

Nicholas Culpeper and The Book Trade:
Print and the Promotion of Vernacular Medical
Knowledge, 1649-65

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.

Francis Bacon, 'Of Studies', *Essaies* (1597)
The Works of Francis Bacon,
ed. by Basil Montagu
(London: Pickering, 1852), i, 167-68

And soe in the Printing Presse, at first view wee see noe wonder in the Invention; but doe rather wonder that fore more than 5000 yeares, none of the greate wits in the World, neither Prophete, nor Magician, neither good Angell nor badd, should discover an Art of such holy use for communication of Knowledge, Learning, & all sorts of humane accommodations.

John Beale to unknown, n.d.
(HP 67/22/18A)

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Abstract

Nicholas Culpeper and The Book Trade: Print and the Promotion of Vernacular Medical Knowledge, 1649-65

Jonathan Sanderson, Ph.D., March 1999

This thesis examines print culture and the medical book trade during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. I examine a range of vernacular medical books which predate the publication of Nicholas Culpeper's (1616-54) translation of the London College of Physicians' first *Pharmacopoeia* (1618) in 1649. Culpeper's English version subjected the official medical knowledge of the professional to his caustic commentary, and launched his programme to produce 'the whol Moddel of Physick' in the vernacular.

At the same time the involvement of the Fellows of the College with the book trade during the Interregnum is explored. Examination of the Stationers' Register reveal that Presidents of the College were prepared to endorse English translations of scholarly books and new works by non-Collegiate authors. Through this Register and the 'Annals' of the College I show how two astute London stationers were able to gain control of the rights to the College's *Pharmacopoeia*.

The social relationships between Culpeper and his publishers are analysed, as well as the network of agents responsible for the production and publication of Culpeper's books and their reception. I focus on Culpeper's four principal works - his two translations of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* (1649 and 1653); his herbal, *The English Physitian* (1652); and *A Directory for Midwives* (1651). Their presentation (typography and page-layout), dissemination, and reception are also explored.

Apparent from the early history of Culpeper's medical books is the commercialism of the book trade in the 1650s. Medical practitioners and writers exploited print culture to promote their name in the medical marketplace and create a public *persona*. I discuss Culpeper's activities as an editor and writer, and the fluidity of these texts in response to commercial threats from rival publishers. The development of his work through subsequent editions counters the assumption that printing preserves and fixes a text's meaning.

This thesis argues that historical bibliography is essential for an understanding of a book's reception and influence, and I show how print culture was significant to the promotion of vernacular medicine in these years.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

- A&O* *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. by C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1911)
- Annals* Annals of the Royal College of Physicians, English Typescripts
- Apprentices 1605-1640* *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-40*, ed. by D.F. McKenzie (Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961)
- Apprentices 1641-1700* *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700*, ed. by D.F. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974)
- BL* British Library
- Clark* George Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964)
- Court* *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640*, ed. by William A. Jackson (London: Bibliographical Society, 1957)
- Court Book C* Stationers' Company MS, 'Court Book C'
- Court Book D* Stationers' Company MS, 'Court Book D'
- CSPD* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1619-62*, 40 vols (London: HMSO, 1858-93)
- DBR* *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller, 3 vols (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1982-84)
- Decline* Harold J. Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986)
- Dict. 1557-1640* R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... 1557-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910)
- Dict. 1641-1667* H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907)
- DM* Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, 4 edns (1651-60)
- DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography*
- DSB* *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. by C.C. Gillespie, 18 vols (New York: Scribner's, 1970-90)
- EP* Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, 2 edns (1652); ... *Enlarged*, 3 edns (1653-65)
- ESTC* English Short Title Catalogue, 1483-1800: available through the Eureka WWW Service (<http://eureka.thames.rlg.org/>)

- GI* Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975)
- HP* Hartlib Papers, Sheffield University
- IGI* *International Genealogical Index*, microfiche edn (1992), consulted at Leeds City Library
- Life* ‘The LIFE of the Admired PHYSICIAN and ASTROLOGER of our Times, Mr. *Nicholas Culpeper*’, in *Culpeper’s School of Physick* (1659), C1^r-8^v
- McCarl* Mary McCarl, ‘Publishing the Works of Nicholas Culpeper, Astrologer Herbalist and Translator of Latin Medical Works in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 13 (1996), 225-76
- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary*
- PD* Nicholas Culpeper, *A Physical Directory*, 3 edns (1649-51)
- PL* Nicholas Culpeper, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, or the London Dispensatory*, 5 edns (1653-61)
- RCP* Royal College of Physicians, London
- Roll* W.R. Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, vol. I, 4 parts (London: Longman, 1861)
- SC* Stationers’ Company, London
- SP* State Papers, Public Records Office, Kew
- SR 1554-1640* *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London and Birmingham: privately printed, 1875-94)
- SR 1640-1708* *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 to 1708*, ed. by G.E.B. Eyre and others, 3 vols (London: privately printed, 1913-14)
- STC* A.W. Pollard, and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd rev. edn, ed. by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)
- Underwood* E. Ashworth Underwood and others, *History of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London*, vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1963)
- Wing* Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd edn, rev. and enl. by John J. Morrison and others, 3 vols (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972-88); 3rd edn, vol. I: A1-E2926L (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1994)
- WIL* Wellcome Institute Library, London

Notes on the Text

To represent the character of the printed volume, I have retained their original punctuation, capitalisation, and spelling, including the common use of *i* for *j*, and *v* for *u*. The long *s*, however, has been brought into accord with modern usage. Similarly, I follow New Style dating, with the year beginning January 1. London is the place of publication unless stated otherwise.

Prologue

Culpepper, new in numbers, cost but thrice
The ancient volume's unassuming price,
But told what planet o'er each herb had power,
And how to take it in the lucky hour.¹

George Crabbe (1754-1832),
'Tales of the Hall' (1819), Book V, 39-42

That late deceased, and yet living *English Apollo*,
Mr. *Culpeper*.

R.T. in Alexander Massarius,
De Morbis Foemineis (1657), A2^v

The ability of the printed page to transmit knowledge from a localised site of production to a wider audience is a complex matter. In this thesis I examine the book trade, primarily in the late 1640s and in the 1650s, through the example of the printing and publication of Nicholas Culpeper's popular medical books, and demonstrate the symbiotic relationship which existed between Culpeper and his publishers. These collaborative ventures produced a variety of books which addressed the spectrum of medical providers, including self-medication, and promoted the Culpeper name in London's 'medical marketplace'.²

The processes of printing and publication not only replicate and disseminate information but also confer authority upon a text. This means that the medium can serve as a social mechanism through which information and ideas may be popularised.³ Adrian Johns has recently examined the relationship between the book trade and the production of scientific knowledge during the seventeenth century. His work highlights the cultural significance of the printed book in the development and communication of discoveries and scientific knowledge.⁴ In order to appreciate the material transmission of a text it is

¹ George Crabbe, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Norma Dalrymple-Champreys and Arthur Pollard, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), II, 342.

² On the notion of the 'medical marketplace' in seventeenth-century London see Lucinda M. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 8-50; *Decline*, pp. 28-69.

³ Adrian Johns, 'History, Science, and the History of the Book: The Making of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Publishing History*, 30 (1991), 5-30.

⁴ Recently published is Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Judging by its prepublication blurb this book is derived from Johns' 1992 Cambridge thesis and his published articles since 1991.

necessary to approach the book as a historical and sociological artefact. I accordingly locate Culpeper's books in terms of the communication circuit described by Robert Darnton, which constitutes a social network of author, publisher, printer, bookseller, and reader.⁵ Darnton's work emphasises the social significance of the book. Both Elizabeth Eisenstein and Roger Chartier have shown how the printed book could bring about a change in the political, economic, and social outlook and expectations of a nation.⁶ D.F. McKenzie writes of bibliography as the study of a book's production, dissemination, and reception, which reveals the human presence in any text, a study which must describe the text as a social product.⁷ If the printed book is powerful enough, as Eisenstein demonstrates it clearly is, to bring about social change, then we must unveil the social mechanism which has empowered the text to bring about such a change. Tessa Watt has shown how publishers developed strategies in response to the demands of the book buying market in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁸ It is necessary, therefore, to treat the publisher and printer as active agents in the promotion of a book and, through the decisions they make over its physical and typographical form, how it was understood and used. We must therefore approach the publisher as what Chartier has termed a 'cultural agent'. Chartier believes that it is the commercial concerns of a publisher that lead to a book's publication. He writes:

It is obvious that publishing strategies depend largely on the public that at a given moment constitutes the printers' potential clientele. The decision to print a particular text, the choice of format, and the production run are determined in the first place by the possible market (or at least the more or less plausible idea the publisher has of the market). But the circulation of printed books modifies the cultural balance. By offering a new instrument of learning and entertainment, by multiplying the possible uses of the written word, by encouraging new forms of social change, printing transformed the perception and

⁵ Robert Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', in *Books and Society in History*, ed. by Kenneth E. Carpenter (New York: Bowker, 1983), 3-26. Also see John Feather, 'Cross-Channel Currents: Historical Bibliography and *l'histoire du livre*', *The Library*, 6th ser., 2 (1980), 1-15; Peter L. Shillingsburg, 'An Inquiry into the Social Status of Texts and Modes of Textual Criticism', *Studies in Bibliography*, 42 (1989), 55-79 (p. 63).

⁶ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Roger Chartier, 'Culture as Appropriation: Popular Culture in Early Modern France', in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1984), 229-53; Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154-75; Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. by David Gerard (London: NLB, 1976; repr. Verso, 1990).

⁷ D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Texts* (London: British Library, [1986]).

⁸ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; repr. 1994).

cultural practices of those who used its product.⁹

The printed book, then, is a commercial commodity produced by a system of social relationships. Jerome McGann has proposed a social theory of editing to reflect this method of production in which authors are ‘part of a continuing process, a changing and sometimes even a developing history of human events and purposes’.¹⁰ This means that the act of creativity is no longer seen as a solitary event but is a socialised and institutional affair.

This thesis is inspired by McKenzie and others’ sociological approach to the history of the book and the human relationships and commercial arrangements that were and still are responsible for the publication of any printed text. I am also interested in the physical arrangement and appearance of the printed page and its function, because through typography and layout (*mise-en-page*) authors, editors, printers, and compositors create textual apparatuses that facilitated a reader’s understanding. Literary scholars are interested in *mise-en-page*, but I employ Gérard Genette’s notion of a paratext to explore its application in medical books of the early modern period. Genette provides a vocabulary that comes closest to McKenzie’s sociological construction. The paratext is the product of an epitext and peritext. The epitext operates outside the covers of a book and is difficult to reconstruct during this period. The peritext, however, is ‘essentially typographical and bibliographical in nature’ and is the result of decisions made by publishers and often their authors.¹¹ The question of reprints, reissues, and new editions is difficult to resolve during the early modern period, but comparison of copies reveals interesting issues and demonstrates how such bibliographical choices indicate the impact of a text and its commercial popularity.¹²

Mary McCarl’s recent article on Culpeper’s bibliography provides an overview of those books associated with Culpeper’s name which were published during the seventeenth century.¹³ McCarl’s work developed that done earlier by F.N.L. Poynter who prepared a

⁹ Chartier, ‘Culture as Appropriation’, p. 237.

¹⁰ Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983; repr. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 118-19.

¹¹ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 17.

¹² See Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, ‘A New Model for the Study of the Book’, in *A Potencie of Life, Books in Society: The Clark Lectures 1986-1987*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 5-43 (pp. 18, 28).

¹³ Mary R. McCarl, ‘Publishing the Works of Nicholas Culpeper, Astrological Herbalist and Translator of Latin Medical Works in Seventeenth-Century London’, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 13 (1996), 225-76.

preliminary survey of Culpeper's books. The majority of new titles published after Culpeper's death were attempts by his publishers to exploit the brand name.¹⁴ In this study, I explore the publishing histories of Culpeper's four principal works to reveal the methods of their production, presentation (typography), dissemination, and reception. Over a period of sixteen years, his two translations of the London College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia* (1649 and 1653), his herbal (1652), and *A Directory for Midwives* (1651), were published by Peter Cole in at least twenty editions and all were pirated. Culpeper's first translation launched an attack on the College's medical monopoly, a continuing theme throughout all his books. Not only did he seek to educate and inform but his political rhetoric also contributed to the wider debate in the late 1640s and 1650s on notions of individual freedom and the power of government.

Culpeper's books were part of a programme to publish 'the whol Moddel of Physick' in the vernacular.¹⁵ In his introductory essay to *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850* (1992), Roy Porter lists the four elements necessary for medical popularisation: a body of authorised regular medicine, writers willing to spread this medical knowledge, a medium of diffusion, and a literate audience.¹⁶ The development of a medium of diffusion does not simply depend on the deployment of print but also requires the expansion of printing and the book trade, and the growth in a literate audience dependent on increased schooling and standardised education.¹⁷ I accordingly examine the various forms vernacular medical literature took during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the authors and their motives, and the uses and audiences for which such books were intended. Throughout, the term 'medical' and 'physick' are used to describe books 'concerned with the restoration, alleviation and prevention of disease'.¹⁸ This includes theory and the receipt books of the medical professionals in Latin, and the increasing amount of vernacular medical literature. The vernacular market consisted of translations and compilations of professional literature, medical receipt books, herbals and 'books of secrets' which often included medical advice.¹⁹

¹⁴ F.N.L. Poynter, 'Nicholas Culpeper and his Books', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 17 (1962), 152-167.

¹⁵ *PD* (1650), B2^r.

¹⁶ Roy Porter, 'Introduction', in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-16 (p. 3).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁸ *OED*, IX.

¹⁹ From his examination of Thomas Symcotts's case-books and notes, F.N.L. Poynter and W.J. Bishop conclude that the physician did not consult popular medical books but recognised medical authorities. This could suggest the works by Borde, Elyot, Barrough, and Langham (examined below) were read by a

In his discussion of 'print culture' William Eamon notes that the appearance of printing did not erase the boundaries between learned and popular cultures, rather it 'permanently altered the distribution of cultural materials in society and facilitated exchanges of information between groups formerly kept apart by social and cultural boundaries'.²⁰ He suggests that only with the appearance of 'professional translators, the growth of printing houses specializing in vernacular literature, and the explosion of vernacular publication, [did] the old distinction, Latin/lettered versus vernacular/unlettered, began to break down'.²¹ In the sphere of medical practice the division between the university educated physician and medical practitioners, such as midwives and lay-healers, is representative of this two-tiered model. In this specific field, the development of the vernacular book market constituted a movement towards the democratisation of learned medical knowledge. But, with this the tacit knowledge of the practitioners, who had traditionally learnt their art through observation and practical experience, was subjected to the technical vocabulary and educated learning of the professional physician.

Following a lull in output of medical books during the 1640s, the 1650s witnessed a rapid increase in the amount of new vernacular literature published. Historians, including Christopher Hill, Charles Webster, and Harold Cook, identify the breakdown in censorship and medical licensing in the 1640s as the cause of this expansion. However, in this study I argue that their explanation is too simplistic because it fails to appreciate the complexity of the book trade.²² Also apparent from the early history of Culpeper's medical books is the commercialism of the book trade in the 1650s. Peter Cole developed a series of vernacular medical titles which he published and advertised using Culpeper's name. In William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (1657), for example, ten per

lay audience (*A Seventeenth Century Doctor and His Patients: John Symcotts, 1592?-1662*, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, No. 31 (Streatley, Beds.: By the Society, 1951), pp. xix-xxi).

²⁰ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 94.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²² Christopher Hill believes 'the collapse of the censorship in the forties is ... the most important event in the history of seventeenth-century English literature' (*Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1985), p. 75). But as Sheila Lambert and, more recently, Joad Raymond have argued historians have previously overestimated the impact of a supposedly 'free' press during the 1640s (Lambert, 'The Printers and the Government, 1604-1637', in *Aspects of Printing From 1600*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), 1-29; Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640', in *Censorship & the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 1-32; and Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newspapers 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 81-86).

cent of the books on physick and surgery are associated with Culpeper's name. Cole and others like him were opportunists, and it was this commercialism which drove publishers to promote and sell vernacular medical books. This study, therefore, challenges the conventional view of the depressed state of the book trade during the 1650s.²³ In the medical book market, at least, the political turmoil was an opportunity for publishers to promote their authors and books. By placing emphasis on the publishers, their publishing programmes, and the printing history of the period, I offer an interpretation of this medical literature as a product of publishers' marketing strategies and of commercial competition within the book trade. That is, through a bibliographical approach to the medical marketplace I reveal the 'profound issues' that Porter believes medical popularisation raises 'about the historical relations of medicine and the medical profession to the wider society'.²⁴

In the first chapter I trace the development of the medical vernacular book market during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Following a period of expansion in the 1580s, the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of stagnation with few new titles published as a result of the monopolies of the College of Physicians and the Society of Apothecaries over diagnosis, medical prescription, preparation, and dispensation. In a brief biography of Culpeper, I give an account based upon the only contemporary account of his life published in 1659, supported by archival evidence from the Society of Apothecaries' records, to demonstrate its authenticity. I argue that Culpeper began to work as a medical translator earlier than Mary McCarl or Olav Thulesius realise, and suggest that his ideological beliefs align him with London's political radicals.

Culpeper's publishing programme in the 1650s formed part of a wider debate over the ownership of knowledge and the rights to profit from its application. Similarly, the work of Samuel Hartlib and his circle of correspondents to promote agricultural improvement during this period is also suggestive of political idealism. In Chapter Two I discuss the ambiguous relationship between this idealism and the commercialism of the book trade. The involvement of Fellows of the College of Physicians with London's stationers is discussed here for the first time. Their presence at Stationers' Hall during the period from 1649 to 1654, when English medical books were registered, was a response to Culpeper's English translation of their *Pharmacopoeia*. As I show, two astute London

²³ Cf. John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Croom Helm, 1988; repr. Routledge, 1991), p. 49.

²⁴ Porter, 'Introduction', p. 10.

publishers had gained control of the College's official text, which left Fellows powerless to prevent Cole and Culpeper profiting from an English version. Rather than attacking vernacular medicine, it appears that a small group of Fellows were prepared to license books as a way of making money as well as an attempt to monitor the vernacular trade.

Mary McCarl rightly argues that Culpeper's 'public image was exploited by [London's] booksellers'.²⁵ But during his lifetime Culpeper was responsible for the distribution of his texts between his publishers, Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brook. In the medical marketplace of seventeenth-century London both publisher and author sought to exploit the medium of print. The symbiotic relationship that existed between Culpeper and his publishers, Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brook, demonstrates the interdependence of the vernacular medical printing trade and the authors/translators who prepared the texts they published.

In Chapter Three, I trace the early history of Culpeper's two translations and his herbal, *The English Physitian* (1652), which demonstrates Culpeper's activities as an editor and writer, along with the fluidity of these texts in response to commercial threats from rival publishers. I show that Culpeper and his publisher developed a market for vernacular medicine from which both could profit. McCarl's review traces the publishing history of Culpeper's books up to 1700, but the suicide of Cole in 1665 offers an acceptable cut-off date for the present study. I focus on the alterations made by Culpeper and Cole to each subsequent edition of these books to demonstrate how such changes, in the words of Chartier, 'introduce[d] new meanings and new cases into a work by modification of text or layout'²⁶ That is, printing does not necessarily standardise a work: examination of multiple editions reveal that substantial changes were made from one edition to another and demonstrate that the notion of typographical fixity did not exist in the early modern period.

Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651) was written as 'a guide for women', and is a practical guide to pregnancy, childbearing and afterbirth. Significantly, unlike earlier manuals, Culpeper omitted all descriptions of actual delivery. In Chapter Four, I examine the publishing history of Culpeper's manual within the context of the control, or otherwise, of the midwives' profession during the Interregnum. In contrast to Culpeper's other books, *A Directory for Midwives* respected the monopoly of the midwife in the art of delivery, and sought to stave off the intrusion of the male practitioner into the traditionally

²⁵ McCarl, p. 253.

²⁶ Chartier, 'Introduction', in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, ed. by Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 1-10 (p. 4).

exclusively female birthing-room.

The use of typography is fundamental to a book's reception. In Chapter Five, I trace the development of typographical innovations in medical receipt books published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using the notion of Genette's peritext I examine the use made in these books of typography, page-layout, indices, and marginalia. Turning to the manuscript tradition, signs of mutual influence between the two media are apparent. However, the function of layout and presentation differs: whereas in print this could establish textual authority, in manuscripts it reflects a context of use for the medical advice recorded.

In this thesis, I demonstrate the importance of historical bibliography to our understanding of the social history of medicine in early modern England and the significance of the book trade in the creation of the medical marketplace.²⁷ Culpeper wanted to produce the books 'of learned, advised, methodical, and useful Authors in our Language'.²⁸ Rather than addressing a limited audience, Culpeper's books attempted to inform a wide spectrum of providers of medical care. Culpeper exploited the typographical layout of his books to offer critical analysis and reinterpretation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, and his books offered even the lay reader easily accessible medical knowledge. At the same time, the frontispiece portraits of Culpeper, the title pages, and his attacks on the College, established his name as a valuable commodity in the medical marketplace.

²⁷ Adams and Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book'.

²⁸ W.R., 'The Preface', in *Culpeper's School of Physick* (1659), A5^r-B2^r (A6^v).

1. Scholarly Secrets and Vernacular Medicines: Culpeper's Predecessors and his Biography

This newe *Jewell* wyll make the blynde to see,
and the lame to walke. This new *Jewell* will
make the weake to become strong, and the olde
crooked age appeare yong and lustye. This newe
Jewell will make the foule seeme beautifull, and
the withered faces shewe smoothe and fayre, yea,
it will heale all infirmities, and cure all paynes in
the whole bodie of man.

George Baker, in Conrad Gesner,
The Newe Jewell of Health (1576), A2^{r-v}

How longe wold they haue the people ignoraunt:
why grutche [grudge] they phisik to come forth in
Englysshe: woulde they haue no man to knowe
but onely they? Or what make they them selues:
Marchauntes of our lyues and deathes, that we
shulde bye our health only of them, and at theyr
pryces.

Thomas Phayer, in Jean Goeurot,
The Regiment of Life (1544), A3^v

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the London medical profession was organised in a hierarchical system of authority with the Fellows of the College of Physicians standing at its pinnacle. The College had been incorporated in 1518 and two Acts of Parliament in 1540 and 1553 had granted it the powers through which it controlled the practice of medicine in England and especially London in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹ 'Professional' medicine consisted of the Fellows of the College, the apothecaries and surgeons licensed by the College. In contrast, midwives, although licensed by the local ecclesiastical courts, were representative of a wide body of medical practitioners, such as healers and gentlewomen, who provided local advice and medicines for their immediate communities.

Charles Webster and Margaret Pelling have shown that by 1600 there was roughly

¹ 32 Henry VIII c. 40-41; 1 Mary, St. 2 c. 9 (*The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by John Raithby, 10 vols (London: [n.p.], 1810-24), III, 793-96; IV, 207-08). On the early history of the College see Clark, pp. 54-88. For a contrasting story of the development of professional medicine in Scotland see Helen M. Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh*, Scottish Historical Review, Monographs Series No. 1 (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1995).

one medical professional or practitioner for every four hundred people living in London.² They reach this figure by counting the fifty physicians who were licensed by the College, or were members, from 1580 to 1600, the hundred surgeons in the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and the hundred apothecaries in the Grocers' Company before the incorporation of the Society of Apothecaries in 1617.³ They allow for a further two hundred and fifty practitioners outside the College, Barber-Surgeons', and Grocers' Companies, and a further one hundred and forty miscellaneous practitioners operating in London, mostly unlicensed. This total of five hundred, serving a population of 200,000 in 1600, does not include midwives and nurses, and indicates that the population of London was not short of medical advice.⁴ During the 1630s the number of apothecaries licensed by their Society was about one hundred and fifty, while the number of Fellows was limited to thirty during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵ From 1640 to 1660, Charles Webster suggests that there were just over forty Fellows, Candidates and Licentiates in the College: approximately one for every ten thousand of London's population.⁶ However, the Fellows of the College were not typical of English physicians. To become a Fellow a physician needed to have passed the required medical examinations, possess a medical doctorate from either Oxford or Cambridge, and to have had four years' experience of medical practice.⁷ To receive a licence a physician had to be university trained, and they generally restricted their practices to cities where the wealthy clients who could afford their fees lived. This meant that alternative practitioners emerged to provide care for the poor and rural communities.

Traditionally charitable medicine had been available in the monasteries, but their dissolution from 1536 to 1547 in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI removed this source of authoritative medical advice.⁸ This may have been why Parliament passed what

² Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 165-236; Pelling, 'Occupational Diversity: Barbersurgeons and the Trades of Norwich, 1550-1640', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 56 (1982), 484-511; Pelling, 'Medical Practice in Early Modern England: Trade or Profession?', in *The Professions in Early Modern England*, ed. by Wilfrid Prest (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 90-128.

³ On the Apothecaries' and Surgeons' Companies see Jessie Dobson and Robert M. Walker, *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London: A History of the Barbers' and Barber-Surgeons' Companies* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1979); Underwood.

⁴ On female surgeons and medical practitioners see Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1520-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 314-21.

⁵ William J. Birken, 'The Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, 1603-1643: A Social Study' (doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1977; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 38A (1978), 6869-A), p. 3.

⁶ *GI*, p. 252.

⁷ Birken, 'The Fellows of the Royal College', pp. 5-7.

⁸ See J.C. Dickinson, *An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Later Middle Ages, from the Norman*

is now known as the ‘Quacks’ Act’ of 1543 which allowed ‘every person being the King’s subject, having knowledge and experience of the nature of herbs, roots and waters or of the operation of the same ... to practise, use and minister in and to any outward sore ..., wound, apostemations, outward swelling or disease, any herb or herbs, ointments, baths, poultices and plasters, according to their cunning, experience and knowledge’.⁹ As this Act demonstrates, though the general population, poor and living outside London, had little means of resort to any licensed and professional physicians, medical practitioners were allowed to work legally throughout English society.¹⁰ In *Sufferers and Healers* (1987), Lucinda Beier identifies three groups to whom the general population had recourse when they were ill or injured. Firstly, there were the licensed professionals and practitioners made up of the physicians, apothecaries, surgeons and midwives; secondly, the unlicensed healers consisting of all manner of cunning-folk; and thirdly, the housewives and gentlewomen who ‘were expected to be able to keep herb gardens, compound remedies, and treat the illnesses and injuries of their families and neighbours’.¹¹

With the emergence of a legally recognised group of practitioners there was a rapid increase in the amount of vernacular medical literature published.¹² Paul Slack identifies 153 medical titles published before 1605 which ran through 392 editions which, with an estimated edition size of a thousand copies, means that approximately 400,000 copies of medical vernacular books were printed before 1605.¹³ The gradual growth in medical publishing increased from the 1520s to 1605 from ‘an average of one or two editions a year to an average of four or five’.¹⁴ This literature addressed the varieties of medical

Conquest to the Eve of the Reformation (London: Black, 1979), pp. 363-67; A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn (London: BT Batsford, 1989), pp. 167-91. On the tradition of medical provision by monasteries see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 38-39, 115-18.

⁹ 34 and 35 Henry VIII c. 8 (*Statutes of the Realm*, III, 906).

¹⁰ Birken, ‘The Social Problem of the English Physician in the English Civil War’, *Medical History*, 31 (1987), 201-16.

¹¹ Lucinda M. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 29.

¹² Faye Marie Getz has studied medieval medical manuscripts that reveal an upsurge in the amount of practical advice available in English from 1375, which was accelerated by the printing-press (‘Charity, Translation, and the Language of Medical Learning in Medieval England’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 64 (1990), 1-17). Also see Audrey Eccles, ‘The Reading Public, The Medical Profession, and the use of English for Medical Books in the 16th and 17th Centuries’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 75 (1974), 143-56; K.F. Russell, ‘A Check List of Medical Books Published in English before 1600’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 21 (1947), 922-58.

¹³ Paul Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England’, in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Webster, 237-73 (pp. 238-39).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

practitioners, but also the lay reader interested in either self-medication or the provision of care for their immediate community. Harold Cook offers another explanation indicative of the economy of the book trade and the commercial milieu within which these medical practitioners worked. For their authors these books often served as a way of gaining ‘increased medical legitimacy in the eye of the populace’.¹⁵ The employment of the printed book as a vehicle for self-advertisement is a reoccurring theme throughout this thesis, although I argue that the publisher, in addition to the author, also benefited commercially from the publication of popular medical books.

The Latin language was exploited by educated physicians, in Andrew Wear’s words, ‘to protect their trade’.¹⁶ It was the language for international communication and was limited to the classically educated.¹⁷ However, the seventeenth century saw a steady increase in the total number of vernacular titles published in England, with significant increases during the political crises of the 1640s and 1680s. In contrast, the numbers of Latin books did not follow this pattern and remained at about fifty editions per year. In spite of this trend, Latin and continental books were dominant in those libraries kept by professional males and of which we have extant records.¹⁸ Thomas Knyvett’s (1539-1618) library was largely collected during the sixteenth century when the Latin language dominated scholarly publishing and amounts to seventy-five per cent of titles.¹⁹ In the library of John Webster (1611-82), Latin accounted for sixty per cent of his books, with only a quarter of titles in English.²⁰ However, despite being a doctor, the majority of Webster’s books were on theology with only fifteen per cent on medicine. In John Locke’s (1632-1704) library the division was fairly even between English (just over forty per cent) and those in Latin (thirty-seven per cent).²¹ In the 1650s, despite an increased productivity in London’s book trade, Latin and continental books were still dominant for the scholarly

¹⁵ *Decline*, p. 45.

¹⁶ Andrew Wear, ‘The Popularization of Medicine in Early Modern England’, in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 17-41 (p. 23).

¹⁷ Clark, p. 167; Keith Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 97-131 (p. 101).

¹⁸ Eric Sangwine, ‘The Private Libraries of Tudor Doctors’, *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 33 (1978), 167-84; Christine Cerdeira, ‘Early Modern English Wills, Book Ownership, and Book Culture’, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 12 (1995), 427-39.

¹⁹ D.J. McKitterick, *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, c. 1539-1618* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1978), p. 26.

²⁰ Peter Elmer, *The Library of Dr John Webster: The Making of a Seventeenth-Century Radical*, *Medical History Supplement*, 6 (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1986), p. 19

²¹ John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). p. 19.

reader. The spectrum of vernacular medical literature, however, addressed the surgeon, midwife and apothecary, as well as a general and female readership.

The notion of ‘popularity’ is difficult to assess during the early modern period. The description, ‘a popular book’, actually implies several distinct functions.²² Firstly, it may mean that its subject matter is a simplified version of a professional text.²³ This watering-down of detail into a version understandable and applicable to a general reader requires that we first know the reading audience. While it is true that the composition of the reading public during this period is not fully understood, the introductory matter to these books makes it clear for whom the author was writing. In the case of Culpeper’s books and other translations of Latin theory books, it is apparent that their translators hoped to ‘popularise’ the abridged information. In another sense, ‘popular’ implies proliferation of ideas through a lay audience. The clearest measure of this is the number of editions and the physical format of a book. These two accounts of ‘popular’ – simplification and proliferation – mean that a book could be an abridged translation that did not sell well: a vernacular text on its own does not indicate popularity. For example, in the 1630s new vernacular surgical textbooks were published explicitly marketed towards young surgeons.

Slack measures popularity by number of editions and reveals that books published in a small format were, not surprisingly, the most popular. While I shall utilise Slack’s quantitative measure of popularity to gauge the influence of vernacular medicine, this definition only indicates the commercial success of a book and does not suggest audience identity.²⁴ Information on the possible readers for whom an author was writing can be found in introductory prefaces, while the physical format and size of a book are bibliographical indicators to its cost and the apparent wealth of its purchasers. The bibliographical factors, which imply popularity, are also indicative of a book-buying

²² See Roger Chartier, ‘Introduction’, in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, ed. by Roger Chartier and trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 1-10; Françoise Loux, ‘Folk Medicine’, in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. by W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1993), I, 661-75.

²³ Stephen Hilgartner argues that the notion that popularisation is a process of ‘appropriate simplification’ is an oversimplification. The border between genuine scientific knowledge and its popularised representations is not distinct because such knowledge is presented in many different contexts. So knowledge in one context may be a form of ‘popularised knowledge’ whilst in another may be ‘genuine knowledge’. For Hilgartner the use of the term ‘popularisation’ is therefore flexible and dependent upon the context of communication (‘The Dominant View of Popularization: Conceptual Problems, Political Uses’, *Social Studies of Science*, 20 (1990), 519-39).

²⁴ In her study of eighteenth-century medical texts, Mary Fissell argues that the context of a book’s use is essential to understanding its popularity and therefore she focuses upon the reader and the process of reading (‘Readers, Texts, and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England’, in *The Popularization of Medicine*, ed. by Porter, 72-96).

audience. David Cressy's study of signatures suggests that male literacy was about thirty per cent nationally, rising to between seventy and eighty per cent in London; for women he estimates a figure of ten per cent nationally, and fifteen to twenty per cent in London.²⁵ These figures surely underestimate the true level of literacy during the early modern period since reading was taught before writing.²⁶ For example, Margaret Spufford has found evidence of women in the 1690s who taught reading although unable to write themselves.²⁷ During the seventeenth century the opportunity of receiving at least some basic schooling increased with the setting up of schools.²⁸ The increase in the number of books published that specifically addressed a lay-audience and female readership suggest that levels of literacy, at least in London, were far higher than the figures calculated by Cressy.²⁹ Cressy also ignores the preliminaries which often introduced books printed during this period, even though this often included explanations of why a book was written and also suggest its author's intended audience. In the following two sections, I exploit this material to reveal the political contention that surrounded the medical book trade during the first half of the century.³⁰

Vernacular Medicine in the Sixteenth Century

The incorporation of the College of Physicians in 1518, the Charter issued to the Company of Barber-Surgeons by Henry VIII in 1540, and the 'Quacks' Act' of 1543 had a profound

²⁵ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 2. Lawrence Stone treats 'literacy' as the ability to sign one's name ('Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', *Past and Present*, 42 (1969), 69-139). Also see the series of essays in *Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader*, ed. by Harvey J. Graff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁶ Tessa Watt, 'Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-poet: The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade, 1550-1640', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550-1850*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 61-81 (p. 63).

²⁷ Margaret Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4 (1979), 407-35.

²⁸ See H.S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1603 to 1640: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 78-86; Richard L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought: Background for Reform* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80; Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966). David Cressy argues that educational opportunity may not have been as freely available as Stone suggests ('Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 16 (1976), 301-20).

²⁹ Both Spufford and Watt have recently shown that the proliferation of chap books and cheap print indicate high levels of literacy amongst the population (Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*, (London: Methuen, 1981; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; repr. 1994).

³⁰ This procedure is followed by Bennett in *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640* (see pp. xiii-xiv).

effect upon London's medical marketplace. The competition between professional and non-professional practitioners for patients promoted the development and subsequent exploitation of the vernacular medical book trade within this commercial milieu.³¹ Andrew Borde's *The Breviary of Health* was first published in 1547, and was written so that 'euery man should esteeme, repute, and regard the excellent facultie' of the physician.³² Despite having travelled across Europe to learn the physicians' art, Borde (c. 1490-1549) was never a member of the London College of Physicians.³³ Nevertheless, he warned the reader to 'beware of blind phisitions and chirurgions the which be ignorant and ... of vacabounds ... for by such persons many sicke men haue beene deceiued'.³⁴ Borde intended to regulate the relationship between the physician and his patient, and criticised the 'fooles & incipient persons' who 'doth thinke themselues wise ... will enterprise and to meddle to minister medicines' having gained insufficient knowledge of the art 'by a blind booke'.³⁵ Despite being in English, his book strengthened the claims for professionalism made by the College of Physicians in response to the 'Quacks' Act', because although he promoted self-diagnosis the patient was always directed to the trained physician for treatment.

In contrast to the physician's art of diagnosis and prescription, that of the surgeon was mechanical. Moves to raise professional standards followed the incorporation of their Company, and a number of surgical textbooks and manuals, translated from continental sources by members of the Company, were published in increasing numbers.³⁶ From 1556 it was required that a candidate for a surgeon's licence should be able to read and write Latin but this was repealed the following year when it must have been seen as an unrealistic requirement.³⁷ Women also worked as surgeons but were prevented from entering the medical hierarchy.³⁸ The husband of Elizabeth Walker (1623-90) wrote after her death of

³¹ Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640*, pp. 67-77; Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 197. Julia G. Bell finds evidence of peak periods of production of translations from the first edition of STC in 1579 and 1590 ('A Numerical Survey of Elizabethan Translations', *The Library*, 5th ser., 12 (1967), 104-27).

³² Andrew Borde, *The Breviary of Health*, 1st pub. 1547 (1598), A2^r.

³³ *DNB*.

³⁴ Borde, *Breviary of Health*, A6^v.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, A2^r.

³⁶ See F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1992), pp. 35-51; Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 68-69.

³⁷ Doreen Evenden-Nagy, 'Gender Differences in the Licensing and Practice of Female and Male Surgeons in Early Modern England', *Medical History*, 42 (1998), 194-216 (pp. 198-99).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201. On female surgeons, see W. Harrison, in *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577), printed in *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnevell (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1868), Early English Text Society, Original Series, 32, p. xc; Thomas Vicary, *The Surgions Directorie For Young Practitioners* (1651), A3^r; A.L. Wyman, 'The Surgeoness: The Female Practitioner of Surgery

her ‘competent good measure of knowledge both in *Physick* and *Chyrurgery*’. She had been helped by her brother-in-law, ‘a very able Doctor of the *London* College’, and had also studied English books, including Culpeper’s.³⁹

The proliferation of vernacular textbooks in the late sixteenth century confirms that most surgeons could not read Latin.⁴⁰ Thomas Vicary (*d.* 1561) was a leading surgeon during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and his surgical manual, *The Englishmans Treasure*, was published in 1586 after several surgeons at Saint Bartholomews’ Hospital revised his manuscript. In their dedication the editors apologised for lacking the ‘profound knowledge, and sugred eloquence of the Latine and Greeke tongues’.⁴¹ Thomas Gale (1507-87) succeeded Vicary as Master of the Company, and his *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563) specifically addressed young surgeons and apprentices.⁴² Likewise, the surgeons John Banister (1540-1610) and William Clowes (*c.* 1540-1604) produced manuals ‘for all godly Chirurgians within this realme’.⁴³ George Baker (1540-1600) was elected Master of the Company in 1597, and in 1576 defended his translation of Conrad Gesner from ‘some more curious than wyse’ who ‘esteem of nothing but that which is most rare, or in harde and unknowne languages’.⁴⁴ He continued:

Certainly these kynde of people cannot abyde that good and laudable Artes shoulde be common to many, fearing that their name and practise should decay, or at the least should diminishe.⁴⁵

That surgery was a trade is reflected by its conjunction with the barbers at this time. Accordingly, the College had no reason to stem the flow of manuals, especially as the medical receipts published were in Latin and respected its monopoly of diagnosis and

1400-1800’, *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 22-41; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 318.

³⁹ [Anthony Walker], *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker* (1690), pp. 177-78, quoted by Wyman, ‘The Surgeoness’, p. 32.

⁴⁰ For example, see Thomas Gale’s defence of John Hall for his translation of Lanfranco of Milan (*A Most Excellent and Learned Worke of Chirurgerie* (1565), *2^r-3^v); John Read’s preface to his translation of Francisco Arceo (*A Most Excellent and Compendious Method of Curing Woundes*, 1st pub. 1565 (1588), A4^v-2^r||2^v).

⁴¹ William Clowes and others, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’, in Thomas Vicary, *The Englishmans Treasure*, 1st pub. 1586 (1587), A2^r-3^v (A3^r).

⁴² Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie Newly Compiled* (1563), *4^r.

⁴³ John Banister, *The Historie of Man Sucked from the Sappe of the Most Approued Anathomistes* (1578), title page. Banister also translated Johann Jacob Wecker’s *A Compendious Chyrurgerie* (1585) for the surgeon’s benefit (see ‘The Translator to the Reader’, *5^r-7^v). William Clowes defended his use of English for *A Profitable and Necessary Booke of Observations* (1596): ‘many good men haue written sundry kinde of learned works in English, their naturall language, all which as I take it, haue had this generall purpose, to benefit their countrey and countrimen’ (2E3^v).

⁴⁴ George Baker, ‘To the Reader’, in Conrad Gesner, *The Newe Jewell of Health*, trans. by Baker (1576), *3^r-4^r (*3^r); *DNB*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

prescription.⁴⁶

More threatening was the increase in what Borde described as ‘blinde books’. These popular medical books offered an English reader the perceived wisdom of the professional in a direct and understandable form. This prompted John Securis (*fl.* 1566) to write, ‘[i]f English books could make men cunning physicians, then pouchmakers, threshers, ploughmen and cobblers might be Physicians as well as the best if they could read’.⁴⁷ Securis argued that the practice of the physician was based on the study of ‘logike and universall philosophie’ obtainable only through a university education.⁴⁸

In spite of Securis’s comments, much of the lay population had insufficient financial means to secure a physician’s advice, and the increasing numbers of popular receipt books in some part met their needs. One of the earliest was *The Treasure of Pore Men*, first published around 1526, and reaching at least thirteen editions by 1575. Sir Thomas Elyot’s (*c.* 1490-1546) *The Castle of Health* (*c.* 1537) went through at least seventeen editions by 1610, by which time it was published for the Company of Stationers.⁴⁹ In later editions Elyot was forced to defend his book against the physicians’ criticisms that he was ‘not learned in Phisicke’ and that his book was guilty of ‘diuers errors’.⁵⁰ Friar Thomas Moulton’s *This is the Myroure or Glasse of Helthe* also passed through at least seventeen editions between 1530 and 1580. Moulton wrote, so that:

Euery man both lerned, & lewde ryche and pore may the better under stande ... And so euery man woman, and chylde, to be their owne phisycion in tyme of nede.⁵¹

The translators and authors of the popular medical books were respected and educated individuals often practising medicine outside the restrictions of the capital, who wrote to provide appropriate cheap and available medical advice for the general populace.⁵²

⁴⁶ For example, see the ‘Antidotary’ in Lanfranco, *A Most Excellent and Learned Worke* (1565), G4^v-L1^r. Other vernacular surgical books containing Latin receipts included: Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie Newly Compiled*; Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597); Wecker, *Compendious Chyrurgerie*; Cornelius Shilander, *His Chirurgerie*, trans. by S. Hobbes (1596). This last books was written as a dialogue between a doctor and surgeon on the practice and procedures followed by the surgeon, the few medical receipts which are given are in Latin (B1^r, B2^v, C1^r-2^r, C3^v, D1^r, E4^r, F1^r, F3^r).

⁴⁷ John Securis, *A Detection and Querimonie of the Daily Enormities and Abuses Comitted in Physick* (1566), quoted by Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, p.35.

⁴⁸ See Harold J. Cook, ‘Good Advice and Little Medicine: The Professional Authority of Early Modern English Physicians’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 1-31 (p. 17).

⁴⁹ In 1610 William Jaggard printed a revised edition for the Stationers’ Company. Of the known sixteen previous editions nine were published by Thomas Berthelet and five by Thomas Marshe.

⁵⁰ Thomas Elyot, *The Castle of Health*, 1st pub. 1537 (1572), ¶3^v. Philip Barrough also defended vernacular publication in *The Method of Physick*, 1st pub. 1585 (1601), A7^{r-v}.

⁵¹ Thomas Moulton, *This is the Myroure or Glasse of Helthe* ([*c.* 1531]), A7^v.

⁵² In the 1580s, translators and authors still defended their work. For example, in 1582, Peter Levens attacked the medical profession and their use of Latin (*A Right Profitable Booke for all Diseases* (1582),

With a home-based demand, publishers began to invest in medical translations. William Ward (1534-1609) was educated at Eton and Cambridge where he received his M.D. in 1567, and worked as a physician and translator.⁵³ His translations of the three parts of *De Secreti* (Venice, c. 1550s), believed to be by Girolamo Ruscelli, were published in three volumes from 1558 and were still being printed in the early seventeenth century.⁵⁴ Thomas Hill worked as a compiler and translator of medical and pseudo-scientific books and provided the English reader with effective medical information endorsed by continental scholars.⁵⁵ His translation of a book by the Italian Leonardo Fioravanti on remedies against the plague was published in 1579 entitled *A Joyfull Jewell*, and was seen through the press by John Hester (d. 1593). In its scope the work of Hester can be seen as a precursor to Nicholas Culpeper's publishing programme in the 1650s. Hester translated a number of books and issued broadsheet advertisements for his medical preparations. As a translator, Hester was prolific: he published at least seven books that he had translated out of Fioravanti, Paracelsus, and Joseph Quirsitanus amongst others, and he compiled *The Pearle of Practise*, which James Fourestier revised for the press in 1594. Fourestier had bought Hester's personal medical receipts upon his death; this book though is more a casebook rather than a receipt book, and the few receipts included appear in Latin. It was intended more to advertise Fourestier's practice 'in the *Black Friers*, betweene the two tennis courts', than to educate the reader.⁵⁶

A further two genres of literature contain a degree of vernacular medical information. Firstly, 'books of secrets' appeared with increasing frequency during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ Through the new communication network created by the book trade, information, previously disseminated orally, reached a wider audience. Among the most popular, were John Partridge's *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits and Hidden Secrets* (1573) and *The Widdowes Treasure* (1582), which contained many medical

π2^v). Leonard Mascall's defended his translation of Nicolaus Prepositus from those whom thought 'phisicke ought not to bee participated vnto the common sorte' (see 'To the Reader', in *Prepositas his Practise* (1588), ¶12^{r-v}). See Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, pp. 28-29.

⁵³ DNB.

⁵⁴ Girolamo Ruscelli, *The Secretes of the Reuernd Maister Alexis Piemont*, trans. by William Ward, 3 vols (1558-78). In his preface, Ward stressed the importance of vernacular medical books, 'considerynge the straunge and unknown diseases that swarme amonge us' ((1562), *3^r).

⁵⁵ Francis R. Johnson, 'Thomas Hill: An Elizabethan Huxley', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 7 (1943-44), 329-51.

⁵⁶ John Hester, *The Pearle of Practise*, rev. by James Fourestier (1594) A1^r-2^r, B1^v.

⁵⁷ See William Eamon, 'Arcana Disclosed: The Advent of Printing, the Books of Secrets Tradition and the Development of Experimental Science in the Sixteenth Century', *History of Science*, 22 (1984), 111-50.

recipes for the English housewife.⁵⁸ The latter Partridge prepared ‘at the earnest request ... of a Gentlewoman ... for her priuate vse’, but he decided to publish it for the country’s benefit.⁵⁹ By 1637 at least ten editions had been published, and in 1653 it appeared with the title *The Treasurie of Hidden Secrets*. Other ‘books of secrets’, for example, Thomas Johnson’s *Cornucopiae, or Diuers Secrets* (1595), contained few medical secrets, whilst some such as Thomas Lupton’s *A Thousand Notable Things* first published in 1579, included general medical and pseudo-medical prose receipts, along with more fanciful advice.⁶⁰

Secondly, a herbal, which is ‘a book containing the names and descriptions of herbs, or of plants in general, with their properties and virtues; a treatise on plants’, attracted a diverse readership and have continue to do so.⁶¹ Jerry Stannard acknowledges this genre as ‘one of the oldest and most celebrated ... of medical literature’, and herbal medicine constituted an important facet of early modern medicine.⁶² Many housewives and gentlewomen kept herb gardens, while some literate individuals chose to write down simple herbal receipts in a commonplace-book.⁶³ The printed medium developed this genre through the presentation of detailed information in an ordered and structured fashion.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ The subtitle to *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits and Hidden Secrets* (1573), was ‘The Huswiues Closet’. *The Widdowes Treasure*, 1st pub. 1582 (1631), was ‘plentifully furnished with sundrie precious and approued secrets in Physick, and Chirurgery for the health and pleasure of Man-kinde’ (title page).

⁵⁹ Partridge, *The Widdowes Treasure*, A2^r.

⁶⁰ For example, see those receipts in Thomas Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things of Sundrie Sortes*, 1st pub. 1579 (1660), B2^r, B3^r, C2^r, G2^v, G6^v, I7^v-8^r, Y4^{r-v}.

⁶¹ *OED*, VII. On the history of botanical literature, see Blanche Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature Before 1800. Comprising a History and Bibliography of Botanical and Horticultural Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland from the Earliest Times until 1800: Volume 1, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Charles E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947); Agnes Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, A Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470-1670*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938). For a review of Western herbal medicine see Barbara Griggs, *Green Pharmacy: The History and Evolution of Western Herbal Medicine* (Rochester, Vermont: Healing Arts Press, 1981; repr. 1991).

⁶² Jerry Stannard, ‘The Herbal as a Medical Document’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43 (1969), 212-20 (p. 212). Writing in 1632, George Herbert stressed the importance of herbal and home-grown simples to the promotion of public healthcare (*A Priest to the Temple* (1652), p. cxxiii, cited by Clark, pp. 248-49).

⁶³ Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, p. 29; Griggs, *Green Pharmacy*, pp. 89-94; Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (London: Collins & Brown, 1993), pp. 127-28. Jennifer Stine has highlighted the importance of herbal medicine in the seventeenth century in her examination of Countess of Arundel’s manuscript recipe book, wherein just over sixty per cent of the ingredients were herbal or plant based (Jennifer K. Stine, ‘Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England’ (doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1996; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 57A (1996), 2169), p. 29). Culpeper suggested certain herbs ‘fit to be nourished in every good Womans Garden’ (*EP* (Cole, 1652), U1^v).

