of Veterinary Science: The Bicentenary Symposium Series* (London, 1993), vol. III.

Still, Lane does not describe what a farrier did in the same manner as Beier or Loudon do for surgery. As a result, many questions about farriery remain unanswered, such as what did farriers do and did they all do the same things?

This chapter will therefore describe what farriers did in the eighteenth century. Extending the research of Joan Lane, I have uncovered hundreds of receipts for farriery from estate records. The majority of them come from eight archives around England.⁶ Though future research may uncover records of horse care for horses belonging to commoners, this research focuses upon the medical care for horses belonging to the upper classes, as most of the receipts were found in bundles of stable or miscellaneous receipts from estates of nobles and gentlemen.⁷ Also the majority of this chapter will focus on the horse care in two eighteenth-century horse hospitals. Therefore, through several examples this chapter will demonstrate elite eighteenth-century farriery.

These three case studies focus on the practice of (1) Peter Hay, a West Sussex farrier, (2) Edward Snape, London farrier, professor, and farrier to the king and (3) the Infirmary of the London Veterinary College 1793–1802. The case studies demonstrate the diversity of

⁶ The Centre of Kentish Studies, Cheshire County Records Office, North Yorkshire County Records Office, Nottingham County Records Office, The Wellcome Archives, Durham University Archives, and West Sussex County Records Office.

⁷ See, Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, MS, QCI 175, 1; U269 A181, 1; U269 A212, 1; U269 A457, Bal B, 1630; U269 A457 C, 1640; U269, A495; U908, E6, 1; Cheshire County Records Office, Chester, MS, DLT 4996/68/11; DLT 4996/71/15; DLT 4996/87/5; Z/AB/1/247; North Yorkshire County Records Office, Northallerton, MS, ZV/2; ZV/4; ZV/7; ZV/8-1; Nottingham County Records Office, Nottingham, 157/DD/p60/9; DD2P/28/366; DD/2P/28/312; DD/2-/28/314; DD/2P/28/361; DD/P6/1/16/106; DD/P6/7/10/104/4; DD/SY/22; DD/P6/7/10/143/131; DD/P6/7/10/105/8; DD/P6/7/10/143/132; DD/P6/7/5/2; DD/P6/7/10/105/15; DDN/212/19; DD/P6/8/2/5/11; DD/E/96/72; DD/E/159/20; DD/E/93/5; DD/P6/7/2/238; DD/P6/7/10/41; DD/E/175/39; DD/E/154/49; DD/E/171/86; Wellcome Institute Archives, London, MS 7455, MS 7458; MS 7525; MS 994; MS 1357; MS 1795, MS 7073, MS 1364; MS 144; MS 1625; MS 3151; MS 3500; MS 3950; MS 4124; MS 4263; MS 4632; MS 7456; MS 7457; MS 7459; MS 7788; West Sussex County Records Office, Chichester, PHA 7550; PHA 7539; PHA 7455; PHA 7549; PHA 7541; PHA 7555; PHA 6640; PHA 6635; PHA 6613; PHA 7543; PHA 6608; PHA 10,628, 1 of 2; PHA 8435; PHA 10,621; PHA 10,739; PHA 10,415; PHA 10,629 BDLE ¾; PHA 10,418; PHA 8306; PHA 7530; PHA 7356; PHA 8051; PHA 7548; PHA 8052; PHA 8314-16; PHA 7545; PHA 8079; PHA 6628; PHA 7536; PHA 6611. The majority of receipts found were in bundles of receipts kept by noblemen, titled 'farriers bill'. I assume hundreds more receipts could be found by sifting through noblemen's receipts. These are largely not recorded outside of the West Sussex County Records Office.

farriers and their practices. Peter Hay's practice was rural. Edward Snape exemplifies the work of an elite farrier and of London horse doctoring, while also introducing the London equine Infirmary and farriery education; lastly, the London Veterinary College Infirmary exemplifies the practice of veterinary surgeons, and the similarities between their practices and the practices of the elite farriers of eighteenth-century London.

Farriery

The examples presented here do very little to describe farriery for common horses. Even in environments where one might think horses were worked to death and often abused, such as industrial settings like London's water works, horses were regularly cared for (shoeing, bleeding, purging) by farriers. Furthermore, of the few examples of farriers caring for common or cheap horses, it is apparent that farriers cared for even common or underprivileged horses on a regular basis.⁸ However, piecing together practice of this kind is difficult because of the lack of records and creating a complete representation of farriery in the eighteenth century is perhaps impossible.

Nevertheless, several artists attempted to depict common eighteenth-century farriery, which does shed some light upon this kind of practice. One of the best artists in this field was Joseph Wright of Derby, who depicted both the eighteenth-century smith and the eighteenth-century farrier. David Solkin wrote of Wright's *A Blacksmith's Shop* (Illustration 4.1), 'he [Wright] was prepared to pay remarkably serious attention to the portrayal of a seemingly trivial event—nothing more momentous than the forging of a horseshoe'.⁹ The detail and action Wright captured in his painting enables one to envision common everyday practices of a smith. One can see the large pinchers, the heated iron, the

⁸ Nottingham County Archives, DDTS 36/3/1-7; This is a record of one of Francis Clater's journeymen charging twenty-eight different owners, who could all be considered lower class horse owners, for 167 visits. Three of the owners used Clater's journeyman on a semi-regular basis.

⁹ David Solkin, 'Joseph Wright of Derby and the Sublime Art of Labor', p. 169.

sledgehammer and the amount of effort the blacksmiths are exerting. Additionally, horseshoes are hanging on the rear wall and a woman on a horse is just outside the shop. Solkin argues Wright's painting celebrates the art of labour and creation, while also depicting the practice of country tradesmen in both action and material culture. A *Farrier's Shop* (Illustration 4.2), also by Wright but surviving only in William Pether's 1771 etching of it, combines the forge and horseshoes with farriery and a farrier's shop. Unlike *A Blacksmith's Shop*, the focal point of the latter painting shifts partly from the anvil to the farrier and the horse, even though horseshoes and the forge remain as a defining point of the farrier and his shop. The gaze of the farrier is fixed upon the horse, while the blacksmiths look at the iron on the anvil—perhaps implying the focus of their practice. Additionally, just above the horse there is a shelf full of ceramic jars representing the farrier's medical practice.¹⁰ However, these jars are clearly only a tangential part of the farrier's practice; Wright painted them outside of the focal point, portraying only several small jars on a small shelf just above the horse. Wright also defined the farrier and the farrier's practice through the old and worn-out horse in the foreground. It is clearly not a prized mare or stallion, but rather the horse of common person who has brought his horse to the farrier to be shod or purged.

George Morland, who also attempted to capture common farriery practices, painted *A Farrier's Shop* in 1796¹¹ (Illustration 4.3). It shows a country farrier at his shop caring for a horse and speaking to a horse owner. Like Wright's paintings, Morland depicts the farrier working. Capturing a glimpse at a rural interaction between a farrier and horse owner, Morland depicted a sick horse, which was perhaps lame and ill, with pain in its front leg and its ribs showing. The farrier also seems to be speaking with the owner of the

¹⁰ Judy Egerton, *Wright of Derby* (New York, 1990); Stephen Daniels, *Joseph Wright* (New Haven, CT, 1999).

¹¹ Ralph Richardson, *George Morland, Painter, London (1763–1804)* (London, 1895), p. 95.

horse, giving advice and perhaps attempting to convince the owner of the horse's condition. As in Wright's painting, the owner and horse are far from affluent and shoeing and the forge are key elements of the practices he has captured—one can see the farrier's apprentice holding a red-hot horseshoe in the background. Morland, however, gives several other notable details about the farrier. His leather apron and the large hole in his trousers indicate the country farrier's practice in metalwork and lack of concern for his appearance. But Morland's farrier has two apprentices or journeymen to help him in his practice.¹² The size of his shop also indicates that he did not house sick horses at his shop and most likely travelled back and forth from one customer's home to another.¹³ Nevertheless, the building next to the farrier shop was a horse and jockey inn, which Morland's farrier could have benefited from because the horses that it attracted.

Though these three paintings offer a slight glimpse of the common farrier's working environment, they raise more questions about the farrier's practice than they answer. Did a farrier's practice vary according to geography and did the urban farrier have a similar shop and practice? Was the practice of a farrier highly laborious or delicate? As these three paintings show, different farriers did many different things. Some practices included shoeing and making shoes, while there is some indications that they also cared for the horse medically.¹⁴ To answer many of these questions, however, we must turn to the care of elite horses and examples from the practices of relatively affluent farriers.

¹² *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 13 March 2009), Francis Mercier (t17730217-2); George Reynolds (t17960113-63).

¹³ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 13 March 2009), John Nixon (t17800628-59).

¹⁴ Many court records build upon Wright's and Morland's description of common farriery. For examples see *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 13 March 2009), Ordinary's Account (OA17090803); James Goodman (t17160113-40); Charles Vincent (t17190408-9); Robert Smith (t17240521-13); John Davis (t17330510-9); Ordinary Account (OA17330538); John Cook (t17371207-28); William Johnson (t17440223); James Shepherd (t17500711-31); Stephen Wallis (t17581025-25); William Morgan (t17620421-20); James Slack (t17651016-20).



Illustration 4.1, Joseph Wright of Derby, *A Blacksmith's Shop*, (99 x 126 cm) 1770–1771,

Oil on Canvas.

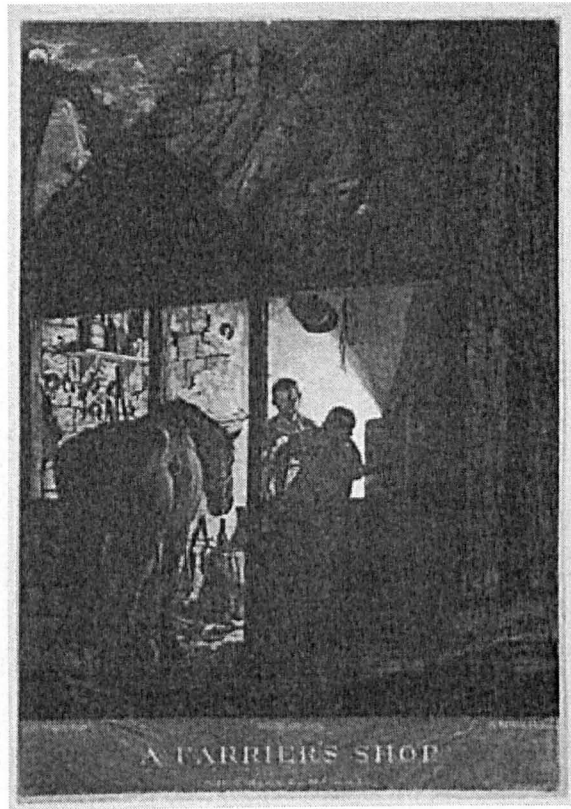


Illustration 4.2, Etching by William Pether after Joseph Wright of Derby, *A Farrier's Shop*, 1771.



Illustration 4.3, George Morland, *A Farrier's Shop*, (71.1 x 91.5 cm), 1796.

Practice and Tools

By the eighteenth century, More affluent or elite farriers had begun using medical tools rather than the forge and anvil. In 1745 Thomas Touchit demarcated the barber and the surgeon by using their tools as metaphors to represent their social standing, writing that surgeons 'sued out a kind of legal Divorce from their unworthy Yokemates, whose Razors . . . have no right or Pretence to the rank with Lancets'.¹⁵ It is clear, however, when one compares the tools of the farrier in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that the material culture of farriery changed. Seventeenth-century farrier inventories could be

¹⁵ Thomas Touchit, *Westminster Journal*, 20 April 1745.

mistaken for the inventories of blacksmiths.¹⁶ Table 4.1 lists the tools found in six farrier inventories between 1674 and 1701. All of them contain traditional smith tools, like a sledgehammer, anvil, billows and tongs, and none of them has records of medicaments, bleeding bowls, needles or any other common medical instrument one would expect a farrier to own and which one finds in inventories of apothecaries and surgeons.

Six inventories of farriers' shops					
Richard Birstall (1680, Middlesex)	Richard Hurst (1674, Middlesex)	Richard Brumler (1701, Middlesex)	Unreadable name (1687, Middlesex)	John Proswell (1684, Middlesex)	William Hubbard (1694, Middlesex)
1 pair billows	Fire shovel	Shovel	Pair of bellows	Pair of bellows	2 anvils
1 brick house	Tongs	Tongs	Anvil	Cast	Stake
1 vice	Fire irons	Cast iron bowl	Lumber	Anvil	Bellows
Stakes	--	Clamp	--	2 sledge hammers	2 sledge
Sledge hammer	--	2 hammers	--	2 nailing stakes	Hammer
Tongues	--	12 shod	--	2 small sledge	Vice
Pinchers	--	Small work tools	--	2 hand hammers	2 shoeing hammers
Nails	--	--	--	Tongs	50 shoes
--	--	--	--	Ready horse shoes	--
--	--	--	--	--	Tongs
AM PI 01, 025	AM PI 02, 018	AM PI 02, 04	DL AM PI 01, 025	AM PI 01, 114	AM PI 02, 17

Table 4.1, Six Inventories of Farrier Shops, 1674–1701.

¹⁶ See, London Metropolitan Archives, London, AM PI 01 025, AM PI 02 018, AM PI 02 04, DL AM PI 01 025, AM PI 01 114, AM PI 02 17, AM PI 02 05, AM PI 02 09; Wiltshire Record Society, Trowbridge, PI/P368; West Sussex Records Office, STCI/17F.259, STCI/30F.179, STCI/32F.105, STCI/17F.259, STCI/17F.122, STCI/35F.115.

In the early nineteenth century, some critics of farriery used a rhetoric similar to Touchit's to demarcate vets and farriers by using their tools as representations of themselves, with the farrier often associated with large clumsy tools. In 1834, Oliver & Boyd printed an etching by John Harris that depicted a farrier using abnormally large pinchers to pull a man's tooth¹⁷ (Illustration 4.4). The same etching compared the farrier to a smith, who was also using the same size of pinchers to pull a woman's tooth.¹⁸ Though this etching shows more about dentistry than farriery, it represents a negative image of the farrier by the size of pinchers he was using and equates the farrier's dental/medical capabilities to those of the smith. Both the smith and the farrier are attempting to pull a tooth using large pinchers that they would usually use to place large objects in the fire or pull a nail out from a hoof. Like the barber's razor, the farrier's tools were not intended for medical practice and it seems that the pinchers found in the etching match those found in the inventories in Table 4.1. The tools found in the seventeenth-century inventories and the etching make delicate medical practice on man or beast seem unlikely or absurd.

¹⁷ The second half of the picture was originally issued in 1768 as *The Ludicrous Operatore, or Blacksmith turn'd Tooth Drawer* by John Bowles.

¹⁸ David Solkin, 'Joseph Wright of Derby and the Sublime Art of Labor', *Representations*, 83 (2003), pp. 167–194.

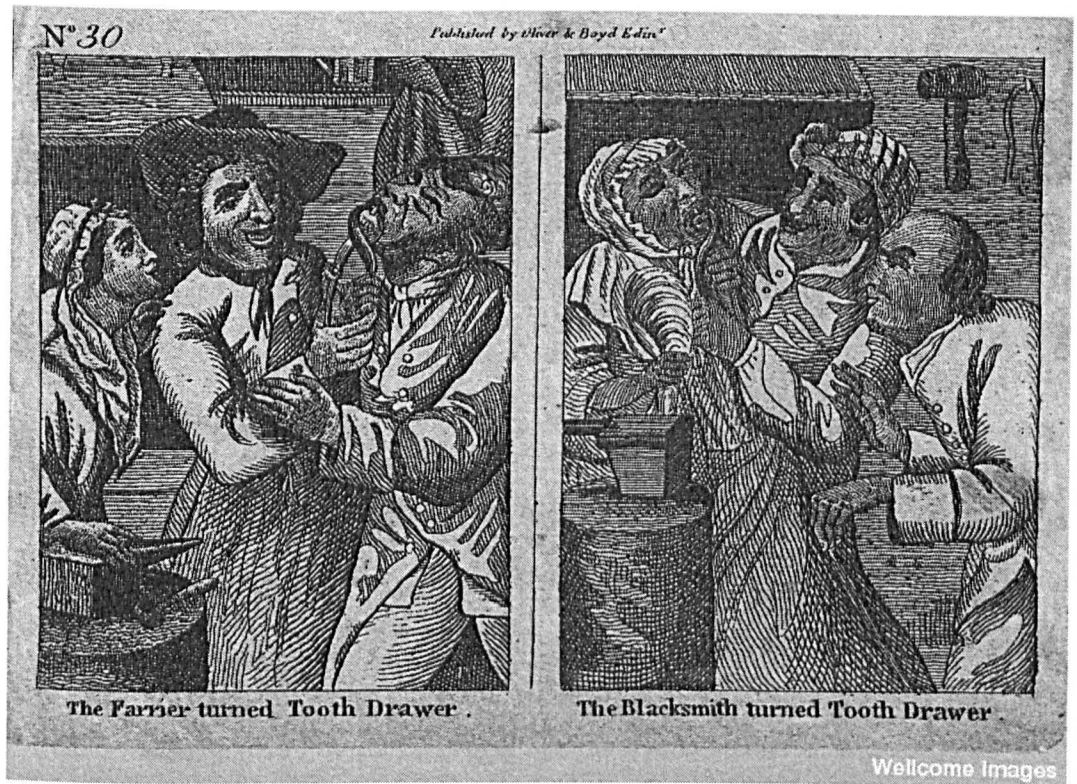


Illustration 4.4, Etching by John Harris (Edinburgh, 1834).

However accurate the etching may have been for seventeenth century farriers, it does not represent changes in the tools used by some farriers in the eighteenth century. As farriery became medicalised and specialised in cities, the tools of farriers also became more clearly intended for medical use and less like a blacksmith's tools. As we have seen, William Gibson argued for a 'new farrier' who largely practiced surgery and spent his time doctoring horses. *The Farrier's New Guide* depicted the farrier's new tools in an etching on the front cover¹⁹ (Illustration 4.5). None of these tools was found in seventeenth-century farrier inventories, and there were no bellows, anvils or sledgehammers included of the title page. Gibson's new farrier had a new material culture that included delicate medical tools such as needles, syringes, fleams and horns for giving medicated drinks.

¹⁹ William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720).

This new image of the farrier and his tools remained consistent for most of the eighteenth century. In 1766, John Bartlet went even farther by describing the farrier's surgery and laboratory²⁰ (Table 4.2). In Bartlet's descriptions, the farrier's tools are even more clearly medical, including a wider variety of instruments and more types of each. For example, instead of just having a fleam and lancet, Bartlet suggests that a proper farrier's surgery and laboratory should also have 'a case of dissecting knives' and 'a case of straight and crooked needles,' along with drugs and medicines, both prepared and unprepared.



Illustration 4.5, William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1721), Bottom Quarter of the Plate.

²⁰ John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica* (Eton, 1766), pp. 194, 370.

**‘Farrier’s Surgery
should Consist of the Following’ :**

- 1. ‘a Case of dissecting knives’
- 2. ‘lancets and Fleams’
- 3. ‘Actual cauteries, flat, and pointed’
- 4. ‘A Case of straight, and crooked Needles’
- 5. ‘Sponges, both fresh, and dried’
- 6. ‘Spatulas, Probes, and Scissars’
- 7. ‘Scales, Weights, Measures, and Mortars’
- 8. ‘Lint, Tow, Rollers, and Ladles ’With 35 additional surgical ointments and medicines, several of which were name brand.

**‘Farrier’s Elaboratory
should consist of’ :**

- 1. ‘Glyster Syringe’
- 2. ‘Pipe and Bladder’
- 3. ‘Tile and bolus knife’
- 4. ‘Scales and weights’
- 5. ‘Mortars, and funnels’
- 6. 14 (named) ‘Medicines ready compounded’
- 7. 51 (named) ‘Drugs’

Table 4.2, John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippitrica* (Eton, 1766), pp. 194, 370.

Though the majority of eighteenth-century farriers did not list tools in their wills, many mentioned their tools as valuable and delicate items. For example, John Lane, a farrier from Essex, bequeathed three categories of items—his estate, household goods and finally, his trade and shop. As part of the household goods, Lane listed ‘plate, china’ and trade tools together. Though the will does not describe these tools, it is unlikely that these tools were large or similar to those of a smith because they were found in the house and with the china.²¹ In combination with these ambiguities, there are no descriptions of anvils and hammers in most eighteenth-century farrier wills. This is important because anvils and hammers were expensive and worth having in a will. Nevertheless, it is probable that those who did own anvils and hammers may not have written wills, but one can assume farriers had increasingly begun to use medical tools. This is true even of the most common of our three case studies.

²¹ National Archives, MS 11/660, John Lane.

Peter Hay, West Sussex Farrier

Provincial farriery practice can be demonstrated from the stable records of the gentry and nobles found in archives throughout Britain. Directed partly by Pamela Hunter's *Veterinary Medicine: A Guide to Historical Sources and Access to Archives* I identified eight archives around the country that seemed to house the most manuscript records about farriery practice.²² This research is far from comprehensive, but does create a fair (three years of research) representation of provincial farriery practice for the gentry.²³ The outcome of this research produced receipts and records of farriery in daybooks and stable books, but mostly stacks of small pieces of folded paper with financial transactions inscribed. There were no records found that openly discussed farriery or systematically described the farrier or that gave detailed descriptions of his practice. In almost every example only one to two words were used to described the farriery coupled with the cost. Furthermore, there are few records that have survived that demonstrate a single farrier's practice longer than one to two years (even a full year of records is rare). The Cheshire County Archives records of Peter Hay, however, have receipts for a far more extended period of time, but coincide with the records found in the rest of the archives. Therefore, Peter Hay will be used as a case study to represent provincial farriery.

²² The Centre of Kentish Studies (seven separate records of farriery), Cheshire County Records Office (eight records of farriery, mostly legal records and few descriptions of practice), North Yorkshire Country Records Office (Two records, which are both recipe collections of a horse owner), Nottingham Country Records Office (Twenty-four records of farriery, one records of full year of Francis Clater's journeyman, which is one of the fullest records found), The Wellcome Archives (Twenty-one records, which are mostly recipe collection and few receipts), Durham University Archives (several recipe collections and a handful of single receipts), and West Sussex County Records Office (Pethouse archives had the most comprehensive collection of receipts).

²³ As discussed in my PhD defense with Peter Edwards and David Wooton, this will be a major project post-dissertation. Edwards properly suggested the wealth of MS that are available that could be systematically compared to the printed literature to develop a much more comprehensive understanding of provincial farriery.

Peter Hay, farrier to the Earl of Egremont in Sussex from the 1740s to the late 1780s, exemplifies the hybrid farrier (Chapter 3), and his work represents a non-urban practice, perhaps similar to Morland's farrier but more affluent. The Petworth House Archives contain the receipts for thirteen years of Peter Hay's practice for Egremont in West Sussex.²⁴ These receipts record Hay's pay for his farriery services and list the cost of each visit and the farriery he performed at Petworth House. Hay calculated the cost of every visit throughout each year and his wife, Jane Hay, collected the money from Egremont. Unfortunately, there is no record of Hay's birth, death, or apprenticeship. Nevertheless, this thirteen-year record of farriery at Petworth House represents one of the largest collections of country farriery receipts that exists in England today.²⁵

The Earl of Egremont owned many horses and took pride in them, giving Peter Hay continuous work and a stable source of income.²⁶ The horses ranged from workhorses to some of the best racehorses in the country. However, Hay was most likely employed by several horse owners, since his pay from Egremont fluctuated between 11 and 38 pounds a year. Hay cared for Egremont's horses up to twenty times a month, and in 1777 alone he cared for Egremont's horses 181 days out of the year. However, that many days in one year were rare: Hay ranged from 37 to 181 days a year, averaging 80 days in Egremont's stables a year. (See Figure 4.1.)

²⁴ West Sussex County Archives, PHA, 6611, 'Mrs. Hay's bill farrier, 1778'; 7531, 'Mr. Hay's bill, farrier 1777'; 7531, 'Mrs. Hay's bill, farriery 1780'; 7536, 'Mrs. Hay's bill, 1783'; 7545, 'Mrs. Hay's bill, 1787'; 7548, 'Mrs. Hay's bill farrier work, 1788'; 8051, 'paid Jane Hay for physick 1779'; 8079, 'Mrs. Hay's bill, farrier, 1779'; 8101, 'Mrs. Hay's bill 1789';

²⁵ This statement is in accordance with the author's search of over twenty-five archives throughout England.

²⁶ There are indications that common horse owners also regularly used the same farrier, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 13 March 2009), Montagu Davis (t17800510-39); George Higginson (t17940219-47).

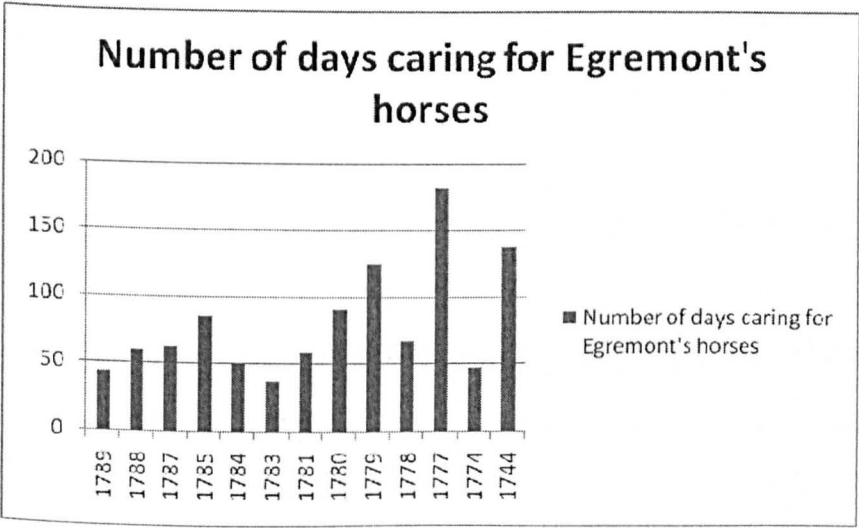


Figure 4.1, Amount of Days Hay Cared for Egremont’s Horses each Year.

Hay’s practice for Egremont suggests that even country farriers working for aristocrats combined shoeing, surgery, and physic. Hay could not aim to the style of practice of Taplin. Egremont’s steward recorded each time Hay came to the stables, what he did and how much he was paid. From these records there are three distinct kinds of practices Hay was paid for. First, Hay would simply shoe Egremont’s horses, which involved removing and then nailing the shoes onto the horse’s feet. Second, after shoeing the horses, he would obtain and apply ointments and waxes to the horse’s legs and hoofs. Third, he gave basic medical care to the horses. Aside from one visit, in which Hay sharpened a pitchfork, his visits fell into these three categories.

Part of the reason Hay had such a regular practice with Egremont was that his primary reason for visiting the stables was to shoe horses. This was the primary practice for many country farriers, and in some cases, receipts showed it was their only practice. For example, William Warden, a farrier from West Sussex, worked for Thomas Elder esq.

,who recorded Warden only shoeing his horses in 1747.²⁷ Additionally, William Wyndem esq. recorded only one time in two years when his farrier was paid for anything other than shoeing.²⁸ Nevertheless, Hay's practice for Egremont was slightly different. Figure 4.2 graphs Hay's (1,049) visits for thirteen years. He was most commonly paid for only shoeing horses (47%, or 486 visits). But, he was also paid for shoeing and 'stopping' for 168 (16%) of his visits. Nevertheless, he was paid for a type of medical practice for 37 per cent of his visits. Clearly, although farriers did practice medicine in the country, shoeing was their predominant practice.

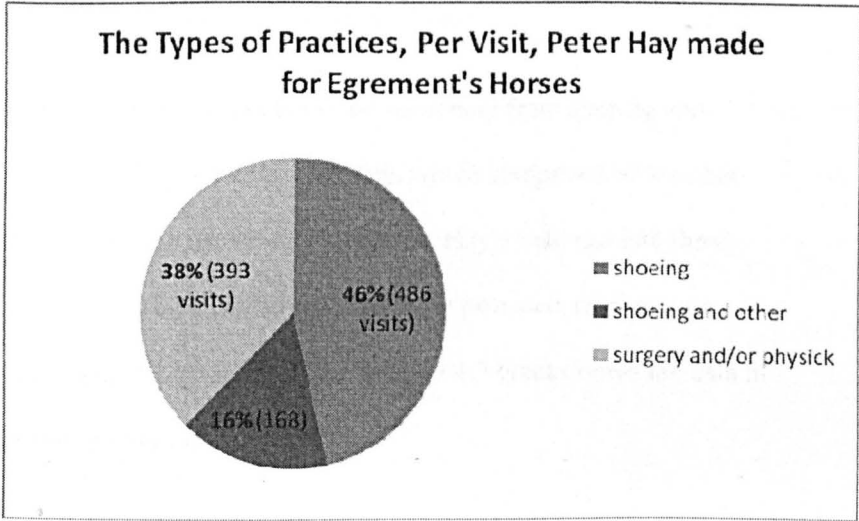


Figure 4.2, Types of Practices Hay made for Egremont's Horses.

Shoeing, however, required practices that were arguably surgical in nature, especially when caring for the hoof and leg. On shoeing visits, Hay would apply ointments and waxes to the horse's feet and legs, 'stopping up their feet' in the same visit. In Figure 4.2 the category 'shoeing and other' represents shoeing and stopping the feet. Thomas Watson, farrier, described 'stopping' as helping weak feet. He wrote:

²⁷ West Sussex County Archives, PHA 7356.
²⁸ West Sussex County Archives, PHA 8314-16.

Take tar two pounds, hog's lard four pounds, melt these together, and put this mixture into a pot, keeping it for use; then take a sufficient quantity of the ointment, put it upon to, stop the feet with it and fasten it in with then spells of wood: this must be done at least three times a week, rubbing the coronets at the same time very well with the ointment.²⁹

In many cases, the farrier would 'stop up' the feet with a thick ointment to change the pressure being exerted on the foot. In conjunction with 'stopping', Hay dressed and carved hoofs and cared for other foot wounds. Therefore, Figure 4.2 categorises 16% of Hay's visits in a gray area that included both shoeing and medical care.

That Egremont's steward recorded Hay's medical visits separately from shoeing and stopping make it easier to analyse Hay's medical practice, which comprised 37% of his total work for Egremont. According to the steward's records, Hay's visit fall into three categories. First, his visits provided bulk medicine. Second, he provided surgical care. Third, his visits involved a single dosage of medicine. (Figure 4.3 breaks down the data in Figure 4.2 under surgery and/or physick.)

²⁹ Thomas Watson, *His Majesties Royal Letters Patent*, p. 32.

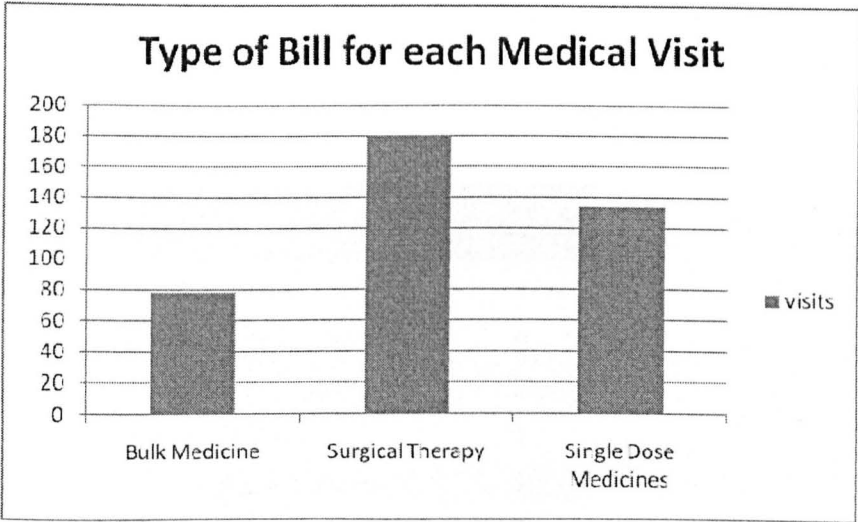


Figure 4.3, Peter Hay’s Medical Visits from Egremont’s Horses.

As demonstrated in Figure 4.2, a major part of Hay’s medical practice was providing equine medicine. More than 20 per cent of his medical visits led to charges for medicines by the pound or bottle. He was not providing bulk ingredients for the drugs to be made by someone else, but mixing and preparing the medicine himself, revealing a lot about his farrier’s practice (Table 4.3). In some circumstances one can assume that horse owners were buying equine medicine from the druggist or apothecary, but Egremont’s steward did not buy horse drugs from the apothecary.³⁰ Therefore, an important part of Hay’s practice was clearly mixing and making horse drugs and ointments. Table 4.3 demonstrates the different types of medicines and ointments he made and sold to Egremont’s steward. He mixed ingredients and formed balls, mixed waxes and medical ingredients to make ointments and potions, and even sold large portions of turpentine. Furthermore, as Figure 4.3 shows, on such visits, he was selling bulk amounts of medicines to Egremont’s steward.

³⁰ For apothecary receipts see, West Sussex Country Archives, PHA 6611, 7530, 7545 and 7436.

Bulk Medicine (measurements = 1 to 4)	Visits
Balls, pound	3
Comfort balls, pound	6
Cordial balls, pound	22
Grease, pound	1
Gypse acome, pound	1
Jepsiaucum, bottle	3
Mixed oils, pound	1
Mouth wash, bottle	2
Num balls, pound	1
Oils, bottle	18
Pills, bottle	1
Powders, pound	1
Stopping, pound	16
Tincture powder, pound	2
Turpentine, pound	1

Table 4.3, Number of Visits when Hay was Paid for Larger Volumes of Medicine.

Although Hay provided Egremont's stables with a wide variety of medicines, there were three main kinds Hay sold to Egremont's steward on a regular basis. The first were cordial balls, which he provided by the pound. To prepare them, a farrier would grind up a variety of seeds and berries (aniseed was the most common) and mix them with a variety of liquids, including wine and sugar water. He then created a paste by adding flour and rolled them into balls the size of walnuts or robin's eggs, depending upon the constitution, size and age of the horse.³¹ Farriers and owners gave horses cordial balls after a hard day's

³¹ See, A. S. *The Gentleman's Complete Jockey*, (London, 1782), pp. 66, 221; William Ellis, *Every Farmer His Own Farrier* (London, 1759), pp. 10, 76, 99; Experienced Farrier, *Taplin Improved*, (London, for

work or a hard ride or race and when the horses had slight cases of colic or gripe. Gentlemen also gave them to their horses during or after a long journey. In many instances, the owner or stable boy fed the balls to the horses that Hay prepared for them in bulk. Hay used the other two most common medicines ('stopping' and 'oils') in his practice on Egremont's horses. He rubbed them on the horse's body or used them in dressing and other practices. Second, bottles of mixed and unmixed oils were a very common therapeutic for horses. Farriers would rub oils on the exterior of the horse body, and for wounds, fistulas and tumours, they would apply oils and other medicinal products to the surface of the specific area.³² Thirdly, 'stopping', a mixture of ingredients with hog's lard or bees wax, was an external application used mainly for wounds and shoeing.³³

Hay also charged Egremont for single visits on which he gave one dose of medicine to a horse. (See Table 4.4.) On more than forty visits, Hay gave the horses 'pissing balls', or diuretics, part of which required the horse to swallow a medicine ball. These balls reduced swelling in the body—whether it was from injury or disease, especially with intestinal problems—and purged the horse.³⁴ Hay used the pissing ball for both internal and external disorders. Giving horses drugs by mouth was a common practice. Farriers prepared diuretics, emetics, cathartics and sudorifics, but Hay relied primarily upon diuretic balls to purge horses. It was also common for Hay to give the horses 'drinks', or medicines in

William Lane, 1794) 151; William Foster, *The Gentleman's Experience Farrier* (Shrewsbury, 1786), p. 21; William Gibson, *The Farrier's Dispensary*, pp. 176–179; William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier*, (London, 1789), pp. 702, 785.

³² See John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica*, pp. 19, 136, 138, 150, 151, 173; Henry Bracken, *The Traveller's Pocket-Farrier* (London, 1743), pp. 45, 80, 166; William Burdon, *The Gentleman's Pocket-Farrier* (London, 1748), pp. 38, 41, 42, 44, 46, 57; *The Family Pocket-Book* (London, 1762), pp. 35, 129; John Maples, *The Horseman's Sure Guide; or Every Man His Own Farrier* (London, 1780), pp. 56, 90.

³³ Francis, Clater, *Every Man His Own Farrier*, (Newark, 1798), pp. 122–126; Brooke Forester, *The Pocket-Farrier, or Approved Receipts Collected from Different Authors*, (Shrewsbury, 1770), p. 10.

³⁴ See John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica*, (1766), pp. 184, 286, 306, 307, 317, 318, 328, 338, 341; James Clark, *Observations Upon the Shoeing of Horses: Together with a New Inquiry into the Causes and Diseases in the Feet of Horses*, (Edinburgh, 1775), pp. 188, 190, 191; John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery both in Theory and Practice*, (London, 1758), pp. 147, 340, 366, 423, 428, 463, 464, 469; Charles Vial de Sainbel, *The Sportsman, Farrier and Shoeing-Smith's New Guide*, (London, 1796), p. 143.

liquid form. Drinks could be as simple as a bucket of warm water or as complicated as multiple ingredient potions, and they were used very broadly, from cure-all drugs to drugs specific to the horse and its disease, as well as a preventative therapeutic.³⁵ A liquid, given orally as a drench or enema, was another popular method of medicine used by farriers for horses.³⁶

Single-dose medicines	Visits
Comfort balls	3
Cordial balls	14
Drinks	32
Nitre	1
Num balls	1
Ointment	25
Pissing balls	40
Poultice	12
Powders	4
Worm balls	2

Table 4.4, Visits where Hay was Paid for Single Dosages of Medicine.

On these visits Hay also applied many external medicines. He commonly applied ointments to the horse's body such as hog's lard or bees wax mixed with hay and medicines for cracked or scratched heels, grease, mallenders, sallenders, and so on. This part of surgical practice—the rubbing and touching—was used most commonly for

³⁵ See John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica*, pp. 293–310; John Bradstreet, *The Farmers Request*, (Norwich, 1730), pp. 9, 12, 15, 19, 20, 33, 34; James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses*, (Edinburgh, 1788), pp. 309–315.

³⁶ See Samuel Drinkwater, *Every Man His Own Farrier*, (Hereford, 1796), pp. 32, 38, 56, 90, 142, 154; William Gibson, *The Farrier's Dispensatory*, pp. 123–216; John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*, (Ludlow, 1790), pp. 4, 53, 71, 101, 118, 127; N. B. Philippos, *The Farrier's and Horseman's Dictionary*, (London, 1726), comments throughout.

strains.³⁷ Hay used ointments for blistering, fomenting and embrocating and when applying poultices. He would mix or buy ingredients, then charge Egremont for that cost as well as his time to rub the ointment on the horse.

Figure 4.4 demonstrates the practices that were included in the third group of medical visits, surgical procedures.³⁸ Hay charged Egremont for surgical practices for 180 (45%) of his medical visits. Hay mainly practiced traditional surgery such as bleeding, dressing and ‘stopping’, but on occasions, he also docked horsetails and rowelled. It is interesting to note that in Hay’s thirteen years providing farriery for Egremont, he cured only one eye problem, and records show that Hay was paid to bleed Egremont’s horses just sixteen times in thirteen years. However, it is assumed that he bled Egremont’s horses much more frequently and that those sixteen times were recorded because it was the only procedure Hay performed on that visit. There were probably times bleeding was not mentioned because it was part of another therapy. Bleeding was very common and was performed with nearly all other types of therapeutics. Henry Bracken emphatically opposed using bleeding as a common practice, advising that it should be calculated.³⁹ Nevertheless, Hay regularly practiced bleeding for most diseases.

Another common kind of ‘surgical’ visit was to dress wounds or strains. In addition to the thirty-two visits for dressing, Hay charged Egremont twenty-five times for ointment used in the dressings. ‘Dressing’ covered applying ointments to a wound, bandaging and making a plaster.⁴⁰ Overall, Hay cared for minor surgical problems only; he did not care

³⁷ See, Henry Bracken, *The Traveller’s Pocket-Farrier*, (London, 1743), pp. 24–28; John Bradstreet, *The Farmers Request: or, a Treatise of the Particular Distempers Incident to Horses and Cows*, (Norwich, 1730), pp. 23, 24, 35, 46–48; John Jones, *The Practical Farrier*, (Ludlow, 1790), pp. 28–48.

³⁸ Generally, I included any practices that included cutting and breaking the skin and bandaging.

³⁹ Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improv’d*, (1738), pp. 4–5, 9–22.

⁴⁰ See John Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica*, pp. 42–49, 51–54, 133; Vial de Sainbel, *The Sportsman, Farrier and Shoeing Smith’s New Guide*, pp. 72, 82–84, 133–134; Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier’s and Horsman’s Complete Dictionary*, (London, 1764), examples throughout.

for broken legs or dislocations, eye wounds, large lacerations or any major surgical problem.

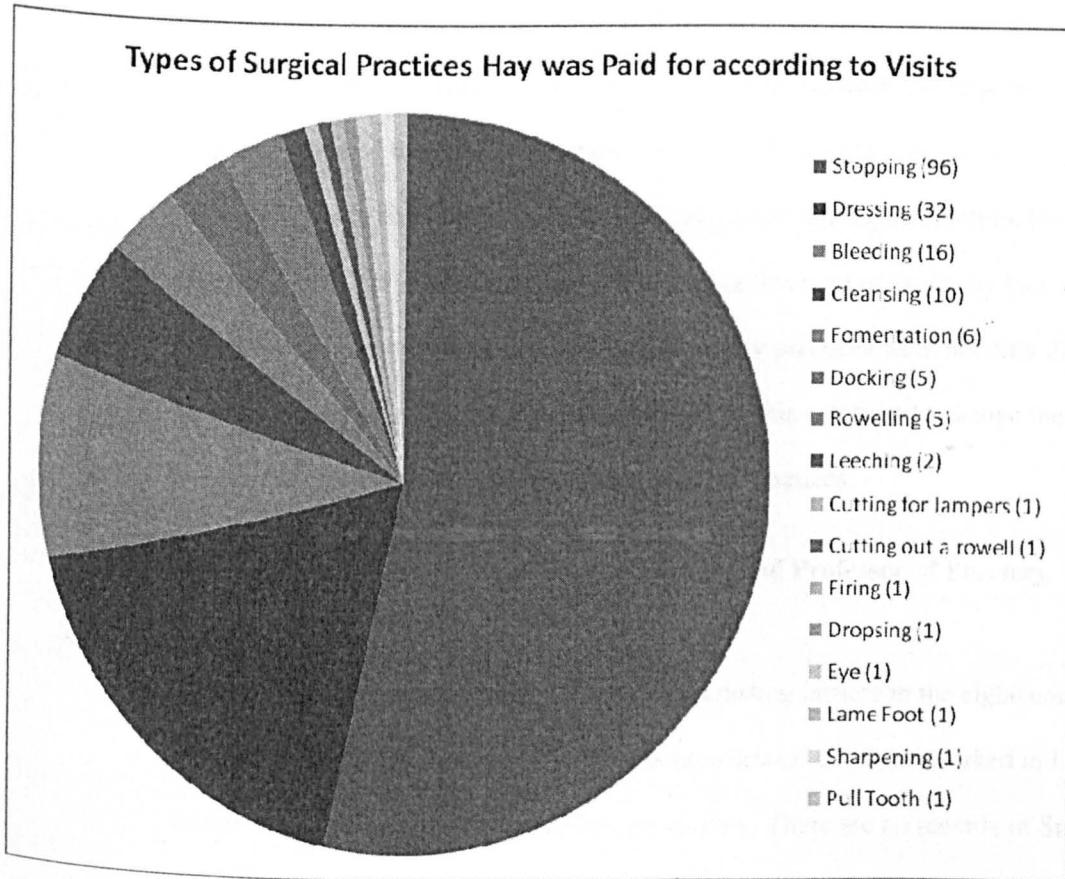


Figure 4.4, Surgical Practices Charged to Egremont by Hay. (Original in Colour)

Egremont's receipts show a country farrier, like Hay, was paid for a wide variety of practices. He was not simply a shoeing smith or surgeon, but rather a medical practitioner with practices as diverse as making horseshoes, mixing drugs and cutting out tumours.

Morland seemed to have depicted a farrier similar to Hay in his painting. The example of Hay also demonstrates country farriery had a mixed material culture of both anvils and syringes. Nevertheless, there were also similar farriers found working in the city, like Henry Boulton.

The Third Earl of Egremont, George O'brian Wyndam used Boulton to shoe his horses, perform some bleeding and other medical procedures at Egremont House Piccadilly, London in the 1790s.⁴¹ Boulton performed similar practices as Hay had in the country and attended Egremont's horses around forty times a year. However, in June of 1791 Egremont showed there were also more specialised farriers in London, by calling Dr. Edward Snape to cure a horse with lockjaw, instead of calling on Boulton, his regular shoeing farrier.⁴² The next case study will analyze this kind of farrier by looking at Snape, one of the most elite farriers in London. His farriery practices were not only different and more medically oriented, but they also demonstrate his ambition to change the nature and status of farriery to reflect his specialised medical practices.

Edward Snape, Farrier to the King in London and Professor of Farriery

Though Edward Snape was one of the most interesting farriers in the eighteenth century, there are few records about his life. He was born around 1728 and worked in London as a farrier and horse doctor until the end of the century. There are no records of Snape's apprenticeship, and the date of his death is controversial. The *Oracle and Public Advertiser* dated June 26, 1797, stated, 'There is a general mourning among horses, for the loss of Dr. Edward Snape, their long known and favourite physician.'⁴³ Snape's printer wrote that Snape's death took place in 1797 in the preface of the 1805 edition of Snape's book.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Frederick Smith pointed out that John Lawrence claimed Snape

⁴¹ M. Egremont, 'The Third Earl of Egremont and His Friends', *Apollo*, 122 (1985); R. Walker, 'The Third Earl of Egremont, Patron of the Arts', *Apollo*, 58 (1953); West Sussex County Records Office, PHA 7555, 'Farrier Bill to Henry Boulton 1797 – 1798'; PHA 6640, 'Farrier Bill to Henry Boulton July 1794 – June 1795', PHA 6635, 'Farrier Bill to Henry Boulton Nov. 1791 – June 1792'.

⁴² West Sussex County Records Office, PHA 6635, 'Farrier Bill to Edward Snape 1791'.

⁴³ *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, June 26, 1797, issue 19, p. 658.

⁴⁴ Edward Snape, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1805), preface.

had written him a letter declaring he was still alive in 1810.⁴⁵ Though this is possible, Snape would have been more than eighty years old, which would be an unusually long life span during this period. Furthermore, Lawrence said Snape wrote the letter in response to Lawrence's printed attack on Snape's gentility, which means the letter most likely came from one of Snape's many followers.

Snape came from an illustrious line of farriers to the king. Snape's ancestors were one of the most influential farrier families in the seventeenth century, and there were always two to four Snapes serving as farriers to the king at any one time.⁴⁶ Edward Snape was farrier to the king throughout the second half of the eighteenth century as well as farrier to the Second Troop of Life Guards. By his mid forties, in 1774, he received the title 'marshal farrier' to the king.⁴⁷

Snape often referred to his lineage and found particular prestige in his relation to Andrew Snape Jr., farrier to the king and anatomist.⁴⁸ Edward Snape considered himself an anatomist and physician, as Andrew Snape argued a farrier should be in 1683. Edward Snape thus associated his medical practices with gentility. His portrait demonstrated his status (Illustration 3.6). Snape is depicted wearing a wig with genteel clothing, along with a book of anatomy, representing his advanced knowledge in equine medicine. The book is *The Anatomy of an Horse* by Andrew Snape Jr. and had become a symbol of learned

⁴⁵ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (4 vol., London, 1976), vol. II, p. 175.

⁴⁶ Snape, *Anatomy of an Horse*, dedication to the king; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1598–1601 p. 96; 1609, p. 568; 1671, p. 49; 1673, p. 177; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, I 1660–1667, 1660 Sept. 6 p. 20; III 1669–1672, 1672 April 24 p. 1064; 1672, Oct 22 p. 1107; IV 1672–1675, 1672 Dec 23, p. 22; V 1676–1679, 1677 April 13, p. 596; VII 1681–1685, 1682 May 17, p. 476; 1683, Sept 25, p. 916; 1684, Aug 13 p. 1286; VIII 1685–1689, 1686, July 16 p. 839; X 1693–1696, 1693, Feb 14, p. 496; TNA 11/378.

⁴⁷ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, June 9, 1774, issue 2079; *London Chronicle*, June 11, 1774, issue 2732.

⁴⁸ Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1683).

farriery.⁴⁹ (See Chapter 6.) Snape's portrait is very different from Morland's painting of a country farrier, and Snape would not have been seen in tattered trousers and an apron. He distinguished himself from common farriers. Like the gentleman discussed in Chapter 2, Snape embraced polite medical practices and avoided shoeing. He also envisioned himself as a physician and in print he was always titled Dr., Doctor, or physician. Additionally, like the physician, his services appealed to upper-class horse owners.



Illustration 4.6, Edward Snape, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1791), by A. Smith.

Snape offered his services to racehorse owners and others with expensive horses as the only professor of farriery in London. He also opened his own hospital to treat horses and

⁴⁹ *Sun*, April 26, 1796, issue 1118; *True Briton*, April 26, 1796, issue 1040; *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, April 27, 1796, issue 19 305; *Whitehall Evening Post*, April 30, 1796, issue 77120.

train farriers. In Reginald Heber's *An Historical List of Horse Matches Run* (1766), Snape advertised his intentions to open a Horse-Infirmiry, 'for receiving the sick, maimed, or wounded of that species, since it was the animal most deserving of our care. The next object of his attention will be to train up pupils, and render them duly qualified to acquit themselves with reputation in the different counties.'⁵⁰ He circulated a detailed plan for both the school and the infirmiry throughout the country to obtain subscriptions and enrollment from gentlemen and nobles.⁵¹ The school and infirmiry opened in March 1765 and the number of subscribers increased as Snape continued to advertise throughout 1766.⁵² There are no documents, however, detailing how many subscribers there were or the number of pupils he taught. Nevertheless, Snape became the first professor of equine medicine and created the first known horse hospital in England.

Historians have recognised the importance of eighteenth-century human hospitals for decades. By the eighteenth century, private hospitals and infirmaries had become a mainstay in Britain. Through charitable donations, infirmaries were built throughout the country, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, human hospitals had become an important part of medical care for those who had access to them and those who worked at the hospitals.⁵³ In proportion to their donations, donors were given the right to choose who could be admitted from among the 'deserving poor'. Hospitals also became an important part of medical education.⁵⁴ They gave elite surgeons access to a physician-like training by

⁵⁰ Reginald Heber, *An Historical List of Horse-Matches Run* (London, 1766), pp. 152–158.

⁵¹ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 28 Mar 1765, issue 635.

⁵² *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 10 Jul 1766, issue 3148.

⁵³ See Lindsay Granshaw, 'The Rise of the Modern Hospital in Britain', in Andrew Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* (Cambridge, 1992); Idem., *St Mark's Hospital, London: A Social History of a Specialist Hospital* (London, 1985); John Pickstone, *Medicine and Industrial Society: A History of Hospital Development in Manchester and its Region, 1752-1946* (Manchester, 1985); Roy Porter, 'The Gift Relation: Philanthropy and Provincial Hospitals in Eighteenth-Century England', in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (eds.), *The Hospital in History* (London, 1989).

⁵⁴ Guenther Risse, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland: Care and Teaching at the Royal Infirmiry* (Cambridge, 1986), ch. 1 and 2.

intertwining clinical and didactic learning.⁵⁵ Subscribing members controlled these infirmaries and they functioned through the medical staff, which was, we will see, how eighteenth-century horse hospitals functioned also.

Though the majority of farriers had small shops and frequently attended to horses at the owner's residence, horse infirmaries emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century as a new technology for horse care in London. Snape began a trend in 1765 that blossomed from 1790 to 1811, when trade directories listed six different horse hospitals in London.⁵⁶ Besides the London Veterinary College (discussed below), there were the following entries: William Moorcroft, horse hospital (1794); Bracy Clark, horse infirmary (1802); Powis & Sons, horse infirmary (1805); Thomas Turner, horse infirmary (1809–1811); and William Taplin, equestrian receptacle (1793).⁵⁷ Ernest Cotchin and Joan Lane also argue that Edward Palfrey's Coventry infirmary and school were comparable by all standards to the LVC infirmary in the 1790s. Horse infirmaries allowed farriers to keep horses in their care and perform medical regimens that lasted for longer periods. It also allowed the farrier to give care to multiple horses at once, from multiple owners.

Using the money he had already made from selling horse medicines in Wokingham (see Chapter 5), William Taplin built his 'Equestrian Receptacle', which included both a large

⁵⁵ Toby Gelfand, "'Invite the Philosopher, as well as the Charitable': Hospital Teaching as Private Enterprise in Hunterian London", in Bill Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge, 1985); S.C. Lawrence, 'Entrepreneurs and Private Enterprise: the Development of Medical Lecturing in London, 1775–1820', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 62 (1988), pp. 171–192; Oswei Temkin, 'The Role of Surgery in the Rise of Modern Medical Thought', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 25 (1951), pp. 248–259; Othmar Keel, 'The Politics of Health and the Institutionalization of Clinical Practices in Europe in the Second half of the Eighteenth Century', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 207–256.

⁵⁶ D. W. Wright, 'London Farriers and Other Veterinary Workers in the 18th Century', *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1987), pp. 17–26; idem., 'Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the London Trades Directories, Group II. 1800–1811', *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1988/89), pp. 131–157; See Bracy Clark, Richard Powis & sons, Thomas Turner, William Moorcroft, William Taplin.

⁵⁷ Their locations were as follows: Powis, North Road, Highgate; Taplin, Somers Town, Pancras; Skellet, New Road, Marylebone; Snape, Sherrard Street, Golden Square; Moorcroft, Oxford Street, near Park Lane; Clark, Giltspur Street, West Smithfield.

dispensary and infirmary, and added to the increasing number of horse hospitals in London. It was described as 'comprising a genteel Brick Dwelling house, of two and three rooms on each floor, kitchen, laundry, a conveniently drying ground, and arched vaults, a commodious entrance leading to the Equestrian Receptacle, consisting of Accommodation for upwards of 100 Horses, in uniform stables, with ample store lofts over ditto, surrounding a spacious yard with covered ride; also seven coach-houses, a smith's shop, accompting house, and other valuable accommodations.'⁵⁸ It also enabled Taplin to make 200 pounds of profit from the farriery performed at his hospital each year.⁵⁹ Only three years after buying this property, Taplin expanded to a larger building and leased out the previous property. On March 25, 1796, Taplin began advertising his new 'Equestrian Receptacle'. J. F. Smithcors demonstrated its size and significance by comparing it to the Veterinary College.⁶⁰ It was designed with an open square in the middle and large pillars supporting the overhangs down the center of the square, with large arching doorways and windows throughout. Taplin advertised it as 'EQUESTRIAN RECEPTACLE, SUBSCRIPTION REPOSITORY, MEDICAL DISPENSARY AND OPERATIVE FARRIERY.'⁶¹ His hospital created competition in London in the 1790s when London Veterinary College Infirmary and dispensary had first been established.⁶²

⁵⁸ *The Times*, 19 Nov 1795, issue 3443; 28 Nov 1795, issue 3451; 2 Dec 1795, issue 3454.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art*, p. 300.

⁶¹ Taplin, *Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*, p. xii; *The Times* 25 Mar 1796, issue 3542.

⁶² Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Royal Veterinary College Subscription Ledger, from 25 March 1796'.

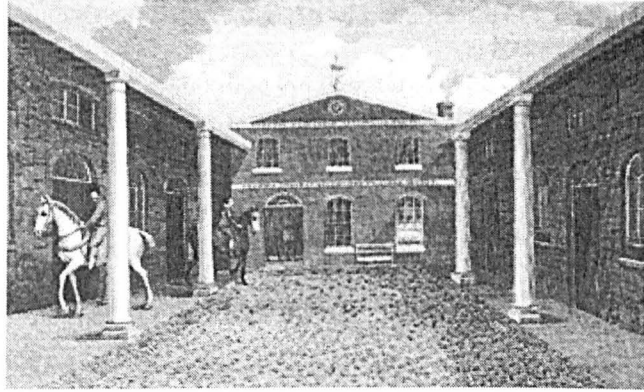


Illustration 4.7, William Taplin's Equestrian Receptacle.

Almost thirty years earlier Snape had started his horse hospital and school. Similar to human hospitals, rich gentlemen subscribed. This was not for charity, however, because the subscribers chose from among their own horses, like charity patients, for care at the hospital. (William Taplin and William Moorcroft also followed this method in the 1790s.) Edward Snape advertised his infirmary to wealthy horse owners who could afford to pay for the best care and subscribe for long periods. Horse owners would initially pay a subscription fee to the hospital; then when their horses needed medical care, they would pay for the lodging, food and medicine required for the duration of the horse's stay. Social and economic criteria determined admission to Snape's hospital. He directed subscriptions towards racers and breeders by placing ads in the *Racing Calendar*. In addition, like human hospitals, his hospital was a pedagogical tool for educating future horse doctors by providing practical and didactic learning, a model that the London Veterinary College further developed in the 1790s. Snape wrote there would be a 'Course of Hippiatric Lectures, for the Instruction of Pupils in his Profession, who will be taught the Anatomy of the Horse, and the Virtues of the medical Drugs applicable on all Occasions; with the best

manner of operating in every Circumstance; Besides the Art of docking, nicking, gelding &c. He will also give particular Instructions about the Foot of a Horse, and the manner of shoeing him in the best form . . . to prevent the Frequency of lamed Horses; A Disgrace peculiar to this Kingdom.’⁶³

His infirmary was large and he had big plans for it to be well attended by students, subscribers and others. There are, however, no descriptions of Snape’s infirmary and school. Nevertheless, he cared for over 250 horses in a single year at his infirmary. In comparison to the LVC Infirmary, which will be discussed below, this would indicate that he needed enough stalls to care for dozens of horses at one time. Snape’s hospital was, therefore, most likely a similar size to Taplin’s hospital, which had 100 stalls. Snape also had access to ‘an extra Receptacle, whither the infected will be sent, and taken Care of’.⁶⁴ The infirmary also needed rooms or halls to give lectures and anatomy demonstrations, as proposed in 1765. Functionally, he proposed that subscribers could attend his lectures and anatomy demonstrations along with observing the care of their horses. It also attracted the attention of surgeons and apothecaries. In 1776 the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* claimed that Snape and group of surgeons and apothecaries had met at his infirmary to experiment with a ‘styptic powder’ on a female ass’s severed leg.⁶⁵

Snape’s infirmary was open and running between 1765 and 1778. During this period Snape had in his possession an anatomical preparation of a horse skeleton and a wax preparation of the horse’s muscles for teaching purposes.⁶⁶ He also had an infirmary open from 1765 through 1778 at Knightsbridge, which was the same infirmary he advertised in the *Racing Calendar* in conjunction with his school from 1765–1766 and again in 1778.

⁶³ *Racing Calendar*, Jan, 1 1766, pp. 157–158.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁶⁵ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 24 July 1776, issue 1169.

⁶⁶ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 3 May 1780, issue 15 982.

There are also scattered records of Snape performing experiments and practicing farriery throughout this period at his infirmary and school.⁶⁷ However, he began advertising again throughout the country in 1778 because it was struggling. He also had some opposition from farriers, who saw his hospital as a threat to their trade. Due to one of his adverts in 1778, an angry member of the Worshipful Company of Farriers wrote to the *London Evening Post* 'that Gentleman [Snape] treats all his Brethren in England with the utmost contempt . . . Are all the farriers in London . . . fools, blockheads, knaves, &c. And all the nobility and gentry so weak as to put their most valuable horses, in to the hands of such ignoramus without ransacking all Europe for a good farrier?'⁶⁸ This letter provoked Snape to respond by telling of his success at his infirmary, writing, 'the subscription for that purpose fills beyond my expectation.'⁶⁹ Snape's increase in advertising in 1778 was possibly a last attempt to gain more subscriptions, since he declared bankruptcy in 1780. In 1805, Snape's publisher wrote that his school and infirmary failed because many of the promised subscriptions from gentlemen were never received.⁷⁰ Although Snape had lost nearly everything by 1784, only one year later, he was selling his medicines in Germany, France and Britain.⁷¹ In 1785, Snape advertised a new equine medical dispensary listed in *Wakefield's London Directory*, and in 1790, Snape's dispensary and a new infirmary were listed in *Bailey's London Directory*. That same directory also lists Snape as the 'sole proprietor of cattle powders' sold at 60 Poland Street. Furthermore, Frederick Smith argued that Snape earned 1,800 pounds for farriery from the Prince of Wales in the early

⁶⁷ *Daily Advertiser*, 19 Jun 1776, issue 14197; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 24 Jul 1776, issue 1169; *Public Advertiser*, 3 Dec 1776.

⁶⁸ *London Evening Post*, 11 Aug 1778, issue 8800.

⁶⁹ *London Evening Post*, 27 Aug 1778, issue 8807.

⁷⁰ Edward Snape, *A Practical Treatise of Farriery* (London, 1805), preface.

⁷¹ *World*, 8 April 1788, issue 398; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 11 April 1788, issue 5804; *World*, 11 April 1788, issue 401; *World*, 18 April 1788, issue 407; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 21 April 1788, issue 4709; *Public Advertiser*, 29 May 1788, issue 16805; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 30 May 1788, issue 4743; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 9 June 1788, issue 4751; *World*, 23 June 1788, issue 463.

1790s.⁷² Clearly, despite the failure of his first school and infirmary, Snape was still successfully practicing farriery and preparing for his next project into the late 1780s.

In April 1791, along with the opening of the London Veterinary College, Snape opened 'a seminary for the instruction of young men in the art of farriery' in South Lambeth near Stockwell. Snape had offered a similar plan at his 1765 school, but this time he offered an additional incentive of a silver medal each month to the pupil who excelled the most in preparing drugs and curing diseases of horses.⁷³ In conjunction with Snape's 'seminary', he wrote *A Practical Treatise on Farriery*, which represented the material taught at his infirmary.⁷⁴ There were frequent advertisements for the 'seminary' in the *Times* that ran throughout the year. Unlike his other infirmary, none of the advertisements asked for subscriptions; rather it solicited the nobility and gentry to bring their horses in for medical care without subscription. As for the school, there is no indication of how well it did or how long it lasted. However, in January of 1797, a new edition of *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* was advertised in Bath in which Snape was titled 'professor of physic and anatomy of horses'.⁷⁵ This may indicate that he was teaching farriery at his infirmary up until his supposed death in June of 1797.

This makes Snape's practice at his infirmary highly demonstrative of a distinctively new kind of eighteenth-century farriery. There are very few records of the details of Snape's practice. However, Snape publicised a record of the first year of his infirmary in *The London Intelligencer and Evening-Post*, which lists the number of horses he cared for and what they were diagnosed with. Additionally, as part of Snape's second school he wrote *A*

⁷² Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (4 vol., London, 1976), vol. II, p. 175.

⁷³ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 20 April 1791, issue 5611.

⁷⁴ *The Times*, 13 Dec 1791, pg. 1, issue 2198, col A; 15 Dec 1791, pg. 1, issue 2209, col A; 17 Dec 1791, pg. 1, issue 2209, col A.

⁷⁵ *Bath Herald and Register*, 21 Jan 1797, issue 257.

Practical Treatise on Farriery, which is his description of how to care for each equine disease and injury. Together these records expand our knowledge on the kinds of farriery practice performed in London in the second half of the eighteenth century. (See Table 4.5.) They also enable us to see how the practice of London farriers working in horse hospitals differs from that of country farriers in West Sussex or lower practitioners like Hay.

Diagnosis	Horses admitted	Diagnosis	Horses admitted
Bad Habit of Body	27	Impostumations	3
Broken Leg	1	Malignant Fevers	4
Blood Spavins	4	Mortifications	3
Bone Spavins	2	Nicked	5
Broken Belly	1	Pain in the Feet	13
Contracted Feet	21	Pumissed Feet	7
Cankered Feet	11	Putrid Fevers	2
Coughs and Colds	7	Phthisicks	2
Contracted Joints	5	Pole Fevers	2
Curbs	4	Putrified Necks	5
Calissed Legs	4	Quitters	4
Channel Nails	5	Retention of Urine	1
Dropsy	6	Ringbonck	3
Dropsy and Jaundice	2	Strained Legs	14
Dislocations	3	Sand Cracks	8
Farcy	12	Strangles	5
Foundered in the Feet	9	Surfeits	5
Fever in the Feet	6	Staggers	5
Fistulas	3	Thorough Pins	2
Greasy Heels	9	Wen in shoulder	2
Grapt Heels	3		1
Glanders	9	Total	-----
Gelt	1	Incurables	254
Hectic Fevers	3		29
Humour in the Eyes	7	Cured	-----
Inward Decay	1		225

Table 4.5, Horses Admitted to Snape's Infirmary in 1765, as Recorded by the *London Intelligencer*, September 27–30, 1766, p. 2.

Snape claimed he was highly efficient and extremely busy, ‘curing’ hundreds of horses a year. In less than a year at the infirmary he cared for 254 horses, ‘curing’ 225, which accounted for only half the work he did throughout the course of a single year. On a typical day, he spent the morning at the infirmary and the afternoon on his private practice, travelling and visiting sick horses in London. He also cared for the king’s horses at the Royal Mews. He claimed to care for more than 500 horses in total for 1765, or about 1.5 new horses a day. That said, many of the horses being cared for at Snape’s infirmary stayed for months, which meant he was actually caring for much more than just 1.5 horses a day.

Snape’s practice at his infirmary demonstrates how and why many in London considered him a specialist in equine medicine, a physician or doctor. Though there was probably some shoeing done at his infirmary, there are no records of it—the existing records mention only surgery and physic. He cared for 254 medical problems, of which 160 dealt mainly with external problems (primarily surgical problems like fistulas and sandcracks), while 94 were mainly internal problems (primarily problems in physic, like fever and colds). Snape cared for external problems 62 per cent of the time, making surgery seem to be his foremost practice. Medications and surgical therapeutics for internal and external diseases, however, often overlapped with practices such as phlebotomy, rowelling, and purgatives, making it difficult to separate the practice of surgery and physic. This delineation between the two, however, does help clarify the nature of the medical practices at the infirmary, since the majority of Snape’s practices were based upon the use of medicines, both ingested or rubbed on. He made this clear in his *Practical Treatise on Farriery* where he outlined the practices of a farrier, dividing them between internal and external practices. Nevertheless, he emphasised medicaments as the governing therapeutic

in both sets of practices. Tables 4.6 and 4.8 condense Snape’s description of farriery into internal and external therapeutics, as found in his book. Table 4.6 shows the nature of Snape’s surgical practices, which primarily required the farrier to rub on, dress or cut the exterior of the horse’s body. Snape did use knives and other surgical tools ,like the trephine, but his preference was always for medicines. Nearly all his medical practices utilised powders, balls, clysters, ointments and other medicaments. Table 4.7 shows the different kinds of medicines used in Snape’s practice, along with their purpose. In the appendix of his book, where Snape clearly describes the kinds of skills and therapies a farrier needed to know and practice, he never discussed skills with the fleam or knife. Medicated ointments for blistering, embrocations and poultices, in most cases, replaced the surgeon’s knife—he clearly believed medicine to be ‘the grand key to physick’.

External Therapies	Purpose of the External Therapy
Bleeding (int/ext)	Phlebotomy, purgative of bad blood
Rowelling	Drain, outlet, by opening the skin
Caustic	Arsenic etc. to chemically burn
Water	Temperature of water and when a horse is given
Blistering	Stimulative, inflammations, tumors
Firing	Cautery, for corns and eye diseases
Poultices	Medicated ointment, destroy morbid matter in the fleshy panicle
Fomentations	Medicated ointment to reduce pain
Embrocations	Rubbed in medicated ointment
Cataplasms	Poultice or charge, detergents, astringents, and absorbents
Syringes	Valuable instrument for applying medicines
Bandages	Broad cloth tacked with a needle and thread etc.

Table 4.6, External Therapies in Snape, *Practical Treatise on Farriery*.

Internal Therapies	Purpose of the Internal Therapy
Cathartics	Laxatives, purifies the habit of the body
Emetics	Vomits, do not cause the horse to vomit
Diuretics	Urination, swellings and inflammations
Sudorifics	Sweating, clear the pores
Opiates	Relieve pain, invigorate the nervous system, for convulsions, bowels and bladder
Alteratives	Alter nature, change the state of the blood
Restorative	Improve the condition of horses,
Clyster	Enema, for evacuations

Table 4.7, Internal Therapies in Snape, *Practical Treatise on Farriery*

The medicines Snape used for internal diseases came in several forms and were his primary therapeutics: the draught or drink, the ball, the bolus and the enema. Therefore, internal practice consisted of watching, diagnosing, injecting medicine and forcing the horse to ingest different forms of medicine. One of the most common internal maladies Snape cared for at the infirmary was what he called 'Bad habit of Body', or simply an imbalance of blood, which made the horse unable to perform daily tasks. He cared for 27 (10%) horses with this disorder in a single year at the infirmary. To treat it, Snape gave the horse an 'alterative' as a drink, which was used to change the nature of its blood. Snape's 'alterative' medicine consisted of several types of barks boiled in water or wine, and the medicine used to strengthen the horse's constitution.⁷⁶ Another common internal malady Snape cared for was fever. Though Snape's ideas about fever were complex, his practices for it were less extensive. First, he separated horses with fever from the other horses to avoid spreading what he believed was a contagious disease, followed by a regimen of bleeding, fever powder and gruel. In conjunction with the fever powder, he gave the

⁷⁶ Snape, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery*, p. 23.

horses boiled down fever bark and honey to chew on. Like these two disorders, all of the internal diseases at Snape's infirmary in 1765 took multiple days to cure, and sometimes, even weeks. Therefore, he developed a regimen of repeating previous methods until he cured a horse.

Surgically, Snape also mainly used medicines, but the application was different and combined with bandaging. (See Table 4.8.) Snape generally prepared surgical medicines by mixing waxy ointments and then rubbing them on the horse's body. Snape's recipes for these topical medicines (poultices, embrocations, fomentations and cataplasms) usually included 'camphire' (camphor), which was used to help with pain, infection and itching. (See Table 4.8.) The blistering agents used cantharides powder, a toxic agent Snape preferred over arsenic and other agents, which generally replaced the knife. He usually used these topical medicines and ointments accompanied by bandages, which fit well with curing fistulas, tumors, cankers, spavins and other common maladies among the horses arriving at his infirmary.

Snape's Medicine	Ingredients of Snape's Recipe
Elder Ointment	Elder leaves, hog's lard
The mange liquid	Walnut tree bark, boiled urine, wood ashes, black hellebore, oil of tar
The White mixture	Egg yolks, vinegar, wine, camphire, oil of turpentine
Compound tincture of tar	Tar, honey, wine, camphire
Compound camphire water	Blue vitriol, water, wine, camphire, Armenian bole
The Blood Tincture	Tincture of myrrh, nitre fortis,
The Canker or Heel Treatment	Honey, vinegar, dry French verdigrease
The Powder for Graped and Greasy Heals	Alum, white vitriol, crocus metallorum, rhenish tartar, tobacco dust, elecampane
The Farcy Powder	Water-dock root, walnut tree bark, madder, crocus metallorum, gum guiacum, sarsaparilla powder, linseed meal, senugreek
Compound extract of Saturn	Letharge of lead, French vinegar, camphire
Cattle powder	Antimony, hartshorn shavings, wine, turmeric
The mild poultice	Hog's lard, turpentine, honey, white vitriol, camomalum, rye flour
The Strong Poultice	Hog's lard, turpentine, honey, verdigrease, calcined vitriol, calcined alum, rye flour
Liniment for the Hoof	Hog's lard, soft soap, urine
The white ointment	One pound of hog's lard, soft soap, spring water, extract of Saturn, wine, salad oil
The best mild blister	Hog's lard, nerve ointment, gum euphorbium powder, cantharides powder
The best strong blister	Ointment of bays, nerve ointment, gum euphorbium powder, cantharides powder, oil of organum
Molineux ointment	Nerve ointment, hog's lard, bees wax, mutton suet, cantharides powder, oil of organum
Snape's eye water	White vitriol, alum, camphire, wine
The cancer powder	Glanders ball powder, London treacle, butter

Table 4.8, List of External Medicines used at Snape's Dispensary, 1785.

Furthermore, Snape's surgical operations were not often heroic or comparable to the surgeon's practice of cutting for the stone or removing a limb. However, he did perform several operations on fractures, which he described in *Snape's Practical Farriery*. In one instance, Mr. Garth of King-street, brought in his horse that had broken its leg two weeks

earlier for Snape to mend. The horse's leg was so swollen that a previous farrier misdiagnosed it and did not believe its leg was broken. Snape bathed the wound with a 'spirituous embrocation' and then placed a large bandage across it to reduce the swelling. After three days of reducing the swelling, he set the leg; then dressed and supported the break using,

the usual strengthening charge, and swathe the leg with a canvas roller. Then procure an old boot, cut off the foot and top, and open it down the back; afterwards let it be perforated on both sides, similar to a pair of stays, taking care to pierce the holes at about the distance of half an inch . . . when the boot is sufficiently soaked to render the leather pliable, fix it as tightly as possible on the leg . . . as it becomes dry it will so far shrink as to form a tight bandage, which will at once prevent the leg from swelling.⁷⁷

The most common surgical procedures Snape performed in 1765 at his infirmary, outside of bleeding and roweling, were addressing tumours, sores and problems with the external legs and body. In the example of a fistula or pole evil (Illustration 4.8), a large abscess formed on the shoulder or back of the neck. Snape connected these abscesses to the internal disease strangles and glanders, but treated them surgically. As he described in his book, he would first bleed the horses and then apply different caustics to the abscess to encourage their 'ripping'. In one of his several suggested remedies, he would cut open the abscess with a lancet, cleanse the inside with an arsenic-based caustic, and then sew it up with a needle and thread.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Snape, *Snape's*, p. 44.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

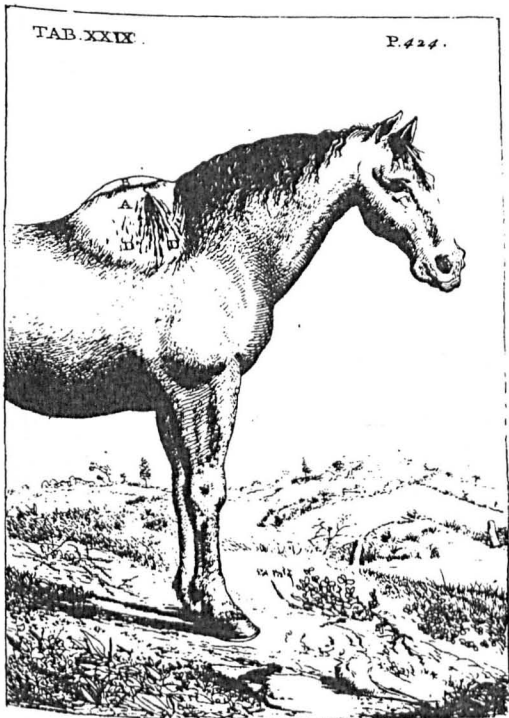


Illustration 4.8, Fistula and Pole Evil.

William Gibson, *A Treatise on the Diseases of Horses*, (London, for A. Millar, 1751), 417, 424.

Snape used blistering and firing therapeutics for calluses (he cared for calluses four times at his infirmary in 1765; hereafter references in brackets after a disease will indicate the number of times he cared for the disease at his infirmary), splints (0), bone spavins (3) and ringbones (2). According to his book he would cut hair off the protrusion, apply one of his blistering ointments, then ‘during its continuance, throw out the protuberance, as the nut kernel is obruded from its shell, without either pain, or any inflammations of the limb’.⁷⁹ He wrote, ‘This operation should likewise be performed in all contractions, stiffnesses, and where callous substance are formed’.⁸⁰ Additionally, firing was essential ‘in all weaknesses and relaxations in any part of the legs, body, and head’ (Illustration 4.9).



Illustration 4.9, Splints.

William Gibson, *A New Dissertation on the Diseases of the Horse*, p. 273.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 58–59.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 110.

Including calluses, bone spavins and ringbones, the majority of cases in Snape's infirmary came from problems with the horse's feet and legs (58%). One example is foundered feet (9), which was caused by a horse going from a relaxed state to a 'violent' state of exercise, a common disorder affecting the tendons.⁸¹ Snape found that preventative measures were the most effective in this case. However, when this was not possible, Snape would remove each of the horse's shoes and wrap the leg tightly below the knee. He would then rub the leg with brandy and goose grease daily, then apply oils to the feet. He continued this regime for four to six days, while giving the horse plenty of rest and food. Other cases in the feet included contracted feet (21), strained legs (14), greasy heels (9), cankers (11), sand cracks (8), quitters (4) and others, all of which were cared for according to his book by adjusting or changing shoes, applying oils, carving away parts of the hoof, blistering tumours, rubbing on fomentations and poultices to wounds, bleeding, firing and various other surgical procedures. Snape's practice included common surgical procedures on a daily basis, but unlike human surgery, he worked mainly on the feet and legs.

London Veterinary College Infirmary (LVC)

This section examines another horse hospital—that of the London Veterinary College Infirmary, established in 1791 in Camden Town. This will allow a comparison with Snape's practice of the 1760s and with the practice of farriers in the town and country in the 1790s.

The LVC Infirmary was large enough to house a considerable number of horses. During construction, the College built a temporary stable with over fifty stalls,⁸² and the actual Infirmary was fourteen feet tall on the inside and housed more than twice as many horses

⁸¹ Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier's and Horseman's Complete Dictionary* (London, 1769), see founder; Snape, *Snape's*, pp. 53–57.

⁸² Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Volume I', pp. 127–128.

as the temporary stables. Stalls separated each horse, and each had its own eating and drinking bin, which created an environment reflecting the most contemporary ideas in equine medicine and practice.⁸³ It also created an ideal pedagogical environment for teaching the practice of farriery it gave the professor the ability to care for dozens of horses at one time and for a variety of diseases and ailments. The College also chose to build the Infirmary on the outskirts of London in Camden Town to protect the students from the temptations of alcohol and women in London and it was cheaper.⁸⁴

Even though Britain experienced the devastation of cattle plague in the eighteenth century and despite the Odiham Agricultural Society's desire to include cows and sheep within their improvements of farriery, the LVC Infirmary almost exclusively cared for horses.⁸⁵

When the Veterinary Committee broke away from the Odiham Society, there was no discussion of improving the medical care of cows and sheep, especially since Sainbel specialised in horses and Coleman was devoted to educating veterinary surgeons for the care of army horses. This had a knock on affect for people like Delabere Blaine, who became the first veterinary surgeon to focus on dogs, cows and sheep, and lost his job as assistant professor/translator to Sainbel in December 1791, just before the Infirmary opened to subscribers.⁸⁶ Although there were some instances when the LVC cared for cows and dogs (twice in the first two years), the LVC primarily cared for horses.

As in Snape's infirmary, aristocrats and gentlemen were the primary subscribers to the LVC Infirmary, but the records of the LVC create a much clearer view of what kind of patrons subscribed to a horse hospital in the eighteenth century. Figure 4.5 graphs the

⁸³ For equine hygiene practices at the end of the century, see James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases Incidental to Horses* (Edinburgh, 1788).

⁸⁴ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Volume I', pp. 58–59.

⁸⁵ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Volume I', pp. 1–15.

⁸⁶ See, Delabere Blaine, *The outlines of the veterinary art* (2nd ed., London, 1816), pp. iii–vi; Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings I', pp. 104–105.

number of nobles, aristocrats and gentlemen who subscribed from 1791–1794, demonstrating the majority were listed as esquires. Eight dukes, twenty-two earls and thirty-one barons subscribed to the LVC in the first few years, and the Second Duke of Northumberland was the LVC's first president. Subscribers paid 20 guineas for a lifetime membership. In addition they paid for the food and pharmaceuticals their horses consumed while at the Infirmary. Their subscriptions and donations created and funded the early LVC.⁸⁷ The infirmary thus generally filled its stalls with the horses of rich and important men who invested large sums of money in their horses.⁸⁸

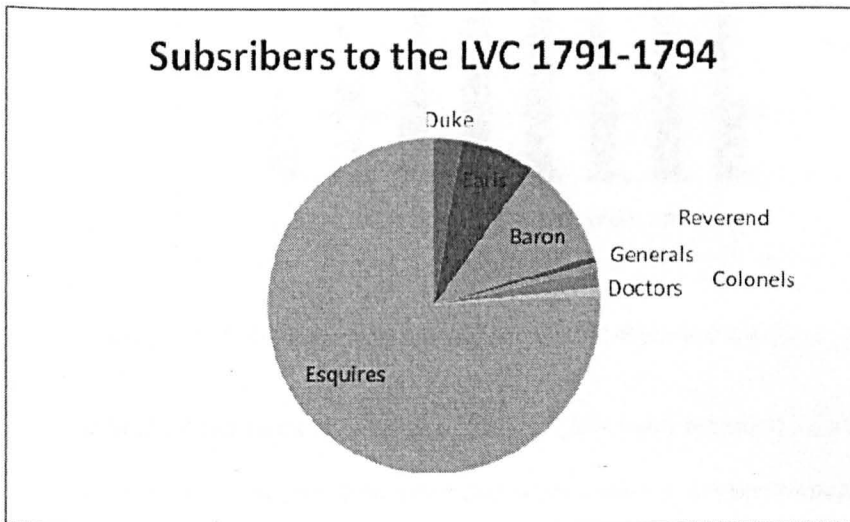


Figure 4.5, Subscribers to the LVC 1791 – 1794. (Original in Colour)

The LVC attempted to cure or relieve the majority of horses admitted, caring for them for weeks and months at a time in order to return them healthy to their owners. Edward Coleman recorded the cure, relief or death of each horse to report to the medical committee of the LVC. (See Figure 4.6.) Coleman demonstrated that on average, only 8.3 horses died each year at the Infirmary between 1795–1802. His numbers seem to have

⁸⁷ Royal Veterinary College, 'Royal Veterinary College Subscription Ledger from 1796'.

⁸⁸ For a human contrast, see Colin Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Regime and Revolutionary France* (London, 1989).

been accurate, but it must be noted that the majority of conditions at the Infirmary were not life threatening; gentlemen frequently brought their horses in for coughs, sprains and other minor problems. Still, Coleman’s figures gave confidence to subscribers and built an image and reputation of success.

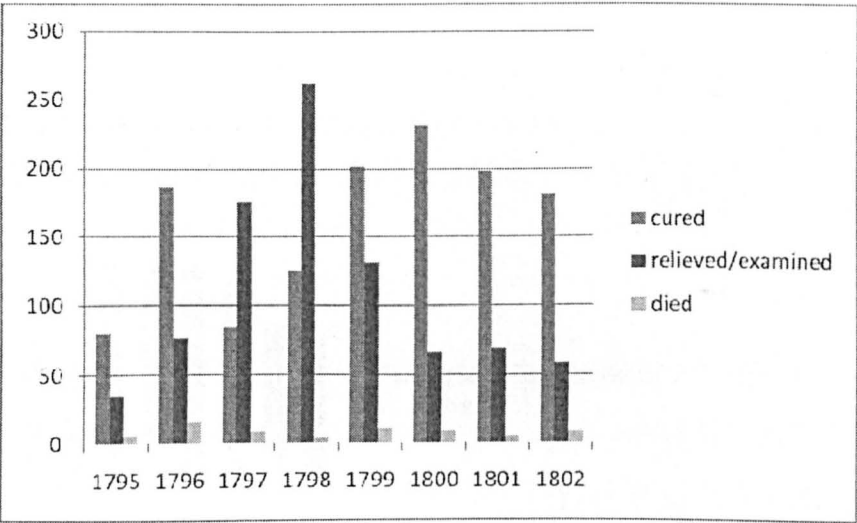


Figure 4.6, LVC Infirmary Records of Cured, Relieved and Deceased Horses, 1795–1802.

In its first ten years of existence, the LVC Infirmary admitted 3,707 horses. When admitting a horse, the subscriber (owner or owner’s servant) signed the horse in and verified the owner’s subscription. Each horse stayed for an average of 30.6 days, ranging from one day to as many as 200+ days.⁸⁹ The Infirmary averaged around one horse admitted a day or about 370 horses each year, though the number of horses at the Infirmary fluctuated greatly depending upon the amount of time each horse remained there, with the numbers ranging from a low of 284 horses to a high of 487 horses being house at the Infirmary at one time. (See Figure 4.7.) Additionally, each subscriber could admit only one horse at a time to the College and in the event that the Infirmary stables

⁸⁹ This calculation was made by randomly selecting 500 horses that were discharged from the infirmary from 1792–1803.

were full, those waiting would queue for the next available space. (Eight stalls were kept open for emergencies.)⁹⁰ Compared to a farrier's practice in the eighteenth century, this number of horses was not excessive (284), because some farriers, such as Edward Snape, claimed to see over 500 horses a year. However, the Infirmary cared for almost 500 horses in 1797.

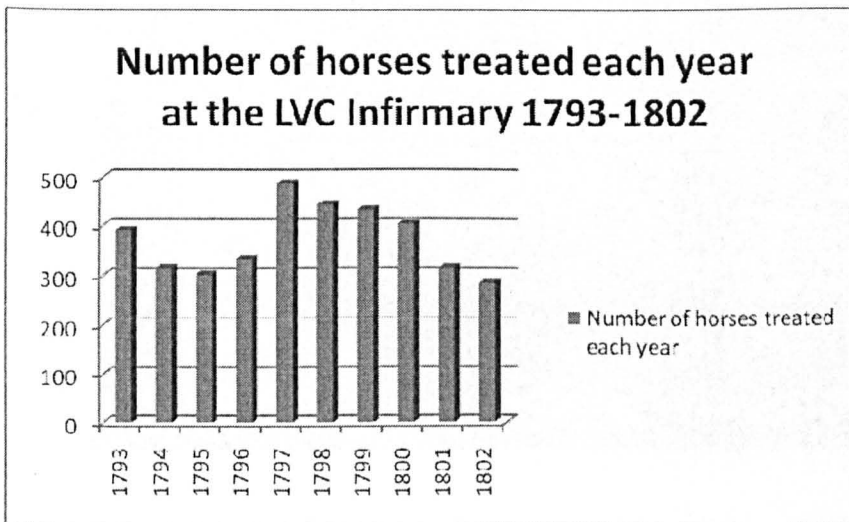


Figure 4.7, Yearly Number of Horses Admitted to the LVC Infirmary, 1793–1802.

The Infirmary's records (Illustration 4.10) describe the condition of most of the horses admitted to the Infirmary. When a horse was admitted to the Infirmary, the secretary of the LVC would record the horse's disease or problem (referred to as 'disease' for the remainder of the chapter). In many instances the disease was not instantly clear, so the secretary would list a symptom and in 10 per cent of the cases the therapy needed. These descriptions of each horse's disease enables one to see exactly what types of diseases the LVC was caring for—insofar as one can interpret the one- or two-word description. Nevertheless, coupled with the writings of Sainbel and Coleman, the practice at the LVC

⁹⁰ Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings Volume I', pp. 93–94.

Infirmary can be reconstructed, and this is the most detailed record of practice that has survived from the eighteenth century.⁹¹

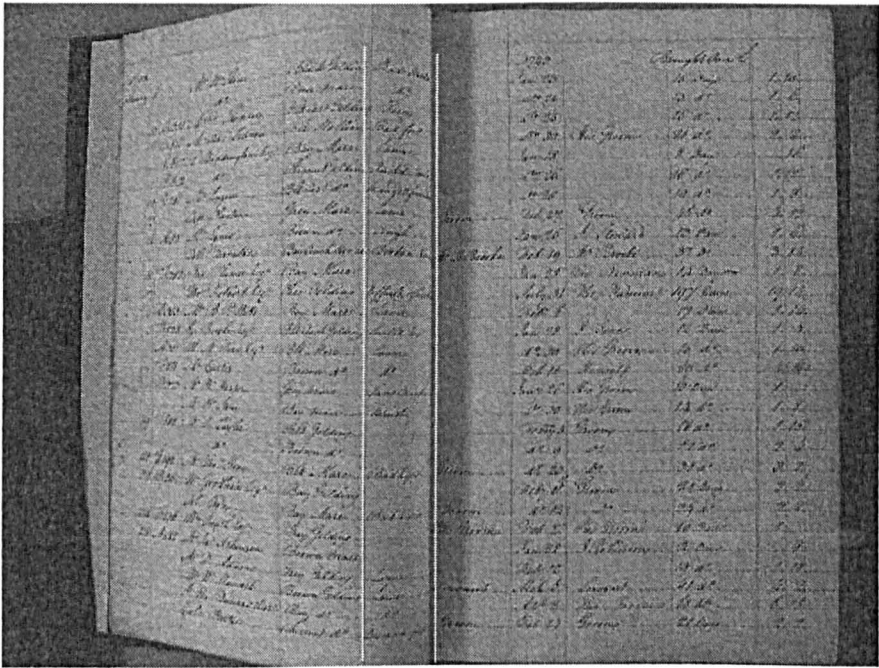


Illustration 4.10, Royal Veterinary College Archives, ‘Infirmary Record’. Yellow boundaries demarcate the column indicating the condition of the horses admitted. Each horizontal line records a different horse.

The medical practice at the LVC was much different than that of Edward Snape’s at his hospital. The LVC focused less upon therapies for internal diseases and used fewer medicines than Snape. More than 75 per cent of the horses admitted required external therapies or surgery, whereas a mere 17 per cent had internal conditions. Snape’s 1765 record shows that he cared for internal problems in 38 per cent of his cases and he primarily used medicine in most of his external cases. Sainbel and Coleman focused upon

⁹¹ Sainbel’s lectures and teachings were published, including experiments and studies he performed, detailed descriptions of practice and long discourses on symptoms and diseases. Additionally, though Coleman’s lectures were not published, his teachings can be found in what he did write. Edward Coleman, *Observations on the Structure, Oeconomy, and Diseases of the Foot of the Horse* (London, 1798); Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Elements of the Veterinary Art* (London, 1797).

practical surgery at the LVC. Sainbel's first six printed lectures, for example, focused on the 'art of shoeing'.⁹² He claimed that he rejected 'all speculative inference and theory'.⁹³

Lameness was the dominant practice at the LVC. Of the 3,707 horses treated, 1,653 were lame, or 44 per cent of all medical practices performed in the Infirmary were to correct lameness. Coleman stated, 'Now, as all horses employed require to be constantly shod, so all horses are liable to be diseased, if the principles and practice of shoeing are erroneous; and, when disease takes place, lameness is a frequent consequence.'⁹⁴ The new educated veterinary surgeon thus found his defining practice to be a medical derivative of shoeing—lameness. Nearly 14 horses with lameness were admitted each month, making lame horses a permanent fixture in the stalls of the Infirmary. Closer inspection reveals that the numbers were even higher. Figure 4.8 shows that from 1799–1802, there was a noticeable decrease in lameness compared to previous years. This apparent decrease, however, is misleading since it results from a change in secretaries. The second secretary was more specific and recorded the type of lameness rather than just writing 'lame'. Adjusting for this discrepancy increases the total number of lame horses to 2,241 of the 3,707, meaning that 60 per cent of all horses admitted to the Infirmary were diagnosed as lame.

⁹² Vial de Sainbel, *Lectures on the Elements of Farriery or the Art of Horse-shoeing* (London, 1793), p. b.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁴ Edward Coleman, *Observations of the Structure* (London, 1798).

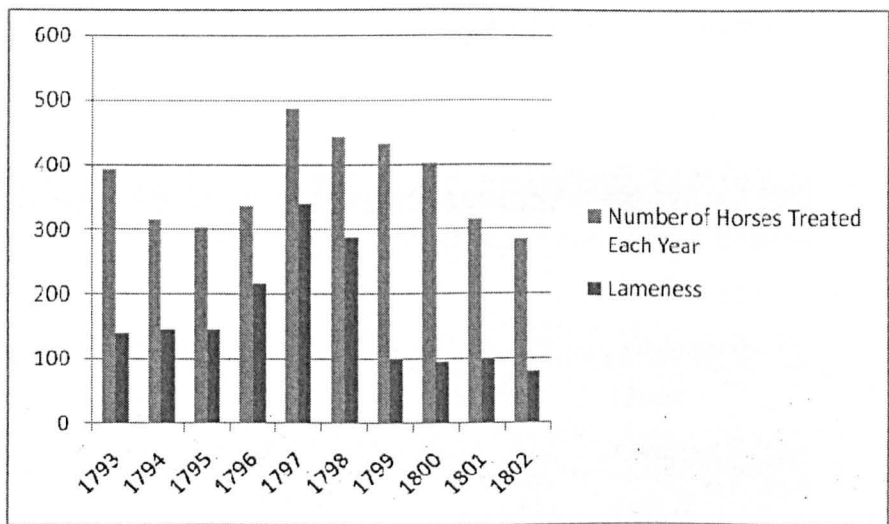


Figure 4.8, Number of Total Horses Admitted Compared to the Number of Lamé Horses Admitted to the Infirmary, 1793–1802.

A lame horse in the eighteenth century was defined generally as one injured in such a way that it prevented it from moving in a normal manner, but lameness itself was defined specifically as a surgical disorder. Though any disease could cause this to some extent, ‘lameness’ specifically meant losing normal movement in one or more of the horse’s legs. In particular, lameness could indicate injured joints, foot problems, shoulder problems or back problems.⁹⁵ The change of secretary helps define lameness at the Infirmary because when the change happened, new diseases that had been previously listed as ‘lame’ were listed more specifically. Table 4.9 below demonstrates the common problems causing lameness found at the Infirmary, especially after the change of secretary. The different kinds of tumors, wounds, ulcers, strains and foot disorders made up the definition of lameness in the eighteenth century and build a convincing case for the dominance of surgical practices at the Infirmary. Understanding lameness also required the knowledge

⁹⁵ For definitions, see James Hunter, *A Complete Dictionary of Farriery and Horsemanship* (Birmingham, 1796); William Osbaldiston, *The Universal Sportsman* (London, 1743); Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier’s and Horseman’s Dictionary* (London, 1767).

of anatomy and physiology (see Chapter 6), a major topic and practice at the Infirmary and at the intellectual core of veterinary education.

Tumors	Wounds	Ulcers	Strains	Feet
Bone spavin	Cuts	Poll evil	Shoulder	Narrow heels
Curb	Gunshots	Fistula	Knee	Binding heels
Ringbone	Staked		Coffin	Sand cracks
Splents	Bruises		Back sinew	Quiter
Windgall	Accidents		Stiffle	Grease
Blood spavin			Whirlbone/hip	Thrush
Wens			Hock	canker

Table 4.9, The Five Major Catagories of Lameness and the Typical Injuries or Diseases Associated with Each.

The treatment and understanding of lameness, therefore, naturally became a major part of the instruction at the LVC.⁹⁶ During the first couple of years, the College also offered single lectures to the public, presented by Sainbel, on the anatomy of the horse foot, geometric makeup of the horse and shoeing and anatomy of the foot.⁹⁷ Sanibel gave similar lectures to his pupils, many of which focused on the anatomy of the foot and leg, proper shoeing and how to avoid lameness. Furthermore, his first six lectures covered all the components of lameness in the foot and made up the bulk of veterinary education.⁹⁸ Sainbel wrote of lameness that ‘Farriers, unacquainted with the anatomical organisation of the foot, can form no idea of the surgical operation which this disease requires’.⁹⁹ Sainbel’s lectures demonstrated the importance of medical knowledge and practice for curing lameness; they also focused upon surgical practices. Therefore, one can see the

⁹⁶ Royal Veterinary College Archives, ‘Minute Book, vol. I’, pp. 81–82, 85–86.
⁹⁷ Royal Veterinary College Archives, ‘Minute Book vol. I’, pp. 112–113, 182–183, 174–176, 254–255.
⁹⁸ Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Elements of the Veterinary Art* (London, 1797).
⁹⁹ Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Six Lectures on the Elements of Farriery* (London, 1797), p. 146.

difference between veterinary surgery at the LVC and what was taught and practiced by Edward Snape. Nevertheless, Sainbel did teach practices similar to those followed by Snape and Hay, including prepartations for balls and drinks, different types of dressings and medications applied to bandages, bleeding, rowelling, firing, applying topical ointments and cutting away fistulas, cankers and other problems.

The other 40 per cent of horses admitted to the Infirmary had conditions other than lameness. The LVC practice must be seen as encompassing the plurality of known diseases and medical practices. Some diseases, however, were seen as rarely as one time in ten years, while others as frequently as every other day. Table 4.10 groups diseases together by how often a horse was admitted with that disease each year. Horses with the most common diseases treated at the Infirmary were admitted around once a month, and the least common (a much larger group) were admitted one to two times a year. Although not shown in Table 4.10, more than half (56) of the conditions were cared for less than five times in the first ten years at the Veterinary College. Some of the most studied conditions, such as glanders (34 times in ten years), were not cared for on a regular basis.

Times a year	Diseases grouped according their frequency at the LVC Infirmary
12 to 17	Physic, cough
5 to 7	farcy, inflammation, spavin
3 to 4.8	Worms, unknown, nicked, lungs, leg, cold, shod, mange, fired, grease, glanders, internal
1 to 2.5	Curb, cankered, examined, quitter, debility, thrushes, castrated, windgall, indigestion, corns, wounds, pole evil, fever, blistered, staggers, back, neck

Table 4.10, Types of Diseases and how Commonly they were Cared for at the LVC Infirmary 1793–1803.

The most common internal diseases in horses admitted were coughs and those conditions requiring physic. There were 167 horses admitted for 'physic' (these were part of the 10% admitted with a practice recorded as their disease) and 146 admitted for 'coughs'. The fact that 'physic' was recorded more times than any other internal disease demonstrates that many came in simply to have their horses bled. Strangely, these horses stayed at the Infirmary for three to four weeks and occasionally for months at a time, which indicates the owners admitted them because of disease and not just for a yearly bleeding. When horses were admitted they would first examine and diagnose its constitution, then prepare purgatives and decide on the length of medical regime. After physic, a horse was commonly fed warm mash of oats and bran and, depending on the circumstance, sent to pasture. Physic was also accompanied by periods of exercise between purgatives and then again after the regimen was finished. The majority of diseases required some type of purgative. All of the 630 horses admitted to the Infirmary with internal diseases required physic. It was clearly one of the most common practices.

Colds and coughs were the most common internal disease of horses admitted to the LVC, totalling 189 cases. The LVC took colds seriously because they could, they thought, easily lead to fever, glanders, broken wind and farcy. One medicine used on a regular basis was Dr. Bracken's cordial ball, made of anniseed, caraway seed, cardamoms, flower of brimstone, saffron, oil of anniseed and liquorice powder.¹⁰⁰ The LVC also frequently used restoratives and alteratives for colds and coughs instead of purging. Edward Snape wrote, 'An alterative may be denominated the grand key to physic . . . it may with truth be pronounced, the criterion of excellence in the art and mystery of physic.'¹⁰¹ Though the

¹⁰⁰ See John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery* (London, 1753), p. 28.

¹⁰¹ Edward Snape, *A Practical Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1797), p. 115.

LVC did not place as much emphasis on alteratives, Sainbel did use a regime of alteratives and exercise.