⁶⁴ Stannard, ‘Medieval Herbalism and Post-Medieval Folk Medicine’, in *Folklore and Folk Medicine* (Madison, Wisconsin: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1987), ed. by John Scarborough,

Early herbals published in England were translations of continental works, and it was not until 1551 that an original English herbal, William Turner's (*d.* 1568) *A New Herball*, appeared in English.⁶⁵ It included wood-block illustrations derived from the octavo edition of the German botanist Leonard Fuchs' herbal, *De Historia Stirpium* (Basel, 1546), and was published in three instalments.⁶⁶ In his dedication to the Duke of Somerset, Turner defended writing in English, and argued that it was necessary for those physicians and surgeons who could not read Latin.⁶⁷ *A New Herball*, though, was an expensive series of folio volumes. Similarly, although Henry Lyte's (1529-1607) *A Niewe Herball or Historie of Planets* (1578) originally translated from the French, was for the benefit 'of my Countriemen', its physical size ensured it was prohibitively expensive.⁶⁸ The apparent altruism in these books, echoed by Culpeper nearly a century later, is belied by their published format. In the case of his herbal, entitled *The English Physitian*, Peter Cole, its publisher, successfully marketed Culpeper's idealism in a format and price affordable to those readers to whom he appealed.

In 1597, William Langham's *The Garden of Health* explicitly linked the increase of health with the cultivation of the garden. Langham was not concerned with describing plants and herbs because they 'are gotten without any great cost or labour, the most of them being such as grow in most places, and are common amongst vs'.⁶⁹ On 6 June 1596, the same day that Langham's *Garden of Health* was registered, the publisher John Norton also entered 'for his Copie ... a booke intituled *the herball* sett forthe in folio and in all other volumes with pictures and without commonly called GERARDES *herball*'.⁷⁰ John Gerard (1545-1612) had served a seven year apprenticeship with a London barber-surgeon and practised as such in London. He had his own garden at Holborn, and in 1577 he was appointed superintendent of William Cecil's gardens at the Strand, and at Theobalds,

10-20 (p. 12); L.G. Matthews, 'Herbals and Formularies', in *The Evolution of Pharmacy in Britain*, ed. by F.N.L. Poynter (London: Pitman Medical Publishing Company, 1965), 187-213.

⁶⁵ On Turner see *DNB*; Raven, *English Naturalists*, pp. 48-138; Henrey, p. 18; George T. L. Chapman, 'William Turner of Morpeth, Northumberland', in William Turner, *A New Herball*, 3 parts (1551, 1562, 1568), facsimile edition, ed. by George T. L. Chapman and others, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), I, 8-15.

⁶⁶ Raven, *English Naturalists*, p. 106.

⁶⁷ Turner, *A New Herball* (1551), A3^{r-v}.

⁶⁸ Henry Lyte, 'To the Friendly and Indifferent Reader', in Rembert Dodoens, *A Niewe Herball or Historie of Planties*, trans. by Henry Lyte (1578), *3^r. Lyte's translation was published in a folio format of over eight hundred pages.

⁶⁹ William Langham, *The Garden of Health*, 2nd edn (1633), ¶2^r. See Raven, *English Naturalists*, pp. 45-46.

⁷⁰ *SR 1554-1640*, III, 85.

Hertfordshire.⁷¹ In October 1587, the College of Physicians appointed him curator of their physic garden.⁷² Gerard must have continued to practice as a barber-surgeon for he went on to become junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons' Company and, in 1608, its Master.⁷³ Originally, Norton had employed Robert Priest to prepare a translation of Dodeon's Latin herbal, *Stirpium historicæpentades pentades sex* (Antwerp, 1583), but when Priest died, Gerard finished the work.⁷⁴ He altered the arrangement from the Latin original and passed the work off as his own. The final book, though, was once more a large and expensive folio.⁷⁵

The herbals of Gerard, Lyte, and Turner were inaccessible to a general reader because of their expense. Publishers such as Laurence Andrew (*fl.* 1510-37) and Richard Banckes catered for this market, and published shorter and simpler herbals offering practical medical advice. In 1525, Banckes published an anonymous translation of *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* (Cologne, 1472) by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, entitled *Here Begynneth a Newe Mater, The Whiche Sheweth and Treateth of ye Vertues and Propyetes of Herbes, the Which is Called an Herball*. Almost a century later, Gervase Markham's *The English Hus-wife* (1615) included medical receipts taken from Banckes's herbal (discussed below, p. 160).⁷⁶ Following Banckes's herbal, Peter Treveris published *The Grete Herball* in 1526, again a translation, this time from the French *Le Grant Herber* (1521) originally published at Paris.⁷⁷ This included simple woodcut illustrations rather than lengthy descriptions of the plants and was devoted exclusively to their medicinal uses. Likewise, Andrew's translation of Brunschwig's (*c.* 1450-1512) *The Vertuose Boke of the Distyllacyon of all Maner of Waters of the Herbes* (1527), included a section on herbal medicine.

In this brief section, I have outlined the various types of vernacular medical books that began to be published during the sixteenth century. The development of the English medical book trade was based on the existence of a readership that was literate, eager to learn more concerning the practice of medicine, and willing to purchase books in order to do so. With the existence of an economically viable home-based trade publishers began to

⁷¹ See Robert H. Jeffers, *The Friends of John Gerard (1545-1612) Surgeon and Botanist* (Falls Village, Connecticut: Herb Grower Press, 1967).

⁷² Clark, p. 160. The College had agreed to rent the garden from Lord Sackville on 12 July 1587.

⁷³ See Raven, *English Naturalists*, pp. 204-17; *DSB*; *DNB*.

⁷⁴ Jeffers, *Friends of Gerard*, pp. 28-67.

⁷⁵ According to the *DNB* article on Gerard the Barber-Surgeons' Company paid 25s.6d. for a copy of Gerard's *Herball* in 1639.

⁷⁶ Michael R. Best, 'Medical Use of Sixteenth-Century Herbal: Gervase Markham and the Banckes Herbal', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 53 (1979), 449-58.

⁷⁷ Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature Before 1800*, p. 15.

register titles with the Stationers' Company, while an increasing number of authors and translators emerged to satisfy the demand.

Early Seventeenth-Century Vernacular Medicine: Competition, Control and Decline

By the turn of the seventeenth century, there was an established market for instructive medical theory and receipt books.⁷⁸ And so, accordingly, an infrastructure of writers, translators, printers, publishers, and booksellers emerged. Some in this fraternity sought profit, others self-promotion, while a few hoped to raise the standard of practical health care amongst the population.

Historians, for example Christopher Hill and Charles Webster, have studied the development of science and medicine both in terms of its personnel and the institutions, both official and unofficial, which brought about the apparent establishment of Bacon's Solomon's House with the founding of the Royal Society in 1660. Hill and Webster note the expansion in the output of medical books during the Interregnum but interpret this as unprecedented for the book trade brought about by lapses in censorship and control of the press.⁷⁹ However, the 1650s saw a return to publishing ventures already established during the last quarter of the preceding century. The 1650s did witness an output greater than the sixteenth century, but this move to popularise medical knowledge was not unprecedented. What is intriguing, then, is the lull in the output of new medical books from 1618 and which was only fully broken by the publication of Culpeper's translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* in 1649.

Around 1601 the statutes of the College were revised and maintained it as an offence to reveal the name and use of powerful medicines.⁸⁰ The College protected its monopoly and acted against Fellows who broke the rules governing their profession, along with the empirics and mountebanks who worked outside of the legal constraints placed on the medical trade.⁸¹ Stephen Bradwell was one licentiate who ran into trouble with the

⁷⁸ On the popularity of vernacular translations see Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 32-67.

⁷⁹ Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, pp. 15-76; Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England*, rev. edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 157-78; *GI*, pp. 250-323.

⁸⁰ Clark, p. 180. On the fortunes of the College during this period, see Frances Dawbarn, 'Patronage and Power: the College of Physicians and the Jacobean Court', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 31 (1998), 1-19.

⁸¹ For example, in early 1612 the College charged the almanac writers, Thomas Bretnor and John Keene, with having practised unlicensed (Annals, III, f. 10^v). Entries in the Annals from this period were usually,

College. He was the grandson of John Banister and had studied medicine at Oxford, but in 1609 and 1610 he slandered the College in a pamphlet, was found guilty of perjury, and fined £4.⁸² The 'libellus' does not appear to have survived but Clark suggests that it may have been a broadsheet advertisement.⁸³ Bradwell presumably hoped to promote his own practice by exploiting the printed medium, and this marks the emergence of a trend that increased through the century of a symbiotic relationship between the book trade and the medical marketplace.

Fellows of the College did, infrequently, prepare English translations of medical theory books for London's book-sellers, but they usually defended the College's monopoly and attacked unlicensed empirics. In 1602, for example, Johann Oberndorf's *The Anatomyes of the True Physitian and Counterfeit Mountebank* was translated by Francis Herring (d. 1628), a fellow of the College, who dedicated his preface to Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice.⁸⁴ Herring attacked 'our Empericks and Impostors' who were 'too ignorant either to Teach or Practice Physicke ... and too insolent, and arrogant to learne of the Maisters of that Facultie'.⁸⁵ Such empirics exploited the 'Poore Patients Purses' and were therefore 'most dangerous and pernicious vnto the Weale publike'.⁸⁶ In 1605 it was reissued with a new title page that made clear the financial exploits of the empirics entitled *Beware of Pick-Purses: Or, a Caveat for Sick Folkes to Take Heede of Unlearned Phisitions*.

Like Herring's translation, John Cotta's (c. 1575-1650) *A Short Discoverie of the Unobserved dangers of Seuerall Sorts of Ignorant and Unconsiderate Practisers of Physic in England* (1612), dedicated to his friends and patients in Northamptonshire, also attacked alternative medical practitioners. Other books written and published for a professional or gentry reader included Petrus Valentinus's *Enchiridion Medicum* in 1608, written 'for the benefit of young Students in Physicke, Chirurgions, and apothecaries'.⁸⁷ Valentinus included an antidotary in his book, although the receipts are printed in Latin. Likewise, Timothy Bright's (c. 1551-1615) *A Treatise Wherein is Declared the Sufficiency of English*

although not exclusively, made in Latin. English as well as Latin typescripts exist for the first five volumes, and I am grateful to the College for permission to quote from the English typescripts.

⁸² Annals, III, ff. 5^r-6^v.

⁸³ Clark, p. 201.

⁸⁴ DNB.

⁸⁵ F. Herring, 'Dedication', in Johann Oberndorf, *The Anatomyes of the True Physitian and Counterfeit Mountebanke*, trans. by F. H[erring] (1602), A2^r-4^r (A2^v).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, title page, A2^v.

⁸⁷ Petrus Valentinus, *Enchiridion Medicum: Containing an Epitome of the Whole Course of Physicke* (1608), title page.

Medicines (1615), first published in 1580, and Stephen Hobbs' translation of a surgical textbook entitled *Margarita Chyrurgeria* (1610) contained Latin receipts. In the following decades other surgical and professional books continued to respect the monopoly of the College over the prescription of receipts.

Alongside surgical textbooks and professional medical books, popular receipt books continued to appear. *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen* was a collection of household and medical receipts first published in 1608 but still in print in 1656. The cookery, household and medical receipts of Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford (c. 1573-1651), were printed in 1639 in *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, and reprinted in 1654 and 1655. In contrast, books on regimen were popular, but presumably with an audience who could afford the leisure and money to order their diet, exercise and rest. *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* was first published in 1528 by Thomas Berthelet and translated by Thomas Paynell. In 1617 Philemon Holland (1552-1637) revised the text and Bernard Alsop published the new edition.⁸⁸ Likewise, Sir John Harrington's translation of Joannes de Mediolano *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* (Paris, 1513) was published in 1607, entitled *The Englishmans Docter: Or, the Schoole of Salerne*. Harrington translated the Latin verse and gave the programme to follow in order to ensure a healthy life and avoid the many diseases that threatened the body's well-being.

William Lawson's *A New Orchard and Garden* published in 1618 included the virtues of the herbs and the procedures to grow and store them. This marked a movement towards husbandry books aimed at the lay person, which was to flourish in the 1650s among the associates of Samuel Hartlib.⁸⁹ Lawson's book included 'The Covntrie Hovswifes Garden, *Containing Rules for Hearbes*', in ten chapters covering the soil, site, form, and order of gardens to successfully culture herbs.⁹⁰ In the 'Husbandrie Hearbes' Lawson only described fifty herbs because, he wrote,

I teach my Country Housewife, not skilfull Artists, and it should be an endless labour, and would make the matter tedious to pecken up ... a thousand ... Physicke hearbes. Let her first grow cunning in this, and their she may in large her Garden, as her skill and ability increaseth.⁹¹

From the early fifteenth century, 'Kitchen Garden' cultivation was an important source of

⁸⁸ Philemon Holland studied at Cambridge and Oxford, although a Scottish of foreign university may have conferred his M.D. He appears to have settled in Coventry where he practised medicine and translated classic texts (*DNB*).

⁸⁹ See those essays in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, ed. by Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

⁹⁰ William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618), J3^r-M4^r.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, L4^r.

medical ingredients and herbs for a rural community, especially following the dissolution of the monasteries.⁹² In the 1650s Culpeper explicitly addressed the ‘Country Housewife’, but he also argued that the preparation of medical receipts in the kitchen could replace the need for the expensive services of the professional physician and apothecary.⁹³

The economies of trade ensured that competition amongst London’s medical practitioners increased during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and developed the printed books as a medium for self-promotion. For example, *London Tryacle, Being the Enemy to All Infectious Diseases* published in 1612 advertised the treacle and the retail address of the apothecary William Besse. This short pamphlet also reflects the growing discontentment between the apothecaries and physicians highlighted by the argument between Besse and the College over his right to make and sell the treacle.⁹⁴ The establishment of the Society of Apothecaries in 1617 meant that a monopoly existed over medicinal preparations. To exercise their control over this new Society the College, as I show below (pp. 75-78), resurrected plans for a pharmacopoeia from thirty years earlier. This book of simple and compound medicines marked the extent of the apothecaries’ monopoly as they could only prepare medicines listed in this pharmacopoeia. The College’s intention was to restrict the apothecaries’ practice and to prevent them from encroaching any further into the physicians’ art of diagnosis and prescription. In return for their own monopoly the apothecaries promised to abide by the College’s pharmacopoeia, to only make up prescriptions by members of the College, not to use substitute ingredients, and not to administer medicines without the physicians’ advice.⁹⁵ For the apothecaries, in return, the pharmacopoeia offered a means by which they could defend their own monopoly; only apothecaries of the Society could prepare the medicines therein.

The College of Physicians had encouraged new proposals for the organisation of the apothecaries because its Fellows thought that any new society would be subordinate to them. These hopes failed. It was not possible to prevent the apothecaries from dispensing medical advice as well as medicines and ingredients. The Society of Apothecaries received

⁹² See Lynette Hunter, ‘Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh’, in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 178-97; Mendelsohn and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 224.

⁹³ For example, on one-berry (*Paris quadrifolia*) Culpeper wrote, ‘[t]he Herb is not to be described for the premises, but is fit to be nourished in every good Womans Garden’ (*EP* (Cole, 1652), U1’).

⁹⁴ *London Tryacle, Being the Enemy to All Infectious Diseases* (1612), A4^v-B1^v.

⁹⁵ See Raymond S. Roberts, ‘The London Apothecaries and Medical Practice in Tudor and Stuart England’ (doctoral thesis, University of London, Queen Mary College, 1964), pp. 197-218.

its charter on 6 December 1617, but it was not until 1620 that the King issued a Proclamation announcing the separation of the apothecaries from the grocers.⁹⁶ In anticipation of the apothecaries' independence, the College of Physicians' new charter of 1617 gave it the power to search apothecary shops and destroy unfit medicines. Fines of £3 could be levied, followed by a prison sentence if the guilty apothecary did not pay.⁹⁷ A new oath for the freemen of the Society of Apothecaries stressed the importance of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* and their subjection to the authority of the College.⁹⁸ This marked a momentous change to the way medicine had been practised for centuries and brought legal control based on a hierarchical ordering of power.

With the establishment of the Society of Apothecaries, the practice of herbal medicine came under their jurisdiction and in 1629, in *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris*, the apothecary John Parkinson (1567-1650) announced that he was preparing a new herbal.⁹⁹ Parkinson was a member of the Society of Apothecaries and served as Warden in 1620-21.¹⁰⁰ This book was published by Humphry Lownes and Robert Young, and in 1635 was reissued by Thomas Cotes.¹⁰¹ Fellows of the College approved of Parkinson's work because Theodore de Mayerne (1573-1655) and Othowell Meverell (1573-1655) wrote dedications.¹⁰² Following John Norton's death in 1612 the rights to Gerard's *Herball* were assigned to his cousin Bonham Norton, and his partners, Adam Islip, Joice Norton, and Richard Whitaker.¹⁰³ The news of Parkinson's forthcoming herbal prompted the partners to commission Thomas Johnson (1604-44), an apothecary at Snow Hill, to prepare a new edition of Gerard's *Herball*, and on 28 November 1633 a copy of his work was presented to the Society of Apothecaries.¹⁰⁴ Johnson knew the work of John

⁹⁶ Robert Steele, *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), I, no. 1289. See Clark, pp. 225-26.

⁹⁷ For examples of searches and fines imposed by the College during the 1620s see Underwood, pp. 32-35.

⁹⁸ Underwood, p. 14.

⁹⁹ John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole, Paradisus Terrestris* (1629), 2*4^r. See Raven, *English Naturalists*, pp. 248-73; *DNB*.

¹⁰⁰ Underwood, pp. 283-84.

¹⁰¹ The editors of the *STC* have found some evidence that Cotes had also been involved with the early edition. Copies of the first edition at Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden, Hertfordshire, and Harvard University Library have quire A reset and printed by Cotes. It is possible that this quire was intended for the 1635 reissue.

¹⁰² See dedications by Mayerne (2*5^r), and Meverell (2*5^v).

¹⁰³ The partnership asserted their right to the title by obtaining a letter from the King that was read before the Court on 1 March 1634 (*Court*, p. 255).

¹⁰⁴ Underwood, p. 163; Raven, *English Naturalists*, p. 273-97; Arber, *Herbals*, p. 134; Jeffers, *Friends of Gerard*, p. 90. In his address 'To the Reader', dated 'From my house on Snow-hill, Octob. 22. 1633', Johnson outlined a history of herbals, which stressed that Gerard's *Herball* was principally a translation of Dodoens' *Pemptades*, with some use made of de l'Obel's work. He went on to emphasize the original work

Parkinson, and referred to his planned herbal, announced in *Paradisi in Sole*, as ‘fit for the Presse’.¹⁰⁵ This was certainly the case and on 3 March 1635 the publisher Richard Cotes entered a book ‘called *Theatrum Botanicum or an herball of a Large extent*’ at Stationers’ Hall.¹⁰⁶ What is unusual is the presence of Theodore de Mayerne and Matthew Lister (1571-1656) at Stationers’ Hall. Both were Fellows of the London College and served as physicians to the royal court.¹⁰⁷ Although their presence was not required when a medical book was registered, the fact that they attended indicates the importance of Parkinson’s book. Their attendance is an early precursor to a trend that emerged in the late 1640s following the Printing Act of 1643, examined in the following chapter, which saw the President and Censors of the College endorsing English medical translations. Mayerne’s sanction suggests that Thomas and Richard Cotes were working with, if not the approval of the College, at least the support of some of its Fellows.¹⁰⁸ With the publication of a further edition of Johnson’s revised text in 1636, the potential market for another large folio herbal was limited and the publication of Parkinson’s work was placed on hold until 1640. The production of a new edition of Gerard’s *Herball* must have placed Johnson in a difficult position. Both Johnson and Parkinson were apothecaries. Johnson was a prominent member of the Society of Apothecaries, whilst Parkinson had been an Assistant at the incorporation of the Society in 1617 and served as Warden in 1620. He was apothecary to James I, while Charles I gave him the title of ‘Botanicus Regius Primarius’. It is very likely that Parkinson was an acquaintance of Johnson’s. As well as their association through the Society, Johnson had worked with Thomas Cotes, Parkinson’s publisher, and produced a

by Priest, and concluded: ‘I cannot commend my Author [Gerard] for endeauouring to hide this thing from vs’ (‘To the Reader’, in John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*, rev. by Thomas Johnson (1633), 2¶2^v-3¶2^v (3¶1^r)).

¹⁰⁵ Johnson, in Gerard, *Herball*, 3¶1^r. Four years previously Johnson had written a dedication to Parkinson’s *Paradisi in Sole* (2*6^r).

¹⁰⁶ *SR 1554-1640*, IV, 333.

¹⁰⁷ Lister was elected a Fellow on 5 June 1607 and served as a censor in 1608. He was physician to Anne, wife of James I, and to Charles I. Mayerne was elect to the College on 25 June 1616 and served as physician for Queen Henrietta (*DNB*).

¹⁰⁸ The Cotes were the sons of a tailor from Brotherton in Yorkshire. Thomas, the eldest brother, was apprenticed to William Jaggard on 5 December 1597 and was freed by the Company on 21 January 1606 (*SR 1554-1640*, II, 222; III, 683). Richard was freed on 5 February 1621, and in June 1627 the brothers’ names appear in the Stationers Register for the first time (*SR 1554-1640*, III, 320). William Jaggard’s son, Isaac, succeeded his father and in 1623 printed the first folio edition of Shakespeare’s works (*Dict. 1557-1640*, pp. 153-54). On or around 19 June 1627 Dorothy Jaggard, widow of Isaac, ‘[a]ssigned over ... All the estate right title & interest which ... her late husband had’ to the Cotes for 11s.6d. (*Court*, p. 194; *SR 1554-1640*, IV, 182). Twenty-four titles were entered in the Register including ‘CROOKES *Anatomye*’ and ‘her parte in SHACKSPHEERE playes’. Thomas was established in his printing-house at Aldersgate Street in the Barbican from 1620 until his death, and Richard joined his brother in 1635 at the same address. Richard was appointed official printer to the City in 1642 and continued to work until his death in 1652

translation of the medical works of Ambroise Paré, which he published in 1634.¹⁰⁹

Thomas Cotes finally published Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* in 1640, 'by the Kings Majestyes especiall priviledge'.¹¹⁰ The rights to the title had originally been registered by Richard Cotes, although it is the name of his brother and partner which appeared in the imprint. Following Thomas' death in 1642, Richard took over their printing house at Aldersgate Street. Although he never published a further edition of Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* he was aware of the profitable nature of the title, and in his will bequeathed his son a sum of money and the rights to Parkinson's book.¹¹¹

At the same time that the College was facing increasing infringements by the apothecaries upon its monopoly, it was also in dispute with the Company of Barber-Surgeons over the borders between medicine and surgery. In 1617, the College's new charter allowed it to take legal action against anyone administering internal medicines who was not licensed by the College. In 1629, it attempted to get an Order through Council that would prevent any surgeon performing major surgery unless a member of the College was present. The barber-surgeons objected and in 1635 the King expunged the Order. This episode demonstrates the competition that existed between professional physicians and surgeons, regardless of the multitude of unlicensed healers, bone-setters, and herbalists.¹¹²

This period saw the publication of works outside the College's control. In the 1630s new surgical textbooks were published to raise practical standards and promote the Company in its wrangle with the College, although they also raised the public's perception of the surgeons' skill. In 1630, Thomas Bonham's *The Chyrurgians Closet* was posthumously published: dedicated to Francis, Countess of Exeter, it was printed from papers Bonham had left to his servant Edward Poeton upon his death in 1629. Bonham was another medical author and practitioner attacked in the College's 'Annals'. In 1605 the censors of the College examined him but failed to grant a licence. Unperturbed Bonham began to practice medicine in London. The College imposed a fine and he was ordered to stop practising. However, Bonham took no notice of the College's summons and was

(*SR 1554-1640*, III, 700, 704; *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 53).

¹⁰⁹ Raven, *English Naturalists*, p. 273; Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion A. Parey*, trans. by Thomas Johnson (1634).

¹¹⁰ John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), title page. On 2 March 1634, the Stationer's Court had received a letter from the King 'concerning one M^r Parkinson an Apothecary about printing his workes' (*Court*, p. 265).

¹¹¹ *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 53. Cotes' will was proved 26 January 1652 (PRO, prob 11/220 (P.C.C. 4 Bowyer)).

¹¹² See Dobson and Walker, *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons*, pp. 54-56.

committed to prison as a result. Once released by the King's Bench he again took up practice, and in the winter of 1609 the College took more action. This time Bonham was defended by Sir Edward Coke who managed to win damages of £40 from the College.¹¹³

John Banister was another surgeon whose work continued to be published fifty years after its first appearance in print. In 1633, Banister's complete works were published in a volume comprised of all his previously published writings. Another volume of collected works published during the 1630s was that of the French surgeon Ambrose Paré. His *Workes* (1634) were translated by Thomas Johnson and originally entered in the Stationers' Register as early as 28 September 1629 by Robert Young and Richard Cotes when it was published, though, it was Thomas Cotes's name that joined Young's in the imprint.¹¹⁴ The book included illustrations from Helkiah Crooke's (1576-1635) *Microcosmographia*, mentioned below, which the College had tried to censor in 1614. Johnson later defended 'Englishing this worke' against the complaint that it revealed 'the mysteries of a worthy Art, to the unworthy view of the vulgar'.¹¹⁵

Although it was not until 1643 that the College gained legal control over the licensing of medical books, its opinions were sought by the ecclesiastical censors and, according to Webster, 'a mutual confidence subsisted between the physicians and the church over this procedure', whereby the College had some power over the publication of medical books.¹¹⁶ For example, its Fellows were involved in the pre-publication controversy that surrounded the inclusion of vernacular descriptions and illustrations of the sexual organs in Crooke's *Microcosmographia, or a Description of the Body of Man*. Printed in a folio format in 1615 by William Jaggard, this book was a compilation of anatomical knowledge drawn from the works of André du Laurens and Caspar Bauhin.¹¹⁷ Crooke was anatomist and physician to James I, but despite this royal patronage could not

¹¹³ On this episode see Clark, pp. 208-15; Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, pp. 210-11; Cook, 'Against Common Right and Reason: The College of Physicians Versus Dr. Thomas Bonham', *American Journal of Legal History*, 29 (1985), 301-22.

¹¹⁴ *SR 1554-1640*, IV, p. 219.

¹¹⁵ Johnson, 'To the Reader', in Paré, *Workes*, ¶2^{r-v} (¶2^r). The work was published again in 1649 by Richard Cotes and William Dugard, and sold by John Clarke. Another textbook published and re-issued in the 1630s is Edward Edwards, *The Analysis of Chyrurgery* (1636). Thomas Harper entered the title in the Stationers' Register on 5 March 1634 (*SR 1554-1640*, IV, 334), and re-issued the edition with a new title page in which William Sheares' name joined Harper's in the book's imprint as a retail outlet.

¹¹⁶ *GI*, p. 266. On the control of the press during the early Stuart reign see Frederick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1952; repr. 1965), pp. 107-61.

¹¹⁷ Specifically, André du Laurens, *Historia Anatomica Humani Corporis et Singularum Ejus Partium* (Paris, 1600); and Caspar Bauhin, *Theatrum Anatomicum* (Frankfurt, 1605). Crooke's book did not sell well and was reissued in 1616 and 1618 with a new title page.

avoid the condemnation of the Church and College. Before publication Crooke's book had been submitted to the College by the Bishop of London, who, since a Star Chamber Ordinance in 1614, was the licenser of medical books. At a meeting of the College on 11 November 1614, the majority of the Fellows resolved that at the very least the section on the sexual organs should be removed.¹¹⁸ Following its publication with the inclusion of the offending section, the President ordered, in April 1615, that 'he would burn it wherever he might find it'.¹¹⁹ Crooke's book was an expensive folio, and aware of the limited number of prospective purchasers, Jaggard had Alexander Read (c. 1586-1641), a fellow of the College and a prolific writer, produce an abridged version entitled *A Description of the Body of Man* (1616), which he published as an octavo in 1616, with the same illustrative plates.¹²⁰

The College also endorsed a few other vernacular books during the 1630s. Thus, in March 1630, faced with the risk of a plague epidemic in London, the College organised a commission to investigate preventative procedures and possible cures.¹²¹ When Dr. Clement presented a 'small book ... regarding the precautions and treatment against the plague' before the College on 9 April 1630, it was given to Dr. Atkins to present to the King, who ordered it to be licensed by the Bishop of London.¹²² Three years later, James Hart's professional book of Latin medical receipts entitled *The Diet of the Diseased* (1633) received the imprimatur of the College.¹²³ Hart had been a physician at Northampton for over twenty years, and *The Diet of the Diseased* reflected growing concern over the infringement by mountebanks and empirics upon the physician's trade. In it he attacked the intrusion of ignorant persons on the physicians' trade and stressed the importance of a physician's classical education which singled him out from all other medical practitioners.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Annals, III, f. 19^r.

¹¹⁹ Annals, III, f. 21^r. See Clark, pp. 204-05; Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995; repr. 1996), pp. 225-26.

¹²⁰ K.F. Russell, *British Anatomy, 1525-1800: A Bibliography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963), pp. 87-89, 183-86. On Read's medical books see Walter Menzies, 'Alexander Read, Physician and Surgeon, 1580-1641: His Life, Works and Library', *The Library*, 4th ser., 12 (1932), 46-74.

¹²¹ Annals, III, f. 97^r.

¹²² Annals, III, f. 98^r. In April 1636, the College again ordered the preparation of a vernacular pamphlet on the plague, which resulted in the publication of *Certain Necessary Directions for the Cure of the Plague* (Annals, III, f. 164^v).

¹²³ See Franklin B. Williams Jr., 'The Laudian Imprimatur', *The Library*, 5th ser., 15 (1960), 96-104. According to the imprimatur, the College, '[ha]ving read some part of this Booke, and in a generall view looked over more, we think it learnedly contrived, and worthy the reading' (James Hart, *Klinikh, or The Diet of the Diseased* (1633), ¶4^v).

¹²⁴ Hart, *Diet of the Diseased*, a1^v. Intended 'to teach the simple, ignorant sort of people, whose credulous

When Thomas Harper entered the copy of Edward Jorden's *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes and Minerall Waters* (1631) with the Stationers' Company on 1 July 1631 the College was not mentioned.¹²⁵ However, when he published the book later that year, it included the College's Latin imprimatur despite being a vernacular book.¹²⁶ In the text, though, Jorden went to lengths to exonerate the College:

I doe purposely omit many things about the vertues and vses of our Bathes, which belong properly to the Physitians, and cannot well be intimated to the patient without dangerous mistaking.¹²⁷

Another work on mineral waters endorsed by the College was Lodowick Rowzee's *The Queenes Welles: That is a Treatise of the Nature and Vertue of Tunbridge Water*. When John Dawson entered the title with the Stationers' Company on 5 June 1632 he had already received the imprimatur of the College two days earlier, although there is no mention of it in the Register.¹²⁸

In the mid-1630s the College attempted to prevent the publication of Thomas Brian's *The Pisse-Prophet, or Certaine Pisse-Pot Lectures* (1637). Its actions, though, were thwarted by the intervention of one of its own Fellows, Alexander Read. At a meeting of the College on 23 March 1635 Brian presented his book on uroscopy, which was dismissed as 'distaste[ful]'.¹²⁹ Presumably aware of Read's involvement in its proposed publication the College quickly 'ordered ... that no fellowe Candidate or Licentiate shall presume to sett his hand to the approbatione of anye phisicke or surgerye booke ... vnless the said booke bee first approved by the President and Censors'.¹³⁰ However, when the publisher Richard Thrale finally went to register his copy of Brian's book in April 1637, his entry was made 'vnder the hands of Master Doctor READ'.¹³¹ Read's involvement clearly breached the College's guidelines from March 1635 and which it had reiterated in June 1635.¹³² Another episode from 1635 shows again how the College could not always control the publication of pseudo-medical books. On 12 June 1635, it received reports that a Mr Evans was selling antimony cups without permission and had written a book, entitled *The*

simplicity is too often exposed as a prey to every cheating and ignorant asse', *The Diet of the Diseased* enabled the 'ignorant sort' to assess the quality of health care on offer in the medical marketplace and identify the dangerous 'empiric' (A3^v).

¹²⁵ SR 1554-1640, IV, 256.

¹²⁶ See Edward Jorden, *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes and Minerall Waters*, 2nd edn (1632), A4^r.

¹²⁷ Jorden, *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes*, T3^{r-v}.

¹²⁸ SR 1554-1640, IV, 279.

¹²⁹ Annals, III, f. 152^v.

¹³⁰ Annals, III, ff. 152^v-53^r.

¹³¹ SR 1554-1640, IV, 383.

¹³² Annals, III, f. 156^r.

Universall Medicine: or The Vertues of the Antimoniall Cup (1634). It was ordered that copies of ‘the bookes that could be found were taken away’, and the College’s beadle ‘must help to find out more that they maye bee destroyed’.¹³³

The publishing partnership of the Cotes brothers was responsible for the publication of a series of new editions of medical, surgical, and herbal books in the 1630s. They printed a second edition of Crooke’s *Microcosmographia* (1631), which was followed, by a new edition of Alexander Read’s *Description of the Body of Man* (1634), and Thomas Johnson’s translation of Paré’s *Workes* (1634). In 1637, Thomas printed *Somatogaphia Anthropine* that consisted of woodcuts and descriptions lifted from *Microcosmographia*, and was edited by Read. The same year also saw Thomas print another edition of *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, which was originally registered by William Jaggard on 4 March 1595.¹³⁴ In 1635, Richard Cotes’ entry of Parkinson’s *Theatrum Botanicum* was witnessed by the physicians Mayerne and Lister, which would suggest that their programme of printing new editions or compilations of old medical titles was acceptable to the College.

In the 1630s some new medical books were printed, but these did not directly undermine the College’s monopoly, but promoted health care in areas physically and economically remote from the physician’s control.¹³⁵ Richard Hawes’ *The Poore-Mans Plaster Box* (1634) was published ‘to give direction to the poore and plaine people, such as cannot (for their remote living) get a chirurgion’.¹³⁶ Stephen Bradwell’s *Helps for Suddain Accidents Endangering Life* was published in 1633 for ‘[t]hose that liue farre from Physitions or Chirurgions [so they] may happily preserue the life of a poore Friend or Neighbour, till such a Man may be had to perfect the Cure’.¹³⁷ Marketed to rich and poor alike, it was written ‘in a plaine stile, [so] that every one also may understand it’.¹³⁸ But many of the ingredients in Bradwell’s receipts were to be acquired at a ‘well furnished Apothecaries Shop’, and could be expensive, varying in price from a few pence to several shillings.¹³⁹ In 1639, Walter Edmonds published Owen Wood’s *An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets*:

For the benefit, most especailly of House-holders in the Country, who

¹³³ *Annals*, III, f. 156^v.

¹³⁴ *SR 1554-1640*, II, 672.

¹³⁵ Doreen Evenden-Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), pp. 4-19.

¹³⁶ Richard Hawes, *The Poore-Mans Plaster Box* (1634), A2^r.

¹³⁷ Stephen Bradwell, *Helps for Suddain Accidents Endangering Life* (1633), title page.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, A5^r.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, B1^v. On the price of medicines see Philibert Guibert, *The Charitable Physitian* (1639), trans. by I. W. (1639), G3^r-H2^r.

are either farre remote, or else not albe to entertaine a learned Physician: as likewise for the help of such Ladies and Gentle-women, *who of charity labour to doe good.*¹⁴⁰

It was not meant to replace the professional but was to be used when ‘neither Physician nor Apothecarie can be had’.¹⁴¹ Also published in the same year, Philibert Guibert’s *The Charitable Physitian* was a translation by I.W.. Although this translation emphasised self-help in medical matters, this was subordinate to the apothecaries’ monopoly. All the simple and compounded medicines could be had only from an apothecary. Printed in the margins are the prices of each medicine along with cheaper alternative ingredients.¹⁴² Sections specifically for the wealthy included advice on what instruments and medicines ‘the rich ought to have in their houses’.¹⁴³ These books did not claim to replace either the physician or the apothecary. But the 1630s were a sensitive time for new medical books to appear, and care had to be taken to ensure that those published had a trouble-free passage. These books did not deny the physician his wealthy London clients but were for the poor and remote people who by consulting such books could learn some medical procedures.¹⁴⁴ Preventive care, though, was the reserve of the wealthy, and though books on regimen were popular they could only have appealed to readers who could afford the luxury of a balanced diet and life.¹⁴⁵

1640s: Momentum for Change

During the 1640s, the amount of vernacular books, pamphlets, and broadsheets published increased dramatically.¹⁴⁶ In contrast the number of medical and surgical editions published during the same period dropped. In the 1650s these trends were reversed and the proportion of medical and surgical editions increased (see Figure 1.1 below). The key year here is 1649, when Culpeper’s translation of the College’s *Pharmacopoeia* appeared in print. By the end of the 1640s London’s medical marketplace consisted of an array of healers, practitioners, medical professionals and charlatans. The trade had been transformed into a competitive environment. Following its publication, there was a re-

¹⁴⁰ Owen Wood, *An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets* (1639), title page.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, A2^r.

¹⁴² Price lists of simples ‘as they are sold at the Drugists’ are also included, as are the costs of compounded medicines (Guibert, *Charitable Physitian*, G3^r-I3^r).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, G1^r-2^v.

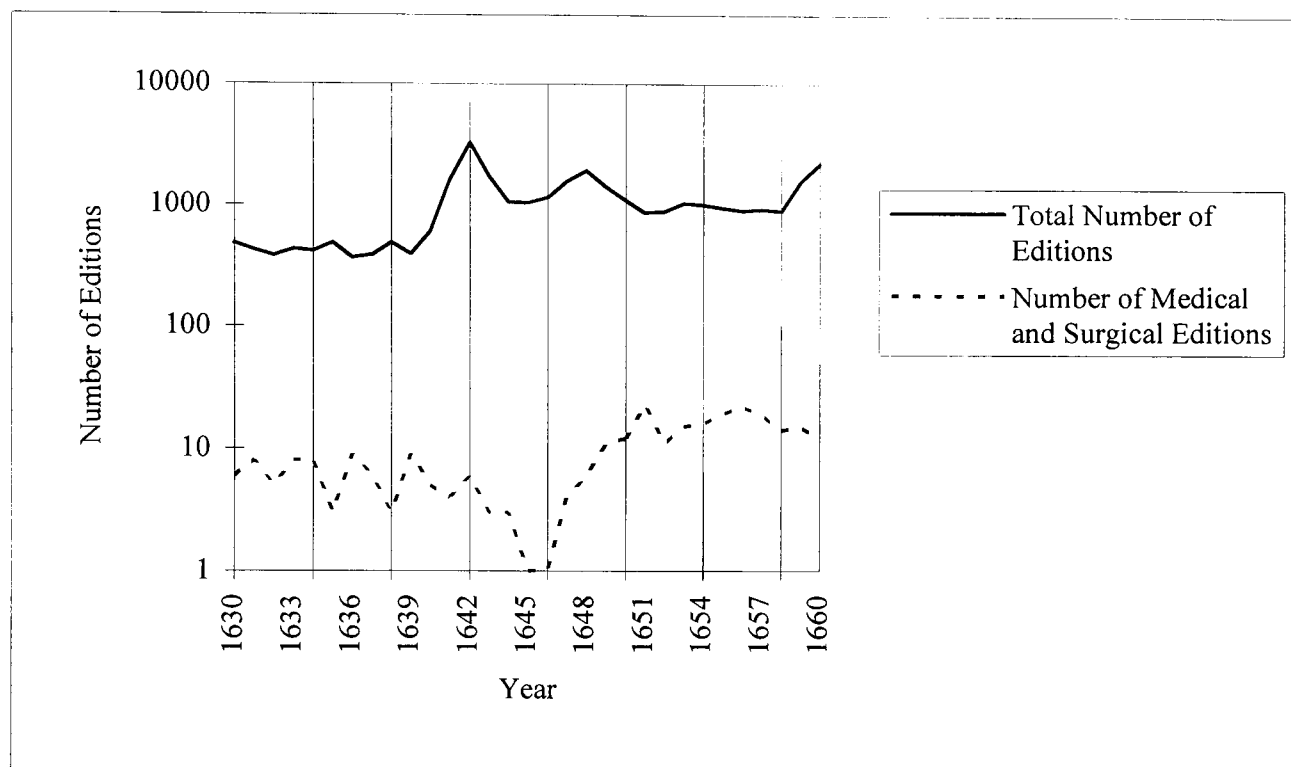
¹⁴⁴ Nagy, *Popular Medicine*, pp. 7-8, 24.

¹⁴⁵ One popular book of regimen was Thomas Cogan’s *The Haven of Health*, first published in 1584, with further editions in 1588, 1596, 1605, and 1636.

¹⁴⁶ See Maureen Bell and John Barnard, ‘Provisional Count of *Wing* Titles 1641-1700’, *Publishing History*, 44 (1998), 89-97.

emergence of a vernacular medical book trade. Culpeper's assault on London's medical hierarchy and the College's inability to silence him, ensured that the marketplace of the 1650s was effectively open and free from interference.

Figure 1.1: Logarithmic Graph of Total Vernacular ESTC Titles and Medical and Surgical Editions, 1630-60¹⁴⁷



On 14 June 1643 Parliament transferred censorship of medical and surgical books to the College's jurisdiction, and in the following chapter I examine the entries of medical books in the Stationers' Register, which reveal that Fellows in fact only began licensing after 1649.¹⁴⁸ Although the College had attempted to suppress a pamphlet on circulation by Roger Drake in 1641, the 'Annals' record little activity against any medical books.¹⁴⁹ This represents the College's submission from 1642 to the new and changing ethos of Parliamentary London, necessary if the College as an institution were to survive.¹⁵⁰ The College was rewarded, and as William Birken's work shows, during the 1640s there was a close association between the College and Parliament.¹⁵¹ Not only was the College granted

¹⁴⁷ Figures from ESTC database as at 10 October 1998. Languages other than English were excluded from the database searches but the arrangement of the ESTC means that languages other than English may also be included in the total figures. Medical and surgical books were identified through a subject word search. The incompleteness of the database mean that only general trends can be established.

¹⁴⁸ *A&O*, I, 184-87.

¹⁴⁹ On 19 April 1641 Roger Drake presented a pamphlet on the circulation of the blood for which he wanted the College's approval. The President refused, and 'held that it should be neither recommended nor condemned and ... that it ought to be left to the author' (*Annals*, III, f. 201').

¹⁵⁰ *Decline*, p. 104.

¹⁵¹ Birken, 'The Royal College of Physicians of London and its Support of the Parliamentary Cause in the

the right to license medical literature, but also in 1644 it was appointed to administer the Parliamentary Oath and Covenant to apothecaries, surgeons, and other medical personnel within the City of London.¹⁵²

On the eve of Civil War, Thomas Brugis' *The Marrow of Physicke: Or, a Learned Discourse of the Parts of Mans Body* (1640) was published. Brugis went on to work as a surgeon for seven years during the civil war, and wrote a further medical book, *Vade Mecum: Or A Companion for a Chyrurgion*, published in 1652.¹⁵³ First printed and published by Richard Hearne and Thomas Harper, *The Marrow of Phisicke* specifically addressed the laity. The professional practitioners were criticised 'for a great number of people perish for want of meanes to procure the advice of a Physitian; when perhaps with a little instructions, they might have cured themselves'.¹⁵⁴ Brugis claimed he 'strive[d] not to set forth an eloquent and lofty stile ... but a plaine way to helpe the poorer sort'.¹⁵⁵ Although Brugis surreptitiously attacked the College for its control of medical practice in London his book did not contain anything new and looked towards a new ordering of medical practice in London.¹⁵⁶

Following Brugis's book, few medical books were published during the 1640s, not because of any moves on the College's part to suppress them, but because of the political and social turmoil of war. Robert Wittie had finished his translation of James Primrose's *De Vulgi in Medicina Erroribus* (1638) in around 1640, but publication was delayed by eleven years due to the 'Distractions of the times having hindered the printing'.¹⁵⁷ New surgery books did appear but they dealt specifically with treating the wounds of war. For example, John Steer's translation of Guillaume Fabrice *His Experiments in Chyrurgerie* was published in 1642 and again in 1643, '[c]oncerning Combustions or Burnings, made with *Gun powder, Iron shot, Hot-water, Lightning*, or any other fiery matter whatsoever'.¹⁵⁸

English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies*, 23 (1983), 47-62; Lindsay Sharp, 'The Royal College of Physicians and Interregnum Politics', *Medical History*, 19 (1975), 107-28.

¹⁵² Birken, 'The Royal College', p. 56.

¹⁵³ *DNB*.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Brugis, *The Marrow of Phisicke* (1640), A4^v.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, A4^r. *The Marrow of Phisicke* was meant to: 'make every man cunning in his owne constitution, and to know so much as will cure many ordinary and common diseases, which often fasten upon the ignorant, and to chase away a malady that hath caught hold on their bodies' (b1^v).

¹⁵⁶ He described the four elements and temperaments of the body, the humours, and the structure of the body (B1^r-G4^v). Sections on the non-naturals and on the causes of disease and their symptoms are included, along with 'A Catalogue of such Instruments as are requisite in private houses for these that are desirous to compound medicine themselves' (I1^v-K3^v, L2^r-3^r, M3^{r-v}).

¹⁵⁷ Robert Wittie, 'The Translator to the Reader', in James Primrose, *Popular Errours: Or the Errours of the People in Physick*, trans. by Wittie (1651), B5^r-6^v (B5^r).

¹⁵⁸ Guillaume Fabrice, *His Experiments in Chyrurgerie*, trans. by John Steer (1642), title page.

In 1648, James Cooke's *Mellificium Chirurgiae* was published as a duodecimo, which suggests it was intended as a surgical hand-book. The receipts included by Cooke were published in Latin and it may have been for this reason that the book received the imprimatur of the President and Censors of the College of Physicians.¹⁵⁹

A more significant threat to the College's monopoly and a precursor to the events of 1649 initiated by Culpeper was the attempted prosecution of William Trigge by the College and the outcry it prompted in London's medical marketplace. During the 1620s, Trigge had offered medicines for the rickets, dysentery, plague and gout.¹⁶⁰ But following complaints he was fined £10 in June 1631.¹⁶¹ The College continued to gather evidence against Trigge and in 1632 he was placed in the Fleet and was released upon payment of £20.¹⁶² In the late 1630s Trigge turned to surgery and in January 1638 he was 'charged with opening the belly of an hydropsical woman wherevpon death followed'.¹⁶³ As a result he was fined £20 and committed to Newgate. This fine was paid by his wife, who 'affirmed that he made pills and electuaries himself, and particularly, that he makes mithridate and London Treacle'.¹⁶⁴ Even in October 1640 he was again ordered to stop his illegal practice, which he rejected.¹⁶⁵ The College took action and hauled him in front of the King's Bench. He was fined £155 but when the College made moves to collect the fine in 1647 Trigge petitioned Parliament.¹⁶⁶

In 1640 John Cooke (c. 1608-60) had defended Trigge. Eight years later he did so again, only this time in print whilst taking the opportunity to attack the College and its monopoly. Cook was an influential Parliamentarian barrister and exponent of law reform. In 1648, in *Unum Necessarium*, Cooke called for a liberal approach to the issue of medical licensing. He argued that the physicians of the College should practice free medicine for the poor, and that they should write their prescriptions in English so that patients would know the cost of the ingredients.¹⁶⁷ Cooke attacked their prosecution of Trigge for providing medicines and advice to the poor, and argued that if the College 'cannot be at

¹⁵⁹ James Cooke, *Mellificum Chirurgiae: Or The Marrow of Many Good Authours* (1648), the imprimatur is printed opposite the title page.

¹⁶⁰ Annals, III, f. 106^r.

¹⁶¹ Annals, III, ff. 110^{r-v}.

¹⁶² Annals, III, ff. 113^r, 114^r, 115^r, 124^r.

¹⁶³ Annals, III, ff. 173^v, 188^v.

¹⁶⁴ Annals, III, f. 189^r.

¹⁶⁵ Annals, III, f. 208^r. The various proceedings against Trigge are recorded in Charles Goodall, *The Royal College of Physicians of London Founded and Established by Law* (1684), pp. 420-22; Christopher Merrett, *A Collection of Acts of Parliament, Charters, Trials at Law, and Judges Opinions* (1660), p. 124.

¹⁶⁶ See *Decline*, pp. 129-30.