Although the LVC focused less on medicaments than Snape's infirmary did, they did place a large emphasis on mixing and preparing medicines at the College. In 1791, Sainbel had a temporary dispensary set up in one of the stalls of the stables as the College one was not ready.¹⁰² Medical recipes were an important part of veterinary education, and both Sainbel and Coleman attempted to teach the students about the best medicines for each malady.¹⁰³ Coleman, in particular, reduced the number of recipes to focus upon single recipes for the most common diseases. He wanted the veterinary medicaments to be as simple as possible. Even so, veterinary pharmacy would later become a major part of veterinary education at the LVC. William John Thomas Morton (1800–1868) began offering classes near the Veterinary College in 1826 on veterinary pharmacy, and later became the professor for veterinary pharmacy in 1839.¹⁰⁴

Eye disorders were regularly cared for at the LVC. Horses with diseased eyes were admitted 147 times in the first decade. This is interesting because eighteenth-century farriery receipts rarely showed farriers caring for diseased or injured eyes. The lack of capable eye care amongst farriers was recognised as early as 1720. William Gibson wrote that eye diseases were 'not sufficiently attended unto by farriers'.¹⁰⁵ Many farriers avoided the eye because they knew little about its anatomical structure, despite the frequency of horse eye injuries, cataracts and eye diseases. Sainbel regularly cared for eye disorders, but when Coleman became professor the number of horses admitted to the Infirmary for eye care decreased. (See Figure 4.9.) This may suggest that Sainbel was known to be an

¹⁰² Royal Veterinary College Archives, 'Minutes of Meetings vol. I', pp. 206–207.

¹⁰³ See Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Lectures on the Art of Farriery* (London, 1797), pp. 169–174.

¹⁰⁴ William John Thomas Morton, *Veterinary Pharmacy* (London, 1837).

¹⁰⁵ William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720), p. 67.

authority in caring for eye disorders. The Infirmary, however, admitted almost 20 horses with eye disorders in 1798, under Coleman—a smaller number, but still significant. Compared to Hay’s practice, which shows he was never paid for caring for eyes, the LVC is unique. But, compared to Snape, they were not. Snape cared for eyes in 2.7 per cent of his cases and the LVC Infirmary cared for eye in 3.8 per cent of their cases. This may indicate that eye care was not done by country farriers often, but more specialised farriers in the city did care for eyes more often. This may also be the reason that one of Snape’s proprietary medicines was ‘Snape’s Eye Water’.

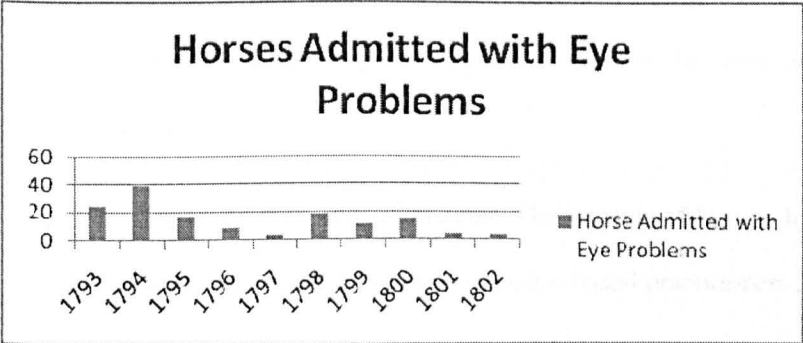


Figure 4.9, Eye Problems Care for at the LVC Infirmary, 1793–1802.

Conclusions

Though this chapter has done little for creating a complete picture of common farriery, it has uncovered a glimpse of farriers’ work and environment and analysed several different examples of farriery.

Each of the case studies demonstrates one of the three practices that define farriery—shoeing, surgery and physic. Peter Hay primarily shod horses, but demonstrated that even country farriers performed a substantial amount of surgery, physic and selling materia medica, mixing pills and potions. Edward Snape, on the other hand, avoided shoeing and

in many cases avoided cutting and other laborious or coarse practices. He prepared medicine, sold medicine and applied ointments and administered pills. Though Hay's examples do demonstrate a new emphasis on medical practice in the countryside, Snape demonstrates farriery being done in a physician-like manner. He saw practice as physic, even if a good part of his practice included farriery and doctoring lameness. In comparison, the professors at the LVC practiced and taught farriery as surgery. Granted, this surgery included physic and shoeing, but was clearly practiced in a surgical manner and seen as surgery. Their focus on surgical practices of the eye is a perfect example of where the LVC's expertise resided. Nevertheless, curing lameness connected each of the three case studies as an important and major practice, but seen differently by each practitioner.

Medical specialism developed in cities. The location of farriers helped determine the kind of things they practiced. Both of the London-based practitioners focused less upon shoeing than Peter Hay. Though Egremont provided Hay with a good amount of work, he had to travel to multiple locations, due to his country environment, to care for other owner's horses. In London, travel was less extensive or absent. Snape did travel around London in his private practice, but at his horse hospital, like the LVC Infirmary, owners brought their horses to him. This was emphasised by the development of infirmaries/horse hospitals in the densely populated, urban environment of London. Housing horses in hospitals also allowed for longer care and the ability to give more and constant attention to each horse.

Horse hospitals were one of the defining eighteenth-century changes in farriery. In 1764 the first French veterinary school was founded and one year later Snape began his infirmary and school. One English reaction to the call for improvement in farriery came through hospitals, and Snape's plan educated farriers in the way elite eighteenth-century

surgeons were being educated—through hospitals. As we will see in Chapter 6, other private equine anatomy lessons were also available to farriers in London, like the private anatomy lessons available to surgeons. This begins to answer L. P. Pugh's question of why it took so long for a veterinary school to be established in Britain.¹⁰⁶ (New education outlets developed at the same time as in France, just in a different way.) Britain's reaction to the need for better horse care was to create horse hospitals. Furthermore, I would suggest that outside of the number of supporters, the LVC was not much different from Snape's 1765 school and infirmary. Though the LVC did become more like a traditional school in the nineteenth century, in the eighteenth century its basic structure was similar to the eighteenth-century surgeon's hospital education because the school was based around the Infirmary and its subscribers.

The next chapter will continue to focus our view of eighteenth-century farriery by zooming in on the sale of medicines as the definitive practice delineating eighteenth-century equine practice from previous farriery.

¹⁰⁶ L. P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine*, p. 6; Ernest Cotchin, *The Royal Veterinary College* (Buckingham, 1990), p. 13. Cotchin wrote 'Why the foundation of the London Veterinary College so notoriously lagged behind the foundation of the French, and then other continental veterinary schools, remains unexplained.'

Chapter 5

Equine Medicine and Equine Medical Practice

In the last two chapters, I have shown that administering and mixing remedies was the most lucrative part of equine medicine in the eighteenth century. This practice offers another parallel to the world of eighteenth-century medicine, for, as a number of scholars have argued, between 1660 and 1800 there was a significant expansion in the administering of specific remedies and in the sale and manufacture of mass-produced branded pills and potions, which were widely sold and heavily advertised. Historians argue that eighteenth-century Britain was a period marked by consumption.¹ John Brewer emphasised the expansive effects of the British state and a century of wars on the English economy, which influenced individual experiences and the English culture of consumption.² Adding to this scholarship and unfolding a distinct change in economic culture in the eighteenth century, Paul Langford examined the relationship among the eighteenth-century English middle class, politeness and commercial activity,³ while J. G. A. Pocock argued for a decline of 'civic humanism' and a rise of 'progressivism' or 'commercial humanism'.⁴ These larger economic forces and the commercial economy also changed the way people approached medical care. For instance, patients increasingly turned to empirical practices and therapeutics instead of to physicians' virtuous advice.⁵ And as Louise Curth's *From Physick to Pharmacology* describes, there was a rapid shift

¹ See Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1982).

² John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power* (New York, 1989); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Power* (New York, 1994); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (New York, 1995); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, 1982).

³ Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989).

⁴ J. G. A. Pocock, *Commerce, Virtue, and History* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 44–45, 49, 50, 122, 196, 231 and 237.

⁵ Harold Cook, 'Good Advice and Little Medicine: the Professional Authority of Early Modern English Physicians', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), pp. 1–31.

from ‘kitchen physick’ to the commercialisation of drugs in the eighteenth century.⁶ The change from a ‘client economy’ to the ‘controls of the open market’ weighed heavily on previous structures of medical practice but fostered both practical and quack medicine and a competitive nature, creating an environment in which medicine became more of a business than a profession.⁷ Medics began tailoring their products and services for the medical market and found success through the endorsement of the social elite by conforming to the tastes of the market.⁸ Many medics began marketing therapeutics geared toward the needs and desires of consumers. Thus, a number of proprietary medicines, such as Daffy’s Elixir, became household commodities.⁹

Not yet related to this scholarship, however, is a focus on the eighteenth-century growth in the market for equine medicine. Even though there are obvious connections between animal and human drugs, such as the inclusion of both in recipe collections and apothecaries’ willingness to make both, no one has adequately included or associated equine drug sales with the medical market.¹⁰ Eighteenth-century apothecary shops would

⁶ Louise Curth (ed.), *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of Drug Retailing* (London, 2006), ch. 1–4.

⁷ John Brewer, ‘Commercialization and Politics,’ in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of the Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660–1850* (Manchester, 1989).

⁸ John Styles, ‘Product Innovation in Early Modern London,’ *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), p. 167.

⁹ David Boyd Haycock and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Quackery and Commerce in Seventeenth-Century London: The Proprietary Medicine Business of Anthony Daffy*, *Medical History* Supplement, no. 25 (2005); For literature about proprietary medicine on the European continent, see Colin Jones, ‘The Medecins du Roi at the End of the Ancien Regime and in the French Revolution,’ in Vivian Nutton (ed.), *Medicine at the Courts of Europe, 1500–1837*, (London, 1990), pp. 214–267; idem., ‘The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, The Bourgeois Public Sphere and the Origins of the French Revolution,’ *American Historical Review*, vol. 101 (1996), pp. 13–40; idem., ‘Quackery in Early Modern Europe,’ *Ludica*, vols. 5–6 (2000), pp. 258–261; David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford, 2006); idem., *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester, 1998); idem., ‘Marino Grimaldi and the Merchant-Charlatans of Early Modern Italy,’ in B. Blonde, P. Stabel, J. Stobart and I. Van Damme (eds.), *Buyers, Sellers and Salesmanship in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006); idem., ‘The “Golden Age of Quackery” or “Medical Enlightenment”: Licensed Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy,’ *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 3 (2006), pp. 250–253; William Eamon, ‘Pharmaceutical Self-Fashioning, or How to Get Rich and Famous in the Renaissance Medical Fashion Industry,’ *Pharmacy in History*, 45 (2003), pp. 123–129; idem., ‘Plagues, Healers, and Patients in Early Modern Europe,’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52, 1999), pp. 474–486.

¹⁰ See The Wellcome Archives, London, MS 1795; MS 144; MS 4124.

have had ceramic jars marked ‘Mark: balls’, ‘hippiatric balls’, ‘Snape’s Powder’ or ‘William Taplin’, all of which were proprietary equine medicines,¹¹ and the considerable growth in branded horse medicine sold by the farrier, druggist and apothecary make equine medicine sales an obvious missing piece of the eighteenth-century medical market.¹² Moreover, historians have not commented on the increasingly pharmacological tone and nature of farriery literature.

Therefore, this chapter will examine the changing nature of horse medicines, first by surveying remedies in farriery books of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, showing that before 1700 authors writing about farriery refer to few branded remedies. This examination will show that equine drug sales developed alongside human drug sales because of its reaction to the ‘open market’ of English consumerism, to the point that drug sales became the most lucrative farriery practice of the eighteenth century. Several important eighteenth-century farriery books will be examined, showing that they became increasingly organised around drug preparation and included pharmacopoeias modeled after John Quincy’s books. Finally, detailed case studies will explore the developing business in equine pills, with particular focus on the career and trade of William Taplin.

Early Developments in Equine Medicine Sales

As early as the late sixteenth century, authors writing about farriery described equine medicines and gave advice on their use. However, they discussed the pills and potions very differently than eighteenth-century horse doctors, apothecaries and druggists. Thomas

¹¹ See The Thackery Museum, Leeds, Ceramic Collection.

¹² D. W. Wright, ‘London Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the 18th Century’, *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1987), pp. 17–26; idem., ‘Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the London Trades

Blundeville's *Fower Cheifest Offices*, for example, included many recipes for equine medicine, but Blundeville admitted he knew little about them because he had obtained them from other authors, who had in turn usually obtained them from Italian riding books: 'I referre my judgement to those that be better learned and so ende, for feare of being over tedious . . . [this topic could however] . . . occupye a Booke of no small volume, to be written hereafter by some other perhappes, if not by my selfe. And in the meane tyme, let this that I have alredy written suffice.'¹³ Like many seventeenth-century authors of horsemanship books, Blundeville did not focus upon equine medicines. He obviously recognised the importance of medicines as therapeutics but clearly had no equine pharmacopoeias at hand when compiling his book. Pills and potions were no doubt a part of farriery, but they had not become consumable commodities or standardised remedies. Farriers and horse doctors *applied* medicine rather than simply selling it. Blundeville proclaimed, 'The farrer ought to be a man of judgement, and able to discern one tyme from another, to the intent that he may apply his medicines rightly.'¹⁴ Though Blundeville lists recipes clearly so that one could mix them without training or assistance, his intention was to let the farrier make and provide the medicines.

By the seventeenth century, authors more commonly included recipes in their books, and there was a clear increase in books with a significant amount of advice about said recipes. Leonard Mascall's 1620 edition of *The First Booke of Cattel*, for instance, included a new section on the 'approved medicines against all diseases'.¹⁵ Additionally in 1610, *Markham's Maister Peece* listed several recipes for each known disease and provided a

Directories, group II. 1800–1811,' *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1988/89), pp. 131–157; Cheshire County Records Office, Chester, DAR I 21; Wellcome Archives, see MS 7525.1.

¹³ Thomas Blundeville, *Fower Cheifest Offices: The Order of Curing* (London, 1560), p. 123.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵ Leonard Mascall, *The First Booke of Cattel* (London, 1620), second book.

list of ‘simples’ to aid in building the reader’s knowledge of equine medicine.¹⁶ He described the simples and listed them in alphabetical order and according to their quality—hot, dry, cold or wet. He also listed the strength of these qualities to help readers choose simples suited to their horses’ disease and body quality.¹⁷

In the long period over which Markham’s books were still highly influential (1610s to 1720s), pills and potions increasingly became commodities and began to be used and viewed differently. As the market for drugs developed further in the second half of the seventeenth century, success of his books continued—because of their lists of simples and methods of mixing medicines. One remedy from his book, ‘Markham’s Balls’, which were silver-coloured purging balls, became a proprietary medicine in the second half of the seventeenth century, fifty years after his book was originally published. In the Thackery Medical Museum’s Wilkinson Collection of 600 earthenware drug jars, there is a jar that was used to hold ‘Markham’s Balls’. Markham’s purgative took on a life of its own, and it remained popular throughout the eighteenth century. Even though the recipe for the balls was altered over time, Markham’s name remained associated with it.¹⁸

By the late seventeenth century, Markham’s Balls were not the only brand of horse pills. The farrier to the king, Andrew Snape Jr., created proprietary medicines for horses in the 1690s to meet the desires of concerned horse owners. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Snape changed the way people saw the equine body through his book *The*

¹⁶ Markham Gervase, *Markham’s Maister Peece* (London, 1615), p. 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 557–583.

¹⁸ Giles Jacob, *The Country Gentleman’s Vade Mecum* (London, 1717), p. 16; William Gibson, *The Farrier’s Dispensatory* (London, 1721), pp. 329 and 333; *idem.*, *The True Method of Dieting Horses* (London, 1721), p. 173; *idem.*, *The Farrier’s New Guide* (London, 1735), second section, p. 127; John Barrow, *A Supplement to the New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1754), under ‘ball, horse ball’; John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (London, 1759), pp. 112 and 338; Temple Henry Croker, *The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1764–66), vol. 1, under ‘ball, horse ball’; Harry Rowe, *No Cure No Pay* (London, 1794), p. 40.

Anatomy of an Horse (1683). By the 1690s, Snape had solidified his reputation as a learned farrier, authoring *Snape's Purging Pills for Horses*, which publicised the first known equine medicine dispensary in Britain.¹⁹ The book built upon Snape's status as farrier to the king and anatomist, and announced that the best drugs could be bought from him at the Royal Mews. He sold four products—the purging pill, cordial powder, blistering ointment and strain ointment. Snape stated that many did not 'know how to prepare them [equine medicines], nor to proportion them so, as to make the medicine answerable to the constitution of the horses, which might prove very pernicious.'²⁰ He additionally stated that country gentlemen found it difficult to obtain all the ingredients needed for horse remedies. Hence, Snape stated, 'for these and such like reason, I say, I have thought it advisable to prepare the following Medicines'. He advertised his pills in ways similar to the marketing of other successful contemporary products in London. John Styles argued, 'attractions were always offset by consumers' attachment to established tastes, by their investment in notions of hierarchy, order and stability which extended to their material world, and in particular, by their failure automatically to ascribe a use or a meaning to new products.'²¹ Each of Snape's medicines had a distinct package, and Snape sold them and his book on anatomy at the Royal Mews. As the farrier to the king, he appealed to an up-market crowd. He attempted to persuade gentlemen and nobles from both the country and the city to buy his pills by claiming that the king had encouraged him to write *Snape's Purging Pills for Horses*. He also advertised for country gentlemen to buy boxes of his medicine on their trips to London. Snape appealed to the 'tastes' of the market by claiming that he used the best ingredients and could obtain important ingredients most horse owners could not.

¹⁹ Andrew Snape, *Snape's Purging Pills for Horses* (London, 1692), to the reader.

²⁰ Andrew Snape, *Snape's Purging Pills for Horses*, to the reader.

Snape's equine medicine dispensary, his proprietary medicines and his businesslike practice are examples of the similarities between events in both human and animal medicine at the end of the seventeenth century. 'Markham's Balls' and Snape's proprietary medicines were like some quack medicines, like the anodyne necklace, demonstrating how some farriers began to more readily emphasise medicines and the market. Writing about the anodyne necklace, Francis Doherty argued that to 'the quick-thinking and calculating exploiter of man's anxieties about his health go rich rewards.' Similar to 'Markham's Balls' and the anodyne necklace, Snape's medicines took on a life of their own. In the eighteenth century, pills and potions became more central to the practice of farriers and horse doctors, which first becomes obvious from the new emphasis on pharmacopoeias in farriery literature.

The Eighteenth-Century Equine Pharmacopoeia

Pharmacopoeias became an important part of farriery literature in the eighteenth century, and they were an important part of self-help literature and the gentry's obsession with recipe collections. They are also an important example of how the sale, production and knowledge of equine pills and potions were at the center of eighteenth-century equine medicine. A closer look at several examples of these kinds of books, specifically from authors' so-called pharmacopoeias will demonstrate this.

William Gibson questioned previous therapeutic practices in the 1720s. He argued that Markham, Blundeville and other authors deceived their readers through their lack of medical knowledge and therefore suggested improper cures. 'The ignorance of those and

²¹ John Styles, 'Product Innovation', p. 123.

the preceding times, was itself embarrassed with many idle and whimsical dreams, not to meet with, or at least depended on by ancient writers, and which have been absolutely rejected since the modern discoveries have cleared the way to true knowledge.' He celebrated recent developments and 'discoveries in the animal oeconomy' and argued that previous authors' flawed theories led them to fruitless therapeutics and pointless medicines. He stated,

We find in all such Cases, their main Recourse is to Bleeding and Purging; and whether that be proper or not, they neither know themselves, nor can their Books inform them: and when a Horse gives Signs of inward Sickness, the Book (which is chiefly made up of a Parcel of insignificant Receipts) furnishes them with a Cordial-drink, compos'd of some Spices, or a few Herbs to be boil'd in Ale or White wine; and if one Drench or two does not make a Cure, they are at a great Loss what to do next: Having no other Notion of Medicines, but as if they work'd by a Sort of Magick.²²

Gibson's diatribe supported farriery's new reliance upon medicines rather than simpler, home-prepared remedies.²³

As a part of his new farriery, Gibson authored the first English farriery pharmacopoeia and guide to instruct farriers in chemistry and the apothecary's craft, but it was aimed mostly at the gentry. He stated that 'Materia Medica of itself makes up a Compleat branch of Physick', and that it had been neglected by farriers or poorly taught to them in their training. He gave three reasons for writing *The Farrier's Dispensatory*. First, 'the Great Improvement that [had] been made in that Branch of Science; for as we are indebted to the

²² William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1721), preface.

²³ This was regardless of how similar they actually were. Louise Curth, 'Medical Advertising in the Popular Press: Almanacs and the Growth of Proprietary Medicines', in Curth (ed.), *From Physick to Pharmacology*, pp. 29–48.

last age for many useful Discoveries in the Animal Oeconomy.’ Gibson recognised that new ideas about anatomy and theories of physiology contradicted the reasoning behind seventeenth-century farriery.²⁴ Second, he wrote, ‘Medicines which are administered to Horses have originally been taken from Books of Physick, by Persons but little acquainted with that Study’. Gibson argued previous farriery books, like Blundeville’s and Markham’s, collated recipes from physicians, farriers and others, but they themselves did not understand pharmacy or how the knowledge of equine anatomy could drastically change the use and meaning of using remedies. Third, he wanted to change the ‘Mixing [of] Drugs of different and opposite Qualities in Compositions’. Outside of simple mixtures, most that practiced farriery knew little about producing equine pills, potions and ointments.

The Farrier’s Dispensatory described to the reader how to create equine drugs, something no other book had done in such detail in England before 1720. The previous literature merely listed recipes and never described why each simple was included. He separated the simples into vegetables, animals and minerals, and then he categorised their uses as alternatives, evacuators and restoratives. Instead of only denoting a recipe as a cure for a disease, he described the virtues of each ingredient so one could match the virtues of the simples to the disease. He even attempted to list where each simple came from. Gibson’s breakdown of these elements and qualities came from human pharmacopoeias and reflected a more complex system than that created by gentlemen authors and farriers in the seventeenth century. Gibson’s book demonstrates an awareness of the importance of equine medicines in the medical market and of the centrality of medicines as therapeutics.

²⁴ H. J. Cook, ‘The New Philosophy and Medicine in Seventeenth-century England’, in D. C. Lindberg and R. S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990).

The Farrier's Dispensatory was also the first farriery book to teach readers how to be farrier-apothecaries. He described the different operations for preparing 'chymical and Galenic Pharmacy' by using Dr. John Quincy's *English Dispensatory* as a guide.²⁵ In an attempt to turn the reader into an apothecary, Gibson outlined sixteen different methods for preparing simples and the kinds of reactions the mixtures would have.²⁶ For example, he wrote, 'Crystallization . . . is such a combination of saline particles, as resembles Crystals, variously modify'd according to the Nature and Texture of the Salts from whence they are made. The Saline Body is first dissolv'd in Water, afterwards, the Solution is filter'd which being evaporated, until a little film appears upon it, it then shows into a Chrystal dissolution and Filtration are made use of.'²⁷ He quoted Quincy frequently in this section. By doing so, some of Quincy's theories of gravity and the body enter into Gibson's text, though they are never directly discussed.²⁸ Therefore, by relying upon the *English Dispensatory*, Gibson added new terms and pharmacological methods not contained in previous farriery literature. Many of these new methods and compositions had not yet been widely used for farriery, such as Jesuit's bark, which Gibson introduced as a new, important simple and described how to prepare it. He stated, 'This has not hitherto obtained very much in practice among horses, except by some country physicians, who have given it to their own, with good success, in intermitting sicknesses'.²⁹ It was only through his knowledge of human medicine and human medical literature that he was able to apply Dr. Quincy's methods to farriery to build an equine pharmacopoeia in line with contemporary standards of medical practice.

²⁵ John Quincy, *The English Dispensatory* (London, 1718), pp. 1–48.

²⁶ Gibson, *Farrier's Dispensatory*, pp. 69–75. These are trituration, calcinations, fermentation, digestion, dissolution, menstrua, extraction, chrystallization, incorporation, filtration, clarification and depuration, distillation, sublimation, precipitation and rarefaction.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁸ Quincy, *English Dispensatory*, pp. 1–11.

Quincy wrote, 'Dispensatory-Writers, and Publishers of Recipes, have been at all time very numerous, and that now we are crouded with works of that kind'. Like other writers of pharmacopoeias, Quincy wished to gain authority over this diversity.³⁰ However, before 1720 no other author nor even the Worshipful Company of Farriers had attempted to standardise equine medicines as had been done with human medicines. *The Farrier's Dispensatory* attempted to create a standardised list of equine medicines that was just like its counterparts in human medicine. It raised the same concerns as the Royal College of Physician's 1746 pharmacopoeia and several other human pharmacopoeias. First, with the influx of the new 'science', physicians needed to reassess the ancients. Second, they were concerned with the efficacy of the recipes and their origins. Third, they wanted to reduce the complexity of medicines and be sure of their compositions.³¹ The Edinburgh pharmacopoeia also had similar goals, but attempted to update its pharmacopoeia every ten years or so.³² There was an obvious change in the nature of these kinds of books, beginning with the *London Pharmacopoeia* beginning in 1610 and further expanding with the *Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia* in 1699. Gibson's *Dispensatory* had no institutional support and did not serve as a perpetual standard like these other books did. However, it does demonstrate an attempt to institutionalise equine medicine by standardising medicines like the College of Physicians and others had tried to do in human medicine. His book went through many editions and brought the rhetoric found in human pharmacopoeias to farriery.

Gibson tried to standardise equine medical recipes, even though he collected his recipes from many different sources. *The Dispensatory*, however, resembled John Quincy's

²⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁰ Quincy, *English Dispensatory*, p. viii.

³¹ Henry Pemberton, *The Dispensatory of the Royal College of Physicians* (London, 1746), preface and a narrative.

English Dispensatory more than any other pharmacopoeia. Gibson not only borrowed Quincy's format but also used a strikingly similar title and utilised Quincy as a source throughout his book.³³ Gibson was also aware of the *London Pharmacopoeia* and the *Pharmacopoeia Bateana*, which he quoted from in his text.³⁴ He referenced these books often, but applied their contents to horse medicine. In one instance he wrote, 'This water is appropriated to the human body, is chiefly ordered in female disorders; but to horses it may be given five or six ounces at a time.'³⁵ He also adapted proprietary medicines in human practice for horses, such as *Pulvis Hollandicus* from Dr. Holland.³⁶ In addition, Gibson used recipes from the books by Markham, Blundeville, Ruini and Solleysel in comparison with human pharmacopoeias. In one example, he wrote, 'These are by some given to fatten horses; and Markham says, they are hot, and drive away all colds: But they are commonly classed among the Coolers.'³⁷ He listed Markham's famous recipe then qualified it by a similar medicine, *pasta hippiatri*, from *Pharmacopoeia Bateana*.³⁸ Also, he points out Dr. Radcliff's recipe for horses that was contained in human pharmacopoeias.³⁹ Though he is very careful about doses for horses versus doses for humans, he includes proprietary medicines like 'Dr. James's Powder' in *The Farrier's Dispensatory*.

John Bartlet's book was intended to replace Gibson's *Dispensatory* and to keep gentlemen informed of the best equine medical recipes. Bartlet originally titled it *Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica*, but later changed it to *Pharmacopoeia Bartliana*—mimicking

³² Matthews, *Pharmacy in Britain*, pp. 81–82.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 33, 37, 43, 49, 75, 88, 100, 104, 109, 119, 131, 135, 138, 146, 147, 164, 179 and 284.

³⁴ Gibson, *The Farrier's Dispensatory*, pp. 16, 138, 146 and 191.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³⁸ George Bate, *Pharmacopoeia Bateana* (London, 1713), p. 717.

³⁹ Gibson, *Farrier's Dispensatory*, p. 179; John Quincy, *Pharmacopœia Officinalis & Extemporanea* (London, 1742), pp. 693–694.

Pharmacopoeia Bateana, George Bate's pharmacopoeia.⁴⁰ Like Gibson, Bartlet wrote that he wanted readers to stop 'throwing in medicines at random' by standardising equine drug recipes.⁴¹ He stated that '*injudicious* jumble of drugs are only a load on the constitution, and frequently defeat the very intention of nature'.⁴² However, unlike Gibson, he did not give advice to the reader about chemistry or the construction of equine medicines.

Bartlet's pharmacopoeia assumed that the gentlemen reading his book were not interested in becoming apothecaries. He explained that the *Dispensatory* was too 'prolix' and complicated in its descriptions of the process of making pills and potions.

As our intention is to be as concise as possible, we shall avoid the usual dispensatory method of describing, and accounting for separately, the efficacy of every medicinal simple . . . as also, the different processes of every chymical or galenical preparation, with the instruction for making them: All this we look on as intirely unnecessary, and serving only to swell the book.⁴³

He wanted the preparation for medicines to be simple because of 'these forms being generally too operose to make, and . . . so readily purchased much cheaper than they can be prepared by individuals.'⁴⁴ He explained that it was cheaper to buy medicines from those who produced them widely, such as druggists, apothecaries and farriers. His book would, therefore, be used as a standardised list of medicines that could replace a gentleman's recipe list or account book and be taken to the apothecary to have drugs made for their horses.

⁴⁰ L. J. Bruce-Chwatt, 'George Bate: Cromwell's Devious Physician', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 17 (1983), pp. 144–146; Mathews, *History of Pharmacy in Britain*. Bate was physician to Charles I and left a collection of recipes/medicines that were compiled into *Pharmacopoeia Bateana*.

⁴¹ John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery* (London, 1758), p. v.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. vii.

Pharmacopoeia Hippiatrica claimed its authority was from gentlemen, especially medical gentlemen who had written books between 1720 and 1760. Writing about Bracken, Bartlet stated, 'many are the improvements that have been made in this particular, since the regular physician has vouchsafed to communicate his assistance.' Bartlet often referenced the work of Bracken because he had 'improved' farriery in the minds of gentlemen readers. Like Gibson, Bartlet also relied upon many proprietary medicines from human pharmacopoeias and the work of contemporary physicians. He also included proprietary medicines like Mrs. Steven's, which he used in a reformulated form different than Dr. Hartley and Dr. Hales's version.⁴⁵ However, Bartlet most frequently used the work of Dr. Richard Mead.⁴⁶ Dr. Bracken and other physicians were all actively involved in changes and developments in eighteenth-century drugs, especially lithontriptics.⁴⁷ Bartlet conveniently simplified and condensed much of the learned knowledge of pharmacy into his *Pharmacopoeia*, compiling this information into a simple list format that horse owners could easily reference and have an apothecary or farrier prepare the medicine for them. He also demonstrated that equine pharmacopoeias began to be made for gentlemen to support their conspicuous consumption and not necessarily for tradesmen.

These two examples of pharmacopoeias demonstrate the concern in controlling the mixing and sale of equine drugs. There are additional examples of books, such as William Taplin's *The Gentleman's Stable Directory*, that was sold to gentlemen to standardise farriery, including equine drugs, within their own stables. *The Gentleman's Stable*

⁴³ Bartlet, *Pharmacopoeia*, p. ix.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ A. J. Viseltear, 'Joanna Stephens and the Eighteenth Century Lithontriptics; A Misplaced Chapter in the History of Therapeutics', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 42 (1968), pp. 199–220; D. G. C. Allan and R. E. Schofield, *Stephen Hales: Scientist and Philanthropist* (London, 1980), pp. 90–99.

⁴⁶ Richard Mead, *The Medical Works of Dr. Richard Mead* (London, 1752); A. J. Viseltear, 'The Last Illness of Sir Robert Walpole, First Earl of Oxford', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 41 (1967), pp. 195–207.

⁴⁷ Andreas-Holger Maehle, *Drugs on Trial: Experimental Pharmacology and Therapeutic Innovation in the Eighteenth Century* (Atlanta, 1999), esp. ch. 2.

Directory acted as a pharmacopoeia that could be left in the stable and consulted by farriers, or used by gentlemen to supervise farriery. Additionally, much of the eighteenth-century farriery literature attempts to compile recipes and focuses on horse drugs. These pharmacopoeias develop the reaction to increased recipe lists and drug consumption. Horse owners wanted high quality equine drugs. Therefore, the most successful farriers in the eighteenth century actively sold equine pills and ointments.

Eighteenth-Century Equine Medical Sales

Sociologist Nicholas Jewson saw eighteenth-century medicine as driven by the aristocracy and their purse.⁴⁸ Developing Jewson's idea, Roy Porter declared, 'What emerged in England was an unusually spectacular blossoming of commercial medicine, thanks to the particularly propitious conflux of economic opportunities.'⁴⁹ For instance, the physician Robert James teamed up with John Newbury, bookseller and wholesale druggist, to sell his proprietary medicine, 'Dr. James's Powder', which made both of them a fortune. For example, in 1768–1769 Newbury sold 20,000 packages of the medicine worth 822 pounds, and in 1775 he sold 38,000 packages worth 16,000 pounds.⁵⁰ Though no equine proprietary medicine created this much wealth, Joan Lane has shown that in many cases aristocrats were paying as much for horse care as they were for their own family's medical bills.⁵¹

⁴⁸ N. Jewson, 'Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in Eighteenth-Century England', *Sociology*, 8 (1974), pp. 369–85.

⁴⁹ Roy Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 43.

⁵⁰ J. K. Crellin, 'Dr. James's Fever Powder', *Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy*, 1 (1974), pp. 136–43; T. A. B. Corley, 'James, Robert (bap. 1703, d. 1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1461> (accessed 29 June 2009).

⁵¹ Joan Lane, 'Farriers in Georgian England,' in AR Michell (ed.), *The Advancement of Veterinary Science: Volume 3: History of the Healing Professions* (4 vols., Wallingford, 1993), pp. 99–118.

New advertising for equine drugs emerged with the institutionalisation of horseracing in the second half of the eighteenth century, partly from the publication of horseracing events, prizes and plates. Though horseracing was being recorded as early as 1727 in *Calendar: An Historical list of all the Horse Matches Run*, first compiled by John Cheney then by John Pond, this institution became galvanised when James Weatherby began compiling the *Racing Calendar* in 1773.⁵² It can be assumed that its readership was generally wealthy because the *Calendar* consistently cost over 10 shillings for each volume. The subscribers to the *Racing Calendar*, ranging from dukes and nobles to gentlemen who were interested in horseracing, were listed in the front of each edition.⁵³ The *Racing Calendar* recorded matches, plates and important information pertaining to horseracing in England and Ireland, and it was issued weekly in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the subscribers owned most of the up-market horses in England and Ireland, they were willing to pay for expensive drugs.

In 1774, druggists, chemists and apothecaries began advertising their equine drugs heavily in the *Racing Calendar*.⁵⁴ For the first two years only a single druggist, William Radley, advertised his medicines each issue, but by 1776 there were at least three druggists who advertised in each issue. Radley claimed 'the King's Royal Letter Patent' and sold ten different balls and ointments ranging from 2 to 5 shillings. He also sold large medicine chests for 5 pounds 5 shillings each. Horse owners had to go to his shop in Holborn to buy his drugs, but Radley advertised them in large quantities.⁵⁵ This group of apothecaries,

⁵² Laura Thompson, *Newmarket: From James I to the Present Day* (London, 2000), pp. 55–56. Thompson also explained that James Weatherby's nephew also began compiling the *General Stud Book* in 1791.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124–126.

⁵⁴ *Racing Calendar*, 1774 June 15, issue VI; 1774 July 27, issue IX.

⁵⁵ For several examples, see *Racing Calendar*, 15 June 1774, issue VI; 27 July 1774, issue IX; 24 August 1774, issue XI; 21 September 1774, issue XIII; 11 October 1774, issue XIV; 15 November 1774, issue XVI; 5 April 1775, issue II; 31 May 1775, issue V; 14 June 1775, issue VI; 9 August 1775, issue X; 6 September 1775, issue XII; 20 September 1775, issue XIII; 8 November 1775, issue XVI; 5 June 1776, issue V; 19 June 1776, issue VI; 23 October 1776, issue XV; 6 November 1776, issue XVI; 16 April 1777, issue III; 14 May

chemists and druggists successfully sold equine drugs and continued to advertise in the *Racing Calendar* and elsewhere.⁵⁶ Their success is demonstrated by their longevity. Most of them passed on their practices to successors who also advertised regularly. Apothecary John Perkins passed on his business to his apprentice Joseph Butters, who later passed it on to his wife, Elizabeth Butters.⁵⁷ John Radley advertised horse medicines heavily from 1774 to 1782,⁵⁸ when his apprentice and journeyman, John Stables, took over. From the mid-1780s, there were four to five others competing with Stables to sell horse medicines to *Racing Calendar* readers. These practitioners, who had traditionally sold human medicines, saw the potential of selling only horse drugs, since the market of human medicines was overcrowded. However, these druggists and apothecaries were not alone. Farriers and other equine practitioners were realising the potential for selling equine drugs.

William Moorcroft, the first veterinary surgeon in London, was one such practitioner.⁵⁹

His practice was so large that he refused a position at the Veterinary College because they could not offer him enough money to leave it.⁶⁰ Like John Radley, Moorcroft sold bulk

1777, issue V; 11 June 1777, issue VII; 27 August 1777, issue XII; 10 September 1777, issue XIII; 24 September 1777, issue XIV; 8 October 1777, issue XV; 22 October 1777, issue XVI; 29 July 1778, issue VIII; 26 August 1778, issue X; 9 September 1778, issue XI; 23 September 1778, issue XII; 7 October 1778, issue XIII; 21 October 1778, issue XIV; 4 November 1778, issue XV; 24 March 1779, issue I; 2 June 1779, issue V; 16 June 1779, issue VI; 30 June 1779, issue VII; 14 July 1779, issue VIII; 11 August 1779, issue X; 25 August 1779, issue XI; 8 September 1779, issue XII; 22 September 1779, issue XIII; 10 October 1779, issue XVI; 13 October 1779, issue XIV; 27 October 1779, issue XV; 5 April 1780, issue II; 26 April 1780, issue III; 10 May 1780, issue IV; 24 May 1780, issue V; 7 June 1780, issue VI.

⁵⁶ For examples outside of the *Racing Calendar*, see *St. James Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 25 September 1784, issue 3675; 13 January 1776, issue 2328; 5 December 1776, issue 2457; 24 May 1777, issue 2529; 12 July 1777, issue 2550; *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 10 August 1769, issue 3642; 21 December, 1769, issue 3674; *London Evening Post*, 8 August 1771, issue 6811; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 23 October 1776, issue 3016; *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 30 May 1777, issue 1438; 31 May 1777, issue 1439; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 16 July 1778, issue 2856; 11 September 1778, issue 2905; 16 January 1779, issue 3014; *Public Advertiser*, 2 April 1779, issue 13879.

⁵⁷ See, *Racing Calendar*, 19 June 1776, issue VI; 16 April 1777, issue III.

⁵⁸ See, *Racing Calendar*, 27 July 1774, issue IX; 1 May 1782, issue III.

⁵⁹ Garry Alder, *Beyond Bokhara: The Life of William Moorcroft Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon* (London, 1985), pp. 25–42.

⁶⁰ *Morning Post*, 8 April 1794, issue 6541; *World*, 15 February 1794, issue 6497; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 22 February 1794, issue 5643; *Times*, 26 February 1794, issue 2922; *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 6 March 1794, issue 2922.

amounts of medicines and large medicine chests.⁶¹ His medicine chests, however, cost 3 guineas instead of just over 5 shillings.⁶² Moorcroft had a large horse hospital, and he was well known in London because of his expertise. He also advertised that he had a 'dispensary for horse medicines', where he sold individual drugs and 'large scale' amounts of drugs.⁶³ There was a market for equine drugs, and it became increasingly competitive at the end of the century. London directories list nine other dispensaries in London during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ Moorcroft recognised the competition and advertised in the *Racing Calendar* and other London newspapers for his medicines and services.⁶⁵

Edward Snape too benefitted greatly from the sale of equine drugs. Frederick Smith argued that Edward Snape made 1,800 pounds in one year from the Prince of Wales alone, as mentioned in Chapter 4.⁶⁶ Snape watched the market carefully and sold medicines during outbreaks of disease and common disorders. At a time when most farriers considered Glanders 'incurable', he produced a pamphlet claiming to have medicines that would cure the disease.⁶⁷ 'He purchased a great number of horses for the sake of experiment', which he used to supported the effectiveness of his medicines. He understood that many feared the devastating effects of Glanders and capitalised on that fear by selling specialised medicine. Snape's pamphlet listed ten horses cured by his medicine, including

⁶¹ William Moorcroft, *Directions for Using the Portable Medicine Chest* (London, 1795); Ibid., *Cursory Account of the Various Methods of Shoeing Horses* (London, 1800).

⁶² *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 25 August 1794, issue 7041.

⁶³ *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 9 August 1794, issue 7028.

⁶⁴ D. W. Wright, 'London Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the 18th Century,' *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1987), pp. 17–26; idem., 'Farriers and other Veterinary Workers in the London Trades Directories, group II. 1800–1811,' *Veterinary History Journal*, 5 (1988/89), pp. 131–157.

⁶⁵ See *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, 9 August 1794, issue 7028; 11 August 1794, issue 7029; 15 August 1794, issue 7033; 25 August 1794, issue 7041.

⁶⁶ Frederick Smith, *Early Veterinary Literature*, vol. II, see E. Snape.

⁶⁷ Edward Snape, *A Treatise on the Two Diseases in Horses* (London, 1787); see list of medicines for sale in the back.

the names of the horses' owners. This medicine for Glanders had Snape's name attached to the packaging and was later sold widely throughout England.

Additionally, Snape produced several proprietary medicines sold throughout England and Western Europe. As one of the most learned farriers in England, many horse owners trusted him to provide them with specialised equine pills and ointments. Snape advertised and sold thirty-five different medicines, but those with the greatest success were 'Snape's Eye Water' and 'Snape's Infallible Powder for curing Madness'. Snape used sick and wounded horses brought to his infirmary for experimenting with medicine. On one occasion, the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* advertised one of his experiments when he was working with group of surgeons to create a new powder they were selling.⁶⁸ He advertised that to produce a new powder, they conducted experiments on a mare. In another advertisement in 1788, William Ridsen signed an official affidavit claiming 'Snape's infallible powder for horses' cured several hundred horses in just three years.⁶⁹ Snape's advertisements in London newspapers throughout the 1790s contained anecdotal testimonies of his powder. Snape's powder was a 'cure all' just like Dr. James's and may have been an attempt to mimic the success of it. By the last two decades of the eighteenth century, farriery had become, in these circumstances, a business of selling equine pills and potions.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the most successful farriers were widely selling horse medicines. However, none exploited the possibilities of equine medicine sales more than William Taplin.

⁶⁸ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 24 July 1776, issue 1169.

Like the apothecaries, druggists and chemists advertising in the *Racing Calendar*, Taplin sold medicines to the upper echelons of society who owned expensive horses. He became one of the best known horse doctors in the second half of the eighteenth century because of his connections with the Royal Hunt, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Hundreds of gentlemen interested in equine sport regularly bought his expensive drugs. Taplin stated he had, 'The honour of supplying near six hundred Gentlemen, exclusive of [his] different Agents.'⁷⁰ In his book *Multum en Parvo*, Taplin filled pages at the end of the book with names of prestigious nobles and gentlemen who subscribed to his medicine and services.⁷¹ His list included three earls, eight lords, over ten MPs, almost fifteen high-ranking military leaders, and pages of esquires and gentlemen.⁷²

Taplin attempted to link his medicines with his subscribers. In an advertisement at the end of one of his books he wrote, 'Mr. Taplin, so long honoured by the countenance and support of the most distinguished and opulent characters, never indulged a momentary idea of dispensing Cheap Medicines, because his principles would never permit him to put his hand dishonorably in the Pockets of his best Friends.'⁷³ Therefore, knowing the relationship he had with those of the Royal Hunt and that he was supplying their horses with drugs, consumers could rest assured that Taplin was providing the best drugs money could buy. Taplin drew upon these relationships to sell his medicines and make a virtue of cost. He further advertised, 'others, with a degree of liberality peculiar to themselves, offer to supply the Public with 'cheap and efficacious' Horse Medicines, for even half what Mr. Taplin's GENUINE Ingredients can be obtained.' Taplin admitted that he sold expensive

⁶⁹ *World* 8 April 1788, issue 398 See also *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* 11 April 1788, issue 5904.

⁷⁰ Taplin, *Taplin's Sporting Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 527.

⁷¹ Taplin, *Multum en Parvo*, back of the book.

⁷² Taplin, *Multum en Parvo*, pp. 93–97.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

drugs, but relied upon horse owners to want medicines that were guaranteed, especially by equine sport enthusiasts. He stated sarcastically to the druggist, 'you will give proof of your humanity, by drenching them with food instead of physic.'⁷⁴ Taplin recognised that farriers were increasingly preparing medicines in their practices, and that horse owners could still buy them cheaply from druggists, chemists and apothecaries, but these establishments lacked Taplin's aristocratic endorsement and brand name.

Like Moorcroft, Taplin offered a particular medicine in specialised wrapping, and charged high prices, claiming that high quality medicines were expensive.⁷⁵ He made his medicines into a "name brand", to identify their quality and to differentiate them from his competitors, like Snape, Clater and Moorcroft. John Styles wrote, 'one effect of this general diversification of output which characterised the period was to encourage some producers to reformulate the objects they made in ways that increased product differentiation and established distinct new product identities.'⁷⁶ While many apothecaries and druggists were making drugs from recipes found in farriery books like Gibson's and Bracken's, Taplin declared his drugs were original and better than the competition's 'obsolete' drugs. He printed separate labels for each of his drugs as, 'HORSE MEDICINES, of THE AUTHOR'S PREPARATION, SEAL, AND SIGNATURE', which, in a sense, gave a guarantee from Taplin himself.⁷⁷ Styles further wrote, 'perhaps the most radical innovation during this period in product differentiation and the establishment of product identity was the development of branded goods.'⁷⁸ As other branded remedies, like Daffy's Elixir in the late seventeenth century and Dr. James's Powder in the eighteenth century, Taplin's drugs became distinguished from common

⁷⁴ Taplin, *A Dose for the Doctors*, p. 66.

⁷⁵ Andrew Snape, *Purging Pill for Horses*, (London, 1692).

⁷⁶ John Styles, 'Product Innovation', p. 148.

⁷⁷ Taplin, *Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*, p. 275.

drugs made by farriers, druggists and apothecaries and 'thereby . . . established larger national and international markets and commanded a price premium'.⁷⁹

Before the end of 1788, Taplin had 600 individual subscribers and nine people (chemists, apothecaries, etc.) distributing his medicines from Salisbury to Newmarket, but only in southern England.⁸⁰ Just one year later, he had twenty-nine distributors, from North Yorkshire to London to Devon.⁸¹ Finally in 1793, he had over fifty-six distributors covering Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England.⁸² (See Map 5.1.) As the demand for his medicines increased, Taplin developed his brand through his packaging. Many druggists in London sold his drugs. Taplin, however, listed these druggists and wrote that the pills were 'sold at . . . these and no other place in London.'⁸³ It was in London where they were in the highest demand, giving these distributors business and Taplin negotiating power. In fact, Taplin claimed that his medicines were popular enough that some druggists had to sell them to survive, and he stated as much in an advert: 'Mr. Taplin cannot but feel highly flattered, by the attention of those druggists in the Metropolis, who have so indulgently announced in their windows the sale of Taplin's horse medicines; with the great variety of whom, it is become not only a duty incumbent, but an act of self-preservation.'⁸⁴ Regardless of his personal claims, Taplin had indeed developed the most popular proprietary horse medicines in the eighteenth century.

⁷⁸ John Styles, 'Production Innovation', p. 148.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 149.

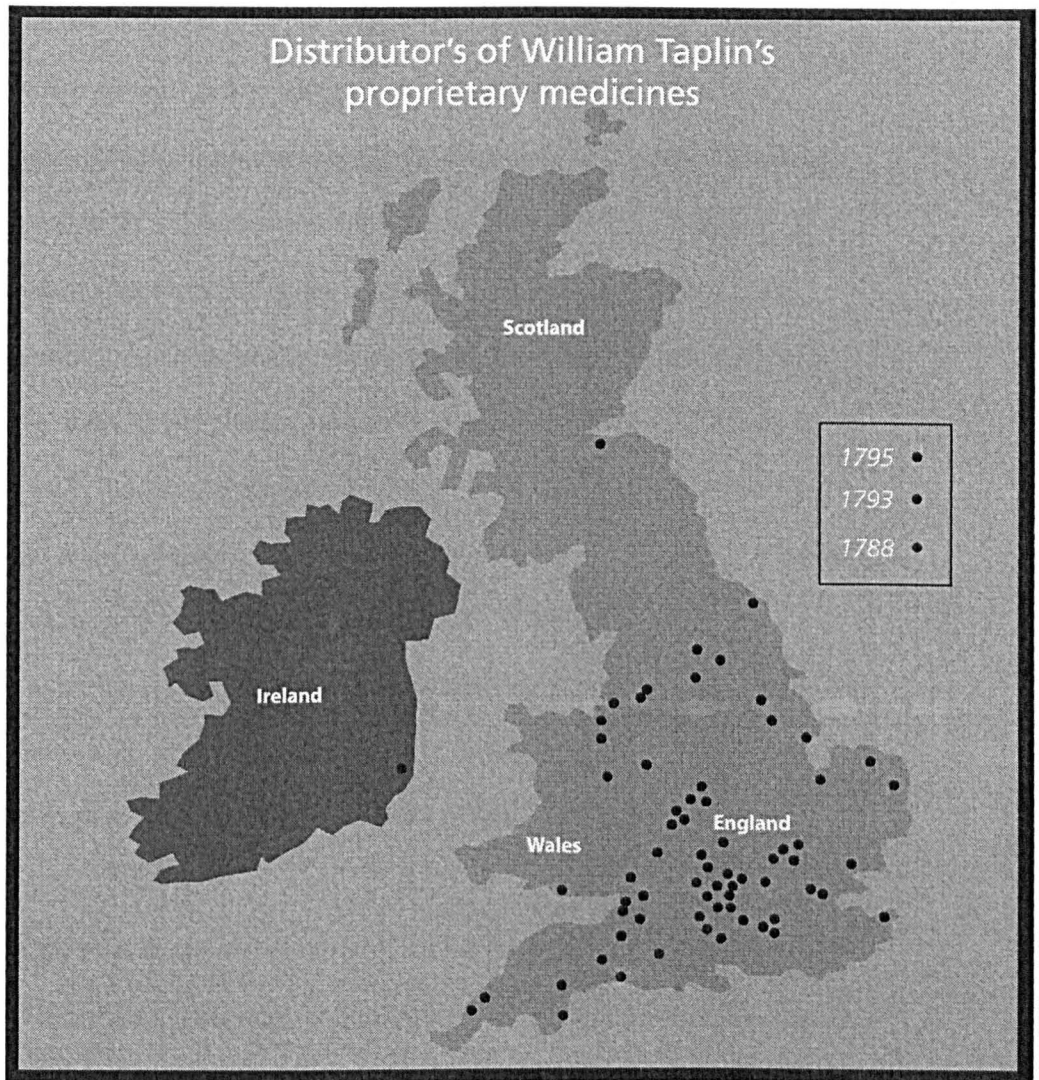
⁸⁰ Taplin, *Stable Directory* (4th edition), back advert.

⁸¹ Taplin, *Stable Directory* (9th edition), back advert.

⁸² Taplin, *Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery*, back advert.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ *The Times*, 11 Apr 1794, issue 2960.



Map 5.1, Distributors of Taplin's Medicines. (Original in colour)

Taplin always looked for ways to expand his business, such as attempting to seize the opportunity to supply medicines to the cavalry during the Napoleonic Wars.⁸⁵ In an advertisement to gentlemen and cavalry, he said this about his medicines: '[Their] universally acknowledged efficacy has acquired unsullied reputation, not only in the most remote parts of the 3 Kingdoms, but in the East and West Indies, as well with the Army on the Continent.'⁸⁶ In this sense, Taplin claimed international use of his medicines and

⁸⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 7 April 1794, issue 7742.

⁸⁶ *The Times*, 11 Apr 1794, issue 2960.

attempted to assure the sale of drugs to the cavalry. Taplin listed nearly fifteen military leaders, including two generals and an admiral, who subscribed to his practice and medicines.⁸⁷ He also maintained a horse hospital and dispensary in London. Though he lived outside London in the 1780s, he came into the city often to sell his drugs and offer advice about horses. As his services became increasingly popular, newspapers began advertising these visits to London, which eventually convinced Taplin to move there.⁸⁸ The first five years of his formal practice were in Wokingham (1788–1793), though where he lived is unknown.⁸⁹ But later, as mention in Chapter 4, he moved to London and had two horse hospitals and dispensaries. In 1803, Taplin retired and moved to Sloane Square. He does not say that he sold his ‘Receptacle’, simply that he was ‘removed from Edgeware Road, to Sloane Square’.⁹⁰ This may mean that one of his three journeymen was running it, as there were no advertisements to lease it. Additionally, even fifteen years after his death, there were stables on Edgeware Road called ‘Taplin’s livery stables.’⁹¹

William Taplin is the most successful example of equine medical sales in the eighteenth century. His proprietary medicines were found all over England and in other countries. He was, however, only a part of the expanding sales in equine pills and potions. By the late seventeenth century, led by Andrew Snape’s practice, farriery became more commercial, and pills and potions became the dominant therapeutics by the eighteenth century. The 1780s and 1790s saw many farriers, druggists, surgeons, apothecaries and chemists who used equine drug sales as their primary practice. Additionally, the sale of equine medicines became an important field of study at the London Veterinary College (LVC). Veterinary

⁸⁷ Taplin, *Mulum in Parvo*, pp. 93–94.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 26 April 1793, issue 2595.

⁸⁹ Taplin, *Stable Directory*. His preface indicates he was living in Wokingham and distributed medicine from there.

⁹⁰ Taplin, *Taplin’s Sporting Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 527.

⁹¹ *The Times*, 24 Jul 1822, p. 1, issue 11619, col. F. The street was Hart Street, Covent Garden.

surgeons continued to develop pharmacopoeias and attempted to 'progress' equine pharmacy. Francis Cupiss first worked at the LVC as a compounder and later became a veterinarian. He practiced equine pharmacology and had several best-selling medicines.⁹² Later, William John Thomas Morton, a wholesale druggist, became the clerk at the LVC. His training in chemistry enabled him to start teaching classes on materia medica and pharmacy to students at the College and to later become a member of the faculty. He wrote several important texts on equine pharmacy and educated many.⁹³

Francis Clater (1756–1823), who apprenticed to the farrier William Frost, is an example of a farrier who not only wrote a pharmacopoeia but also took advantage of the possibilities of making money by selling equine drugs as a wholesale druggist.⁹⁴ As he developed his own practice, Clater's farriery merged with chemistry, and he began selling horse medicines as his main practice. He developed a large business in Retford, which he claimed was producing drugs by the tons in 1823. He had at least five apprentices who worked for him as chemists, selling both human and animal drugs.⁹⁵ In 1783, he published *Every Man His Own Farrier*, which printers reproduced as late as 1919 as a practical guide to equine medicine. This book was similar to both Gibson's *Dispensatory* and Bartlet's *Pharmacopoeia*, but it was a simple guide to diagnosing horse disease and to prescribing the proper medicines. It fulfilled the horse owner's desire to know of and buy equine drugs as simple therapeutics for their horses. Though the reader could compile the list of ingredients himself, Clater still listed his drugs at inexpensive prices at the back of

⁹² Frederick Smith, *Early History of Veterinary Literature*, vol. 4, 54. Francis Cupiss, 'On the poisoning of horses', *Veterinary Recorder*, 1835; idem., 'Effects of Arsenic', *Veterinary Recorder*, 1835; idem., 'Intussusceptions in the Horse', *Veterinarian*, 1836; idem., 'Experiments on Nitre', *Veterinarian*, 1837; idem., 'Disease of the Liver', *Veterinarian*, 1838; idem., 'Inflammation of the Brain in Swine', *Veterinarian*, 1841.

⁹³ WJT Morton, *A Manual of Pharmacy* (London, 1837); idem., *A Veterinary Toxicological Chart* (London, 1840).

⁹⁴ P. J. and R. V. Wallis, *Eighteenth-Century Medics* (Newcastle, 1988), pp. 118, 215. Francis Clater, *Everyman His Own Farrier* (1823 edition), preface.

the book. Many wanted to reduce medical farriery to simple identifications of disease and use drugs as simple and effective solutions.

Clater's practice suggests that mixing and selling drugs was the most important practice of a farrier. John Fisher argued the culture of Clater's *Every Man His Own Farrier* stretched as far as Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ John Pottie, a Scottish veterinary surgeon working in Australia, found success only after overcoming the belief that easy guides could be used to bypass veterinary services and that one could buy or make drugs for self-application.⁹⁷ Clater's practice and book had a widespread effect on the way horse owners consumed medicine, and his book developed and supported horse owner's desires to simply purchase and use drugs for their horses instead of using the veterinary or farriery services. Equine drug consumption fed Clater's practice, and, in time, he became more of a chemist than a farrier.

Part of eighteenth-century British consumerism was a new kind of farriery. We can see the growing market for equine pills being similar to the changing world of eighteenth-century human medicine. There was a shift, as Louise Curth puts it, from 'Physick to Pharmacology', especially in the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ This chapter has demonstrated that mixing and selling equine drugs became a dominant practice in horse medicine, lucrative enough to entice apothecary-surgeons, surgeons, apothecaries and druggists to turn to this practice for their livelihood. The chapter has also demonstrated how these practitioners

⁹⁵ Nottingham County Records Office, Nottingham, DDTS 36/3/1–7; DDTS 36/3/8.

⁹⁶ John Fisher, 'Every Man his Own Farrier in Australia: The Origins and Growth of a Veterinary Business in Colonial New South Wales', *Argos: Bulletin Van Het Veterinair Historisch Genootschap*, 23 (2000), pp. 138–147; See also *ibid.*, 'Animal Health and the RASE in its Early Years', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 143 (1982).

⁹⁷ John Pottie, *Every Man His Own Farrier* (Sydney, 1882); John Pottie & Sons, *Yearly Report of Pottie's Establishment for 1883* (Sydney, 1884).

⁹⁸ Curth, (ed.), *From Physick to Pharmacology*.

built rewarding practices by responding to the growth of equine sports and the tastes of the market.⁹⁹

Encompassing farriery identity and practice, the last section of this dissertation will focus on the developing ideas about equine medicine in the eighteenth century.

⁹⁹ Styles, 'Product Innovation'.

Chapter 6

Eighteenth-Century Equine Anatomy

The knowledge and practice of equine anatomy has been discussed in the last two chapters. Chapter 4 demonstrated Snape's and Sainbel's interest in anatomical knowledge and that the practice of anatomy was a fundamental pedagogy in their schools. Previous chapters have also shown that anatomy was an interest of other less prestigious farriers. Nevertheless, veterinary historians rarely discuss eighteenth-century equine anatomy and despite studies of the cultural and intellectual history of anatomy,¹ a growing literature on animal experiments and vivisection² and on human/animal relations,³ not to mention an older body of scholarship in comparative anatomy,⁴ other historians have produced no scholarship about it. The key to medical knowledge, 'science' and even the physician's social and intellectual claims had long been based on a knowledge of anatomy, yet the connection between anatomical knowledge and equine medical practice and its practitioners' social and intellectual status has never been made.⁵ This chapter will explore

¹ See, Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance* (Brookfield, 1997); Roger French, *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance* (Vermont, 1999); idem., 'The Anatomical Tradition', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.) *Companion Encyclopaedia of the History of Medicine* (London, 1993); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York, 1995).

² For examples of work on animal experimentation see, Anita Guerinni, 'The Ethics of Animal Experimentation in Seventeenth-Century England,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 50 (1989), 391-407; N.A. Rupke (ed.), *Vivisection in Historical Perspective* (London, 1990); A.H. Maehle, 'The Ethical Discourse on Animal Experimentation, 1650-1900', in Andrew Wear, Johanna Geyer-Kordesch and Roger French (eds.), *Doctors and Ethics: the Earlier Historical Setting of Professional Ethics* (Atlanta, 1993); idem., 'Literary Responses to Animal Experimentation in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), 27-51.

³ For several major examples of early modern human/animal relations see, Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (London, 1983); Karen Raber and Treva Tucker, (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse* (New York, 2005); Erica Fudge, (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts* (Urbana, Illinois, 2004); Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London, 2007); idem., *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁴ F.J. Cole, *A History of Comparative Anatomy: From Aristotle to the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972). See also Ashley Montagu, *Edward Tyson, M.D., F.R.S., 1650-1708: and the Rise of Human and Comparative Anatomy in England* (Philadelphia, 1943).

⁵ For images of the equine body see, GL, *The Gentleman's New Jockey, or, the Farrier's Approved Guide* (London, 1687), first woodcut; A.S. *The Gentleman's Compleat Jockey* (London, 1697), title page; Robert Almond, *The English Horseman and Compleat Farrier* (London, 1687), title page; Richard Blome, *The*

the development of equine anatomical knowledge and practice amongst farriers and other practitioners in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by building upon previous chapters to uncover the emergence of medical farriery in the eighteenth century. This chapter shows that farriery literature rarely discussed equine anatomy before the 1680s in England. But after Andrew Snape Jr.'s *Anatomy of an Horse* was published, his anatomical descriptions and plates became visual recourses until the 1790s and some began to practice equine anatomy and most individuals interested in farriery knew something about it. Furthermore, knowledge of equine anatomy became connected with learned farriery, farriery education and pathology. In the second half of the century farriers focused on the dissection and knowledge of the foot and hoof, which made a practical connection between anatomy and lameness, the most common disorder of horses. By analysing eighteenth-century equine anatomy it becomes clear that some were trying to redefine farriery intellectually, socially and practically. Beginning in the 1680s anatomical knowledge and practice caused farriery to become more medically oriented.

The Production and Reproduction of Equine Anatomical Prints

In the 1790s, subscribers to the London Veterinary College and its governing board pressured both Charles Vial de Sainbel and Edward Coleman to publish their work to demonstrate “progress” in veterinary surgery. From 1791 until 1793, Sainbel gave lectures to the public and to the pupils of the college, prepared anatomical preparations and wrote

Gentleman's Recreation in Two Parts (London, 1687), p. 238; E. R. Gent., *The Experience Farrier* (London, 1691), sig. B; John Halfpenny, *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* (London, 1681), foldout; LWC, *The English Farrier or Countrey-Mans Treasure* (London, 1639), p. gg; Gervase Markham, *Markham's Master Peece* (London, 1623 edition), foldout; For veterinary curriculum see, Charles Vial de Sainbel, *The Works of Vial de Sainbel* (London, 1795); LP Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary* (London, 1960); For several good examples describing the importance of anatomy in human medicine see, Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance*, pp. 3-10, 88-142; Roger French, 'The Anatomical Tradition', in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 81-101; Phillip Wilson, 'An Enlightenment Science? Surgery and the Royal Society', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Medicine in the Enlightenment*, *Clio Media*, vol. 29, pp. 360-86.

prolifically about farriery. Coleman, on the other hand, only reluctantly published a short piece to demonstrate the progress of the veterinary art in 1798. He wrote,

Having had the honour of being Professor in the Veterinary College more than four years, it has very naturally been expected by many of the subscribers, that I should give them, and the public, the satisfaction of knowing if any solid advantages have been derived from this institution: that I should declare and explain, for the public good, whatever discoveries may have been made in the Veterinary Art, hitherto so miserably neglected; or at least shew, that a proper foundation has been laid for future improvements.⁶

Coleman described some aspects of equine anatomy and some dissections performed at the LVC, including in his books images of dissected horses.

Using these images was Coleman's way of linking the reputation of the LVC to a long established method of signalling learned equine medicine. The anatomical images Coleman used represented "science" in the equine medical world of England. From 1683 to the 1790s the same images Coleman used had been used by other British authors who presented themselves as learned farriers and equine medics (Illustration 6.1).

⁶ Edward Coleman, *Observations on the Structure, Oeconomy and Diseases of the Horse* (London, 1798), see introduction.

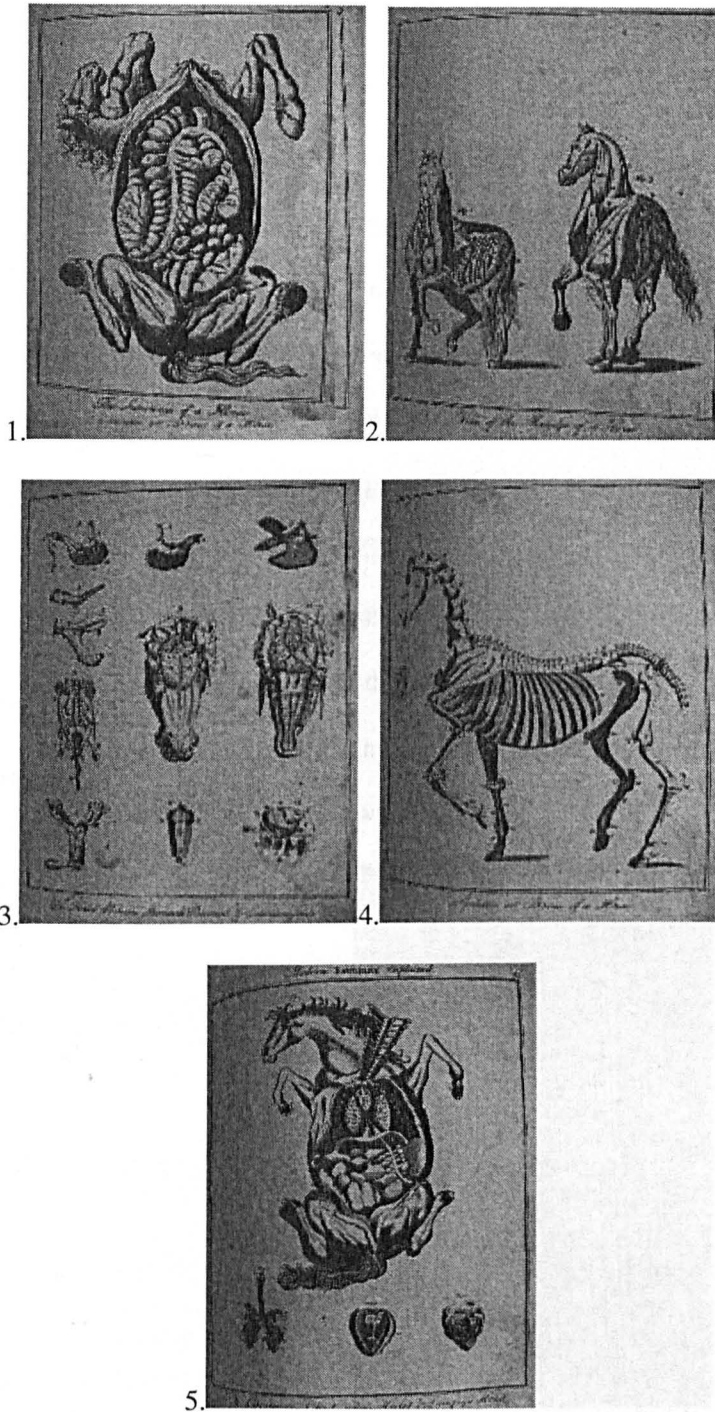


Illustration 6.1, Edward Coleman, *Observations on the Structure, Oeconomy and Diseases of the Horse* (London, 1798), pl. 11–14.

In fact, the form and concept of some of the images go back as far as late sixteenth-century Italy. Influenced by the fervour of sixteenth-century Italian anatomists like Realdo Colombo and Andrea Cesalpino, Carlo Ruini produced *Anatomia Del Cavallo*, published in 1598 in Bologna and the origin of several of the anatomical illustrations in Coleman's *Observations on Structure* (compare Illustrations 6.1.1 and 6.2). We do not know if Ruini wrote it or who drew or engraved the plates. Their quality suggests they may be connected to the students of Titian and even developed from work by da Vinci.⁷ Nevertheless, as equine anatomy became more prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many looked back to *Anatomia Del Cavallo* for its anatomical illustrations and they became icons of learned equine medicine. However, Carlo Ruini's text had little influence in England in the early seventeenth century. No one translated it into English, even though authors translated it into French and German. Few copies seem to have been owned by Englishmen and there were few imitators.⁸

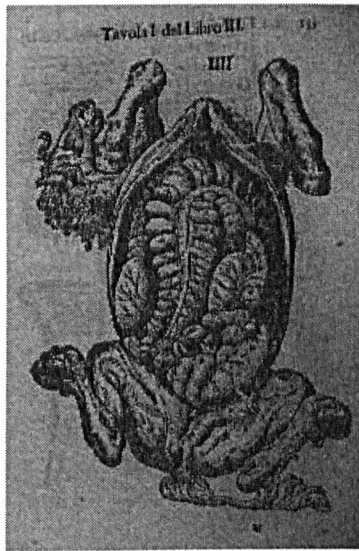


Illustration 6.2, Carlo Ruini, *Anatomia Del Cavallo* (Bologna, 1599), p. 155.

⁷ HP Bayon, 'Authorship of Carlo Ruini's 'Anatomia Del Cavallo,' *Journal of Comparative Pathology and Therapeutics*, 48 (1935), 138-148.

⁸ Seventeen copies exist in British archives today, which are all in Italian. Furthermore, most of the copies suggest that ownership of these copies by Englishmen was in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Before the 1680s, few books issued in England discussed horse anatomy. More commonly, books with advice about farriery included diagrams of the exterior of the horse's body. In 1607 Markham issued *The Shape and Proportion of the Perfect Horse*, which includes a large illustration of the exterior of the horse's body.⁹ He also included an illustration of a horse body that labelled each of the external parts and calculated its perfect proportion in *Markham's Maister Peece* (1610). Halfpenny and other late seventeenth-century authors copied such diagrams (Illustration 6.3). These illustrations, which point to the possible disease areas of the body, originated from Giovanni Ferraro, a famous Neapolitan School riding master, whose horsemanship book was issued in the 1560s in Italy (6.3.3). Knowing the exterior of the horse's body and the implications of colour and shape were important for buying a horse and caring for the horse's health.

⁹ Gervase Markham, *The Shape and Proportions of the Horse's Body* (London, 1607).



Illustration 6.3, (1) Gervase Markham, *Markam's Maister Peece* (London, 1610), foldout; (2) John Halfpenny, *The Gentleman's Jockey and Approved Farrier* (London, 1681), foldout; Giovanni Battista Ferraro, *Trattato Vtile, e Necessario ad Ogni Agricoltore* (Bologna, 156?), p. 58.

The few crude illustrations of equine anatomy also copied Italian models. Nevertheless, it appears that these authors were not dissecting horses and that Ruini had little influence on them. Markham included three illustrations of anatomy in *Cavelarice* (1607) that later also appeared in *Markham's Maister Peece* (1610). Markham's books were largely influenced by Italian horsemanship books, demonstrated by his list of the best authors on his first page. In addition, his anatomical images resemble Giovanni Ferraro's woodcuts of horse

anatomy (Illustration 6.4). However, like Ferraro and unlike Ruini, Markham does not discuss the image in any detail. His text also makes it clear that he is not claiming to have been an anatomist or had extensive personal experience with anatomy. In a similar way, Robert Barret used an anatomical illustration in his book, *The Perfect Experienced Farrier* (1660). It is doubtful he had been dissecting horses because there is even less commentary about the anatomical illustration in his book than in Markham's books. It too appears to be a crude copy of another of Ferraro's anatomical illustrations (Illustration 6.5). Though Barret's woodcut is more likely to have been influenced by *Anatomia Del Cavallo* than Markham's woodcuts were, Barret's crude image is more similar to Ferraro's woodcut. Thus, although English farriery books included several examples of equine anatomy that were copied or mimicked from other publications, equine farriers and other equine medics did not generally practice anatomy in the seventeenth century, and it was this lack of anatomical practice that caused British authors writing about farriery to extract images from, in these cases, Italian horsemanship books.

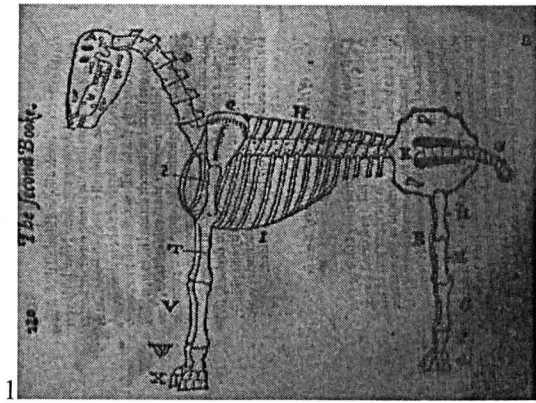


Illustration 6.4, (1) Gervase Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (London, 1610), p. 220; (2) Giovanni Ferraro, *Trattato Vtile, e Necessario ad Ogni Agricoltore* (Bologna, 156?), p. 86.

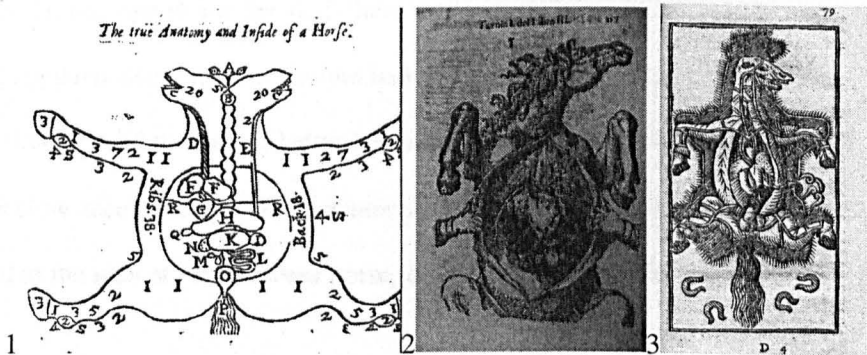


Illustration 6.5, (1) Robert Barret, *The Perfect Experienced Farrier* (London, 1660), title page; (2) Carlo Ruini, *Anatomia Del Cavallo* (Bologna, 1598), p. 117; (3) Giovanni Battista Ferraro, *Trattato vtile, e necessario ad ogni agricoltore* (Bologna, 1673), p. 79.

Illustrative of the lack of anatomical knowledge in the seventeenth century was a long-standing belief that the horse had no brain. Leonard Mascall wrote in 1610 'for both horse and moyles are beasts of a great strength, if they had understanding, no man should be able to rule them: and also they say, a horse or moyle hath no brains, but in the place thereof, he hath as it were a bladder fild with wind, and no braines therin, or other thing, but like a white water.'¹⁰ Gervase Markham demonstrates this confusion about the brain and claimed to have corrected it, even though few farriers followed his advice. He wrote,

And here is to be noted that many farriers, and those of approved good skills, have strongly held opinions, that horses have very little, or no brains at all: And my self for one owne part, being carried a way with their censures, did at last, upon good consideration, cut up the heads of divers horses, some dead, some in dying, and could never find any liquid or thin braine, as in other beast, but onely a very thicke, strong, tough and shining substance, solide and firme, like a tough jelly, which I ever held to be onely a panicle, and so resolved with others, that the horse had no braine.¹¹

Even though Markham claimed that inside the skull there was a 'panicle' or 'bladder fild with wind' he was not regularly dissecting horses and had little knowledge of anatomy. Unlike most others, he later turned to 'men of better learning' who convinced him that the horse had a brain. This slow acceptance of equine anatomical knowledge, even by authors like Markham, resulted in the idea of the brainless horse to persist throughout the century.

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, however, it was clear that at least one farrier challenged the idea of brainless horses by dissecting them. In 1683 Andrew Snape touched

¹⁰ Leonard Mascall, *The First Booke of Cattle* (London, 1591), p. 118.

¹¹ Markham Gervase, *Markham's Maister Peece* (London, 1615), p. 60.

on horses' neuro-anatomy, writing, 'How absurd and ridiculous a thing is it . . . for any man that hath any brain himself, to imagine a horse to have none?' He further stated,

Such men I have my self met withal, yea I know several which to this day will not be convinced of that erroneous opinion by any argument whatever. Neither will they take the pains to inspect the parts, to satisfy themselves of the contrary, but will still continue in their false received opinion, merely take from a silly observation they have made when they have seen horses and oxen knocked on the head, where they see the skull broken and nothing under it but a few hard and dry bones, without any marrowy substance.¹²

Though the idea of brainless horses continued throughout the seventeenth century, Snape's anatomy explicitly challenged these beliefs and marked a new era of anatomical work in English equine medicine.

Andrew Snape Junior (1644–1708) was an elite farrier of London, and his *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683) was hugely influential in England. In fact, it was his plates that Edward Coleman copied in 1797. Snape explained that he was 'a son of that family that hath had the honour to serve the crown of this kingdom in the quality of farrier for these two hundred years'.¹³ Snape practiced farriery for the king and many nobles, and so his world made him vastly different from other farriers. He was socially ambitious and wished to fit into genteel circles. His portrait showed him as a gentleman wearing a wig and expensive attire (Illustration 6.6). He read natural philosophy and wrote about intellectual topics. He sent his son to Cambridge, after which his son became a chaplain to Queen Anne and George I, Master of Eton and Provost of King's College, Cambridge.¹⁴

¹² Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1683), p. 105.

¹³ Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1683), dedication.

¹⁴ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oronienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), p. 1386; Cole, *History of Comparative Anatomy*, p. 486.



Illustration 6.6, Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683), title page.

Snape's *Anatomy of an Horse* consisted of five chapters and 237 pages in folio format.

The book contains over fifty detailed plates depicting dissected horses with skin drawn

back to expose the organs, walking horse skeletons and detailed diagrams of bones and

single organs. The text sets out detailed descriptions of equine physiology, including the

consistency of each part of the body, bodily fluids, muscle construction and bone structure, and it drew upon the philosophical ideas and therapeutics of the day.¹⁵

Snape envisioned anatomy as the key to learned and expert farriery, a sentiment which many others after him, including Coleman, echoed to open the door to 'scientific' farriery. Snape argued that his 'profession had such a correspondence with that of a physician'¹⁶ that there were no differences between the farrier and the physician except for the nature of their patients. In his text, he linked his work to that of prominent physicians, applying their ideas to the horse. By doing so, Snape explained he wanted farriery to be a respected practice like the physician's 'profession'. He wrote, 'I begun to think, whosoever would excel in the knowledge of the one, [speaking of physicians and farriers] must arrive at it by the same method as the others do.'¹⁷ He further argued that the only way to be comparable to the physician was to study anatomy.

Now he that once bends his mind toward the *practice of physick, first applies himself to the study of anatomy*, to understand all the parts (with their actions and uses) of that body which is to be the subject whereupon his art is to be exercised; *without which no wise man will think him capable of that profession.*¹⁸

Snape even argued that anatomy was more vital for the farrier than it was for the physician. 'Anatomy is more necessary to farriers than to them, [the physicians] in order to find out diseases . . . whereas a farrier having to do with a dumb creature must be very curious in his knowledge of the parts with their offices.'¹⁹

¹⁵ Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1683); Also reproduced as, F.A. de Garsault, *The General Anatomy of the Horse*, (1733); Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of An Horse* (ed.), David Ramey (New York, 1997); Edward Snape also claimed to be selling a reproduction of it in the second half of the eighteenth century.

¹⁶ Snape, *Anatomy*, sig. B.

¹⁷ Snape, *Anatomy*, intro.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Snape, *Anatomy*, sig. B2.

Snape was therefore trying to change the intellectual basis of farriery by making anatomy its badge of honour. In a style that followed Mondino, not Ruini, Snape's book began with the abdomen and thorax and then moved to the cranium.²⁰ The structure of his book, focusing upon the internal organs, just as the Mondinians had done, implied that the farrier's practice was more intellectual than practical. Indeed, in leaving out an anatomy of the hoof or horse foot, Snape's anatomy reflected the realm of a learned farrier and not the realm of a cow-leech or smith.²¹ Furthermore, Snape demonstrated that his anatomy was also an intellectual exercise, by adding an appendix in 1685 on the 'Generation of Animals . . . and . . . the Circulation of the Blood'. This appendix explored these ideas very abstractly and never focused upon the horse.

Anatomy drew him closer to the ideas of those advancing the 'new science'. Snape stated, 'but by the diligent searching into nature of some of our modern authors . . . they [previous anatomical ideas] have been found of a contrary substance.'²² Snape's anatomy not only relied upon his dissections, but on the recent ideas and works of comparative anatomists.²³

The work and ideas of Thomas Willis influenced Snape more than any other comparative anatomist or physician. Willis's work on the nerves and brain reached new heights in anatomical ideas and his book *Cerebi Anatomi* (1664) mapped previously unknown details of the structure and function of the brain. Snape adapted Willis's work on the nerves and brain as his most influential contribution to his conclusions about the horse's brain and

²⁰ Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, (Chicago, 1990), pp. 78-114.

²¹ See Carlo Ruini, *Anatomia Del Cavallo*, p. 231. This is one of Ruini's woodcuts, which is an image of the anatomy of the horse leg and foot. Snape does not comment about this image and does not include it in his book.

²² Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 89.

²³ Paul G. Brewster, 'Physician and Surgeon as Depicted in 16th and 17th Century English Literature,' *Osiris*, 14 (1962), 13-32.

nerves. *Anatomy of an Horse* also used Willis's work on the circulation of the blood, 'fermentation', or chemical biology, and the soul.²⁴

Snape's description of the nerves throughout the horse body, for example, refers continually to Willis's work. He stated, 'These pair of nerves are by doctor Willis called the Pathetick Nerves, because, says he, their office is to move the eyes pathetically, according to the force of the passions and instincts of nature.'²⁵ Snape quoted Willis for pages at a stretch, such as when he describes the nerves in the spinal column.²⁶ Snape, however, also seemed to be verifying comparisons between horses and humans through his own dissections. He wrote, 'which I find to be the same number in horses as Dr. Willis hath observed them to be in human bodies, viz. Nine pair. I will therefore observe the same method, and begin as the said learned doctor hath done.' Willis, however, was not Snape's only influence—he quotes or mentions over ten other 'modern authors—but he drew most heavily on three others: William Harvey, Marcello Malpighi, and Thomas Bartholin.

William Harvey's work on generation and the circulation had been taken up by many learned physicians and was celebrated by the most learned physicians in the second half of the seventeenth century. By quoting Harvey's work in his own appendix, Snape attempted to appeal to a learned general readership. He stated, 'Now before the circulation of the bloud was found out, it was believed that all these veins brought bloud to the stomach for

²⁴ See, Robert G. Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists* (Berkeley, 1980); idem., 'Thomas Willis and his circle: Brain and mind in seventeenth-century medicine', in GS Rousseau (ed.), *The Languages of psyche: Mind and body in enlightenment thought* (Berkeley, 1990); Donald Bates, 'Thomas Willis and the epidemic fever of 1661: a commentary', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 39 (1965), 393-414; Kenneth Dewhurst, *Thomas Willis as a physician* (Los Angeles, 1964); idem., 'Thomas Willis and the foundations of British neurology', in F Clifford Rose and WF Bynum (eds.) *Historical Aspects of Neurosciences: a Festschrift for Macdonald Critchley* (New York, 1982); R. Dow, 'Thomas Willis as a Comparative Neurologist', *Annals of Medical History*, 2 (1940), 181-194.

²⁵ Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 121.

²⁶ Snape, *Anatomy*, pp. 116 and 132-133; Thomas Willis, *Anatomy of the Brain* (London, 1663), p. 447.

its nourishment: but since that was discovered by Dr. Harvey, everyone knows that they carry nothing to the stomach.' Snape also wrote, 'whom I would rather advise to peruse Doctour Harvey himself as to this opinion, that satisfy his curiosity with this short abstract of it. But partly for of that want Doctor Harvey's book *De generat. Animal.* and partly that what follows may be the better understood, I thought it convenient to give a touch of it.'²⁷

In addition to summarizing Harvey throughout his appendix, Snape quoted Harvey for pages at a time and compared him with other contemporary authors (Malpighi, Lower and Willis), all of which were part of Snape's attempt to raise his work on horse anatomy into the world of learned medicine.

Marcello Malpighi had made new discoveries through a comparative method of anatomy and microscopy,²⁸ and like the references to Harvey, Snape referred to Malpighi's work as a way to link equine medicine to new ideas about the generation of animals and microscopic research on the lungs.²⁹ Snape used Malpighi's work specifically when writing about the 'Generation of animals' in his appendix, including Malpighi's plate depicting the development of chicks. Interestingly, Snape had written about generation earlier in his book, when speaking about the womb. Therefore, adding an appendix about the same topic, which discussed the work of Malpighi and Harvey, clearly demonstrates the purpose of the appendix: to appeal to the learned reader. Secondly, Snape wrote, 'But the parts of a seed being so minute, that the naked eye can make no perfect discovery of the first rudiments of the plant that is formed out of it, it is necessary to make use of a microscope to greatten the objects, which the most curious Malpighius hath done with that

²⁷ Snape, *Anatomy*, (second edition, London, 1686), appendix, p. 18.

²⁸ Cole, *History of Comparative Anatomy*, p. 180.

²⁹ Howard Adelman, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Embryology* (New York, 1966); idem, (ed.), *The Correspondence of Marcello Malpighi* (New York, 1975); Donald Hutchings (ed.), *Late Seventeenth Century Scientists* (Oxford, 1969).

accuracy as to render further inquiry and examination needless.³⁰ Snape used Malpighi's work to help describe the substance of the lungs and glands.³¹

This that worthy man experienced by casting water into the lungs of some creatures he dissected, while they were yet warm, so often till the whole frame of the lungs appeared white; then squeezing the water clean out, he with a pair of bellows or pipe filled them by the windpipe; which done, he hung them to dry; and when they were dried, he could discover (by holding them up to the light) the little bladders at the ends of each little branch of the windpipe.³²

Malpighi's work uniquely contributed to Snape's attempt to link contemporary medical ideas to knowledge of the horse.³³

Snape made similar and frequent use of Thomas Bartholin's work.³⁴ When writing about the glands, Snape wrote, 'Concerning the use of this glandule there are great disputes among the learned; but I subscribe to Bartholin's opinion, who believeth its use to be the same with that of other kernels, which is to separate the Lympha from the arterial blood.'³⁵

Bartholin worked extensively on the thoracic duct and lymphatic system. Snape selectively used the work of Bartholin to develop his own ideas about horses and often compared Bartholin's work with other's work, like Thomas Willis, Julius Jasolin and Thomas Wharton.³⁶

³⁰ Snape, *Anatomy*, appendix, p. 9.

³¹ Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 89.

³² Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 89.

³³ Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 37.

³⁴ Thomas Bartholin, *The Anatomical History of Thomas Bartholinus* (London, 1653), p. 94. Snape, *Anatomy*, pp. 39 and 79.

³⁵ Snape, *Anatomy*, p. 114.

³⁶ Ian Herbert Porter, 'Thomas Bartolin (1616-1680) and Neils Steenson (1638-1686): Master and pupil', *History of Medicine*, 7 (1963), 99-125.

By placing the ideas and work of comparative anatomists alongside his own work on anatomy, Snape disconnected himself and his book from previous horse anatomies and began a new way of looking at the horse body and equine medicine. *Anatomy of an Horse* had little in common with *Anatomia Del Cavallo*; there was almost no relation to Barret and Markham's books, and it was upon the new foundation of dissection and comparative anatomy that Snape's anatomical plates became the icons of learned equine medicine by 1798. And his plates became even more influential than his text to eighteenth-century horse medics and horse enthusiasts. Snape's plates identified equine anatomy with learned medicine, the "scientific revolution" and new a farriery.

Nicolas Yeates, the artist who etched the plates, helped make this connection. There seems to have been a combination of Snape asking for specific plates to be copied from comparative anatomy texts and Yeates suggesting plates he had etched previously for other anatomy books.³⁷ The text and the images are too dependent upon each other for Yeates or the publisher to have chosen applicable images that fit the text. Unfortunately, Yeates remains an obscure engraver who left only a handful of known examples of his work, but those few examples show Yeates reproducing famous anatomical images and doing other medical work. In 1691, he etched well over 100 plates of physician and botanist Leonard Plukenet's massive collection of herbs in *Phytographia*. However, his first known etchings of anatomical depictions were his work for John Brown's *Myographia Nova* in 1681.³⁸ This text has over 39 plates of anatomized humans, copied from famous anatomy texts. (This caused K.F. Russell to go as far as calling Brown a

³⁷ See, Snape, *Anatomy*, sig. B2. 'But Although I approve of these Figures as necessary, to be by us, upon occasion...' While discussing the necessity of the illustrations in his book he states that he chose the illustrations that would represent his text best. Additionally, if one examines the text and their correspondence with the illustrations, it is clear that Snape did choose the illustrations for the text.

³⁸ K. F. Russell, 'John Browne, 1642-1702: a Seventeenth century surgeon, anatomist and plagiarist', *Bulletin of the History of medicine*, 33 (1959), 393-414, 503-525, and 675-683; idem., *John Browne and his Treatise on the muscles* (Sydney, 1940).

plagiarist.) In a similar manner Thomas Gibson MD (1648–1722) had Yeates etch 22 anatomical plates in *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomized* (1682). Though Gibson used Alexander Read's 1616 *A Description of the Body of Man* to write his text, Yeates copied images from the texts of many contemporary comparative anatomists to create the plates in his book. Just one year later Yeates etched the plates in *The Anatomy of an Horse*. Interestingly they included elements of the previous etchings he had done for Dr. Gibson. Yeates's previous work appealed to Snape because of its eclectic use of anatomical prints from important comparative anatomists.

Yeates was able to work with Snape to produce striking anatomical images. Snape's proposal for his book, stated that 'persons of Quality and worthy Gentlemen' along with 'the most eminent of his Profession' had already subscribed.³⁹ Their subscription demonstrates the type of people interested in a detailed depiction and description of equine anatomy. Due to the cost of his book (20 shillings), only the 'the most eminent' farriers and gentlemen could afford it. In comparison, a century later similar books of anatomy and farriery cost only 5 to 12 shillings.⁴⁰ Therefore, possibly in an attempt to reduce the cost of the book, Snape worked with Yeates to choose existing images to copy, instead of producing original images of Snape's dissections. Copying famous images of anatomy also lent the already iconic status of those images to Snape's book.

Yeates copied more images from *Anatomia Del Cavallo* than any other book. He copied twenty-four of Ruini's sixty-four woodcuts. Snape's plates were clearer than Ruini's because Yeates used copper etching rather than wooden blocks, and all but seven of the twenty-four plates are identical outside of small additions, different backgrounds and the

³⁹ Andrew Snape, *Proposals for Printing a Compleat Anatomy of an Horse* (London, March 1, 1681/2).

⁴⁰ See, William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier, Exhibiting the Whole Anatomy of that Noble Animal the Horse* (London, 1788).

reversed direction of most of the plates. As far as one can tell Yeates had never etched any other plates of equine anatomy, probably knew little about equine anatomy and was most likely not familiar with *Anatomia Del Cavallo*. Snape, however, knew that Ruini's woodcuts were the best existing depiction of horse anatomy and that they were highly influential in Europe. Furthermore, Snape commented on the plates in his text and wrote, 'Therefore accordingly by a curious draught or delineation represented to you such observations as are made in true dissections, *omitting those of less consideration*.'⁴¹

Although scholars have noted Snape's debt to *Anatomia Del Cavallo*, they have disregarded Snape's use of human anatomy images, which created an even closer connection between his book and learned medicine. Twenty-nine of the fifty-three plates in *The Anatomy of an Horse* adapt contemporary human anatomy images to equine anatomical images. One plate combined one of Thomas Bartholin's images with a woodcut from Ruini. As shown in Illustration 6.7, Yeates copied the protruding sternum and open chest found in *Bartholinus Anatomy* of 1663 (Illustration 6.7.3), placing it within the upper half of the horse body (Illustration 6.7.1), similar to Ruini's open-chested horse (Illustration 6.7.2). Interestingly, Yeates had etched a similar plate just one year earlier for *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomized* by Thomas Gibson (Illustration 6.7.4).

Therefore, Yeates was familiar with Bartholin's woodcut, but Snape too was familiar with Bartholin's work because he wrote about Bartholin's theories of the heart bag, which accompanied the woodcut.⁴² Therefore, it seems Yeates and Snape worked together to produce an image (6.7.1) that would represent the ideas of Bartholin and use the iconic

⁴¹ Snape, *Anatomy*, introduction.

⁴² These illustrations beg the question of whether Yeates was simply working with the publisher, which is shown below to be unlikely because the correlation between the text and the plates. The plates are often used to prove Snape's arguments.

status of Ruini and Bartholin's woodcuts to describe and depict the anatomy of the horse in Snape's book.

Iconic anatomical images were often barrowed and reused in anatomy books in this period, but having human anatomies appear in a book about equine anatomy made claims about how they were similar and thus how farriery was similar to learned medicine.

Knowing that Yeates was copying the same images to both human and equine anatomy books shows that *Anatomy of an Horse* followed the standards set by human anatomists and learned medics.⁴³ Many authors of this period were using images of anatomy as common identifiers of learned medicine. For example, images like Illustration 6.7.3 originally appeared in a translation of Andreas Vesalius's *Compendios a Totius Anatomie Delineato* (1553) and reappeared in English translations of a handful of European anatomy books around the time of the publication of *Anatomy of an Horse*.⁴⁴

⁴³ If both of these books had the same printer or publisher, one would need to add their influence into the choice and reproduction of prints, but this is not the case.

⁴⁴ Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies* (London, 1689), p. 193; Johann Vesling, *The Anatomcy of the Body of Man* (London, 1653), pp. 20, 24, 28, 31; Jean Riolan, *A sure Guide, or, The Best and Nearest Way to Physick and Chyrurgery* (London, 1657), pp. 136-141. The image of the male genitals, Yeates copied from Bartholin, is also included in Vesalius (1553) and these books. Snape, *Anatomy of an Horse*, p. 42.

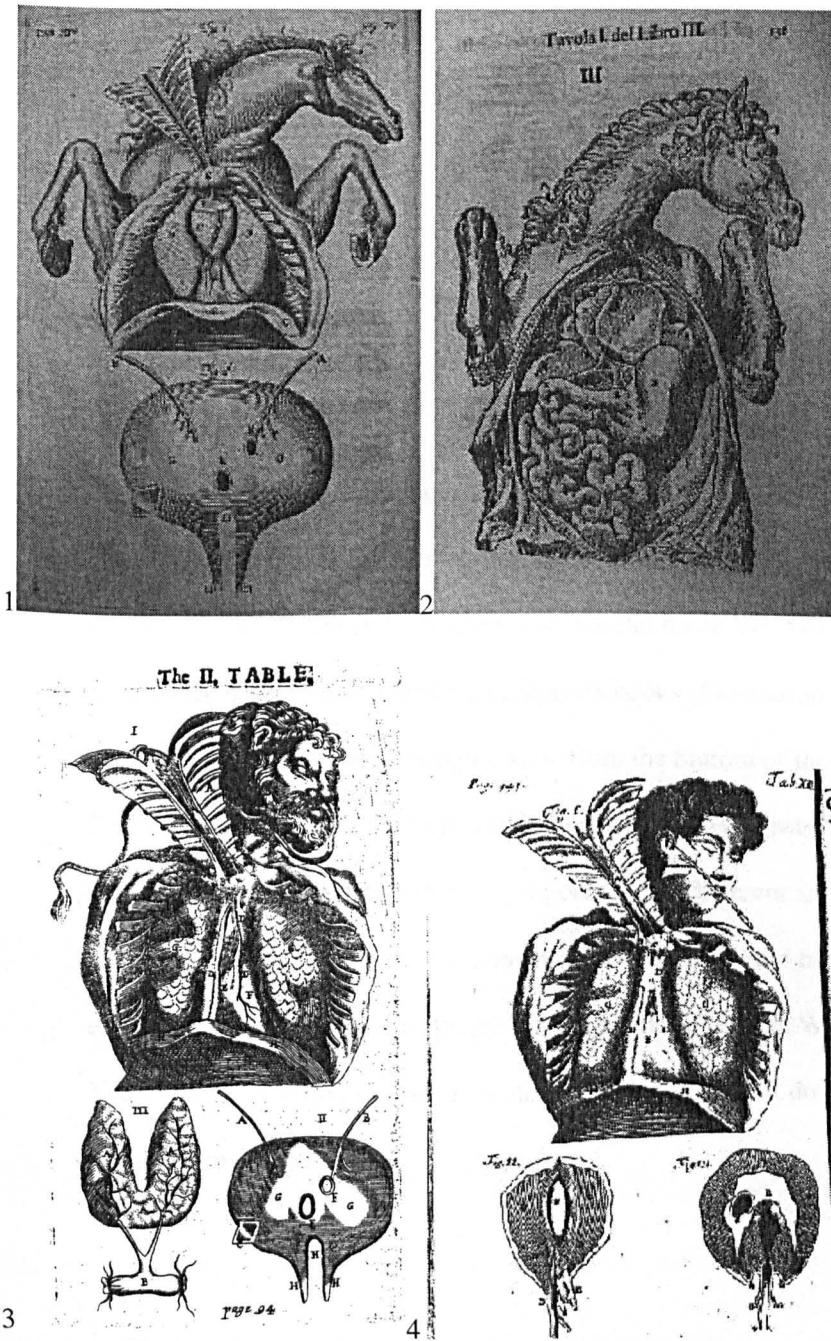


Illustration 6.7, Open Chest. (1) Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1685), p. 79; (2) Carlo Ruini, *Anatomia Del Cavallo* (Bologna, 1599), p. 131; (3) Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy* published by Nicholas Culpepper and Abdiah Cole (London, 1663), p. 94; (4) Thomas Gibson, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Eptomized* (London, 1682), p. 143.

Anatomy of an Horse also included newer anatomical images, like those recently found in the work of Thomas Willis. Yeates copied Willis's plate of the stomach in his *Pharmaceutice Rationalis* (1678) to both Gibson and Snape's books, showing that Willis's plates had quickly become important images (Illustration 6.8). Snape used Willis's plate of the stomach in conjunction with his text about hunger and its connection to the nerves and brain, which was also an idea of Willis's. Snape's use of Willis's argument and plate demonstrate he was more interested in Willis's book than Gibson's. But it also shows that Willis's stomach plate represents more than just a diagram; it represented the learned status of Willis's work in both human and animal medicine. Yeates also copied Willis's plate of the brain to both Gibson and Snape's books (Illustration 6.9). Yeates etched Snape's plate of the horse brain in a view from the bottom of the brain, similar to Willis's. Because it appears in both Snape and Gibson's books via Yeates, it is clearly taken from Willis. The horse brain, however, is proportionately different and one can tell that Yeates attempted to make it similar to a horse brain, which he would have needed Snape's expertise to do. Nevertheless, Snape took plates directly from Willis's books, such as Yeate's copy of Willis's plate of the nerves in the spine, that do not appear in Gibson's book (Illustration 6.10).

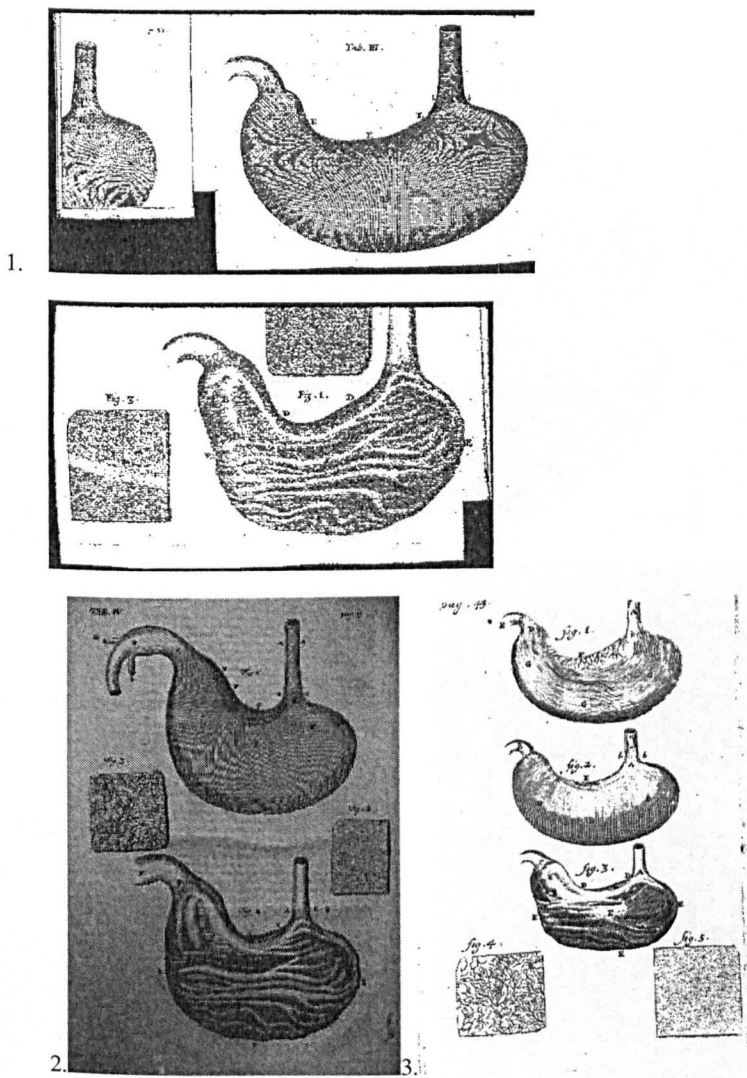


Illustration 6.8, Stomach. (1) Thomas Willis, *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*, (London, 1678), tab. III and IV, p. 303; (2) Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1685), p. 19; (3) Thomas Gibson, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Eptomized* (London, 1682), p. 43.