¹⁶⁷ John Cooke, *Unum Necessarium Necessarium: Or the Poore Mans Case* (1648), II^v.

leisure to prescribe to the poore Gratis' then the Fellows should 'not ... molest or interrupt Doctor *Trigg* ... in his practice any longer'.¹⁶⁸ Since 1624 Trigge had, according to Cooke, treated thirty thousand patients:

He hath cured every yeare many people of all sorts of Feavers, Plague, Palsies, Agues, Gout, Consumptions, Dropsies, Collicks, and all sorts of Diseases, and his manner of practise is, to take little or nothing from the poore, and from the rich, 2s. or 2s.6d. at the most for his advice and Phisick, for he compounds all his Phisick himself which no ignorant man can do, and buyes the best Drugges he can get, as the Drugster a man of credit, testified.¹⁶⁹

Cooke's account highlights the mercantile attitude of London's apothecaries. Whereas Trigge had given 'away as much Phisick weekly to the poor people, as cost him 30. or 40.s.', the 'Apothecaries would sell it, may be for five times as much'.¹⁷⁰ Trigge petitioned Parliament himself in 1648 for exclusion from the College's jurisdiction.¹⁷¹ As Cooke wrote, 'should he [Trigge] be suppressed ... thousands of poore people must perish for want of meanes to recover them, for where is there a man that will give his advise and Physicke for nothing as this man constantly doth'.¹⁷² Even after his death, Trigge's name was synonymous with popular medicine. As Culpeper's name was exploited by print culture, so likewise was Trigge's, and in 1665 Dixy Page published *Dr. Trigg's Secrets, Arcana's & Panacea's Approved by his Long Admired Experience and Practice*.¹⁷³

In the 1630s, then, Trigge's medical practice was an affront to the College's monopoly. From 1649, until his death in 1654, Nicholas Culpeper launched a similar attack through the printed medium. Whereas Trigge had suffered prosecution, in the 1650s Culpeper's call for free medicine and anti-monopolistic rhetoric was in-keeping with the political mood of the capital. For example, in 1649 William Rondeletius's *The Countrey-Man's Apothecary* was published 'for the good of the KINGDOME', and included lists of substitute ingredients which could be used to compound medicines if the originals could not be had.¹⁷⁴ It also stressed the importance of cheap indigenous herbs for the general population.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, H4^r.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, H4^v.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I1^r.

¹⁷¹ William Trigge, *To the Honourable House of Commons* ([1648]), broadsheet. Trigge sought exception from the College's control so he could 'quietly, and without any disturbance, or penalty, practice and administer Physick, in and about this City, notwithstanding any Charter, or law to the contrary'.

¹⁷² Cooke, *Unum Necessarium*, I1^r.

¹⁷³ This book, its title page claimed, was left as a legacy to his patients by one 'Eugenius Philanthropos'.

¹⁷⁴ William Rondelet, *The Countrey-Man's Apothecary* (1649), title page.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, A1^v.

A number of new medical books appeared in 1649 which reflect the increased competition in the medical marketplace and the advertising potential of the printed page. A couple of short books published for Salvator Winter exploited this medium. *A New Dispensatory of Fourty Physicall Receipts* and *A Pretious Treasury: Or A New Dispensatory* advertised Winter's medicines rather than offering the reader advice and medical remedies.¹⁷⁶ *A New Dispensatory* is the first medical book collected by George Thomason on or around 11 September 1649, the same month as Culpeper's translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* appeared. *A Pretious Treasury* appeared less than a month later, at the beginning of October. On the woodcut title page, Winter was joined by Francisco Dickinson on a market stage: Winter is standing upright claiming 'Me cure all Disease', while Dickinson is knelt handing a written medical receipt over to a member of the audience and asking, 'Your Money Gent'. In c. 1664, Winter was advertising his *elixir*, which from his claims, would cure every disease of the body.¹⁷⁷ The mutually beneficial relationship between publishers and booksellers, and medicine peddlers began to develop during the 1650s. Other examples of this association include a broadsheet printed in 1650 advertising the virtues of balsams and cordials to be had at 'the Signe of the Black Grey-Hound, in Black Fryers'.¹⁷⁸ *The Cure of Ruptures in Mans Bodie* (1651) likewise advertised the practice of Lewis Millwater in Peterbourgh, and his medicines that could be had in London 'by the *Lincoln Carriers*'.¹⁷⁹ Richard Carew's *Excellent Helps Really Found Out ... by a Warming-Stone* (1652), advertised its benefits. This pamphlet gave the names and address of all the individuals whom Carew's stone had supposedly cured, and it was sold from the shop of its publisher, John Bartlet, in St Paul's Churchyard. Within this competition for patients and book-buyers, Culpeper's books were significant. His translation of the official *Pharmacopoeia* of the College of Physicians offered authoritative advice and established the 'Culpeper' brand-name.

Nicholas Culpeper: A Biographical Sketch

Our grave, wise, and learned Colledg of
Physitians as their Pupils and Flatterers are

¹⁷⁶ Winter included his address and also advertised his dental practice in *A New Dispensatory of Fourty Physicall Receipts* (1649), B4^r.

¹⁷⁷ Winter, *Directions for the Use of My Elixir My Philosophical Petza or Plaister* (c. 1664). Winter included the names and addresses of the individuals he claimed his medicines had cured.

¹⁷⁸ J.H., *A Most Excellent and Rare Drink* ([1650]). Also see Peter Franesse's broadsheet *All Gentlemen and Other* (1656), which promoted his practice in Lawrence Lane, White Alley in Moorefields and 'at the corner of the *Black and White House*'.

¹⁷⁹ Lewis Millwater, *The Cure of Ruptures in Mans Bodie* (1651), A2^v.

pleased to call them, they must have also the Rules of Physick hid from you, lest ... you should do your selves a mischief by them, when indeed the truth is their own gain and credit lies at the stake, people would not adore them, and employ them, and spend their whol estates upon them, as now (poor hearts) they are too often forced to do.

Culpeper,
Galen's Art of Physick (1652), A8^v

Mr. *Culpepers* writings, are only either other mens writings which he hath translated into English, or collections out of other mens works, which he hath deformed with malicious, scurrilous, detracting and railing expressions, and studied to beautife with some ridiculous, and ... impertinent jests.

Matthew Mackaile,
Moffet-Well (Edinburgh, 1664), M4^v-5^f

For Nicholas Culpeper, his medical practice at Spitalfields was both an egalitarian pursuit and an economic venture. In conjunction with his publishers Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brook, Culpeper developed his public *persona* through the printed medium and exploited its advertising potential to promote his name in London's medical marketplace. According to one contemporary, he sought 'to make himself famous in *Taverns* and *Alehouses*', and an anonymous pamphlet attacked Culpeper for selling his medical receipts and books at the fairs and markets of Spitalfields.¹⁸⁰ Culpeper's association with print-culture is his enduring legacy. By translating the College's *Pharmacopoeia* in 1649, his name was allied with the political radicals in the revolutionary decades of the mid-seventeenth century. However, it was with the publication of his popular herbal, *The English Physitian* in 1652, which established his continued popularity to this day. The revision of this book during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the excision of Culpeper's politicised voice along with his medical astrology, creating a work far removed from its author's original intentions. Culpeper's legacy, nevertheless, is testimony to the successful management of print culture by the author and his publishers.

Culpeper's life is known from contemporary accounts, the evidence in his books, and the archival evidence held by the Society of Apothecaries. Recent full-length studies of Culpeper and his work by Olav Thulesius and Graeme Toby reveal the richness of

¹⁸⁰ John Heydon, *A New Method of Rosie Crucian Physick* (1658), H1^r; *A Faire in Spittle Fields, where all the Knick Knacks of Astrology are Exposed to Open Sale* (1652), A3^v-4^f.

material in Culpeper's own books, but they do not critically assess this information.¹⁸¹ Thulesius traces the early years of Culpeper's life, but interjects his account with conjecture and fictional events.¹⁸² The focus of Tobyn's study is Culpeper's medical beliefs, and he expertly details his astrological and herbal theories which he relates to the tradition of medical practice. However, Tobyn is himself a herbalist and astrologer, and his is a partisan account that seeks to promote holistic medicine in the twentieth century, including the influence of planetary orbits upon our lives.

The evidence from which the events of Culpeper's life can be reconstructed is fragmented. However, the most detailed account is printed in *Culpeper's School of Physick* published in 1659, five years after his death, by Nathaniel Brook. This book was introduced with 'The Nativity of *Nicholas Culpeper*' by the astrologer John Gadbury (1628-1704), followed by the anonymous 'The Life of the Admired Physician and Astrologer of our Times, Mr. *Nicholas Culpeper*'. This contemporary 'Life' of Culpeper is accepted as reliable by modern commentators, including Poynter, and, more recently, by Tobyn, Thulesius and McCarl.

However, no scholar has ever critically analysed its contents, and the context of its production, in order to establish its authority, and at first sight there are a number of reasons to doubt its accuracy. Firstly, it was written anonymously and printed five years after Culpeper's death. Secondly, and as I shall later argue (pp. 107-13), publishers exploited Culpeper's name after his death to promote sales: this 'Life' may therefore have been produced by Brook to advance his book sales. A final reason to doubt the accuracy of the 'Life' is that some episodes appear to be fictionalised, not least Culpeper's elopement from Cambridge to marry his sweetheart.

There is reason, though, to believe that Culpeper's contemporary biographer can be trusted. Firstly, John Gadbury, author of the 'Nativity', knew Culpeper and defended him in his *Philastragus Knavery Epitomized* (1652). Secondly, it was published during an ongoing dispute between Brook and Cole, over the rights to Culpeper's books. The inclusion of a biographical account by an individual associated with Culpeper helped Brook establish, in the public's eyes, his relationship with Culpeper. Because the facts of Culpeper's life could have been contested in 1659, Brook was bound to publish an accurate account in

¹⁸¹ Olav Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper: English Physician and Astrologer* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Graeme Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine: A Practice of Western Holistic Medicine* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1997).

¹⁸² For example, although it is likely that Culpeper knew the astrologer William Lilly, Thulesius gives a fictitious anecdote of a meeting between the two (Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper*, pp. 35-42).

order to establish his authority over the contested titles. Thirdly, although the 'Life' aggrandises Culpeper's father by describing him as the son of Sir Thomas Culpeper, it is correct in all other matters relating to his family. The accuracy of the 'Life' is further supported by the brief account of Culpeper's early life published in the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* of September 1649. This account, written to criticise and ridicule Culpeper, agrees with the details given in the 'Life' concerning his failed apprenticeship, and subsequent practice as an unlicensed practitioner. The strongest evidence for the accuracy of the 'Life' is that where archival evidence exists relating to Culpeper's life it conforms with the account given by his contemporary biographer's. Both the 'Life' and the account in the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* suggest that Culpeper served a failed apprenticeship as an apothecary, and, crucially, the Society of Apothecaries' archives at the Guildhall confirm this episode.

Culpeper was born on 18 October 1616 to Mary Culpeper, thirteen days after his father, also Nicholas and Rector of Ockley in Surrey, had been buried.¹⁸³ Nicholas's parents had married the previous year on 25 October 1615 at the parish of Isfield in Sussex and less than a month after his father had been instated rector at Ockley.¹⁸⁴ One, perhaps deliberate, error in the 1659 biography was the social elevation of Culpeper by making his father the 'son to Sir *Thomas Culpeper* Knight and Baronet'.¹⁸⁵ Sir Thomas Culpeper of Wakehurst (1525-71) and Nicholas's father, Nicholas (1580-1616), had the same paternal great-grandfather, Nicholas (*d.* 1510), who married Elizabeth Wakehurst, the daughter and coheiress of Richard and Agnes Wakehurst.¹⁸⁶ Nicholas's mother Mary was the daughter of the Reverend William Attersol, who was the minister at Isfield. Attersol was educated at Cambridge and received an M.A. at Peterhouse in 1586. He was ordained in 1588 and succeeded William Bishoppe to the living at Isfield in 1600.¹⁸⁷ Although Culpeper did belong to the Wakehurst branch of the Culpepers, he was more distantly related to Sir Thomas than the 1659 biographer and, possibly, Culpeper during his life claimed. Certainly, on the title pages to his books, he was styled as a 'Gent.' and a coat of arms was often included in his frontispiece portraits.

¹⁸³ He was christened 6 days later, on 24 October at Ockley (*IGI*, microfiche ref. A2043, p. 5,736).

¹⁸⁴ F.W.T. Attree, and J.H.L. Booker, 'The Sussex Colepepers, Part II', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 48 (1905), 65-98 (p. 71).

¹⁸⁵ *Life*, C1^r.

¹⁸⁶ See G.W.E. Loder, *Wakehurst Place, Sussex: An Account of The Manor and Its Owners* (London: Spottiswoode, 1907), the family tree of the Culpeper family of Wakehurst is given opposite p. 24.

¹⁸⁷ *DNB*; John Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses ... From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-27), I, 55.

Culpeper spent his childhood in Sussex with his mother and many of the original locations of the herbs described in *The English Physitian* grew there.¹⁸⁸ He was educated at a free-school in the county ‘at the cost and charges of his Mother’.¹⁸⁹ From here, Culpeper left for Cambridge, where his mother spent four hundred pounds to continue his education.¹⁹⁰ In his ‘Nativity’ of Culpeper, John Gadbury reckons that he went to Cambridge in 1634 when he was eighteen years old. However, he is more likely to have gone to Cambridge in 1632 and to have spent two years there before he registered as an apothecary’s apprentice in 1634.¹⁹¹ There is no record of his attendance at University but the ‘Life’ reports that while at Cambridge he suffered the tragic loss of his love, ‘a Beautiful Lady ... [from] one of the noblest and wealthiest [families] in *Sussex*’.¹⁹² The two had planned to elope, but as she travelled to meet him was ‘surrounded with flames of Fire and flashes of Lightning ... [and] immediately fell down dead’.¹⁹³ If Culpeper did go to Cambridge he never graduated which might explain why there is no evidence of his attendance. Culpeper did, however, claim to have received an education when he wrote in 1651 that he ‘was born a Gentleman, and brought up a Scholler’, and to ‘have been an Academick’.¹⁹⁴ His skill as a translator of Latin medical texts means that he had a classical education of some sort, which makes it entirely possible that he began a degree at Cambridge.

Following his withdrawal from Cambridge, Attersol tried to persuade him to join the ministry. Culpeper though wanted to learn physick and astrology, a wish that grieved his grandfather who, on his death in May 1640, left Culpeper only forty shillings while leaving four hundred pounds to his remaining grandchildren.¹⁹⁵ From an early age, Culpeper had developed an interest in medicine. Writing, in 1649, he could remember the physician and medical writer, Alexander Read, who treated his mother for cancer of the breast, and in 1653, he recalled the medicine *Pulvis Thuraloes*, which as a child he applied to chilblains.¹⁹⁶ It was Read whose involvement in the publication of Brian’s *The Pisse-*

¹⁸⁸ Eg. *EP* (Cole, 1652), D2^r, G2^r, I1^r.

¹⁸⁹ *Life*, C1^r.

¹⁹⁰ *Life*, C1^v.

¹⁹¹ John Gadbury, ‘The Nativity of *Nicholas Culpeper*, Student in Physick and Astrology’, in *Culpeper’s School of Physick* (1659), B2^v-8^v (B8^v). See Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper*, p. 18; Toby, *Culpeper’s Medicine*, p. 5.

¹⁹² *Life*, C1^v.

¹⁹³ *Life*, C1^v-2^r.

¹⁹⁴ Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1651* (1651), A2^r, G4^r.

¹⁹⁵ *Life*, C3^r.

¹⁹⁶ *PD* (1649), 2K3^v; *PL* (1653), 2G1^r.

Prophet (1637) caused the College to rule against Fellows' endorsement of medical books unless they received the College's approval (see above, p. 31). Read was also a medical translator and may have inspired the young Culpeper when he arrived to treat his mother. Clearly, the fact he could remember the episode as a grown man is suggestive of its importance.

On 14 November 1634, Culpeper's name was entered in the Court Book of the Society of Apothecaries in London, and he was thereby bound to Simon White for eight years.¹⁹⁷ Attersol, according to the 'Life', had paid White, an apothecary based near the Temple Bar, fifty pounds to take Culpeper on.¹⁹⁸ After two and a half years White's business failed, and Culpeper was turned over to Francis Drake on 1 March 1637.¹⁹⁹ Culpeper lived with Drake at his shop in Threadneedle Street, along with Samuel Leadbetter, who had been an apprentice since August 1631.²⁰⁰ Culpeper was apparently already 'excellent in the Latine' at this time for 'he taught Mr. *Drake* that Tongue in less than a year and a half'.²⁰¹ Again, though, Culpeper could not settle, and with the death of Drake in February 1639, both he and Leadbetter were 'turned out to Mr Higgins our Master [of the Society of the Apothecaries] for the residence of his tyme'.²⁰² Stephen Higgins was one of the first Wardens of the Society of Apothecaries and in 1639 became Master.²⁰³ This may suggest that Culpeper, at least at this point in his career, was looked upon by the Society with favour.

On 11 February 1640, Leadbetter was freed by the Society and he set up in business as an apothecary.²⁰⁴ The Society charged Freeman 7s.2d., and it was traditional to present a silver spoon upon taking the Oath as Freeman at the end of their apprenticeships, although it was agreed that the value of a spoon was 13s.4d. which could be given in lieu.²⁰⁵ Culpeper, though, was never freed or examined by the Society. Attersol spent at least fifty pounds on this apprenticeship, and Culpeper himself devoted seven years to his training:

¹⁹⁷ Society of Apothecaries, 'Minutes of the Court of Assistants and of the Private Court', Guildhall MS 8200, I, f. 344^v (hereafter cited as Minutes). Although Thulesius gives the entries in the Court Book of the Society he does not give any adequate references to the manuscripts (*Nicholas Culpeper*, p. 28).

¹⁹⁸ Life, C3^r.

¹⁹⁹ Life, C3^v.

²⁰⁰ Minutes, f. 275^v.

²⁰¹ Life, C3^v.

²⁰² Minutes, f. 375^r. The Warden of the Society, Richard Clover, received payment of 9s.4d. for turning over Leadbetter and Culpeper to Higgins (Society of Apothecaries, 'Wardens Accounts', Guildhall MS 8202, I, 147).

²⁰³ Underwood, pp. 25, 44.

²⁰⁴ Minutes, f. 381^r.

²⁰⁵ Underwood, p. 73.

why then did he not seek freedom? As we have seen, in May 1640 Attersol left Culpeper only forty shillings. Culpeper had probably expected to receive more and may have spent money on his apprenticeship in anticipation: writing in 1650, Culpeper claimed, ‘I had once an estate in this world, now I have none’.²⁰⁶ In 1641, when Culpeper should have been freed, it is possible that he could not afford the fee. This hypothesis is further supported by evidence, which I discuss below, suggesting that Culpeper married around this time, and coincidentally, or, more likely, out of necessity, began to work as a translator. Another reason for this failure may have been his marriage itself. The by-laws of the Society ordered that no apprentice should marry, and if he did so, would lose the benefit of time served, and must be bound anew for seven years.²⁰⁷

According to Gadbury’s account, Culpeper began to practice medicine in 1640 when he was twenty-four.²⁰⁸ If so, then Culpeper, as he was coming to the end of his apprenticeship, decided to take his studies further on his own. On 17 December 1642, the Middlesex County Records register the following case:

True Bill that, at the parish of St. Leonard’s Shoreditch, co Midd. Nicholas Culpeper late of the said parish gentleman practised witchcraftes upon and against Sarah Lynge widow, so that she was wasted away from the said 17 Dec., 18 Charles I., till 12 Jan. next following, and still remains so wasted. Putting himself ‘Not Guilty’, Nicholas Culpeper was acquitted by a jury.²⁰⁹

Although Culpeper was living in Spitalfields at this time, Shoreditch was the adjacent parish and there is no reason to doubt that this was our Nicholas Culpeper. The most likely explanation of this episode is that Culpeper began to act as an unlicensed apothecary shortly after he would have been freed. He appears to have gone to work for his colleague, Samuel Leadbetter, for on 3 June 1643 the Society of Apothecaries ‘ordered and warned [Leadbetter] to put away Nicholas Culpeper who he now employes, and to employ him no longer in his shop’.²¹⁰ Yet by September Culpeper was still in Leadbetter’s employment, and the Society again warned Leadbetter ‘not to employ Culpeper in the making or administering of aine Medicine, who promiseth to observe the same’.²¹¹ By May of the following year, the records of the Society show that Leadbetter produced an indenture to

²⁰⁶ *PD* (1650), B2^v.

²⁰⁷ Underwood, pp. 44, 81.

²⁰⁸ Gadbury, ‘Nativity’, B8^v.

²⁰⁹ *Middlesex County Records*, 3 (1888), p. 85. First noted by Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 413.

²¹⁰ Minutes, f. 414^r.

²¹¹ Minutes, f. 417^r.

demonstrate that Culpeper was no longer in his employment.²¹² Following this Leadbetter's career appears to have continued within the Society of Apothecaries.²¹³

Around 1640, Culpeper married Alice Field, the fifteen-year-old daughter of John and Alice Field, and a relative of Simon Barckstead, who was described by Culpeper's contemporary biographer as 'an eminent gentleman'.²¹⁴ The couple moved to Spitalfields, just outside the City wall, and into a house on Red Lion Street, next door to the Red Lion Inn. It is from this address that Culpeper wrote almost all his books.²¹⁵ Spitalfields at this time was a hamlet of Stepney in the north-east of London. From here Culpeper must have travelled to Leadbetter's shop in Bishopsgate and, as we have seen above, into the neighbouring parish of Shoreditch, to administer medicines. The Culpepers had seven children during their fourteen-year marriage. In the aphorisms compiled from Culpeper's notes and published posthumously in 1655 as *Composita: Or, A Synopsis of the Chiefest Compositions in Use*, he referred to one of his children who suffered from teething problems.²¹⁶ Another child suffered from the King's Evil (scrofula), which Culpeper cured.²¹⁷ By 1659 all but one of the children had died; their fourth child, Mary, was then living with her mother in Spitalfields, and was described as 'the true picture of her Father'.²¹⁸

Historians have accepted 1649 as the year when Culpeper turned to authorship to supplement his income. However, in 1640 a medical translation was published which at least one library catalogue has linked with Culpeper. Ethel Parkinson's *Catalogue of Medical Books in Manchester University Library 1480-1700* (1972) attributes a translation of a work, originally in Dutch, by Wilhelm Fabry (1560-1634) entitled *Lithotomia Vesicae* (1640), to Nicholas Culpeper.²¹⁹ Although the fly-leaf has a manuscript note, 'Translated by N. Culpeper', this addition is not contemporary with the book. The conjecture that Culpeper was the translator is based on the information given on the title page, and is supported by further circumstantial evidence. The title page reads:

²¹² Minutes, f. 426^r.

²¹³ See Minutes, ff. 427^r, 449^v.

²¹⁴ Life, C5^r.

²¹⁵ Culpeper does not appear to have written all works from his house in Spitalfields. The dedication to his *An Ephemeris for 1653* (1653), was written 'From my house in Chisham in Buckinghamshire, August 20, 1652' (A4^r).

²¹⁶ Culpeper, *Composita: Or, A Synopsis of the Chiefest Compositions in Use* (1655), G8^r.

²¹⁷ EP (Cole, 1652), L1^v.

²¹⁸ Gadbury, 'Nativity', B6^v; and Life, C5^v. In DM (1651), Culpeper wrote that he had 'buried many of my children' (O7^r).

²¹⁹ Ethel Parkinson, *Catalogue of Medical Books in Manchester University Library 1480-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), p. 374.

Written first in *High Dutch* by *Gulielmus Fabritius Hildanus*, ... [and] Afterward augmented by the Author, and first translated into *Latin* by his Scholler and Communer *Henricus Schobingerus Sangalthensis*; And now done into *English* by *N.C.* for the general good of this *Nation*, and particular use of the *Societie of CHIRURGIANS*.

The work is introduced with a preface by John Norton, the book's publisher, addressed to the Company of Barber-Surgeons. Norton described how a copy of the Latin book 'came into my hands' and that he then 'went to those who ... are best acquainted with this practice, and entreated them to peruse the Booke, and ... to tell me, whether it was like to benefit the Operation of this Realme, if it were translated into our Language'.²²⁰ Being persuaded of its worth, Norton then 'committed this businesse [of translating] to the care of one, who was sufficiently able to expresse the Authors meaning in good termes'.²²¹ Although there is no firm evidence that N.C. is Culpeper, circumstantial evidence supports this hypothesis. Firstly, neither the revised STC or Wing catalogue record another author with the initials 'N.C.' involved in the production of medical books during the 1630s and 1640s. Secondly, the book shares Culpeper's ideal that medical information should be 'for the generall good of this Nation'.²²² Thirdly, his failure to be freed by the Society of Apothecaries, suggests that Culpeper was short of money in the 1640s, and his work as a translator would have supplemented his income as an unlicensed apothecary. But, the strongest evidence for this conjecture comes from the attacks made upon Culpeper immediately after the publication of his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* in 1649. The author of the royalist serial *Mercurius Pragmaticus* attacked Culpeper's recently published translation of the College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia*, and claimed that after his failed apprenticeship, 'hee turnes Compositor, [and] afterwards a figure-flinger'.²²³ McCarl suggests that the description of Culpeper as 'compositor' might mean that he worked for a printer before translating the *Pharmacopoeia*.²²⁴ Culpeper was never an apprentice to a printer so he ought not to have been able to work as a type-setter. These were unsettled times though, and McCarl's hypothesis is a possible one. However, I would

²²⁰ John Norton, 'To the Worshipfull Companie of the Barber-Chirurgians' in Wilhelm Fabry, *Lithotomia Vesicae: that is, an Accurate Description of the Stone in the Bladder*, trans. by N.C. (1640), *2^r-*4^v (*3^r).

²²¹ *Ibid.*, *3^v.

²²² Fabry, *Lithotomia Vesicae*, title page.

²²³ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, no. 21 (4-11 September 1649), X4^r. The author has generally been identified as Marchamont Nedham but Charles Webster disagrees with this. Nedham's association with the publication had ended by June 1649, and he subsequently attacked the College and its restrictive use of Latin. See *GI*, p. 269; Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 33.

²²⁴ McCarl, p. 232.

suggest that ‘compositor’ is being used to describe ‘one who composes or compiles a literary work’, a rare usage following its first occurrence in 1532.²²⁵ This application of the word would suggest that Culpeper had experience of putting texts together before 1647, when Cole commissioned him to translate the *Pharmacopoeia*. We know Culpeper had a good knowledge of Latin by the time he was apprenticed to Francis Drake. If Culpeper began to work as a translator in the early 1640s this would explain why Cole felt able to entrusted him with such an important project.

In 1649, Culpeper described himself as being ‘in the prime of my age’, and there is further evidence in his writings which support the hypothesis that Culpeper began translating well before 1649.²²⁶ For example, in his book of astrological predictions entitled *Catastrophe Magnatum* (1652), Culpeper wrote that ‘in the years 1641, and 1642 the notions included in this book took up a great part of my study, for indeed in those years I was totally studious’.²²⁷ In 1653, he claimed to have spent the past twenty-one years writing, presumably commencing whilst at Cambridge from 1632 to 1634.²²⁸ After Culpeper’s death a volume of his astrological aphorisms was published by Richard Moore and Stephen Chatfield, entitled *Opus Astrologicum, &c., Or An Astrological Work Left to Posterity* (1654). Moore and Chatfield, both of whom had never worked with Culpeper before, were probably responsible for writing Culpeper’s introduction.²²⁹ However, Culpeper supposedly wrote its contents in 1647 and 1648.²³⁰ In a similar book, published by Brook in 1655, entitled *Culpeper’s Last Legacy*, there is further evidence that Culpeper was writing and practising medicine in 1645. As we shall see below (pp. 110-11), Peter Cole and Alice Culpeper contested the authority of this book, but although Brook may have forged the introductory prefaces, the material appears to have been compiled from Culpeper’s case-notes.²³¹ In the case of tertiary fever, Culpeper claimed to have ‘cured above twenty of this Disease’ by February 1646.²³²

The dramatic events of the Civil War brought chaos to London and the country.

²²⁵ *OED*, III.

²²⁶ *PD* (1649), A2^v.

²²⁷ Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum: or the Fall of Monarchie* (1652), L2^r. This may be the publication of Culpeper’s which is mentioned but not named when it was referred to the Committee for Examinations on 2 November 1652 (*CSPD 1651-1652*, p. 466 (SP 25/35/16)).

²²⁸ Culpeper, ‘To the Reader’, in Simon Partlitz, *A New Method of Physick*, trans. (1654), A2^{r-v} (A2^v).

²²⁹ ‘The Author to the Reader’, in Culpeper, *Opus Astrologicum* (1654), A3^{r-5^r}. In their address Chatfield and Moore claimed ‘this Tract is certainly his’ (A7^r).

²³⁰ See Culpeper, *Opus Astrologicum* (1654), C8^v, D7^v, E8^v, F1^r, F8^v, G1^r, G8^r.

²³¹ See Culpeper, *Culpeper’s Last Legacy* (1655), E7^r, G2^r.

²³² *Ibid.*, G2^r.

John Gadbury reported that Culpeper enlisted with the Parliamentary troops, and in 1643 ‘was wounded by a small shot over the forepart of the body, which he never recovered [from] till his dying day’.²³³ According to the ‘Life’, Culpeper was involved in a duel while in the army. Private duelling had been prohibited in 1614 by James I, and to avoid imprisonment Culpeper fled to France where, his biographer claims, he stayed for three months.²³⁴ If this account is true, it little affected Culpeper’s medical practice. He continued his work in Spitalfields, where he saw up to forty patients a day, prescribing ‘cheap, but wholesome Medicines’.²³⁵

Culpeper’s astrological beliefs strongly influenced the types of medicines and advice he dispensed, believing it necessary ‘for every *Physitian* to be an *Astrologer*’.²³⁶ The author of the *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, as we have seen, described Culpeper as a ‘figure-flinger’, indicating that Culpeper was also a practising astrologer. Culpeper’s predictions of events following a solar eclipse on 29 March 1652, made in *Catastrophe Magnatum*, were mocked in a series of pamphlets singling out Culpeper and his fellow astrologer, William Lilly (1602-81), for attack.²³⁷ According to *The Laughing Mercury* (20-27 October 1652):

Old Nick is turn’d Ass-stronomer,
Will Summers grown so wise,
They both *Prognosticate* of stirr,
making the Starrs Lies.²³⁸

He was in turn defended by Lilly in *Philastragus Knavery Epitomized* (1652), and by Raphael Desmus, who described Culpeper as ‘the PTOLOMEY of our *English Nation*’.²³⁹

²³³ Gadbury, ‘Nativity’, B8^v.

²³⁴ Life, C6^r. Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, 1883-84), II, 212.

²³⁵ Life, C4^r.

²³⁶ *EP* (Cole, 1652), B2^r. On seventeenth-century astrology see Bernard S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979); Alan Chapman, ‘Astrological Medicine’, in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Webster, 275-300; Patrick Curry, ‘Saving Astrology in Restoration England: ‘Whig’ and ‘Tory’ Reforms’, in *Astrology, Science and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. by Patrick Curry (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1987), 245-59; Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989); Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth-century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

²³⁷ See *Black Monday Turn’d White* (1652); William Brommerton, *Confidence Discounted: or the Astronomers Knavery Anatomized* (1652); *Mercurius Democritus* (8-16 December 1652), 2N4^v; Laurence Price, *The Astrologers Bugg-Bear* ([1652]). In *Lillies Ape Whipt* (1652), Culpeper is ridiculed as ‘Lillies Ape’ (A2^v), his writings are criticised and his claims to be a gentleman are undermined.

²³⁸ *The Laughing Mercury*, no. 29 (20-27 October 1652), 2F1^r.

²³⁹ Gadbury attempted to vindicate Culpeper and William Lilly, ‘from all the false aspersions ... cast upon them, about the great Eclipse of the SUNNE’ (*Philastragus Knavery Epitomized* (1652), title page). Raphaell Desmus, *Merlinus Anontmus: An Almanack* (1653), A2^{r-v}. Desmus was a pseudonym for

London's Society of Astrologers was a bipartisan group totalling about forty, which meet for annual dinners and lectures from 1649 to 1658.²⁴⁰ Culpeper himself lectured before the Society, possibly in 1650, because in the following year Nathaniel Brook published *Semeiotica Uranica, or an Astrological Judgment of Diseases*, derived from the lectures.²⁴¹ This enabled him to promote his name through the oral medium to a specialist audience, whilst the publication of his lectures reached a wider public sphere.²⁴² Culpeper also attended lectures at the Society, for example, those delivered by Robert Gell (1595-1665), and it was probably through his membership that Culpeper met John Booker (1603-67). Booker was an astrologer and writer of almanacs who in 1643 had been appointed Parliamentary Licensor of mathematical books and almanacs by the June Printing Act, and on 15 April 1651 he licensed Culpeper's *Semeiotica Uranica*.²⁴³ Booker's relationship with Culpeper is especially significant for the only extant manuscript written by Culpeper is an undated letter to Booker (see Illustration 1). Now in the Ashmolean Collection at the Bodleian Library, this letter consists of only eleven lines, in which Culpeper 'entreat[s Booker] ... to do this man ... the curtesy as to let him take out the planets places for his own Genesis out of an Ephemerides'.²⁴⁴ The man was Thomas Loseby from Melton Mowbray in Leicester.²⁴⁵ Along with experiences as an apprentice, Culpeper's years of medical practice at Spitalfields, and his association with London's astrologers, he also claimed a degree of surgical knowledge from having witnessed dissections, possibly at the Company of Barber-Surgeons.²⁴⁶ Within the spectrum of London's medical market, Culpeper must have cut a prominent figure.

The breadth of his experience could account for why, according to the 'Life', Culpeper was 'put upon' to translate the College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia*.²⁴⁷ I have already suggested that Culpeper worked as a translator for at least one publisher as early as

Samuel Sheppard (*fl.* 1606-55), see Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p. 331.

²⁴⁰ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 361; Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, pp. 40-44.

²⁴¹ Culpeper wrote for 'especially [those] that heard these Lectures (*Semeiotica Uranica, or an Astrological Judgment of Diseases* (1651), A3^r). The Society of Astrologers held annual dinners from 1649 to about 1658.

²⁴² See Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum*, C2^r; *An Ephemeris for 1653*, A3^v. Gell's lectures of 1649 and 1650 were also published entitled *Stella Nova* (1649), and *Aggelokratia Theon, Or a Sermon Touching Gods Government* (1650).

²⁴³ *A&O*, I, 184-87.

²⁴⁴ Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 339, f. 173.

²⁴⁵ This may have been the son of a Thomas Loseby who went down from Welham in Leicestershire to matriculate at Christ's College, Cambridge, in November 1570 (Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, III, 106).

²⁴⁶ *DM* (1651), B3^r, E4^{r-v}.

²⁴⁷ *Life*, C6^r.

1640, and in 1647 Cole then commissioned him to translate the College's *Pharmacopoeia*. Cole must have paid Culpeper in one way or another (a matter discussed below, pp. 118-19). Culpeper, then, gained both notoriety and financial payment through his writings.

His books are also an important source of information on his religious and political beliefs, and the author of an issue of the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* from September 1649 claimed that Culpeper went through various religious sects:

Hee commenced the severall degrees of *Independency*, *Brownisme*, *Anabaptisme*; Admitted himselfe of *John Goodwins Schoole* (of all ungodlinesse) in *Coleman street*. After that he turned *Seeker*, *Manifestarian* and now he is arrived at the Battlement of an absolute *Atheist*.²⁴⁸

This account is supported by his contemporary biographer, who wrote, '[o]f religion he had a greater share than most Physicians use to have; he had so much Zeal as to hate Superstitions, and was no friend to Episcopal Innovations'.²⁴⁹ Culpeper was certainly critical of the Catholic church and associated licensed physicians with papism: '[o]ne holds the *Word of God*, the other *Physick* to be a mystery, and the vulgar must be ignorant in both'.²⁵⁰ In 1649, he wrote:

I am confident there be those in this Nation that have wit enough to know that the *Papists* and the *Colledg of Physitians* will not suffer *Divinity* and *Physick* to be printed in our mother tongue, both upon one and the same grounds, and both colour it over with the same excuses.²⁵¹

Culpeper was most likely a non-conformist who, Elmer suggests, 'seems to have adhered to a simplified form of worship based on liberal lines'.²⁵² John Goodwin (c. 1594-1665) was ejected from his living at St. Stephen's Church in Coleman Street in May 1645 for refusing to administer baptisms indiscriminately in his parish.²⁵³ Following this Goodwin set up an Independent congregation at his own home in Coleman Street, south of Spitalfields and just inside the City wall. Although Culpeper described 'that *MONSTER* called *RELIGION*', which he blamed for the wars and civil disputes which had divided Europe, he was

²⁴⁸ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, (4-11 September 1649), X4^r.

²⁴⁹ Anon., 'The Epitaph', in *Culpeper's School of Physick*, C8^v-c2^r (c1^r). On London's religious sects, see Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

²⁵⁰ *DM* (1651), C3^r. Also see Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick* (1652), A8^v.

²⁵¹ *PD* (1649), A2^v.

²⁵² Peter Elmer, 'Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution', in *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Roger K. French and Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10-45 (pp. 21, 39); McCarl, p. 235.

²⁵³ *DNB*; *DBR*, II, 15-17; Ellen S. Moore, 'Congregationalism and the Social Order: John Goodwin's Gathered Church, 1640-60', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 210-35.

sympathetic to the Independent movement.²⁵⁴ For example, in the 1650 edition of his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, Culpeper attacked the Presbyterian Church: '[i]f it were my scope at present I could fill a dozen sheets of paper full of their Pulpit Lyes and Railings', although he, tellingly, excluded the works of Jeremiah Burroughes and William Bridge, two of Cole's authors, from his attack.²⁵⁵ He also praised the sermons delivered by the Protestant, Hugh Latimer (c. 1485-1555), which not only suggests that he was sympathetic to the movement, but that he had read Latimer's sermon, possibly in the recent edition entitled *Fruitfull Sermons* (1636).²⁵⁶ In 1651, Culpeper commended the 'excellent speech' of Peter Sterry (1613-72), who was appointed preacher to the Council of State in February of the previous year.²⁵⁷ It is possible that this praise reflected his publisher's interests, because in the same year Cole published a pamphlet of Sterry's sermon, *England's Deliverance from the Northern Presbytery* delivered on 5 November 1651, and later published two further books, *The Way of God* (1657) and *The True Way of Uniting* (1660). More probably, though, the two men had shared religious opinions.

Culpeper has been described by both McCarl and Elmer as a sympathiser to the Leveller movement.²⁵⁸ Political sects during this period were often short-lived undisciplined movements, and it is therefore difficult to associate Culpeper with any one party.²⁵⁹ Certainly, though, his attacks on the monopolies exercised by the Church, the College, and the legal profession, and their restrictive use of Latin appears to align him with the Levellers. In 1651, Culpeper wrote that he 'delights in equality' and hoped that the solar eclipse in March 1652 would 'bring a change of Government in *London*'.²⁶⁰ He predicted that at, or before, the beginning of 1655, 'the Government will come into the hands of the People, and everlasting peace shall we enjoy'.²⁶¹ His continual criticism of the College and its adherence to Latin constituted part of a wider political controversy in 1649 over the abhorrence of the Norman Yoke, which, its critics claimed, had enslaved the nation, since William's conquest. I examine this debate in the following chapter, which

²⁵⁴ Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum*, D2^r.

²⁵⁵ *PD* (1650), B1^v-2^r.

²⁵⁶ *PD* (1649), M3^r; *DNB*.

²⁵⁷ *DNB*; *DBR*, III, 206-07.

²⁵⁸ McCarl, p. 235; Elmer, 'Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution', p. 20.

²⁵⁹ See Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 107-50; John Sanderson, 'But the people's creatures': *The Philosophical Basis of the English Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 102-27; Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 392-403.

²⁶⁰ Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum*, C1^v, H1^r.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, K4^v.

places Culpeper's translation in the monumental year of 1649, but in terms of Culpeper's beliefs, his programme to prepare the English reader with 'the whol Modell of Physick', singled out the 'grave, wise and learned Colledge of Physitians as their Pupils and Flatterers are pleased to call them' who hide the 'Rules of Physick' from the population:

Lest as they and the Papists say, you should do you selves a mischief by them, when indeed the truth is their own gain, and credit lies at stake, people would not adore them, and employ them, and spend their whol estates upon them, as now (poor hearts) they are too often forced to do.²⁶²

In 1651, Culpeper gave a number of reasons for publishing in English. The fact that he included such a defence suggests that he had come under attack for his translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. He argued that the works of God were common for all to view and benefit from, indeed it would be a sin to impropriate what God intended for all. Exploiting an analogy with the four Aristotelian elements, Culpeper argued that society also must be in harmony; but how can this be, he asked, if the art of Physick and its benefits are hidden? Because the College was a 'slave' to the 'father of errors', their arguments and physick were 'drawn neither from Reason nor Experience, but old rusty Authors, or at best such as lived in different Climates'.²⁶³ Culpeper was not alone. In 1652, the pseudonymous Delapater Menedemus launched a similar attack on the three monopolies in *Lex Exlex: or the Downfall of the Law and the Gospell*. Culpeper's political ideals obviously influenced the reception of his medical writings and, as I show below, the College was neither willing nor able to counter this popular movement. However, even after twenty years, Culpeper was denounced as a 'foul-mouth'd scribler' by Jonathan Goddard for his attack on the medical hierarchy.²⁶⁴

From the end of 1652, Culpeper suffered from declining health. In November 1652, he wrote of his sickly body, and a year later, he was 'so sickly that I am not fit for any Study, having not strength of Body to Write'.²⁶⁵ His *Ephemeris for 1653* was prepared from his house in Chesham, where he may have been convalescing. Culpeper died on 10 January 1654 at the age of thirty-eight and was buried in the churchyard of New Bethlem.²⁶⁶ In the space of fourteen years, he had established his authority within

²⁶² Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick* (1652), A8^v.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, A8^v-B1^r.

²⁶⁴ Jonathan Goddard, *A Discourse Setting Forth the Unhappy Condition* (1670), p. 26, quoted by Elmer, 'Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution', p. 33.

²⁶⁵ *EP* (Cole, 1652), A2^r; Culpeper, 'To the Reader', in *A New Method of Physick*, A2^{r-v} (A2^v).

²⁶⁶ This should not be confused with the Old Bethlehem Hospital (Bedlam), on the east side of Bishopsgate Street in Bishopsgate Ward Without. Culpeper was likely buried in the yard of the new

London's medical marketplace and that of print-culture. His death presumably created a void, which medical practitioners, authors, and publishers were quick to fill. Many echoed Culpeper's apparent ideology, but also exploited the commercial nature of print, not least through the appropriation of Culpeper's name.

Through the printed medium, Culpeper's name became a valuable commercial commodity that appealed to buyers of medical literature in the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. This literature met a new need. In terms of medical treatment, the Civil War fractured families and individual communities, traditionally the primary source of medical care for an individual. No longer could neighbours and family members be relied upon for advice; consulting a physician was costly and so increasing recourse was made to vernacular medical books for self-diagnosis and treatment. The expansion in this market during the 1650s had as much to do with the political and social milieu of the revolutionary period as it did with developments in medical practice or intermittent lapses in censorship.

hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate (see Jonathan Andrews and others, *The History of Bethlem* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 21-36). The records for this parish are incorporated in *The Register of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate*, ed. by A.W.C. Haller, 3 vols (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1889-95), but there is no entry for Culpeper.

2. Ownership of Knowledge: Publishing and the Book Trade

Till about the year 1649 ... 'twas held a strange
presumption for a Man to attempt an Innovation
in Learning.¹

John Aubrey (1671)

Printing puts Books into every mans hand.

Anon.,
*A Brief Discourse Concerning Printing and
Printers* (1663), p. 22

During the early years of the Civil War, a group of stationers led by Michael Sparke launched an attack on the patents controlled by the Stationers' Company.² Sparke's pamphlet, *Scintilla, or a Light Broken into Darke Warehouses* (1641) distributed throughout the trade during August 1641, united those printers who were not share holders in the English Stock in their hatred of the stationers' monopolistic administration of the trade and their control over profitable titles. This attack was in tune with the country's general aversion to the royalist monopolies granted during the previous hundred years. Along with this assault, the 1640s also brought calls for a press free from Parliamentary control, and during the Civil War control did lapse, but only briefly.³ Although Parliament subsequently moved to curtail this freedom, the trade was unwilling to revert to the strict measures brought in by the Star Chamber Decree of 1637.⁴ Following the Civil War the

¹ Quoted by Juanita G.L. Burnby in *A Study of The English Apothecary From 1660 to 1760*, Medical History Supplement, 3 (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1983), p. 62. See Oliver Lawson Dick, 'The Life and Times of John Aubrey', in *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. by Oliver Lawson Dick, 3rd edn (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949; repr. 1975), pp. xvii-cx (p. xxxviii), quotation from original manuscript.

² See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Croom Helm, 1988; repr. Routledge, 1991), pp. 43-44; Cyprian Blagden, 'The Stationers' Company in the Civil War Period', *The Library*, 5th ser., 13 (1958), 1-17 (p. 8); Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), pp. 131-34.

³ Christopher Hill, *Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1985), pp. 32-71; Feather, *British Publishing*, p. 47.

⁴ Blagden, 'The "Company" of Printers', *Studies in Bibliography*, 13 (1960), 3-17 (p. 5); A.B. Worden, 'Literature and Political Censorship in Early Modern England', in *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. by A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers. 1987), 45-62.

Company lost its position of dominance over the book trade to Parliament. The impact upon the trade of varying degrees of control during the 1650s has led John Feather to conclude, that the ‘bookselling trade was ... at a low ebb in the 1650s, with little to sell and few customers’.⁵ Despite Feather’s pessimistic view of the trade, the genre of vernacular medicine developed into a profitable market during this very decade, as the ability of a few publishers to establish the Culpeper name as a commercial commodity shows.

The year 1649 was significant: Charles I was tried and executed, and Parliament declared England a Commonwealth. At the end of August, Culpeper’s translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* was published and by the end of September, Parliament had introduced another new Printing Act. Culpeper’s attack on the monopoly of the College was unique because the *Pharmacopoeia* was its official receipt book and the main source of professional remedies. Originally intended to standardise, control, and regulate the craft of the apothecaries, as a vernacular text Culpeper’s *Pharmacopoeia* became, in the words of Charles Webster, ‘a medium for the liberalisation of medicine’.⁶ Culpeper’s translation revealed the secrets of the medical profession who had an economic interest in maintaining their secrecy.⁷

Culpeper’s work was a joint response to both the political uncertainty and medical inadequacy in the aftermath of war. Nigel Smith argues ‘that the literature of [the] mid-seventeenth century underwent a series of revolutions in genre and form, and that this transformation was a response to the crises of the 1640s’.⁸ Although Smith does not examine the medical literature of the period, the example of Culpeper’s translation fits directly Smith’s contention that the literature of the revolutionary decades ‘was part of the crisis’. Authors of medical translations and popular medical handbooks argued for the free dissemination of the information they contained; as such this genre of literature is an excellent example of what Smith has termed ‘an information revolution’.⁹

In this chapter, I begin by briefly examining the circle of correspondents that formed around Samuel Hartlib before turning to Culpeper. The Hartlib circle was

⁵ Feather, *British Publishing*, p. 49.

⁶ *GI*, p. 253.

⁷ The cost of seeing a physician in London will have usually been between 6s.6d. to 10s., but the average craftsman was paid approximately 12d. a day and a labourer received just 8d. which meant professional medical care was beyond the reach of all but the wealthy (Doreen Evenden-Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), p. 21).

⁸ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*

motivated by the ideal of freely available knowledge and its successful dissemination to unlearned, but skilled, artisans. During the 1650s, Hartlib financed the publication of a series of books promoting agricultural improvement and, to a lesser degree, freely available medical knowledge. Although Culpeper was never an associate of Hartlib's, their programmes to promote social improvement are comparable. Following this, I explore the activities of the College of Physicians with book trade personnel during the Interregnum. Examination of the Stationers' Register reveals that the Presidents of the College were prepared officially to endorse English translations of scholarly books and new works by non-Collegiate authors, by which, it appears, the College was able to generate revenue.

Previous scholars have neglected the Stationers' Register and the documentary evidence contained in it relating to the publication of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* along with the 'Annals' of the College, which makes it possible to trace the exchange of rights to the copy of the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* and the English version. In the third section, this evidence reveals how a series of astute London publishers, including Peter Cole, exploited the Company's monopoly to gain control over this profitable title.

The publisher Peter Cole is an important example of what Roger Chartier has termed a 'cultural agent', whose publishing strategies transformed the perception of Culpeper's translations. Whereas Cole developed Culpeper's medical bibliography, Nathaniel Brook was the publisher of his astrological books. In the final section of this chapter, the careers of Cole and Brook are contrasted and their attempts to profit from the Culpeper name after the author's death are explored.

Popular Politics, the College of Physicians and the Medical Marketplace

In the 1640s Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600-62) conceived of a state supported 'Office of Address', designed to promote international correspondence and to encourage inventors whose work would uncover and utilise the country's resources.¹⁰ In the following decade, this circle was increasingly motivated by the ideal of freely available knowledge and its successful dissemination to unlearned, but skilled, artisans.¹¹ Hartlib acted in a variety of

¹⁰ For details of the 'Office of Address' see *GI*, pp. 67-77; G.H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1947), pp. 77-87; William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 327-28. The programme was advertised in the following publications: *Considerations Tending to the Happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State* (1647); *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Accomplishment of our Reformation* (1647); *A Further Discourse of the Office of Publicke Adresse* (1648).