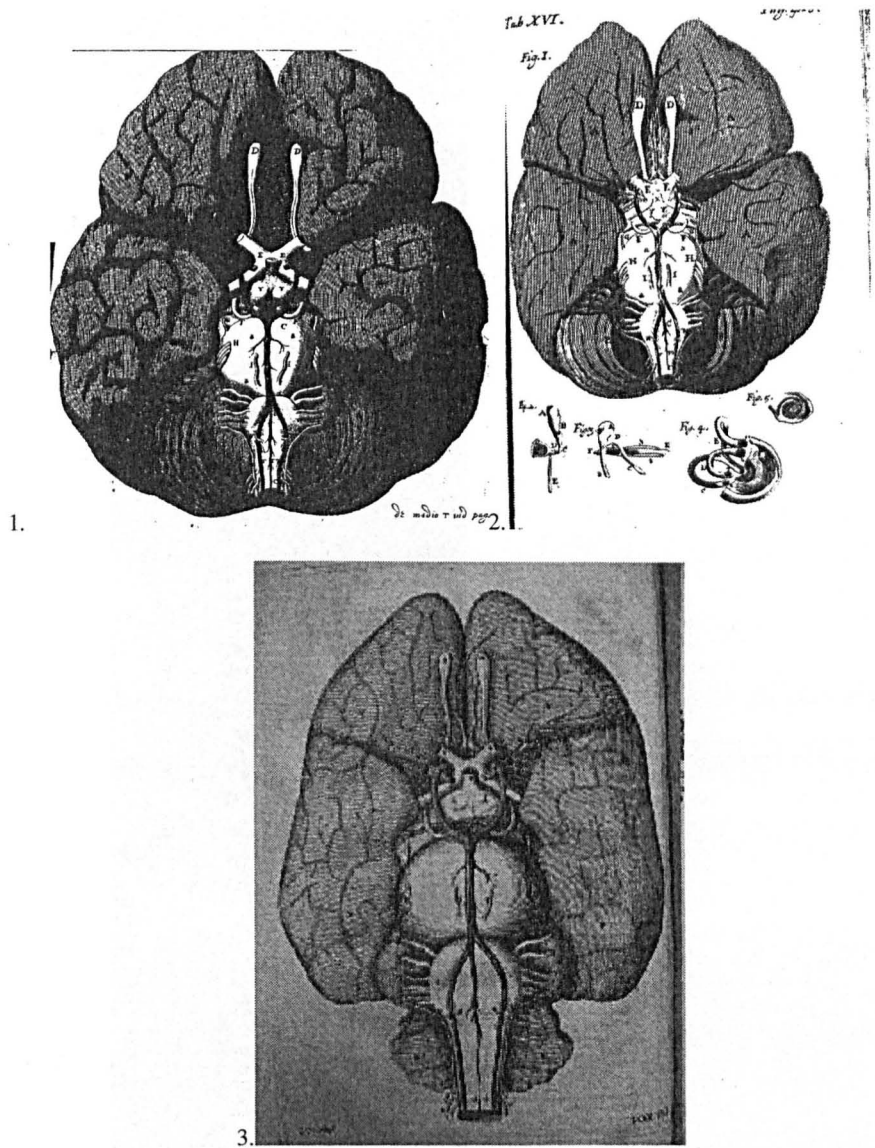


Illustration 6.9, Brain. (1) Thomas Willis, *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick* (London, 1681), p. 64; (2) Thomas Gibson, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies Eptomized* (London, 1682), p. 418; (3) Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1685), p. 128.

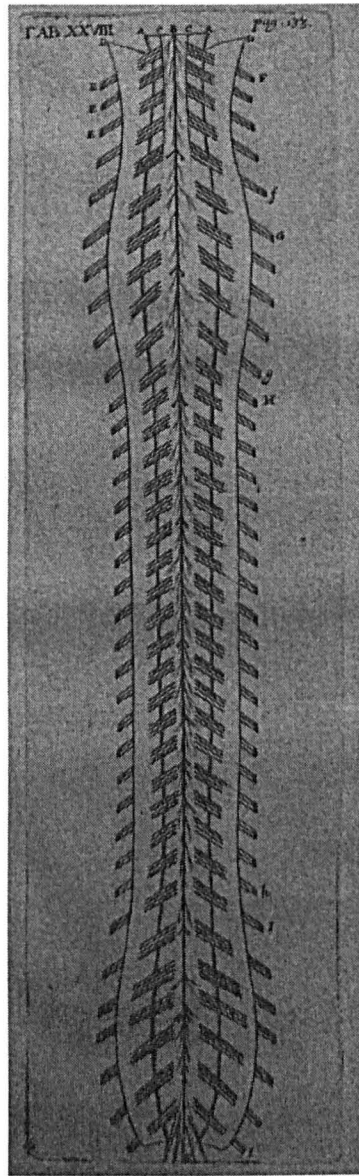


Illustration 6.10, Willis Spinal Nerves. See, Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse*, p. 133 and Thomas Willis, *Dr. Willis's Practice of Physick* (London, 1681), p.

188.

Snape's use of the contemporary ideas and anatomical illustrations reveal he was well aware of the contemporary anatomical literature. However, he did not just compile anatomical knowledge; he synthesized it with knowledge about the horse body. In one

example, Snape borrowed the argument and images of Thomas Wharton's *Adenographia Totius Corporis Descriptio*. Wharton's study of glands began as a request from the College of Physicians. When he finished his book, it became the first monograph about glands in Europe. Importantly for Snape, Wharton used horses for his anatomical research on saliva glands because their size (Illustration 6.11). Snape also attempted to describe 'generation', or the conception of an animal, by using the work of Marcello Malpighi. He wrote, 'it is necessary to make use of a microscope to greaten the objects, which the most curious Malpighius hath done with that accuracy as to render further inquiry and examination needless.' To explain conception, Snape described Malpighi's work on the vegetation of wheat corn and had Yeates copy a plate from *Marcelli Malpighii Philosophi & Medici Bononiensis*.

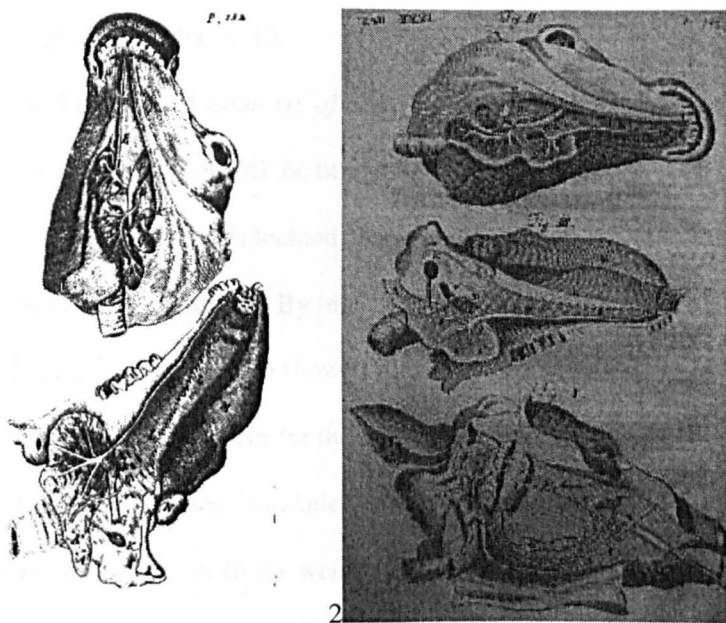


Illustration 6.11, Glands. (1) Thomas Wharton, *Adenographia totius corporis descriptio* (London, 1656), p. 182; (2) Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1685), p. 147.

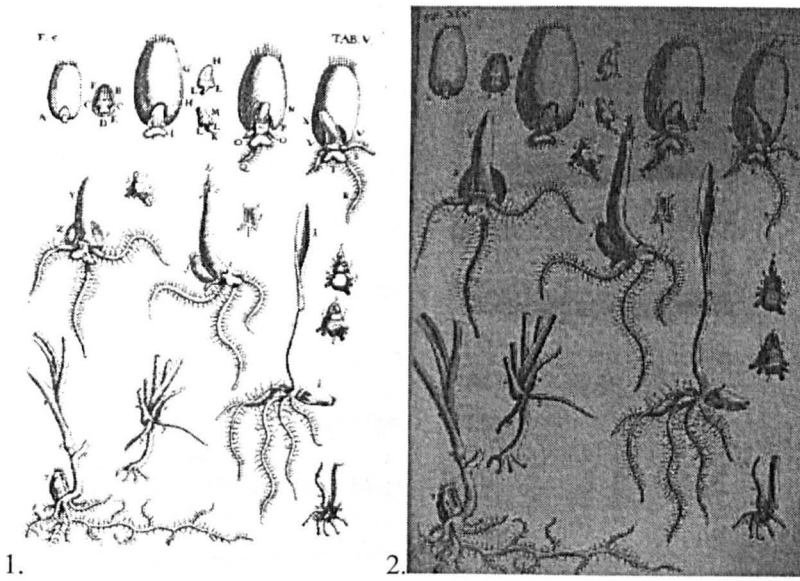


Illustration 6.12, Wheat Corn, (1) Marcello Malpighi, *Marcelli Malpighii philosophi & medici bononiensis*, p. 177; (2) Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1685), appendix, p. 12.

Nevertheless, H.P. Bayon gave a critical analysis of *Anatomy of an Horse*, writing, ‘It is a blot on Snape’s good name that he copied (or had copied) the images of Carlo Ruini.’⁴⁵

However, Blaisdell argued that Snape’s book represents learned anatomical knowledge that compares to the standard of contemporary anatomy.⁴⁶ By including Ruini and other comparative anatomist’s anatomical images in his book he showed the quality of his book.

Additionally, even though Snape’s text was too expensive for the average farrier—it was bought only by the affluent—anatomy did become the foundation of a certain kind of farriery in the eighteenth century. *The Anatomy of an Horse* went through four editions and eventually became the standard of and a symbol of excellence amongst farriers.

This was in part because William Gibson reproduced it in 1720 in a more accessible format. After Gibson, equine anatomy became the basis of learned farriery and an eclectic

⁴⁵ H.P. Bayon, ‘Anthonship of Carlo Ruini’s ‘Anatomia Del Cavallo’’, p. 143.

⁴⁶ John Blaisdell, ‘Andrew Snape’, pp. 134-136.

group of authors began to produce anatomical literature.⁴⁷ In the 1750s William Osmer thought lameness could only be ‘demonstrated with certainty, and reduced to *facts* by the knowledge of *anatomy* and the principles of mechanics.’⁴⁸ Thomas Wallis’s farriery dictionary published in 1775 referred to anatomy as an essential knowledge for the equine medic: ‘As the great end of anatomy is health, for the preservation of which, restoring it when impaired by diseases, or even preventing their access; nothing surely is more necessary than a true knowledge of the structure of that frame which is liable to be injured.’⁴⁹ In 1788 William Merrick declared that ‘perhaps, the system of persons who have practised anatomy and the disease on which they write, who have had the most variegated and extensive practice in every latitude and climate, may till we shall be better informed, bid fair to become the standard of good, warrantable, and approvable practice.’⁵⁰ Anatomy soon became a key to ‘approvable’ farriery. By the end of the century, when veterinary education was blooming in England, James Clark argued that ‘anatomy, the materia medica, and the practice of physic, so far as may be necessary for horses, ought to be laid open to young farriers, in a regular and scientific manner, by professors in different parts of the kindgom.’⁵¹ Farriery developed a new emphasis on the knowledge of anatomy, and the practice of anatomy increased and defined expertise.

William Gibson’s *The Farrier’s New Guide* (1720) emphasized the knowledge of equine anatomy, stating that it was ‘as that of the human body to physicians and surgeons’.

⁴⁷ John Wood, *A New Compendious Treatise on Farriery* (London, 1757); Jeremiah Bridges, *No Foot No Horse* (London, 1752); James Clark, *Observations on Shoeing Horses* (Edinburgh, 1770); John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery both in Theory and Practice* (London, 1758); William Foster, *The Gentleman’s Experienced Farrier* (Shrewbury, 1786); William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier* (London, 1788); Vial de Sainbel, *An Essay on the Proportions of Eclipse* (London, 1797); idem., *Lectures on the Elements of Farriery or the Art of shoeing* (London, 1793); Delabere Blaine, *The Anatomy of the Horse: Accompanied with Remarks Physiological, Pathological, Chirurgical, and Natural* (London, 1796); Strickland Freeman, *Observations on the Mechanism of the Horse’s Foot* (London, 1796).

⁴⁸ William Osmer, *A Dissertation on Horses* (London, 1756), p. 16.

⁴⁹ Thomas Wallis, *The Farrier’s and Horseman’s Complete Dictionary* (London, 1775), anatomy.

⁵⁰ William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier* (1788), p. vii.

⁵¹ James Clark, *A Treatise on the Prevention of Diseases* (Edinburgh, 1788), p. 3.

Gibson's work contained plates that he copied from Snape, and since Gibson's book was much cheaper than Snape's, Snape's images thus became much more accessible.

Illustration 6.13 shows the anatomical plates in *The Farrier's New Guide*. Though one can see the similarity of these plates to Ruini's, they came from Snape's book and not the Italian's work. Illustrations 6.13.2 and 3 are clearly copied from *Anatomy of an Horse*.

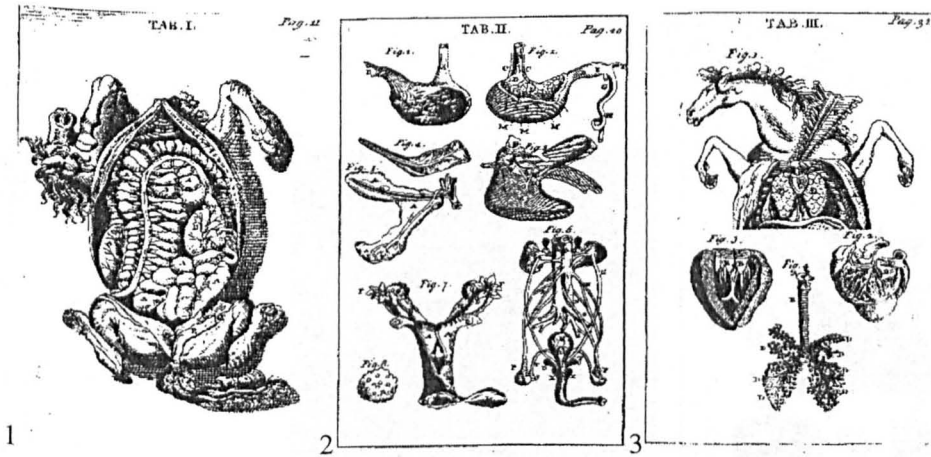


Illustration 6.13, William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720), pp. 11, 20, 32, 51, 70, 77, 99.

From Gibson to Coleman, anatomical illustrations became the symbol for 'new', "scientific" and 'progressive' equine medicine (Illustration 6.14). Many other works, including publications by John Reeves, William Foster, John Wood, William Merrick and the American B. W. Burke, as well as translations of Etienne La Fosse's work, copied Snape's plates to improve their books and portray themselves as learned farriers.⁵² Furthermore, equine anatomy became recognisable as a symbol of learned farriery to others outside of the craft, such as J. Brindley, a printer who sold farriery books. He paid an artist to reproduce enormous colour copies of some of Snape's plates and used them in an advertisement for subscriptions to farriery books (Illustration 6.15). Brindley's

⁵² B.W. Burke, *A Compendium of Anatomy, Physiology and Pathology of the Horse* (Philadelphia, 1806); William Foster, *The Gentleman's experienced Farrier* (London, 1786); Etienne La Fosse, *Observations and Discoveries made upon the Horse* (Dublin, 1795); William Merrick, *The Classical Farrier* (London, 1788); John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (London, 1758).

advertisement gave no commentary about anatomy; instead, Brindley expected readers to recognize this publication as important because of the enlarged, coloured prints of Snape's plates. While there were many new equine anatomical prints produced in the eighteenth century, copies of Snape's plates often accompanied them. Furthermore, Dr. Henry Bracken was working on a reproduction of *Anatomy of an Horse* with commentary, claiming to improve it, and Edward Snape claimed to sell *Anatomy of an Horse* with his book in the early 1790s.⁵³

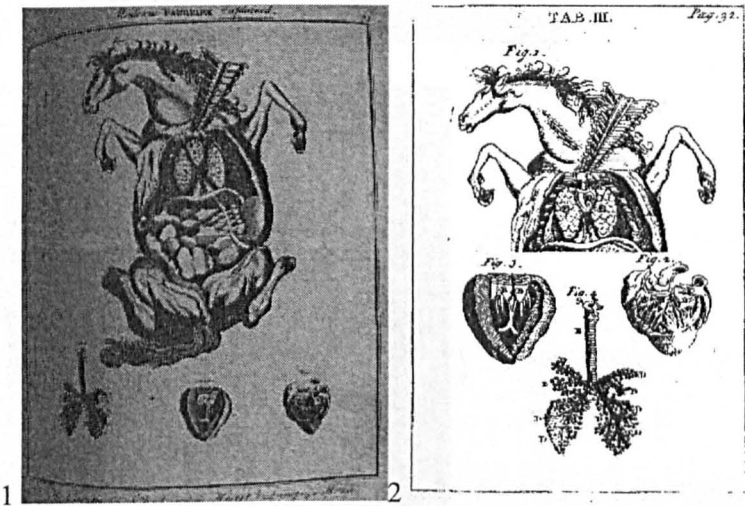


Illustration 6.14, Coleman and Snape. (1) Edward Coleman, *Observations on the Structure, Oecomony and Diseases of the Horse* (London, 1798), p. 14; (2) William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide* (London, 1720), p. 32.

⁵³ Etienne La Fosse, *A Treatise on the True Seat of Glanders in Horses*, ed. Henry Bracken (London, 1751), p. xxii; Edward Snape, *A Practical Treatise* (London, 1791).

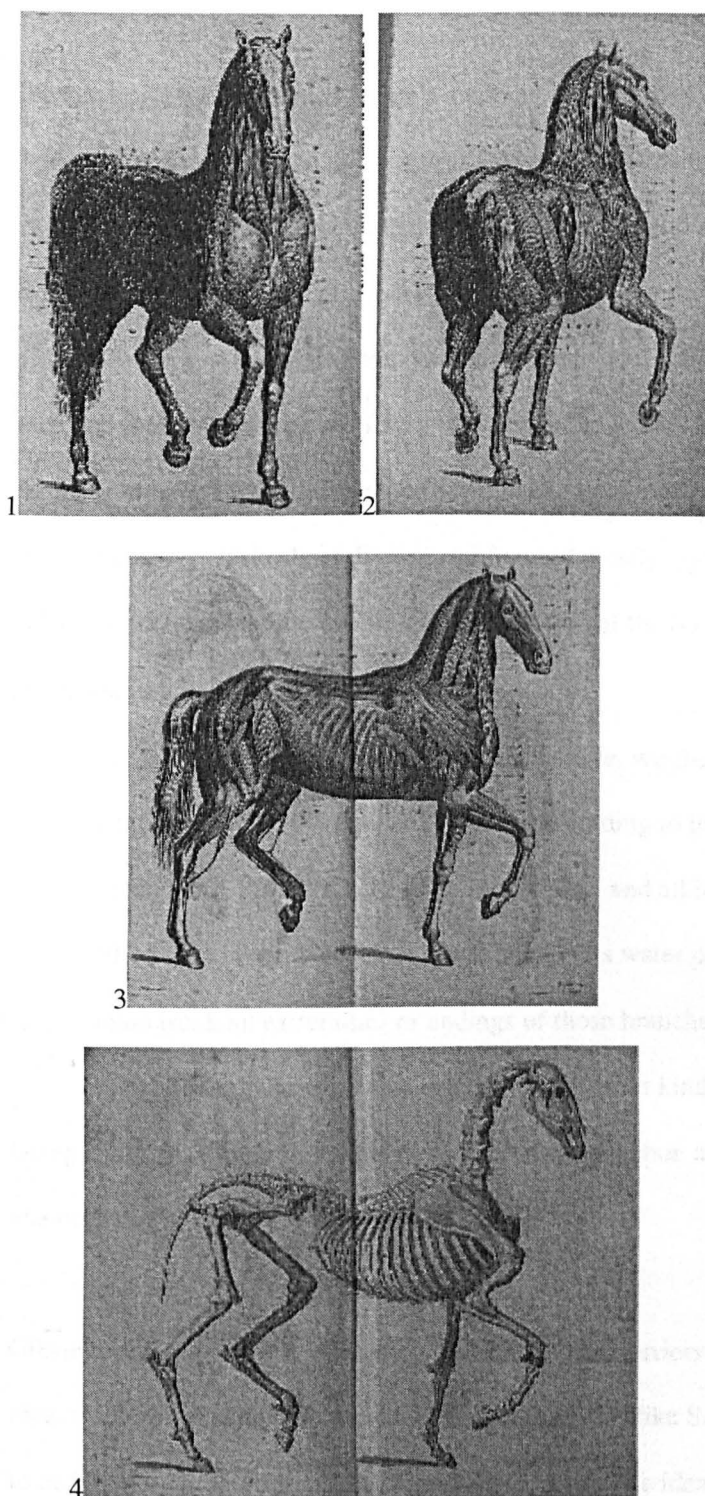


Illustration 6.15, J. Brindley, *Proposals for Printing by Subscription* (London, 1742), not numbered.

Gibson, however, developed Snape's anatomy in two different ways. He wrote Snape had 'been in some measure rendred fruitless.' As mentioned before, Snape's book was much too expensive for the common farrier and few people could afford Snape's book.⁵⁴ The Honourable Sidney Godolphin gave John Evelyn his copy of Snape's book (held in the British Library), which shows the type of readers who owned it.⁵⁵ This type of readership excluded those that were most likely to study and practice farriery. Secondly, Gibson used equine anatomical structure to describe equine iatromechanism and disease, whereas Snape wrote very little about disease and focused mostly upon structure.⁵⁶ According to Gibson, understanding the function or malfunction of the body depended upon understanding its structure. He stated,

but that this may be made as plain as possible, we shall suppose an artery to be like a pipe, which grows gradually smaller according to the number of branches it sends forth. We must also suppose this pipe, and all its branches, to be constantly filled with water from some fountain and this water perpetually running from the main trunk all extremities or endings of those branches to be so small as to be easily choak'd up with sand or clay, or any other kind of matter.⁵⁷

Using analogies of pipes and pumps to understand function and malfunction made anatomy key to caring for the health of horses.

Gibson wanted to separate old farriery from his 'new farriery'. Claiming to develop the idea of 'physick', which he considered a 'science', he, like Snape, wanted 'new farriery' to be based upon anatomy. He believed anatomy and the ideas developed by physicians to

⁵⁴ Andrew Snape, *Proposals for Printing a Compleat Anatomy of an Horse*, (London, 1681/2).

⁵⁵ Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (1683), found in the Evelyn Collection, British Library.

⁵⁶ William Gibson, *Farrier's New Guide*, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Gibson, *Farrier's New Guide*, p. 24.

be the 'Way to True Knowledge'.⁵⁸ Anatomy had been a major factor in the "new science" of the seventeenth century as well as in medical education in the eighteenth century.⁵⁹ And it represented a new kind of farriery that began with Snape and Gibson and was used by Coleman to show "progress" in veterinary surgery. Therefore, by examining equine anatomical images, one can see a common thread of authority that farriers used in the 1680s and veterinary surgeons used in the 1790s. The knowledge of anatomy also helps level the playing field between farriers and veterinary surgeons in the eighteenth century by showing that they both used similar indicators to demonstrate their medical expertise. There is, however, more to say because outside of this examination of anatomical images, we have not yet examined dissection or the knowledge of equine anatomy in the eighteenth-century.

Equine Anatomical Practice and Knowledge

Equine anatomy became the foundation of learned farriery. However, there were still many farriers who relied on traditional craft skills and did not obtain anatomical knowledge. A good example of this was William Ellis's *Every Farmer his Own Farrier*. Ellis focused upon curative therapeutics, which he compiled from anecdotes. This work relied upon no anatomical knowledge and reflected the receipt lists discussed in Chapter 2 combined with folk medicine.⁶⁰ This type of medicine was the antithesis of Gibson's 'new farriery' and shows the longevity of older styles of practice. Other critics of traditional

⁵⁸ Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide*, preface, sig. i.

⁵⁹ For work on medical education see, Roger French and Andrew Wear, (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989); Thomas Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1985); ED Gasking, *Investigations into Generation 1651-1828* (London, 1964); F.N.L. Poynter, (ed.), *The Evolution of Medical Education in Britain* (London, 1966); Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices 1760-1826* (Edinburgh, 1991); Ivan Waddington, *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution*, (Dublin, 1984); for a non-orthodox outlook see, W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy 1750-1850* (London, 1987).

⁶⁰ William Ellis, *Every Farmer his Own Farrier* (London, 1759).

farriery bemoaned the lack of anatomical knowledge. For example, in *The Universal Sportsman*, William Osbaldiston defined traditional farriery as, 'The art and knowledge of preventing, curing, or palliating, the various diseases incident to horses; the practice of which has been hitherto almost entirely confined to a set of persons who are not only totally ignorant of anatomy, but also of the general principles of medicine.'⁶¹ William Taplin more accurately stated, 'if I may be allowed to explain, by an opinion that the farriers themselves, a very inferior proportion excepted, seem to have imbibed no additional knowledge in equestrian anatomy from studies so laudably exerted and clearly explained.'⁶² Taplin thus qualifies Osbaldiston's statement by noting there was an 'inferior proportion' of farriers who did understand anatomy. Both of these statements, however, are exaggerations because there is good reason to believe that many farriers and others had been obtaining a great deal of equine anatomical knowledge.

As I have shown in Chapter 3, as early as 1761 Joseph Cullyer wrote that an aspirant farrier

ought not only to learn to read and write, but also to get some *knowledge of anatomy*, particularly that of the horse; and indeed the more knowledge he gets of medicine and surgery, the better prospect will he have of obtaining a good living by his business. He ought, particularly during his apprenticeship, to become thoroughly acquainted with the excellent works published within these thirty years, by several ingenious and learned gentlemen on the diseases of horses.⁶³

If a farrier could convince a horse owner that he knew equine anatomy, the foundation of learned practice, he would maintain a more profitable practice. Since the knowledge of

⁶¹ William Osbaldiston, *The Universal Sportsman* (London, 1792), p. 167.

⁶² William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* vol. I (1788), p. 70.

⁶³ Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade*. (London, 1761), pp. 136-7.

anatomy was a selling point for a farrier's practice, the pressure of having this knowledge increased when looking for an apprenticeship or seeking after business.

John Reeves, whose book had more editions than any other author who was a farrier, used anatomy as the foundation of his book. The majority of his knowledge came from the work of Snape and Gibson, with the addition of some personal experience with dissection.⁶⁴ To demonstrate his focus upon anatomy, he had Dale Ingram, a surgeon and anatomist who lectured in London and worked at Christ's Hospital, write an appendix about equine leg anatomy.⁶⁵ Additionally, other elite farriers, such as Jeremiah Bridges, James Clark, William Merrick and William Foster, popularized equine anatomy and reported on new ideas based in their research on anatomy.

One way anatomical research developed amongst equine anatomists was by morbid anatomy. From Boerhaave to Morgagni to Hunter, morbid anatomy was a highly important practice in the eighteenth-century that often led to new ideas about disease. William Gibson was a strong believer in morbid anatomy for the discovery of the nature of equine diseases, such as his descriptions of 'opening' horses that had died from glanders and convulsions.⁶⁶ In both of these cases he was able to localize symptoms and better argue why certain symptoms were associated with the diseases. (The concept of localization of disease through morbid anatomy is discussed in Chapter 7.) Etienne La Fosse gave case-by-case examples of morbid anatomy to demonstrate diseases of the foot,⁶⁷ and in the 1790s, William Taplin used morbid anatomy to uncover the utility of medicines and their effect on the horse body. To demonstrate the problems of certain pills

⁶⁴ John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (London, 1757), an example of him writing as if he has had experience dissecting horses is on page 196, but also there are many other indications.

⁶⁵ See, Dale Ingram, *Practical Cases and Observations in Surgery* (London, 1751).

⁶⁶ Gibson, *A New Dissertation on the Diseases of Horses* (London, 1751), pp. 183 and 416.

⁶⁷ Etienne La Fosse, *Observations and Discoveries made upon Horses* (1755).

he dissected the body of a horse that had died from the pills, 'the body was opened, when the intestines were found violently distended, and that part nearest the rectum plugged up with a ball, that when taken out weighed two pounds three ounces.'⁶⁸ As early as 1763, J. Thompson also supported dissection of dead horses to understand disease. He stated, 'be particularly careful to study the anatomy of a horse, and never omit any opportunity of examining the several parts of such as die of any uncommon disease, or when the best medicines have failed. For proceeding in this manner he will establish his practice on a solid foundation, and be able to relieve these useful creatures, if it is in the power of medicine to do it.'⁶⁹

The concern with anatomical structure, however, became more common throughout the eighteenth century. J. Brindley's *Proposals for Printing by Subscription A General System of Horsemanship* included sixteen oversized coloured images of the structure of the horse's body (Illustration 6.15). The plates show the basic structure of the exterior of the body, the muscles and the bones. This kind of anatomy was important because the structure of the horse body often indicated its value: nearly every farriery book in the eighteenth century gave some advice about buying horses and when it came to expensive well-bred horses, body structure was highly important. Demonstrating the common concern for anatomical structure, Henry Bracken advised that when buying a horse one should 'Take notice for five minutes before you see the Horse out for sale . . . how he stands; if he has any complaint in his forelegs . . . examine his eyes . . . he should have a small head and be deep in his chap . . . His age is known by his teeth . . . Observe that his joints be let down strong, and his pasterns short; see if the upper pastern joint be any way

⁶⁸ William Taplin, *A Compendium of Practical and Experimental Farriery* (1796), p. 95.

⁶⁹ J. Thompson, *The Complete Horse Doctor* (1763), p. 110, also see p. 87.

puff'd or fleshy, or have too much hair thereon, for these are signs of being but half-bred.'⁷⁰

The work of George Stubbs exemplifies the importance of equine anatomical structure in the eighteenth century.⁷¹ Stubbs 'began to study anatomy at the age of eight' and when he was around twenty (1744 or 1746), he studied anatomy under Yorkshire surgeon Charles Atkinson.⁷² He later began teaching anatomy to medical students at York, and these students encouraged him to study the anatomy of the horse. In 1756 he rented a farmhouse in Horkstow, North Lincolnshire, to proceed with a one and half year project dissecting horses, which eventually led to his *The Anatomy of the Horse* (1766). He was the first since Ruini to produce detailed artistic equine anatomical prints 'drawn from nature'⁷³ (Illustration 6.16). His plates rival the quality of those in Cheselden's *Osteographia* (1733) and William Hunter's *Anatomica Uteri Humani Gravidi* (1774).⁷⁴ Malcolm Warner and Robin Blake went as far to say that Stubbs was the equine form of Bernhard Siegfried Albinus's⁷⁵ and Vesalius's prints on human anatomy.⁷⁶ *The Anatomy of an Horse* succeeded in making Stubbs known, and he 'was immediately able to acquire patronage of the most distinguished kind.'⁷⁷ He became one the most renowned horse painters and connected the importance of anatomy to horse portraits. Constance-Anne Parker wrote that *Anatomy* 'changed the outlook of British sporting as regards to horses, Sawrey Gilpin, Ben

⁷⁰ Henry Bracken, *Ten Minutes Advice to Every Gentleman Going to Purchase a Horse* (London, 1775), pp. 7, 10, 12, 16-17.

⁷¹ William B. Ober, 'George Stubbs: Mirror up to Nature', *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 70 (1970), pp. 987 and 991.

⁷² Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs: Anatomist and Animal Painter* (London, 1976), p. 10.

⁷³ George Stubbs, *The Anatomy of the Horse* (London, 1766), to the reader.

⁷⁴ Terence Doherty, *The Anatomical Works of George Stubbs*, (London, 1974), pp. 1-25; Constance-Anne Parker, *George Stubbs: Art, Animals, & Anatomy* (London, 1984).

⁷⁵ Robert Beverly Hale and Terence Coyle, *Albinus on Anatomy* (New York, 1988).

⁷⁶ Terence Doherty, *The Anatomical Works of George Stubbs*, p. 17; Malcolm Warner and Robin Blake, *Stubbs and the Horse* (London, 2004), p. 3.

⁷⁷ Martin Myrone, *George Stubbs* (London, 2002), p. 23.

Marshall, and James Ward all owed a great debt to Stubbs.⁷⁸ One need not go any further than Stubbs's *Whistlejacket* (1762) to understand the importance of equine anatomical structure; it was 'without any landscape setting, without a saddle or bit, without the stable boy, we are left with an animal transformed into a monument without any function other than to be admired.'⁷⁹ The combination of *The Anatomy of an Horse* and Stubbs's equine portraits demonstrate that equine anatomical structure had obtained deep rooted meaning in eighteenth-century Britain.

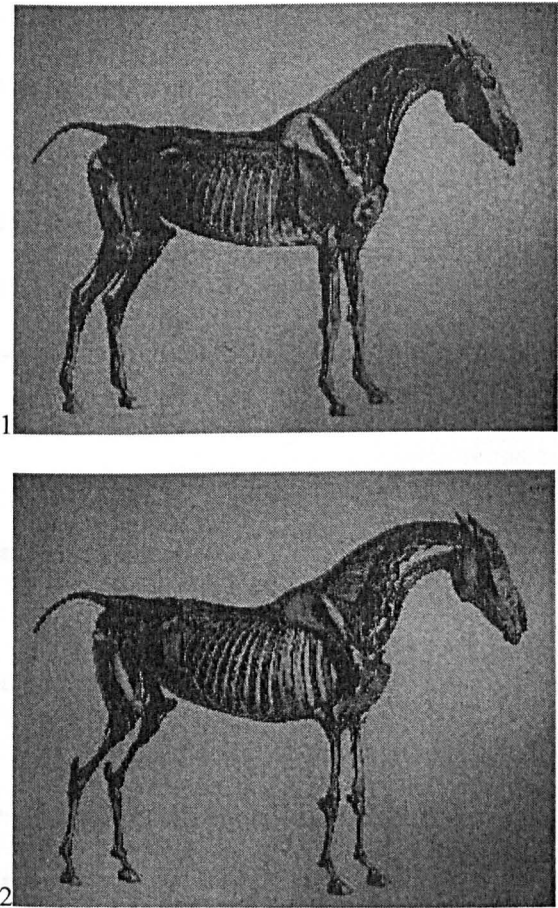


Illustration 6.16, George Stubbs, *The Anatomy of the Horse* (London, 1766), tab. IV and V.

⁷⁸ Constance-Anne Parker, 'Introduction', in George Stubbs, *The Anatomy of the Horse* (London, 2005).
⁷⁹ Myron, *George Stubbs*, p. 36.

Besides his focus on equine portraiture, Stubbs also intended his book to be helpful for equine practitioners and gentlemen. He wrote 'As for Farriers and Horse-Doctors . . . If what I have done may in any sort facilitate or promote so necessary a study amongst them, I shall think my labour well bestowed.'⁸⁰ Stubbs made this statement in relation to the French, who had recently established a veterinary school and were highly concerned with equine anatomy. He hoped that English farriers and horse doctors would begin similar studies of anatomy—using his book, of course—but, as William Ober has argued, Stubbs's anatomy was not focused on pathology.⁸¹ Additionally, the book cost 5 pounds 5 shillings, which was much more than most farriers and horse doctors could afford. It also was never mentioned in any farriery books, outside of John Lawrences's *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses*.⁸² Still, it was popular amongst some parts of the gentry. Stubbs wrote 'I will add, that I make no doubt, but Gentlemen who breed horses will find advantage, as well as amusement, by acquiring an accurate knowledge of the structure of this beautiful and useful animal.'⁸³

Equine Anatomy and Education

England's anatomy lectures were highly sought after, the Hunters' courses rivalling those of the Monros' in Scotland, and clearly demonstrate the centrality of anatomical knowledge in eighteenth-century human medicine. In a recent study of anatomy instruction in early eighteenth-century London, Anita Guerrini highlighted the possibility of anatomical instruction for even the layperson.⁸⁴ William Cheselden was one of many

⁸⁰ Stubbs, *Anatomy of the Horse*, to the reader.

⁸¹ William Ober, 'George Stubbs', p. 987.

⁸² John Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses* (London, 1796), vol. 2, pp. 248-249.

⁸³ George Stubbs, *The Anatomy of the Horse*, to the reader.

⁸⁴ Anita Guerrini, 'Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 59 (2004), 219-239.

who advertised and taught anatomy courses in London.⁸⁵ He taught in London for over a decade and teamed up with Francis Hauksbee in the 1720s.⁸⁶ Cheselden, like other anatomists, dissected both human and animal bodies in a public setting. However, as Guerrini has shown, each lecture series dissected only one to two human bodies each year. For this reason and because anatomists could use the animal body in ways they could not use the human body, such as for vivisection, the majority of anatomical instruction was based on the dissection of animal bodies.

There is, therefore, little surprise that anatomists were also publicly dissecting horses for equine medical knowledge in London. Andrew Snape may have been the first farrier to teach anatomy in London in the 1680s. John Blaisdell argued that Snape's *Anatomy of an Horse* 'suggests that [it] was the by-product of a series of anatomy lectures that were presented to the veterinary practitioners of the times, the farriers.'⁸⁷ Blaisdell overstates his case, but Snape did argue that he authored *Anatomy of an Horse* to instruct the farrier in anatomy, most likely referring to the book itself as the teacher. There are several examples in *Anatomy of an Horse* of Andrew Snape demonstrating anatomy to single individuals or several people, but there is no direct evidence that he was teaching equine anatomy classes in London. Still, this does not exclude the possibility that Snape taught classes, for it was definitely being taught in the eighteenth century.

By the 1750s Jeremiah Bridges was well known for his anatomical lectures in London. Bridges called himself a farrier-anatomist and published a book on equine anatomy, *No Foot No Horse*, in 1752. This book reveals that he was offering public anatomies and had

⁸⁵ William Cheselden, *Anatomy of the Human Body* (London, 1713).

⁸⁶ Anita Guerinni, 'Anatomists and Entrepreneurs', p. 227; Larry Stewart, 'Public Lectures and Private Patronage in Newtonian London,' *Isis*, 77 (1987), 47-58.

⁸⁷ John Blaisdell, 'Andrew Snape', p. 134.

been doing so for some time.⁸⁸ Indeed, Frederick Smith suggested that J. Brindley, the printer of Bridges's book, might have found Bridges through his anatomy lectures.⁸⁹ His lectures may have also attracted many of those that were interested in the lectures given by Cheselden, as animal bodies were being dissected in both accounts, but he is likely to have also attracted farriers and surgeons.

Moreover, by the 1750s Bridges had prepared wax preparations of the entire horse body to aid him in his lectures, indicating that he was giving extended attention to horse anatomy.⁹⁰ Bridges was not the first to use this method, however. Richard Atlink showed that Guillaume Desnoues displayed wax preparations of anatomy (both animal and human) in London in the 1720s and 1730s for a price.⁹¹ John Peachy also referred to several surgeons offering lectures who advertised their wax preparations in London at this same time.⁹² John and William Hunter relied heavily upon preparations for their anatomy lectures.⁹³ They were a common tool for the anatomy lecturer. Honoré Fragonard, a surgeon who was the anatomical demonstrator for the Veterinary School at Alfort from 1766–1771, prepared thousands of wax preparations as part of his job.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the minutes of the London Veterinary College also show that Sainbel spent a great deal of time making wax preparations of equine anatomy.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Jeremiah Bridges, *No Foot No Horse* (London, 1751); idem., *Gentleman and farriers guide* (London, 1759).

⁸⁹ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (1976), vol 2, p. 63.

⁹⁰ J.F. Cole, 'The History of Anatomical Injections', in Charles Singer (ed.) *Studies in the History and Method of Science* (Oxford, 1921).

⁹¹ Richard Atlink, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), pp. 50–63.

⁹² John Peachy, *The Method of William and John Hunter* (Plymouth, 1924), pp. 25–30.

⁹³ See Wendy Moore, *The Knife Man* (London, 2005); Roy Porter and Bynum (eds.), *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-century Medical World* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁹⁴ Jonathan Simon, 'The Theatre of Anatomy: The Anatomical Preparations of Honore Fragonard', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2002), 63–79; Robert H. Dunlop, *Veterinary Medicine: an Illustrated History* (New York, 1996), p. 323.

⁹⁵ Royal Veterinary College Archives, MS 'Minutes of Meetings, vol I', September 27, 1791.

Although none of Bridges's wax preparations have survived, he did have a drawing of one of his preparations engraved.⁹⁶ Francis Sartorius, a sporting artist who painted mares and attended racing circles, worked with Charles Grignion, a well-known engraver, to produce the print,⁹⁷ which demonstrates the detail and quality of Bridges's anatomical work. It resembles the form and structure of Fragonard's surviving wax preparations of the full body horse.⁹⁸ This print, which was the byproduct of Bridges's lectures, was reproduced throughout the century by other anatomists.

This print also shows that Bridges was giving anatomical instruction from as early as 1751 (when he published *No Foot No Horse*) to at least 1772 (when he published his anatomical preparation, shown in Illustration 17). It is also interesting to note that Bridges dedicated it to the second Duke of Northumberland, Hugh Percy. Percy was an equine enthusiast and eager to encourage the development of farriery. He was colonel of the second troop of Horse Grenadier Guards (1784), colonel of the Royal Horse Guards (1806–1812) and, most importantly, first president of the London Veterinary College (1791–1817).⁹⁹ It is possible that Percy supported the equine anatomical endeavours of Bridges because, like his support of the LVC, he may have also supported other educational outlets for farriers, like Bridges's classes. Barber, Bridges's publisher, recognized Bridges's and Percy's reputations in equine circles and produced this print under Percy's patronage.

⁹⁶ Jeremiah Bridges, 'By Jeremiah Bridges, Anatomist from Oxford' (by J. Barber, 1772). See John G.P. Wood, 'A Tale of Two Prints: Jeremiah Bridges and Edward Snape' *Veterinary History Journal*, 12 (2004); Wood showed that E. Snape copied this plate and labelled it in 1778.

⁹⁷ Christopher Foley, 'Sartorius family (*per. c.* 1730–1831)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, (Oct 2006); For Grignion see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1st series, 80 (1810), 499–500.

⁹⁸ Compare, John G.P. Wood, 'A Tale of Two Prints: Jeremiah Bridges and Edward Snape', p. 174; Robert H. Dunlop, *Veterinary Medicine: an Illustrated History* (New York, 1996), p. 323; Bridges' print can be found at the Wellcome Archives and Fragonard's preparations are in the Museum of National Veterinary School of Alfort.

⁹⁹ Stephen Conway, 'Percy, Hugh, second duke of Northumberland (1742–1817)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, online edition, 2006); L.P. Pugh, *From Farrier to Veterinary Medicine* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 40.

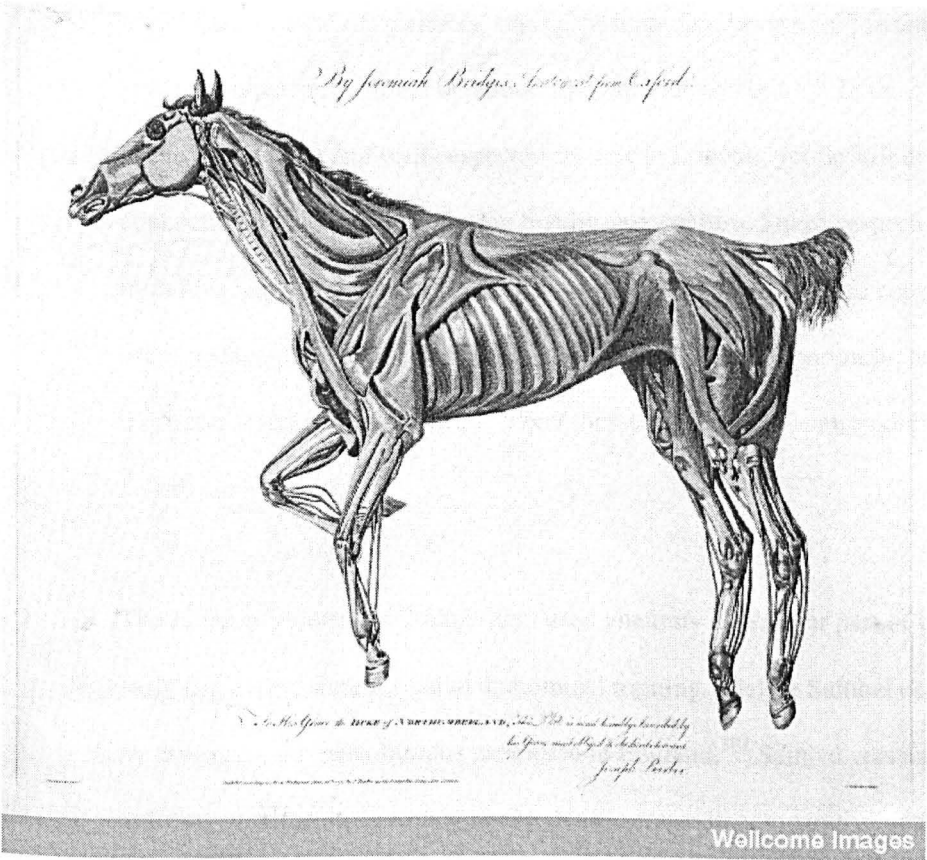


Illustration 6.17, Jeremiah Bridges’s Horse Preparation.

The history of Bridges’s print reveals connections between his teaching and Edward Snape and his infirmary and school. Just six years after Bridges’s print was published, Edward Snape reproduced the print with the title ‘A Muscular preparation of a Horse with References’,¹⁰⁰ adding labels to the print. As we saw in Chapter 4, Snape’s school started in 1765 and lasted as late as 1780. Snape was selling Bridges’s print in both 1778 and 1791 in conjunction with his schools, and like Bridges, he possessed the actual preparations. A newspaper recorded that Snape had both a full body muscular and a full body skeletal preparation.¹⁰¹ This, however, was not the only connection Snape had to Bridges. In 1787 Snape wrote that he had worked with Bridges to test La Fosse’s

¹⁰⁰ Edward Snape, ‘A Muscular Preparation of a Horse with references’, (1778).
¹⁰¹ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 3 May 1780, issue 15 982; *Bath Herald and Register*, 21 January 1797, issue 257.

trephanning method for glanders, stating, ‘Thirty-five years ago, I assisted the eminent Mr. Bridges, in performing this operation, but without success.’¹⁰² In the 1780s Snape was one of the best known and well-respected farriers in London, yet he still highlighted his connection to Bridges by claiming that he assisted him. Snape respected Bridges and found his name and reputation helpful enough to his own work to copy Bridges’s print and use it pedagogically for his students at his school. Most importantly, an examination of these two anatomists demonstrates that they taught equine anatomy in London decades before the LVC opened.

The London Veterinary College also used anatomy as a major part of its curriculum. The early professors were rooted in anatomical training. Vial de Sainbel established his name by dissecting the most famous racehorse in England.¹⁰³ Sainbel was an professor of anatomy at Alfort in 1773 and later a demonstrator in comparative anatomy at the Montpellier medical school.¹⁰⁴ His first assistant, Delabere Blaine, later authored one of the most detailed eighteenth-century equine anatomy books in 1799.¹⁰⁵ Coleman too had an anatomical background. He was a surgeon and had conducted research on the respiration of dogs and cats. This anatomical research was good enough for the Royal Society to make him a Fellow.¹⁰⁶ Anatomy was also one of the priorities of Sainbel and the LVC. Sainbel began giving lectures to the public on equine anatomy and making wax preparations before the first lectures were given to the first students.¹⁰⁷ Finally, when Sainbel died, John Hunter took over, allowing veterinary students to attend his anatomical

¹⁰² Edward Snape, *A Practical Discourse on those Two Diseases in Horses, Termed Glanders and Farcy* (London, 1787), p. 4.

¹⁰³ Vial de Sainbel, *An Essay of the Proportions of Eclipse* (1791).

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (London, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 184-203.

¹⁰⁵ Delabarre Blaine, *The Anatomy of the Horse: Accompanied with Remarks Physiological, Pathological, Chirurgical, and Natural* (1799).

¹⁰⁶ L.P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Surgery*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁷ Delabarre Blaine, *Outlines of the Veterinary Art* (London, 1806), pp. iii-vi; Royal Veterinary College Archives, ‘Minutes to Meetings I’, pp. 1-110.

lectures instead.¹⁰⁸ Based on a comment of William Youatt, one of the first students at the LVC, Ernest Gray claimed Hunter to be the heart of the Veterinary College.¹⁰⁹ This connected veterinary education to the most noteworthy comparative anatomist of eighteenth-century England.

Equine anatomy instruction began as early as the late seventeenth century with Andrew Snape. By the 1750s, however, Jeremiah Bridges had began regular instruction, followed by Edward Snape, who included anatomy as a major part of his school for farriers. Finally, the LVC followed in these footsteps by using anatomy as an important part of their curriculum. Unfortunately, these are the only surviving records of equine anatomical instruction. However, there may have been many others, including farriers and human anatomists demonstrating horse anatomy. Interestingly, as Bridges began giving lectures about equine anatomy, many also began to produce specialised accounts of equine foot anatomy.

Foot Anatomy As an Equine Specialism

The development of equine foot anatomy as a speciality should come as no surprise. Chapter 4 demonstrated that equine medical practice focused primarily on the foot and leg. Nevertheless, because Snape left out foot anatomy, as the Mondinians had left out the anatomy of human arms and legs, before the 1750s few equine anatomical texts included foot anatomy, even though most farriers were working predominantly on the horse's feet. *The Farrier's New Guide* mentions foot diseases only in the last five pages and says nothing of the structure and anatomical parts of the foot. This is ironic, considering

¹⁰⁸ Ernest A. Gray, 'John Hunter and Veterinary Medicine', *History of Medicine*, 1 (1957), 38-50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

Gibson's book connected anatomical structure to disease, thus enabling anatomy to be a practical tool to medicine. This paradox was highlighted by James Clark, who stated, 'Horses are more liable to diseases and accidents in the feet than in any other part of the body: the causes of which seem to be but very little enquired into.'¹¹⁰

One of the first author/anatomists to begin rectifying the absence of foot anatomy in equine anatomical texts was Jeremiah Bridges. In 1751, he authored *No Foot No Horse*. As his title suggests, he believed that without the knowledge of foot anatomy, one could not properly care for the horse. Additionally, if the horse did not have healthy feet, the horse was worthless. On the title page Bridges wrote, 'Each Part is accurately described, their Structure, Use and Conformation considered; the Disorders each Part is liable to are treated of, and proper Remedies for the Cure of each Case are offered.' Though he praises Snape for what he had done for status of farriers and his anatomical work, he also claimed originality. He wrote, 'no new thing in the horse anatomy has been advanced since Snape',¹¹¹ so instead of copying him, Bridges wrote, 'I have faithfully followed the knife, not pinning my faith upon another's sleeve, and abhorring to copy another man's words.'¹¹² His intentions were to add an original piece of anatomical knowledge founded on his own work, arguing that the horse foot was the most important part of the horse.

The most noble superstructure raised on a bad foundation, must fall; the horse with bad feet must necessarily come down, and be useless, or dangerous to his rider . . . erecting a fabric we would consider the foundation we propose to build on, so, before we look upon any other part of the anatomical mechanism of the horse, it

¹¹⁰ James Clark, *Observations on the Shoeing of Horses* (1770), p. 1.

¹¹¹ Jeremiah Bridges, *No Foot No Horse* (1752), preface.

¹¹² *ibid.*

seems most proper to examine nicely into the foot and consider all its parts attentively; because they constitute the basis and support of his whole frame.¹¹³

Snape's intention to align the farrier with the physician and his insistence upon using human anatomical knowledge caused him to neglect the practical use of anatomy for farriery. Bridges, on the other hand, highlighted a new area of equine anatomy, which was useful for the most common farriery practices. This anatomical knowledge was particular to the horse and would not aid in human medical practice. In this sense, equine foot anatomy became a specialism in farriery. Equine practitioners also used the structure of the feet to determine the nature of shoulder injuries and develop surgical therapies for the horse. Additionally, many used the knowledge of foot anatomy to develop new kinds of horseshoes, which were often patented, such as Edward Coleman and Bracy Clark's shoes.¹¹⁴ Many eighteenth-century English farriers realized the importance of foot anatomy and horseshoes; the French developed the same interest at the same time. Their influence, however, did not affect England until after Bridges' book was published in 1752. The French developed the same interest at the same time, the most influential French publication being Etienne La Fosse's book, which was published in 1748 and in English translation in 1755.

Etienne La Fosse's work on equine foot anatomy gave farriery credibility in England.

Morand Ferrein, representing the Academy of Sciences, declared

We have, by order of the Academy, examined a manuscript for the Sieur la Fosse, Farrier of the King's Stables. And for which we cannot avoid giving the Sieur la Fosse due praise for its zeal and capacity in his endeavours to perfect and extend

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ British Library, Science and Technology Service, Ref. 2014, 2370, 2923, 3128, 3542, 3605, 3985, 4025, 4446, 4548, 5922.

the knowledge of his profession. We think these memoirs merit being printed among the Collection of the papers communicated to the Academy.¹¹⁵

La Fosse's research was the first work done by a farrier to be considered an official contribution to the medical sciences and published by the Academy of Sciences.

Importantly, this work was about foot anatomy and its practical use for farriers. However, his book was not a simple description of foot anatomy; it asked specific questions about lameness that could be answered only with knowledge of anatomy and the practice of morbid anatomy. To uncover the seat of lameness La Fosse dissected nineteen lame horses, and wrote, 'In reflecting upon the various motions a horse makes, and upon the structure of his foot, we cannot be surprised to find this part liable to so many accidents. Experience shews us that for one horse who is lamed in the haunch or shoulder, an hundred have it in the foot, and that the knowledge of this part merits all our attention.'¹¹⁶

Through his dissections he often found broken 'nut bones', torn Achilles tendons, damaged 'frogs' and fractured coronary bones. La Fosse believed that anatomical knowledge about the foot could inform one about such therapeutic measures as the proper methods of shoeing in order to reduce lameness. In the latter half of the 1740s, La Fosse compiled his work into his 1754 edition, and one year later, J. Brindley had it translated into English. La Fosse investigated equine diseases affecting the foot and leg.¹¹⁷

William Osmer built upon La Fosse's and Bridges's work by also using foot anatomy to better understand lameness. In the process, he censured La Fosse's work as useful only to French farriers. Osmer saw La Fosse's work as being too broad. Osmer felt that

¹¹⁵ Etienne la Fosse, *Observations and Discoveries Made upon Horses, with a New Method of Shoeing* (Dublin, 1755).

¹¹⁶ La Fosse, *Observations*, pp. 13-14.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. The translator of this book is unknown. F. Smith speculated that it was James Parsons. Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature*. He also experimented with glanders, and additional equine specific disease.

knowledge of foot anatomy was important for creating horseshoes tailored to where the horse was going to be ridden. Referring to La Fosse, Osmer wrote,

One man invents a new piece of machinery, which he finds to be very useful in many respects.—His pride and partiality would fain to have it extend to all purposes. In this light he recommends it to his neighbour, who tries it, and having found it not answer his particular purpose, he falls into the other extreme, and declares it to be good for nothing.—Hence that which may contain many virtues, when used with judgment, become neglected, and is, perhaps, totally thrown aside; and hence the perfection of some arts is less extensive.¹¹⁸

Osmer emphasised that ‘I am thoroughly convinced, from observation and experience, that nineteen lame horses of every twenty in this kingdom, are lame of the artist, which is owing to the form of the shoe, his ignorance of the design of Nature, and [maltreatment] of the foot’.¹¹⁹ He took into consideration the terrain and geography of England to find the best shoe for each type of horse, and wrote that ‘if Mr. La Fosse was to ride a fox-hunting horse down the sides of our steep and slippery hills, I dare say he would not use them twice; for a horse to be so shod, have in this kind of work great difficulty to stand at all; besides, from such slipping and sliding about they are certainly more liable to be lamed; and from the inequality or sloping of the ground, that hunters go over in most countries, the tendious fibres of the leg are, more or less, occasionally strained and elongated.’¹²⁰ This was not, however, a complete rejection of La Fosse’s work and writing. Osmer developed, through anatomical work, the concept of using the right shoe for the right circumstance in order to avoid laming horses.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ William Osmer, *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses*, (London, 1761), p. 31.

¹¹⁹ William Osmer, *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses* (London, 1761), p. 7.

¹²⁰ Osmer, *Observations on Shoeing Horses*, p. 41.

¹²¹ Osmer, *Observations on Shoeing Horses*, p. 39.

Furthermore, Osmer connected lameness to foot problems in *A Treatise of Diseases and Lameness of Horses* (1761). He wrote, 'The frog, together with the bars, occupying the hinder part of the foot, is designed by nature to distend and keep it open, which, when cut away, suffer the heels, the quarters, and the coronary ring to become contracted, whereby another lameness is produced'.¹²² His book showed that causes of lameness, including those in the shoulder, came from problems with the foot.¹²³ He supported his conclusions with descriptions of foot anatomy and of how improper shoeing, which was due to a lack of knowledge about the structure of the foot, caused the majority of lameness in horses. Like Bridges and La Fosse, he argued that no one could practice farriery without the knowledge of foot anatomy.

Although foot anatomy was becoming important in defining learned farriery by the end of the 1750s, many gentlemen still felt it was not a worthy subject to know—not least because shoeing was the most operative part of farriery. Osmer wrote that before his book was published, he had the first two chapters on shoeing and treatment of the foot printed and reviewed, 'which was tried and condemned in an august Assembly, as a Matter of no use or Benefit;—from whence it was also wisely concluded, that it could contain nothing useful in the Whole.' This reaction was perhaps the reason that Gibson and Snape avoided a lengthy dissertation on the foot. Farriery books were generally written for and bought by the gentleman who would have avoided shoeing and other aspects of the practical side of farriery. At the same time, gentlemen were interested in anatomy and, as Chapter 4 showed, lameness was the most common disorder of horses. Therefore, gentlemen would have wanted this knowledge. Hence, Osmer wrote,

¹²² Osmer, *A Treatise on Diseases*, p. 13.

¹²³ Osmer, *A Treatise of the Diseases and Lameness of the Horse*, pp. 47 and 60.

Wherefore the Author submits it to the Judgment of Mankind, and begs Leave to say, that a Proper Method of Shoeing and treating the Foot is as necessary to be understood, as any Thing relative to the Animal, and will be found upon Trial to be of more Consequence than may be imagined; because almost every Kind of Lameness is entirely owing to Ignorance in these Matters.¹²⁴

His emphasis on lameness made his study of the anatomy and diseases of the foot relevant. At any rate, *A Treatise on the Diseases and Lameness of Horses* went through five editions in 1759, 1760, 1761, 1764 and 1766, regardless of the reluctance of the ‘assembly’ that reviewed his first two chapters.

In the 1770s James Clark understood that many gentlemen might associate foot anatomy with the degrading practice of shoeing, but argued for the importance of proper shoeing. He wrote,

Horses are more liable to diseases and accidents in the feet than in any other part of the body: The causes of which seem to be but very little enquired into, from a persuasion that the art of shoeing is arrived at its utmost perfection, and that no bad consequences can attend a method so universally established. But if we examine with attention into the common manner of shoeing horses, and into the pernicious practice of paring and cutting away their hoofs, it will then be obvious from whence most of those maladies arise. The shoeing of an horse properly, is an operation of greater importance to the soundness of their feet than is generally imagined . . . I am convinced . . . that the greater part of horses are rendered useless before they arrive at half their age.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Osmer, *A Treatise*, (1759), p. 124.

¹²⁵ James Clark, *Observations*, pp. 1-2.

Clark felt that from the early 1750s, a new emphasis on the foot had produced great progress in farriery, writing, ‘The Sieur La Fosse, Farrier to the French King, and Mr. Osmer of London have particularly thrown light upon this subject their observations have led to real improvements in that branch of farriery.’¹²⁶ Using the idea of progress and the accomplishments of La Fosse and Osmer, Clark argued that foot anatomy should be a desirable knowledge even for gentlemen. Clark argued that even shoeing, which was the most basic practice of the farrier, required knowledge of foot anatomy.

Clark focused on the solid parts of the foot, ‘In hopes then of rendering the operation of shoeing horses less destructive to their feet.’¹²⁷ He produced the first English plate depicting the bones of the foot, in order to make ‘the anatomical description of the foot more plain and easy’. Illustration 6.18 shows how Clark depicted each part of the foot and the several types of horseshoes. The figures on the left side reveal how the foot fits together and how the shoe related to the anatomy of the foot. With images like the ones shown in Illustration 6.18, Clark was able to describe and show visually where pressure was placed upon each part of the foot when the horse was walking or running, enabling him to describe the purpose of certain shoes and the causes of lameness and foot diseases. By doing so, Clark combined shoeing with anatomy and, therefore, as part of learned farriery.

¹²⁶ Clark, *Observations*, p. iv.

¹²⁷ Clark, *Observations*, p. vi.

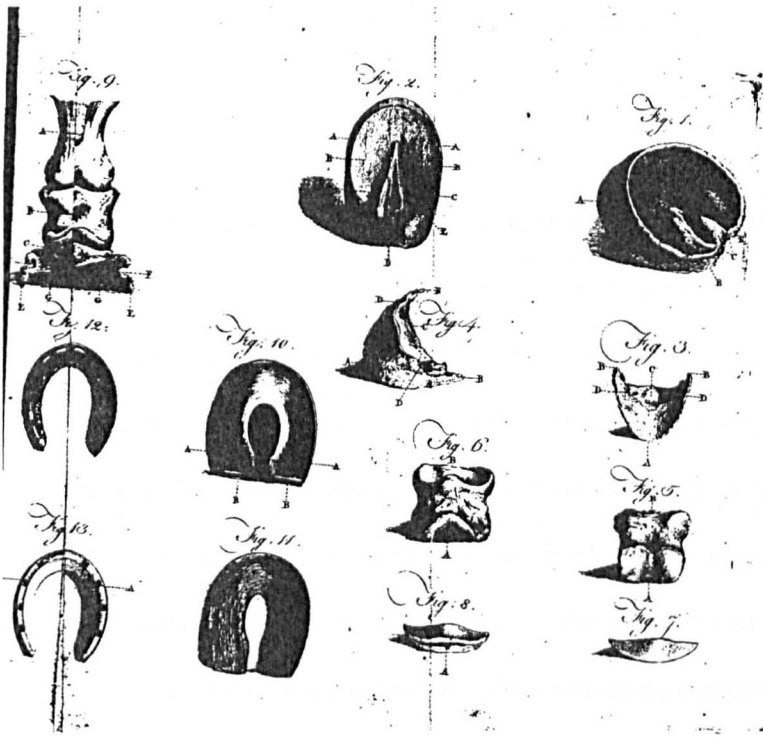


Illustration 6.18, James Clark, *Observations on Shoeing Horses* (London, 1770), foldout.

Clark was well known in equestrian circles in the second half of the eighteenth century and his book appealed to gentlemen. The first edition was just 74 pages long and covered only anatomy, shoeing and paring problems. However, it was later issued in a second and then a third edition and expanded to double its previous size, the multiple editions indicating the book's success in reaching a readership of both gentry and nobility. Clark knew several nobles. One such relationship was with Henry, Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke would seek out Clark when he was in Scotland, and expressed 'approbation' for his work on the foot.¹²⁸ Pembroke was one of the most influential individuals in eighteenth-century horse care, referring to himself as 'horse mad'.¹²⁹ Additionally, though Clark mentions the

¹²⁸ James Clark, *Observations on Shoeing Horses* (Edinburgh, 1775), dedication.

¹²⁹ British Library, Add. MS 32736, fol. 571, 'Letter from Pembroke to Newcastle'; C.T. Atkinson, *History of the royal dragoons, 1661-1934* (1934); S. Herbert, (ed.), *The Pembroke Papers: Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and His Circle* (1939-50) vol. I and II.

continued prejudice against shoeing by the gentry, he had hopes that Pembroke's support for his work would change the way people viewed shoeing and foot anatomy.

By the 1790s, when Strickland Freeman Esq. wrote and produced *Observations on the Mechanisms of the Foot*, foot anatomy and shoeing were accepted as laudable knowledge for gentlemen, even though shoeing was still considered a coarse practice. Freeman was part of a group of riding and horsemanship enthusiasts connected with the riding schools of eighteenth-century England.¹³⁰ He was associated with Sir Sidney Medows and was a member of Medows's riding school, where Medows instructed Freeman in foot anatomy and disease as well as riding. Freeman wrote that they worked together at Medows's school since he was a boy where they discussed the equine foot frequently. By the time Freeman began writing about riding and horse care, he compared his own book with Pembroke's *Military Equitation*, as an influential book. Freeman wrote his book for a genteel group, reflecting the interest in anatomical foot knowledge.

Freeman argued that anatomical knowledge about the horse foot was an important intellectual endeavour for gentlemen and equestrians. He wrote, 'I . . . want . . . a greater encouragement to the scientific investigation of these points by those in higher life. A more diffused knowledge of this thing would at least prevent those gentlemen, who are fond of horses, from being out talked by their grooms.'¹³¹ Freeman claimed the farrier was ignorant. He wrote, 'whoever lets his farrier, groom, or coachman, ever even mention anything more than water-gruel, a clyster, or a little bleeding, and that too very seldom; or pretend to talk of the nature of the feet, of the seat of lamenesses, or their cures, may be certain to find himself very shortly and very absurdly, quite on foot.' He then argued that

¹³⁰ See for example: Pembroke established two, Angelo established one and Medows established one. Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (London, 2005), pp. 52-71.

¹³¹ Strickland Freeman, *Observations on the Mechanism of the Horse's Foot*, p. iv.

it was important for gentlemen to have knowledge about equine foot anatomy. Freeman was not suggesting, however, that gentlemen should practice shoeing or foot dissection.

Observations on the Mechanisms of the Foot was the most detailed description of equine foot anatomy issued in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most compelling part of his book was the sixteen coloured illustrations of the structure of the hoof and foot. The artwork surpassed all other equine anatomical illustrations produced in the eighteenth century, save that of George Stubbs. They depicted the external foot, the bones of the foot and the proper positioning of shoes, along with the veins and arteries of the foot and lower leg (Illustration 25). Freeman's text carefully described the anatomy of the foot and used the work of La Fosse, Osmer, Clark and especially Bridges.

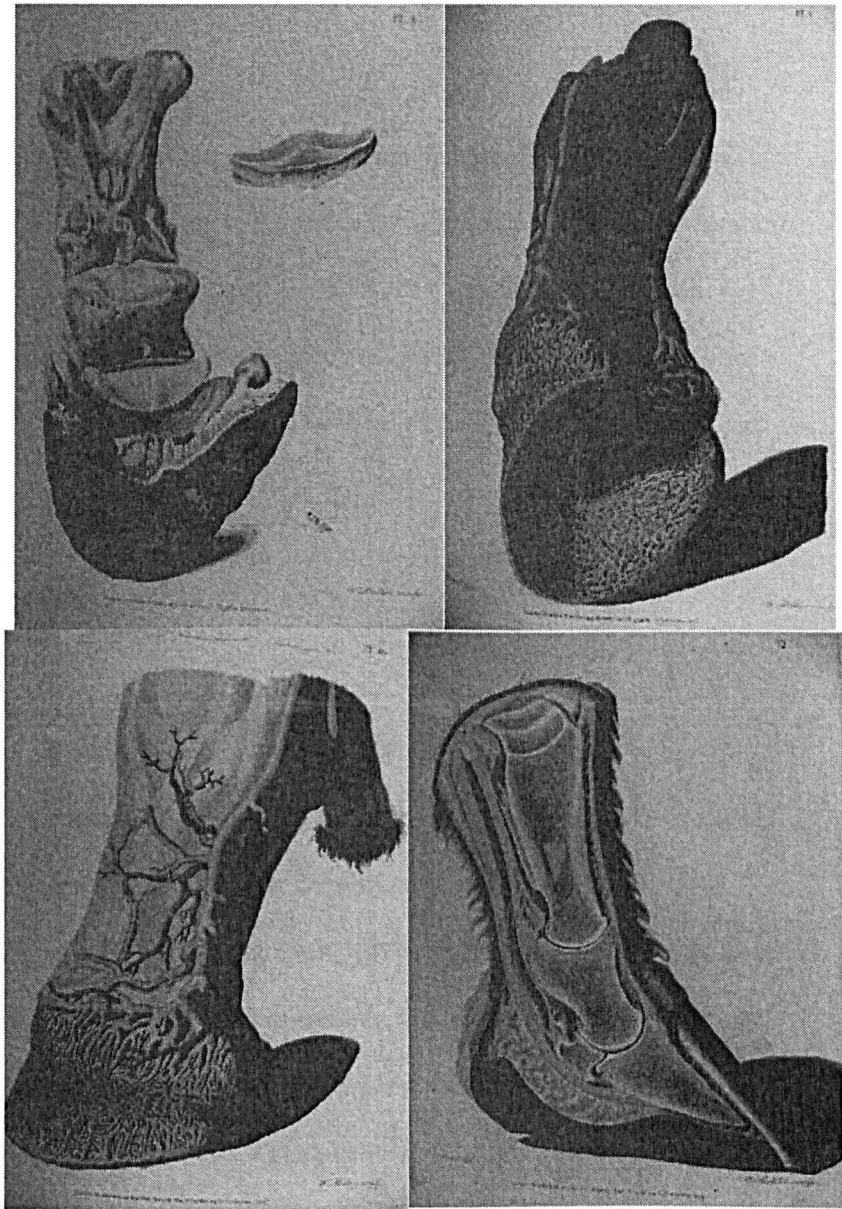


Illustration 6.19, Strickland Freeman, *Observations and Mechanisms of the Horse's Foot* (London, 1796), pl. 1, 4, 8, 9.

The illustrations were part of the world of late eighteenth-century comparative anatomists. Freeman became acquainted with John Hunter and Everard Home when he had gone to them for medical care after an accident. When he decided to write his book, he returned to these acquaintances for help with his anatomical studies. Home corrected Freeman's

descriptions and had his assistant dissect the horse foot with Freeman.¹³² This was Freeman's first experience with dissection¹³³; although anatomical knowledge was an interest of Freeman's, dissection was not. Nevertheless, with help from Home and his assistant, Freeman brought foot anatomy to a new level of detail and expertise. Illustration 6.25 shows the attention to minute structures. Unlike Clark's illustrations, Freeman depicted not only the bones and hoof, but also the details of the composition of the hoof and the corresponding veins, arteries and tendons. Freeman's involvement in this project also reflected the interest and involvement gentlemen had in foot anatomy. Few gentlemen were interested in anatomical practice, though some were fascinated in the knowledge that came from it.

The LVC also played an important part in developing the knowledge of foot anatomy. They dissected horse feet and especially used the practical knowledge that came from foot anatomy to cure lameness at the infirmary. The development of foot anatomy and the focus upon foot diseases was particularly important for the practice at the infirmary. As I showed in Chapter 4, up to 60 per cent of all horses admitted to the infirmary were lame. Vial de Sainbel's first lectures described diseased feet and shoeing.¹³⁴ Therefore, in the 1790s Bridges, La Fosse, Osmer and Clark's work came to fruition in the curriculum of the Veterinary College. The practise of foot anatomy connected to disease and shoeing defined the farrier and the veterinary surgeon.

This chapter has explored the growth of anatomy education, practice and knowledge in the eighteenth century. The emergence of anatomy in eighteenth-century English farriery

¹³² Smith suggests that Home and Hunter's assistant William Clift was the anatomist who aided in his book. Smith, *Early Veterinary literature*, vol II, p. 221, footnote.

¹³³ Strickland Freeman, *Observations on the Mechanism of the Horse's Foot*, vi-vii.

¹³⁴ Vial de Sainbel, *Lectures on the Elements of Farriery or the Art of shoeing Horses, and on the Diseases of the Feet, designed chiefly for the use of the pupils of the Veterinary College* (London, 1793).

developed along with farriery literature discussed in Chapter 1. It also demonstrates the presence and influence of a new and learned farrier and his similarity in practice and education to the veterinary surgeon of the 1790s. As a new practice and intellectual topic, anatomy also influenced many gentlemen and equestrians. Additionally, reflecting the comments of John Lawrence, anatomy became the key to making equine medicine 'scientific'. By analysing the farriery literature about anatomy, one can also see the importance of anatomy for identity, practice and especially knowledge of equine medicine in the eighteenth century. The next chapter will continue to develop eighteenth-century anatomical knowledge, focusing upon how anatomy affected the concept of disease amongst eighteenth-century horse doctors.

Chapter 7

Eighteenth-Century Equine Disease: Glanders and Disease Theory

Because of new kinds of enquiry, like dissection, and new ideas about the equine body, new ideas and concepts about equine disease began to emerge in equine medical texts. These arose from the work of learned farriers and veterinary surgeons writing about anatomy. Though medical historians have highlighted the diversity of ideas and concepts about human disease in the eighteenth century, there is no scholarly work describing how equine practitioners understood disease.¹ Historians of science and medicine have long debated whether the history of disease should be written, as Adrian Wilson described, from a ‘historicalist-conceptualist’ view or a ‘naturalist-realist’ view.² Though many historians have used the ‘naturalist-realist’ view of disease to analyse it, Wilson argued that ‘concepts-of-disease comprise an eligible domain for historical investigation in their own right’ and ‘that the history of disease-concepts plays a central part of the historiography of medicine’.³ When the past is viewed in a ‘naturalist-realist’ perspective, there is a tendency to use anachronistic labels to describe whether certain ideas are “right” or “wrong”. This caused Frederick Smith to mock eighteenth-century farriery authors for not understanding disease. Speaking of William Taplin, Smith wrote, ‘Of Tetanus he knew

¹ See Roger French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989); L. S. King, *The Philosophy of Medicine: The Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1978); idem., *The Road to Enlightenment 1650–1695* (London, 1970); idem., *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, 1958); Robert Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists* (Berkeley, 1980); Theodore M. Brown, *The Mechanical Philosophy and the ‘Animal Oeconomy’* (New York, 1981); Elizabeth Haigh, *Xavier Bichat and the Medical Thought of the Eighteenth Century, Medical History*, Supplement 4, (1984); Saul Jarcho (trans. and ed.), *The Clinical Consultations of Giambattista Morgagni* (Boston, 1984); G.A. Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave: the Man and his Work* (London, 1968); J. Spillane, *The Doctrine of the Nerves* (London, 1981).

² Adrian Wilson, ‘On the History of Disease-Concepts: The Case of Pleurisy’, *History of Science*, 38 (2000), p. 276; for examples of the debate See Charles Rosenberg and Janet Golden (eds.), *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992); Ludwick Fleck, *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, Thaddeus Trenn and Robert Merton (ed.), Frederick Bradley and Thaddeus Trenn (trans.), (Chicago, 1979); Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greek to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (Baltimore, 1945).

³ Wilson, ‘On the History of Disease-Concepts’, pp. 271 and 303.

nothing even up to the end of his life . . . Colic is so badly handled that Taplin might never have seen a case [and] Of course, there is the usual nonsense of the suppression of urine due to the loaded rectum.'⁴ L. P. Pugh also used this kind of argument to glorify the LVC, 'although many persons pondered on this state of affairs and realised that it arose mainly from a lack of scientific education in animal medicine, little attempt was made to remedy the evil until . . . the founding of the first Veterinary School in Great Britain'.⁵ However, by analysing the concepts of eighteenth-century equine disease one can see that Smith and Pugh were mistaken to dismiss pre-veterinary ideas about disease. This analysis will demonstrate that late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century concepts of disease developed from new interests in anatomy, contemporary ideas in medicine and the intellectual milieu that promoted and contributed to learned farriery literature. Though ideas and concepts about disease were subject to each farrier's social, intellectual and practical environment, there were shifts during this period when disease became less symptomatic and more anatomical, and even began to show signs of becoming ontological. This chapter will demonstrate how and why there were changes in the concepts of disease (1680 to 1800) by surveying a chronology of noted eighteenth-century authors and their ideas about glanders.

Lise Wilkinson argued that Glanders was a feared disease from ancient times to the mid-twentieth century.⁶ Focusing on printed literature, she argued that 'Glanders and its bibliography' demonstrate the development of veterinary education in the eighteenth century and, by the 1820s, the rise of a new discipline called comparative medicine, which included veterinary science. By viewing disease in a 'natural-realist' way—marking points

⁴ Frederick Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature* (London, 1976), p. 165.

⁵ L. P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine* (Cambridge, 1962), p. xiii.

⁶ Lise Wilkinson, 'Glanders: Medicine and Veterinary Medicine in Common Pursuit of a Contagious Disease', *Medical History*, 25 (1981), pp. 363–384; John M'Fadyean, 'Glanders: The Harben Lectures for 1904, I, II and III', *Journal of State Medicine*, 13 (1905), pp. 1–18, 65–78; 125–135; F. Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature and its British Development*, vol. I; C.H. Eby and H.D. Evjen, 'The Plague at Athens: New Oar in Muddied Waters', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 17 (1962), pp. 258–263.

in history when farriery authors' beliefs about Glanders aligned with today's beliefs about Glanders—Wilkinson's research neglected to note that there never was a consistent conception of what Glanders was and never asked why learned farriers and surgeons viewed it differently throughout the century. For example, she pointed to the "correct" diagnosis of Glanders, which included Farcy (these were seen as two separate diseases throughout eighteenth-century England), by the veterinary professor Erik Viborg in the 1790s.⁷ This discovery, however, was made possible by the belief that Glanders was a specific entity affecting a specific part of the body, which was one of the several new ways of looking at disease that developed in the eighteenth century. Because Wilkinson did not analyse eighteenth-century concepts of Glanders, she was unable to describe why Viborg was even asking questions about the relationship between Glanders and Farcy. There is a great deal missing from her analysis and this approach, in many ways, reflected Smith and Pugh's view that ignorance was abolished with veterinary education. Therefore, by developing Wilkinson's work, this chapter will give a more detailed description of changing concepts of Glanders to show the diversity and intellectual vitality of farriers.

Glanders

Current medical research describes Glanders (bacterium *Burkholderia mallei*) as an infectious disease occurring primarily in horses, mules and donkeys. Researchers have also shown that it is transmissible to humans.⁸ Equines are usually infected through contaminated food and water, and Glanders can cause horses to die within several weeks or cause a chronic inflection lasting for several years. Nevertheless, the fatality rate, if not treated with antibiotics, is as high as 95 per cent. To control Glanders, government organisations and veterinarians identify infected animals and euthanise them. This policy

⁷ Wilkinson, 'Glanders', p. 373.

⁸ W. Hunting, 'Charles Vial de St. Bel,' *Veterinary Record*, 4 (1891–2), pp. 130–133.

enabled North America, Australia and most of Europe to eradicate Glanders as early as 1945. Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Central America are still plagued with this disease.⁹

Contemporary clinicians categorise Glanders into three different forms, which affect the lungs, the skin or the nasal passages respectively. In the respiratory form, abscesses and nodules develop on the lungs. This causes difficult and painful breathing, coughing, and feverish episodes along with diarrhea. The cutaneous form is noted by nodules in the skin that rupture and ulcerate, discharging a yellow oily substance. Symptoms of the nasal form include large ulcers and nodules inside the nasal passages (including the pituitary gland) that discharge a yellowish and bloody substance.¹⁰ Since 1945, English veterinarians have rarely written about Glanders. However, the disease had a profound effect upon horses in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹ Veterinarians have shown that when large numbers of horses are in close contact the transmission of the disease increases immensely.

Glander's infectious nature made many eighteenth-century horse owners and equine medics highly concerned about Glanders. With the increasing population of horses in early modern society, it affected urban and rural areas and caused concern for everyone owning

⁹ The Center for Food Security & Public Health and Institute for International Cooperation in Animal Biologics, *Glanders* (Ames, Iowa, 2007).

¹⁰ J. Lopez and others, 'Characterization of Experimental Equine Glanders,' *Microbes Infect*, 5 (2003), pp. 1125–1131; H. Neubauer and others, 'Serodiagnosis of *Burkholderia Mallei* Infections in Horses: State-of-the-Art and Perspectives,' *Journal of Veterinary Medicine*, 52 (2005), pp. 201–205; A. Srinivasan and others, 'Glanders in a Military Research Microbiologist,' *New England Journal of Medicine*, 345 (2001), pp. 1134–1138.

¹¹ See John M'Fadyean, 'Glanders'; J.B. Buxton, *The Effect of an Injection of Mullein on the Serum Diagnosis of Glanders* (London, 1914?); William Hunting, *Glanders. A Clinical Treatise* (London, 1908); William Hunting, *Glanders: How its Arises and Spreads; How to Prevent it; and How to Stamp it Out* (London, 1887); William Hunting, 'Glanders in Horse and Man', *Transactions of the Epidemiological Society of London*, 25 (1905–1906), pp. 141–155; George Dougall Robins, *A Study of Chronic Glanders in Man*, Montreal-Royal Victoria Hospital, *Studies from the Royal Victoria Hospital*, 2, (1902).

horses.¹² Etienne La Fosse dedicated his treatise, *The True Seat of Glanders in Horses* (1751), to the French king and his cavalry, writing, 'It is very notorious, that great and terrible Havock is made by the Glanders amongst horses in Armies; and it is very certain, that in the Wars of Europe, for two Hundred Years by-past, great numbers of Horses have been lost thro' this distemper.'¹³ In 1762 J. Thompson wrote, 'This disease has long been reckoned incurable, and a reproach to the art of farriery.'¹⁴ Even though many in the eighteenth century believed that Glanders was not contagious, some institutions such as the army did. In the 1790s, military equestrian Philip Astley wrote that it was the 'duty' of soldiers to prevent Glanders in military horses. He believed that Glanders was contagious, and knowing that horse regimens kept large numbers of horses in close proximity, Astley suggested to other military officers that they separate diseased horses from healthy ones.¹⁵ Glanders, however, posed a problem throughout society. Because of its disturbing effects, accounts of Glanders are commonly found in court cases, literature describing horse sales and printed agricultural literature. William Gibson wrote, 'The Glanders is always reckoned an infectious distemper.'¹⁶ Physician John Alderson even emphasised the contagious nature of some human diseases by comparing them to Glanders. Speaking of disease transmitted in jail, he rhetorically asked, 'How often has a manger, or a rack, nor thoroughly cleansed or renewed, infected a fresh horse with the fatal distemper the

¹² See M. Bearde de l'Abbaye, *Essays in Agriculture* (London, 1776); *The Attorney's Practice in the court of common Pleas* (Savoy, 1746), p. 205; Right Honourable William Benn, *The Proceedings on the King's Commissions of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, Held for the city of London* (London, 1747), pp. 127, 228; Agricola Sylvan, *The Farmer's Magazine*, vol. III (Bath, 1778), p. 19; Agricola Sylvan, *The Farmer's Magazine* (London, 1777), p. 177; *An Abridgment of the Laws of Jamaica* (Jamaica, 1763), p. 95.

¹³ Mons. De La Fosse, *A Treatise Upon the True Seat of the Glanders in Horses*, (ed. and trans.) Henry Bracken (London, 1751), p. xi.

¹⁴ J. Thompson, *The Complete Horse-Doctor* (London, 1762), p. 86.

¹⁵ Philip Astley, *Remarks on the Profession and Duty of a Soldier* (London, 1794), pp. 53–54.

¹⁶ William Gibson, *A New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (Dublin, 1755), p. 228.

Glanders?’¹⁷ Though the contagion theory of disease was a highly debated subject, there was little need to convince farriers or most horse owners that Glanders was infectious.

Glanders was a perplexing disease to diagnose, and it left many farriers and veterinary surgeons bewildered. People commonly recognised Glanders by a continual running nose and swelling glands under the jaw. However, these symptoms could just as easily indicate strangles, Farcy, cough, cold or fever. The Galenic belief that disease was a process and not a thing caused many to argue Glanders was just one part of a process. Farriers saw coughs and colds as symptoms that could develop into Glanders. In 1747 the Right Honorable William Benn refused to prosecute a horse dealer for selling a glandered horse because of the difficulty of diagnosing the disease, for the symptoms could indicate either Glanders or a severe cold.¹⁸ Similarly, a Norfolk farrier described the difficulty of diagnosing a horse with Glanders by writing to the *Farmers Magazine* in 1777, ‘all horses that are said to die of the Glanders, are in fact destroyed by a pulmonary consumption, the lungs being destroyed. I have cured many, in the first stage of this malady, by the following method.’¹⁹ Gentlemen were concerned about the confusion over Glanders, as indicated by the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, which included articles throughout the second half of the eighteenth century about how to identify it.²⁰ In 1769, even physician Francis Home found through his experiments to identify Glanders that it was illusive, claiming that ‘Our latest and best writers or farriers, when consulted, gave me not greater satisfaction’.²¹

¹⁷ John Alderson, *An Essay on the Nature and Origin of the Contagion of Fevers* (Hull, 1788), p. 45.

¹⁸ Great Britain, *The Proceedings on the King’s Commissions of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, held for the City of London, and County of Middlesex* (London, 1746–1747), pp. 227–228.

¹⁹ Agricola Sylvan, *The Farmer’s Magazine* (London, 1777), p. 209.

²⁰ There are many examples of Glanders as one can see in the index, but also, here are several examples: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 18 (1748), pp. 390, 432, 576; *ibid.*, 19 (1749), p. 140; see *A General Index to the First fifty-six Volumes of the Gentleman’s Magazine* (London, 1789).

²¹ Francis Home, *Medical Facts and Experiments* (London, 1769), pp. 99–102.

Eighteenth-century European horse doctors took great care in trying to establish the cause of Glanders and the best treatment of the disease. William Taplin wrote, 'This disease has ever been to the fraternity of farriers what the gout, stone and consumption, have proved to the faculty, a never failing source for sustained attendance.'²² In France, the first veterinary schools focused upon Glanders as a major national concern.²³ Historians have emphasised the debates between Etienne La Fosse (farrier to the king) and Claude Bourgelat (veterinary professor) in France, which show it was one of the most discussed equine diseases in the eighteenth century.²⁴ Both of them developed their ideas through anatomical experiments and their experience with the disease. Their research encouraged lawmakers to establish laws requiring horse owners to kill infected animals. Bourgelat's influence spread quickly as students from other European countries came to France to attend his school.²⁵ However, the English were not convinced by the French arguments about Glanders. John Lawrence wrote, 'As to the numerous attempts hitherto made in the French schools to cure the Glanders, I must own I see nothing to wonder at in their success. It appears evident to me (I say this after good advice) that many of those hectic patients died of the doctor.' Nevertheless, Etienne La Fosse's work had a profound influence and caused many in England to begin studies about Glanders. The English read Bracken's translation of La Fosse's book and used it to develop their own work on Glanders.²⁶ From 1785, the Odiham Agricultural Society believed that one of the best ways to improve farriery was by collecting papers about Glanders. From October to December 1791, the Society collected well over twenty case studies and papers on

²² William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory* (London, 1788), p. 222.

²³ Lise Wilkinson, 'Glanders', pp. 370–373; Joan Swabe, *The Burden of the Beasts*; C. Huygelen, 'The Immunization of Cattle against Rinderpest in Eighteenth-Century Europe'; John Broad, 'Cattle Plague in Eighteenth-Century England'.

²⁴ Par M. La Fosse, *Guide du Marechal* (Paris, 1821); M. La Fosse, *The Veterinarian's Pocket Manual* (London, 1803); La Fosse, *A Treatise Upon the True Seat of the Glanders in Horses*.

²⁵ E. Leclainche, *Histoire de la Medicine Veterinaire* (Toulouse, 1936).

²⁶ John Lawrence, *A Philosophic and Practical Treatise on horses* (London, 1796), p. 43.

Glanders—including one from William Fordyce and Charles Vial de Sainbel.²⁷ However, this desire to understand Glanders had begun centuries before and began to peak in the late seventeenth century through anatomical and pathological studies. The remainder of this chapter will survey this by looking at some of the most prominent conceptual changes of Glanders.

Seventeenth-Century Concepts of Glanders

In 1610 Markham wrote that there were two opinions about Glanders, one from the 'Italians' and the other from 'ancient farriers'. The Italians believed that Glanders was diagnosed by the swelling of the glands in the back of the throat, therefore calling it 'glandule', according to Markham. Other farriers believed Glanders was the swelling of the jawbone. Markham wrote, 'but both these opinions I hold in part erroneous: for although our old Farriers might borrow this word *Glanders* from the *Italian Glandule*; yet these inflammations under the Chappes of the tongue roots, is that disease which we call *Strangle*, and not the *Glanders*.'²⁸ Instead, he wrote, Glanders

is gathering together of moist and corrupt humours, which runneth at the nose; or may be said to be a flux of rhume, which issueth sometimes at one, sometimes at both the nostrils: the cause being the widenesse of the passage, so that the cold liberally entering into the brain, bindeth and crusheth it in such manner, that It maketh the humours there to distil; which descended to the spiritual parts, and possessing them, in the end suffocates the horse, either by their abundance, or killeth him by corrupting the principal parts; or by congealing there be little & little, overrunneth the natural heat.²⁹

²⁷ The Royal Veterinary College Archives, MS 'Minute Book vol I', pp. 83–104.

²⁸ Gervase Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (London, 1610), p. 84.

²⁹ Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (1610), p. 86.

Markham defined Glanders as a process with four stages. The first was a cold that caused bad humours to come from the brain and cause the nose to run. The second was a 'great' cold, which affected the back of the throat and caused a white substance to be discharged from the nose. The third stage also came from the brain and affected the throat, but instead caused brown discharge from the nose and a fever. The last stage Markham called the 'Mourning of the Chine'. He argued this disease developed from the first three types because they were not cared for properly. Markham describes, however, that red humours were discharged from the nose and that 'this disease is a fowle consumption of the Liver'.³⁰ Because Markham relied upon the balancing of humours to understand Glanders, his therapeutic suggestions were also intended to balance the humours by purging. Additionally, knowing that advanced Glanders 'lies' in the back of the throat, he suggested placing medicinal compounds up the nose of the horse.

Like Markham, most seventeenth-century farriery authors identified phases or kinds of Glanders. They considered Farcy, Glanders and the Mourning of the Chine to be the same disease at different points in its development. The colds and other problems affected the brain and imbalanced the humours and caused the progress of the disease. Diseases that exhibited a runny nose were often related to each other. Most believed a cough or cold (due to the runny nose) in the process of disease would turn into Glanders. There was therefore little distinction between Glanders and other diseases. Jacques Solleysell focused on identifying and distinguishing between the signs and symptoms of Glanders and Farcy and found good reason to view them as different diseases. Farcy was identified through cutaneous swelling and sores and not necessarily by a runny nose. They also treated Farcy as an external disease of the skin, such as splents and windgalls. Horse doctors identified disease by the horse's symptoms. Because of this, Farcy and Glanders were differentiated

³⁰ Markham, *Markham's Maister Peece* (1610), p. 92.

and could only be compared when a horse had symptoms of both the cutaneous and nasal forms of Glanders. Due to symptom-based nosologies, Farcy and Glanders continued to be considered separate diseases throughout the eighteenth century. Humoural imbalances displayed themselves differently on the body, therefore Markham and others defined them to be different diseases. Markham identified Glanders by white and clear discharge from the nose; Mourning of the Chine by red discharge from the nose; and Farcy by tumours in the skin; therefore, the former two were part of the same process because they affected the same system, whereas Farcy affected the skin and was considered separate.

Modern veterinary historians have overlooked the concept of symptomatic diseases. Because they have defined bacterium *Burkholderia mallei* as the bacteria that causes both Farcy and Glanders, they seek to find those in the past that also associated them together. Frederick Smith has given credit to Solleysel for such a discovery. Nonetheless, Lise Wilkinson has shown that Smith used a 1718 edition of Solleysel's book (forty years after he died) to show that Solleysel thought Farcy and Glanders were the same disease. However, this was the editor's addition and not in Solleysel's last edition while he was living.³¹ Defining disease by symptoms actually made Solleysel less likely to combine the two diseases.

Symptomatic disease remained important area of study throughout the eighteenth century, but many began to alter their ideas about Glanders as they began to obtain a better knowledge of equine anatomy.

³¹ Jacques Solleysel, *Le Parfait Mareshcal* (Paris, 1679), p. 409; Jacques Solleysel, *Le Parfait Mareshcal* (London, 1718), p. 411.

New Concepts and the Anatomy of the Brain

Andrew Snape began to redefine Glanders by his anatomical studies.³² Like Markham, many farriers in seventeenth-century England believed that Glanders came from a wasting of the brain. They also believed that the key symptom was the discharge of snot or phlegm from the nose, which came from the 'distillations' of the brain. In many ways this was in conjunction with Galenic physiology, which argued 'catarrh' was an excrement of the brain that could enter in through the nose and permeate past the nasal cavity.³³ However, while dissecting a horse's head, Snape uncovered the 'Glandula Pituitaria', which Markham described as the site where the symptoms of advanced types of Glanders were found. Many farriers believed that the pituitary gland received the phlegm from the brain and then discharged it through the nose. Mark S. R. Jenner, analysing seventeenth-century ideas of olfactory, shows Van Helmont, Conrad Schneider and Thomas Willis and Richard Lower's research demonstrated that 'catarrh' did not come from the brain and that the wall separating the brain and nasal cavity was not permeable.³⁴ Snape used this work to come to similar conclusions to understand Glanders. Snape described how Willis and others injected a coloured substance into the vessel, or 'funnell', thought to carry the putrid phlegm from the brain to the nose. The 'funnell' filled with colour and demonstrated that it did not lead from the brain to the nose.³⁵ This disproved that a wasting of the brain caused Glanders, because the matter being discharged from the nose was not coming from the brain.

³² Snape had almost no practical advice in his book, but this is an exception.

³³ Richard Palmer, 'In Bad Odour: Smell and its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, (eds.) *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge, 1993).

³⁴ Mark Jenner, 'Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture', in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (eds.), *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 134–135.

³⁵ Andrew Snape, *Anatomy of an Horse*, p. 111.

Therefore, Snape argued the Mourning of the Chine did not exist. Most of the farriery literature described the Mourning of the Chine as the phase of Glanders marked by red and putrid phlegm coming from the nose. The phlegm was believed to have come from the spine, which passed through the brain (which had supposedly rotted away by this point in the process) and was discharged at the nose. Because of Snape's anatomical reasoning, his argument was well received. In 1776, an anonymous author described Snape's opposition to both theories. He wrote, 'Authors have ascrib'd this disease to various causes, some to infection, some to the lungs others to the spleen, some to the liver, and others to the brain; and after it has been of so long standing that the matter is become of a blackish colour, which is usual in its last stage, they are of the opinion, that it comes from the spine, and therefore have call'd it the Mourning of the Chine which error Mr. Snape has taken notice of.'³⁶ Farriers assumed that the substance was coming from a different origin because as the disease progressed, the snot changed from yellow to red to an odorous blackish colour. They reasoned that because the symptom changed, so did the disease. Snape argued, however, that this was anatomically impossible. He wrote that the changing colours of discharge from the nose were 'not from the matter's flowing from a new part, [such as the brain or backbone] but is caused by reasons of the foulness of the parts through which it passeth, for from thence it hath this dye in a great degree.'³⁷ He believed that the discharge from the nose changed as the 'spongie bones' in the nose became putrid and this happened from 'The mass of Bloud being depraved either by unwholesome Food, or by great Colds, or lastly by infection from the Air and from other Horses'.³⁸ Snape began to define disease through his knowledge of anatomy. Additionally, by knowledge gained through experiments to 'prove', or disprove in this case the cause and location of the disease, he redefined Glanders and influenced many to stop considering the Mourning of the Chine a

³⁶ Phillippos, *The Farrier's and Horseman's Dictionary* (London, 1776), 'Glanders'.

³⁷ Andrew Snape, *The Anatomy of an Horse* (London, 1683), p. 112.

³⁸ Ibid.

disease. In the process, he also questioned the ability to categorise disease simply by external symptoms.

The knowledge of anatomy changed traditional concepts of disease. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Andrew Snape's anatomical work began a new era in farriery. His work on Glanders especially demonstrates how his anatomy changed some ideas in farriery also. Nearly all of the literature discussing Glanders in the context of farriery in the eighteenth century discussed Snape's contribution, especially his exposé of the Mourning of the Chine. Following Snape's lead, others took up the torch where he left off.

Glanders and the Blood (1720–1751)

Gibson clearly discussed disease in an iatromechanical way. Gibson's first major exposure to Glanders was while he served as a surgeon in the cavalry. Like most army farriers or surgeons, Gibson worked with large numbers of horses that were more susceptible to the spread of Glanders due to close living environments. His conclusions drew both on his experience with Glanders and on his understanding of Solleysel and Snape's work. He also argued that Glanders affected the pituitary gland. But, unlike Snape, he described *how* the pituitary gland became the site of the disease. He wrote,

Concerning the nature and cause of this discharge, (the phlegm from the nose) authors have given very strange and unintelligible accounts; some have ascrib'd it to the lungs, some to the spleen, some to the liver and kidneys, and some to the brain; and when it has continued so long that the matter becomes a blackish colour, as is usual in the its last stage, they have imagine'd it to come from the spine; and from thence have called it the Mourning of the Chine . . . but as it causes an over great determination of the blood towards the ulcerated part, which lessens the common and ordinary discharges by the glands and pores of the body; for by this

means the blood is rendered more viscid, and unapt to motion; and (as the above mentioned author observes) it loses its spirits; and therefore it very readily stagnates in the soft parts, and where the blood vessels are very small, as in the lungs, kidneys, &c. forming ulcers in them also.³⁹

Gibson argued that the symptoms of Glanders were due to the state of the blood. As the blood moved through the body, collisions and blockages caused the disease to develop in a specific area of the body. In Glanders, the blood was being blocked in the 'soft and spongy' area in the pituitary gland. Snape suggested a similar process, but was never explicit about it, whereas Gibson wrote, 'it is caused by an over great plenty of blood from the arteries in those parts.'⁴⁰ He believed that the pituitary gland was the site of the disease and that the 'viscid' blood, which accumulated in the 'glandulous flesh' caused irritation, swelling and the discharge of phlegm.

Gibson argued that Glanders was also caused by atmospheric particles. This came from the neo-Hippocratic ideas of Thomas Sydenham.⁴¹ Historians have argued that the way in which Sydenham focused on specific diseases and their external causes, like the environment and airs, began the development of an ontological theory of disease.⁴²

Gibson's ideas about Glanders are better understood in this context as are his ideas about contagion. Wilkinson incorrectly wrote that Gibson, 'never recognised the identity of the contagious material in Glanders and Farcy'.⁴³ Though Gibson did not identify the 'material' Wilkinson wanted him to (*Burkholderia mallei*), he did identify that this was an

³⁹ William Gibson, *The Farrier's New Guide*, pp. 99–102.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴¹ Andrew Cunningham, 'Thomas Sydenham: Epidemics, Experiment and the Good Old Cause', in Roger French and Andrew Wear (eds.) *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 177–186.