¹¹ Mark Greengrass and others, 'Introduction', in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in*

roles in his dealings with his correspondents: he sought and received information, opinions, and details of individuals' activities and writings. He recorded this in his 'Ephemerides' and disseminated it to others through the media of print and manuscript.¹²

With the establishment of the Long Parliament in 1641, Hartlib felt the time was ripe to make use of the wider realm of influence and propagation afforded by print culture.¹³ He now sought to influence and educate unknown beneficiaries using the opportunities offered by the printing press over manuscript dissemination.¹⁴ The ability of print to disseminate information widely and simultaneously was vital to his designs for educational renovation and Protestant reunion. Like the Parisian Bureau d'Adresse of Théophraste Renaudot, Hartlib's 'Office' called for the establishment of a printing press devoted to the propagation of knowledge into the public realm.¹⁵ The importance of the press to the Hartlib group is clear in Gabriel Plattes's *Macaria* of 1641:

For the Art of printing will so spread knowledge, that the common people, knowing their own rights and liberties, will not be governed by way of oppression.¹⁶

This call is echoed in Hartlib and John Dury's plans for the establishment of 'An Agency for the Advancement of Universal Learning', published in 1649:

A peculiar Presse for Printing of things to be destributed and communicated to the Schools and Universities, or universally to the chiefe learned men of the Land, to possesse them with those things which may season their spirits with thoughts of a Public concernment.¹⁷

In the 1640s Hartlib's publications typically addressed the political needs to achieve the utopia described by Plattes in his *Macaria*.¹⁸ By the end of the decade his attempts to

Intellectual Communication, ed. by Mark Greengrass and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-25; Barbara Beigun Kaplan, "Divulging of Useful Truths in Physick": *The Medical Agenda of Robert Boyle* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 16-24.

¹² Turnbull, 'Samuel Hartlib's Influence on the Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 10 (1953), 101-30 (pp. 111-24).

¹³ Although Hartlib was active in the circulation of manuscripts during the 1630s it was only towards the end of the decade that he published in print. His first publication was John Comenius' *Conatuum Comenianorum Praeludia* (1637), which was published from a rough draft and, it would seem, without the author's permission (Turnbull, *Hartlib*, p. 35).

¹⁴ Kevin Dunn, 'Milton Among the Monopolists: *Areopagitica*, Intellectual Property and the Hartlib Circle', in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*, ed. by Greengrass and others, 177-92.

¹⁵ Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, pp. 323-41. According to a printed broadsheet, *The Office of Publick Advice* (1657), 'the undertakers will weekly put forth and publish a Book of intelligence in Print' (HP 57/3/2A-B).

¹⁶ Gabriel Plattes, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), C1^{r-v}.

¹⁷ John Dury, *A Seasonable Discourse* (1649), D4^v.

¹⁸ Plattes' *Macaria* was published by Hartlib in 1641 to coincide with the opening of the Long Parliament. It offered a comprehensive state sponsored program of economic planing and improvement, and was novel in its call for the free dissemination of scientific information. See Webster, 'Macaria: Samuel

achieve Parliamentary patronage had all but failed, and this led to a shift of focus for his publishing ventures. Both *London's Charitie* (1649) and *Londons Charity Inlarged* (1650) offered programmes for poor relief and marked the involvement of the circle in philanthropic activities. Hartlib's proposals from this period stressed the importance of science and technology and argued against secrecy that kept the population in ignorance. Charles Webster writes of the Puritan ideal that motivated Hartlib and his group 'to exploit the natural environment for the health and wealth of mankind', which was 'sustained by an enduring expectation of intellectual and social progress'.¹⁹ As Kevin Dunn says, Hartlib's circle 'espoused free trade, an uncensored flow of ideas and the disinterested performance of public works' through his Office of Address.²⁰ Dunn further remarks:

By refusing the conflation of public and private in the monopolizing corporation and by positing instead a system of private acts that benefit the larger public, the Hartlibians grant[ed] information a value as a commodity, publicly open yet privately owned.²¹

Concerns with education and religious reform were to be supplanted by social concerns for technological and agricultural policies which would improve the conditions of the majority of the population.²² In the 1650s, following the confusions of war, there was an increase in the number of scientific treatises, poetry and drama published, and a move away from the controversial aspects of political and religious life. As Thomas Corns has shown, over seventy per cent of this literature collected by George Thomason was published in the 1650s.²³ In this context, Hartlib's attempts to relieve the population through the promotion of husbandry knowledge and self-improvement resulted in the publication of a series of agricultural manuals.²⁴ *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie* (1651) was his largest venture into print culture.²⁵ It passed through three editions in the first five years of the 1650s, and was reissued at the end of the decade. Hartlib followed a similar procedure to that of Peter

Hartlib and the Great Reformation', *Acta Comeniana*, 26 (1970), 147-64; Webster, 'The Authorship and Significance of *Macaria*', *Past and Present*, 56 (1972), 34-49. For a facsimile copy of *Macaria*, see Webster, *Utopian Planning and Puritan Revolution*, Research Publications, 11 (Oxford: Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, 1979).

¹⁹ *GI*, pp. 506-07.

²⁰ Dunn, 'Milton Among the Monopolists', p. 178.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²² Timothy Raylor, 'Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees', in *Culture and Cultivation*, ed. by Leslie and Raylor, 91-129 (p. 91-94).

²³ Thomas N. Corns, 'Publication and Politics, 1640-1641: An SPSS-based Account of the Thomason Collection and Civil War Tracts', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 1 (1986), 74-84 (pp. 76 and 82).

²⁴ Andrew McRae, 'Husbandry Manuals and the Language of Agrarian Improvement', in *Culture and Cultivation*, ed. by Leslie and Raylor, 35-62.

²⁵ On the publishing history of Hartlib's *Legacie* see Jonathan Sanderson, 'Samuel Hartlib: Promoter, Propagandist and Publicist' (MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 1994).

Cole, who, as I show below, made explicit use of the preliminaries and the text of his Culpeper titles to advertise his books. In his 'Address to the Reader' printed in the first edition of the *Legacie*, Hartlib announced the forthcoming second edition of Richard Weston's *Discours of Husbandrie*, first published in 1650.²⁶ Following this, the introduction to Weston's *Discours* is printed to again advertise the new edition.²⁷ Hartlib was attempting to use his books on husbandry to create an open forum for communication through which the reader could enter a privileged and on-going debate concerning husbandry improvement. These publications attempted to create a social identity with which readers could sympathise and relate. Cole and Culpeper attempted to create a similar ethos by publishing a series of complementary medical texts targeted at the political and social sympathies of their audience and catering for their medical needs.

Hartlib's *Legacie* consisted of 'A Large Letter Concerning the Defects and Remedies of English Husbandry', written by Robert Child (c. 1613-54), which introduced the methods of husbandry and procedures for its improvement.²⁸ It served as a basis for Hartlib's project and prompted others to experiment and develop new ideas that were included in later editions. As we shall see, Culpeper's translations of the College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia* and *The English Physitian* passed through a number of editions in relatively few years. Each edition included material additional to the previous one. In contrast to the development of Hartlib's *Legacie*, which was driven by ideals, in Culpeper's books this expansion was primarily commercially motivated.

Although Hartlib and Culpeper do not appear to have been associates, their ideological programmes in the 1650s to promote public welfare were complementary, and a response to the unique and uncertain political situation. Events during the twelve months before the publication of Culpeper's translation were unprecedented.²⁹ The execution of Charles I at the end of January 1649 was followed in March by the abolition of the monarchy in an Act intended to free the population from regal control, and in May England was declared a Commonwealth.³⁰ That year England also suffered a bad harvest and

²⁶ Samuel Hartlib, 'To the Reader', in Robert Child and others, *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie* (1651), A2^{r-v} (A2^r).

²⁷ Richard Weston, [Introduction], in *Legacie*, A3^r-4^r.

²⁸ Robert Child, 'A Large Letter', in *Legacie*, B1^r-P2^v. The letter is signed with two parallel lines about four centimetres in length and five millimetres apart. Although Cressy Dymock frequently used this mark, Child was identified as the author in the third edition in 1655. On Child see Turnbull, 'Robert Child', *Colonial Society Massachusetts Publications*, 38 (1947), 21-53.

²⁹ See Brain Manning, *1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution* (London: Bookmarks, 1992); Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).

³⁰ *A&O*, II, 18-20, 122.

consequently the population was enduring high food prices, unemployment, famine and dearth.³¹ One solution to the poverty problem was the promotion of agricultural improvement spearheaded by Hartlib and described above.³² In the second edition of his *Legacie* (1652), he attacked the feudal system of tenure that restricted agricultural development, and hoped that the new Commonwealth would remove these ‘badges of our Norman slavery’.³³ The belief was that William the Conqueror had seized the wastelands of England from its people, and this formed part of what was known as the Norman Yoke. A brief outline of the Yoke, given by Hill, runs as follows:

Before 1066 the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of this country lived as free and equal citizens, governing themselves through representative institutions. The Norman Conquest deprived them of this liberty, and established the tyranny of an alien King and landlords. But the people did not forget the rights they had lost. They fought continuously to recover them, with varying success.³⁴

This was the myth.³⁵ The fact that Common Law was tied up in the French and Latin languages itself became a symbol of Norman oppression for seventeenth-century political radicals.³⁶ The Bible had already been translated into English, and in the 1640s politically radical groups fought to liberate the laws governing ‘the meanest English Commoner’.³⁷ In April 1649 the Leveller Gerrard Winstanley wrote that the ‘Norman bastard William himself, his colonels, captains, inferior officers and common soldiers ... still are from that time to this day in pursuit of that victory, imprisoning, robbing and killing the poor enslaved English Israelites’.³⁸ In *Tyrannipocrit Discovered* (1649), its anonymous author told how the ‘Norman Bastard did subject England to tyranny, and now Englishmen have freed themselves again’.³⁹ Hopes for change were due to the Act of March 1649, which

³¹ Manning, *1649*, pp. 79-89

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 97-102.

³³ Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie*, 2nd edn (1652), p. 45, quoted by Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), p. 83.

³⁴ Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution*, p. 57.

³⁵ Hill, *Liberty Against the Law: Some Seventeenth-Century Controversies* (London: Allen Lane, 1996), p. 85.

³⁶ Manning, *1649*, pp. 30-34. According to John Lilburne, William the Conqueror had the laws written in English, so that ‘the poor miserable people might be gulled and cheated, undone and destroyed’ (*Regall Tyrannie Discovered* (1647), quoted by Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution*, p. 80).

³⁷ *An Appeal for the Degenerate Representative Body of the Commons* (1647), quoted by Hill, *Liberty Against the Law*, p. 249. The Levellers welcomed the printing press and increased literacy for popular independence (see Keith Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 97-131 (p. 118)).

³⁸ Gerrard Winstanley, *The True Levellers Standard Advanced* (1649), quoted by Hill, *Liberty Against the Law*, p. 83. Part of the myth surrounding the Norman Yoke elaborated by Winstanley was the belief that William had taken away waste land from the people which the radical Diggers fought to seize during 1648-49 (see Manning, *1649*, pp. 111-16).

³⁹ *Tyrannipocrit Discovered* (1649), quoted by Hill, *Liberty Against the Law*, p. 83.

Winstanley believed, ‘breaks in pieces the kingly yoke and the laws of the Conqueror, and gives a common freedom to every Englishman to have a comfortable livelihood in their own hand, or else it cannot be a commonwealth’.⁴⁰ In August 1649, Culpeper criticised the College of Physicians, along with the Roman Church, and the legal profession for their restrictive use of Latin in his translation of the College’s *Pharmacopoeia*. He argued that the Norman Conquest had tied medical practice to the language of the elite, which the College had endorsed as the appropriate language of medical discourses. In his preface to *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652), he wrote:

Time was when all Physitians wrote in their Mother Tongues, time was when they thought it their Glory to construct others in matters belonging to their own health, time was when Physitians knew they were not born for themselves alone, time was when he would have been accounted a Monster ... and unfit to live in a Commonwealth, that should but have attempted such a thing to hide the Rules of Physick from the vulgar in an unknown Tongue.⁴¹

In the 1650s reformers followed Culpeper’s initiative and argued for open medical practice and the introduction of the new chemical remedies. Webster has identified two groups which during the revolutionary period in particular attacked the rights of the College. Firstly there were social reformers, such as Richard Overton, Samuel Hartlib, William Petty, Henry Robinson, John Cook, Peter Chamberlen;⁴² secondly, rival medical organisations, such as members of the Surgeons and Apothecaries’ Companies.⁴³ These socio-medical reformers formed part of a larger concern to reform the welfare of the population. The College and its Fellows were often the target of attack because of their monopoly over the practice of medicine in London.⁴⁴ During the 1650s, unlicensed practitioners made moves to establish a society to protect their interest. This movement emerged from a circle of physicians associated with Hartlib and especially William Rand (1617-63), who established his medical practice at White Cross Street, Cripplegate, in London.⁴⁵ The growth in the number of medical practitioners in London, particularly of educated physicians, restricted from entering the College due to the limits placed on the number of Fellows, led to dissatisfaction with the organisation of medical practice in

⁴⁰ Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom* (1652), quoted by Hill, *Liberty Against the Law*, pp. 278-79.

⁴¹ Culpeper, *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652), A4^v.

⁴² *GI*, p. 259.

⁴³ Webster, ‘The College of Physicians: “Solomon’s House” in Commonwealth England’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 41 (1967), 393-412 (p. 395).

⁴⁴ *GI*, pp. 250-64.

⁴⁵ For further details see Webster, ‘English Medical Reformers of the Puritan Revolution: A Background to the “Society of Chymical Physicians”’, *Ambix*, 14 (1967), 16-41 (pp. 35-39); *GI*, pp. 300-08.

London. Unlicensed but academic physicians sought a legal right to work in the capital and produced a plan for a College of Graduate Physicians, designed to protect physicians unable to secure membership of the London College.⁴⁶

In the 1650s the College of Physicians' response to this intimidation was minimal, because, as I show below, it had little power and the general momentum was towards change. In 1655, Hartlib published a collection of medical and chemical writings entitled *Chymical, Medicinal, and Chyrurgical Addresses*, which is of interest to historians of science because it includes the first published essay by Robert Boyle (1627-91).⁴⁷ 'An Invitation to a free and generous Communication of Secrets and Receits in Physick' was signed 'Philaretus', the name Boyle used in public to describe himself in his autobiography of his early life.⁴⁸ In it Boyle attacked the concealment of medical receipts from the public and argued that physicians ought to place their patients' health over financial gain.⁴⁹

Michael Hunter has examined this early essay in terms of the religious imperative that Boyle placed on the free communication of scientific knowledge, in this case medical secrets, and in his later medical writings of the 1670s and 1680s.⁵⁰ Although published in 1655, Boyle had worked on this essay from May 1647 and it was certainly complete by 1649, the same year that Culpeper revealed the College's medical secrets.⁵¹ Both Culpeper and Boyle argued for the free dissemination of medical knowledge for the benefit of the

⁴⁶ *GI*, p. 300.

⁴⁷ [Robert Boyle], 'An Invitation to a free and generous Communication of Secrets and Receits in Physick' in *Chymical, Medicinal, and Chyrurgical Addresses*, ed. by Hartlib (1655), H8^r-K1^v. Other essays included in the volume are 'A Short and Easie Method of Surgery' (K2^r-5^r), which was a translation out of Dutch by William Rand, and 'Necessary Considerations for all Learned and Experienced Men who Deal in Chyrurgery' (K6^r-L8^r). The latter described the benefits of five medicines that could 'be bought of *Remeus Franck*, who is to be found at Mr *Hartlib's* house, neer Charing-cross, over against the Angel-Court', and that varied in price from an English crown for a balsam to six shillings for the 'Philosopher's Water' (L7^v).

⁴⁸ Mary Rowbottom, 'The Earliest Published Writing of Robert Boyle', *Annals of Science*, 6 (1950), 376-89 (p. 378); R.E.W. Maddison, 'The Earliest Published Writing of Robert Boyle', *Annals of Science*, 17 (1961), 165-73; John F. Fulton, *A Bibliography of the Honourable Robert Boyle Fellow of the Royal Society*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 1-2; Michael Hunter, 'Boyle's *Account of Philaretus* in Context', in *Robert Boyle by Himself and his Friends with a Fragment of William Wolton's Lost Life of Boyle*, ed. by Hunter (London: William Pickering, 1994), pp. xv-xxi. The text of Boyle's *Account of Philaretus during his Minority*, written when he was in his twenties and first published by Birch in 1744, is reproduced in Hunter's edition, pp. 1-22.

⁴⁹ Eamon, *Science and Secrets of Nature*, p. 330.

⁵⁰ See Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist: Robert Boyle and the 'Communication of Secrets and Receits in Physick'', in *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 247-72; Eamon, 'From the Secrets of Nature to Public Knowledge', in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. by David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990; repr. 1994), 333-65.

⁵¹ Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist', p. 266. Boyle referred to the essay in May 1647 in a letter written to Hartlib that month (Kaplan, *The Medical Agenda of Robert Boyle*, pp. 16, 24, 179 n. 19).

populace. Boyle's reasoning was based on a religious morality. As Hunter writes:

The dissemination of useful medical recipes was ... presented as an act of charity, the special significance of which as a religious virtue was often stressed in the context of the increasing emphasis on practical morality which typified religious attitudes of the day.⁵²

Boyle was motivated by a philanthropic ideal informed by his religious beliefs, and 'implicit in his decision to publish a collection of recipes was a sense that medicine should be more accessible than was currently the case, and that the poor, in particular, would be the beneficiaries of this'.⁵³ Of course, as we have already seen, there was an established tradition of vernacular medical literature. However, Boyle's essay title made explicit that this information could only be beneficial if it could be communicated to the population who required it most. Boyle's use of the word 'communication' appears to acknowledge the importance of the printing press in the transmission of information. The *OED* describes 'communication' as 'the imparting, conveying, or exchange of ideas, knowledge, information, etc. (whether by speech, writing, or signs)', but Boyle's usage predates the first example cited from John Locke in 1695.⁵⁴

Hunter has examined both Boyle's published and manuscript writings and acknowledges the similarity between Boyle and Culpeper's motives for arguing for the free communication of medical secrets.⁵⁵ Boyle was motivated by a sense of 'charity to the poor & sick'.⁵⁶ According to Shapin:

Boyle condemned 'the avarice' of those 'secretists' who secured profit through the practice of intellectual privacy. Both Christian charity and civic virtue demanded that useful knowledge circulate in the public domain, for the public benefit.⁵⁷

Similar philanthropic motivations can be seen in the work of Culpeper and that of the Hartlib circle in promoting agricultural and husbandry improvement during the 1650s.⁵⁸ In this decade, the popular movement from 'secrets of nature' towards public knowledge had

⁵² Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist', pp. 247-48.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵⁴ *OED*, III, (example from Locke's *On Human Understanding* (1695)).

⁵⁵ Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist', p. 257.

⁵⁶ Royal Society of London, MS 186, ff. 119-20, quoted by Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist', p. 257.

⁵⁷ Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 175.

⁵⁸ Hunter also identifies the plans for the Durham county medical scheme of 1655 as being informed by similar motives (Hunter, 'The Reluctant Philanthropist', p. 257; David Harley, 'Pious Physic for the Poor: the Lost Durham County Medical Scheme of 1655', *Medical History*, 37 (1993), 148-66). In the Hartlib papers there exist copy extracts made on Dr. Tunstall's free medical service in Durham (HP 53/12/1A-2B).

religious, political and institutional dimensions.⁵⁹ But this motive was not as dominant as William Eamon suggests in his *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (1994). Associates of Hartlib, such as George Starkey, attempted to restrict the availability of their ‘secrets’ to a limited forum that they could control.⁶⁰ Other projects, such as that of the Invisible College established by Boyle and Benjamin Worsley, were attempts to ensure that such ‘secrets’ were only available to a group of like-minded individuals.⁶¹ In his own alchemical writings, Boyle attempted to shield his ‘secrets’ behind a veil of codes and ciphers. Principe has shown how Boyle ‘employed many techniques of concealment ... in his private and public writings throughout his mature career’.⁶² Although Boyle argued for the free dissemination of knowledge, alchemy was an exception. Firstly, such knowledge was believed to have been divinely revealed, and secondly, procedures misunderstood by an ignorant practitioner could have detrimental consequences. That is, ‘Boyle’s commitment towards communication of knowledge was not uniform’.⁶³ John Harwood has examined the writing strategies employed by Boyle to create his own ‘literary identity’, and suggest that ‘as early as the 1660s Boyle understood that he could use print culture to shape his career’: that is, ‘print rapidly made him a public figure’.⁶⁴ However, Boyle was following the example of earlier writers, most notably Culpeper, who established the printed medium as a vehicle for self-promotion, whilst at the same time making altruistic claims for the free availability of pragmatic knowledge. In contrast to this appeal for the democracy of knowledge is the very medium of its dissemination. The printed book was a commercial product, produced and sold through a trade overseen by the Company of Stationers. Personnel worked within a monopoly which attempted to control all aspects of publication both through legislative measures and the Company’s Register.

⁵⁹ L.M. Principe, ‘Robert Boyle’s Alchemical Secrecy: Codes, Ciphers and Concealments’, *Ambix*, 39 (1992), 63-74 (p. 70).

⁶⁰ Starkey’s alchemical writings were published under the name ‘Eirenaeus Philalethes’. In *The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees* (1655), Starkey promoted interest in his ideas whilst at the same time exercising his rights to the profit from his ‘secrets’. On Starkey see William R. Newman, ‘Prophecy and Alchemy: The Origin of Eirenaeus Philalethes’, *Ambix*, 37 (1990), 97-115; Ronald S. Wilkinson, ‘Some Bibliographical Puzzles Concerning George Starkey’, *Ambix*, 20 (1973), 235-44; Newman, ‘George Starkey and the Selling of Secrets’, in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*, ed. by Greengrass and others, 193-210.

⁶¹ For Worsley’s 1646 plans to promote a scheme for profitable manufacture of saltpeter see Kaplan, *The Medical Agenda of Robert Boyle*, p. 15.

⁶² Principe, ‘Robert Boyle’s Alchemical Secrecy’, p. 64; Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, pp. 341-42.

⁶³ Principe, ‘Robert Boyle’s Alchemical Secrecy’, p. 63.

⁶⁴ John T. Harwood, ‘Science Writing and Writing Science: Boyle and Rhetorical Theory’, in *Robert Boyle Reconsidered*, ed. by Michael Hunter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 37-56 (p. 39).

The College of Physicians and The Stationers' Register

During the seventeenth century, ownership of a text was the right of its publisher, rather than of its author. The Charter of the Stationers' Company in 1557 required each new book, or 'copy', to be registered at Stationers' Hall in the Company's Register.⁶⁵ Although its official purpose was as an instrument to control seditious publication, members soon realised that the value of the system lay in establishing ownership of a literary property and the right to profit from its publication. According to John Feather, by the 1640s the concept of 'copy' 'was one of the cornerstones of the trade'.⁶⁶ Alexandra Halasz suggests that 'copy' worked as a legal fiction that established ownership. It was, then, 'an abstract form of a text, consisting in the right to reproduce the text (or to sell it to someone else for reproduction)', and, as such, was 'a form of capital'.⁶⁷ A publisher therefore had to register a title in order to protect his rights to the copy and publish legally.

In this section, I examine the involvement of the College as a licensing body during the Commonwealth. The President and Censors of the College travelled to Stationers' Hall on a number of occasions to witness the entry of a variety of medical theory books, both Latin and English titles. Despite never receiving official endorsement or being mentioned in the College's 'Annals', a number of stationers emerged as 'semi-official' publishers to the College. Historians view the College as a lofty institution which avoided interaction with the commercial marketplace of the City during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. For example, Margaret Pelling writes, that 'the College appears in the early seventeenth century as a homosocial, gerontocratic institution, trying hard to distance itself from women, young men, clergymen, priests, and craftsmen alike'.⁶⁸ However, events

⁶⁵ See Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London: Mansell, 1994).

⁶⁶ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, p. 35.

⁶⁷ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 24.

⁶⁸ Margaret Pelling, 'The Women of the Family? Speculations Around Early Modern British Physicians', *Social History of Medicine*, 8 (1995), 383-401 (p. 388). In a further essay, Pelling writes: '[t]he separateness of the seventeenth-century London College of Physicians from what we can justifiably call the male political culture of London is very striking. Although dependent upon the authority of the Court at Westminster, the College was based not in the west but in the City of London, within the City walls; it was however very poorly integrated into the male world of citizenship and guild organisations which provided sources of definition alternative to those of the court' ('Compromised by Gender: the Role of the Male Medical Practitioner in Early Modern England', in *The Task of Healing: Medicine, Religion and Gender in England and the Netherlands, 1450-1800*, ed. by Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling, (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 1996), 101-33 (p. 103)).

recorded in the Stationers' Register suggest that certain Fellows worked with the book trade, and may have raised capital for the College by licensing medical books to a select few publishers.

The possession of a licence for publication was a theoretical prerequisite for entry in the Register. Before the 1643 Printing Act, medical books had to be licensed by the Bishop of London, but after the June Act the College's President and Censors were granted authority to license.⁶⁹ A stationer now required the permission of the College to register and publish such books. Historians have assumed the Fellows' attachment to the Latin language for both printed and oral medical discourses during the 1650s. However, examination of the Stationers' Register shows that it was not this simple. The College was empowered to license medical books from June 1643 and, from the evidence of the College's activity recorded in the Stationers' Register, it did so from 1646 to 1659. It is most active from 1649 to 1654 when nineteen out of twenty-two entries were made, and it is this level of involvement that modifies the generally assumed feebleness of the College during this period.⁷⁰

An apparent example of its feebleness is provided by the works of William Harvey and Francis Glisson, both College Fellows, which were published in Latin with the College's licence, but were shortly followed by English translations. Historians have assumed that the College was unwilling and powerless to prevent the appearance of English translations of its Fellows' books and of other vernacular medical books. Normally stationers, booksellers, or printers went to Stationers' Hall to enter or assign copies under the authority of the Company's officials. However, entries in the Register during the Commonwealth reveal that the President and Censors of the College made over twenty trips to Stationers' Hall to register as many medical books, of which half were either original English texts or translations of Latin works.

⁶⁹ *A&O*, I, 184-87. On licences see N. Frederick Nash, 'English Licenses to Print and Grants of Copyright in the 1640s', *The Library*, 6th ser., 4 (1982), 174-84.

⁷⁰ More work needs to be done to confirm the role of the College in the medical book trade. It will be necessary to know how many medical books were registered with the Stationers' Company without the College's licence and how many books of medicine were unregistered to fully assess the College's effectiveness as the licenser of medical books during this brief interim period. Maureen Bell's work on *STC* titles has shown that over half of all titles published prior to 1640 were registered with the Company ('Entrance in the Stationers' Register', *The Library*, 6th ser., 16 (1994), 50-54).

Table 2.1: Entries made 'under the hands of' College Officials in the Stationers' Register

Date	Author/Publisher	Title	Lang.	Pub.	'under the hands of'
<u>Civil Wars, Oct 1642 – May 1649</u>					
5 Jul 1641		<u>Star Chamber Abolished</u>			
26 Aug 1642		<u>Orders on Printing</u>			
14 Jun 1643		<u>Act for Regulating Printing</u>			
13 May 1646	Rivière/Flesher	<i>Observationes Medicae</i>	Lat.	1646	Clarke
12 Jan 1648	Cooke/Cartwright	<i>Mellificum Chirurgiae</i>	Eng.	1648	Clarke and Censors
Sep 1647		<u>Act for Regulating Printing</u>			
Jan 1649		<u>Army to enforce Printing Ordinances</u>			
10 Mar 1649	Spegilius/Clarke	<i>A Descriptions of the Vessells in the Body</i>	Eng.	1649	Clarke and two Censors
<u>Commonwealth, May 1649 – Dec 1653</u>					
20 Sep 1649		<u>Printing Act</u>			
12 Oct 1649	Pemell/Stephens	<i>De Morbis Capitis</i>	Eng.	1650	Bate
28 Nov 1649	College/Bowtell	<i>Pharmacopoeia</i>	Lat.		Clarke and Censors
12 Dec 1649	College/Bowtell	<i>London Dispensatory</i>	Eng.	1653	Clarke
22 May 1650	How/Pulleyn	<i>Philologia Britannica</i>	Lat.	1650	Clarke and Censors
14 Jun 1650	Glisson/Dugard	<i>De Rachitide</i>	Lat./Eng.	1650	Clarke and Censors
30 Jul 1650	Pemell/Stephens	<i>Medicamen Miseris</i>	Eng.	1650	Ent
20 Mar 1651	Harvey/Pulleyn	<i>Excitationes de Generatione Animalium</i>	Lat./Eng.	1651 (L.) 1653 (E.)	Prujean and Smith
27 Jun 1651	Harvey/Pulleyn	<i>Generation of Animals</i>	Eng.	1653	Prujean and Smith
2 Aug 1651	Highmore/Martin and Young	<i>The History of Generation</i>	Eng.	1651	Ent
9 Oct 1651	Johnson/Nealand	<i>Lexicon Chymicum</i>	Lat./Eng.	1652-53	Prujean
19 May 1652	Pemell/Stephens	<i>Tractatus de Simplicium</i>	Eng.	1652	Ent
20 Nov 1652	Heyden/Pulleyn	<i>Synopsis Discursum</i>	Lat.	1653	Ent
6 Dec 1652	Bartholin/Stephens	<i>De Lacteis Thoracicis</i>	Lat.	1652 (L.) 1653 (E.)	Prujean
7 Jan 1653		<u>Printing Act</u>			
23 Feb 1653	Heyden/Pulleyn	<i>Speedy Help for Rich and Poor</i>	Eng.	1652	Ent
6 Jun 1653	Johnson/Matthewes	<i>Lexicon Chymicum – Bk 2</i>	Lat.	1652-53	Prujean
1 Aug 1653	Pemell/Stephens	<i>Tractatus de Facultatibus and De Morbis Puerorum</i>	Eng.	1653	Ent
26 Nov 1653	Rivière/Flesher	<i>Praxis Medica</i>	Lat.	?	Prujean
<u>Protectorate, Dec 1653 – May 1659</u>					
17 Apr 1654	Bennett/Newcombe	<i>Theatri Tabidorum Vestibulum</i>	Lat.	1654	Prujean, Smith and Emily
28 Aug 1655		<u>Cromwell's Orders on the Press</u>			
28 Sep 1659	Bartholinus/Robinson	<i>Institutiones of Anatomy</i>	Eng.	?	Ent

John Clarke (1582-1653) served as President to the College from 1645 to 1650, and made seven trips to Stationers' Hall between 1646 and 1650. He had been educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and was admitted a Fellow of the London College in November 1622, and served it as Censor (1639-44), Consiliarius (1642-44 and 1650-52), and Treasurer (1643-44).⁷¹ On his first trip to Stationers' Hall, on 13 May 1646, Lazare Rivière's *Observationes Medicae* (1646) was entered to Miles Flesher 'under the hands' of Clarke.⁷² Over eighteen months later, on 12 January 1648, Clarke returned with the four censors of the College, when Samuel Cartwright registered James Cooke's *Mellificum Chirurgiae: Or The Marrow of Many Good Authors* (1648), which he published in the vernacular.⁷³ On 10 March 1649 Clarke and two of the censors were present when the publisher, another John Clarke, entered *A Description of the Vessells in the Body of Man* translated out of the anatomy of Adrian van den Spegilius.⁷⁴ This was published in the 1649 English edition of Ambrose Paré's *Workes* (1649) translated by Thomas Johnson, printed by Richard Cotes and William Dugard and sold by Clarke. On 28 November 1649, and two weeks later on 12 December, Clarke and the Censors were present when Stephen Bowtell gained the right, first to the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia*, and on the second occasion to an English version of the text.⁷⁵ I examine this episode below, but it is important to note that Clarke was prepared to oversee the entry of both a Latin *and* English version of the *Pharmacopoeia* in the Stationers' Register. On 22 May 1650, Clarke and the four Censors were again at Stationers' Hall when William How's (1620-56) *Pytologia Britannica* (1650) was entered to Octavian Pulleyn, for whom it was printed by Richard Cotes with the College's imprimatur.⁷⁶ How had had access to Thomas Johnson's manuscripts and compiled the first hand-list of British plants in an alphabetical herbal that included their locations and name, but no direct medical application.

Clarke's final trip to Stationers' Hall was again with the four Censors on 14 June 1650 when Francis Glisson's *De Rachitide* (1650) was entered to William Dugard.⁷⁷ Not only was the Latin title registered, but also the rights to an English translation. The College then was moving towards registering both Latin *and* English titles. Clarke had established

⁷¹ *Roll*, I, 180-81; and *DNB*.

⁷² *SR 1640-1708*, I, 229.

⁷³ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 284.

⁷⁴ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 313. John Clarke was also the retail outlet for the second edition of Alexander Read's *Workes* (1650), published by Richard Thrale.

⁷⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 331, 333.

⁷⁶ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 343.

⁷⁷ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 345.

this pattern during his presidency and it continued with Francis Prujean, who succeeded Clarke as President in 1650 and led it through the following five trouble years.⁷⁸

Like Clarke, Prujean was also present at Stationers' Hall on seven occasions during the period from 1650 to 1654. On 20 March 1651, Prujean and Edmund Smith, one of the censors of the College, were present when Pulleyn registered William Harvey's *Execitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651).⁷⁹ Harvey completed the work between 1647 and 1648, and Sir George Ent collected the manuscript from his friend around December 1648.⁸⁰ Importantly, they registered this title in 'Latine and English', a tacit admission on the part of the College's officials that medical knowledge could no longer be restricted to Latin. This is clear from the fact that three months later, on 27 June 1651, Pulleyn, Prujean and Smith all returned to Stationers' Hall to register '*of the Generation of Animalls, translated out of the Latine*'.⁸¹ In 1651, Pulleyn published the Latin edition, which William Dugard printed as a quarto. Another edition appeared, also in 1651, bearing only Pulleyn's name in its imprint, only this time printed as a duodecimo. An English translation did not appear until 1653 when *Anatomical Exercitations, Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures* (1653) was printed by James Young.⁸²

On 9 October 1651, Prujean was present when the Latin book *Lexicon Chymicum* (1652-53), written by the College's recently appointed chemist William Johnson, was registered by William Nealand.⁸³ Again, Latin and an English version of the text were included in the entry. In December 1652, Thomas Bartholin's Latin *De Lacteis Thoracicis* (1652) was registered to Pulleyn 'under the hands' of Prujean.⁸⁴ Following his publication of a duodecimo Latin edition of Bartholin's *De Lacteis Thoracicis* in 1652 Pulleyn obviously felt it commercially viable to publish an English translation the following year, entitled *The Anatomical History of Thomas Bartholinus* (1653). This book was also published in a duodecimo format and included the same series of illustrations as the Latin edition from the previous year.

The second part of William Johnson's *Lexion Chymicum* was registered to August

⁷⁸ *Roll*, I, 185

⁷⁹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 363; Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Dr William Harvey 1578-1657*, rev. by Gweneth Whitteridge and Christine English, 3rd edn (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1989), entry no. 34. On Smith, see *Roll*, I, 205.

⁸⁰ Keynes, *Bibliography of William Harvey*, pp. 10, 82-87.

⁸¹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 372.

⁸² Keynes, *Bibliography of William Harvey*, entry no. 43.

⁸³ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 380.

⁸⁴ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 406.

Matthewes on 6 June 1653, in Prujean's presence.⁸⁵ Prujean was again at Stationers' Hall later that year on 26 November when *Lazari Riveri praxis medica* was entered to James Flesher.⁸⁶ It has not been possible to identify this title but it would appear to have been a Latin book on medical theory written by Lazare Rivière. Prujean's last trip to Stationers' Hall was on 17 April 1654 when he was accompanied by Edmund Smith and Edward Emily to register Christopher Bennett's *Theatri Tabidorum Vestibulum* (1654) to Thomas Newcombe, who printed the book for Samuel Thomson.⁸⁷ Bennett dedicated his Latin book to Prujean.⁸⁸

The name of one particular Fellow of the College appears seven times in the Stationers' Register once more than both Presidents Clarke and Prujean. George Ent served as one of the four Censors to the College during the late 1640s and 1650s. In 1655 he was elected Registrar, and in 1670 became the President of the College.⁸⁹ Ent acted as the College's major contact with William Harvey and was responsible for the preparation of Harvey's *Excitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651) for the press.⁹⁰ He had been a member of what is now known as the 1645 Group that meet at the rooms of Jonathan Goddard in Wood Street and at Gresham College, and was one of the founding members of the Royal Society.⁹¹ This contact with social and intellectual reformers outside the College may account for the fact that of the eight books registered under Ent's hand only one was a Latin text.

Ent appears to have formed a working relationship with the booksellers Philemon Stephens and Octavian Pulleyn. Pulleyn's name appears more frequently in conjunction with the College in the Stationer's Register than any other bookseller's during the 1650s. He was the son of a London Merchant Taylor and, once freed by the Company on 14 December 1629, worked as a bookseller until the late 1660s.⁹² He was admitted to the livery of the Company on 2 July 1636, and from 1639 till 1643 worked in partnership with

⁸⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 419.

⁸⁶ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 435.

⁸⁷ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 446.

⁸⁸ Christopher Bennett, *Theatri Tabidorum Vestibulum* (1654), A4^r-5^r.

⁸⁹ *Roll*, I, 223-27. Ent was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and graduated BA in 1627 and MA in 1631. He then travelled to Padua where he received a M.D. in April 1636. On his return to England he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford in November 1638, and was elected a fellow of the College on 25 June 1639 (*DNB*).

⁹⁰ *GI*, p. 316.

⁹¹ *Decline*, p. 108; *GI*, pp. 55, 90-93; Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and Its Fellows, 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution*, British Society for the History of Science Monographs, 4 (Oxford: Alden Press, 1994; 1st publ. 1982), pp. 130, 140-41.

⁹² *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 96; *Dict. 1641-1667*, pp. 149-50; *SR 1554-1640*, III, 686.

George Thomason.⁹³ Stephens, having served his apprenticeship, worked as a bookseller from 1622 until his death in 1670.⁹⁴ Before the Civil War, he progressed steadily through the Company, and was elected to the Yeomanry in 1631, granted a part share in the Livery of the English Stock in 1637, and worked as Stock Keeper in 1633-34 and 1637-38.⁹⁵ Following the Restoration, the Company elected Stephens its Master.⁹⁶

Although Stephens published a few vernacular medical books in the 1630s, it was only in the 1650s that he concentrated on this literature, after the publication of Culpeper's translation had established the re-emergence of the market.⁹⁷ In this decade, he published all the medical books by Robert Pemell, a physician working in Cranbrooke in Kent. Pemell wrote, 'for the benefit of those that understand not the Latine tongue', and his books ranged from paediatrics to books of diseases and simple medical receipts.⁹⁸ Ent went along with Stephens to Stationers' Hall on three occasions, when four of Pemell's books were registered.⁹⁹ *Tractatus De Simplicium* was entered in the Register on 19 May 1652, although George Thomason bought a copy on 27 April.¹⁰⁰ According to its title page it was 'Licensed and Entred according to Order', so the College must have seen a copy of

⁹³ *Court*, p. 284.

⁹⁴ Stephens was bound to Joan Newberry on 14 October 1612, he was turned over on 13 April 1617 to Nathaniel Butter, by whom he was freed on 3 May 1620 (*Apprentices 1605-1640*, pp. 52, 101). According to the catalogue Richard Smith made of the deaths of his associates and well-known individuals, 'Philemon Stephens, bookseller in Chancery Lane, died at Chelsey; burried at St. Dunstan's in y^e West', in July 1670 (*The Obituary of Richard Smyth, ... Being a Catalogue of all such Persons as he Knew in their Life: Extending from 1627 to 1674*, ed. by Henry Ellis, Camden Society, 44, (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1989), p. 87).

⁹⁵ *Court*, pp. 233, 246, 291, 302-03.

⁹⁶ *SR 1554-1640*, v, lxxv.

⁹⁷ Stephens originally worked with Christopher Meredith with whom, during the 1620s and 1630s, he gained the rights to *A Rich Storehouse for the Diseased*, 1st pub. 1596 (1630), and John Sadler's *The Sicke Womans Private Looking Glasse* (1636) (*SR 1554-1640*, iv, 226, 353).

⁹⁸ Robert Pemell, *De Morbis Capitis: Or of the Chief Internall Diseases of the Head* (1650), title page. In this book Pemell described the variety of diseases which could affect the body although the medical receipts are in Latin. *Tractatus de Simplicium Medicamentorum: A Treatise of the Nature and Qualities of such Simples as are Most Frequently used in Medicines* was published in 1652 and '[m]ethodically handled' simple medicines 'for the benefit of those that understand not the Latine Tongue' (title page). This methodically structured book devoted a sentence or paragraph to each of the simple medicines (herbs) describing its name and temperament, duration, outward use, manner of administration, dose, and its compounded medicines. In the following year, 1653, Stephens published *De Morbis Puerorum: Or, A Treatise of the Diseases of Children* that contained '[t]heir Causes, Signs, Prognosticks, and Cures, for the benefit of such as do not understand the Latine Tongue, and very useful for all such as are House-keepers, and have Children' (title page).

⁹⁹ On 30 July 1650, *Medicamen Miseris: Help for the Poore* (1650) was registered; another edition was published in 1653. In May 1652, Ent and Stephens registered Pemell's *Tractatus de Simplicium Medicamentorum* (1652), and, finally, on 1 August 1653, *Tractatus de Facultatibus Simplicium, The Second Part of the Treatise* (1653) and *De Morbis Puerorum* (1653) were entered. *SR 1640-1708*, i, 327, 348, 396, 425.

¹⁰⁰ *SR 1640-1708*, i, 396; and BL E.660.(8).

Pemell's book before Stephens had it printed, although he did not register until after publication.¹⁰¹ Ent, then, was fully aware that he was endorsing an English text and could not complain that he was duped by its Latin title. Pemell's books were obviously important to Stephens' stock, because he advertised their publication in a couple of periodical pamphlets.¹⁰²

On 2 August 1651, Nathaniel Highmore's *The History of Generation* (1651) was entered to John Martin and Thomas Young.¹⁰³ Highmore (1613-85) graduated M.D. from Trinity College, Oxford, and usually wrote in Latin. The fact, then, that the only book of his to be registered in the presence of a College Fellow was an English translation is significant. In November 1652 Ent went along to Stationers' Hall with Pulleyn when 'a booke in the Latine tongue', presumably Hermann Van der Heyden's *Synopsis Discursuum* (1653), was entered in the Register.¹⁰⁴ Three months later, on 23 February 1653, Ent and Pulleyn returned to register the English translation of this title in Pulleyn's name, which was published by Pulleyn entitled *Speedy Help for Rich and Poore* (1652).¹⁰⁵ Ent was also present at Stationers' Hall on 28 September 1659 when Robinson entered '*Institutions of anatomy of Casper Bartholinus, translated out of Latyn*'.¹⁰⁶ Although this book has not been identified it is again clear that Ent was prepared to enter English translations of Latin texts in the Register thereby entitling the particular stationer to legally publish such a work.

It is clear then from the entries made in the Stationers' Register by Fellows of the College from 1649 to 1655 that there was a growing acceptance of the suitability of the vernacular language for medical texts. The entries suggest that the College also had a measure of control over the books it licensed. During this period, the Presidents and a selection of Fellows allowed a few publishers, notably Pulleyn and Stephens, to acquire English and Latin rights to College sponsored books. Although the evidence is circumstantial and relates only to the *Pharmacopoeia* discussed below, it seems that the College generated income by selling the rights to medical books during the 1650s.

In contrast, the publisher of a translation of Fioravanti's *Three Exact Pieces* (1652),

¹⁰¹ On the registration of printed books with the Company, see W.W. Greg, 'Some Notes on the Stationers' Register', *The Library*, 4th ser., 7 (1926-27), 376-86.

¹⁰² For example, see *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 205 (7-14 November 1653), 9X4^v; *Severall Proceedings of State Affairs*, no. 218 (24 November-1 December 1653), 19D4^v.

¹⁰³ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 375.

¹⁰⁴ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 405.

¹⁰⁵ 'Entred ... under the hands of Doctor GEO: ENT and Master THRALE warden a booke called *Speedy help for rich & poore, &c.* Written in Latine by Hermanus Vander Heyden, & translated into English' (*SR 1640-1708*, I, 410).

¹⁰⁶ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 352.

in which the College's chemist, William Johnson, attacked Culpeper and Noah Biggs (*fl.* 1651), never received the College's imprimatur.¹⁰⁷ Gertrude Dawson succeeded her husband, John, and worked as a bookseller and publisher from 1649 to 1661.¹⁰⁸ On 26 November 1651, she registered *Three Exact Pieces*, not in the presence of any Fellow of the College, however, but 'under the hands of Doctor NEWINGTON and Master ROBINSON warden'.¹⁰⁹ Dawson had already published Robert Record's *The Urinal of Physick* in 1651 (first published in 1547), and in the latter 1650s published a series of surgical textbooks.¹¹⁰ She should perhaps be remembered most deservedly as the publisher of such works as *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652), *A Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chirurgery* (1653) collected by Elizabeth Grey, and *A True Gentlewomans Delight* (1653). No mention is ever made of Culpeper or William Johnson's printed attack in the College's 'Annals', and the absence of any College officials when it was registered suggests that Johnson did not have the backing of the College. He had prepared this edition of *Three Exact Pieces* from three 'very scarce' books, 'for the public good', but despite this apparent idealism, he clearly hoped to profit from this venture; any medicines included in the book were 'sold in Amen Corner by W.J.'.¹¹¹ In *Matæotechnia Medicinæ Praxews* (1651), Noah Biggs accused the College of ignoring the new chemical medicines, but Johnson correctly argued that the revised *Pharmacopoeia* published in 1650 included chemical preparations.¹¹² Biggs had also called for reform to medical licensing and education, and his criticisms were part of a wider debate in the 1650s concerning the role of the universities and other academic institutions. Indeed, Biggs copied much of his argument from John Hall's *Humble Motion Concerning the Advancement of Learning and reformation of the Universities* (1649).¹¹³ Johnson's criticism of this popular appeal for

¹⁰⁷ William Johnson, 'Short Animadversions upon the Book lately Published by one who stiles himself Noah Biggs', and 'Friend Culpeper', in Leonardo Fioravanti, *Three Exact Pieces*, trans. (1652), A1^r-4^r, B1^r-4^v.

¹⁰⁸ *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, p. 385.

¹¹⁰ For example, Felix Würtz, *An Experimental Treatise of Surgerie*, trans. by A. Fox (1656); *The Surgeons Guide: or Military and Domestique Surgery* (1658).

¹¹¹ Johnson, 'The Epistle to the Reader', and 'A Note of Such Prepared Simples and Compositions as are Mentioned in this Book', in Fioravanti, *Three Exact Pieces*, C1^{r-v}, 2Q4^{r-v} (2Q4^r).

¹¹² On Biggs see *DBR*, I, 63-64.

¹¹³ *GI*, pp. 190-91, 263-64; Christopher Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England*, rev. edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 172-73. On Biggs and his call for medical reform see Allen G. Debus, 'Paracelsian Medicine: Noah Biggs and the Problem of Medical Reform', in *Medicine in Seventeenth Century England: A Symposium Held at UCLA in Honor of C.D. O'Malley*, ed. by Allen G. Debus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 33-48.

reform was politically naïve at a time when the College's control over London's medical practice was at its most tenuous, and this may explain the College's reluctance to endorse his book.

Following the re-emergence of the vernacular medical market, new professional receipt and theory books prepared for practitioners who could not read Latin were published. Humphrey Brooke (1617-93) wrote *A Conservatory of Health* (1650), 'to instruct the ignorant', who could read English but not Latin.¹¹⁴ Brooke was an Oxford educated physician and became a Fellow of the College in 1674, and although he wrote in English, dedicated his book to the College.¹¹⁵ *A Conservatory of Health* describes the necessary regimen to preserve health rather than cure disease and therefore did not deny the physician his custom.¹¹⁶ Robert Bayfield's *Enchiridion Medicum: Containing the Causes* (1655) included advice on prognosis and diagnosis 'to help young and greene Students in Physick and Chyrurgery'.¹¹⁷ However, the receipts themselves were in Latin. Other vernacular theory books include Richard Bunworth's *Homotropia Naturae: A Physical Discourse* (1656), John Tanner's *The Hidden Treasure of the Art of Physick* (1656), written 'for the good of those that want such helps, and are unacquainted with the Latin Tongue', and Thomas Moffet's *Healths Improvement* (1655).¹¹⁸ Significantly, Christopher Bennet, a Fellow of the College, translated and enlarged the latter title for the press.¹¹⁹ In addition, the fact that it received the imprimatur of the President and four Censors again highlights the increasing acceptability of English as a suitable language for professional medical discourse.

From 1650, although the College had little power to suppress vernacular medicine, it was actually compliant in the publication of English medical books. As the events surrounding the publication of a revised edition of its *Pharmacopoeia*, which I examine below, show, Fellows of the College were less concerned with an English version of its text *per se*, than the fact that it did not control its production and publication. After 1655, when Cromwell took over control of the book trade and appointed three commissioners to oversee the regulation of the press, the College was no longer licenser of medicine and

¹¹⁴ Humphrey Brooke, *A Conservatory of Health* (1650), A5^r.