⁴² Andrew Cunningham, 'Thomas Sydenham', pp. 180–183; Kenneth Keele, 'The Sydenham-Boyle Theory of Morbific Particles', *Medical History* 18 (1974), pp. 240–248; Richard Shryock, 'Germ Theories in Medicine Prior to 1870: Further Comments on Continuity in Science', *Clio Medica* 7 (1972), pp. 81–109.

⁴³ Wilkinson, 'Glanders', p. 368.

infectious disease and outside particles (fumes, airs and exhalations from the earth) could cause the horse body (depending on the horse's constitution) to become diseased.⁴⁴ These were not his ideas, but he did begin to see disease in a manner that would lead to ontological theories of disease, as Sydenham's ideas about fever had earlier.⁴⁵ Gibson wrote, 'The Glanders is always reckoned an infectious distemper . . . [it] is more than ordinarily infectious, makes a sudden progress, and soon ends in a rot and is extremely dangerous to all horses that come within the scent of their breath, or into the stable where they stood until it has been carefully clean'd and well air'd'.⁴⁶ Following Dr. Mead, as usual, Gibson believed that there were 'poisons' which could enter the blood from the atmosphere, causing disease in a 'perfectly mechanical' way.⁴⁷ This enabled him to focus on vascular causes of disease, instead of a purely ontological concept of disease.

Dr. Henry Bracken also focused on vascular theories to understand Glanders. He, however, emphasised the forces acting on the blood instead of seeing the blood as strictly mechanical. Bracken believed forces, like the universal force of gravity, were a part of the natural function of the body. The horse body was healthy if 'short-range forces' were not impeded by unnatural problems within the body. For example, he believed the horse body naturally secreted fluids and that the particles within the fluids were secreted only at a specific time. The timing of the secretions depended upon the natural order of the 'short-range forces'; if the blood was slowed or quickened secretion happened unnaturally, disease resulted.

⁴⁴ Gibson, *Farrier's New Guide*, pp. 162–163.

⁴⁵ Margaret DeLacy, 'The Conceptualization of Influenza in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Specificity and Contagion', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67 (1993), pp. 78–81. DeLacy wrote that 'He had developed what medical historians call an "ontological" approach to disease: he hoped to write the "natural history of diseases" and to classify them in the same way that botanists classified plants'. DeLacy, 'The Conceptualization of Influenza', p. 79.

⁴⁶ Gibson, *A New Treatise on the Diseases of Horses*, p. 216. See also, *idem.*, *The Farriers New Guide*, p. 108.

⁴⁷ Gibson, *Farrier's New Guide*, pp. 162–163; Richard Mead, *A Mechanical Account of Poisons In Several Essays* (London, 1708), pp. 155–189.

A group of doctors developing Newton's ideas about short-range forces in humans strongly influenced Bracken's ideas about Glanders. Anita Guerrini has analysed the idea of 'Newtonian medicine' in the late seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century.⁴⁸ She showed that a small circle of Scottish physicians, focusing on mathematics, developed Newton's short-range force ideas to describe the physiology of the human body.⁴⁹ Guerrini argues that Archibald Pitcairn and David Gregory relied heavily upon iatromathematics and Newton's theories of attracting particles to demonstrate human physiology as early as 1687. Pitcairn 'argued that fluids were not separated from the blood through differently configured vessels (like sieves with different shaped holes); rather it was the size of the vessels' apertures and the forces exerted on the different fluids within the blood that was crucial.'⁵⁰ William Cockburn, Richard Mead and George Cheyne later developed these ideas even further. However, James Keill's work on animal secretion had the largest influence on Bracken, equine physiology and new concepts of Glanders.⁵¹

Dr. James Keill's ideas represent the shifting and varied ideas of Newton's followers, but most importantly, his ideas influenced the eighteenth-century world of concepts of equine

⁴⁸ Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Oklahoma, 2000), p. 38.

⁴⁹ See Isaac Newton, 'De Natura Acidorum,' in H.W. Turnbull (ed.), *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, (Cambridge, 1961), p. 202–214; idem, *Opticks*, query 31. (As quoted by Guerrini)

⁵⁰ Andrew Wear, 'Early Modern Europe, 1500–1900', in Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter and Andrew Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 356.

⁵¹ See Robert G. Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists* (Berkeley, 1980); Theodore M. Brown, *The Mechanical Philosophy and the "Animal Oeconomy"* (New York, 1981); Idem., 'From Mechanism to Vitalism in Eighteenth-Century English Physiology,' *Journal of the History of Biology*, 7 (1974), pp. 179–216; G.A. Lindeboom, 'Pitcairne's Leyden Interlude Described from the Documents,' *Annals of Science*, 19 (1963), pp. 273–284; Andrew Cunningham, 'Sydenham versus Newton: The Edinburgh Fever Dispute of the 1690s between Andrew Brown and Archibald Pitcairne,' *Medical History*, supplement 1, (1981); C. D. O'Malley, 'James Keill of Northampton, Physician, Anatomist, and Physiologist,' *Medical History*, 15 (1971), pp. 317–335; Anita Guerrini, 'Newtonian Matter Theory, Chemistry, and Medicine, 1690–1713,' (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1983); idem., *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment*; idem., 'Isaac Newton, George Cheyne and the "Principia medicinae"', in *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century Cambridge*, pp. 222–245; idem., 'James Keill, George Cheyne, and Newtonian Physiology, 1690–1740', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 18, no. 2 (1985), pp. 247–266; idem. and Jole R. Shackelford, 'John Keill's "De Operationum Chymicarum Ratione Mechanica"', *Ambix*, 36 (1989), pp. 138–152; idem., 'Newtonianism, Medicine and Religion', *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 293–312.

disease. Unlike Pitcairn, Keill placed his emphasis on the attraction of the particles in the blood instead of on the relationship between the particles and the glands they passed through. This represented a distinct shift from highly mechanical to the control of short-range forces. Keill explained that the particles in the blood secreted at different times in the circulation, according to each particle's attractive force. Unlike the machinists, who believed that the pores allowed only certain particles to pass due to size and shape (like a sieve), he developed an answer that would not allow the tiniest particles to pass through all the types and sizes of pores. Keill believed that respiration separated the particles in the blood. Later, as the blood circulated, the particles united according to their various attractive powers and according to the velocity of the blood. The most powerfully attractive particles joined first, then the next powerful and so on until finally the most weakly attractive particles joined. These joint particles would then be secreted according to their size and attractive force throughout the circulation of the blood. Hence, Keill saw secretion as a chemical process of attracting particles within the blood.⁵²

Though these ideas were not found in the majority of farriery texts, they appear in the eighteenth-century's most issued text, *Farriery Improv'd* by Dr. Henry Bracken. He quoted and described Keill's work to explain the blood and glands of horses. Bracken wrote that 'the Works of the truly ingenious Dr. Keil' shed 'true light' upon the subject. Bracken opposed the traditional mechanical theory, writing 'Some think the glands are tubes whose orifices differing in figure, admit only bodies of similar figures to pass through them . . . is demonstrably false; for besides the liquors are susceptible of all figures . . . and a lesser diameter than that of the Gland will pass through'.⁵³ Bracken further argued that the varying particle attractions in the blood occurred as the blood

⁵² James Keill, *An Account of Animal Secretion* (London, 1708); Anita Guerrini, 'James Keill', pp. 256–258.

⁵³ Henry Bracken, *Farriery Improved* (1737 edition), p. 291.

journeyed away from the heart, allowing, as Keill argued, for certain secretions to pass through certain glands.⁵⁴

Bracken's ideas about the glands gave him a unique perspective on Glanders. Because of his belief of the natural order of attractive particles and the systematic secretion of fluids and 'fomentation' that kept the body healthy, he argued that if the blood was slowed or quickened, certain fluids and particles would be secreted at the wrong time. This caused the horse to be diseased, and in the case of Glanders, the pituitary gland became putrid due to the malfunction of the glands from quickened blood. He wrote 'many horses are affected with swellings of the glands . . . insomuch that they indurate or harden, and would turn out like a boiled Potatoc; and when thus hardened, they are unfit to perform Secretion.'⁵⁵ Thus he further argues that 'here it may not be amiss to shew the reader the form or structure of a Gland, and then he may be the better qualified to judge of Glandulous Disorders'. If the glands in any part of the body became constricted or damaged, fluids would not be able to be secreted properly and disease ensued.

Both Gibson and Bracken believed that Glanders was caused by a malfunction of the blood. They were, however, different conceptions of the disease. Gibson drew his ideas from a mechanistic interpretation of the structure of the horse body, which functioned like a machine. Bracken, on the other hand, saw the body functioning as part of the natural world, with universal forces acting upon the horse body. Both were influenced by physiological ideas from human medicine and by the anatomical ideas proposed by Snape and the eighteenth-century body of equine anatomical literature. Beginning with Snape and by the 1740s, equine disease had become much more anatomical instead of symptomatic. Gibson used knowledge of anatomy to describe the structure of the horse

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 290–300.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 289–290.

and Bracken as a base to calculate the pressure of the blood in the horse, but both show that disease was conceptually different in the eighteenth century. Their ideas also developed into the anatomical localisation of Glanders.

Localised Disease and Glanders (1740–1760)

Like Bracken's work, Etienne La Fosse's work on Glanders set the pattern for understanding the disease in eighteenth-century England.⁵⁶ His influence in England was partly due to Bracken's translation of his book *A Treatise on the True Seat of Glanders in Horses* (1751). Also, John Bartlet's *The Gentleman's Farriery* reproduced and endorsed La Fosse's work in 1758 and became the primary reason the English knew it so well. Bartlet reproduced his plates on trepanning for Glanders and claimed La Fosse's work had the most superior knowledge about Glanders (Illustration 7.1).

⁵⁶ Etienne La Fosse, *A Treatise Upon the True Seat of Glanders*.

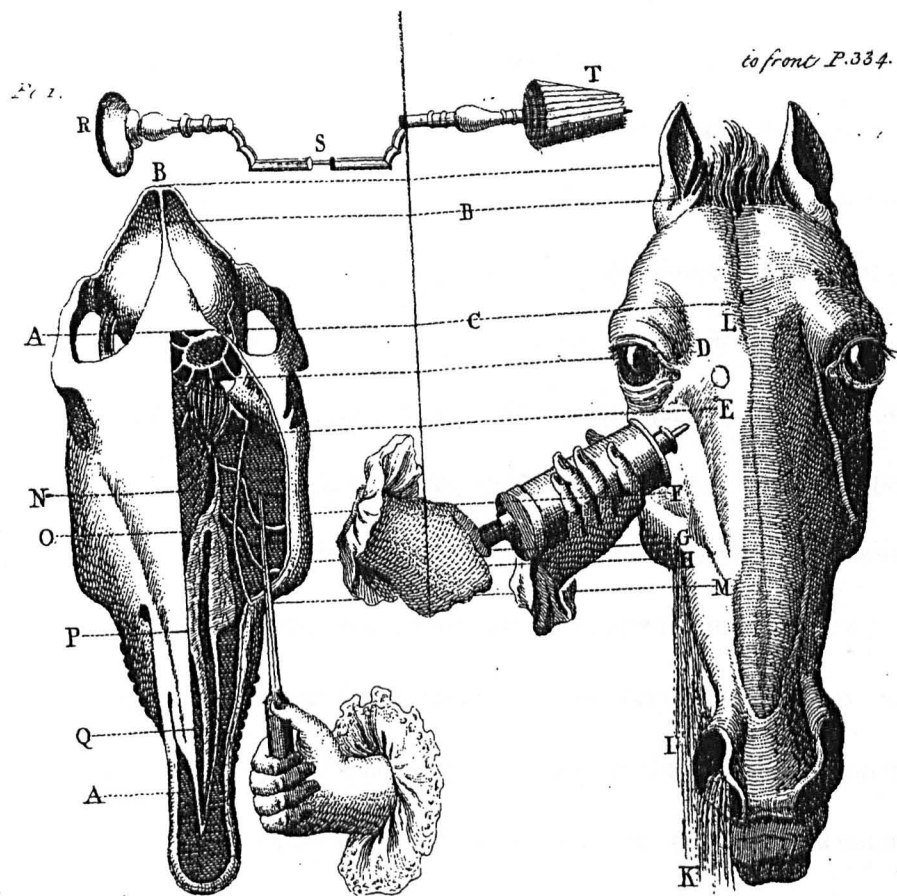


Illustration 7.1, La Fosse’s Plate, John Bartlet, *The Gentleman’s Farriery*, 235.

Uncovering the ‘seat of Glanders’ was La Fosse’s main objective. Though Snape had identified the pituitary gland as the area that Glanders affected, farriers continued to debate about the cause and nature of the disease. Bartlet wrote, ‘The cause and seat of the Glanders has till lately been so imperfectly handled, and so little understood, by the

writers on this distemper that it is no wonder it should be ranked among the incurables.⁵⁷

He believed that La Fosse had found the seat and cause of Glanders. The method that La Fosse used convinced many. Bartlet wrote, 'a new light having been thrown on this whole affair by the study of M. La Fosse . . . who has been at the pains to trace out, and discover, by *dissections* (. . . and *experiments* . . .), the source and cause of this disorder'.

Furthermore, Bartlet suggested that by this method of dissection and experiment, farriers could find a perfect cure. Thomas Hale, a husbandry author, also wrote, 'Many call it incurable; and indeed, according to the old practice, it must have been so: for if ever a horse recovered under that management, Nature must have performed the cure: it is impossible they should so much as have assisted in it, who knew nothing of the seat and nature of the disease. Of the late years some persons of skill have undertaken the cure of horses; anatomy has been called in to assist in the operations; and dissections made of morbid bodies of the animal, to show the cause, situation, and nature of their diseases.'⁵⁸

By dissecting horses that had died from Glanders, La Fosse changed it to a localised disease. His practices reflect a broader trend occurring amongst human practitioners, who used morbid anatomy to pinpoint the specific location of diseases.⁵⁹ La Fosse was able to change the concept of the Glanders, partly because of French policies on glandered horses. In France, there were laws prohibiting the amount of time one could keep a glandered horse—forcing many to kill horses suspected to have Glanders and, subsequently, enabling La Fosse to dissect many dead glandered horses.⁶⁰ By careful dissections, he found that organs like the brain and liver had no abnormalities after a horse died of Glanders, but that the pituitary membrane and the area surrounding it always did. Bartlet

⁵⁷ John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery*, p. 111.

⁵⁸ Thomas Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry* (London, 1776), p. 665.

⁵⁹ S. Jarcho 'Giovanni Battista Morgagni: His Interests, Ideas and Achievements,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 33 (1948), pp. 503–527; P. Klemperer, 'Morbid Anatomy Before and After Morgagni,' *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 37 (1961), pp. 741–760; idem., 'The Pathology of Morgagni and Virchow', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 32 (1958), 24–38.

⁶⁰ M. La Fosse, *The True Seat of Glanders*, pp. 47–55.

stated, 'after examining by dissection the carcasses of glander'd horses . . . assisted for that purpose by ingenious and expert anatomists for ten years together affirms this disease to be altogether local; and that the true seat of it is in the pituitary membrane'.⁶¹ La Fosse did not believe that unbalanced blood caused the disease. He wrote, 'the Glanders is a local and inflammatory disease, and the seat of it is in the pituitary membrane.'⁶² In order to prove that Glanders was a localised disease he 'injected a certain liquor into one of the nostrils of a sound horse, which inflamed the pituitary membrane; this was attended with a swelling of the lymphatic glands on the same side; this inflammation produced ulcers, which caused a running of the nostril as in Glanders.'⁶³ La Fosse believed that he had reproduced Glanders and proved that Glanders occurred without affecting the blood. Therefore, Glanders became a localised irritation in the pituitary membrane, which was produced by an outside irritant and not an imbalance of the blood.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, morbid anatomy had become an important part of identifying disease. John Hunter's collection at the Royal College of Surgeons and the work of Giambattista Morgagni are clear examples of this kind enquiry.⁶⁴ Additionally, the Alfort Veterinary College Museum has a collection similar to the Hunter collection of preserved organs and bodies. Following the tradition of morbid anatomy, which Russell Maulitz argues was a seventeenth-century development, disease began to be identified in specific organs in the body.⁶⁵ Though Snape had identified Glanders from his knowledge of horse anatomy, he had not seen Glanders the same way La Fosse had. The identification of Glanders as a specific problem through morbid anatomy separated

⁶¹ John Bartlet, *The Gentleman's Farriery*, p. 113.

⁶² M. La Fosse, *The True Seat of Glanders*, p. 28.

⁶³ John Reeves, *The Art of Farriery* (London, 1767), p. 393.

⁶⁴ Benjamin Alexander (trans.) *Giambattista Morgagni: The Seats and Causes of Diseases* (London, 1769); Saul Jarcho (ed.), *The Clinical Consultations of Giambattista Morgagni: The Edition of Enrico Benassi* (Boston, 1935).

⁶⁵ Russell Maulitz, 'The Pathological Tradition', in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine* (London, 1993), pp. 170–171.

understanding of the disease from previous holistic concepts of disease. Delacy has argued that concepts of contagion and inoculation enabled eighteenth-century medics to see disease as a specific thing.⁶⁶ La Fosse's morbid dissections, in a similar manner, caused him to see Glanders more ontologically.

La Fosse's morbid anatomy and experiments turned an internal disorder of the blood into a disorder that farriers could care for surgically. La Fosse had located the problem and wanted to respond surgically by working directly on the diseased organ. Therefore, he needed to be able to reach inside the horse's head to medicate the ulcer. He did so by trepanning, cutting a hole in the head just above the membrane, and injecting medicine into the hole by syringe. La Fosse intended this to cure ulcers on the membrane.⁶⁷ Though this was similar to previous authors' therapeutics, La Fosse did it for different reasons—he was not trying to balance the blood or humours.

Though La Fosse's concepts remained relatively popular in England in the 1750s and 1760s, some farriery authors criticised them. In the 1780s William Taplin was one of the most outspoken dissenters of La Fosse's ideas. He criticised farriers for making so much money from a disease that was 'incurable'. He wrote, sarcastically, that La Fosse's plate on trepanning was so well done that it 'is almost sufficient to induce any man to have his horse's head perforated (or laid open) merely to indulge in the happiness of becoming a voluntary dupe to M. La Fosse's experiments.'⁶⁸ Additionally, he attacked Bartlet, 'In the first instance, it may not be a mess to make proper acknowledgments to the French king's farrier, and his trumpeter, Mr. Bartlet, for dividing and subdividing one in to seven distinct (or imaginary) diseases; in short, upon accurate investigation, we find the fertile M La Fosse (and his echo) have defined six different discharges from the nostrils to constitute so

⁶⁶ Delacy, 'The Conceptualization of Influenza', pp. 82 and 111.

⁶⁷ La Fosse, *The True Seat of Glanders*, pp. 33–46.

⁶⁸ William Taplin, *The Gentleman's Stable Directory*, p. 223.

many (nominal) Glanders, and then describe a seventh, and tell us that is the real Glanders.’⁶⁹ Taplin, as an ‘equestrian physician’, had many reservations about localised disease and based his ideas on the status of the blood.

Nevertheless, Bartlet’s book continued to be reprinted and the localisation of Glanders remained the main idea that opposed vascular theories. In 1776, in support of localisation, Thomas Hale wrote, ‘Anatomy, observation, and a certain and regular method of cure, founded upon those experiments and observations, prove that the seat of the disorder is where it appears; that no part of the creature is affected but the nostrils; and that the disease really lies in the glands, which are situated in the thin skin that covers the inside.’⁷⁰ Many in England believed La Fosse’s ideas about disease and developed his method of discovery.

Those that believed in the vascular theory of disease, however, argued that he was mistaken. Edward Snape and Jeremiah Bridges together attempted trepanning for Glanders and ‘from the strictest inquiry, and . . . by opening a great number of the heads of horses, who died of Glanders.’⁷¹ However, they questioned La Fosse’s conclusions about Glanders. In a combined effort, they reproduced La Fosse’s experiments and his practice of trepanning horse heads. Though Snape believed that Glanders was in pituitary membrane, he wrote, ‘those who entertained this idea, have mistaken an effect for the cause of the disease, for the primary disease itself; as I am fully persuaded, from the strictest inquiry, and confirmed by opening a great number of the heads of horses, who died of the Glanders.’⁷² Sarcastically he also wrote ‘To those who have not made such deep researches into the animal oeconomy, and investigated pathology with great

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 224.

⁷⁰ Thomas Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, p. 668.

⁷¹ Edward Snape, *A Practical Discourse on those two Diseases in Horses, Termed the Glanders and Farcy* (London, 1787), p. 5.

⁷² Edward Snape, *A Practical Discourse on those two Diseases in Horses Termed the Glanders and Farcy*, p. 5.

attention, the fact may seem strange. But it is undeniable, that the original cause of the Glanders consists in an impure state of the blood.’ Snape concluded that La Fosse was wrong because one of the glandered horse that he dissected had a string of coagulated blood in the right auricle and vena cava. In his mind this proved that Glanders was a vascular disease.

Bracken also opposed La Fosse’s conclusion. Bracken wrote, ‘The Author [La Fosse] should have said, that the true Seat of the Distemper is in the Glands situated in the Pituitary Membrane, and not in the Membrane itself; because membranes do not secern or separate anything from the blood, it is the glands that are the strainers in all and every Part of the Animal Machine.’⁷³ Though Bracken believed that the pituitary membrane was site of the disease, he believed that this was from the glands constricting and that the real problem was in the blood, not an external irritant. He wrote, again referring to La Fosse, ‘The Author will not allow any Part of the Cause to subsist in the Mass of Blood; but, no doubt, there are Cases, where Respect ought to be had to internal Medicines; for it is with the Glanders as with other cases in surgery, viz. unless the Practitioner is skilful enough to correct and balmily the Blood and Juices of the Body, he may go on with his topical and outward Applications a long Time to no Purpose; and if he, by good luck, happen to heal the Breach, yet the cure seldom lasts long, but the humours return to, and make their exit by, the old Drain.’⁷⁴ This demonstrates that ideas about disease are not easily changed. Even though La Fosse had new practical arguments about Glanders, they could not easily dismiss vascular theories about Glanders.

However, La Fosse’s ideas would have been welcome to those who believed Glanders was contagious. To prove that it was contagious he argued it spread from one gland to another

⁷³ La Fosse, *The True Seat of Glanders*, p. 16.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

gland of a single horse. He wrote, 'In Effect, when a horse discharges matter from one Nostril only, the Gland, or Kernel, lying next the Jaw Bone on the same Side, is found tumified and obstructed; but, as soon as the Running is from both Nostrils, the two Sublingual Glands under the Jaw Bone are affected.'⁷⁵ Therefore, an irritated gland on one side of the nose could spread to the gland in the other side of the nose..

La Fosse's conceptualisation of Glanders changed how the disease was viewed in three distinct ways. First, Glanders became a specific disease that affected a specific area of the body. Medical historians have recognised that anatomy developed into pathological anatomy in the eighteenth century, and like Morgagni and Hunter decades later, La Fosse was dissecting dead diseased bodies, which uncovered disease occurring in specific organs.⁷⁶ Second, though La Fosse said little about the identity of the irritant that caused Glanders, he did support an ontological theory of disease. Finally, his ontological theory of disease went hand in hand with his concept of contagion, both of which concepts would lead to the further development of similar concepts in the 1790s.

'Viruses', Vascular Disease and Glanders (1790s)

Like other prominent veterinary surgeons and farriers in the 1790s, Charles Vial de Sainbel was particularly interested in Glanders. He used morbid anatomy as his main method to find the 'true seat of Glanders', and as a professor at Lyons veterinary school, he had daily experience with it. Just like La Fosse, Sainbel had an ample supply of horses that had died from Glanders. Sainbel had opportunities to treat horses, experiment with horses, and or kill diseased horses for dissection, which in turn benefitted the students and the school. He kept detailed records of each of the cases in order to aid his research about

⁷⁵ La Fosse, *The True Seat of Glanders*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ Russell Maulitz, *Morbid Appearances: The Anatomy of Pathology in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987); William Coleman and Frederic Holmes (eds.), *The Investigative Enterprise: Experimental Physiology in Nineteenth-Century Medicine* (Berkeley, 1988).

Glanders. In a quantitative manner, Sainbel too added to the variety of concepts of Glanders.⁷⁷

Sainbel believed, like La Fosse, that an irritation in the pituitary gland caused Glanders, but he wanted to discover the exact source of the irritation. He referred to this irritant as a 'virus' by which glandered horses could infect healthy horses.

I do not conceive why it should stop in its progress at the pituitary membrane, without going down the windpipe and the bronchias; nor do I see any reason why it should not fix upon the lungs. If the existence of the absorbent vessels cannot be denied, can we prove, that the virus deposited on the surface of the pituitary membrane, of the windpipe, or the bronchias, does not penetrate into the circulation? And if it penetrates thither . . . are we to suppose that it passes through the whole vascular system, without vitiating more or less, the blood and humours in its course, only to obtain a lodgment at the orifices of the excretory vessels of the abovementioned membrane and corrupt the mucilaginous liquor that flows from thence? It is much more reasonable to conclude, that the virus, circulating through the mass of humours, is particularly affecting the injurious to the lymph . . . that the morbidic humour flowing upon it, irritates, inflames, and corrodes, producing ulcers.⁷⁸

Though Sainbel was not suggesting a modern theory of 'viruses', he was attempting to describe how an irritant that comes from the external world could cause Glanders.⁷⁹

However, after many weeks of doctoring a glandered horse, he concluded that Glanders was not a localised disease because he had cured many ulcers in the pituitary membrane of

⁷⁷ Charles Vial de Sainbel, *Elements of the Veterinary Art* (London, 1797), 'Glanders', pp. 51–94.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.

⁷⁹ See James White, *A Treatise on Veterinary Medicine* (London, 1812), vol III. White refers to 'poisons' that cause Glanders.

a horse and it later died of Glanders. After dissecting the horse, he wrote, 'I discovered many cankers in the pituitary membrane; and found that many had been cicatrized by means of the injections. [His doctoring] If as I had reason to think, all those which now appeared were new ones, it proves that the seat of the Glanders is not local, but exists generally in the mass of humours.'⁸⁰ As a contagionist, Sainbel believed particles ('viruses') in the air passed from one horse to another.⁸¹ In conjunction with this concept, his experiment "proved" that though Glanders generally infected the pituitary gland, it could also affect—because of its particulate nature—other areas of the body and enter the blood.

Sainbel believed that the virus could enter the blood, linking Glanders back to possible vascular theories of disease. However, Sainbel saw Glanders ontologically, because he believed that a specific virus caused Glanders. Therefore, the Glanders virus could simultaneously connected to the pulmonary, cutaneous and nasal forms of Glanders. He had no qualms with any of these areas as the seat of the disease, because once the virus entered the blood, it could affect any of these areas.⁸² These concepts led Sainbel to believe that not only external therapies were required, but also internal therapies that would affect the blood in which the virus was. Sainbel's theory was also a product of the theory of contagion.⁸³ Sainbel wrote that 'viruses' transferred from horse to horse through their breath and contact.

Unlike La Fosse, Sainbel did not ask if Glanders was contagious, but rather how contagious it was. Through a long series of experiments, he came to a more detailed

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 94.

⁸¹ Harrison Shryock, 'Germ Theories in Medicine Prior to 1870: Further Comments on Continuity in Science', *Clio Medica*, 7 (1972), pp. 81–109; James Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (New York, 1987), pp. 15–17.

⁸² Sainbel, *An Essay on Glanders*, pp. 56–57.

⁸³ Francis Carter, *An Account of the Various Systems of Medicine* (London, 1788), p. 49; Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's English Family Physician* (London, 1792), p. 164.

conclusion than any previous author that wrote about the contagious nature of Glanders (Table 7.1). Working from the assumption that Glanders was contagious, Sainbel performed experiments that found in what circumstances it was the most contagious. He concluded that Glanders attacked all horses exposed to its contact, but in different degrees. He concluded that young horses were more susceptible to Glanders, fat horses contracted it quicker, horses mostly in pastures rarely contracted it, and those confined to stables without ventilation caught it more commonly. Additionally, it could be transmitted by contact with a glandered horse, the breath of a glandered horse and 'slavered food' from a glandered horse. He did find, however, that Glanders was not transmitted by sharing the same water pail as a glandered horse. Additionally, using pus from a glandered horse, he found that inoculating horses with it did not transmit the disease, but feeding the pus to a healthy horse did, thus demonstrating that there was a tangible virus that entered into the horse body and the blood causing Glanders.

Result	Experiment
1 of 2 diagnosed	2 healthy horses of different ages eat from manger of a glandered horse
1 in 52 days, 1 in 90 days	2 healthy horses of different age stood by a glandered horse
Free from transmission	1 healthy horse drank from the same pail as glandered horse but no contact
43 days to contract	1 horse standing by glandered horse
Free from transmission	3 horses inoculated with Glanders at an old age
Free from transmission	Group of horses used the same saddle as a glandered horse
Younger got it earlier, but all three infected	Mixed virus with flour and gave to 3 horses

Table 7.1, Charles Vial de Sainbel, 'An Essay on the Glanders', in *Elements of the Veterinary Art* (London, 1797).

Sainbel's ideas and experiments with Glanders changed understandings of the disease in two ways. He wanted to identify Glanders as a specific particle even though, as he stated, 'we are still miserably ignorant as to the cause and nature of this specific virulence, which seems to have baffled all endeavours up to the present moment.'⁸⁴ However, he claimed he knew the 'material' difference between strangles and other diseases and Glanders.⁸⁵ By inoculating healthy horses with Glanders, he was able to identify the Glanders 'virus' as a single particle that caused Glanders only and not other diseases. In other words, he believed that a specific particle in the air caused it. Secondly, he tried to show how contagious Glanders was and in what situations horses contracted Glanders. Further, he enabled new questions to be asked, like, could Glanders affect the lungs, nasal passage and the skin?

Following a similar pattern of thought, James Clark's concepts of Glanders built upon Sainbel's ideas and a plethora of ideas borrowed from human medicine. Clark used the work of Gibson, Bracken, La Fosse and Sainbel, but he also used many works outside of equine medicine, such as the work of Antoine Lavoisier, Marcello Malpighi, Herman Boerhaave, John Hunter and Edmund Haller, through which he created an interesting synthesis of medical ideas to describe the nature of Glanders.

Clark developed vitalist ideas that were not common in equine medicine, but had dominated human medicine in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Gibson had reduced life to physical forces and pumps, tubes and pulleys, but Clark defined life in terms of living beings rather than from a strict Newtonian view of physical objects

⁸⁴ Sainbel, *An Essay on the Glanders*, p. 52.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ See William Coleman, *Biology in the Nineteenth-Century Medicine* (London, 1977); William Coleman and Frederic Holmes, (eds.), *The Investigative Enterprise: Experimental Physiology in Nineteenth-Century Medicine* (Berkeley, 1988); Bruce Fye, *The Development of American Physiology: Scientific Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1987); Elizabeth Haigh, *Xavier Bichat and the Medical Theory of the Eighteenth Century*; John Lesch, *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790–1855* (Cambridge, MA: 1984).

reacting to laws and forces. He compared the body to a circle in which everything was connected and worked in conjunction with everything else. He believed that the body consisted of cells and an interconnecting cellular membrane, 'which ties together all the parts at the same time preserving their fitness for motion; and likewise contributes a large share towards their *organical* structure and composition.'⁸⁷ To help in the understanding of cells Clark laid out a history of discovery from Malpighi to Ruysch, Leuwenhoek to Haller and Hunter.⁸⁸ In *First Lines of Veterinary Physiology and Pathology* (1793) Clark developed the first textbook in English that stepped away from mechanistic interpretations and focused on what caused life.

Clark's description of the composition of the blood and its function in respiration differed dramatically from other farriers' ideas. Clark, one of the few farriers to use microscopic evidence in his research, used the microscope to describe the smaller parts of the body, like the cell, to demonstrate life. He wrote, 'the action of the heart propelling the blood; respiration or breathing; and the influence of the brain and nerves, that causes and keeps up the action of the heart, must concur to constitute life of any considerable duration, such as we are now considering.'⁸⁹ He broke down the minute particles in the blood and the air to produce a unique perspective about health and disease.

Clark's concept of a healthy body was comparable to the complexity of Bracken's ideas and important for understanding Clark's ideas about Glanders. First, Clark explains the complexity of the different particles that are in the blood.⁹⁰ (He agreed with Keill that there were six particles or chemicals in the blood, whereas Bracken believed there were thirty-one.) However, Clarke went further to describe the nature of the blood as observed

⁸⁷ James Clark, *Physiology and Pathology*, p. 243.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 239–240.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

through the microscope. He wrote, 'By the microscope more of its nature and constituent parts is discovered . . . it appears not homogeneous, but consisting of red globules swimming in a pelleucid liquor.'⁹¹ Clark recognised these red globules as an indigenous element that strengthened the blood and was not secreted. 'The greater the quantity of red globules in the blood, the stronger the animal is supposed to be.'⁹²

At the same time, Clark also incorporated some mechanical ideas of Newtonian medicine into his vitalist ideas.⁹³ Clark found Keill's ideas about secretion convincing and also borrowed his idea of attractive forces: 'the attractive powers of the particles in the blood increase as their progressive motion abates.'⁹⁴ Clark, further, described the particles of the blood attracting each other at the right moment to be secreted, according to their size and velocity of the blood, but he believed that after secretion, the red globules then entered the veins to return to the heart.⁹⁵ Clark described this process as a natural process and a part of the organism, which gave it life: 'by constantly assimilating particles from the blood of a like nature with the humour or juice which *nature* intends to be separated from it at that particular place.'⁹⁶

Further, Clark believed that 'respiration' was life in conjunction with the blood and nerves. In the seventeenth century, several people experimented with air and life. John Mayow in particular measured the amount of air it took to put out a candle and kill a mouse inside a jar.⁹⁷ George Ernst Stahl later named this combustible air 'phlogiston'. Stahl also questioned the mechanists as to how pumps and pipes refuted the idea of an

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 376.

⁹² Ibid., p. 380. Knowledge of these globules caused Clark to view phlebotomy as unhelpful.

⁹³ Anita Guerrini, 'James Keill, George Cheyne, and Newtonian Physiology, 1690–1740'.

⁹⁴ James Clark, *Physiology and Pathology*, p. 419.

⁹⁵ See similarities in William Hewson, *An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of the Blood* (London, 1771).

⁹⁶ James Clark, *Physiology and Pathology*, p. 434.

⁹⁷ See Robert Frank, *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists* (Berkeley, 1980); Jacalyn Duffin, *History of Medicine* (Toronto, 2007), Chapter 3: Interrogating Life.

underlying life force. He also proposed the 'anima', which was the life force of a living creature. Albrecht Von Haller defined vitalism by redefining sensibility and irritability.⁹⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, the vitalists welcomed Joseph Priestley and Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier's discovery of oxygen. Clark particularly used the terms of Lavoisier by calling oxygen 'oxygen'.⁹⁹ Most importantly, though, respiration was accepted as part of the vital circle of life in a horse and enabled Clark to define Glanders in a new and interesting manner.

Clark's belief in life produced two ideas that had a direct affect upon overall understanding of Glanders. He wrote, 'The arterial blood contains those vital qualities it had acquired in the lungs, and which it gives out in the course of the circulation, for the different purposes of the animal economy. The venal blood, on its return to the heart, takes up, and carries along with it, certain noxious qualities and impurities, which must be thrown out in the lungs, in order to fit it for a new circulation; it is from these noxious qualities that the air, which is expelled from the lungs in expiration, is rendered unfit for breathing.' In the process of respiration the air was mixed with the blood and on exhalation 'noxious' airs were breathed out. In this process, Clark believed that poisons and bad air could enter the blood and cause disease in the body. When one compares this to Sainbel, it shows that they were both concerned with outside airs or 'viruses' that could enter the body and cause disease. However, unlike Sainbel, Clark believed poisons or bad air could enter the blood through respiration.

Secondly, Clark's ideas about the blood and the capillaries affected his understanding of Glanders. In his description of the lymphatic system he wrote,

⁹⁸ See John Farley, *The Spontaneous Generation Controversy from Descartes to Oparin* (Baltimore, 1977); Shirley Roe, *Matter, life, and Generation: Eighteenth-Century Embryology and the Haller-Wolff Debate* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁹⁹ James Clark, *Physiology and Pathology*, p. 392. He also uses the word 'azot'.

The superficial absorbents act on the surface of the body, by absorbing substances that come in contact with it, whether salutary or noxious. Hence the variolous matter of the small pox, or cow pox, is introduced into the system, which is called inoculation. Poison of animals is likewise introduced in the same manner. Mercury as a medicine which, in many cases, could not be given by the stomach, when rubbed on the surface of the body is absorbed by the superficial absorbents and produces salivation, &c. And it is probable that morbid contagions, or epidemical diseases, are taken into the constitution by the superficial lymphatics, or by those of the lungs in breathing. The itch and gonorrhea are likewise communicated by the lymphatics to sound bodies by contact with the diseased.¹⁰⁰

Therefore, Clark demonstrated how an outside poison could get into the blood stream of a horse. He also developed the seat of Glanders and he connected it with Farcy. He did this by showing that Glanders was in many cases absorbed through the glands and 'lymphatics'.¹⁰¹ According to Clark, this absorption would cause the glands to swell and eventually affect the blood. Clark further explained that these swollen glands and 'lymphatics' are present in the skin in Farcy and in the pituitary gland in Glanders.¹⁰² Hence, symptoms of both Farcy and Glanders caused Clark to view them as the same disease. However, Clark prescribed therapy for Glanders as internal medicines rather than trepanning or inserting syringes.¹⁰³

Building upon Wilson's arguments about the usefulness of the 'conceptualist' view of disease, the disease concepts of Glanders help redefine the historiography of eighteenth-century equine disease. Snape's work marks a time when concepts of Glanders became

¹⁰⁰ James Clark, *Physiology and Pathology*, p. 464.

¹⁰¹ William Hewson, 'An Account of the Lymphatic System in Amphibious Animals', *Philosophical Transactions*, 59 (1769), pp. 198–203.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 469.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

more anatomical in opposition to the symptomatic conception of disease. There were also signs of more ontological concepts of disease that came out of Snape's work and that were developed further and culminated in the 1790s with Sainbel and Clark's ideas about Glanders. Though most of the authors described different conceptions of disease and there were changes throughout the eighteenth century, the shift from symptomatic to anatomical concepts that occurred between the 1680s and the 1790s was much more important than the veterinary surgeon's contribution, as Pugh and Smith have emphasised.

Understanding of Glanders changed in the eighteenth century, but this chapter has also explained how and why it changed. Iatromechanical ideas, along with anatomical knowledge, caused Snape, Gibson and Bracken to focus on the blood to understand disease. Each of them conceptualised the blood differently, but Glanders was clearly tied to the function of the blood. Then, beginning with Snape's anatomical analysis, Glanders began to be localised. La Fosse, however, localised Glanders and began to draw its cause away from vascular theories of disease and toward a more ontological conception of Glanders. This was not entirely in opposition to Snape and Gibson either, because they too had believed that Glanders was contagious and could be caused by bad air. So, by the 1790s the stage had been set for new concepts of disease. Sainbel and Clark drew from the work of the previous authors, such as Clark's work using Bracken/Keill's ideas about secretion, but also placed these ideas in front of the backdrop of medical ideas of the 1790s, like Clark's use of Lavoisier's ideas. To understand why there was such change in the conceptions of Glanders, however, one must place this chapter in context with the others. The change in farriery literature, the knowledge of anatomy, the new figures contributing to farriery knowledge and the markets that demanded new therapeutics all played a part in producing an environment ripe for change.

Conclusion

This dissertation has focused on three main themes: the identity of elite farriers and gentlemen caring medically for horses—the nature of their practice, and the kinds of ideas which underpinned elite equine medicine. It advances conclusions in each of these areas. These conclusions, in some ways, go beyond the general conclusion that elite practitioners working with elite horses created a medical specialization in equine medicine between 1680 and 1800.

1) Many different practitioners were active in eighteenth-century equine medicine, ranging from cowleeches to apothecaries and grooms to horse doctors. This dissertation has described this plurality and has shown that over the century important new figures appeared, particularly in the upper levels of the equine medical marketplace, notably the farrier anatomist, the surgeon, the surgeon apothecary and the veterinary surgeon. Farriery was associated with tradesmen and coarse practices, but because it was concerned with horses it was also bound up with gentlemanly pursuits and interests. Furthermore, as elite farriery became medicalised, certain authors emphasised that it was both medical and polite in character. By focusing on the elite or learned farrier, the thesis has shown that not every farrier was ignorant. Indeed, in some cases the farrier was learned and seen as a genteel figure practicing medicine. This kind of farriery emerged in urban centers, particularly London, because they were able to specialise in medicine rather than shoeing. The competitive metropolitan market for farriery also allowed elite and specialist farriers like Edward Snape and William Osmer to emerge and to escape the control of the Worshipful Company of Farriers in the second half of the

eighteenth century. By the end of the century veterinary surgery was added to this plurality, but the name veterinary surgeon was its only unique quality because the goals of the LVC were not exceptional, nor were the skills and knowledge of its graduates.

2) This research is the first to give a detailed account of areas of eighteenth-century equine medical practice. It has demonstrated for the first time that (unsurprisingly) farriers spent most of their caring for 'lameness'. Furthermore, by showing the ranging of practices done by different kinds of practitioners, and the varying emphasis upon shoeing horses, the thesis has been able to reveal the different kinds of work done by different kinds of horse doctors and farriers. This allows one to understand the varying descriptions of farriers as shoeing-smiths, horse-doctors, and surgeons. In addition I have revealed previously unknown areas of practice like the horse hospital. Additionally, I connected equine medical practice to wider economic forces and the open market of eighteenth-century England by examining the previously unstudied area of equine proprietary medicines and the sale of equine pills and potions.

3) Like their counterparts in human medicine, eighteenth-century farriers developed new and significant intellectual ideas about health and disease. I have shown that the knowledge and practice of anatomy and morbid anatomy became commonplace amongst some farriers in the eighteenth century, but also that farriers began to specialise in equine foot and leg anatomy. I have argued that through this and their understanding of human medical theory eighteenth-century equine medicine became medically oriented. My focus upon glanders showed that the practice of anatomy and pathological anatomy contributed to the changing ideas about the horse body and disease.

Furthermore one must ask what the even wider implications of these conclusions are. How does a field, like equine medicine, relate to and contribute to broader histories?

Additionally, what are the wider implications of this dissertation for related fields of research? Perhaps the first question one needs to ask is what this historiographical change does for the history of veterinary medicine?

This dissertation attempts to fill an obvious gap in the history of veterinary medicine. New and interesting scholarly work has been done in nineteenth-century veterinary medicine from scholars like John Fisher, Keir Waddington and Michael Worboys. The scholarship of Abigail Woods and Susan Jones has made important contributions to the history of animal disease and the relationships of animals and vets in the twentieth century.

Additionally, Louise Curth has begun redefining veterinary history in the early modern period (1500-1700). There are, however, no scholars working on eighteenth century veterinary medicine. Therefore, this dissertation fills this gap and argues this period was a time of medicalisation, change and specialties.

Historians working on veterinary medicine generally focus on specific parts of veterinary medicine; Woods has focused on foot and mouth disease and Jones on disease and animal vet relationships (both trained as vets), while Worboys and Waddington (both medical historians) are only looking at animal medicine as it overlaps with human medicine.

Though all of these historians are interested in the identity of animal practitioners, their work has not yet addressed this problem directly. This dissertation has attempted to look directly at the identity of animal practitioners and has redefined the newly created veterinary surgeon, as a product of looking at eighteenth-century medical identities. No longer can one see the eighteenth-century veterinary surgeon as a revolutionary figure, surpassing the knowledge and skill of previous practitioners. Furthermore, veterinary historians will need to look at the farrier, the learned farrier and the surgeon as legitimate

medical identities that competed with, and in some instances, surpassed the veterinary surgeon in knowledge and practical ability. Asking further questions about the modern veterinarian depend upon understanding the roots of the profession. This dissertation has laid the groundwork for further research into identifying the veterinarian.

There are several other larger questions which may strike veterinary historians reading this thesis. As many veterinary historians have already been asking, when does veterinary medicine begin to encompass all animals, especially the dog?¹ This dissertation has shown that the focus of changing ideas and practices in animal medicine was focused upon the horse and even veterinary colleges followed this trend.

One even larger issue this dissertation has brought to the forefront of veterinary history is the question of professionalisation. Should veterinary history only be seen through the lens of professionalisation? Though veterinary historians such as Woods, Jones and Curth have questioned teleological approaches of veterinary history, the only other histories of the eighteenth century come from the teleological anthologies of Smith, Pattison and Pugh and others mentioned earlier. Iain Pattison's *The British Veterinary Profession* has remained an important piece of literature since it was published, but this dissertation has shown that it is fruitful to go beyond the veterinary profession and that by doing so important social and cultural issues can enlighten our understanding of veterinary surgery.

Furthermore, the implications of my dissertation on medical history are multiple. A few important implications and connections must be mentioned—especially the connection between veterinary history and medical history. Many veterinary historians and some medical historians have claimed that there is 'one medicine', which can be more

¹ Delabere Blaine is an important figure in answering this question. At the 38th conference of the World Association of Veterinary History, 2008, many were toying with the question of when the dog became an important part of veterinary medicine. Andrew Gardner at Manchester is working on this question for the twentieth century. See also, Susan Jones, *Valuing Animals* (Baltimore, 2003).

accurately argued for nineteenth-century medical science and laboratory science. Many medical historians have shown the immense overlap between animal and human medicine, but there are also distinct differences. These differences always become obvious when medicine and veterinary medicine are juxtaposed in a social and cultural context. My dissertation has highlighted many of the differences and can be used to separate veterinary and medical history. Though many surgeons did influence eighteenth-century equine medicine, they recognised the differences between human and animal medicine and always felt they needed to excuse their crossover. Working with horse bodies was different from working with human bodies and practices varied. This becomes obvious when one realises the amount of shoeing done by farriers in the eighteenth century. Equine anatomy, in particular, has been shown to be something different from human anatomy and even comparative anatomy in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, British society has always seen animal medics differently. Nevertheless, separating animal medicine and human medicine is also problematic.

One important point developed in this dissertation, which might be considered in the history of medicine when writing about the medical market is who practiced animal medicine. I have expanded our understanding of medical plurality and have shown the extent of the interconnectedness of human and animal medicine. Not only did surgeons and physicians practice animal medicine, but druggists and apothecaries sold equine drugs; like human proprietary medicines, equine proprietary medicines became important to medical practice. The connection between the two is important, but in general, (especially for intellectual concepts in medicine) influence went from human medicine to animal medicine. This is partly because of social stigmas attached to animal medicine, which were partially removed by the end of the nineteenth century as it became more socially acceptable to be a vet. Nevertheless, these stigmas in themselves can be illuminating to the

history of medicine. Therefore, separating veterinary history from medical history is like separating the history of England from the history of Europe, hopefully, making my dissertation a welcome addition to the history of medicine. Also, as mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation is highly influenced by the scholarship in the history of medicine written in the past twenty-five years.

Equine medicine also adds to the history of science. Wondering how far the Scientific Revolution reached or to what extent anatomical and experimental practices influenced society illuminates how this dissertation influences the history of science. Like the influence of human medicine on animal medicine, animal medicine was influenced by science, not vice versa. Snape was highly influenced by many of the founding members of the Royal Society and by the end of the eighteenth century veterinarians were claiming to be scientific. Examining eighteenth-century equine medicine can help tease out the meaning of science in this period and show that under some definitions lowly tradesmen were practicing quasi-science, or using practices defined as scientific and rhetorically calling upon methods and theories of the prominent natural philosophers. This dissertation has shown some farriers were engaged in topics like chemistry, pathology, physiology and the study of life. Henry Bracken and James Clark both developed interesting ideas about the horse, like mathematical calculations of the quantity and speed of flow of the blood, systematic morbid anatomy, theories of light and vision, and of biological processes. Seeing animal medicine in a scientific light is generally done when historians have examined vets at the end of the nineteenth century, but my dissertation uncovers many “scientific” practices that will intrigue historians of science and create a case study of how far society engaged in or was influenced by early science.

Furthermore, as Keith Thomas has recognised, English society saw horses differently than other animals. In many ways, horses became one of the most important parts of urban

society and humans developed a unique relationship with them. This dissertation demonstrates new medical approaches developed specifically for the horse, contributed to changing human/animal relationships of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution bolstered the undeniable need for horses in every facet of society, while society became increasingly attached to horses for social events, sports and some people even constructed architectural edifices in the city and rural areas for them. This dissertation supports the changing relationships of humans and animals occurring as society became more urban and certain animals became segregated from humans. Nevertheless, horses became the one animal which humans had more contact with in urban areas because of their utility. Additionally, with the influence of the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, horses became objects of investigation, such as the studies of Buffon and Hales on the horse. The distance created between man and nature in the eighteenth century enabled many to dissect the horse and work the horse to death, while also ironically developing equine medicine. In many ways scholarship on the relationships of humans and animals in this period, such as Keith Thomas and Keith Tester's work, have found it difficult to locate specific events and times when this relationship changed, due to its gradual process connected with urbanisation and industrialisation, scientific thought and changing concepts of nature. Nevertheless, this dissertation enables the historian to identify a specific animal when care for that animal changed, which directly leads to the professionalisation of animal care. This line of thought in conjunction with this dissertation makes this research an important piece of work for the history of human and animal relationships.

It also dovetails with the work of Donna Landry. *Noble Brutes* demonstrates 'Importations of exotically bred horses and of foreign equestrian techniques were mutually reinforcing

phenomena.² She demonstrates that the treatment of horses became more humane, but this is an argument about training, riding and keeping horses. This dissertation adds to her analysis by demonstrating that the medical treatment of elite horses by their owners and those caring for them changed drastically between 1680 and 1720. Additionally, this dissertation demonstrates that this new kind of care for horses was not just extended to eastern imports. Therefore, this dissertation compliments and adds to the conclusions of Landry.

Directly related, the study of horses in this period has ties to economic and agricultural history. This dissertation has, however, several specific and interesting contributions to economic history. First, the WCF is a unique and interesting case study for the power of guilds in the eighteenth century. Though chapter 3 does not make any broad arguments about economy, the longevity and amount of control the WCF had over the farriery should attract the attention of those working on eighteenth-century guilds and economy. Furthermore, learned farriers, like Edward Snape and William Osmer, demonstrate the expertise developing outside of guilds. Secondly, this dissertation gives specific examples of the how equine medicine functioned as a business in a culture of consumption. The change that occurred in equine medicine parallels the rise of the English commercial society.