¹¹⁵ *Roll*, I, 386; *DNB*; Brooke, *Conservatory of Health*, A2^{r-v}.

¹¹⁶ For advice on diagnosis, Brooke wrote, 'one most expect advice from his Physician' (*Conservatory of Health*, A5^v).

¹¹⁷ Robert Bayfield, *Enchiridion Medicum: Containing the Causes* (1655), A5^r.

¹¹⁸ John Tanner, *The Hidden Treasures of the Art of Physick* (1656), A4^v.

¹¹⁹ *Roll*, I, 91.

Fellows' visits to Stationers' Hall all but end.¹²⁰ For example, on 7 November 1656, the 'Annals' of the College record the following:

William Slatholm of Buntingford, showed to the College a book on fevers written by him, so that if they should consider it fit for the press, he might have it printed with their commendation, or at least consent. The reply was that nothing done by him was excellent or new, and so it was entirely for him to do whatever he should with the matter.¹²¹

Philemon Stephens published William Slatholm's *Nonnihil de Febribus* in 1657, which although Stephens never registered the book with the Stationers' Company, Slatholm dedicated to Francis Prujean, President of the College.¹²²

When the Fellows registered Latin medical titles there was often provision in the entry for an English translation to appear. During the 1650s, then, liberal Fellows of the College were prepared to endorse English medical books to generate income and possibly as a way of controlling their publication. In the following section, I examine the production of the College's official *Pharmacopoeia* and its publishing history from 1618 to Culpeper's translation in 1649. The registration of the title in the Stationers' Register, in both Latin and English versions, supports this hypothesis. However, the 1650s saw the emergence of the printing-press as the principal vehicle whereby medical writers, practitioners, charlatans, retailers, printers, publishers and bookseller could promote their various wares and thereby reap profit, following the publication of Culpeper's original translation.

Ownership of the copy for the Latin and English version of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (1618-1650)

From the mid-sixteenth century, Fellows of the College had the power to examine the apothecaries' stocks and their methods of preparing medicines, and it was this which led to the preparation and eventually publication of a Latin pharmacopoeia in 1618. The College's *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* was intended to control and regulate the apothecaries' practices: it contains the official simple remedies, and the preparations of compounded medicines, which constituted the only medicinal formulae licensed apothecaries could dispense.¹²³

¹²⁰ *Orders of His Highness The Lord Protector ... For Putting in ... Execution the Laws ... Made and Provided ... for the ... Regulating of Printing* (1655).

¹²¹ *Annals*, IV, f. 65^v.

¹²² [William Slatholm], *Nonnihil de Febribus* (1657), A2^{r-v}.

¹²³ Betty Jackson, 'From Papyri to Pharmacopoeia: The Development of Standards for Crude Drugs', in *The Evolution of Pharmacy in Britain*, ed. by F.N.L. Poynter (London: Pitman Medical Publishing

Table 2.2: Chronology for the Production of a Latin and English *Pharmacopoeia*

Date	Event
1585 Jun 25	Proposals to publish a <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> to be used by all apothecaries.
1589 Oct 10 Dec 23	College appoints Committee to consider material for the proposed <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Production of a <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> under the charge of six Fellows.
1594 Dec 13	Project referred to a new committee.
1614 Jun 25	College appoints committee to prepare a <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> .
1616 Sep Dec 23	College examines material for inclusion in the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> ; it is found to be incomplete. College appoints new members to serve on the committee preparing the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> .
1617 Sep 17 Dec	Manuscript of the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> 'almost entirely prepared'. Establishment of the Society of Apothecaries.
1618 Jan 16 Feb 20 Mar 30 Apr 26 May Sep 25	John Marriot enters 'a booke Called <i>Dispensatorium Collegij Londinensis</i> ' in the Stationers' Register. College appoints a final committee to see the manuscript through the press. College plans for publication. Proclamation commanding all apothecaries to use the formulae in the forthcoming <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis</i> . Royal licence grants Marriot the sole right to print and sell <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> for the next twenty-one years. Marriot publishes <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis</i> . College unhappy with edition. Marriot attends College and undertakes to print new edition of the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> only if the College will contribute to his costs.
1619 Jan 13 Jan	College debates which epilogue should be printed in the new edition. Marriot publishes revised and enlarged second edition of <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis</i> .
1626	Marriot publishes third edition of the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> .
1632 March 1	Marriot publishes fourth edition of the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . College accuses Marriot of publishing the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> without approval. He undertakes to present future editions to the College for inspection.
1639 Mar 11 Apr 8	Marriot publishes fifth edition of the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . College resolves to petition King to gain right to the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . College accuses Marriot of publishing <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> without approval.
1647 Jul 16 Sep 30	Culpeper begins to work on his translation of the College's <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . College resolves to prepare a new <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Committee appointed to revise text.
1649 Jan 30 Mar 29 Jun 4 Jul 27 Aug/Sept Nov 27 Nov 28 Dec 12 Dec 13	Execution of Charles I. 'England' proclaimed 'a Commonwealth, or a Free State'. College approves revised text for the <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . College votes in Stephen Bowtell as publisher of the new <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Peter Cole publishes Culpeper's translation, entitled <i>A Physical Directory</i> . Bowtell enters his rights to <i>Dispensatorium Collegii Londinensis</i> in the Stationers' Register, 'by vertue of a note under the hand & seale of Master MARRIOTT'. Bowtell enters <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis</i> , the official title of the College's book, 'under the hands of the PRESIDENT and censors of the Colledge'. Bowtell registers <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, or the London Dispensatory Further Adorned</i> , 'under the hand of Doctor CLARKE president of the Colledge of Phisitions'. The College votes half of the money 'due for the dispensatory ... to Mrs. Grent'.
1650 Oct 18	Bowtell publishes the College's revised <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Cole publishes a second enlarged edition of Culpeper's translation of the College's original <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Culpeper begins to translate College's new <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> . Cole enters the following three titles in the Stationers' Register, which he purchased from Bowtell: 1) <i>Dispensatorii Collegii Londinensis</i> , 2) <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis Collegiarum</i> , and 3) <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, or the London Dispensatorie Further Adorned</i> .
1651	Cole publishes third enlarged edition of Culpeper's <i>A Physical Directory</i> .
1653	Cole publishes Culpeper's translation of the College's recently revised <i>Pharmacopoeia</i> , entitled <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory</i> .

George Urdang in his 'Introduction' to the facsimile of the first edition of the *Pharmacopoeia* looks at the events that surround the publication of two editions in 1618 and 1619.¹²⁴ He compares the texts of the two closely but does not engage with the publishing history of this important book. More recently, Mary McCarl mentions the confusing exchange of the right to the title in the Stationers' Register, but does not relate this to internal events recorded in the College's 'Annals'. Rather than looking separately at the arrangements for the original 1618 Latin edition, Culpeper's 1649 translation, and the publication of a revised Latin edition in 1650, I shall examine the interlinked publishing histories of all three books. The exchanges of copy for the College's *Pharmacopoeia* recorded in the Register reveals how a few London publishers were able to exploit the monopoly of the Stationers' Company to gain control over this profitable title. Supplemented by the evidence in the College's 'Annals', and the books themselves, the College emerges as an institution unable to control the publication of its text or prevent the attacks on its monopoly included in Culpeper's translation who denounced it a College of 'Dunces'.¹²⁵

The ownership of the copy for both the College's original *Pharmacopoeia* and for Culpeper's English translations is complex and confusing. This confusion dates back to the publication of the two Latin editions of 1618 and 1619. The first reference to the production of a pharmacopoeia by the College, though, was made as early as 25 June 1585 when the College proposed to prepare a pharmacopoeia to be followed by the country's apothecaries.¹²⁶ On 10 October 1589, the College resolved to compile and publish a pharmacopoeia or 'dispensatory' of prescriptions for the apothecaries to follow, and a committee was formed to consider material for inclusion and ordered to report back.¹²⁷ Later that year, on 23 December, the College charged six Fellows with the production of a pharmacopoeia.¹²⁸ However, there is no mention of the project in the 'Annals' for the next five years, and it was not until December 1594 that a new committee was appointed.¹²⁹ There then followed a twenty-year lapse until June 1614 when the College again considered

¹²⁴ George Urdang, 'Introduction', in *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618: Reproduced in Facsimile with a Historical Introduction*, Hallister Pharmaceutical Library, 2 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1944), pp. 1-81.

¹²⁵ *PD* (1649), A2^v.

¹²⁶ *Annals*, II, f. 44^r.

¹²⁷ *Annals*, II, f. 75^v.

¹²⁸ *Annals*, II, f. 78^v.

¹²⁹ *Annals*, II, ff. 108^v-9^r.

the proposal.¹³⁰

The production of a pharmacopoeia was an important part of an agreement between the apothecaries and physicians whereby the College would support the apothecaries' separation from the Grocers and the establishment of their own Society.¹³¹ Members of the Society of Apothecaries were required to take an oath which protected the physicians' monopoly: only prescriptions of Fellows were to be prepared and no apothecary was to visit the sick or administer their own medical advice. The College, then, sought to control the apothecaries by stressing the importance of a pharmacopoeia produced by its Fellows. At the same time, an official pharmacopoeia would assert the apothecaries' monopoly over the preparation of medicines, as well as confirming the separateness of their new status from the Grocers.

At the June meeting of the College in 1614, the 'Annals' report that proposals were made with 'regard to the common dispensatory to be kept in the shops of the apothecaries', and a committee was duly appointed.¹³² In September 1616, Doctors Mark Ridley (1560-1624), Edward Lister (*d.* 1620), John Argent (*d.* 1633) and Simon Fox (1568-1642) examined the material that the committee had collected. However, these papers were incomplete and the matter went unresolved.¹³³ Between September 1616 and June 1617, new members were appointed to assist the committee and medical receipts were collected, including one for a chemical oil from a Mr Hewet.¹³⁴ By September 1617, the 'Annals' reported that the manuscript of the pharmacopoeia was 'almost entirely prepared'.¹³⁵ On 20 February 1618, the College appointed Doctors John Argent, John Giffard, Matthew Gwinne (*d.* 1627) and William Clement (*d.* 1636) to see the pharmacopoeia through the press, and Doctors Clement and Fox were to supervise the press corrections.¹³⁶ Finally, on 30 March, the College made the arrangements for its publication, when the 'Annals' record that Theodore de Mayerne 'was asked to write the dedicatory letter of the Pharmacopoeia to the King ... [t]he preface to be written by many ... was to be referred to the President'.¹³⁷ Following this, on 26 April 1618, a printed proclamation appeared which commanded all

¹³⁰ Annals, III, f. 17^r.

¹³¹ Raymond S. Roberts, 'The London Apothecaries and Medical Practice in Tudor and Stuart England' (doctoral thesis, University of London, Queen Mary College, 1964), p. 204.

¹³² Annals, III, f. 17^r.

¹³³ On 14 September 1616, the College examined papers for the Pharmacopoeia and found many to be missing (Annals, III, f. 25^v).

¹³⁴ Annals, III, ff. 25^v, 26^r, 27^r, 28^v.

¹³⁵ Annals, III, f. 31^r.

¹³⁶ Annals, III, f. 32^v.

¹³⁷ Annals, III, f. 33^r.

apothecaries to use the formulae of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*.¹³⁸

On the same day, James I granted John Marriot licence for the sole right to print and sell the *Pharmacopoeia* for the following twenty-one years.¹³⁹ Marriot was the son of Edward, a yeoman from Northampton. John Hodgettes originally entered him as an apprentice with the Stationers' Company in August 1607, and although his term of apprenticeship was heavily disrupted, he was freed on 26 June 1615.¹⁴⁰ Marriot, then, was just beginning his career when he acquired the right to the *Pharmacopoeia*, and he went on to publish the works of Nicholas Breton, John Donne, Michael Drayton, Philip Massinger, Francis Quarles and George Wither. In order to receive a royal licence, though, the College must have initially supported him. Fellows may have thought that by selecting Marriot at the start of his career, they would be better able to control him than they could a more established publisher. If so Marriot showed little gratitude for their entrusting such a valuable monopoly to his hands.¹⁴¹

The 1618 Proclamation created an instant market for the *Pharmacopoeia* because it ordered that apothecaries could only make up those medicines listed in the College's official book; indeed, on 29 June 1618, the newly constituted Court of the Apothecaries' Company, ordered that all members should possess a copy.¹⁴² Marriot was keen to satisfy this demand, and at some time after 7 May 1618 published the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* as a folio printed by Edward Griffin (see Illustration 2).¹⁴³ However, shortly after this another edition, announced in Latin on its new engraved title page as having been, 'diligently revised, elaborately renewed, more correct and more comprehensive', was published (see Illustration 3).¹⁴⁴ On the face of it, this suggests there had been an

¹³⁸ *A Proclamation Commanding All Apothecaries of this Realme, to Follow the Dispensatory Lately Compiled by the College of Physitians of London* ([26 April 1618]). The publication of the Proclamation is noted in the *CSPD 1611-1618*, p. 536. See Robert Steele, *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 1, no. 1209.

¹³⁹ W.W. Greg gives a fuller transcript of the licence in his *A Companion to Arber: being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber's 'Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 162-63.

¹⁴⁰ Marriot was tuned over by John Hodgettes to Eleazer Edgar on 3 October 1608; to John Stepneth on 1 April 1611; and to Roger Jackson on 28 January 1613 (*Apprentices 1605-1640*, pp. 65, 83, 88, 122; *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 122).

¹⁴¹ Alexandra Halasz writes of the struggle over proprietary rights and privileges at the beginning of the seventeenth century (*Marketplace of Print*, p. 145). The actions of Marriot, whereby he secured the rights to the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, is an early example of a stationer's capacity to control, and thereby profit, from its publication.

¹⁴² Society of Apothecaries, 'Minutes of the Court of Assistants and of the Private Court', Guildhall MS 8200, I, f. 7.

¹⁴³ *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta*, 1st edn (1618). The 'Candido Lectori' to this edition is dated 7 May 1618 (A2^v). On Griffin see *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴ *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta*, 2nd edn (1618 [1619]), title page. The title page

immediate and eager demand for the *Pharmacopoeia* which had exhausted the print-run of the first edition. This, however, was not the case. The Latin 'Epilogus' to the second edition, speaking on behalf of the College, stated that the first had been hastily published, and consequently the President of the College had called for its withdrawal and the printing of a revised edition. In translation it reads:

We now edit the *London Pharmacopoeia* in a second endeavour, with more fortunate result. We (I say) edit. For that previous unformed as well as deformed [book], may we say the hasty printer has edited it? On the contrary, he hurled it into the light. As a blaze flares up from a fire and in a greedy famine deprives the stomach of its still unprepared food, so the printer snatched away from our hands this little work not yet finished off, without consulting the president.¹⁴⁵

On 25 September 1618, Marriot had attended a meeting of the College in person, and undertook to re-print the *Pharmacopoeia*, with the alterations required by the College, if the Fellows would reimburse his costs. According to the 'Annals':

There was some discussion with regard to the new printing of the London Pharmacopoeia entrusted to the Registrar at last, and the printer being present stated that he would refuse to proceed unless whatever the Fellows contributed was handed over to him and that as soon as possible. Then the President and many others promised to him twenty pounds, failing that twenty marks, when the corrected book appeared.¹⁴⁶

Although the 'Candido Lectori' in the second edition is dated 7 December 1618, the book could not have been published until after 13 January 1619, for on that date the 'Annals' record that 'there was considerable discussion regarding the epilogue to be included in the *Pharmacopoeia* now sent back'.¹⁴⁷ Neither edition contains anything about the medical attributes of any of the medicinal compositions. These consist only of a catalogue of the simple ingredients used in the preparation of medicines, followed by the receipts for the compounded remedies. The first edition lists 680 simple ingredients, but by the second edition this had increased to 1,190, together with an additional 251 compound preparations.¹⁴⁸ The move was towards completeness, and the second edition, according to

was engraved by Renold Elstrack (b. 1571) and is described in Alfred F. Johnson, *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1934), p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta*, 2nd edn, 2E2^v, translated by Urdang. 'Introduction', pp. 23-24.

¹⁴⁶ *Annals*, III, f. 34^v.

¹⁴⁷ *Annals*, III, f. 36^f.

¹⁴⁸ See Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965), pp. 145-56; William Brockbank, 'Sovereign Remedies. A Critical Depreciation of the 17th-Century London Pharmacopoeia', *Medical History*, 8 (1964), 1-14; *Roll*, III, 371-77.

Urdang, ‘represents the more pretentious pharmacopoeial combination of formulary and textbook, with the purpose of giving general information, [and] also a survey of the entire materia medica, *simplicia* and *composita*’.¹⁴⁹ Urdang suggests that the explanation offered by the College in the new epilogue was an alibi to mask internal disputes within the College about what information the *Pharmacopoeia* should contain. That may be so, but the book’s subsequent publishing history over the next thirty years reveal that Marriot had secured a powerful position as copy-holder of the title, while the College struggled to regain the initiative.

Following the 1618 and 1619 editions, Marriot published the *Pharmacopoeia* a further three times, in 1627, 1632 and 1639, using the engraved title page from the second edition. These editions, though, continued to be criticised by the College for being falsely printed. In his ‘Printer’s Address’, Marriot had claimed:

This Worke, ... is now free from all errors ... by the great labor, paines, care, and industry of that Honourable Society ... and by them ... diligently and truly corrected and amended, as also newly amplified, enlarged and adorned with such additions as unto them seemed most needfull.¹⁵⁰

Although this suggests that the College had approved each new edition, this was not the case. On 1 March 1633, the College charged Marriot with having ‘printed our dispensatorye agayne without shewing itt to the Colledge; which hee pretendeth hee maye lawfullye doe’.¹⁵¹ Marriot’s legal rights are not clear from the ‘Annals’ but, as will be seen, had good basis: nevertheless, he promised that in future he would provide the College with a copy prior to publication for inspection. He failed to keep his promise, and on 11 March 1639 the College resolved to petition the King to gain control over the printing and retail of its *Pharmacopoeia*.¹⁵² No record exists to confirm whether the College actually took this action, but on 8 April 1639 the ‘Annals’ again report that:

John Mariot printer of the pharmacopoea Londinensis apered and was accused, to haue abused the Colledge fowly, in makinge them the authorees of the last edition, wherin hee saith, that they had enlarged and corrected the same; ther beeing indeed nether amendment nor any woord added.¹⁵³

This episode demonstrates the College’s dissatisfaction with Marriot’s production of its *Pharmacopoeia*, not just with the first edition of 1618, but with all subsequent editions.

¹⁴⁹ Urdang, ‘Introduction’, p. 78.

¹⁵⁰ *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta*, 4th edn (1627), 2D3^v.

¹⁵¹ *Annals*, III, f. 129^r.

¹⁵² *Annals*, III, f. 197^r.

¹⁵³ *Annals*, III, f. 198^r.

The original publishing arrangements for the *Pharmacopoeia*, taken together with what later happened in 1649 between Marriot, Stephen Bowtell, the Stationers' Company and the College of Physicians, indicate that there were difficulties over the ownership of the copy. Despite the long gestation period, from 1585 to 1618, the first entry in the Stationers' Register is by Marriot on 16 January 1618, when he had entered for his copy 'vnder the hands of master TAUERNOR and both the wardens A booke Called *Dispensatorium Collegij Londinensis*'.¹⁵⁴ Significantly, this is a month before the College appointed the committee to see the *Pharmacopoeia* through the press. It is striking that Marriot's original entry for the *Pharmacopoeia* in the Register is for a book never published under this precise title. On 20 March 1618, Marriot received a Royal Patent to publish the *Pharmacopoeia*, which James I confirmed in a proclamation on 26 April 1618.¹⁵⁵ It was Marriot's entry and the royal licence, which enabled him to continue publishing the College's *Pharmacopoeia* during the 1630s against the Fellows' wishes. Throughout its production the College referred to its *Pharmacopoeia* also as a 'dispensatory', and it is therefore not surprising that Marriot entered this title with the Company in the expectation that a book would be prepared with the same title. Given the College's dissatisfaction with Marriot's first edition in 1618, and then with the later editions, it is significant that on 8 April 1639 it was complaining of Marriot's dishonesty.¹⁵⁶ The College's meeting on this date was less than three weeks before Marriot's monopoly, awarded for twenty-one years in 1618, was due to expire. If the College was so dissatisfied with Marriot at the end of his tenure, why was he allowed to retain his monopoly, while the College itself did not determine to re-write its *Pharmacopoeia* until 1647?

The most probable answer is that by entering the title 'Dispensatorium' in January 1618, Marriot anticipated the proclamation giving him the sole right to publish the *Pharmacopoeia*. By pre-registering a potential 'dispensatory' with the Stationers' Company, Marriot had the rights in a future text based on the College's knowledge: the King's proclamation made him the official publisher of the official pharmacopoeia. The College could not register the *Pharmacopoeia* in its own right, and Marriot's pre-emptive entry gave him a legal basis to claim ownership of the title. That is, Marriot had the

¹⁵⁴ SR 1554-1640, III, 618.

¹⁵⁵ Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603-1640', in *The Book Trade & Its Customers 1450-1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. by Arnold Hunt and others (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), 27-54 (p. 47).

¹⁵⁶ Annals, III, f. 198^r.

protection of both the King's licence and his stationers' rights as a copy-holder.¹⁵⁷ Following his entry in 1618 there are no further changes in the right to the copy until 1649 and 1650, when the College was preparing a revised edition published by Stephen Bowtell after Culpeper's translation had appeared.

Originally from Shalford in Essex, Bowtell was the son of James Bowtell, a yeoman, and his wife Sara Wright, and on 2 January 1620 he was christened at the local parish church.¹⁵⁸ In July 1635, at about fifteen or sixteen years of age, John Bellamy took Bowtell on as an apprentice; he served the usual seven years and was freed in July 1642.¹⁵⁹ Although Bowtell was quick to register an apprentice only five months after his freedom, he only ever had two apprentices and after 1652 he had none.¹⁶⁰ Bowtell set up business at the sign of the Bible in Pope's Head Alley and began to publish pamphlets in 1642. He was in business until 1655, although he published the majority of his output between 1644 and 1650. Much of this consisted of sermons, and before 1650 the bulk of his entries in the Stationers' Register are of sermons delivered before Parliament by Stephen Marshall (1594-1655), the Presbyterian divine. He is perhaps best remembered, though, as the publisher of *The Tenth Muse Latley Sprung Up* (1650) which contained the work of the first woman to write English verse in America, Anne Bradstreet.

On 27 November 1649, Bowtell gained the copy to the mysterious 'Dispensatorium', first registered by Marriot.¹⁶¹ On the following day he registered the right to the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* and two weeks later, on 12 December, he was granted the right to an English translation.¹⁶² The reasons why Bowtell acquired these titles one by one lie in who previously owned the rights to them. On 27 November, Marriot sold Bowtell the copy of the 'Dispensatorium'.¹⁶³ The Latin *Pharmacopoeia* was entered on 28 November for Bowtell's 'copie under the hands of the PRESIDENT and censors of the Colledge of Phisitions of London', and in 1650 Bowtell did indeed publish an edition of this work.¹⁶⁴ A translation, entitled *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory Further Adorned*, was entered on 12 December, 'under the hand of Doctor CLARKE pr[e]sident of

¹⁵⁷ On stationers' copyright and royal privileges see Leo Kirschbaum, 'Author's Copyright in England before 1640', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 40 (1946), 43-80.

¹⁵⁸ *IGI*, microfiche ref. A0538, p. 1,539.

¹⁵⁹ *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁰ *Apprentices 1641-1700*, p. [18].

¹⁶¹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 331.

¹⁶² *SR 1640-1708*, I, 331, 333.

¹⁶³ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 331.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

the Colledge of Phisitions and Master FLESHER'.¹⁶⁵ On 18 October 1650, the publisher Peter Cole gained the rights to the copy of the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* and of the English translation. According to the Register, Bowtell 'by vertue of a bill of sale ... subscribed by Master STEPHENS warden' passed on the rights to Peter Cole of 'these three books or copies ... [1] *Dispensatoriu[m] Collegii Londinensis* ... [2] *Pharmacopoeia Londiniensis* ... [in Latin], and [3] *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, or the London dispensatorie further adorned ... in English*'.¹⁶⁶ The problem here is that only two books, the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* and Culpeper's translation, were ever published, and yet the payment of 1s.6d. for the entry establishes that Bowtell sold the rights to three titles at 6d. each. This episode goes back to events surrounding the publication of the original Latin edition, and Marriot's entry in the Stationers' Register in January 1618. It prompts three questions. Why did Bowtell need rights to the apparently non-existent 'Dispensatorium'? Why did he fail to publish an English translation? Why in less than a year did he sell on the three, potentially lucrative, titles only recently acquired to Peter Cole?

Bowtell's acquisition of the copy of the mysterious 'Dispensatorium' from Marriot on 27 November 1649, the first sign in the Stationers' Register of his interest in the *Pharmacopoeia*, can, when taken together with the evidence in the 'Annals', offer a hypothesis which accounts for both the third title and the order of registration. On 13 December 1649, the day after John Clarke had witnessed Bowtell's entry of a translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, the College voted that '[h]alfe of the mony due for the dispensatory was by the Colledge [to be] geven to Mrs. Grent in regard of hir husband Dr. Grent['s], ... great poverty at his death'.¹⁶⁷ Thomas Grent had been one of the Queen's physicians but had turned to inventing. His most famous project involved making artificial baths, for which he received a patent in 1627. Although a Fellow of the College since 1623, Grent's project presumably failed and he died in poverty on 11 December 1649.¹⁶⁸

The College's President had been present in Stationers' Hall on 28 November and 12 December 1649, when Bowtell gained the right to publish both the Latin and the English versions of the *Pharmacopoeia*. When members of the College gave support on 13 December for Dr. Grent's widow, they did so with a secure knowledge of exactly how

¹⁶⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 333.

¹⁶⁶ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 353.

¹⁶⁷ *Annals*, IV, f. 25^v.

¹⁶⁸ *Annals*, III, f. 54^r. On Grent see R.R. James, 'Dr Thomas Grent, Sen. and Jun.', *Janus*, 43 (1939), 131-36; William J. Birken, 'The Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, 1603-1643: A Social Study' (doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1977; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 38A (1978), 6869-A), pp. 164-66.

much Bowtell had paid for the privilege of a publishing monopoly in the College's Latin and English versions of its book. The 'Annals' suggest that the College's President was working with Bowtell to exclude Marriot. In July and September 1647, plans were made to revise the *Pharmacopoeia*, and the business of up-dating the text was entrusted to the President and the College's four Censors, Francis Prujean (1593-1666), William Rant, George Ent (1604-89), and John Micklethwaite (1612-82).¹⁶⁹ In June 1649, the revised text was scrutinised by the Fellows who voted that the book 'so corrected shalbe imprinted'.¹⁷⁰ At a meeting of the College on 27 July, Fellows were concerned '[w]hither the printing of the dispensatory should be permitted to Mr. Marriot or no[t]'.¹⁷¹ The College was keen to prevent Marriot from printing the newly revised *Pharmacopoeia* and voted for Stephen Bowtell to publish this edition.¹⁷² Everything recorded in the Stationers' Register follows on from this decision, clearly one reached in response to Marriot's abuse, in the College's view, of his privilege to the *Pharmacopoeia*.

The decision by the College in June 1649 to prevent Marriot from printing the newly revised edition later that year reflects a long campaign on the College's part to get rid of him. The entries in the Register show that the College and Bowtell were working together to exclude Marriot from publishing any further editions. Presumably by doing so the College hoped to be able to gain control over the publication of this book. Although the Licensing Order of 20 September 1649 theoretically cancelled all previous licences and required all books to be licensed anew, Bowtell felt it necessary to secure Marriot's rights in the non-existent 'Dispensatorium'. Whether Bowtell did this on his own, or with the knowledge of the College, the intention must have been to ensure that Marriot gave up any claim to the 'Dispensatorium' through the Stationers' Register. Bowtell must have paid Marriot in November to acquire his rights, and the fact that the President of the College signed Bowtell's entry in the Register on 28 November, when he would have seen the entry from the previous day, makes it likely that Bowtell and the College were working together.

When Culpeper began to translate the *Pharmacopoeia*, he and Cole must have known that the College was preparing a new edition which made it essential that his translation appear before the newly revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia*. It did so at the end of August 1649, when Cole published Culpeper's work with the unexpected title *A Physical*

¹⁶⁹ Annals, III, f. 235^r; IV, f. 10^r.

¹⁷⁰ Annals, IV, f. 21^r.

¹⁷¹ Annals, IV, f. 23^r.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

Directory.¹⁷³ Only after the appearance of an English version of their *Pharmacopoeia* did the College act as its President, John Clarke, tried to regain the initiative. In December Clarke intervened and allowed Bowtell the rights to publish an English version of the revised *Pharmacopoeia*.¹⁷⁴ However, Cole had already stolen the initiative and the episode was a *fait accompli*. Clarke intervened only after Cole had published, and his action was ineffective.

Presumably, Bowtell had persuaded the College to trust him, so they may have thought that by allowing Bowtell the rights to an English translation he could kill the already published Culpeper version. Although he did publish the revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia* in 1650, Bowtell never published an English translation. There are two possible explanations for this failure. Firstly, to publish the 1650 Latin *Pharmacopoeia* would have meant considerable additional financial outlay. If we look at the quantity and size of the books Bowtell published between 1648 and 1651, it is apparent that he was only a minor publisher. In addition to the money paid to secure the rights to the copy from Marriot and the College, production costs will also have been high.¹⁷⁵ This failure to publish the English translation suggests that Bowtell lacked access to sufficient capital in order to profit from his investment in the title. He may then have misjudged his own finances or thought he had made a poor bargain when he acquired the rights to a translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* since by November 1649 Culpeper's translation had already stolen the market. Bowtell went ahead with the Latin version and made a profit on that. Faced with the expense of a new translation and its publication, it was easier to sell the whole thing to Cole rather than invest more and fight him over the right to copy.

The second explanation is that Bowtell was working in collaboration with Cole all along to exclude the College from a controlling stake in any English versions of its *Pharmacopoeia*. Although only circumstantial evidence exists, the available facts seem to support this hypothesis. Bowtell and Cole had known each other since at least 1637 when they were both apprenticed to John Bellamy.¹⁷⁶ As well as serving their apprenticeships with the same master, their business addresses were very close. Bowtell's shop was at the

¹⁷³ *PD* was described as an 'excellent translation' in Henry Walker's *Perfect Occurrences*, no. 139 [*sic*] (31 Augst-7 September 1649), 7F4^v.

¹⁷⁴ *SR 1640 - 1708*, I, 333.

¹⁷⁵ If we accept the approximate production cost for printing a sheet at 0.25*d.*, and we allow for approximately a thousand copies in an edition, then this will have meant an outlay of in excess of £60 (Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr. 1985), p. 178).

¹⁷⁶ *Apprentices 1605-1641*, p. 41.

sign of the Bible in Pope's Head Alley while Cole's business was around the corner in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange. Having gained the rights to the spurious title of the 'Dispensatorium', along with the Latin and English titles of the *Pharmacopoeia*, Bowtell sold the rights to all three to Cole in October 1650. After publishing Culpeper's translation, Cole made a financial deal with Bowtell whereby he secured the rights to publish a translation of the new *Pharmacopoeia*. It took Culpeper two years to finish this new translation, which Cole published in 1653, entitled *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory Further Adorned*: the precise title originally registered by Bowtell and President Clarke in November 1649.

What this study has revealed, contrary to what historians have generally believed, is that the President and Censors allowed College titles to be registered with the Stationers' Company as English translations. The reason for this is the political aspirations of the College during the 1650s.¹⁷⁷ With the removal of royal power in 1642, the College had to choose between the Crown and Parliament. For the College, 'rooted in Parliamentary London', there was little choice.¹⁷⁸ Sharp and Birken have shown how the College actually worked in compliance with the government during the Commonwealth and, in general, its Fellows were supporters of the government's demands. It also allowed unlicensed medical practitioners to go about their business. Charles Webster claims that during the Commonwealth, 'the Fellows [of the College of Physicians] actively collaborated with "physicians" from ... diverse backgrounds'.¹⁷⁹ Lindsay Sharp suggests that the College survived the revolutionary period because,

The balance of power [in the College] swung ... in favour of Fellows either sympathetic to the government or highly sensitive to those dangers which threatened the very existence of the College. For its own part the government reciprocated this sympathy and caution by not interfering with an institution which many regarded as monopolistic, inefficient and corrupt.¹⁸⁰

John Clarke was part of this group of Parliamentary supporters within the College.¹⁸¹ The fact that he rose to the post of President demonstrates the realisation, on the part of the

¹⁷⁷ See Lindsay Sharp, 'The Royal College of Physicians and Interregnum Politics', *Medical History*, 19 (1975), 107-28; Birken, 'The Royal College of Physicians of London and its Support of the Parliamentary Cause in the English Civil War', *Journal of British Studies*, 23 (1983), 47-62; Webster, 'The College of Physicians'; *Decline*, pp. 94-132.

¹⁷⁸ Cook, 'Policing the Health of London: the College of Physicians and the Early Stuart Monarchy', *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1989), 1-33 (p. 30).

¹⁷⁹ Webster, 'The College of Physicians', p. 409.

¹⁸⁰ Sharp, 'The Royal College of Physicians and Interregnum Politics', p. 128.

¹⁸¹ Cyril Hart, 'John Clarke, M.D., c. 1583-1653', *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, 55 (1951), 34-40.

Fellows, that if the College was to survive the revolution, it had to appear to support the government.¹⁸² It should also be remembered that it was Clarke who established the movement to license translations of Latin medical theory books during 1649 and 1650.

Culpeper's translation was popular and threatened the College's ability to control the preparation of medicines in London. Doreen Nagy claims that Culpeper's translation 'called forth the condemnation of the College of Physicians'.¹⁸³ However, the College's 'Annals' contain no mention of Culpeper or his translation.¹⁸⁴ William Johnson made the only response that can be associated with the College, but his book did not receive the imprimatur of the College, despite their issue for other vernacular texts. As I have shown (p. 68), President Clarke and the four Censors were present with William Dugard when Francis Glisson's treatise on rickets was registered with the Stationers' Company. Dugard gained the rights to both the original Latin text and an English translation.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps Clarke had learnt from events surrounding the registration of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, and thought that by allowing Dugard the right to an English version he could control its publication. Dugard printed the College's newly revised *Pharmacopoeia* for Stephen Bowtell, and published *De Rachitide* with the College's imprimatur.

In February 1651, Peter Cole attempted to thwart Dugard and the College's attempt to control the publication of an English version of *De Rachitide* by registering a treatise 'of the Ricketts translated out of Latin into English'.¹⁸⁶ At the same visit he also entered Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* and *The English Physitian*, along with 'all the works of Fernelius, translated out of the latyn into English', and a treatise on fevers. Cole stated that the last two books were translations by a 'Phil. Armin'. When he published *A Treatise of the Rickets* (1651) its title page confirmed it had been '[t]ranslated into English by *Phil. Armin*', from Glisson's Latin original. Clarke and the Censors clearly hoped that by registering an English copy with the Stationers' Company it could prevent the publication of an unauthorised version. George Thomason bought his copy of *A Treatise of the Rickets* on the 7 March 1651, only two days after Dugard had complained to the Council of State about Cole's illegal publication. At its meeting on 5 March, the Council 'examine[d] the Complaynt by him made about Peter Cole his printing a Copie concerning the Ricketts

¹⁸² Birken, 'The Royal College of Physicians of London', p. 52.

¹⁸³ Nagy, *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁴ See Sharp, 'The Royal College of Physicians and Interregnum Politics', p. 109.

¹⁸⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 345.

¹⁸⁶ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 360.

which Mr. Dugard alledgeth to be his'.¹⁸⁷ The outcome of this episode is unclear but the Council ordered Cole before the Committee of Examinations on 16 April 1651 and it appears that he was attempting to run roughshod over the College and Dugard.¹⁸⁸ In the 1660s, Cole reissued this edition with a new title page and preliminary. This is significant because it suggests either that he withdrew the early issue in response to Dugard's complaint, or it did not sell well. To the new title page, Cole added, 'Enlarged, corrected, and very much amended ... By Nich. Culpeper', but its imprint remained unchanged, dated 1651, as did the text.¹⁸⁹ However, the advertisement Cole printed in the preliminary was for 'The Physician's Library', a project which Cole launched in the 1660s.¹⁹⁰ Culpeper was, of course, still alive in 1651 and if he had been the translator of the work its original title page would have advertised the fact. Also in *The English Physitian* published the following year, Culpeper mentioned the College's 'particular Treatise' on the rickets, but made no reference to any translation.¹⁹¹ It would appear that in the 1660s Cole hoped to exploit the Culpeper name to promote sales.

It is money that lies at the heart of the College's actions recorded in the Stationers' Company's Register. The willingness of Clarke to register an English version of the revised *Pharmacopoeia* suggest that it was an attempt to gain some measure of control over an English version of the College's book. However, once Bowtell had sold his rights to Cole in 1650, the College's attempt failed. Cole had established his trade rights to the copy for both the Latin and English versions of the *Pharmacopoeia*. The College was unable to take any further action and thereby lost control of the production of their *Pharmacopoeia*, their sacred text, with which Fellows had intended to assert their authority over London medical practice. Cole's manipulation of the Stationers' monopoly ensured his ability to sell the College's professional and monopolistic knowledge for his commercial benefit.

Ownership and Promotion of the Culpeper Name

This section briefly highlights the unique conditions prevalent in the book trade during the

¹⁸⁷ *CSPD 1651*, p. 70 (SP 25/65/63).

¹⁸⁸ *CSPD 1651*, p. 151 (SP 25/65/276-77).

¹⁸⁹ Francis Glisson, *A Treatise of the Rickets*, trans. (1651). Copies represented by WIL 24832/A are from the first issue, while WIL 28801/A and BL 1178.b.8. are from the second issue with a reprinted preliminary gathering.

¹⁹⁰ The first issue included advertisements for *PD*, *DM*, and *An Ephemeris for 1651* (A3^v), the larger advertisement in the second issue included the titles of the spurious translations that Cole linked with Culpeper (A3^f-4^f).

¹⁹¹ *EP* (Cole, 1652), P1^v.

1650s, and I trace the careers of Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brook, Culpeper's principal publishers at this time. Cole rose to a relatively powerful position as searcher for seditious books in the early years of the 1650s and sought to exploit this, not surprisingly, to his own advantage. He was responsible for the printing and publication of Culpeper's medical books and during this decade came increasingly to depend on the Culpeper brand name. In contrast, Brook published Culpeper's books on astrology and worked as a book distributor for the royalist Elias Ashmole. It appears that during his lifetime Culpeper was responsible for the allocation of work between these two publishers. Both were specialists in their particular market and this allowed Culpeper to target different audiences. Following his death, Cole and Brook attempted to establish their legal rights to profit from the Culpeper name in a keenly fought contest. In the late 1650s Cole published a series of medical translations which can only doubtfully be associated with Culpeper. Following the Restoration, Cole found it increasingly difficult to sell Culpeper's political beliefs and, as I show in the following chapter, he doctored Culpeper's work to suit the commercial reality of the early 1660s. Perhaps because of his royalist links, Brook was able to adapt to the decade's new conditions and prospered.

Peter Cole: Culpeper's Medical Publisher

Cole's career began as an apprentice to John Bellamy to whom he was registered on 29 October 1629. He was freed seven years later on 11 January 1637, six months before Laud's strict control of the trade was introduced with the Star Chamber Decree of 11 July.¹⁹² Cole was the son of a clothier from Barfold in Suffolk, while Bellamy was a bookseller who had been in business since 1620. It is possible that he was influenced by the political beliefs of his master, who represented the Ward of Cornhill on the Common Council, and held the rank of Colonel in the Parliamentary army during the Civil War.¹⁹³ In

¹⁹² *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 41; *SR 1554-1640*, IV, 528-36. According to the Decree, books were to be licensed and entered in the Register. Book of divinity, physick, philosophy, and poetry were to be licensed by Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London (or by their appointments), or, if printed within the limits of the two University towns, then by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor or the appropriate University. Printers/publishers were required to submit two copies of a manuscript to the licenser, one of which was return, whilst the other was lodged at the licenser's house to compare with the printed version should a dispute occur. The number of master printers was limited to twenty and a bond of £300 was to be entered into by printers within ten days of the Decree. The power of search and seizure was granted to the Company and the Archbishops of Canterbury and London. Also see W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 12; Feather, *British Publishing*, p. 40; Frederick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1952; repr. 1965), pp. 141-46.

¹⁹³ *Dict. 1641-1667*, pp. 20-21; Leona Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious and Legal*

1641 Bellamy joined Michael Sparke's assault on the Stationers' Company's monopoly of the English Stock.¹⁹⁴ Although this challenge failed, in March 1643 Bellamy was appointed one of the thirteen Searchers ordered to apprehend and commit irregular printers after the House of Commons gave authority to the Committee of Examinations to control printing.¹⁹⁵

Cole set up in business at the Sign of the Clove in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, and registered his first apprentice with the Stationers' Company on 2 December 1639 having been fined 2*s*.6*d*. that day by the Court of the Company for not binding James Nuthall in due time.¹⁹⁶ McKenzie's analysis of the Company's records shows that Cole had a further six apprentices, of which three were jointly freed by Cole and another stationer.¹⁹⁷ Cole had at least one other apprentice because in November 1660 a petition was presented to the Council of State by Oliver Hunt, described as an apprentice to 'Peter Cole, stationer and printer of London ... to call his master to account for misuse of him in beating him, not allowing him to go out, and thereby alluring him to dessert'.¹⁹⁸ Apparently, Cole had taken such action because he suspected Hunt had 'informed against him concerning his treasonable and seditious books'.¹⁹⁹

One of the first books to bear his name in its imprint was the third edition of the surgical manual, *A Profitable and Necessarie Booke of Observations* by William Clowes.²⁰⁰ This book was printed by Mary Dawson, for Peter Cole and Benjamin Allen, who had been a fellow apprentice with Bellamy. Allen had been bound to Bellamy in 1623, and was freed two years after Cole began his apprenticeship, in 1631.²⁰¹ By 1643, Cole had moved to the Sign of the Printing-Press in Leadenhall and added printing to his business. That year the June Printing Act brought the trade under the jurisdiction of Parliament, and the House

Publishing, Printing and Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies, 2 vols (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), I, 10, 97-129.

¹⁹⁴ Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, pp. 134-38.

¹⁹⁵ Blagden, 'The Stationers' Company in the Civil War Period', p. 10; Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, p. 175. See Thomas Fairfax, *A Warrant of the Lord General Fairfax ... Concerning the Regulating of Printing* (1649), B2^f.

¹⁹⁶ *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 56; *Court*, p. 488.

¹⁹⁷ *Apprentices 1641-1700*, p. [34]. Symon Dover was freed by Cole and Dawson in 1660, Nathaniell Howell by Cole and John Hide in 1658, and Discey Page by Cole and George Golborne in 1664.

¹⁹⁸ *CSPD 1660-1661*, p. 380.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ This book is not listed in STC, but the British Library has a copy (shelf-mark 1651/721).

²⁰¹ Allen was the son of a fell-monger from Northamptonshire, and was bound to Bellamy from 1623. He was freed two years after Cole began his apprenticeship, in 1631 (*Dict. 1641-1667*, pp. 1-2; *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 41).

of Commons appointed the Committee of Examinations to control the trade.²⁰² Printers were required to posit a £300 bond and the names of two sureties, but Cole never registered with the Council of State.²⁰³ At an earlier stage in his career Cole had already flouted the control imposed upon the trade and this established his pattern of working.

Before March 1643, the Stationers' Company had seized the press of Richard Overton, a Finsbury printer who may be the man of the same name who later became a leader of the Leveller party.²⁰⁴ Early in his career, Cole must have known this idealist printer because, in March, the Company ordered that the press seized in Bell Alley near Finsbury be restored to Peter Cole for Overton its owner.²⁰⁵ Cole's association with this group may have begun during his apprenticeship, as Bellamy was himself an acquaintance of William Walwyn.²⁰⁶ By 1649, Walwyn must have known Cole, to whom he 'esteemed ... [him] self ablieged to' for defending his name from a 'notorious drunkard, and a whore master'.²⁰⁷

On the 14 June 1643, a new Printing Act was introduced, and six days later the Committee of Examinations ordered:

That the keys of the room where the printing presses and materials of Peter Cole now are shall be restored to him, he entering bond of 1,000*l.* not to remove the said presses or dispose of them without first acquainting this Committee and the Master and wardens of the Company of Stationers and have their consent thereto. And that hereafter he do not presume to print with the said press any book, pamphlet or paper not licensed according to the Ordinance of Parliament of the 14th of this present June.²⁰⁸

The bond of a thousand pounds levied on Cole, who was just starting out on his career, is exceptionally high (indeed, the amanuensis may have recorded the amount incorrectly). However, although Cole signed this order he surprisingly did not keep to its terms. In February 1644, he admitted resisting the search of a warden in pursuit of the Parliamentary

²⁰² *A&O*, I, 184-87.

²⁰³ Between 9 and 20 October, thirty-seven London printers registered with the Council of State (*CSPD 1649-1650*, pp. 522-24).

²⁰⁴ See Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 76, 82, 144, 151-53; Henry R. Plomer, 'Secret Printing During the Civil War', *The Library*, 2nd ser., 5 (1904), 374-403.

²⁰⁵ Court Book C, f. 187^v. See William M. Baillie, 'Printing Bibles in the Interregnum: *The Case of William Bentley and A Short Answer*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91 (1997), 65-91 (pp. 73-74).

²⁰⁶ Tolmie, *Triumph of the Saints*, p. 141.

²⁰⁷ William Walwyn, *Walwyns Just Defence* (1649), B4^{r-v}. See *The Writings of William Walwyn*, ed. by Jack R. McMichael and Barbara Taft (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 404.

²⁰⁸ *CSPD 1641-1643*, p. 513 (SP 16/498/174). On control of the trade during this period see Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, pp. 179-201.

Ordinance for Printing, although the Court did not take the bond from him.²⁰⁹

During the 1640s the bulk of Cole's publications were pamphlets and sermons, and he was the principal publisher of the works of William Bridge (c. 1600-70) and Jeremiah Burroughes (1599-1646).²¹⁰ Both Bridge and Burroughes were puritan divines and had spent time together in Rotterdam where they had sought refuge in 1637.²¹¹ In 1642 Burroughes along with Hugh Peters (1598-1660), John Goodwin (c. 1594-1665), and others, petitioned the House of Commons opposing any peace with the crown that did not guarantee Parliament's privileges.²¹² We know that Culpeper was accused of membership of Goodwin's congregation and the church of Anabaptists which both met in Coleman Street, and it may have been through his membership of London's sectarian churches that Culpeper first meet Cole.²¹³ Their gatherings attracted middling traders, such as booksellers, and Cole published Goodwin's *The Christian Engagement* (1641).²¹⁴ By 1646, Cole's relationship with Goodwin was less amicable, because the preacher complained to the Court of the Stationers' Company requesting that Cole's entry for his sermons be crossed out from the Register.²¹⁵

Burroughes' and Goodwin's chief opponent was Thomas Edwards (1599-1647), the Puritan minister and author of *Gangraena* (1646). In *Gangraena* he presented his circumstantial evidence about sectarians and their mistaken beliefs. Thus, Edwards records a debate in December 1644 at 'Mr. Smiths shop in Cornhill', on '*Liberty of Conscience, and Tolerations*', at which 'Mr. Cole Bookseller' was present. He, like Edwards, was against it, 'by what he saw and knew': he once nearly joined a 'Church' of Brownists which denied the Scriptures to be God's word, and thought Jesus a historical figure. Cole said he 'knew many who met to dispute against the Scriptures, and hath been at their meetings' and he seems to have pointed one of them out to Edwards.²¹⁶ This may have been a reference to his former Master, John Bellamy, who was himself denounced a Brownist.²¹⁷ From the books Cole published he appears to have been on the fringes of London's sects, but is here dissociating himself. However, as Edwards reported the matter, he says, to 'a Committee',

²⁰⁹ Court Book C, f. 197^r.

²¹⁰ McCarl, p. 235.

²¹¹ See *DNB* and *DBR*, I, 99-100, 108-09.

²¹² On Goodwin and Peters see *DBR*, II, 15-17; III, 30-32.

²¹³ Tolmie, *Triumph of the Saints*, p. 76.

²¹⁴ Lindley, *Popular Politics*, p. 283.

²¹⁵ Court Book C, f. 230^r.

²¹⁶ Thomas Edwards, *Grangraena: or a Catalogue ... of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries* (1646), pp. 111-12. See Tolmie, *Triumph of the Saints*, pp. 31, 67.

²¹⁷ Tolmie, *Triumph of the Saints*, p. 141.

Cole was probably wise to appease his interrogator.

On 22 February 1649 Cole, along with the publishers Frances Tyton and John Playford, entered the title *King Charles his Tryal* in the Stationers' Register.²¹⁸ This pamphlet was a narrative of the proceedings at the High Court from 20 January to 27 January 1649, and printed the speeches given by Charles, the Lord President, and the Solicitor General. On 20 September a new Printing Act was introduced: all previous licences were withdrawn and the Stationers' Company was authorised to appoint their own searchers.²¹⁹ So, although Gilbert Mabbot, the licenser of newsbooks since 1645, had originally awarded *King Charles his Tryal* a licence, on 19 November 1649 a warrant was issued to Edward Dendy, sergeant-at-arms to the Council of State, to apprehend Cole, Tyton, and Playford for printing and publishing *Kings Charles his Tryal*, and 'seize the said Bookes'.²²⁰ Cole managed to turn this episode to his advantage, and less than six months later, in April 1650, the Council of State issued him a joint Warrant with Dendy, 'to search for and seize all pamphletts & other unlicensed papers'.²²¹ The following month a similar Warrant was issued to Cole and his assistants.²²² This reversal of fortune suggests that the Council was hoping to employ Cole's knowledge of the intricacy of unlicensed printing to capture others. Frances Tyton also benefited from the Council's willingness to work with previously indicted publishers, and in 1651 was awarded a payment of £54.14s.7d. for supplying books and papers to the Commissioners of Ireland.²²³

In 1651 William Ball's *A Briefe Treatise Concerning the Regulation of Printing* was published in response to the flouting of the Printing Act. Ball produced a set of proposals for regulation and compared the control needed with the hierarchical structure of the medical profession:

Printers ... ought to have some carefull, and exact supervision over them, even as Apothecaries (who have the Colledge of Physitians, and Doctors of Physique over them, not only to prescribe, but also to peruse their Medicines) lest the first poyson the mindes of the People by erroneous principles in print, as may the last their bodies, by evil Medicines.²²⁴

Ball wanted to stop the emerging importance of the printer over the publisher, but this

²¹⁸ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 311.

²¹⁹ *A&O*, II, 245-54.

²²⁰ *CSPD 1649-1650*, p. 555 (SP 25/63/281).

²²¹ *CSPD 1650*, p. 538 (SP 25/64/282). Dendy was already an experienced searcher for seditious books (*CSPD 1649-1650*, pp. 537, 544, 545, 547, 561).

²²² *CSPD 1650*, p. 544 (SP 25/64/386).

²²³ *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 185; *CSPD 1651*, p. 555.

²²⁴ William Ball, *A Briefe Treatise Concerning the Regulation of Printing* (1651), B5^v.

comparison of the medical profession and the book trade overstated the College's control. Just as the College could no longer exercise its monopoly over the apothecaries, so copy-owning stationers could no longer protect their investment as printers targeted any successful book.²²⁵

In August 1652 Cole sought the authority of the Court of the Stationers' Company to allow him to continue as a searcher, and the Court ordered: 'that all the power in the Master and Wardons by the said ord[inance of June 1643] be given to y^e said Peter Cole and the other persons named'.²²⁶ On the same day Cole brought '[a] heap of the first sheet of the first part of the History of Independency with a Presse', to Stationers' Hall.²²⁷ The third part of Clement Walker's *History of Independency* (1648), appeared in 1651 entitled *The High Court of Justice* and was published anonymously. The following month Cole requested that a Warden of the Company should accompany him on his searches.²²⁸

It seems Cole had ulterior motives in trying for this role. Firstly, he was able to seize William Bentley's press in October 1652.²²⁹ This action was in response to an accumulation of infringements by Bentley of Cole's stationers' rights. In November 1646, and in January the following year, Cole had entered the generic title 'Certain Sermons' by Jeremiah Burroughes in the Stationers' Register.²³⁰ In the late 1640s the works of Burroughes constituted a significant amount of the output of Cole's press, and in 1648 he published one particular book by Burroughes entitled *The Jewel of Christian Contentment*. Cole published a further two editions before William Bentley printed an edition for Lawrence Sadler and Richard Beaumont in 1651. Also in 1651 Bentley printed an edition of the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* for Sadler and Beaumont, again in breach of Cole's stationers' rights acquired in October 1650. By 1652, in addition to the Burroughes title, he had also printed and published editions of Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651), and, possibly, a non-extant edition of *A Physical Directory* (1649). Bentley was also the most probable publisher of the 1654 duodecimo edition of Culpeper's 1653 translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. His career echoed that of Cole, displaying acts of apparent idealism alongside commercial awareness.²³¹ From 1644, he printed octavo and duodecimo Bibles

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, B6^{r-v}.

²²⁶ Court Book C, f. 269^v.

²²⁷ Court Book C, f. 270^r.

²²⁸ Court Book C, f. 270^v.

²²⁹ Court Book C, f. 275^v.

²³⁰ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 253, 254, 259.

²³¹ *Dict. 1641-1667*, pp. 22-23; Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 141; Baillie, 'Printing Bibles in the Interregnum'.

at Finsbury, which retailed at 2s. as against the going price of 4s.4d. for, he claimed, ‘the publick good’ and the benefit of the Commonwealth, with the backing of the Westminster Assembly.²³² Although he operated outside the Stationers’ Company he had the backing of this official body of influential Presbyterians, and the 1649 Printing Act expressly gave him the right to print outside London. However, in *A Short Answer To ... the Case of William Bentley* (1656), Henry Hills and John Field, the official Bible patentees, accused Bentley of ‘invading other mens Properties by printing their Copies from them’.²³³ This is perhaps also a reference to his infringement of Cole’s copyright. Following the establishment of its Bible Stock in 1646, the Stationers’ Company began to undercut Bentley’s market, and in 1649 he stopped printing Bibles. Now on hard times, he applied his experience of small format printing and its profitability to producing a series of editions of Culpeper’s popular books. On the 7 March 1653, the Stationers’ Company ordered Cole to return Bentley’s press, but Cole managed to hold on to it till June.²³⁴ The reluctance on the part of Cole to return the press may be explained by Bentley’s further and persistent infringement of Cole’s registered rights.

Cole, then, was prepared to curry favour with the Company in order to protect his own business. Secondly, he hoped that he could influence the content of a new Printing Act that Parliament was considering. The stationers, however, were worried that Cole might stymie any new Act, as entries in the ‘Court Book’ suggest that journeymen were concerned that Cole made ‘demands before the Com^{ttee} for allowance to Print’, and that his petition to the Committee ‘bee in opposition to their obtaining a further Act of Parliament’.²³⁵ On 7 January 1653, Parliament passed a new Act that placed the right to print under the jurisdiction of the Council of State rather than the Stationers’ Company.²³⁶ At the end of January 1653 Cole presented his petition to the Council, and on 17 February it ordered that Cole was ‘permitted to continue his trade of printing, he observing the rules & Cautions expressed in the Acts & Ordinances of Parliam^t’.²³⁷ This episode demonstrates that Cole was a resourceful individual who early on in his career aligned himself with Parliament and its Committee of Examinations to further his own interests, at a time when the regulation of

²³² Baillie, ‘Printing Bibles in the Interregnum’, pp. 67, 72.

²³³ Henry Hills and John Field, *A Short Answer To ... the Case of William Bentley* (1656), reproduced by Baillie, ‘Printing Bibles in the Interregnum’, pp. 89-91 (p. 89).

²³⁴ Court Book C, ff. 279^r, 280^r, 280^v.

²³⁵ Court Book C, ff. 271^r, 271^v. See Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, pp. 226-27.

²³⁶ *A&O*, II, 696-99; Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, p. 228.

²³⁷ *CSPD 1652-1653*, pp. 130 (SP 25/68/310), 170. (SP 25/39/76).

the trade was in crisis.²³⁸

During the second half of 1650s Cole continued to prosper. In February 1655, he received the monopoly to print Edward Hayward's *The Sizes and Lengths of Riggings* for the Admiralty.²³⁹ In 1656 he petitioned the Council of State and claimed that he had a series of sermons by Burroughes and Thomas Hooker ready to print, but could not get the necessary licences on account that the manuscripts were so poorly written that they could 'not be read by a Lycener'.²⁴⁰ This was almost certainly a ploy by Cole because he requested that 'himselfe may be a Lycener of his owne Copyes'.²⁴¹ It is not known whether Cole was granted the right to licence, although in 1661 he repeated this request hoping to avoid any new regulations that followed the Restoration.

From 1649 Cole's catalogue of books became increasingly dependent upon the Culpeper name. Culpeper's book and the spurious translations that Cole published after Culpeper's death account for nearly fifty percent of the editions Cole published from 1649 to 1666.

Table 2.3: Sheet Counts for Books Published with Cole's Name (either Solely or Jointly) in their Imprint

Year	Culpeper titles and associated translations (incl. reissues)		All titles (incl. reissues)	
	no. of titles/ translations (% of total)	no. of sheets per copy (% of total)*	no. of titles	no. of sheets for individual copy*
1637	-	-	3	60
1638	-	-	2	20
1639	-	-	3	70
1640	-	-	3	230
1641	-	-	2	20
1642	-	-	5	10
1643	-	-	15	50
1644	-	-	8	20
1645	-	-	7	20
1646	-	-	2	100
1647	-	-	4	70
1648	-	-	13	130
1649	1 (6)	50 (19)	17	260
1650	1 (6)	60 (23)	16	460
1651	4 (80)	100 (59)	5	170
1652	2 (29)	70 (47)	7	150

²³⁸ See Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, pp. 130-52; Blagden, 'The Stationers' Company in the Civil War Period'.

²³⁹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 464; *CSPD 1655*, p. 36 (SP 25/75/671).

²⁴⁰ In 1656 Cole published two of Hooker's books: *The Application of Redemption* and *A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer*.

²⁴¹ *CSPD 1655-1656*, p. 149 (SP 25/92/132).

1653	4 (29)	100 (67)	14	150
1654	3 (50)	50 (17)	6	300
1655	3 (43)	190 (76)	7	250
1656	7 (50)	160 (36)	14	450
1657	3 (38)	130 (35)	8	370
1658	2 (40)	400 (53)	5	760
1659	2 (29)	40 (2)	7	480
1660	3 (60)	160 (89)	5	180
1661	5 (50)	550 (71)	10	780
1662	11 (84)	740 (95)	13	780
1663	6 (100)	960 (100)	6	960
1664	3 (100)	460 (100)	3	460
1665	3 (100)	110 (100)	3	110
1666	1 (100)	270 (100)	1	270
Total	64 (30)	4600 (57)	214	8140

* The calculation of sheets is based upon data given by the ESTC supplemented by *The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints* (Chicago: Mansell, 1968-81), 754 vols. Consequently the figures are approximations, which, although not accurate, do reveal the importance of the Culpeper name to Cole's stock.

In the new political climate of the Restoration Cole suffered a series of financial setbacks before he attempted to re-market his valuable stock of Culpeper books. In July 1661 a warrant was issued for his apprehension and the seizure of copies of 'a late dangerous & seditious Booke entitled *Mirabilis Annus* ... as also for all other seditious & prohibited Books'.²⁴² The 'Confederate' group published *Mirabilis Annus; or the Year of Prodigies* (1661) and presumably Cole had been caught selling copies from his shop.²⁴³ New attempts to suppress the relative freedom the printing trade had enjoyed during the preceding two decades were discussed by Parliament in July 1661.²⁴⁴ Proposals for a new Printing Act were discussed in which the College of Physicians was named as a possible licensing body for medical books.²⁴⁵ If this was accepted Cole would have been the victim of the College's new powers, and on 27 July 1661, the day Parliament discussed the proposals, he petitioned the House of Lords for exemption from any new Printing Act.²⁴⁶

Cole appears to have gone into partnership with his brother, Edward, in the early 1660s, with whom he planned to re-market Culpeper's books collectively under the umbrella title of 'The Physitian's Library'. According to the title page of *The Rationall Physitians Library* (1661), the library included Culpeper's translation of the

²⁴² CSPD 1661-1662, p. 54 (SP 29/39/283).

²⁴³ See Maureen Bell, 'Elizabeth Calvert and the "Confederates"', *Publishing History*, 32 (1992), 5-49 (pp. 11-15).

²⁴⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, IX, 323, 325; *Journals of the House of Commons*, VIII, 313-14.

²⁴⁵ CSPD 1661-62, p. 45.

²⁴⁶ Blagden, 'The "Company" of Printers', p. 6. A photograph of the original petition is in *The Main Papers of the House of Lords* (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1984), microfilm edn 174 reels, reel 86.

Pharmacopoeia, *The English Physitian*, and *A Directory for Midwives*, along with translations of works by Lazare Rivière, Jean Riolan, Johann Vesling, Felix Platter and Daniel Sennert. This large folio was in fact a reissue of copies of Rivière's *The Practice of Physick* (1655) and *Four Books of that Learned and Renowned Doctor* (1658), which had remained unsold. In 1663, the title page of *The Physitians Library* again advertised Culpeper's books, despite being another reissue of Rivière's work and Feilx Platter's *A Golden Practice of Physick* (1662). In his petition he claimed to have invested five thousand pounds, raised from the estate of thirteen orphans, registering titles with the Stationers' Company, securing brass plates cut for anatomical illustrations, and finally in printing. Cole had taken on the responsibility of maintenance for the orphans for which, traditionally, he would have received 'finding money' or the interest on their estates.²⁴⁷ He had five thousand sheets 'made reddie for the press', but such was his precarious financial position that if he had to license these texts he claimed this venture would collapse and 'so ruin your Petitioner' and the orphans' estates. Appended to this petition is a list of those books which Cole has already printed and a second list of those works which are in the press. All are exclusively medical and reflect Cole's deliberate drive to exploit Culpeper's name. He claimed to have printed completely eighteen books, which included Culpeper's *Pharmacopoeia*, *The English Physitian*, *A Directory for Midwives*, and *Galen's Art of Physick*. The remaining titles and six more in the press were all translations undertaken by Abdiah Cole and William Reeves despite claims of Culpeper's involvement made on their title pages.²⁴⁸ These books were expensive folios, ranging in price from 10s. to a proposed price of over £3 for Spegilius's book on anatomy, although Cole never published this title. He actually included a draft clause to excuse him from the formality of obtaining licences, provided his name and address appeared on all their title pages. Cole clearly feared the prospect of any new control, but no notice was taken of his plea, and in June 1662 a new Bill was passed.²⁴⁹ Instead of the College, the Archbishops of Canterbury and London,

²⁴⁷ See Charles Carlton, *The Court of Orphans* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974). There is no entry for Cole in the City of London Archives ('Account Books of the Money Paid to Persons for the Maintenance of Orphans ... 1643-61' (MS 123c), and 'Account Book of Money Received for the Benefit of Orphans and Money Paid Out To or For Them, 1648-76' (MS 122c)).

²⁴⁸ Lazare Rivière, *The Practice of Physick*, trans. by Abdiah Cole and others (1655); Rivière *Four Books of that Learned and Renowned Doctor*, trans. by Cole and others (1658); Jean Riolan, *A Sure Guide, or the Best and Nearest Way to Physick*, trans. by William Rand and others (1657); Johann Vesling, *The Anatomy of the Body of Man*, trans. (1653); Daniel Sennert, *Thirteen Books of Natural Philosophy*, trans. by Cole and others (1659); Sennert, *Two Treatises* (1660), Sennert, *Chymistry Made Easie and Useful*, trans. by Cole and others (1662); Sennert, *Practical Physick*, trans. by Cole and others (1662); Jean Prevost, *Medicaments for the Poor*, trans. by Culpeper (1656).

²⁴⁹ 14. Car. II, c. 33 (*The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by John Raithby, 10 vols (London: [n.p.], 1810-24), v,

amongst others, were appointed licensers of medical books. It was now required that all books be registered with the Stationers' Company and the appropriate licence to be printed opposite the title page of every book. One stationer, John Streater, was excluded from the Act's provision, and he may have been the inspiration for Cole's ambitious claim for exemption in 1661.²⁵⁰

The new Act limited the number of master-printers to only twenty.²⁵¹ In May 1663, printers were ordered to present themselves at Stationers' Hall and Treadwell suggests that 'A list of the M[aste]r Printers' in Lambeth Palace Library, was made at this meeting; Cole is down as not lawful.²⁵² More importantly the Company no longer had the power of search and seizure; this power was granted to the Secretary of State who, in 1663, appointed Sir Roger L'Estrange as Surveyor of the Press.²⁵³ Cole was even mentioned by L'Estrange in *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (1663) which listed those printers and publishers who had produced 'Instances of Treasous and Seditious Pamphlets' during the Interregnum. He records Peter Cole who printed John Cook's *King Charls his Case: or, An Appeal to all Rational Men Concerning his Tryal*, for Giles Calvert in 1649.²⁵⁴ In the 1660s Cole's investment in the Culpeper name is clear from Table 2.3. Books bearing imprints dated from 1660 to 1666 amount to over forty per cent of the total sheets Cole published and/or printed during his career, of which over ninety per cent were titles associated with Culpeper. The level of investment necessary for such an ambitious programme is clear from his petition from 1661, and it may have been as a result of these business pressures that Cole committed suicide at the end of 1665.

Cole hanged himself on 4 December 1665 in his warehouse in Leadenhall.²⁵⁵ According to the parish register for St Peters-upon-Cornhill, Cole 'hanged himselfe being

428-33). On the effects of the new Bill see Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, pp. 43-44; Rose, *Authors and Owners*, p. 31; Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, pp. 237-63.

²⁵⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, v, 433; *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 173. Followed Cole's death his titles moved to Streater (see McCarl, p. 252).

²⁵¹ Feather, *British Publishing*, p. 51-52; Blagden, 'The "Company" of Printers', p. 7.

²⁵² Blagden, 'The "Company" of Printers', p. 7; Michael Treadwell, 'Lists of Master Printers: The Size of the London Printing Trade, 1637-1723' in *Aspects of Printing From 1600*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), 141-70 (p. 158). Original at Lambeth Palace Library, MS 941/62.

²⁵³ In *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (1663), Roger L'Estrange issued a series of proposals for regulating printing. He argued that both the stationers and printers could not be entrusted with control of the trade because they were all self-interested parties (B2^r-4^r, D4^v-E2^r, C3^v).

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, C3^v.

²⁵⁵ *CSPD 1665-66*, p. 88 (SP 44/22/328). James Hickeys reported Cole's suicide in a letter to a Williamson on 5 December.

distracted', and was buried in the 'pitt' in the East Yard.²⁵⁶ His will was proved on 22 December: Cole apparently died a relatively wealthy man. He left the bulk of his property to his brother Edward's children, which included land in East Bergholt, Suffolk, the county Cole had originated from, as well as bequests to Elizabeth Ridley, the daughter of John Ridley, a stationer, and to Samuel Thompson.²⁵⁷ However, it is unlikely that any of his family benefited, because on 12 December a warrant had been granted to Lord John Berkeley and Sir Hugh Pollard for the right to Cole's estate, 'forfeit by his suicide', on payment of half its value to the King's project to build a new palace at Greenwich.²⁵⁸

This brief outline of Peter Cole's career has shown him to have been an astute publisher. Although he published contrary to order in the 1649, he managed to secure a position of Searcher with the Council of State in the 1650s, and exploited this position to protect his commercial interests. Cole used his stationer's right to establish ownership of the copies to a Latin and English version of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, and this demonstrates both his commercial perspective and his willingness to challenge the College's role as overseer of London's medicine.

During his lifetime, Culpeper divided his books between Cole and Nathaniel Brook. Brook specialised in the distribution of astrology books and worked on behalf of Elias Ashmole. In the aftermath of his death the two stationers fought for the rights to his posthumous books. In the next section the career of Brook is briefly explored along with his relationship with Ashmole following this, the thorny question of Culpeper's posthumous bibliography is examined.

Nathaniel Brook: Astrology and Royalist Connections

Nathaniel Brook was the son of a London stationer, John Brook, and was born on 12 November 1623.²⁵⁹ He followed his father into his chosen profession, and on 25 March 1637, at the age of fourteen, he was bound to the stationer Humphrey Blunden.²⁶⁰ For the next nine years Brook learnt his trade and was finally freed on 6 April 1646.²⁶¹ Later that

²⁵⁶ 'A Register of all the Christninges Burialls & Weddinges Within the Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', Guildhall Library, MS 8820, f. 59^v. Cole's suicide is also reported by Richard Smith in his 'Obituary', wherein he also reported that Cole was 'distracted' (*The Obituary of Richard Smyth*, p. 70).

²⁵⁷ PRO, Prob 11/318 (P.C.C. 153 Hyde).

²⁵⁸ *CSPD 1665-66*, p. 98 (SP 44/22/328).

²⁵⁹ In the Ashmole Papers an astrological nativity for the stationer gives his date of birth (Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 332, f. 42).

²⁶⁰ *Apprentices 1605-1640*, p. 45.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

year Brook had adequate capital to set up as a bookseller at the sign of the Angel in Cornhill, and early on in his career took out a £50 loan from the bequest of John Norton which had been left to the Stationers' Company.²⁶²

As early as 1649, Cole and Brook appear to have entered on a business deal. That year Cole published *Six Sermons* by Thomas Hill; each sermon, though, had its own title page, unique pagination and signatures, and had been published separately in 1648. Cole merely bound together unsold copies and printed a new title page for this compilation. However, Cole had only previously published four of the six, the remaining two having been published by Roger Daniel, printer for the University of Cambridge, and Nathaniel Brook.²⁶³ Cole must have paid Brook and Daniel for their unsold copies. Brook probably sold the copies because he could not recoup his costs from retail sales, presumably because the book did not fit well with the rest of his stock.

Despite illegally publishing a couple of almanacs that belonged to the Stationers' Company English Stock in 1655 and 1659, and being ordered before the Council of State in 1656 for publishing the satirical *Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment* (1656), Brook progressed through the Company.²⁶⁴ In April 1653 he was admitted to the Livery, and in December 1659 eventually gained a part of the Yeomanry share in the English Stock.²⁶⁵ In contrast to Peter Cole, who operated on the periphery of the Company, antagonising its journeymen and courting the Council of State for exemption from licensing control, Brook worked within its procedures. As Cole floundered in the 1660s, Brook prospered. On 1 March 1664, he was sworn in as stock-keeper to the Yeomanry shares in the English Stock, and in 1672 was awarded the post of stock-keeper to the Assistant's shares.²⁶⁶ At the end of March 1672, he was elected Renter Warden for the following year.²⁶⁷ By the 1670s, then, Brook was an elder statesman of the Company and was rewarded on 6 December 1675 when he was ordered to sit at the Table as an Assistant to the Master and Wardens.²⁶⁸

Brook not only worked as a bookseller but also sold other stationery items from his

²⁶² W. Craig Ferguson, *The Loan Book of the Stationers' Company with a List of Transactions, 1592-1692*, Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society, 4 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1989), p. 13. SC MS 'The Book of Bequests: Liber C2', f. 124^v.

²⁶³ Brook registered *Gods Eternal Preparations for his Dying-Saints* (1648), on 30 May 1648 (SR 1640-1708, I, 296). Roger Daniel published the sermon *The Best and Worst of Paul* (1648).

²⁶⁴ Court Book C, f. 297^v; CSPD 1655-1656, p. 298 (SP 25/77/80). Court Book D, f. 49^v. [John Philips], *Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment* (1656), included a humorous satire on the College of Physicians (2D4^r-5^v).

²⁶⁵ Court Book C, f. 278; Court Book D, ff. 40^r, 44^v, 45^v, 50^v.

²⁶⁶ Court Book D, ff. 88^v, 196^v.

²⁶⁷ Court Book D, f. 198^v.

²⁶⁸ Court Book D, f. 255^r. Brook took his place at Court on 22 December (f. 255^v).

shop in Cornhill and, in the 1670s, from his second shop at the east end of the new and fashionable Royal Exchange. According to an advertisement printed in Richard Saunders' *Physiognomie and Chiromancie* (1670), in addition to printed books, Brook sold a large number of related stationery items, including: writing paper, journals, cards, pens, quills, knives, inks, and sealing wax, along with printed stationery, including bonds, bills of debt and sale, letters of attorney, and indentures. Less obvious items were money-bags, sand-boxes, and letter-cases. The final item listed was John Peircy's 'Lozenges for the cure, of Consumption, Catarrhs, Coughs, &c.', which Brook had first advertised in 1660.²⁶⁹ In 1661, Brook also sold Sir Kenelm Digby's famous 'Powder of Sympathy' which brought relief when applied to anything which had received the blood of a wounded person, even if the patient was not present.²⁷⁰ Brook, then, did not limit his activities as a retailer to the business of selling books. Digby's 'Powder of Sympathy' was a popular folk remedy in the late 1650s and 1660s amongst the gentry class and it must have been something of a scoop for Brook to be able to sell the medicine. This appeared as a precursor to a pattern that fully emerged in the 1670s of booksellers combining medical retail with their businesses and promoting sales through printed advertisements.²⁷¹

As a publisher and bookseller Brook specialised in books on astrology and worked for the royalist, Elias Ashmole (1617-92).²⁷² It seems that Brook arranged for their production and distribution and that Ashmole financed their printing. Brook's association with Ashmole began in 1650 when Christopher Heydon's *An Astrological Discourse with Mathematical Demonstrations* was published, according to its imprint, by Brook. Nicholas Fiske who, in his preface, claimed that Ashmole paid for the engraved illustrations, had prepared Heydon's manuscript for the press.²⁷³ However, it was Ashmole, rather than

²⁶⁹ Printed in Richard Saunders' *Physiognomie and Chiromancie*, 2nd edn (1671), 3E3^r-3^v. Similar advertisements appear in Joseph Blagrave, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1660* (1660), F8^v; Jeremiah Burroughes, *The Saints Happinesse* (1660), 4S4^v.

²⁷⁰ R.T. Peterson, *Sir Kenelm Digby: The Ornament of England, 1603-1665* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), pp. 265-74. The advertisement for Digby's powder and Peircy's lozenges appeared in J.M. and others, *Wit and Drollery* (1661), T8^r.

²⁷¹ See John Alden, 'Pills and Publishing: Some Notes on the English Book Trade, 1660-1715', *The Library*, 5th ser., 7 (1952), 21-37.

²⁷² See Allen G. Debus 'Introduction', in Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum ... A Reprint of the London Edition 1652*, ed. by Allen G. Debus, *The Sources of Science*, no. 39 (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Collection, 1967), pp. ix-xlix; C.H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 11-302; *DSB*; Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 35-40.

²⁷³ Josten, *Ashmole*, II, 499-501; Nicholas Fiske, 'To the Reader', in Christopher Heydon, *An Astrological Discourse with Mathematical Demonstrations* (1650), A3^r-5^v (A4^v).

Brook, who had proposed the project and provided financial support to see it through the press. Brook also secured further work from Ashmole through the latter's membership of the Society of Astrologers. In 1650, Ashmole was elected Steward of the Society, and for the following three years Brook sold the annual sermons delivered by Robert Gell, Culpeper, and Edmund Reeve.²⁷⁴

There is clear evidence of Ashmole's capital investment in a number of other books 'published' by Brook. *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652) is described by Allen Debus as 'the largest printed collection of alchemical poetry in the English language'.²⁷⁵ It contains thirty works dating from the late fourteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, although half of the volume was given to the works of George Ripley and Thomas Norton.²⁷⁶ On 21 March 1651, Ashmole received an imprimatur to print the book from John Booker, and on 21 July he passed the manuscript to the printer, John Grismond.²⁷⁷ On 22 September, Robert Vaughan began to cut the engravings for the book at Ashmole's house.²⁷⁸ However, Brook's name appears as that of the publisher in the imprint. It was Ashmole, though, who had liaised with the printer and engraver, and secured a licence to print. These are the traditional roles of the publisher and Ashmole's actions suggest that he used Brook's shop for distribution.

One last example from the 1670s illustrates the business arrangement between Brook and Ashmole. On 30 June 1671 Brook registered *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672).²⁷⁹ Despite this entry in Brook's name, it was Ashmole who financed the printing of the book in a role typical of a publisher. He had received a royal warrant on 31 March 1670, which prohibited any unauthorised reprinting of the book for the next fifteen years, and on 8 May 1672 presented a copy to the King.²⁸⁰ Ashmole had also paid for the paper, for on 3 February 1673 he petitioned the Secretary of State for payment towards the £1,000 he had spent on the project and sought exemption from the tax on imported paper.²⁸¹ On 29 March 1673, he paid Brook

²⁷⁴ Robert Gell, *Aggelokratia theon. Or A Sermon Touching Gods Government of the World by Angels. Preached Before the Learned Societie of Artists and Astrolgers, August 8. 1650* (1650); Nicholas Culpeper, *Semeiotica Uranica: or an Astrological Judgment of Diseases* (1651); Edmund Reeve, *The New Jerusalem* (1652).

²⁷⁵ See Debus 'Introduction', p. xlv.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxii-xlv.

²⁷⁷ Josten, *Ashmole*, II, 566, 579

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 585-86. Robert Vaughan also cut a frontispiece engraving of 'The French Pastry-Cooke' to *The Perfect Cook* (1656) translated out of the French work of Monsieur Marnette and published by Brook.

²⁷⁹ SR 1640-1708, II, 427.

²⁸⁰ Josten, *Ashmole*, III, 1250.

²⁸¹ The petition was granted by Charles II on 12 May 1673 (*ibid.*, I, 190).

£51.15s.4d. for all printing and paper costs.²⁸² By registering the title Brook secured the ownership of copy and the right to profit from its future publication. At the same time, because Ashmole could not register the title himself, Brook's compliance was useful to him. He then secured Brook's signature to a legal document that assigned over to him all rights, thereby ensuring that Brook could not reprint the edition without his permission.²⁸³

Through his association with Ashmole, Brook appears to have secured links with the intellectual circle around Ashmole, Kenelem Digby, the Arundels, and the royal court. Digby (1603-65), whose 'Powder of Sympathy' Brook sold, was close to the court. He was knighted and made a Gentleman to the Privy Council of Prince Charles, he was a member of the party which travelled to France to secure the hand of Henrietta Maria for Charles, and during the Civil War he was in exile with the Queen.²⁸⁴ It may have been through this association that Brook secured the right to publish her receipt book, *The Queens Closet Opened* (1655), which he registered on 2 October 1654.²⁸⁵ Around this time a series of receipt books were published, such as *A Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets* (1653) collected by Elizabeth Grey, the Countess of Kent, and her sister Alethea Talbot's *Natura Exenterata, or Nature Unbowelled* (1655). Because these books were associated with the Queen and other royalist gentlewomen they appeared protected by patronage and therefore may not have seemed a challenge to the College's monopoly of medicine, unlike Culpeper's books and works by Richard Elkes and Ralph Williams.²⁸⁶

Brook's career contrasts markedly with that of Peter Cole. He was able to achieve a relatively respected position within the book trade by the time of his death in December 1677.²⁸⁷ Cole was a commercially competitive publisher who promoted his Culpeper books, and fought to protect his rights to their copy. In contrast, Brook was associated with the intellectual circle around Ashmole, Gresham College, and the Society of Astrologers for

²⁸² *Ibid.*, IV, 1315-16.

²⁸³ Josten, *Ashmole*, IV, 1315-16.

²⁸⁴ Peterson, *Kenelm Digby*, pp. 66, 68, 176-80.

²⁸⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 458.

²⁸⁶ Richard Elkes, *Approved Medicines of Little Cost* (1651); Ralph Williams, *Physical Rarities Containing the Most Choice Receipts of Physick and Chyrurgerie* (1651).

²⁸⁷ Ashmole records the death of 'My old friend Major Brooks the Stationer' (Josten, *Ashmole*, IV, 1453). On 18 December 1677 Brook died. Ashmole records 'My old friend Major Brooks the Stationer died,' although he appears to have confused the year with 1676. At a meeting of the Court of the Stationers' Company on 20 December it was ordered that Brook's share in the English Stock was to remain under the custody of the Company until his executor, Thomas Kemble, 'shall give this Company a sufficient discharge' (Court Book D, f. 292^v). In March 1678, the Court ordered that the release read before the Court by Kemble 'Citizen and Draper of London Executor of the last Will & Testament of Nathaniell Brooke' be entered into the Company's Register. The release acknowledged the receipt of £80 in full payment for Brook's shares in the English Stock by the Company (ff. 313^{r-v}).

whom he worked as a distributor rather than publisher. Yet, as I shall argue below, Brook was as interested in the Culpeper legacy as Cole. Despite Brook's obvious commitment to the Society of Astrologers, he was prepared to publish the works of Jonas Moore, a critic of astrological beliefs. Likewise, he would sell works associated with the royalist Ashmole, but despite his own possible royalist convictions, he had profited from Culpeper's anti-royalist astrological writings earlier in his career.²⁸⁸

Author-Publisher Relationships

Brook and Cole followed different publishing strategies which targeted distinct markets. In this section, I argue that during his lifetime Culpeper tailored his books on astrology and medicine to the specific expertise of these two publishers.²⁸⁹ McCarl argues that the two manufactured the division between his medical and astrological books, but this, I believe, underplays the control Culpeper exercised over publication.

Nearly all Culpeper's books from this period contained advertisements for his work and for other books published by their respective publishers. However, according to Pollard and Ehrman this was still rare in the early 1650s. The first example they mention of a publisher including his list of stock on spare pages is in 1601, but it is not until 1649 that they identify another example.²⁹⁰

Both Cole and Brook included advertisements for their stock.²⁹¹ Before 1654, the promise of more books to be written must have given Culpeper a degree of control over his publishers. He seems to used two publishers to gain the advantage he would not have had had he been writing for one and, on a number of occasions, included references to his books published by Cole in texts published by Brook. This self-promotion is more opaque than the inclusion of actual advertisements, but it is evidence of Culpeper's authorial influence

²⁸⁸ Brook sold Ashmole's congratulatory poem on the Restoration, entitled *Sol in Ascendente* (1660).

²⁸⁹ An early example of a seventeenth-century author who took control over his text's production and publication is Nathanael Carpenter, who paid for the paper and printing of his *Geography Delineated* (1625) (I.G. Philip, 'A Seventeenth-Century Agreement Between Author and Printer', *Bodleian Library Record*, 10 (1978-82), 68-73).

²⁹⁰ Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue: From the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. 170. The earliest example Pollard and Ehrman find of an author's list is in Joseph Mede's *The Key of the Revelation* (1650), which advertised books published by John Clarke and Philemon Stephens (p. 166).

²⁹¹ In addition, Cole also included an advertisement for recent editions of the collected *Workes* of Ambroise Paré (published in 1649) and Alexander Read (1650) published by John Clarke, in the second edition of *PD* (3S1'). There is no apparent reason why Cole should have printed this. He had no working partnership with Clarke, and never published any books by Read or Paré. The most likely explanation is that Clarke paid Cole to include the advertisement in a proven popular medical book.

over his texts and their publishers.

In 1651, Brook published Culpeper's astrology lectures from the previous year, entitled *Semeiotica Uranica, or an Astrological Judgment of Diseases*. The following year Cole published Culpeper's *The English Physitian*, which referred the reader to the earlier book alongside which it was designed to be used.²⁹² If, as McCarl suggests, these books were 'publisher-led', why would a title published by one publisher promote that of another? Part of the story is that of Brook's function as an outlet for Ashmole's astrology books since Culpeper is clearly exploiting this association to promote his work. There are further examples of Culpeper's books published by Brook advertising those published by Cole. For example, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1652* sold by Thomas Vere and Brook for the Stationers' Company included references to Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives*, which was published by Cole.²⁹³ Likewise, *Catastrophe Magnatum: or The Fall of Monarchie*, published by Brook and Vere, also referred the reader to *A Directory for Midwives*.²⁹⁴ All these examples show Culpeper asserting control over his texts and promoting *his* own books regardless of publisher. Culpeper intended his books to be used collectively and he did not attempt to distinguish between those published by Brook or Cole. He presented astrology and medicine as complementary, and correspondingly his books were intended to be consulted in conjunction with each other. To achieve this Culpeper exploited the different experiences and expertise of both publishers. The promotion of the book from the bookseller's stall is the product of a collaborative venture between the author and publisher. Culpeper exercised sufficient control over his texts to utilise the holistic communication circuit described by Robert Darnton.²⁹⁵ During his lifetime the story is one of collaboration, with Culpeper benefiting from the dissemination of his books through his partnerships with his two publishers.

After his death, Cole, Brook, and other publishers, such as Stephen Chatfield and Richard Moore, published books that spuriously claimed Culpeper as either author or translator in recognition of his 'considerable commercial appeal'.²⁹⁶ Now free from Culpeper's control, Cole and Brook sought to exploit their association with the Culpeper

²⁹² *EP* (Cole, 1652), S1^r, U1^v.

²⁹³ Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1652* (1652), C2^r.

²⁹⁴ Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum: or The Fall of Monarchie* (1652), F2^r.

²⁹⁵ Robert Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', in *Books and Society in History*, ed. by Kenneth E. Carpenter (New York: Bowker, 1983), 3-26.

²⁹⁶ *GI*, p. 270. Also see McCarl, p. 230; Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine*, pp. 28-29.

name.²⁹⁷ From 1655, Cole published a series of medical translations which claimed Culpeper's involvement.²⁹⁸ On 22 August 1654, he registered seven medical translations with the Company, including works out of Lazare Rivière, Jean Riolan, Daniel Sennert, Thomas Bartholin, John Johnston, and Jean Fernel, in an attempt to secure the right to these future books and obviate any threat to his lucrative market.²⁹⁹ These books were large theoretical volumes void of the personal prose present in Culpeper's earlier works. Cole employed Abdiah Cole (c. 1610-70), possibly a relative, and William Rowland to prepare these books for the press which he sold on the basis of their association with Culpeper's name. John Heydon (fl. 1667), who married Culpeper's widow, Alice, dismissed these books, as McCarl notes. Heydon claimed that that Cole placed Culpeper's name on books that were not his: in the Index to Book VI of *The Holy Guide* (1662) he listed all the titles of his genuine books 'least hereafter the Booksellers should cozen [the buyers], by printing other books in his name he never writ, and so abuse him, as *Peter Cole* doth Dr. *Nich. Culpeper*'.³⁰⁰ In Heydon's *The Harmony of the World* (1662), the ghost of Culpeper appeared before Alice 'bidding her to disown the works which contemporary booksellers were posthumously issuing falsely under his name'.³⁰¹ Brook also continued to publish Culpeper's books after 1654 and each contested the other's claim of authenticity in the preliminaries and testimonies with which they prefixed these books. In 1664, the large number of books associated with Culpeper prompted Matthew Mackaile (fl. 1657-96), a Scottish physician, to write:

Let the sober and judicious *Reader* judge of the probability of this [the number of books supposedly written by Culpeper], considering that he had not above nine years for this work and his *astrological* studies also (for he began not to write till the year, 1648 or 1649 and he died in 1654 or 1655) and whether or not many books have been printed in his name, since his death, which were not written some years after the same.³⁰²

Mackaile's scepticism would appear to be correct. The question of Culpeper's posthumous bibliography is complex. Cole clearly took advantage of his author's print *persona* to promote those translations he published after Culpeper's death.

²⁹⁷ McCarl, pp. 239-41.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39.

²⁹⁹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 454-55.

³⁰⁰ John Heydon, *The Holy Guide* (1662), 3F3^r.

³⁰¹ See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 715.

³⁰² Matthew Mackaile, 'Culpeper's Character', in *Moffet-Well: Or, A Topographico-Spagyricall Descriptions of the Mineral Waters at Moffet* (Edinburgh, 1664), K1^r-N2^v (K6^v).

At issue was the partnership Alice Culpeper formed with Cole, whereby she endorsed his spurious ‘Culpeper’ books and he printed advertisements for Culpeper’s *aurum potabile* which she sold. In 1654, the first advertisement for *aurum potabile* appeared in an edition of Culpeper’s translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. This ‘precious Jewel’ was a panacea prepared by, it was claimed, Culpeper and Drs. Freeman and Harrington.³⁰³ Whether or not Culpeper actually had any involvement or not is unclear, but it was only advertised after his death which suggests that it was an attempt by Alice, Freeman and Harrington to exploit her late husband’s name. It is possible that Alice’s marriage to John Heydon influenced the subsequent publishing history of Culpeper’s books because of his possible association with these two doctors through the Society of Rosicrucians.³⁰⁴ Not only did this advertisement appear in Cole’s book, but it was included in Culpeper’s *Ephemeris* for 1655 and 1656, both printed by John Macock for the Stationers’ Company.³⁰⁵ Despite the fact that the Company owned this title, Alice or perhaps, more likely, Cole, secured their inclusion.

In August 1655, the partnership was attacked in *Culpeper Revived from the Grave* by ‘Philaretus’, which demonstrated the folly of *aurum potabile* and argued against the use of gold in medicinal cures. The author felt that the commercial activities of his widow and her partners tarnished the good memory of Culpeper and his work. He wrote:

They are now obtruding upon *Culpepers* name their pernicious libel to gain credit upon the people, whereas there is nothing more false then that he made it, as is manifest by the copie, which was never writ by his hand, though it were the custome of that laborious Author alwaies to do.³⁰⁶

The author went on to attack ‘the Stationer not farre from *Leaden-Hall*’ (that is Peter Cole) whom he accused of publishing ‘printed papers into the world which he [Culpeper] never writ’.³⁰⁷ This double-edged attack on Alice Culpeper and Cole has led Poynter to suggest the author of the pamphlet was probably Nathaniel Brook which would account for his experience of Culpeper writing out manuscript copy.³⁰⁸ McCarl finds additional support for

³⁰³ PL (Cole, 1654), B4^v. Culpeper’s *aurum potabile* was also advertised in John Johnston, *The Idea of Practical Physick in Twelve Books*, trans. by W.R. and others (1657), 2L2^v, published by Cole.

³⁰⁴ DNB; Olav Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper: English Physician and Astrologer* (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), p. 157.

³⁰⁵ Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1655* (1655), B5^v-6^f; Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1656* (1656), F7^r.

³⁰⁶ *Culpeper Revived from the Grave* (1655), A4^r.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, A4^{r-v}.

³⁰⁸ F.N.L. Poynter, ‘Nicholas Culpeper and the Paracelsians’, in *Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to Honor Walter Pagel*, ed. by Allen G. Debus, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, [1972]), 1, 201-20 (p. 213).

this conjecture in the fact that it was advertised at the back of the translation of Morel's *The Expert Doctor's Dispensatory* and Jacob à Brunn's *Compendium*, both published in 1657 by Brook.

Cole printed Alice Culpeper's 'Vindication, and Testimony, concerning her Husbands Books to be published after his Death', in new editions of *A Directory for Midwives* and his *Pharmacopoeia*. She claimed that her 'Husband left seventy nine Books of his own making, or Translating, in my hand, and I have deposited them into the hands of his, and much Honored Friend, Mr. *Peter Cole*'; he also left 'seventeen Books compleatly perfected, in the hands of the said Mr. *Cole*'.³⁰⁹ There is no evidence to confirm that Culpeper completed so many translations and books. The medical translations Cole did publish after 1654 claimed Culpeper's authorship, but textually they are void of any of the political rhetoric typical of *The English Physitian*, *A Directory for Midwives*, and his *Pharmacopoeia*. It is more likely, as I go on to show, that Cole exploited Culpeper's name: a testimony to authenticity by Culpeper's wife was a useful ploy to promote the Culpeper *persona* in the marketplace.

Cole again employed Alice to criticise two books published by Brook. *Culpeper's Last Legacy* and *Culpeper's Astrological Judgement of Diseases* (both 1655) were dismissed as forgeries by Alice, who wrote that Brook was 'not to be [so] ashamed [as] to forge *two Epistles*, one in mine, and the other in my Husband's name; of the penning of which, he nor I never so much as dream'd'.³¹⁰ *Culpeper's Astrological Judgment* is in fact another edition of *Semeiotica Uranica* (1651), and internal evidence indicates that *Culpeper's Last Legacy* is compiled from manuscripts left on his death. The latter was registered at Stationers' Hall on 12 March 1655 by Abraham Miller.³¹¹ Only three days later Miller transferred the rights to Brook.³¹² When the book was published it included the two testimonies which Alice claimed were forgeries. The first, '*Master Culpepers Wifes Accompt*', contained Alice Culpeper's apparent endorsement of the book:

Having in my Hands these my Husbands last experiences in Physick and chyurgery, &c. composed out of his dayly practice, which he laid a severe injunction on me to publish for the generall good after his decease; therefore to stop the mouths of malicious Persons, who may be apt to abuse and slander his labours, and to discharge that duty and debt of gratitude due to his name from one so neerly related to him, I

³⁰⁹ Alice Culpeper, 'Mrs. Culpepers Information, Vindication, and Testimony, concerning her Husbands Books to be published after his Death' in *DM* (1656), A1^v-3^r (A2^v).

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, A1^v-2^r.

³¹¹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 467.

³¹² *SR 1640-1708*, I, 468.

do hereby testifie that the Copy of what is here printed is truly and really his own, and was delivered to my trust among his choicest secrets upon his death-bed, and I do further approve the printing thereof, and having viewed them see nothing in them but, what is his own.³¹³

The address to the ‘Worthy Readers’ was signed with Culpeper’s name but not dated:

This my last Peece the reserve of all the rest, I had never thought to have published, till now finding indisposition of body to be such as that I have no other way left to continue my owne fame, and that happy gratitude which I owe to my Countrey, but by publishing these my last *Remaines* of Physick and Chrurgery which I have left to my dear Wife as my Legacy being the choicest secrets which I lockt up in my breast, and never made knowne in my former works.³¹⁴

It is most likely that Cole employed Alice to denounce these two books. His assault continued with the publication of *Mr. Culpeper’s Ghost Giving Advice to All the Lovers of his Writings* (1656), and probably written by the stationer himself. Copies of this book were sold with *Mr Culpeper’s Treatise of Aurum Potabile* published by George Eversden in 1657.³¹⁵ The anonymous *Mr Culpeper’s Treatise of Aurum Potabile* endorsed the authenticity of Cole’s Culpeper books, and included Alice’s ‘Vindication’ and an advertisement for her *aurum potabile*.³¹⁶ Again, Cole was behind this book: evidence in the Stationers’ Company Court Book suggests that Eversden was in debt to Cole and his publication of this pamphlet may have been in lieu of payment. In December 1657, Eversden mortgaged his Yeomanry share in the English Stock to Cole on payment of £2.11s.3d.³¹⁷

In *Mr Culpeper’s Ghost*, Culpeper spoke from beyond the grave and decried Brook as the ‘*Father of lies*’, and suggested that he take down the shop sign of the Angel and substitute that of the Devil or a Cloven-Hoof.³¹⁸ Brook and Cole also clashed in the Court of the Stationers’ Company in a dispute over ownership of copy that saw Cole defeated. On 27 June 1659, the publisher Thomas Parkhurst attempted to register the title ‘*Certaine Sermons*’ by Jeremiah Burroughes at Stationers’ Hall. However, as mentioned above (p. 95), Cole had registered his right to this generic title in November 1646 and January 1647, and the Company refused Parkhurst’s entry.³¹⁹ On 1 August 1659, Brook entered the fray

³¹³ Culpeper, *Culpeper’s Last Legacy* (1657), A2^r.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, A3^{r-v}.

³¹⁵ The title page of *Mr. Culpeper’s Treatise of Aurum Potabile* (1656), claimed: ‘To which is added: *Mr. Culpeper’s Ghost*’.

³¹⁶ *Mr. Culpeper’s Treatise of Aurum Potabile* (1656), A3^{r-7^r}.

³¹⁷ Court Book D, f. 26^v.

³¹⁸ *Mr Culpeper’s Ghost* (1656), B8^v.

³¹⁹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 253, 254, 259; Court Book D, f. 46^r.

and ‘complained to the Table that notwithstanding a late order Tho: Parkhurst proceeds in printing M^r Jer: Burroughs Serm: on y^e 5th of Mathew & praies the Tables assistance’.³²⁰ Brook had previously registered Burroughes’ *The Joys of Heaven* in April 1655, and therefore had an interest in protecting his rights to this title.³²¹ Brook probably did not realise that Parkhurst’s antagonist was his rival when he made his complaint against Parkhurst. By 29 November 1659, Brook was aware of Cole’s involvement when he informed the Court that the complaint he had formerly made against Parkhurst had been resolved and the events that followed indicate that they had entered a partnership. Brook wanted the Court to take action against Cole’s exploitative use of the Stationers’ Register, and ‘[i]t was ordered (upon his desire [Brook’s]) that M^r Cole be sumoned to appeare at the next Court to give answer thereunto’.³²² A week later, on 5 December 1659, Brook and Parkhurst again complained of Cole’s restrictive practices which had resulted in Brook and Parkhurst being ‘refused Entrance’ to register their copy of Jeremiah Burroughes’ book.³²³ An investigation by the Masters of the Company dragged on until 5 March 1660 when the Court ordered that the disputed Jeremiah Burroughes titles ‘lately in controversie are to be Entred in the Reg^e to M^r N Brooks & Thomas Parkhurst’.³²⁴ The following day Brook and Parkhurst registered Jeremiah Burroughes’ *Gospel-Revelation in Three Treatises* and *The Saints Happinesse* which they jointly published later that year.³²⁵

From the late 1650s, Brook published a series of new medical books in direct competition to those published by Cole.³²⁶ He followed Cole’s lead and published popular medical books and herbals that referred to each other, and attacked similar books published by Cole. For example, Robert Turner’s *The Brittish Physician* (1664), William Coles’ *The Art of Simpling* (1656) and Thomas Chamberlen’s translation, *The Compleat Midwife’s Practice* (1656). These books competed for the same markets as Culpeper’s herbal and midwifery manuals, while Pierre Morel’s *The Expert Dispensatory* (1657), also published by Brook, threatened the sales of his translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. I refer to these

³²⁰ Court Book D, f. 47^r.