Therefore, this thesis has touched upon a variety of topics and may be influential in several other even broader categories. Nevertheless, it has only begun to uncover the vast amount of knowledge about early modern animal care. Two areas that I have not included in detail in this thesis are the world of plebian horse care and the world of industrial horse care. There is not a plethora of sources that describe the former, but there are important resources like court records that would begin to build a narrative about it. There are also

² Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes* (Baltimore, 2009), p.15.

indications that the later is an important area with some source material, like receipts from the London Water Works used in this thesis. Additionally, the impact of racing and the impact of cities need more work. I have merely uncovered the tip of the iceberg on both of these topics and it seems obvious that they will be significant areas of interest for animal care in the future.

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Sloane, 393, ff. 204-238b, 'Veterinary Direction and Recipes'

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Sloane, 34 ff. 5b-23, 'Veterinary Directions and Recipes'

Add, MS, 45196, 'Anne Glydd, Recipe Book'

Add, MS, 61490, f. 184, 'John Jebbe, Farrier Receipts, 1666'

Add, MS, 61490, f. 197, 'Henry Hunston, Farrier Receipts, 1676'

Add, MS 61346, ff. 88, 98, 116, 128, 'Richard Wattes, Farrier Receipts, 1684-1685'

Sloane, 256, ff. 9b-15b, 'Andrew Snape, Extracts of *Anatomy of an Horse*'

Sloane, 2562, ff. 66-81, 'John Warde, 17th Century Equine Recipes'

Add, MS, 39389, 'Veterinary Recipes, 17th -18th cent'

Add. MS, 61656, f. 98, 'Edward Manning, Farriery Receipts, 1714'

Add, MS, 48590, f. 26, 'John Buriand, Farrier, agreement with H. Morice, 1718'

Add, MS, 61678, ff. 40, 43, 'Edward Stamp, Farrier Receipts, 1730-1731'

Add, Ch, 70576, 'John Drake, creditors, 1732'

Add, MS, 42607, f. 63, 'quitclaim, 1736'

Add, MS, 29740, 'medical, household and Veterinary Recipes, 1750'

Add, MS, 35126, f. 287, 'J Huntingford, Secretary to the Veterinary College, London, letter to A Young, 1785'

Add, MS, 35127, f. 141, 'J Huntingford, Secretary to the Veterinary College, London, Letter to A Young, 1792'

Add, MS, 8097, f. 277, 'P M A Broussonet, letter to Sir Joseph Banks introducing de St Bel 1790'

Add, MS, 29533, 'Bracy Clark, letters to J L Phillips, 1790-1792'

Add, MS, 33979, f. 202, 'Charles Benoit Vial de St Bel, letter to Sir Joseph Banks, 1793'

Add, MS, 49186, f. 33, 'Edward Brown, Farriery Receipt, 1798'

Add, MS, 61290, ff. 34-35b, 'Robert Johnson, horse doctor, petition to the Duke of Marlborough'

Add, MS, 37870, f. 9, 'William Sewell, prescription for W Windham's horse, 1803'

Add, MS, 71594, ff. 56-57v, 'J White, Exeter, Letter to W Sharman, 1810'

Add, MS, 40269, f. 49, 'William Stockley, Royal Artillery, report to Sir R Peek, 1817'

Add, MS, 36461, ff. 132, 135, 'William Youatt, letter to J C Hobhouse, 1825'

British Library, Science and Technology Service

941, 'Patent, purging and diuretic balls for the cure of several diseases incident to horses 1769'

1060, 'Patent, Thomas Johnson, preparation for staining horses and other animals so as to make them match in colour, also for preserving cattle from flies and other insects, and for making such marks on animals as cannot be effaced without injury to the said animals, 1774'

1387, 'Patent, Thomas Watson, Purging Paste for Horses and Dogs, 1783'

2014, 'Patent, Thomas Fleet, Medicine to Prevent the Rot in Sheep, and to Check its Progress in those Already Affected, 1794'

2370, 3128, 4446, 'Patent, Edward Coleman, Artificial Frogs to be Applied to Horses' Feet, 1808, 1820'

2923, 'Patent, Bracy Clark, Horseshoes, 1806'

Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone

MS, Q/CI/175/1-3, 'Farrier Account Book, 1832'

MS, U269/A181/1, '18 Hand Written Farrier Receipts from the Earl of Dorset, 1662'

MS, U269/A212/1, 'Farrier Receipts from the Earl of Dorset, 1669'

MS, U269/A457/Bal B/1630, 'Farrier Receipts of Three Months, 1638'

MS, U269/A457/C/1640, 'Farriery Receipts, One Month 1629, One Year in 1625, One Year in 1629'

MS U269/A495, 'Farriery Receipts for the Earl of Middlesex, 1679'

MS U908/E6/1, 'Mr. Henry Streatfield to Drew Piggot and Charles Hammond for Farriery, 1740'

Cheshire County Records Office, Chester

MS, C3/1/12/2, 'Bond for Thomas Marburton, Farrier'

MS, DBN/D/4A/6, 'Farrier Deed'

MS. DLT/4996/68/11, 'Farriery Receipts for Sir Peter Leicester, 1764-5'

MS, DLT/4996/71/15, 'Farrier Receipts for John Leicester, 1808'

MS, DLT/4996/87/5, 'Nathan Smith's Bill for shewing 13 April 1756'

MS, MAB 2, 'Apprentice and indenture Register 1690-1794 of a Farrier-Barber'

MS, DAR/1/21, 'The Booke of Account Harden Estate, 1726-1752'

MS, AB/1/247, 'Assembly before Thomas Smith Mayor'

Guildhall Library, London

MS, 6540, 'Return of the Company to the Royal Commission on the Livery Companies, 1881'

MS, 5534, 'Charter and Memorandum Book, 1673'

MS, 2890, 'Charter and Memorandum Book, Containing Freeman's Oath; Copies of Orders of'

MS, SL 37: F 246, 'Charter Rules and Orders of the...company, 1871'

MS, SL 37, F 246, 'Charter, Rules and Orders of the Worshipful Company of Farriers of London, 1892'

MS, 5533, 'Clerk's Out-Letter Book, 1846'

MS, 21385, 'Copy List of Books and other Items Delivered by Moulden to the Company, 1850'

MS, 5523, 'Court Minute Books, 1718'

MS, 33747, 'Farriers' Registration Committee Minute Books, 1890'

MS, 5532, 'Fines Book for Non-Attendance of the Master, Wardens and Assistants at meetings, 1825'

MS, 5522, 'Master's Account Books, Including Inventories of Stock, 1725'

MS, 8025, 'Masters', Wardens' and Assistants' Declaration Books, 1884'

MS, 21383, 'Papers Relating to the Company's Return to the Municipal Corporations Commis, 1833'

MS, 21384, 'Papers Relating to the Parliamentary Bill for the Better Regulation of the Company, 1858'

London Metropolitan Archives, London

E/HOD/041, 048, 'Robert Hassell, Citizen and Farrier of London, Deeds, 1589, 1590'

ACC/0401/050/051, 052, 'Edward Salisbury, Citizen and Farrier of London, Deeds, 1659'

E/DCA/141, 'Joseph Comfort Senior of Clapham, Farrier, Party to Lease, 1697'

O/027/020, 'William Benskin, St Mary Newington Butts, Surrey, Farrier, Part to Lease, 1714'

ACC/1045/138, 'Thomas Stanton of Limehouse, Farrier, Probate of Will 1726'

ACC/1045/139, 'William Bowers of St Martin in the Fields, Farrier and Elizabeth, wife of John Plmer, Farrier, Parties to Assignment of Interest to Mary Stanton'

ACC/1871/037-039, 'Nathaniel Preston of St James, Westminster, Farrier, party to Deeds re 43 and 45 Beak Street, 1729, 1735'

H01/ST/Y/343/001, 005, 'Farrier's shop, Tenement and Messuage in Stratford Langthorne, Westham, Essex, 1729'

Acc. 446/H23/85, 'Bill for Attention to and Medicines for, Horses with Burns, 1771'

ACC/0371/060-063, 'James Jarvis of Enfield, Farrier, Party to Deeds re Land in Enfield 1779, 1786, 1787'

A/STB/091, 'George Pepper, Receipts from William Kingston of Harden, Hertfordshire, 1788'

A/STB/092, 'Receipts from Thomas Hickson for Farriery, 1791'

National Archives

WO 12/82

WO 12/83

WO 12/84

WO 12/86

WO 97/146/3

PROB 11/211, 'Will of John Stallarde, Farrier of Newport in the Isle of Wight, Hampshire'

PROB 11/217, Will of Robert Gibson, Farrier of Saint Giles without Cripplegate, City of London'

- PROB 11/221, 'Will of John Dawson, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/223, 'Will of Thomas Harrington, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldgate London'
- PROB 11/223, 'Will of Thomas Mills, Farrier to Saint Saviour Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/231, 'Will of William ASHbridge, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/231, 'Will of Robert Gillett, Farrier of Saint Olave Hart Street London'
- PROB 11/228, 'Will of George Hele, Farrier of Bennetts, Cornwall'
- PROB 11/250, 'Will of Thomas Hills, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldgate, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/256, 'Will of John Deane, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/257, 'Will of Francis Newman, Farrier of Bocking, Essex'
- PROB 11/258, Will of Nicholas Patricke, Farrier of Hornchurch, Essex'
- PROB 11/261, 'Will of William Harwood, Farrier of Standon, Hertforshire'
- PROB 11/263, 'Will of Thomas Browne, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/264, 'Will of John Walker, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre London'
- PROB 11/267, 'Will of Richar Eyres, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre without Newgate, City of London'
- PROB 11/269, 'Will of Stephen Packman, Farrier of Tenterden, Kent'
- PROB 11/271, 'Will of Thomas Clarke, Farrier of Bristol, Gloucestershire'
- PROB 11/271, 'Will of Thomas Combe, Farrier of Bristol, Gloucestershire'
- PROB 11/273, 'Will of John Anderson, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Bishopsgate, City of London'
- PROB 11/273, 'Will of Robert Offerton, Farrier of Sheffield, Yorkshire'
- PROB 11/276, 'Will of John Durbridge, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/276, 'Will of Richard Moone, Farrier of Bristol, Gloucestershire'
- PROB 11/276, 'Will of Mathew Golland, Farrier of Liberty of Norton Folgate, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/280, 'Will of Richard Litton, Farrier of Warwick, Warwickshire'

PROB 11/290, 'Will of Thomas Addison, Farrier of All Hallows The Less, City of London'

PROB 11/291, 'Will of Robert Boyer, Farrier of North Walsham, Norfolk'

PROB 11/294, 'Will of John Terrey, Farrier of Barnstable, Devon'

PROB 11/295, 'Will of William Mansfeild, Farrier of Saint Giles without Cripplegate, City of London'

PROB 11/297, 'Will of Thomas Bishopp, Farrier of Wallingford, Berkshire'

PROB 11/297, 'Will of William Bishopp, Farrier, Soldier in Captain Roxe's Troop in The Right Honorable Lord Disborow Regiment of Horse'

PROB 11/299, 'Will of Thomas Moulst, Farrier of Saint Botolph Bishopsgate, City of London'

PROB 11/299, 'Will of Richard Johnson, Farrier of Saint George the Martyr Southwark, Surrey'

PROB 11/304, 'Will of William Hurst, Farrier of Saint Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex'

PROB 11/305, 'Will of John Odell, Farrier of Enfield, Middlesex'

PROB 11/308, 'Will of Roger Kings, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/315, 'Will of Francis Pendred, Farrier of London of Saint Sepulchre'

PROB 11/316, 'Will of John Griffin, Farrier of Saint Andrew by the Wardrobe, City of London'

PROB 11/317, 'Will of John Cape, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/317, 'Will of Henry Andrewes or Andrews, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/318, 'Will of Thomas Robinson, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/321, 'Will of Thomas Winckles, Farrier of City of London'

PROB 11/325, 'Will of Zachary Bishop, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/326, 'Will of John Robinson, Farrier and Gunner of His Majesty's Ship Defiance of London'

PROB 11/329, 'Will of William Watkins, Farrier of Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex'

PROB 11/331, 'Will of Edward Salsbury, Farrier of Wenden, Essex'

- PROB 11/332, 'will of William Byrch, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre London'
- PROB 11/333, 'Will of Robert Dore, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, City of London'
- PROB 11/335, 'Will of John Bafford, Farrier of Saint Stephen Coleman Street, City of London'
- PROB 11/337, 'Will of William Davis, Farrier of Oxford, Oxfordshire'
- PROB 11/348, 'Will of George Pitman, Farrier of Petworth, Sussex'
- PROB 11/353, 'Will of John Lovell, Farrier of London of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/355, 'Will of Phillipp Richards, Farrier Saint Olave in Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/359, 'Will of Thomas Prston, Farrier of Waltham Holy Cross, Essex'
- PROB 11/362, 'Will of George Calcott, Farrier of White Cross Street London'
- PROB 11/365, 'Will of Richrad Fisher, Farrier of Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/367, 'Will of Samuel Dickons, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/375, 'Will of John Bond, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/378, 'Will of Robert Snape, Farrier of Greenwich, Kent'
- PROB 11/382, 'Will of John Salisbury, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/387, 'Will of Henry Barker, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlex'
- PROB 11/387, 'Will of Timothy Newton, Farrier of Earl Shilton, Leicestershire'
- PROB 11/388, 'Will of James Smith or Smyth, Farriery of London'
- PROB 11/390, 'Will of William Smith, Farrier of Twickenham, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/390, 'Will of Richard Newberry, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/395, 'Will of John Bennell, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/400, 'Will of Benjamin Barnes, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/402, 'Will of Thomas Ambrose, Farrier of Rugby, Warwickshire'
- PROB 11/402, 'Will of John Cotton, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/414, 'Will of William Browne, Farrier of London'

- PROB 11/414, 'Will of Roger Adye, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/415, 'Will of Francis Flower, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/417, 'Will of Robert Langston, Farrier of Well Close, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/421, 'Will of George Patten, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/429, 'Will of Humphry Barnes, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/426, 'Will of Peter Morris, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/435, 'Will of Richard Allen, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/436, 'Will of William Tisdall or Tisdeall, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/436, 'Will of Thomas Bishop, Farrier of Wallingford, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/430, 'Will of Francis Smith, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/440, 'Will of Richard Blanchard, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/450, 'Will of Randoll or Randell Peirrin, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/455, 'Will of William Bonner, Farrier of City of London'
- PROB 11/456, 'Will of John Langwith, Farrier of Kensington, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/465, 'Will of Francis Kemp, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/468, 'Will of Thomas Parsons, Farrier of Saint Olave Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/471, 'Will of John Elsley, Farrier of Eton, Buckinghamshire'
- PROB 11/474, 'Will of Anthony Miles, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldgate, City of London'
- PROB 11/475, 'Will of Francis Flower, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/476, 'Will of John Gray, Farrier of Saint Olave Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/478, 'Will of John Newbery, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/480, 'Will of Thomas Langley, Farrier of Rugby, Warwickshire'
- PROB 11/482, 'Will of John Moss, Farrier of Saint Katherines Creechurch alias Christ Church in London, City of London'

- PROB 11/484, Will of John Wilde, Farrier of Saint Olave Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/487, 'Will of William Younge or Young, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/492, 'Will of John Jolly, Farrier of Saint John Wapping, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/493, 'Will of John Boulton, Farrier of Saint Files without Cripplegate, City of London'
- PROB 11/497, 'Will of Robert Allden, Farrier belonging to Her Majesty's Ship Sunderland of Saint Paul Shadwell, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/504, 'Will of Henry Bishop, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/507, 'Will of George Hughes, Farrier of Saint Anne Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/507, 'Will of John Jolly, Farrier of Saint John Wapping, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/508, 'Will of William Moody, Farrier of Richmond, Surrey'
- PROB 11/512, 'Will of Edward Wake, Farrier of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/513, 'Will of Griffith Hughes, Farrier of Saint Annes, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/515, 'Will of Thomas Richard, Farrier now belonging to Her Majesty's Ship Somerset of Saint Olave Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/515, 'Will of John Willis, Farrier of Saint Martin in the fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/516, 'Will of Nathaniell Newell, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/520, 'Will of Michael Ellis, Blacksmith and Farrier now belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Orphen's Company in Her Majesty's Regiment of Marines of Frinsbury, Kent'
- PROB 11/524, 'Will of William Jennings, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/525, 'Will of Ralph Jackson, Farrier of Walton upon Thames, Surrey'
- PROB 11/526, 'Will of Walter Hutchins, Farrier of Saint Gregory by St Pauls, City of London'
- PROB 11/538, 'Will of Robert Lockett, Farrier of Sherborne, Dorset'
- PROB 11/546, 'Will of Francis Flower, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/552, 'Will of Henry Hallam, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldgate, Middlesex'

PROB 11/554, 'Will of William Ballinger, Merchant Taylor of London, now Farrier of All Hallows London Wall, City of London'

PROB 11/559, 'Will of John Budgen, Farrier of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'

PROB 11/560, 'Will of Thomas Coates, Farrier of Hackney, Middlesex'

PROB 11/561, 'Will of James Rose, Farrier of Deptford Stroud, Kent'

PROB 11/563, 'Will of Thomas Sheerer, Farrier of Saint Albans, Hertfordshire'

PROB 11/565, 'Will of Francis Bainbridge, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'

PROB 11/567, 'Will of Edmund Betterton, Blacksmith and Farrier of Ampney Saint Peter, Gloucestershire'

PROB 11/568, 'Will of Henry Andrews, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'

PROB 11/568, 'Will of Robert Wood, Farrier of All Hallows Staining, City of London'

PROB 11/570, 'Will of Thomas Robbins, Farrier of Monken Hadley, Middlesex'

PROB 11/572, 'Will of Thomas Jackson, Farrier of Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex'

PROB 11/573, 'Will of Daniel Williams, Farrier of Saint Mary Aldermansbury, City of London'

PROB 11/576, Will of Jonathan Buckoll, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/584, 'Will of James Martin, Farrier of Saint Albans, Hertfordshire'

PROB 11/586, 'Will of John Cubbidge, Farrier of Hampstead, Middlesex'

PROB 11/586, 'Will of Thomas Bishop, Farrier of Wallingford, Berkshire'

PROB 11/588, 'Will of Thomas Avery, Shire Farrier of Henley upon Thames, Oxfordshire'

PROB 11/590, 'Will of John Low or Lowe, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/591, 'Will of Edward Judo, Farrier of Streatham, Surrey'

PROB 11/594, 'Will of John Robbins, Farrier of Saint Saviour Southwark, Surrey'

PROB 11/597, 'Will of James Martin, Farrier of Saint Peter Cornhill, City of London'

PROB 11/597, 'Will of William Safford, Farrier of Bristol, Gloucestershire'

PROB 11/599, 'Will of George Collingwood, Farrier of London'

- PROB 11/601, 'Will of Isaac Sommerman, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/601, 'Will of William Every or Everey, Farrier of Saint Olaves Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/603, 'Will of John Lickfold, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/603, 'Will of Robert Tatham, Farrier of Saint George Botoph Lane, City of London'
- PROB 11/606, 'Will of Nicholas Squire, Farrier of Saint Giles without Cripplegate, City of London'
- PROB 11/607, 'Will of William Bryan, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/607, 'Will of Robert Thompson, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/612, 'Will of Thomas Stanton otherwise, Stunton, Farrier of Saint Dunstan Stepney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/614, 'Will of John Mason, Farrier of Saint Katherine Coleman, City of London'
- PROB 11/618, 'Will of Edmund Smith, Farrier of Burbage, Wiltshire'
- PROB 11/621, 'Will of Thomas Greenhill, Farrier of Chiswick, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/625, 'Will of John Pinkard, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington Butts, Surrey'
- PROB 11/625, 'Will of Thomas Williamson, Farrier of Burnham Abbey, Buckinghamshire'
- PROB 11/628, 'Will of William Fernell, Farrier and Blacksmith of Wokingham, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/630, 'Will of John Ryalles, Farrier of London of Crutched Friars, City of London'
- PROB 11/632, 'Will of Thomas Bishop, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/633, 'Will of John Wackett, Farrier of Saint Stephen Coleman Street, City of London'
- PROB 11/633, 'Will of Thomas Standard, Farrier of Saint Files without Cripplegate, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/639, 'Will of Richard Smith, Farrier of Burford, Oxfordshire'
- PROB 11/639, Will of William Goldwin, Farrier of Windsor, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/645, 'Will of Benskin, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington, Surrey'

- PROB 11/646, 'Will of Thoas Street, Farrier of Sheen, Surrey'
- PROB 11/647, 'Will of Alexander Jones, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/648, 'Will of James Graves, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/649, 'Will of Daniel Child, Farrier of Lambeth, Surrey'
- PROB 11/650, 'Will of William Austin, Farrier of Ballybough Lane Dublin, County Dublin'
- PROB 11/653, 'Will of Thomas Potter, Farrier of All Hallows Stainging, City of London'
- PROB 11/654, 'Will of William Howard, Farrier of Chipping Barnet, Hertfordshire'
- PROB 11/655, 'Will of George Jefferies, Farrier of Saint Leonard Shoreditch, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/656, 'Will of Thomas Fortescue, Farrier of Saint Stephen Coleman Street, City of London'
- PROB 11/656, 'Will of John Rogers, Farrier of Saint Giles without Cripplegate London'
- PROB 11/659, 'Will of William Browne, Farrier Croydon, Surrey'
- PROB 11/659, 'Will of Thomas Poynter, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/660, 'Will of John Lane' Farrier of West Ham, Essex'
- PROB 11/662, 'Will of Henry Harison, Farrier of Saint John Hackney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/662, 'Will of Thomas Benskin, Farrier of Saint Mary at Newington, Surrey'
- PROB 11/662, 'Will of George Winch, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/663, 'Will of John Goulston, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/665, 'Will of Silvanus Shaw, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre, City of London'
- PROB 11/665, 'Will of John Cowper, Farrier of Saint Michael Cornhill, City of London'
- PROB 11/672, 'Will of Robert Judd, Farrier of Marston Trussell, Northamptonshire'
- PROB 11/675, 'Will of Charles Carpenter, Farrier of Saint Savoiurs Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/682, 'Will of Benjamin Wilson, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/682, 'Will of William Young, Farrier of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'

- PROB 11/683, 'Will of Charles Latham, Innholder and Farrier of Saint Alban Wood Street, City of London'
- PROB 11/685, 'Will of William Wrench, Farrier of Bushey, Hertfordshire'
- PROB 11/685, 'Will of William Border, Farrier of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/686, 'Will of John Cann, Farrier of Saint Leonard Shoreditch, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/687, 'Will of Edward Taylor, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/689, 'Will of George Sanders, Farrier of Lewisham, Kent'
- PROB 11/690, 'Will of Robert Smith, Farrier of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/699, 'Will of Thomas Rance, Farrier of Saint Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/700, 'Will of Hoseph White, Farrier of Sweetings Alley London'
- PROB 11/700, 'Will of William May, Farrier of Saint Leonard Foster Lane, City of London'
- PROB 11/702, 'Will of Thomas Lane, Farrier of Saint Gregory, City of London'
- PROB 11/702, 'Will of John Peele, Farrier of Saint Olave Hart Street, City of London'
- PROB 11/703, 'Will of William Rooker, Farrier and Fruit Meter of Saint Mary at Hill, City of London'
- PROB 11/704, 'Will of William Adams, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/708, 'Will of William Bennett, Farrier of New Windsor, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/711, 'Will of Francis Fry, Farrier of Kensington, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/711, 'Will of Stephen Burnet, Farrier of Saint Pancras, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/711, 'Will of Thomas Cordell, Farrier of Walthamstow, Essex'
- PROB 11/711, 'Will of Francis Cheesman, Smith and Farrier of Aldgate'
- PROB 11/711, 'Will of Nicholas Cook, Farrier of All Hallows London Wall, City of London'
- PROB 11/716, 'Will of Thomas Morry, Blacksmith and Farrier of Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire'
- PROB 11/719, 'Will of Henry Everatt, Farrier of Offley, Herfordshire'
- PROB 11/721, 'Will of William Perkins, Farrier of Edmonton, Middlesex'

PROB 11/723, 'Will of Samuel Border, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/731, 'Will of William Emerson, Farrier of Saint Andre Holborn, Middlesex'

PROB 11/732, 'Will of Philip Hatley, Farrier of Saint George the Martyr, Middlesex'

PROB 11/734, 'Will of Richard Welch, Farrier of Saint George the Martyr Southwark, Surrey'

PROB 11/734, 'Will of Thomas Barley, Farrier of Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/735, 'Will of John Clark, Farrier of Saint Botolph Bishopgate, City of London'

PROB 11/735, 'John Cox, Farrier of Kensington, Middlesex'

PROB 11/739, 'Will of Robert Barnes, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/740, 'Will of Richard Ward, Tire Smith and Farrier of Saint Anne Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/740, 'Will of Thomas DARke, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/741, 'Will of John Drake, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/742, 'Will of Robert Blanch, Farrier of Whitchurch, Somerset'

PROB 11/744, 'Will of Thomas Haines, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/744, 'Will of William Perkins, Farrier Edmonton, Middlesex'

PROB 11/746, 'Will of Thomas Spencer, Farrier and Blacksmith of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex'

PROB 11/747, 'Will of William Price, Farrier of Paddinton, Middlesex'

PROB 11/753, 'Will of John Pickering, Farrier of Broughton, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/754, 'Will of William Parker, Farrier of Saint Sepulchre London'

PROB 11/754, 'Will of Benjamin Ward, Farrier of London'

PROB 11/756, 'Will of John Brown, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/756, 'Will of Joseph Shaw, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/761, 'William Street or Streete, Farrier of Streatham, Surrey'

PROB 11/762, 'Will of William Beck, Farrier of Twickenham, Middlesex'

- PROB 11/765, 'Will of Joseph Hall, Farrier of Shilton, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/768, 'Will of Daniel Smith, Farrier of Saint Bartholomew the Great, City of London'
- PROB 11/768, 'Will of George Boasgrave, Farrier and Blacksmith of Chingford, Essex'
- PROB 11/771, 'Will of Benjamin Palmer, Farrier of New Windsor, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/772, 'Will of John Lobb, Farrier and Blacksmith of Witechapel, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/773, 'Will of Christopher Clark, Smith and Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/774, 'Will of Thomas Wackett, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/782, 'Will of Joseph Simms, Farrier of All Hallows the Less, City of London'
- PROB 11/783, 'Will of Edward Bryan, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holdborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/784, 'Will of Robert Young, Farrier of Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/783, 'Will of Worbey Hawkins, Blacksmith and Farrier of Saint George the Martyr Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/786, 'Will of Daniel Mosdell, Farrier of Thatcham, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/786, 'Will of Robert Watkin, Farrier of Furbage, Leicestershire'
- PROB 11/788, 'Will of John Fax, Farrier of Saint Luke, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/790, 'Will of Joseph Webb, Farrier of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/791, 'Will of John Flowers, Farrier of Saint Luke, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/796, 'Will of Samuel Hall, Farrier of Hulton, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/796, 'Will of John James, Farrier of Barking London'
- PROB 11/797, 'Will of Edward Sommerland, Farrier of Saint Saviour Southwark, Surrey'
- PROB 11/799, 'Will of James Serjeant, Farrier of Bermondsey, Surrey'
- PROB 11/800, 'Will of Harry Thrupp, Farrier of Saint May Aldermansbury, City of London'
- PROB 11/800 'Will of Joseph Comfort, Farrier and Famer of Clapham, Surrey'
- PROB 11/801, 'Will of John Farnall, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/802, 'Will of John Sibley, Farrier of Leytonstone, Essex'

PROB 11/802, 'Will of Thomas Dean or Deane, Farrier of London of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/802, 'Will of John Dee, Farrier of Sunninghill, Berkshire'

PROB 11/807, 'Will of John Dee, Farrier of Sunninghill, Berkshire'

PROB 11/811, 'Will of George Harford, Farrier of Saint Bartholomew the Great London, City of London'

PROB 11/813, 'Will of Robert Caniels, Farrier of Saint James's, Middlesex'

PROB 11/816, 'Will of Charles Talbot, Farrier of Low Layton, Essex'

PROB 11/818, 'Will of Edward Gregory, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/819, 'Will of Jeremiah With, Farrier of Edgware, Middlesex'

PROB 11/821, 'Will of John Dodd, Blacksmith and Farrier of Saint Pancras, Middlesex'

PROB 11/822, 'Will of Henry Scott, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/822, 'Will of John Bayley, Farrier of Isleworth, Middlesex'

PROB 11/824, 'Will of John Pinckard, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington Butts, Surrey'

PROB 11/826, 'Will of John Yates, Farrier of Dartford, Kent'

PROB 11/826, 'Will of James Greaves, Farrier and Innholder of Saint Luke Old Street, Middlesex'

PROB 11/838, 'Will of Cornelius Hinto, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/840, 'Will of Thomas Armstrong, Farrier of Saint Luke, Middlesex'

PROB 11/842, 'Will of Thomas Taverner or Tavernor, Farrier of Islington, Middlesex'

PROB 11/843, 'Will of William Austin, Farrier of Saint John Hackney, Middlesex'

PROB 11/846, 'Will of Thomas Smith, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/847, 'Will of Edward Owen, Farrier of Stanford Rivers, Essex'

- PROB 11/846, 'Will of William Ash, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Adersgate, City of London'
- PROB 11/856, 'Will of James Ballow otherwise Barlow, Farrier of Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/860, 'Will of Robert Piper, Farrier of Lewisham, Kent'
- PROB 11/863, 'Will of Edward Hale, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/863, 'Will of Martin Jones, Farrier of Kingsbury, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/866, 'Will of Thomas Woodward, Farrier of Saint Andrews Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/866, 'Will of Thomas Dawe, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/869, 'Will of William Heritage, Brazier and Farrier of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/870, 'Will of Joseph Coles, Farrier of Upton with Chalvey, Buckinghamshire'
- PROB 11/871, 'Will of Edward Palmer, Farrier of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/871, 'Will of John Start, Farrier of Tyburn Lane near Hyde Park Corner, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/872, 'Will of John Leach, Farrier Chapman of Saint Pancras, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/872, 'Will of John Drake, Farrier and Blacksmith of Acton, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/875, 'Will of Edward Anderson, Farrier of Limehouse, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/878, 'Will of Thomas Foxall, Farrier of Great Farringdon, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/885, 'Will of James Girdler, Farrier of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/887, 'Will of John Lawrence or Lawrance, Farrier of Saint Georges Hanover Square Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/891, 'Will of John Watton, Farrier of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/895, 'Will of Shadrach Godwin, Farrier of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire'
- PROB 11/895, 'Will of Stephen Cuttall, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/895, 'Will of John Girdler, Farrier and Smith of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'

- PROB 11/897, 'Will of Thomas Ridge, Farrier and Coachmaster of Chelsea, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/897, 'Will of James Gallon, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/901, 'Will of Sarah Rickins or Richins, Widow and Farrier of Richmond, Surrey'
- PROB 11/903, 'Will of Richard Bayley, Farrier of Hayes, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/909, 'Will of Thomas Street, Farrier of Saint John the Evangelist, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/909, 'Will of William Fitzherbert, Farrier of Beckenham, Kent'
- PROB 11/914, 'Will of Edward Smith, Farrier and Smith of Kensington, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/923, 'Will of George Wheeler, Farrier of Saint Katherine by the Tower, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/925, 'Will of William Merrick, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/927, 'Will of William Cuberland, Farrier of Saint John Hackney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/928, 'Will of Thomas Shaw, Farrier of Hayes, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/923, 'Will of Grancis Byrtch, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/936, 'Will of Richard Hagggar, Farrier and Blacksmith of Ruislip, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/941, 'Will of Henry Thrupp, Farrier of Aldermanbury London'
- PROB 11/941, 'Will of John STraffon, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/945, 'Will of Thomas Wright, Blacksmith and Farrier of Saint Dunstan Stepney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/945, 'Will of John Stevens, Late Farrier now Gentleman of Stepney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/946, 'Will of John Huttley or Huttly, Blacksmith and Farrier of Saint John Hackney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/947, 'Will of John Andrews, Farrier of Edmonton, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/950, 'Will of Thomas Stallwood, Farrier of Allhallows Staining, City of London'
- PROB 11/951, 'Will of Thomas Jemmett, Farrier of Chelsea, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/952, 'Will of William Beck, Farrier of Twickenham, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/954, 'Will of Richar Ewer, Smith and Farrier of Kensington, Middlesex'

- PROB 11/954, 'Will of Thomas Allsop, Farrier of Saint Martin in the fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/956, 'Will of James King, Farrier of Bermondsey, Surrey'
- PROB 11/959, 'Will of Alexander Purvis, Blacksmith and Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/960, 'Will of William Cooper, farrier of Saint George Hanover Square Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/963, 'Will of Lewis Riebeau or Ribeau, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/966, 'Will of John Adair, Farrier and Gilder of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/975, 'Will of James McDowall, Farrier of Oxford Street London, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/975, 'Will of Matthew Betterworth, Farrier of London'
- PROB 11/976, 'Will of Phillip Pool, Farrier of Saint Margaret Westminster, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/982, 'Will of Richard Sumner, Farrier of Old Brentford, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/982, 'Will of Jacob Perkins, Smith and Farrier of Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/984, 'Will of Thomas Stanley, Farrier of Edmonton, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/987, 'Will of John Pemberton Stevens, Farrier of Saint Dunstan Stepney, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/987, 'Will of Samuel Hooton, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/992, 'Will of Swain Stevens, Farrier of Hartshill, Warwickshire'
- PROB 11/992, 'Will of William Cox, Farrier of Kensington Gravel Pitts, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/993, 'Will of John Coles, Blacksmith and Farrier of Burnham, Buckinghamshire'
- PROB 11/995, 'Will fo Robert Franklin, Farrier of Saint James, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/996, 'Will of John Bishop, Farrier of Wallingford, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/997, 'Will of Alexander Hay, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/997, 'Will of Benjamin Hainsworth, Farrier of Saint Martin in the fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/997, 'Will of Benjamin Hainsworth, Farrier of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/998, 'Will of Richard Horlock, Farrier of Hammersmith, Middlesex'

PROB 11/999, 'Will of Thomas Pearson otherwise Parson, Blacksmith and Farrier of Erith, Kent'

PROB 11/1001, 'Will of John Rotherham, Smith and Farrier of Brameley Saint Leonard, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1002, 'Will of John Webb, Farrier of Low Layton, Essex'

PROB 11/1004, 'Will of Alexander Banks, Farrier of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1004, 'Will of Henry Brooks, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington Butts, Surrey'

PROB 11/1007, 'Will of Bariel Secker, Farrier of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1008, 'Will of Martha Jamison or Jameson, Farrier of Saint Giles's in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1026, 'Will of Joseph Hick, Farrier of Walsoken, Norfolk'

PROB 11/1025, 'Will of Thomas Bidwell, Farrier of Saint George Bloomsbury, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1033, 'Will of James Turner, Farrier of Saint George the Martyr Southwark, Surrey'

PROB 11/1036, 'Will of Luke Commings, Farrier of Saint James Clerkenwell, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1044, 'Will fo Joseph Sprigg, Farrier of Iver, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/1043, 'Will of Thomas Bidwell, Farrier of Saint George Bloomsbury, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1049, 'Will of William Robinson, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldgate, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1055, 'Will of Thomas Whitehorn, Farrier of London of Pembroke, Pembrokeshire'

PROB 11/1061, 'Will of Thomas Wood, Farrier of Southall, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1062, 'Will fo William Powell, Farrier of Stanmore the Less, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1064, 'Will of Thomas Ruddle, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1069, 'Will of Edward Dight, Farrier of Saint Botolph without Aldersgate, City of London'

PROB 11/1071, 'Will of John Shuttleworth, Farrier Ingatestone, Essex'

PROB 11/1073, 'Will of Matthew Court, Blacksmith and Farrier of Canterbury, Kent'

PROB 11/1073, 'Will of John Skay, Farrier of Long Compton, Warwickshire'

PROB 11/1082, 'Will of James Nicoll, Farrier and Farmer of Finchley, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1086, 'Will of Richard Sawyer, Farrier of Medmenham, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/1086, 'Will of Abednego Godwin, Farrier of Northaw, Herfordshire'

PROB 11/1090, 'Will of John Hubbard, Farrier of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1092, 'Will of Richard Tomlinson, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1098, 'Will of John Dearle, Farrier of Cambridge, Cambridgeshire'

PROB 11/1098, 'Will of Walter Pride, Farrier of Saint Giles's in the Fields, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1099, 'Will of Jame Jarvis, Farrier of Enfield, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1106, 'Will fo George Heald, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1109, 'Will of Isaac Wills, Farrier and Smith of Dartford, Kent'

PROB 11/1111, 'Will of Robert Ewers, Farrier of Bexley, Kent'

PROB 11/1115, 'Will of Thomas Pittman, Farrier of Saint Ann Westminster, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1123, 'Will of James Smith, Farrier of Saint Mary Islington, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1126, 'Will of Thomas King, Farrier Bubbingworth, Essex'

PROB 11/136, 'Will of Henry Brooks, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington Butts, Surrery'

PROB 11/1136, 'Will of William Gibbons, Farrier of Clifton, Goucestershire'

PROB 11/1137, 'Will of Stephen Headach, Farrier of Hurst, Wiltshire'

PROB 11/1141, 'Will of James Addis, Smith and Farrier of Abbotsleigh, Somerset'

PROB 11/1145, 'Will of Thomas Evans, Farrier of Old Woodstock, Oxfordshire'

- PROB 11/1150, 'Will of Stacy or Stacey Jeakings, Farrier of Bethnal Green, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1151, 'Will fo Joseph Piper, Farrier of Wouthend Lewisham, Kent'
- PROB 11/1159, 'Will fo Thomas Feagin otherwise Feagen, Farrier of Saint Peters Pauls Wharf, City of London'
- PROB 11/1162, 'Will of Anthony otherwise Anthoney Parker, Farrier of Isleworth, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1167, 'Will of Henry Grubb, Farrier of Saint Ann, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1168, 'Will of John Coles, Farrier of Saint Mary Newington, Surrey'
- PORB 11/1176, 'Will of John Ronbinson, Farrier of Clerkenwell Green, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1175, 'Will of John Green, Farrier of Leisham, Kent'
- PROB 11/1175, 'Will of Joseph Hill, Farrier of Saint Luke, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1177, 'Will of Charles Adams, Farrier of Newmarket, Cambridgeshire'
- PROB 11/1181, 'Will of Thomas Davis, Farrier of Cow Cross'
- PROB 11/1184, 'Will of William Muddock, Farrier of Saint Andrews Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1189, 'Will of Joseph Sweatman, Farrier of Saint Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1193, 'Will of Smauel Roberts, Farrier of Lewisham, Kent'
- PROB 11/1199, 'Will of James Gobsall, Farrier of Saint Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1204, 'Will of Thomas Smith, Farrier and Innkeeper of Purfleet, Essex'
- PROB 11/1204, 'Will of Mark Muddock, Farrier of Saint Andrew Holborn, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1203, 'Will of James Allsop, Farrier of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1210, 'Will of Shadrach Godwin, Farrier of Hemel Hepsted, Hertfordshire'
- PROB 11/1212, 'Will of William Muddock, Farier of Saint Andrew above the Bar'
- PROB 11/1214, 'Will of James Murray, Farrier of Aint George the Martyr, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1215, 'Will of Robert Bevarn, Farrier Dalston, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1217, 'Will of John Potter, Blacksmith and Farrier of Benenden, Kent'

- PROB 11/1221, 'Will of William Bailey, Smith and Farrier of Portsmouth, Hampshire'
- PROB 11/1232, 'Will of Richard Guy, Farrier of Uxbridge, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1233, 'Will of Henry James, Farrier of Saint Mary Islington, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1234, 'Will of James Paul, Farrier of Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire'
- PROB 11/1236, 'Will of William Spalding, Farrier of Reading, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/1257, 'Will of John Hurst, Farrier of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1261, 'Will of John Spalding, Farrier of Reading, Berkshire'
- PROB 11/1262, 'Will of Thomas Shrubsole, Blacksmith and Farrier of Canterbury, Kent'
- PROB 11/1264, 'Will of James Pullen, Smith and Farrier of Leytonstone, Essex'
- PROB 11/1265, 'Will of Samuel Whiterow otherwise Whitrow, Farrier of Lemon Tree Yard Bedfordbury, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1267, 'Will of Peter Smith, Farrier of Saint George Hanover Square, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1266, 'Will of Edward Plumley, Farrier of All Saints Bristol Gloucestershire'
- PROB 11/1280, 'Will of Thomas Pearson, Farrier of Erith, Kent'
- PROB 11/1286, 'Will of Thomas Baily, Smith and Farrier of Ealing, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1294, 'Will of William Hurst, Farrier of Saint Bartholomew the Great, City of London'
- PROB 11/1302, 'Will of Robert Slipper, Farrier of Saint Mary Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1302, 'Will of Thomas Skinner, Farrier of Bridgwater, Somerset'
- PROB 11/1302, 'Will of Jeremiah Heaver, Farrier of Ryarsh, Kent'
- PROB 11/1307, 'Will of Richard Precious, Farrier of Chiswell Street Saint Luke, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1306, 'Will fo Peter Adams, Farrier of Finsbury Street, Middlesex'
- PROB 11/1308, 'Will of Stephen Heachach, Farrier of Hurst, Wiltshire'
- PROB 11/1309, 'Will of David Greenwood, Farrier of Stamford, Lincolnshire'
- PROB 11/1314, 'Will of Thomas Cooper, Farrier of Epsom, Surrey'

PROB 11/1316, 'Will of Richard Richardson, Farrier of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/1327, 'Will of John Stanley, Smith and Farrier of Edmonton, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1328, 'Will of Edward Green, Farrier Clapham, Surrey'

PROB 11/1331, 'Will of Thomas Richardson, Farrier of Aldersgate Street Glass House Yard, City of London'

PROB 11/1334, 'Will of William Lamb, Farrier of Datchet, Buckinghamshire'

PROB 11/1334, 'Will of John Edmundson, Farrier of Newmarket, Suffolk'

PROB 11/1337, 'Will of Richard Parr, Farrier of Half Moon Alley Bishopsgate Street Without, City of London'

PROB 11/1339, 'Will of William Wood, Farrier of Saint George Southwark, Surrey'

PROB 11/1338, 'Will of Abner Clarkson, Smith and Farrier, Farmer of Hammersmith, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1346, 'Will of Francis King, Farrier of Great Stanmore, Middlesex'

PROB 11/1350, 'Will of George Puttnam, Smith and Farrier of Northchurch, Hertfordshire'

PROB 11/1351, 'Will of George King, Horse and Cow Farrier Loughton, Essex'

North Yorkshire County Council

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ZV 4, 'Major J. Fairfax, Receipt list'

ZV4/1, 'Gentleman's Receipt list'

ZV 7, 'Horse sales list'

ZV 8/1, 'Receipt list'

Nottinghamshire County Archives

- 157 DD/P/60/9, 'Deed to Farrier'
- DDTS 36/3/1-7, 'Holland Walker transcripts and letters'
- DDTS 36/3/8, 'Francis Clater Receipts'
- DD2P 28/366, 'John Steevins Farrier lease'
- DD2P 28/312, 'Hurst and Earl of Oxford lease'
- DD2P 28/314, 'Deed Nathaniel Hurst, Earl of Oxford'
- DD2P 28/361, 'John Steevins Deed from Newcastle'
- DDP6 1/16/106, 'Charles Doubleday Apprenticeship'
- DDP6/7/10/104/4, Richard Hannan Farrier Bill'
- DDSY 22, 'Will of Thomas Hickson, Farrier'
- DDP6 7/10/14/33/131, 'Farrier Bill, Doubleday'
- DDP6 7/10/105/8, 'Farrier Bill, Doubleday'
- DDP6 7/10/143/132, 'Farrier Bill, Doubleday'
- DDP6 7/5/2, 'Farrier Bill, Hunt'
- DDP6 7/10/105/15, 'Farrier Bill, James Tomlinson'
- DDN 212/19, 'Farrier Bill, John Steevins'
- DDP6 8/2/5/11, 'Farrier Bill, Moorcroft Fields'
- DDE 96/72, 'Farrier Bill, Edge'
- DDE 159/20, 'Farrier Bill, John Webb'
- DDE 93/5, 'Farrier Bill, Bennet'
- DDP 6/7/2/238, 'Receipt, Duke of Newcastle'
- DDP 6/7/10/41, 'Receipt, Welbeck'

DDE 175/39, 'Farrier Bill, Whitehead'

DDE 154/49, 'Farrier Bill, Whoab'

DDE 171/86, 'Farrier Bill, William Frost'

Royal Veterinary College Archives

'Accounts of All Animals Received and Discharged 1793-1809'

'College Foundation Letters'

'Minutes of Meetings. Vol. I, November 3rd, 1790 to Aril 25th 1793'

'Minutes of Meetings. Vol. II, May 2nd, 1793 to Jun 13th 1804'

'Royal Veterinary College Subscription Ledger From 25 March 1796'

Wellcome Archives

MS 7455, 'Veterinary Receipt Book'

MS 7458, 'Veterinary and Agriculture Book'

MS 7525.1, 'Chemists Account Book'

MS 2477, 'J. Garside Receipt list'

MS 994, 'First Book of Horses'

MS 995, 'First Book of Horses II'

MS 1357, 'Robert Bristow, 1740-1776, Cookery Book'

MS 1795, 'Cookery Book, 1685-1727'

MS 7073, 'Caleb Lowdham 1729, Receipt Book'

MS 1364, 'J. Brooker 1685, Receipt Book'

MS 144, 'Cookery Book, 1731-9'

MS 1625, 'N. Chomley, Theobald's Book'

MS 3151, 'Lambton Family, Cookery Book'

MS 3500, 'Mrs. Meade, Book of Receipts, Cookery and Medicine'

MS 3950, 'William Poole, 1757'

MS 4124, 'Vet Recipe Book'

MS 4263, 'Ross Receipt Book'

MS 4632, 'Eliza Anna Smith 1783-1850, Cookery Book'

MS 7456, 'Farriery Receipts, 1860'

MS 7457, 'Veterinary Receipts Book, 1765'

MS 7459, 'Veterinary Receipt Book, 1711-1744'

MS 7788, 'Dorethea Repps Family Receipt Book 1703'

West Sussex County Archives

STC i/24 F.96, 'Inventory, Thomas Balden'

STC I/32 F.165, 'Inventory, John Booker'

STC I/31 F.288, 'Inventory, John Booker'

STC I/21B F.39, 'Inventory, Henry Booker'

STC I/29 F.64, 'Inventory, Nicholar Blackman'

STC III/N F.16, 'Inventory, Nathaniel Bennett'

STC I/41 F.341, 'Inventory, Nicholas Baxter'

STC I/30 F.782, 'Inventory, John Barkshire'

STC III/N F.21, 'Inventory, John Barber'

STC I/30 F.842, 'Inventory, Richard Boyer'
STC III/M F.125, 'Inventory, John Brady'
STC I/32 F.258, 'Inventory, John Bridger'
STC I/37 F.330, 'Inventory, Peter Bridger'
STC III/O F.74, 'Inventory, John Broome'
STC I/34 F.440, 'Inventory, William Broome'
STC III/Q F.3, 'Inventory, Thomas Burcher'
STC I/31 F.441, 'Inventory, John Carpenter'
STC I/30 F.593, 'Inventory, Ralph Carter'
STC I/30 F.345, 'Inventory, John Combes'
STC I/42 F.287, 'Inventory, William Christopher'
STC I/43 F.502, 'Inventory, Thomas Fowler'
STC I/29 F.43, 'Inventory, John Greest'
STC III/M f.77, 'Inventory, John Agate'
STC I/30 F.179, 'Inventory Arthur Casmer'
STC I/32 F.105, 'Inventory, John Hollyard'
STC I/17 F.259, 'Inventory, Thomas Kinge'
STC III/I F.122, 'Inventory, George Pitman'
STC I/35 F.115, 'Inventory, Robert Stedman'
PHA 7455 3 of 4, 'Mr. Hay, Farrier Bill'
PHA 6608/32, 'Mr. Hay, Farrier Bill'
PHA 6611, 'Mr. Hay, Farrier Bill, 1778'
PHA 7531, 'Mr. Hay, Farrier Bill, 1777'
PHA 8051, 'Farrier Bill, Jane Hay, August 1779'

- PHA 7531, 'Farrier Bill, Mrs. Hay, December 1780'
- PHA 7543, 'Farrier Bill, Mr. Hay, December 1781'
- PHA 7536, 'Farrier Bill, Mrs. Hay, June 1784'
- PHA 7539, 'Farrier Bill, Jane Hay, 1784'
- PHA 7541, 'Farrier Bill, Mr. Jay, June 1786'
- PHA 7545, 'Farrier Bill, Mrs. Hay, June 1788'
- PHA 7548, 'Farrier Bill, Mrs. Hay, June 1789'
- PHA 8101, 'Farrier Bill, Mrs. Hay, June 1790'
- PHA 7550, 'Farrier Bill, Earl of Egremont, 1797'
- PHA 7539, 'Farrier Bill, William Layton, 1784'
- PHA 7455 3 of 4, 'Farrier Bill, Mr. Palmer Farrier, 1744
- PHA 7455 1 of 4, 'Farrier Bill, Thomas Allen'
- PHA 7455 4 of 4, 'Travel Receipts including Farriery'
- PHA 7549, 'Apothecary Bill, Mr. Brande, 1795-96'
- PHA 7555, 'Farrier Bill'
- PHA 6635, 'Farrier Bill, Mr. Boulton'
- PHA 6613, 'Farrier Bill, Alex Hey, 1763'
- PHA 6608/30, 'Livery Bills, bleeding and shoeing'
- PHA 10,628 1 of 2, 'Farriery Bill, Alex Henderson, 1830'
- PHA 8435, 'Farrier Bill, Mr. Tibson'
- PHA 10,621, 'Druggist Bill, Gripps and Lardner, 1804'
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