³²¹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 472.

³²² Court Book D, f. 49^v.

³²³ Court Book D, f. 50^v.

³²⁴ Court Book D, f. 52^v.

³²⁵ *SR 1640-1708*, II, 253.

³²⁶ In addition to those mentioned, Brook published: *The Method of Chemical Philosophie and Physick* (1664); Samuel Boulton, *Medicina Magica Tamen Physica* (1656). He also published a couple of professional theory books by Charles II’s physician, Gideon Harvey (c. 1640-1700): *De Succo Pancreatico: or, A Physical and Anatomical Treatise of the Nature and Office of the Pancreatick Juice* (176); *Great Venus Unmacked, or A More Exact Discovery of the Veneral Evil* (1672); *Morbus Anglicus, or The Anatomy of Consumption* (1666).

books in the following two chapters, but what they demonstrate is that Brook in the late 1650s, as the medical book market settled, gained a competitive edge over Cole.

In the 1650s, then, the medical book trade emerged from a period of stagnation and quickly developed into a commercial competitive market. Culpeper's first translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* in 1649 marked this new phase and the success of his work is clear from the number of official and pirated editions his books went through in a short period of time. In the proceeding two chapters I explore the publishing histories of Culpeper's four key books which demonstrate that far from being 'at a low ebb in the 1650s', the medical book trade, at least, was buoyant.³²⁷

³²⁷ Feather, *British Publishing*, p. 49.

3. Publishing Histories: Fluidity and Expansion in Culpeper's English *Pharmacopoeias* (1649-61) and *The English Physitian* (1652-65)

I did not ask what I should *get by the Bargain*,
neither did I see a vision of *Angels*, I saw Ancient
people coming to me, sick, and coughing, and
crying out, for the Lords sake help us. I saw
yong Children ... desiring me to give them the
grounds of Physick in their Mother Tongue.

Culpeper,
A Physical Directory (1650), A2^{r-v}

In this chapter I explore the immediate publishing histories of three titles: Culpeper's translation of the original *Pharmacopoeia*, entitled *A Physical Directory* (1649-51); his translation of the revised *Pharmacopoeia*, entitled *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned* (1653-61); and his herbal, *The English Physitian* (1652-65). Together, these books were the central texts in his programme to give the English reader 'the whol Moddel of Physick'.¹ Peter Cole published all three books, and their popularity meant that the printer William Bentley subsequently pirated them all in a duodecimo format. In response to this challenge, Culpeper and his publisher included new material in each subsequent edition. Focusing upon the immediate transmission of Culpeper's texts reveals not only the fluidity of their content but can also determine their reception.² Examination of copies from these early, supposed editions, reveals a number to be reissues, published with new title pages and revised preliminaries. This highlights the intricacies of the publishing trade at this time and the importance of determining the integrity of an edition before assigning it authority. Each subsequent edition of a book, by its very nature, addresses new readers. Accordingly, the readership of Culpeper's books developed with each new edition as the books' changing physical form and contents made

¹ *PD* (1650), B2^r. All subsequent references to editions of Culpeper's *A Physical Directory* (*PD*), *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory Further Adorned* (*PL*), and *The English Physitian* are given briefly in the text by date.

² On textual fluidity through revised printed editions see Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 7, 212-19.

new claims to the status, authority, and application of the knowledge each page presented.³ This expansion, in response to commercial threats, counters the assumption that printing preserves and fixes a text's meaning.

Culpeper's two versions of the Latin *Pharmacopoeias* were not verbatim translations, but English texts of the College's receipts and simple medicines supplemented by his observations and commentary, tailored to his readers' medical needs and aspirations. Similarly, Culpeper derived the main text of *The English Physitian* from a recently printed scholarly herbal, John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640). Culpeper reworked Parkinson's botanical information and produced an abridged text which focused specifically on its medicinal applications.

None of Culpeper's manuscripts or notes survive giving any clue to the nature of his involvement in the production of those books bearing his name published between 1649 and his death early in 1654. Nevertheless, and as Barbara Woshinsky has shown with the example of La Bruyère's *Caractères* (1st pub. Paris, 1688), it is possible to trace authors' interventions through the typographical history of a text.⁴ Examination of such histories can also reveal how typographic changes to a book can determine a reader's perception of an author and their interpretation of a text's meaning.⁵ This chapter will reveal the social, cultural and economic contexts surrounding the publication of Culpeper's two translations of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* and *The English Physitian*. It is necessary to examine their contents to reveal whom the author and publisher expected to be reading, using and purchasing these titles. For the publisher, it was necessary to make money from these ventures, while Culpeper appears, as an author, more ideologically motivated.

A Physical Directory (1649): Culpeper's Translation of the Original Pharmacopoeia Londinensis

In the previous chapter, I examined the changes of right to the copy of the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* and an English version of their book, recorded in the Stationers' Register.

³ Peter Lindenbaum suggests that the folio format was 'associated with works of scholarship' ('Sidney's *Arcadia* as Cultural Monument and Proto-Novel', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), 80-94 (p. 82). Smaller, cheaper formats will presumably have appealed to the non-scholarly, but literate, reader.

⁴ Barbara R. Woshinsky, 'La Bruyère's *Caractères*: A Typographical Reading', *TEXT*, 2 (1985), 209-28.

⁵ For an examination of eighteenth-century page-layout see Nicolas Barker, 'Typography and the Meaning of Words: The Revolution in the Layout of Books in the Eighteenth Century', in *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: The Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 127-65.

In 1649, Peter Cole published Nicholas Culpeper's anonymously printed English translation, entitled *A Physical Directory*, before he had secured any rights to the title through the Register, and this explains the unexpected title (see Illustration 4). Only in 1653, once Cole had purchased the rights to both the Latin text and an English version, was Culpeper's translation published with the College's title. Culpeper's work meant that readers of popular receipt books could now compare the medical advice contained therein against the official writings of the College. A standard existed then, which, in the words of Charles Webster, made vernacular medical books 'subordinate to major pharmacopoeias'.⁶ Webster's suggestion, that Culpeper's translation somehow raised the standard of health care and medical vernacular writing during the 1650s, needs to be considered in the light of Culpeper's attacks upon professionally institutionalised medicine. His intention was the free promotion of medical knowledge, from the writings of educated physicians to a locally organised charitable system of medical care, utilising medicines compounded from indigenous simples rather than expensive pharmacopoeial medicines. Other scholars and writers have acknowledged the political rhetoric of Culpeper's translations which demanded individual liberty, but have done so without examining their publishing histories and development during the 1650s and the immediate post-Restoration years.⁷

The College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* is divided into two sections: the first described the simple medical remedies which London apothecaries could dispense, followed by the method of preparing the more elaborate and costly compounded medicines. The corrected and enlarged second edition, published early in 1619, listed alphabetically over a thousand simple medicines by their Latin name under headings, of which over half were herbs, roots, leaves and seeds. Following the simples, the College grouped the compounded medicines by types, which included waters, syrups, and powders, and amounted to over five hundred receipts. Each receipt gave the ingredients and their quantities along with the method of preparing the medicine, but did not include any advice on their virtues and uses. Technically, each London apothecary had to possess a copy of this book, which he would have kept close to hand in his shop, ready to consult when a customer brought in a

⁶ *GI*, p. 270.

⁷ For example, see McCarl; F.N.L. Poynter, 'Nicholas Culpeper and his Books', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 17 (1962), 152-167; Graeme Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine: A Practice of Western Holistic Medicine* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1997); Olav Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper: English Physician and Astrologer* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991); Hill *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England*, rev. edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 157-78.

prescription. For example, in the frontispiece to Pierre Morel's *The Expert Dispensatory* (1657), the scholarly physician is surrounded by his learned books, whilst the apothecary working in his shop, stocked with ingredients and compounded medicines, needs only a pharmacopoeia (see Illustration 5). The licensed physician would have written a receipt in Latin giving only the name of the medicine. The apothecary would then look up the name in the index to the *Pharmacopoeia* and turn to the particular page on which the ingredients and method of preparation was described in Latin.

Culpeper knew from his own experiences as an apprentice to a number of London apothecaries the advantage an English translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* would make to their daily practices. In a dispute between the apothecaries and distillers over the monopoly on distilled waters, chemical oils, decoctions and syrups, Theodore de Mayerne defended the distillers, which led to the granting of a charter for a Distillers' Company in 1638. In response to the apothecaries' charge that the distillers were ignorant, Mayerne claimed that many apothecaries had little knowledge of Latin.⁸ The fact that Culpeper apparently taught Francis Drake, his master apothecary from 1636 until Drake's death in 1639, Latin 'in less than a year and a half', indicates that not all apothecaries could have easily read the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, although at least one apprentice could.⁹ Culpeper also wanted to provide accessible medical advice for the general population many of whom, he claimed, 'have perished either for want of money to see a Physitian, or want of knowledg of a remedy happily growing in their garden' (*PD* (1649), 2T2^r). For their benefit, Culpeper saw it necessary:

Throughout the Book to expresse my self, in such a language as might be understood by al, and therefore avoided terms of art so much as might be, yet it could not sometimes be avoided but some words were quoted which stand in need of some explaining. (*PD* (1649), B4^r)

If Culpeper wrote for a lay-reader, it would have been for that section of the population which was literate and had the means available to purchase the ingredients needed to make the remedies given. It was for this audience that he explained the processes of filtration, calcination, infusion, and decoction, which were conspicuous by their absence in the College's official Latin work. The apothecaries would have already known these details, and so it is clear that Culpeper did intend non-professionals to use his book. In his address, he singled out the charitable gentlewomen whom he 'humbly salute[d]', for 'freely bestow[ing] your pains brains and cost, to your poor wounded and diseased neighbours'

⁸ Underwood, pp. 55-57, 315-16.

⁹ Life, C3^v.

(*PD* (1649), A3^r). Later, in 1653, he again acknowledged the work of ‘those kind Ladies and Gentlewomen that for Gods sake help their poor wounded neighbors’ (*PL* (1653), 2N2^r). For his part Cole claimed, in 1661, that:

Abundant thanks (and mony for my Books) I have had from many hundreds of persons (I might say some thousands) of Sea Surgeons and others using the Sea and new Plantations, And other places in the Country at home where they must have perished if they had not had these helps. (*PL* (1661), C1^r)

The translation was not just for the professional apothecary or surgeon, or the quasi-professional charitable gentlewomen. It also addressed those who could not afford the physician’s fee, or because of geographical remoteness could not consult one (*PD* (1649), O4^r). Culpeper’s translation revealed powerful newly available knowledge, though he warned throughout his translation that he ‘would not have fools turn Physitians’ (*PD* (1649), N3^r).

McCarl suggests that Culpeper was paid for his work by Cole, who had the financial backing of the apothecaries.¹⁰ However, there is no evidence that the apothecaries were involved in this commission. Many of them may well have felt Culpeper’s work threatened their livelihood, despite his assurance that an English translation would actually increase demand for the simples and medicines they sold (*PD* (1649), A2^v). Circumstantial evidence, however, does exist that suggests Culpeper was ‘put upon’ to produce the translation. On several occasions, he wrote of the remit within which he worked, presumably under Cole’s order. For example, commenting on the benefits of the medicine *Pomatum*, he wrote: ‘I have not that Latitude given me, to quote any receipts that are not in the Dispensatory’ (*PD* (1649), 2L1^r). In 1653 Culpeper also admitted that he had been constrained by Cole who ‘was afraid the book would be too big’ (*PL* (1653), P2^v). Cole must have paid Culpeper, either financially or with copies of his book, which he could sell on. Writing in 1656, two years after her husband’s death, Alice Culpeper claimed that Cole had paid him for his work.¹¹ Further evidence of payment is in an attack penned by the College’s chemist, William Johnson, wherein he wondered if ‘gaine put you not at first (when other trades failed you) to write, or rather translate Physick in your mother tongue’.¹² The author of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* claimed that Culpeper received thirty shillings for his

¹⁰ McCarl, p. 232. Also see D.A. Jones, ‘Nicholas Culpeper and his Pharmacopoeia’, *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 10 (1980), 9-10.

¹¹ Alice Culpeper, ‘*Mris. Culpepers Information*’, in *DM* (1656), A1^v-3^r (A2^v).

¹² William Johnson, ‘Friend Culpeper’, in Leonardo Fioravanti, *Three Exact Pieces*, trans. (1655), B1^r-4^v (B1^v).

work, and although this figure is probably incorrect, it again suggests payment of some kind, either financially or in copies of books, and the apparent 'treachery' of his translation.¹³ Culpeper denied in 1653 that he wrote merely for profit: 'If thou thinkest I did it for gain, thou art so far wide from the truth, that unless thou change thy opinion, 'tis to be feared truth and you will not meet again in a long time' (*PL* (1653), 2Z1^v). He may have received relatively little payment from Cole, but he exploited the medium of his translation and other books to promote his name and medical practice to London's readers. In June 1655, Cole claimed that Culpeper had worked 'at my charge', and Thomas Chamberlen, writing in 1656, accused Culpeper of having written *A Directory for Midwives* 'for necessity'.¹⁴ During the seventeenth century, a writer's principal means of support was usually through the procurement of a wealthy patron. Although Culpeper did dedicate two of his books to named individuals, he addressed the majority to the 'Commonwealth of England', and in his prefaces claimed to be writing for the benefit of the nation rather than his own betterment. Payment from a publisher, though still rare in the seventeenth century, was not unknown. William Lilly received £48 from the Stationers' Company for his almanacs in the 1660s.¹⁵ Lilly's almanacs were best-sellers and at their height sold thirty thousand copies per year, and he was, accordingly, paid more than the other almanac writers of the period.¹⁶ However, as Blagden has shown, most almanac writers were still paid between £2 and £10 for their copy.¹⁷ The publishers of John Milton and John Dryden also paid their authors substantially more than the supposedly thirty shillings Culpeper received.¹⁸ Other methods of payment varied during this period with no settled pattern: printing could be undertaken for an author at his charge, or, if an author was paid, then payment could be monetary or by copies.¹⁹

¹³ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, no. 21 (4-11 September 1649), X4^r.

¹⁴ Peter Cole, 'The Printer to the Reader' in Lazare Rivière, *The Practice of Physick*, trans. by Abdiah Cole and others (1655), A1^r-B1^r (A2^v); [Thomas Chamberlen], 'Preface', in Louise Bourgeois, *The Compleat Midwives Practice ... With instructions of the Midwife to the Queen of France*, trans. by Chamberlen and others (1656), A2^r-3^v (A2^v).

¹⁵ Cyprian Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 11 (1958), 107-16 (Table I, op. p. 114).

¹⁶ Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth-century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 56.

¹⁷ Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks', Table I.

¹⁸ See Peter Lindenbaum, 'Milton's Contract', in *The Constructions of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (London: Duke University Press, 1994), 175-90; James A. Winn, *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 95-103. Adrian Johns has recently examined the prolific writer Alexander Ross (1591-1654), who was also paid by his bookseller ('Prudence and Pedantry in Early Modern Cosmology: The Trade of Al Ross', *History of Science*, 36 (1998), 23-59).

¹⁹ See Harold Love, 'Preacher and Publisher: Oliver Heywood and Thomas Parkhurst', *Studies in*

A combination, then, of political beliefs allied, probably, with financial necessity led Culpeper to begin work on translating the *Pharmacopoeia*. He had started work on the project at least by 1647; if one anonymous critic is correct, then he spent ‘two yeeres drunken Labour’ on the translation.²⁰ Although in 1650 Culpeper admitted that in preparing the first edition ‘I was then somewhat curbed in time’ (*PD* (1650), 2Q2^v), this was probably due to the eagerness of Cole to publish the translation before the College’s new *Pharmacopoeia* appeared.

In the issue of Henry Walker’s news book *Perfect Occurrences* for 31 August to 7 September, Culpeper’s translation was herald ‘an excellent translation of the *London Dispensatory*’.²¹ Cole, most likely, published *A Physical Directory* at the end of August, because he advertised it in the issue of Parliamentary newsletter *The Moderate* for 28 August to 4 September.²² In his ‘Ephemerides’ Samuel Hartlib noted ‘an excellent Translation of the London-dispensatory’ on 6 September, whilst George Thomason purchased a copy on 30 October.²³ The royalist press, not surprisingly, took offence: the author of the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* believed Culpeper had ‘very filthily’ translated ‘the booke by which all Apothecaries are strictly commanded to make all their Phisick’.²⁴ Culpeper knew that the ‘self-seekers’ of the College would attack his work but he was characteristically unapologetic. If they did, he wrote, they were to be ‘shreudly suspected’ for their motive would ‘ariseth from self-interests’, Culpeper, however, claimed that only ‘Pure pitty to the Commonalty of England’ was his motive (*PD* (1649), 2T1^v).

I have previously suggested that Culpeper began translating Latin medical texts as early as 1640 at around the time of his marriage to Alice and his failed apprenticeship. However, it is only with the publication of this translation that his full name appeared on a title page and was launched on London’s medical market. Not only was he described as a gentleman but the engraved frontispiece reproduced his portrait and promoted his visual likeness from the booksellers’ stall to a potential reader and customer.²⁵ In 1649, then, the ‘Culpeper’ image was introduced to London’s medical practitioners and lay readers, and to

Bibliography, 31 (1978), 227-35.

²⁰ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, (4-11 September 1649), X4^r.

²¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, no. 139 [sic] (31 August-7 September 1649), 7F4^v.

²² *The Moderate: Impartially Communicating*, no. 60 (28 August-4 September 1649), 3O6^v.

²³ HP 28/1/29A; BL E.576.(1).

²⁴ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, (4-11 September 1649), X3^v.

²⁵ Culpeper’s portrait was cut by Thomas Cross (c. 1624-87). *DNB*; Ambrose Heal, *The English Writing-Masters and their Copy-Books, 1570-1800: A Biographical Dictionary and a Bibliography* (London: First Edition Club, 1931), p.41; Sidney Colvin, *Early Engraving & Engravers in England (1545-1695): A Critical and Historical Essay* (London: Chiswick Press, 1905), pp. 142-44.

the charitable gentlewomen who provided medical care to their lowly neighbours and to illiterate patients.

A *Physical Directory* went through three editions in as many years, before it changed title in 1653 to *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned* for Culpeper's translation of the College's newly revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia*. In late December 1649, Samuel Hartlib recorded in his 'Ephemerides' that '[t]here are 2. sorts of the New Dispensatory one of a greater and the other of a far lower price'.²⁶ The only extant edition of 'the New Dispensatory' in 1649 is Cole's quarto published in August, but given Hartlib's statement and other circumstantial evidence it appears that Culpeper's translation was soon pirated. In the 1652 edition of *The English Physitian* published by Cole, Culpeper attacked the 'last Edition of my *London Dispensatory*', which had 'been so hellishly printed'. This is what happens, he claimed, 'by one Stationer's printing anothers Coppies, viz. To plague the Country with false Prints, and disgrace the Author'.²⁷ Earlier, in August 1651, he had complained: 'Honest men are abused by Printers or Book-sellers, and that's no news, for I have been served so my self'.²⁸ William Bentley published the only extant pirated edition of Culpeper's translation in 1654, but it would appear that an earlier pirated edition was published by December 1649. Because of its 'far lower price' this must have been published in a small format suggestive of Bentley's involvement.

Culpeper introduced his translation with a scathing attack on the English Church, the legal system, and the College. He denounced all three monopolies for their restrictive adherence to Latin. He wrote,

The Liberty of our *Common-Wealth* ... is most infringed by three sorts of men, *Priests, Physitians, Lawyers*; ... *The one deceives men in matters belonging to their Souls, the other, in matters belonging to their Bodies, the third in matters belonging to their Estates* ... [Physicians would disapprove of his translation] because thereby ignorant fellows will be induced to the practice of Physick, and therefore they say they wrote it [the *Pharmacopoeia*] only to the nurslings of *Apollo*. But 1. If *Apollo* had served the *nine Muses* so as they serve the *Apothecaries*, viz. hid all his art from them, they would have had no more wit than *nine Geese*. 2. All the Nation are already Physitians, If you ayl any thing, every one you meet, whether man or woman will prescribe you a medicine for it. Now whether this book thus translated will make them more ignorant or more knowing, any one that hath but a grain of understanding more than a horse, may easily judg, 3. All the Ancient Physitians wrote in their own mother tongues, and native language ... Did these do their countries good or

²⁶ HP 28/1/37B.

²⁷ EP (Cole, 1652), 2Z2^r.

²⁸ Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for 1652* (1652), C1^r.

harm think ye? What reason can be given why *England* should be deprived of the benefit of other Nations? (*PD* (1649), A1^r-2^v)

Despite Culpeper's assault on the College's scruples, he included the list of the Fellows of the College, the College's original address to the reader and the Royal Proclamation, which had all originally been printed in the Latin editions. Why would Culpeper have done this? On the one hand, he criticised the Fellows, whilst on the other he gave credit to their authorship and reproduced the Proclamation affirming their rights over the apothecaries' practice. This appears at odds with Culpeper's ridicule of the College. However, the importance of *A Physical Directory* lay in the fact that it gave the official medicines of the College to the general lay reader. In his translation then, Culpeper first had to establish the authority of the College and their endorsement of the receipts which he translated. By including the College's preliminaries, he demonstrated his adherence to the Latin original and acknowledged the College as author of this medical wisdom. Although he did not always agree with the College's remedies, he translated them nevertheless. In his additional comments and advice he then proceeded to attack their monopoly. For example, on the inclusion of sloe he commented, 'I think the Colledge set this amongst the roots only for fashion-sake, and I did it because they did' (*PD* (1649), D4^v).

A Physical Directory is much more than just a translation of the Latin *Pharmacopoeia*, as advertised on its title page:

[It was] that book by which all Apothicaries are strictly commanded to make all their Physick with many hundred additions which the reader may find in every page marked with this letter *A*. Also there is added the use of all the simples.

Culpeper first translated the Latin names of the simple medicines which the College had listed. The *Pharmacopoeia* listed over a thousand simples divided into fifteen sections. In 'A Catalogue of the Simples Conducing to the Dispensatory', Culpeper followed this division for fourteen of the sections but omitted the 'Salts' given by the College.²⁹ The Latin name of the simple was printed followed by the English name, when there was one, supplemented with information on their virtues, qualities, and properties. In his 'Preface' to the Catalogue Culpeper wrote:

Take notice, that only the Latin names, were quoted by the Colledge and are to be seen at the beginning of each Simple in a different letter, the English name together with the Temperature and Vertues were

²⁹ The fourteen divisions were: 'Roots', 'Barks', 'Woods and their Chips or Raspings', 'Herbs and their Leaves', 'Flowers', 'Fruits and their Buds', 'Seeds or Grains', 'Tear, Liquors, and Rozins', 'Juyces', 'Things bred of Plants', 'Living-Creatures', 'Parts of Living Creatures and Excrements', 'Belonging to the Sea', and 'Metals, Minerals, and Stones' (*PD* (1649), C1^r-M3^v).

added by the Translator, he hopes for the publick good ... All the Lattin names to one Herb are not set down, that would have done no other good in the world than took up more paper, and by consequence made the Book the dearer. (*PD* (1649), C1^v)

The College had deliberately left this type of information out of its *Pharmacopoeia*, because it felt that with it:

Ignorant fellows and Mountebanks may arm themselves for the practice of physick, and so put a sword into a madmans hand for the destruction of the Common-wealth, we have added nothing at all of the vertues, for we write this to the learned only, ... for the health, not the understanding of the vulgar.³⁰

Culpeper did not describe any of the simples, which meant that the Catalogue was no help to a reader on how to recognise and gather them. Presumably, if a reader could afford to, they would simply purchase the ingredients from the apothecaries' shops, whilst *The English Physitian*, first published in 1652, contained just this type of information intended for the general reader.

Culpeper described the temperaments of the simples and their degrees based on general Galenic theory.³¹ Once he had given the Latin and English names along with the medicinal uses of roots, barks, woods, herbs, and leaves, he reduced the College's list of the remaining simples by forty-four per cent. He introduced the section on 'Flowers' with the following explanation:

COurteous Reader, being now passed over the Roots, [Barks, Woods] and Herbs, and arived safely at the Flowers; I thought it best, and most advantagious for the publick good, to abreviate the rest of the Simples, and only note such as may be easily gotten, or are familiarly known to the Commonality of this Land; the Curious may satisfie themselves with what hath been written, being the names of all, or almost all the Herbs, Plants, Roots, &c. used in the *Dispensatory*: In truth I am loth the curiosity of any, should make the Book swel to that bigness that it should be out of the command of a poor mans purse. (*PD* (1649), K1^r)

Culpeper concluded the Catalogue with another attack on the College, but also expressed his concern that the price of his book should not place it out of the reach of a general reader:

For what intent the Colledge quoted them [the simples], I cannot tell; considering they quoted neither English names nor Vertues; and the Lattin names (most part of them) may be found here and there throughout the *Dispensatory*: It is true, I willingly omitted the vertues of many of them, partly because I would not have the Book too big, partly because they are not easily gotten, and many of the operations I

³⁰ 'The College to the Candid Reader', trans. by Culpeper, in *PD* (1649), B1^r-2^v (B2^r).

³¹ For a detailed treatment of Culpeper's medicine see Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine*, pp. 40-127.

buried in silence for fear knaves should put them in practice to do mischief. (*PD* (1649), M3^r)

In both of the above passages, Culpeper correctly associates the size of a book with its retail price. It is significant, therefore, that the first edition of *A Physical Directory* was printed in a quarto format, whereas for subsequent editions Cole chose a folio size. This suggests that he recognised a division between their prospective purchasers. The first edition shows signs of Culpeper's idealism that the cost should be low, and in contrast, later folio publication indicates Cole's commercial influence.

The next section of *A Physical Directory* is devoted to compounded medicines. The College divided this directory into sections according to medicinal types.³² Culpeper did not translate any of 'the Simple distilled waters, quoted by the Colledge, many of which were ridiculous, the simples being not to be obtained green in this Land' (*PD* (1649), M3^v). Apart from this omission the rest of the receipts are translated, although he did present some in a different order to the College, while at other times he grouped several receipts under one heading. He introduced each section with a brief description of the medicinal types, such as decoctions and electuaries, because they were 'understood but by few' (*PD* (1649), U2^r). For the majority of the receipts Culpeper gave their Latin name in italic type, followed by their English equivalent (when he knew one), and this was followed by the details of preparation translated from the Latin. The original *Pharmacopoeia* had only given the ingredients and methods to compound each medicine. In his translation, Culpeper also gave the virtues of these medicines and comments on the method of their preparation:

Only and barely the Receipts themselves were quoted by the College; the Vertues of them, as also the Marginal Notes, and whatsoever sentences are marked with a capital *A.* are Additions. The Colledge when they made this *Dispensatory*, never intending their Country so much as to quote the Vertues. (*PD* (1649), M3^v)

Although he translated the Latin receipts accurately, Culpeper added his critical observations throughout the text. The medicine *Diacarthamum* was 'a pure piece of nonsense' (*PD* (1649), 2C2^r), whilst the College were 'so mysterious' in the receipt for

³² 'Compound Waters', 'Physical Wines', 'Physical Vinegars', 'Decoctions', 'Syrups both Simple and Compound which are in Use', 'Compound Syrups, whose Simples are not in Use', 'Syrups made with Honey, and Vinegar and Honey', 'Rob or Sapa, and Juyces', 'Lohochs', 'Preserves', 'Conserves and Sugars, of Herbs, Leaves, Flowers, and Fruits', 'Species or Pouders', 'Electuaries', 'Pills', 'Troches', 'Simple Oyls made by Expression', 'Simple Oyls by Infusion or Decoction', 'Compound Oyls', 'Oyntments more Simple', 'Oyntmmts more Compound', 'Plaisters and Cerecloaths', 'Cerecloaths', and 'Chymical Oyls' (*PD* (1649), M3^v-2R1^r).

Electuarium Passulatum that he could ‘hardly give directions how to make it, for they give only uncertainties’ (PD (1649), 2D1^r). On one medicine, *Vigonis Oxycroceum (in quo nil croci) Prestantius*, which Culpeper translated ‘in plain English thus, *Vigo his most excellent Plaister of Vinegar and Saffron, in which is no Saffron*’, he wrote:

Surely the Colledge quoted this receipt, (which more properly might be called *Vigo his nonsense*) for Apothecaries to laugh at, not to make, the way of making it up being almost as childish as the title. (PD (1649), 2O4^v-2P1^r)

Despite having translated all the chemical oils included in the *Pharmacopoeia* he ‘would willingly have left them quite out’ (PD (1649), 2Q3^r).

Culpeper’s medical knowledge and practical experience was the source for the extensive observations, criticism and advice, included in his translation. His apprenticeship as an apothecary, and the medical practice he held in Spitalfields for nearly ten years, meant that he had knowledge not only of the practical applications of medicine but also his patients’ needs. He supplemented this experience from his reading of the printed medical classics and from medical manuscripts in his own possession. The citations Culpeper included in the margins and body text of his translation give evidence of his scholarly learning. For example, on the benefit of dwarf elder (*ebuli*) as a purge for the dropsie, Culpeper cited ‘the Authority of the Ancient, [that] was often proved by the never dying Dr Butler of Cambridge, as my self have it in a manuscript of his’ (PD (1649), D1^r).³³ Later he mentioned ‘an old manuscript written in the year 1513’, which may refer to the same manuscript or to another in his possession (PD (1649), 2P3^v). On another occasion he referred to ‘Mr. Charls Butler of Hamshire’ (PD (1649), 2R1^r), who may have been the same Charles Butler (d. 1647) who wrote *The Feminine Monarchie or a Treatise Concerning Bees* (1609), also mentioned by Culpeper (PD (1649), L4^v). Other references to printed works included those by Galen, Dioscorides, Paracelsus, and Timothy Bright’s *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586) (PD (1649), D1^r, *passim*). Many of the virtues derived from Parkinson’s *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), which was also the main text from which Culpeper devised *The English Physician*, examined below. In Culpeper’s commentary, only the name of the source author appears, probably because this was all that Parkinson included in his herbal. However on one occasion Culpeper gave a full reference to the twelfth book of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which indicates that he was familiar with at least one of the classics (PD (1649), G3^r).

³³ Culpeper referred to ‘Dr. Butler in Cambridge’ who had a cure for wind, in *Semeiotica Uranica, or An Astrological Judgment of Diseases* (1651), M3^r.

As well as his medical reading and practical experience, Culpeper was also mindful of printing practices. From his comments it would seem that he was present when *A Physical Directory* was prepared for the press, or that he proof read at least some of the book's sheets. He was critical of the omissions and errors he had identified in the Latin *Pharmacopoeia*, which were either the result of the College's failing or that of the compositor and printer. He referred to the address to the reader printed at the end of the 1639 edition which claimed the book free from errors 'by the great labor, pains, care and industry' of the College's Fellows.³⁴ Culpeper acknowledged that 'I cannot boast as the *Collegd* did, that no errors are committed by the Printer or my Self', any mistakes, he went on, were more likely due to the 'childish ... Cobby' of the Latin original (*PD* (1649), A3^r). In his commentary on the medicine called *Diapenidion*, he wrote:

I could tell Mr. Printer (if I durst be so bold) that he had more tongue than wit, when he made that Apology at the latter end of the *Colledges Master-Piece*; for at the last sentence of this receipt, here are certain words left out, and amongst them the *principal verb*, which how gross an Error it is, I leave to the consideration of every Scholer who is able to translate a piece of Latin into English. (*PD* (1649), Y3^v)

Other errors in the College's *Pharmacopoeia* led to confusion over the preparation of a conserve, which left Culpeper unsure whether it was prepared from the herb or fruit of *prunella*. Such uncertainty could be 'extreamly dangerous', but he concluded that the fault was with the College because of the printer's vindication (*PD* (1649), X1^r). On another occasion, he attacked both the College and printer. Commenting on the omission of three ingredients from the receipt for *Electuarum Resumptivum*, he wrote:

[They were] left quite out by the Colledge, or (as I am of opinion) rather by the Transcriber, which is an easie thing (together with want of a careful Corrector) to be done: I weigh not the vapping of the Printer at the latter end of the book, being confident if a thing were left out, he knew it no more than a Hog knows how to fiddle. (*PD* (1649), Z4^v)

Another oversight had been made to the receipt for *Diasatyrion*, where '[e]ither the Colledge or the Printer [had] left out Cicer roots seven drachms' (*PD* (1649), 2A4^r). His identification of these errors highlights the thoroughness of his own work preparing the translation, as well as revealing his knowledge of printing house practice.

At the end of the book, an alphabetical table lists all the diseases and ailments the remedies and medicines given in the book would supposedly cure. This innovation meant

³⁴ 'The Printer to the Reader', in *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta*, 5th edn (1639), V7^v.

that a reader could locate a suitable remedy for any particular disease without having to read the whole book. Culpeper's production of such an index was not original as similar indexes are found in both Gerard's (1597) and Parkinson's (1640) herbals. However, they offered Culpeper an innovative pattern, one not used by the College, which enabled the medically naïve to identify the remedy they needed.

Despite Culpeper's good intentions, the printer seriously curtailed the utility of this table, and had to print the following apology:

Reader through mistake the figures from page 184 to page 208 (being 24 pages) are false printed: which to rectifie, you must adde to every of the said 24 pages 70 as to 115 adde 70 which makes 185 and so for the rest. (*PD* (1649), 2Z2^v)

This instruction allowed the reader to correct the pagination, incorrectly printed as 115 through to 138, 185 through 208 (gatherings 2C-2E). This suggests that the index was prepared before the printing of the main text was complete, which is perfectly possible by casting-off the complete manuscript.³⁵ However, there is still an unaccounted for jump in pagination from page 208 (printed as '138') and the following page numbered 239. As the running headlines are identical through gatherings 2B, the incorrectly paginated 2C, 2D, and 2E, and on into gathering 2F, which begins the sequence commencing with page 239, this error cannot be accounted for by the use of two presses. It would appear, then, that type was set in one printing house but by a number of compositors. Their error, though, turned what Culpeper intended to guide the reader through the text into a complex business, and it was corrected in the later editions.

In spite of the printer's errors, Culpeper's translation successfully blended his political beliefs within the economic reality of the printing trade and Cole's profit margins, and produced a popular vehicle for self-promotion. It established Culpeper as an author whom people could trust to serve their own needs. He not only called for free medical practice, but also the liberation of the people from the tyranny of the Norman Yoke. Such rhetoric proved popular and Cole published Culpeper's original translation a further two times and Culpeper's second translation six times before his suicide in 1665.

The Subsequent Publishing History of *A Physical Directory* (1650-51)

In 1650 Peter Cole printed and published an enlarged second edition of Culpeper's translation in folio rather than the quarto format of the first edition. The physical

³⁵ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr. 1985), pp. 40-41, 50.

arrangement of this edition amounted to a statement of status. Not only its size, but the division of text into two columns, the allocation of a new page for the start of each section, and use of fleurons emphasised the importance of Culpeper's translation, and suggest that Cole was appealing to a better off group of readers.

By 1650, the College was preparing to publish its own newly revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia*. Culpeper and Cole were aware of its pending appearance whilst working on the second edition of *A Physical Directory* and were keen to respond to this potential threat to the profitability of their version.³⁶ Culpeper was described as a 'Gent.' in 1649, but on the title page to the second edition he was portrayed as a 'Gent. [and] Student in Physick'. Also new was a Latin quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book XII, which praised the virtues of herbal medicine and the practice of healing.³⁷ When the first edition had appeared Culpeper's was an unknown name to London's book buyers. A year later Culpeper and Cole had decided they could give Culpeper's name and presence greater authority. The list of the Fellows, the College's address to the reader, the Royal Proclamation, and the details on the weights and measures used in the *Pharmacopoeia* were all removed. Culpeper wrote a new preface which continued his assault on the College and their use of Latin, that so 'the Commonalty [are] kept in ignorance that so they may the better be made slaves of' (*PD* (1650), B1^r). It was, he believed, 'a base dishonorable unworthy part of the Colledg of Physitians of *London* to train up the people in such ignorance that they should not be able to know what the herbs in their Garden are good for' (*PD* (1650), B2^r). In response, he pledged that 'my pen ... shall never lie still, till I have given them [the people] the whol Moddel of Physick in their Native Language' (*PD* (1650), B2^r).

Culpeper also took a firm political position and attacked the oppression of the English people by the monopolies of the physicians, lawyers, and the priesthood. Adopting the language of the 'Norman Yoke', he singled out 'WILLIAM the Bastard ... [who] brought in the Norman Law in an unknown tongue, and ... laid the foundation to ... our present slavery', as the originator of the suppression the nation now suffered (*PD* (1650), B1^r). Culpeper's language is aggressively republican, impassioned and partisan. His attack was repeated in those books published before 1654, for example in *Catastrophe Magnatum*

³⁶ In the second edition Culpeper wrote, 'I hear say the Colledg intend a new Edition of their Dispensatory' (*PD* (1650), 2B2^r).

³⁷ In translation: 'Elected the knowledge of healing herbs, the science of medicine | Choosing to practise an art which has little status, in obscurity' *Aeneid*, XII, 396-97 (from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by C. Day Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952)).

(1652), he wrote: ‘we desire but our own-birth-rights, and the heavy yolk *William* the Bastard laid upon us, taken off’.³⁸ But Cole and Culpeper were also concerned to assure readers of the improved nature of the new edition. Its title page claimed 784 new additions. Culpeper had apparently received responses from readers and was keen that the new edition should meet their expectations:

I have now satisfied their [‘my Country men in general’] desires in the Doses [to be taken], both the Simples and Compounds, the way of Administring them, [and] how to order their own bodies after purging and sweating Medicines. (*PD* (1650), B2^r)

He added further details to the directions for preparing medicines which introduced the catalogue of simples. Although Culpeper thought this redundant, he was following Cole’s advice:

I confess these or many of these Directions may be found in one place of the book or other, and I delight as little to write tautology as another, but the Printer desiring they should be put here, and I considering it might make for the publick good, inserted them. (*PD* (1650), C2^r)

This additional information on the ‘*Quantity* [of medicine] *to be taken at one time*’ increased the utility of the book (*PD* (1650), R2^v). For example, readers were instructed to take ‘ten grains at a time’ of water of bezoar made from a small stone that formed in the stomach of certain animals and was used as an antidote for poison (*PD* (1650), S2^r). Alternatively, if they could afford to, they could now ‘take half a drachm in the morning’ of ‘Troches of Wood of Aloes’, prepared as a lozenge (*PD* (1650), 2X2^v). In September 1649 the author of the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* had criticised Culpeper for, they claimed, he ‘hath Gallimawfred the Apothecaries Booke into non-sense, mixing every Receipt therein with some Scruples, at least, of Rebellion or Atheismae, besides the danger of Poysoning Mens Bodies’.³⁹ In response Culpeper included a caution in this edition: he warned ‘all Ignorant People’ of the ‘*Simples* or *Compounds* that are dangerous’ (*PD* (1650), title page). There are other signs of revision in this edition; whereas Culpeper had been ‘before sparing’, on the doses and administration of the medicines he now enlarged, and altered some of his general comments on the *Pharmacopoeia*. For example, he renewed his criticism of the use of excrement in medicines with a revised passage from 1649:

As for Excrements there the Colledg makes shitten work and paddle in the turds like Jakes [privy] Farmers, I will let them alone for fear the more I stir them the more they stink. (*PD* (1650), Q2^r)

³⁸ Culpeper, *Catastrophe Magnatum: or the Fall of Monarchie* (1652), C2^r.

³⁹ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, (4-11 September 1649), X4^r.

Culpeper's involvement in the preparation of the second edition of *A Physical Directory* is clear, then, from his revisions and additions.

In 1651 Cole printed and published a third enlarged edition, again in folio. This included another new preface, and a substantial appendix on Galen's 'Method of Physick'. Culpeper's preface now addressed the College directly: on their skill in medicine, he wrote, it 'might have been written in the inside of a Ring' for all the benefit it has brought (*PD* (1651), A1^v). The College was sick and Culpeper's account of their wrong-doing is savage:

*Ipse dixit, seven miles about London, Lay him in Prison: five pound a Month for practising Physick unless he be a Collegiate; Make a couple of Crutches of the Apothecaries and Chyrurgions; Be as proud as Lucifer; Ride in state with a Foot-cloth; Love the sight of Angels; Cheat the Rich; Neglect the Poor; Do nothing without Money; Be Self-conceited, Be Angry; for Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere verum; Be Witless, and so die.*⁴⁰ (*PD* (1651), A1^v)

The cure was clear:

Fear God: Love the Saints: Do good to al: Hide not your Talent in a Napkin: Be Studious: Hate Covetousness: Regard the Poor. (*PD* (1651), A1^v)

Culpeper ironically suggested possible medicines which the College might take, compounded from honesty, fair dealing, and oil of public spirit, along with leaves of conscience, and the roots of a honest heart (*PD* (1651), A2^r). He asked the Fellows:

To consider what will become of your souls another day: How will you answer for the Lives of those poor people that have been lost, by your absconding Physick from them in their Mother Tongue? ... Do you know what belongs to your Duty or not? Wherefore did *K. Harry* the Eighth give you your Charter? to hide the Knowldg of Physick from his subjects yea, or no? (*PD* (1651), A2^r)

Culpeper's vitriolic attack may have been promoted by the publication of the College's revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia* during the previous year. The work of revision, begun by the College in 1647, introduced new Paracelsian remedies using salts of mercury along with an additional section on tinctures. Whilst revising *A Physical Directory* for a final edition Culpeper had access to the College's text and he included a section on the new weights and measures used by the College. This suggests that Culpeper had already begun work translating this new edition.

To ensure continued sales of his title Cole had to compete with this newly revised Latin *Pharmacopoeia*. In order to attract new customers, Culpeper wrote a substantial

⁴⁰ An angel is an old English gold coin first coined in 1465 by Edward IV and last coined by Charles I. The coin was also presented to a patient 'touched' for the King's Evil (*OED*, I).

treatise of forty-eight pages (or nearly twenty-four per cent of the edition) entitled ‘A Key to Galens Method of Physick’ (*PD* (1651), 2S1^r-3F1^v). This was not a translation but a guide to Galen’s medical theories. It was split into three sections: the first gave the qualities of the medicines (whether they be hot, cold, moist, or dry); the second detailed the medicines that were appropriate for certain parts of the body (namely, the head, chest, heart, stomach, liver, spleen, bladder, womb, and the joints); the final section gave the properties and operations of the medicines in twenty-four chapters. It also served to advertise Culpeper’s *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652).

Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory (1653-61):

Culpeper’s Translation of the College’s

Revised *Pharmacopoeia* (1650)

In 1653 Cole published Culpeper’s new translation, entitled *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned*, the title which Cole had registered in October 1650.

Table 3.1: Publishing History of Culpeper’s translations of the *Pharmacopoeia* (1649-61)

*	Year	Imprint	Format
<i>A Physical Directory</i>			
C.1.	1649	For Peter Cole	Quarto
C.2.	1650	By Peter Cole	Folio
C.3.	1651	By Peter Cole	Folio
	1652		
<i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory</i>			
D.1.	1653	For Peter Cole	Folio
D.2.	1654a	By a Well-wisher to the Commonwealth	Duodecimo
D.3.	1654b	By Peter Cole	Octavo
D.3.(i).	1655	By Peter Cole (reissue of 1654b)	Octavo
D.3.(ii).	1656	By Peter Cole (reissue of 1654b)	Octavo
	1657		
	1658		
D.4.	1659	By Peter Cole	Octavo
	1660		
D.5.	1661	By Peter Cole and Edward Cole	Folio

* Reference to Descriptive Bibliography (Appendix 2).

Two variant title pages exist of this edition. In this new translation, Culpeper included page references to the revised Latin edition of 1650, but the original title page was omitted to advertise this fact. This new feature would have been of use to a reader who possessed a copy of the College’s Latin edition whose most likely purchasers were London’s

apothecaries and physicians. Also advertised on the title page were the new virtues, qualities, and properties for the simples and compounded medicines, as well as '[a]ll the medicines that were in the *Old Latin Dispensatory*, and are left out in the *New Latin one*' (*PL* (1653), title page). This last addition suggests that Culpeper was unwilling to embrace the College's movement towards more Paracelsian, iatrochemical medicines.

Importantly, Culpeper's address 'in Spittle-fields near *London*' is printed on the title page. His fame had spread since his name had first appeared in print in 1649 and his reputation as a physician and astrologer must have brought new customers and patients. If Culpeper used the title page to promote his practice, Cole took the opportunity to include a two page advertisement of his stock, including other works by Culpeper.

For the first and only time Culpeper dedicated his translation to an individual, the Right Worshipful Edward Hall, Justice of the Peace for the County of Surrey. Culpeper wrote: '[t]his Child of mine coming out the fourth time into the World, and wanting Defence, as most Truths do, cried aloud for a Patron' (*PL* (1653), B1^v).⁴¹ It has not been possible to identify Edward Hall with certainty, but he must have known Culpeper, who was himself born in Surrey, and been aware of the 'many Enemies' Culpeper had made. Dedications of the period usually heaped praise upon a possible benefactor but not in this case, as Culpeper wrote:

You must not expect large incomiums of praise from him whose works & actions you know alwaies to be so plain, nor an Epistle stuffed as full of Flattery as an Egg is full of meat, which I hate to give, and you to receive, and God hates it in whomsoever he finds it. (*PL* (1653), B1^v)

In this dedication, Culpeper again attacked the College and the population's general ignorance of physick; 'a Disease which now turned Epidemical and rages so extreamly that it sweeps away millions in a year' (*PL* (1653), B1^r). The College had substantially revised their *Pharmacopoeia*, and although he accurately translated their receipts, Culpeper was critical of their alterations:

No sooner had I translated their old Dispensatory ... to work go they and make another such a one as 'tis, and then the old one is thrown by like an old Almanack out of date; some final alterations they have made in some medicines ... not worth speaking of. (*PL* (1653), X1^v)

Changes had been made to the units of measure used in the receipts, which won little praise from Culpeper:

⁴¹ Unfortunately, despite looking in various histories of Surrey, and biographical dictionaries, as well as the alumni lists for Oxford and Cambridge Universities, I have not been able to identify this Edward Hall.

They have gotten another antick way of *MENSURATION* ... By Handfuls and Pugils. An Handful is as much as you can gripe in one Hand; and a Pugil as much as you can take up with your Thumb and two Fingers; and how much that is who can tell? (*PL* (1653), D1^v)

The new translation began by reproducing the Catalogue of Simples from the previous edition of *A Physical Directory*. Apparently this was not altogether Culpeper's idea; he felt that the College's 'old Dispensatory, ... [was] like an old Almanack', and was concerned that the inclusion of this information would result in a larger and consequently more expensive volume. However, Cole, he claimed, 'promised ... that he would [publish] ... it in a smaller print' so that this new edition would not cost more than the previous one (*PL* (1653), N1^v).

It is worth examining the content of this new translation and Culpeper's ambiguous treatment of the College of Physicians. Following the old Catalogue of Simples is 'A Catalogue of the Simples in the New Dispensatory' from the revised *Pharmacopoeia*. Here Culpeper treats with contempt the lists of simples given by the College. Each section is introduced with headings like: 'The BARKS which the Colledg blot paper with, are these', 'To fill up another part of a Page, the Colledg quote a few WOODS', 'The HERBS which the Colledg spent so much pains and Study, barely to name', and 'SEEDS barely mention by the Colledg' (*PL* (1653), O1^v-2^r). To facilitate the useful application of the College's list, Culpeper presents this material 'in another form for the use and benefit of the body Man' and offers a Galenic interpretation of their virtues (*PL* (1653), O2^v).⁴² This new information, details the rules of physic employed by Culpeper, which he hoped would 'encourage young Students in the art' (*PL* (1653), O1^r). Although he still could not give any medical benefits for excrement, he adds that he could not 'chuse but smile to think in what part of the Apothecaries Shop the Colledg would have them kept' (*PL* (1653), R2^v). On the medicinal benefits of animal parts, he was equally critical. For example, on the inclusion of 'the Brain of Hares and Sparrows, Crabs claws, the Rennet of a Lamb, Kid, a Hare, and a Calf, and a Horse too', he wrote:

They should have put in the Rennet of an Ass to make a Medicine for their adle [*sic*] brains; the next time they alter their Dispensatory, let them go take council of the Butchers, and allow them a place in their Colledg-Garden in Amen-Corner. (*PL* (1653), S1^r)

His disdain for the new *Pharmacopoeia* is also evident in the Catalogue for compounded medicines. This is divided into twenty-five groups, and although Culpeper translated all the

⁴² See David L. Cowen, 'The Boston Editions of Nicholas Culpeper', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 11 (1956), 156-65 (p. 162).

College's receipts he included nearly ninety that had been dropped from the original *Pharmacopoeia* during revision.⁴³ Culpeper added four receipts to the section of decoctions, twelve to the powders, thirteen to troches, and twelve to pills. These receipts involved only simple methods of preparation which required kitchen equipment. Decoctions are liquors extracted from an essence by boiling, powders are simply the ingredients mixed in a pestle and mortar, troches are tablets and, like pills, are prepared by mixing and rolling the ingredients into the required shape. The inclusion of these cheap and easy to prepare medicines, excluded by the College in 1650 in favour of expensive chemical preparations, suggest that Culpeper was both critical of these new Paracelsian remedies and wanted to provide affordable 'kitchen physick'. In addition to the ninety receipts omitted in the new Latin edition, Cole and Culpeper supplemented this with discursive medical material. The College's receipts for medicinal oils now contained an additional six pages devoted to the rules for their preparation (*PL* (1653), 2N2^r-P1^v).

Culpeper believed that the Fellows had added expensive ingredients simply to increase the cost of the medicine: 'thus they serve the poor people just as a Cat serves a Mouse; first play with them and then eat them up' (*PL* (1653), X1^v).⁴⁴ For example, one receipt for a syrup had been altered by the College, but whereas 'before it was Hodg-podg that could not be made, ... now 'tis a Hodg-podg only not worth the making' (*PL* (1653) 2B1^r). Another example suggests that the College had responded to Culpeper's criticism in his original translation. In 1649, he had mocked the College's receipt for *aromaticum caryophyllatum*, which it had 'scurvily' transcribed. Apparently, the receipt for a powder had been confused with that for an electuary, because of the inclusion of unnecessary and imprecise ingredients, such as a 'sufficient quantity of Sugar' and lemon syrup, juice, or pills (*PD* (1649), X2^v-3^r). In the revised *Pharmacopoeia* it appeared, according to Culpeper, 'as I in my former Edition shewed them', but whether this was at Culpeper's suggestion is unclear (*PL* (1653), 2F1^r).⁴⁵

The College prepared its *Pharmacopoeia* from continental examples, such as those by the medical colleges at Nuremberg and Bergamo, and included receipts from a variety of medical authors and the classical works of Galen and other ancients.⁴⁶ Usually the

⁴³ These are: decoctions, purging syrups, lohochs, powders, purging electuaries, pills, troches, compound oils and ointments, and plaisters.

⁴⁴ See also *PL* (1653), U2^r, X2^r, 2G1^r, 2G2^v, 2I1^r, 2P1^v.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Pharmacopoeia Londonensis* (1639), H4^v; rev. edn (1650), I2^v.

⁴⁶ *Annals*, III, f. 17^r. The city of Nuremberg first published a pharmacopoeia for its apothecaries in 1546. By the 1580s, many European cities had likewise prepared official pharmacopoeias, such as Bergamo in Italy in 1580. *Dispensatorum Vaerii Cordi* (Nuremberg, 1546) and *Pharmacopoea Collegii Medicorum*

authoritative source of the receipt appeared alongside the medicine's name. However, Culpeper found at least three receipts that, he claimed, had been 'stolen out of the Manuscripts of Mr. John Arden for a Chyrurgian at Newark upon Trent, though now the Colledg have the honesty to conceal his name' (*PL* (1653), 2R2^r). How Culpeper could have known such information is unclear. John Arderne's (*fl.* 1307-70) Latin manuscript work on fistulae was translated by the surgeon John Read, and published in 1588 along with a translation of Francisco Arceo's (*c.* 1493-1573) *De Recta Curandorum* (Antwerp, 1574), entitled *A Most Excellent and Compendious Method of Curing Woundes*. Perhaps Culpeper had read or owned this book, because he also referred to Arderne in the aphorisms compiled from his medical notes from the 1640s but published after his death in *Culpeper's Last Legacy* (1655).⁴⁷

This new translation was another success for both Culpeper and his publisher. By 1653, Cole had already secured the rights to the Latin *Pharmacopoeia*, which he did not publish until 1655, and an English translation. He was protected by his stationers' rights and the College could take no action to prevent him profiting from their work, even if it had been in a political position to do so. When, in 1653, Culpeper launched his strongest attack on the College in his commentary, he could do so without fear of reprisal. But if Cole and Culpeper were free of any threat from the College, their very success made them vulnerable to other members of the book trade. In 1654, Culpeper's and Cole's control over their market was threatened by a pirated duodecimo of the translation published by a 'Well-wisher to the *Common-wealth* of ENGLAND' (see Illustration 6). It was most probably published by William Bentley, who had already published two issues of a pirated edition of *The English Physitian*, one anonymously 'for the benefit of the Commonwealth' and the other bearing his name in its imprint, in a duodecimo format.

The title page of Bentley's edition threatened Cole's monopoly over Culpeper's translation, the price of which, the 'Well-wisher' claimed, was at odds with the altruistic aims of Culpeper. In order 'that its prise may not exceed the poores purse', Bentley printed with brevier type (*PL* (Bentley, 1654), title page). This pocket-sized volume (126 × 64 mm.) was printed on approximately eighteen sheets of paper. Accepting Philip Gaskell's calculation of the approximate production cost for printing a sheet at 0.25*d.* during this period, then each copy of this edition could have cost just over four pence to produce.⁴⁸

(Bergamo, 1581) were mention specifically by the College as examples of official pharmacopoeias.

⁴⁷ Culpeper, *Culpeper's Last Legacy* (1655), H8^v. Arderne was the source of a receipt for the gout.

⁴⁸ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 178.

However, setting formes in brevier type will have taken longer and therefore the cost of labour would have been rather higher. The previous four editions published by Cole were printed on forty-five (1649), sixty-one (1650), and fifty-five (1651 and 1653) sheets respectively, corresponding to an average cost per copy at just over thirteen pence. As the cost of paper was between fifty and seventy-five per cent of printing costs, Bentley's edition could have been sold at a third of the price of Cole's publications.

This counterfeit edition is an exact copy of Culpeper's 1653 translation, and even reproduced a frontispiece portrait. The only difference was, of course, the omission of Cole's advertisement and the typographical use of italic and roman type. In response to this challenge to his market, Cole published an octavo edition in 1654. The fact that Cole reissued this edition in 1655 and 1656 with a new title page suggest that he did lose potential buyers to Bentley. Cole printed each copy on just over twenty-two sheets, at an approximate cost of six pence. That is less than half the cost for his previous editions and not much more than the pirated one that threatened his profits. Cole printed with long primer that had the benefit of being easier to read than the brevier used by Bentley.

Cole attempted to regain the initiative lost to Bentley, and he competed with the rogue publisher at his own game by reasserting his authoritative edition to protect his legal rights. On the verso of the title page Cole printed a coat of arms which he used as a printer's device after 1654, when he was battling with Brook and Bentley over the right to Culpeper's legacy. It constitutes an emblem of authority and ownership. Following the death of Culpeper earlier in the year, Cole's commercial instincts came to the fore. The title page claimed three hundred additions to the text, but no alterations were made. This was simply an extra advertising pitch, and only the preliminaries and Culpeper's conclusion had been revised. Presumably unplanned, this work was hastily printed to lessen the impact of Bentley's duodecimo on Cole's sales, but its reissue in 1655 and 1656 suggest that it failed.

It appears that Culpeper was also prepared to act against this infringement upon his publisher's rights. In a preface to the reader, dated 30 December 1653, he referred to the pirated edition and wrote: '[t]here is a Counterfeit Impression of this Book, in which are so many gross errors, that I must say though it bear my name, it's none of mine, I do disclaim it' (*PL* (Cole, 1654), ^rA2^r). By the time he was writing this preface, though, Culpeper was already 'sick and weak, no[t] fit for study or writing' (*PL* (Cole, 1654), ^vA2^v), in fact he had less than two weeks left to live. Compared with his early work, it is striking that this preface does not attack the College or its monopoly. Rather, it focuses on 'this Book in

particular, and my Bookes in general' (*PL* (Cole, 1654), ^rA2^r). It exhibits none of the anger of Culpeper's earlier prefatory writing and its concern is to establish the legitimacy of those of his books published by Cole. For these reasons, in conjunction with Culpeper's declining health, Peter Cole himself is probably its author.⁴⁹ It reads:

For my Bookes in general. There have been several Men [who] have made several objections against them. ...

They object against my making Additions to the several Impressions that have been printed of my Books.

1. *To which I give these answers: First I seldome made my Additions to any of them unless they were first counterfeited (by Fellows as like Theeves as a Pomewater is like an Apple) and then I held my self bound to do something to distinguish my Children from their illegitimate brood.*

2. *Secondly, I do hereby engage, not to make any Additions to any of my Books unless some Theef do steal my Copie by reprinting, from such Persons as I have, or shal sel them unto.*

3. *Seeing its so difficult to make any perfect, It must be done by much labor, time, and experience; and considering my additions were most of them upon such speciall occasion as above said, I hope they rather meritt your Pardon than indignation. (*PL* (Cole, 1654), ^rA2^r)*

The last paragraph of the preface mentions seventeen books it claims Culpeper had already translated, the same number that Alice Culpeper later said her husband had sold to Cole. Alice's 'Vindication' was employed by Cole in his battle with Brook over Culpeper's posthumous bibliography. The conclusion to the 1654 edition also claimed Culpeper's authorship, but again shows signs of Cole's intervention. It reproduced Culpeper's previous conclusion to the 1653 edition, to which Cole had added an introductory passage, written in Culpeper's voice:

IN this sixth Edition of this Book are between Two and Three Hundred very Useful Additions, and exceeding fit for al those that understand not the Latin, or have not studied Physick very many years, The Additions are of most precious Thing as I either knew my Self, or have Collected from the best Authors in Physick. I have also made large Additions to al my other Books that I have Printed, which I wil Publish in smal Books by themselves: But I have so contrived them, that I can easily insert them in several parts of my Books from the Beginning to the End, and so I have done in this sixt Edition of this Book. But I do hereby engage never to make any Additions to any of my Books, but only such as shal be Printed alone distinct from the former impressions, unless when any person shal be so bold a Thief as to print any of my Books without my consent, or theirs to

⁴⁹ For another example see Simon Partlitz, *A New Method of Physick*, trans. (1654). The preface, supposedly written by Culpeper on 12 November 1653, but more likely the work of Cole, claimed publication had been delayed because of the expiry of the 1649 Printing Act, and that further books by Culpeper would only appear 'if the Parliament please to perfect the Law to Punish *Copy-stealers* with the same Punishment as they do other *Theeves*' (A2^r).

whom I have, or shal sel them. (*PL* (Cole, 1654), 2X4^v)

This is a tacit acknowledgement of Cole's programme for Culpeper's books following the author's death. The response to threats to his monopoly, as I have already shown in the case of Culpeper's translation, and will show below in editions of *The English Physitian* and *A Directory for Midwives*, was to include additional material in each subsequent edition. This illustrates how the fluidity of a particular title through a number of editions was central to its commercial success and its appeal to new readers. In the case of Culpeper's translations, alterations after his death were made by Cole to promote the sales of those spurious Culpeper translations which he published in the late 1650s.

In 1659 Cole printed and published a new octavo edition of the English *Pharmacopoeia*. This was set from a copy of the 1654 edition to which Cole inserted a large number of references liberally through the text. These insertions, designed to appear as if written by Culpeper, to 'these Books of mine, of the last Edition, viz. *Riverius, Johnston, Riolanus, Veslingus, Sennertus, and Physick for the Poor*', were made on over fifty separate occasions (*PL* (1659), I3^v, *passim*). To create space for these additions, Cole removed sections of Culpeper's original commentary upon the Latin edition. For example, on the opening pages 308 and 309, Cole removed six paragraphs from Culpeper's commentary on the benefits of pectoral ointment, ointment of poplar, and *unguentum resumptive*. This then freed space for the insertion of two paragraphs referring the reader to his new translations (see Illustration 7). Also included was 'An Astrological-Physical Discourse of the Human Virtues in the Body of Man', which Culpeper had originally written for his *Ephemeris for 1651*.

Cole's business profited during the 1650s due to his ability to exploit the uncertain political milieu and the advertising medium of print. He aligned himself, along with Culpeper and the other authors he published, with the Parliamentary cause, and managed to attack royalist monopolies whilst at the same time establishing his bookstall in Cornhill and his printing-house in Leadenhall. With the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 Cole's political beliefs were no longer acceptable and were dangerous to voice. His business began to fail and he recruited his brother Edward Cole into a partnership. However, Cole was astute enough to realise that if the partnership were to continue to profit from its ownership of Culpeper's catalogue of books they would have drastically to revise his writings.

In 1661, Peter and Edward Cole printed and published a new folio edition of Culpeper's translation of the 1653 Latin *Pharmacopoeia*. This was a lavish venture and

marked the launch of a revamped translation void of the political and moralistic attacks that had made Culpeper infamous. The Coles had recruited Abdiah Cole (c. 1610-70), possibly another relative, to edit and revise ‘Culpeper’s books’. Abdiah Cole claimed to be a Doctor of Physick who had practised for forty-nine years, thirty of them spent abroad (*PL* (1661), title page). Peter Cole was keen to take full responsibility for the volume, and replaced Culpeper’s preliminary addresses with his own preface to the reader. He explained how he had ‘earnestly pressed some Learned and Ingenious Gentlemen Friends of mine, well known to be both Learned Schollers, and able Physitians’ to revise Culpeper’s translation working alongside Abdiah Cole. The suggestion is that these anonymous physicians were Fellows of the College, because, according to Cole:

They told me they would endeavour to satisfie my Request, and in their Additions freely and generously discover divers things, ... but it must be upon Condition, that in this Edition of the English *Dispensatory* all the passages reflecting upon the Colledg of *London* the Authors of the Book should be ... left out. For said they, How can we professing our selves among the Learned, endure to see Learned men abused out a capricious Humor, and in a scurrilous manner? The Colledg is a society of Learned men generally, and worthy Persons; many of them have been our loving Friends and acquaintance for may years, and therefore we will not have an hand in the Edition of a Book that shall use them uncivilly. (*PL* (1661), B1^v)

Once Cole had ‘promised them that they should be satisfied in this Particular to the full’, they agreed to supplement Culpeper’s translation with their own commentary on the medicinal uses and benefits of the College’s 1653 *Pharmacopoeia*. Accordingly, Cole removed all attacks on the College, so conspicuous in Culpeper’s work, while new passages, identified as ‘*Vertues newly added*’, were inserted. These passages often ridiculed Culpeper much as he had the College. For example, they wrote on ‘Wine of Black Cherries’:

This is called Black-cherry Wine, because made of the juyce thereof, as Wine is of the juyce of Grapes. Therefore there is no more need of Wine to make this Medicament then there is of Mr. *Culpeper* his cavil against the Colledg for adding none. (*PL* (1661), 2C1^v)

On another receipt the editors added:

Why the addition of half a dram of black Hellebore to this Medicament by the Colledg (as it seems) should be blamed by *Culpeper*, I see not, being assured that black Hellebore is not a slow purger, though a sure Remedy on Melancholick cases. (*PL* (1661), 2C2^v)

Culpeper was again criticised by the editors for his comments on syrup of roses: ‘*Culpeper* might possibly have his considering Cap on, but certainly his wits were on Wooll-gathering,

when he censured this Medicament' (*PL* (1661), 2E2^v).

This edition then was a radical departure from Culpeper's original work and from the spirit of his translation. The editors and Cole removed his authorial presence in many instances and he appears as a mocked figure rather than the creator of the movement towards professional vernacular medical literature. The Fellows, for so long taunted by Culpeper, were now offered the chance to promote their own learning once more, and this by Culpeper's own publisher. Circumstances had turned full-circle. Throughout the early 1650s Cole and Culpeper had created and perpetuated a public persona to fit the Culpeper name. In the politically changed world of Restoration London, the printed medium again reinvented his legacy. The College had managed to survive revolutionary London, and although it was not restored to its former glories it still oversaw medical practice in the capital. If the anonymous physicians who worked on Cole's 1661 publication were indeed Fellows it represents an awareness, by some members of the College at least, that medical knowledge should not only just be published in Latin. In this respect at least, Culpeper had won through.

The English Physitian (1652) and Piracy

I consulted with my two Brothers, D^r REASON, and D^r EXPERIENCE, and took a Voyage to visit my Mother NATURE, by whose advice together with the help of D^r DILLIGENCE, I at last obtained my desires, and being warned by M^r *Honesty*, a stranger in our daies to publish it to the World, I have done it.

Culpeper, *The English Physitian*
(Cole, 1652), A2^v

The oral culture of the Middle Ages had ensured that the practice and popularity of herbal medicine passed through the generations of a family, community, and, before their dissolution, the monasteries. The so-called 'Quacks' Charter' of 1543 recognised this tradition and by the seventeenth century herbal medicine was widely practised. In Chapter One, I examined the tradition of herbal publication from Turner's *Herball* in 1551, the abridged edition by William Ram, and the gentlemanly herbals of Gerard and Johnson in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, it is the name of Culpeper and its association with herbal medicine that today eclipses all his predecessors.

Charles Webster describes *The English Physitian* as Culpeper's 'most celebrated work', and for Blanche Henrey, Culpeper is the 'leading seventeenth century exponent of

astrological botany'.⁵⁰ According to Webster, Culpeper 'counteracted the trend established by the herbals of Gerard and Parkinson, of emphasising botany at the expense of medical information'.⁵¹ Despite its enduring popularity Culpeper's herbal has been the subject of only one full-length study. In his doctoral thesis Rex Jones analyses the literary genre of herbal production in England and attempts to place Culpeper's work in the tradition of 'popular' herbals and botanical/medicinal books.⁵² Jones identifies the principal source for *The English Physitian* as John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640). Indeed, at least one contemporary reader was aware that Culpeper's herbal was derived from Parkinson's book: a manuscript note in the British Library copy of *The English Physitian* (Bentley, 1652) reads: 'This booke was collected out of Parkinson's herball'.⁵³

For Cole, *The English Physitian* was a commercial venture which exploited and expanded the market for Culpeper's books. It was for both 'the Vulgar' and those who 'study Physick Astrologically' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2Z2^v), and appealed to the professional, gentry and lay readers, in contrast to the earlier herbals of Gerard and Parkinson which were owned by the educated and wealthy. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) possessed a copy of Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*, but did not own a copy of Culpeper's *The English Physitian*.⁵⁴ Similarly, the library of John Locke (1632-1704), although it contained a copy of the expensive *Theatrum Botanicum*, along with Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (1629), had no works by Culpeper.⁵⁵ The inventory of John Nidd, a Fellow at Trinity from College from 1647 to 1659, included in E.S. Leedham-Green's study *Books in Cambridge Inventories* further highlights this trend. His library contained forty five per cent medical titles (126 out of 277 items), but despite having been active during the 1650s when the popularity of Culpeper's books rose, none of his titles are listed. Nidd bequeathed his copies of Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* and *Paradisi in Sole* to Trinity College

⁵⁰ *GI*, p. 271; Blanche Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature Before 1800. Comprising a History and Bibliography of Botanical and Horticultural Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland from the Earliest Times until 1800: Volume 1, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 82.

⁵¹ *GI*, p. 271.

⁵² Rex F. Jones, 'Genealogy of a Classic: 'The English Physitian' of Nicholas Culpeper' (doctoral thesis, University of California, San Francisco, 1984; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 46A (1986), 780-A), p. 195.

⁵³ BL 1606/2070. The note is written at the bottom of the frontispiece.

⁵⁴ Robert Latham, general ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge: Volume 1, Printed Books*, compiled by N.A. Smith (Cambridge: Brewer, 1978), p. 135.

⁵⁵ John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 203. Locke also possessed a manuscript herbal (Bodleian Library, MS Locke, c. 41) and copies of the botanical works of John Ray (p. 218).

Library, and in his will, made 16 December 1658 and proved 6 September 1659, he left his copy of Gerard's *Herball* to 'Mr Wray Fellow of Trinity Colledge'.⁵⁶ The library of the physician John Webster (1611-82), catalogued in June 1682, contained a copy of an octavo edition of Culpeper's *English Physitian*, valued at 2s., while at the other end of the scale his copy of Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* was worth £2.15s.0d.⁵⁷ There is little extant evidence of female ownership of herbals, and even less of readership. Nevertheless Evenden-Nagy has found at least one woman who owned a herbal. In her 1654 will, Sara Garter left to her sister 'My Booke called Gerrards Herball withall my other Physick and Chirurgarie Books and notes'.⁵⁸ According to her diary, as a child, Lady Grace Mildmay (1552-1620) read from William Turner's herbal.⁵⁹ Culpeper was himself critical of the cost of these herbals, and in the second edition of *A Physical Directory* he attacked 'both *Gerrhards Herbal*, and *Parkinsons* which is an hundred times better, [for] being of such a price, that a poor man is not able to by them'.⁶⁰ It was Culpeper's belief that these English folio herbals were prohibitively expensive which led to his preparation of *The English Physitian*.

This and the following section trace the publishing history of Culpeper's herbal from 1652 through to the last edition published by Cole in 1665. The pattern of this history closely follows the previous narrative of *A Physical Directory* and the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory*. For Cole, *The English Physitian* was another commercially successful project, while Culpeper profited from the promotion of his practice at Spitalfields. Again, William Bentley printed a pirate edition forcing Culpeper and Cole to revise the title, and following Culpeper's death Cole exploited his name to promote further spurious titles through the textual changes he made. By focusing on the publishing relations surrounding the publication of a particular book the importance of bibliographical factors in coming to a fuller understanding of its contemporary reception is revealed.

⁵⁶ E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), II, 576-84 (p. 576).

⁵⁷ Peter Elmer, *The Library of Dr John Webster: The Making of a Seventeenth-Century Radical*, *Medical History Supplement*, 6 (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1986), nos. 2, 666.

⁵⁸ Sara Garter's will (Prob. 11/254), quoted by Evenden-Nagy, *Popular Medicine*, p. 66.

⁵⁹ Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (London: Collins & Brown, 1993), pp. 26, 92.

⁶⁰ *PD* (1650), B2^r.

Table 3.2: Publishing History of *The English Physitian* (1652-65)

*	Year	Imprint	Format
<i>The English Physitian</i>			
E.1.	1652a	By Peter Cole	Folio
E.2.	1652b	Printed for the benefit of the Commonwealth	Duodecimo
E.2.(i).	1652c	By William Bentley (reissue of 1652b)	Duodecimo
<i>The English Physitian Enlarged</i>			
E.3.	1653	By Peter Cole	Octavo
	1654		
E.3.(i).	1655	By Peter Cole (reissue of 1653)	Octavo
E.3.(ii).	1656a	By Peter Cole (reissue of 1653)	Octavo
E.4.	1656b	By Peter Cole	Octavo
E.5.	1656c	By Peter Cole	Octavo
	1657		
	1658		
	1659		
	1660		
E.5.(i).	1661	By Peter and Edward Cole (reissue of 1656c)	Octavo
E.4.(i).	1662	By Peter and Edward Cole (reissue of 1656b)	Octavo
	1663		
	1664		
E.5.(ii).	1665	By Peter and Edward Cole (reissue of 1656c)	Octavo

* Reference to Descriptive Bibliography (Appendix 2).

On 13 February 1651, Cole registered his right to the copies of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* and *A Directory for Midwives* with the Stationers' Company.⁶¹ By the beginning of April, he had published the *Directory*, but *The English Physitian* did not appear until after 6 November 1652.⁶² Whilst compiling the text of *The English Physitian* Culpeper evidently spent sometime away from Spitalfields, which apparently created difficulties since he prepared the book without access to his study and books (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A1^r). This absence may be responsible for the eighteen-month delay between entry in the Register and publication, as could have been his state of health, his 'own body being sickly' whilst he prepared the book (*EP* (Cole, 1652), A2^r).

The English Physitian was born out of the *Pharmacopoeia* project, and developed the Catalogue of Simples that appeared in the original translation of 1649.⁶³ Throughout *The English Physitian*, Culpeper referred the reader to additional information in his translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. For example, he claimed that '[y]ou have the best way of Distillation in my *Translation of the London Dispensatory*', and that 'you shal find in my *Translation of the London Dispensatory*, among the Preparations at latter end, a Medicin

⁶¹ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 360.

⁶² Culpeper's preface to the reader is dated 6 November 1652 (*EP* (Cole, 1652), B2^r).

⁶³ Jones, 'Genealogy of a Classic', p. 198.

called *Focculae Brioniae*, take that and use it, you have the way there how to make it' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), G1^v, H2^v). This self-advertisement stressed the complementary relationship between the two books. However, Jones regards *The English Physitian* as a 'more serviceable and ultimately more durable work' than the translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, although he acknowledges their association.⁶⁴ Culpeper only included indigenous herbs with their common names in *The English Physitian*, while in his translation he was restricted to those simples and receipts included in the College's *Pharmacopoeia*. In the earlier work, although he included the Latin names of the simples, he also criticised the College for including exotic or expensive simples. The two works were parallel projects aimed at slightly different audiences but both utilised the same knowledge of herbal remedies.

The English Physitian was the first new herbal published since Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* twelve years earlier. For the first edition, Cole chose a folio format which suggests he marketed the book to the gentry, amateur botanist, and medical professionals, despite his author's impassioned attacks on the establishment. In his address 'To the Reader', Culpeper acknowledged 'the Worthies of our own Nation, *Gerard, Johnson, and Parkinson*', but was critical of their work (*EP* (Cole, 1652), A2^f). Their huge folios included herbs that could 'not ... be had in *London* for Love nor Money', and, Culpeper claimed, they did not give 'one wise Reason for what they wrote, and so did nothing els but train up yong Novices in Physick in the School of Tradition' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), A2^v). In contrast, Culpeper intended to encourage medical self-sufficiency by only including indigenous herbs in *The English Physitian* and explaining their medical applications, 'whereby a man may preserve his Body in Health; or cure himself ... for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in *England*' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), title page).

He that reades this and understands what he reades, he hath a Jewel more worth then a Diamond: He that understands it not, is as little fit to give Physick. There lies a Key in these words, which will unlock (if it be turned by a wise hand) the *Cabbinet of Physick*: I have delivered it so plainly as I durst; ... I wrote ... upon all Plants, Trees, and Herbs: He that understands it not, is unfit (in my Opinion) to give Physick. This shall live when I am dead; and thus I leave it to the World, not caring a Halfpenny whether they like or dislike it. The Grave equals all men, and therefore shall equal me with the Princes, until which time the Eternal Providence is over me; then the ill tongue of a prating Priest, or of one who hath more Tongue than Wit, or more Pride than Honesty, shall never trouble me. Wisdom is justified of her Children. (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2X1^r)

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 197-98.

The English Physitian acknowledged the established practice of herbal medicine and Culpeper assumed a degree of knowledge in identifying and gathering herbs on the part of his reader. For example, on burdock (*Arctium lappa*) he noted, '[i]t is so well known even to the little Boys who pul off the Burs to throw and stick upon one another, that I shal spare to write any description of it', whilst on cabbage (*Brassica oleracea*) and colewort (*Gerum urbanum*), 'I shal spare a labor in writing a Description of these, sith almost every one that can but write at all may describe them from his own knowledg, they being generally so well known that Descriptions are altogether needless' (*EP* (Cole, 1652) K1^r).⁶⁵

Following his address to the reader, Culpeper attempted to establish the authority upon which his book rested. He included a list of forty-three 'Authors made use of in the Treatise', and included the names of the famous ancient botanists and physicians, along with more modern authors.⁶⁶ This attempt to associate *The English Physitian* with the best known botanical authors suggests that Culpeper intended the first folio edition for the gentleman botanist, even though he also acknowledged his debt to 'Dr. Experience' and 'Dr. Reason'. Despite the inclusion of a variety of passages derived from Parkinson's herbal, Culpeper did include a lot of original material, primarily in the section on the virtue of particular herbs and sometimes on their locations. For example, when describing meadow trefoil (*Trifolium pratense*), he claimed to have discovered a new variety.

Of *Trefoyl* or three leaved Grass, there are very many sorts described by Authors, but one I have found out which I never red of, the Leaf is but small and it beareth a small yellow Flower, in the midst of each Leaf of the Herb, is a perfect picture of a Heart in red colour, it grows plentifully in a Field between *Longford* and *Bow*; also I found one Root in the High-way between *Chadwel* and *Rumford* in Essex, as also another in the High-way between *Horn-Church* and *Upminster* in the same County, the tast is something more hot and spicy than the tast of the rest is. (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2S2^v)

He also possessed a manuscript by a Dr. Butler, which he had previously used whilst translating the *Pharmacopoeia*, but despite mentioning this in the lists of authors he referred to it only once in the text when describing the benefits of dwarf-elder (*Sambucus*

⁶⁵ Other examples include angelica (*Angelica archangelica*): 'To write a Description of that which is so well known to be growing in almost every Garden, I suppose is altogether needless' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), D2^v), and cowslip (*Primula veris*): 'I wil neither trouble my self nor the Reader with any description of them' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), N1^v). I attempt to give the scientific name for Culpeper's English herbs. The nomenclature adopted being that of M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, rev. edn (London: Tiger Books International, 1998). The identifications are necessarily based on scanty evidence and hence must be regarded as tentative.

⁶⁶ He mentioned, among others: Aristotle, Avicenna, Rembert Dodoens, Dioscorides, Leonard Fuchs, Gesner Conrad, Galen, John Gerard, Thomas Johnson, Matthias L'Obel, John Parkinson, Pliny, William Turner, and Dr Butler's manuscript (see above, p. 125) (*EP* (Cole, 1652), B2^v).

Ebulus) (*EP* (Cole, 1652), P2^r). Much of the original material Culpeper added to *The English Physitian* addressed a literate female audience, a markedly different readership from that to which Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* appealed. On balm, Culpeper wrote, 'let a Syrup made with the Juyce of it and Sugar ... be kept in every Gentlewomans house, to releve the weak stomachs and sick Bodies of their poor sickly Neighbors' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), F1^v). In a number of passages, he explicitly acknowledged that women were the seventeenth-century providers of quotidian medical care, not only for their family, but also for their neighbours. For example, on butter bur (*Petasites vulgaris*), he wrote, '[i]t were wel if Gentlewomen would keep this Root preserved, to help their poor Neighbors: *It is fit the Rich should help the Poor, for the Poor cannot help themselves*' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), I2^v). While on hemp (*Eupatorium cannabinum*), he wrote '[t]his is so well known to every good Huswife in the Country, that I shal not need to write any Description of it' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), T3^r). Culpeper expected seventeenth-century gentlewomen to cultivate their own herb garden and be conversant with the processes of preparing and preserving herbal remedies. Although London's herb market and apothecaries' shops would supply ingredients, Culpeper preferred to encourage the reader to grow and collect their own supply: 'one handful be worth ten of those you buy in *Cheap-side*' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2X2^v).

Following the catalogue of herbs, Culpeper gave instructions and advice for 'gathering, drying and keeping simples and juyces' along with a section on 'making and keeping compounds' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2X2^r-3A2^r). These gave 'the way of making Syrups, Conserves, Oyls, Oyntments, &c. of Herbs, Roots, Flowers &c. whereby you may have them ready for your use at such times when otherwise they cannot be had' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2X2^r). To prepare these medicines all that was needed was a pestle and mortar, a press, skillet, spoon, storage glasses, earthen pots, sieve, pewter vessel, paper, and a fire or stove. Most of the medicinal preparations were intended to be made in advance, and then placed in storage for such time as they were needed. It meant that a reader, most often presumably a gentlewoman, could administer home prepared remedies locally, without having to consult a physician or visit the apothecary's shop. The importance of herbal cultivation and a kitchen-garden was an emerging movement towards 'kitchen physick'.⁶⁷

In addition to medical advice, Culpeper succinctly expressed his astrological beliefs and their importance to a holistic medicine. He provided a system of procedures to follow

⁶⁷ See Lynette Hunter, 'Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh', in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 178-97.

when ‘mixing Medicines according to the Cause of the Disease and part of the Body afflicted’, but differentiated between two audiences: ‘the Vulgar’ and those who ‘study Astrology, or such as study Physick Astrologically’ (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2Z2^v-3A1^r). In his address to the ‘Vulgar’ Culpeper referred to his translation of *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652), and the Catalogue of the Diseases printed at the end of *The English Physitian*. He stressed the importance of his herbal as a suitable substitute for a physician, as his book contained practical, cheap, and easy advice, and then specifically addressed those who study astrology, whom he ‘exceedingly respect[ed]’ (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 2Z2^v). In order to demonstrate the success of astrology as a basis for medicine, he reproduced an exchange of letters between himself and a gentleman in Bedfordshire. The inclusion of this personal correspondence suggests a privileged relationship of intimacy and trust, inviting the reader to share in Culpeper’s private world. During the 1650s astrology and belief in the governance of the planets and stars over worldly events was beginning to wane. Following the chaos that had surrounded astrologers’ incorrect predictions for the solar eclipse on 29 March 1652, the press ridiculed their ‘figure-flinging’. Culpeper had himself written a book of predictions, *Catastrophe Magnatum; of the Fall of Monarchie*, published in 1652, which was criticised in *Black Munday Turn’d White* (1652) and *Lilies Ape Whipt* ([1652]). William Brommerton also attacked Culpeper and his false predictions in *Confidence Dismounted, or the Astronomers Knavery Anatomized*, published in April 1652. The letter that Culpeper chose to include in *The English Physitian* had been written by an anonymous Bedfordshire man on behalf of a neighbour’s wife ‘taken with a very violent Disease’ and praised Culpeper and his astrology (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A1^r). Its appearance may then have been a diversionary move on the part of Culpeper to conduct his own defence and endorse his work.

The author of this letter, dated 25 July 1651, applauded Culpeper’s *Semeiotica Uranica* as ‘that pretty little Lark, you so lately let fly into the world’ and included one woman’s astrological nativity for Culpeper to examine (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A1^r). Culpeper’s reply is also printed, and although he attempted to diagnose the woman’s disease and offer a prognosis, it is little more than a denouncement of the ‘ignorance of ... Country Doctors, they wanting the true Judgment of Astrology’ (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A1^v). He then told a ‘merry story’ to show the folly of uroscopy as practised by many physicians, presumably to reveal the falseness of their own practice in opposition to what he believed to be the astrologers’ art. He wrote,

A Woman whose Husband had bruised himself, took his Water, and

away to the Doctor trots she; the Doctor takes the Piss and shakes it about, *How long hath this party been ill* (saith he) Sr. saith the Woman, *He* hath been ill these two daies, This is a mans water quoth the Doctor presently, this he learned by the word *HE*; then looking on the water he spied blood in it, the man hath had a bruise saith he, I indeed saith the woman, my Husband fell down a pair of stairs backwards, then the Doctor knew well enough that what came first to danger must needs be his back and shoulders, said, the Bruise lay there; the woman she admired at the Doctors skil, and told him, that if he could tell her one thing more she would account him the ablest Physitian in *Europe*; well, what was that? How many Stairs her Husband fell down, this was a hard Question indeed, able to puzzle a stronger Brain than Mr. Doctor had, to pumping goes he, and having taken the Urinal and given it a shake or two, enquires whereabout she lived, and knowing well the place, and that the Houses thereabouts were but low built Houses, made answer (after another view of the urine for fashion sake) that probably he might fall down some seven or eight stairs; ah, quoth the woman, now I see you know nothing, my Husband fell down thirty; thirty! quoth the Doctor, and snatching up the Urinal, is here all the water saith he? no saith the woman, I spilt some in putting of it in, look you there quoth Mr. Doctor, there were all the other stairs spilt. (*EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A2^r)

This attack on the medical profession is continued throughout *The English Physitian*.⁶⁸ Despite having produced a translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, Culpeper concluded that '[t]he Works of God are given freely to Man, his Medicines are common and cheap, and easie to be found: 'tis the Medicines of the *Colledg of Physitians* that are so dear and scarce to find' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), B1^r). In the description of the virtues of fluellin (*Linaria vulgaris*) Culpeper denounced the College:

Bees are industrious and go abroad to gather Honey from each Plant and Flower, but Drones lie at home, and eat up what the Bees have taken pains for; Just so do our *Colledg of Physitians*, lie at home and domineer, and suck out the Sweetness of other Mens Labors and Studies, themselvs being as ignorant in the Knowledg of Herbs as a Child of four yeers old, as I can make appear to any Rational man by their last *Dispensatory*, now then to hide their Ignorance, there is not a readier way in the World, than to hide Knowledg from their Country men, that so no Body might be able so much as to smel out their Ignorance, when Simples were more in use mens Bodies were in better health by far than now they are, or shall be if the Colledg can help it. (*EP* (Cole, 1652), R2^v)

In addition to Culpeper's apparent altruism, *The English Physitian*, like the earlier translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, included advertisements for Cole's stock of books and in his text Culpeper referred to his other medical books. In 'The Names of several Books printed by Peter Cole', are included four books by Culpeper (*EP* (Cole, 1652), C2^v). These

⁶⁸ See *EP* (Cole, 1652), B1^r, E2^r, P1^v, R2^v.

were *A Physical Directory*, *An Ephemeris for 1651*, *A Directory for Midwives*, and *Galen's Art of Physick*, which Culpeper himself referred to in his text.⁶⁹ These are scattered through *The English Physitian* and stressed the complementary information that these books offered.

The English Physitian was meant to be used alongside Culpeper's *Semiotica Uranica*, published in 1651 by Nathaniel Brook, and his 'Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Human Vertues in the Body of Man', which concluded *An Ephemeris for 1651* (*EP* (Cole, 1652), B1^v).⁷⁰ In his 'Astrologo-Physical Discourse', Culpeper offered advice on how,

To preserve in soundness, vigor and acuity, the Mind and Understanding of Man, to strengthen the Brain, preserve the Body in health, to teach a man to be an able co-artificer, or helper of Nature, to withstand and expel Diseases.⁷¹

When consulted in conjunction with *The English Physitian* this provided a full astrological explanation of the medicinal benefits of the English herbs (*EP* (Cole, 1652) B1^v). Culpeper acknowledged the importance of this work; for example, on wall germander (*Teucrium Chamædrys*), he wrote:

It is a most prevalent Herb of *Mercury*, and strengthens the brain and apprehention exceedingly; you may see what humane vertues are under *Mercury* in the latter end of my *Ephemeris* for 1651. (*EP* (Cole, 1652), S1^v)

By stressing the interdependence of his books, Culpeper was commercially promoting these titles to the public as a complete guide to all aspects of medical care and provision.

The English Physitian was Culpeper's most successful book and by the end of the century had passed through over twenty editions. Its popularity was not only sustained through the following centuries, it was also immediately recognised as a potential money-spinner. Late in 1652, William Bentley printed an edition with two variant title pages as a duodecimo (see Illustration 8). Only one title page bears his name in its imprint, whilst the other claimed to have been '[p]rinted for the benefit of the Commonwealth'. He printed this edition on only thirteen sheets of paper against the forty-five used by Cole in his folio edition, and if the retail price reflected this difference, then Bentley's could have sold at a third of the cost. Bentley included a portrait of Culpeper, which he had copied from

⁶⁹ For references to *An Ephemeris for 1651*, see D1^r, F1^v; *A Directory for Midwives*, see E2^r, K1^r, X2^v; *A Physical Directory*, see G1^v, H2^v; and *Semiotica Uranica*, published by Brook, see S1^r, U1^v.

⁷⁰ Culpeper, 'An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Human Vertues in the Body of Man', in *An Ephemeris for 1651* (1651), I3^v-K4^r.

⁷¹ Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for 1651*, I4^r.

Culpeper's astrological titles printed by Brook: Culpeper is sitting at a desk, consulting astrology books, while his coat of arms appear in the top left corner. Bentley realised the importance of Culpeper's index (discussed more fully below, pp. 228-29) to any potential reader and added to the entries in the index of diseases. He also omitted the Greek names that Culpeper sometimes included in his descriptions of the herbs. This may, of course, have been simply because Bentley did not possess any Greek type, or it may reflect his awareness that potential readers would probably have no Greek. Despite his author's motives, Cole probably hoped to appeal to the lucrative market of gentlemen botanists. Bentley, however, seems to have been conscious of the lay market that existed for an herbal linked with the popular name of Culpeper from the start. It was only following Bentley's publication of a small format pocket-sized herbal that Cole realised the profitability of this market, but by then he had to compete with the duodecimo edition which had stolen the market.

Culpeper and Cole's Response:

The English Physitian Enlarged (1653-65)

In August 1653, Culpeper and Cole publicly responded to Bentley's threat with the publication of *The English Physitian Enlarged*. Cole printed this enlarged octavo edition at his Leadenhall printing-house, and it sold from his shop in Cornhill. At least two states of this edition are extant that indicate Cole made typographical changes to the title page and attempted to correct errors in pagination. George Thomason appears to have bought a copy on 29 August, despite the fact Culpeper's new preface is dated 5 September 1653 (*EP* (1653), B3^r).⁷² In his introduction to this new edition Culpeper immediately attacked:

Those Books of mine that are printed of that Letter the small Bible are printed with, are very falsely printed; there being usually twenty or thirty gross mistakes in every Sheet, many of them such as are exceeding dangerous to such as shal venture to use them. (*EP* (1653), B3^r)

This, of course, referred to Bentley's work and the editions of the Bible which he had printed in the late 1640s in contravention of the Stationers' Company monopoly. Culpeper fought to establish the authority of his new edition, and its title page announced his Spitalfields' address. The differences between the two editions were spelt-out for readers in a passage, which despite carrying Culpeper's name at the end, may equally well have

⁷² BL E.1455.(1).

been the work of Cole. It indicated the precise typographical differences between the two editions, which suggests a reader's awareness of such bibliographical terms, or paranoia on the part of the author, to lambaste 'Theeving Knaves'.

The first Direction.] The True one hath this Title over the head of every Page in the Book, [*The English Physitian enlarged.*] The small Counterfet one hath this Title [*The English Physitian.*]

The second Direction.] The true one hath these words [*Government and Vertues*] following the Times of the Plants flowering, &c. The counterfet smal one hath these words [*Vertues and Use*] following the Time of the Plants flowering.

The third Direction.] The true one is in *Octavo*, of a bigger letter than the counterfet one, which is in *Twelves*, of the Letter smal Bibles use to be printed on. (*EP* (1653), B3^v)

Culpeper, or again, possibly, Cole, went on to defend the monopoly of the Stationers' Company and a bookseller's right to profit from any title that he had registered, with the promise of further medical books if this was upheld:

When the Purchaser may without fear of Theeving Knaves enjoy their just Propertie in their Copies, I shal not fail to bring forth many more Books for a Common good in the English Tongue for the benefit of all my Country-men, poor or rich. (*EP* (1653), B4^v)

Here we again see the ambiguity of the morality expressed in Culpeper's books, which reflect Cole's commercial aspirations and the apparent altruism of their author: Culpeper or Cole attacked the College's monopoly while defending that of the Stationers' Company.

Despite Bentley's edition being an accurate copy, the propaganda used by Culpeper must have been effective: if you failed to use the 'true' edition then you risked 'exceeding' dangers from the incorrect remedies printed in the pirated edition. The title page to *The English Physitian Enlarged* claimed an additional 'Three Hundred, Sixty, and Nine Medicines made of *English Herbs* that were not in any *impression* until this'. Forty-seven new herbs were added to the text in response to Bentley's piratical actions, although the entry for apples was, probably accidentally, removed.⁷³ Culpeper revised the order of much

⁷³ The new entries were: amara-dulcis, all-heal (*Prunella vulgaris*), alkanet (*Alkanna tinctoria*), water agrimony (*Bidens tripartita*), amaranths (*Amaranthus hypochondriacus*), anemone (*Anemone nemorosa*), garden arrach (*Atriplex hortensis*), brank (*Polygonum fagopyrum*), ursine, buckthorn (N.O. *Rhamnaceæ*), water-caltrops, caradusis, chestnut tree, earth chestnuts, chives (*Allium schænoprasum*), wild clary (*Salvia verbenaca*), coralwort, crab's claws (*Stratiotes aloides*), black cresses, cucumber (*Cucumis sativa*), dragons, fig tree (*Ficus carica*), grentian, clove gilliflowers, gooseberry (*Ribes grossularia*), heartsease (*Viola tricolor*), artichoke (*Cynara scolymus*), hedge hyssop (*Gratiola officinalis*), black hellebore (*Helleborus niger*), holly (*Ilex aquifolium*), juniper bush (*Juniperus communis*), lavender cotton (*Santolin chamæcyparissus*), ladies-smock, lily-of-the-valley (*Convallaria magalis*), white lillies (*Lilium candidum*), maple tree (*Acer campestre*), wild marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*), nailwort, orchids (N.O. *Orchidaceæ*), parsley piert (*Alchemilla arvensis*), pellitory of Spain (*Anacyclus pyrethrum*), savine (*Sabina cacumina*), shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*), stonecrops (*Sedum acre*), thyme (*Thymus vulgaris*), wild thyme (*Thymus serpyllum*), heart trefoil, and pearl trefoil.

of the material to stress the astrological basis for his medicine, thus creating the illusion of new material. In 1652, his astrological explanation of a herb's medicinal properties came at the end of the entry, but in the enlarged edition Cole removed this and replaced it at the beginning of the section.⁷⁴ If any potential reader were to compare this edition with Bentley's pirated work, then it would immediately appear that the former had been revised. Signs of Culpeper's revision also reflected his belief in astrology. In 1652, Culpeper wrote on the astrological influence over centaury (*Erythraea centaurium*): 'Dr. Reason and Dr. Experience could not agree (the last time I spake with them) whether the Herb were under the Dominion of the Sun or Mars,' (EP (Cole, 1652), L2^r). In the enlarged edition, this confusion had been resolved and the herb is now under the dominion of the sun (EP (1653), G6^v). New material is also included on further names by which some of the herbs were known.⁷⁵ Bentley's edition expanded the index of the disease to *The English Physitian*, reflecting the importance of the index as an entry-point to Culpeper's herbal. In 1653 Culpeper further revised and developed the index to the newly enlarged edition: a tacit acknowledgement of its significance, which is examined in Chapter Five (pp. 228-29).

These additions served not only to increase the usability of *The English Physitian*, but also attempted to stall the sales of Bentley's edition by making it outdated. However, sales did not follow and Cole reissued the edition with a new title page and preliminary gathering in both 1655 and 1656.

I have already examined Cole's rivalry with fellow publisher Nathaniel Brook to show how Culpeper managed his relationship with these two publishers during his life, and how, following his death, they disputed each other's right to the Culpeper legacy. In 1656 Brook published William Coles's *The Art of Simpling* in which Culpeper's astrological interpretation is attacked. Coles wrote:

Master Culpeper ... was a great Stickler. And he, forsooth, judgeth all men unfit to be Physitians, who are not Artists in Astrology, as if he and some other Figure-flingers his companions, had been the onely Physitians in *England*, whereas for ought I can gather, either by his Books, or learne from the report of others, he was a man very ignorant in the forme of Simples. Many Books indeed he hath tumbled over, and transcribed as much out of them, as he thought would serve his turne ... but he added very little of his owne.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See golden rod (*Solidago virgaurea*) (EP (Cole, 1652), S2^r; (1653), L2^r); germander (*Teucrium chamædryis*) (EP (Cole, 1652), S1^v; (1653), L1^r); gromel (EP (Cole, 1652), S2^v; (1653), L2^v); St. John's Wort (EP (Cole, 1652), X1^r; (1653), M3^v-4^r), mistletoe (EP (Cole, 1652), 2A2^r; (1653), Q8^v-R1^r).

⁷⁵ For example, ale hoof (cf. EP (Cole, 1652), D1^v; (1653), D4^v); and ars-smart (cf. EP (Cole, 1652), E2^r; (1653), E1^r).

⁷⁶ William Coles, *The Art of Simpling* (1656), E2^v-3^r.

William Coles subscribed to the doctrine of signatures, introduced by Paracelsus in the sixteenth century and developed by della Porta, which argued that plants carried signs that indicated their medicinal use; for example, plants with heart-shaped leaves could cure diseases of the heart.⁷⁷ Albert Lownes has examined the relationship between William Coles's attack on astrology and his publisher.⁷⁸ In his *Adam in Eden or, Natures Paradise* (1657), also published by Brook, William Coles made no mention of astrology, and in a reissue of *The Art of Simpling* in 1657 the leaf on which Coles's attack had been printed is cancelled. Lownes concluded, rightly, that Elias Ashmole forced Brook to make these alterations upon threat of his withdrawal of patronage. I have already examined Brook's relationship with Ashmole, and this episode again demonstrates his willingness to please his principal patron.

In 1656, as well as reissuing unsold copies of his 1653 edition of *The English Physitian Enlarged*, Cole also printed two new editions, perhaps in response to Coles's attack published by Brook in 1656, which threatened the potential market for purchasers of simple herbals. Both were reissued, but, oddly, one in 1662, and the other in 1661 and 1665. After Culpeper's death, Cole registered a series of medical translations, and these editions promoted the books that are only spuriously linked with Culpeper, despite their publisher's claim to the contrary. In 1655, Cole had announced a series of translations to be 'shortly ... printed in English', which consisted of the works of Rivière, Sennert and Fernel that he had registered in August 1654 (*EP* (1655), verso of title page). The new editions included corpus references to these titles. This constituted the only new material and claimed to be Culpeper's authoritative additions, although clearly the work of Cole. However, the two editions differ in the books that they advertise. For example, in one (BL 1608/144) at the end of the entry on crosswort, is the passage, '*For Cure of all Diseases, read my, Riverius, Veslingus, Riolanus, Johnston, Sennertus, and Physick for the Poor*', but in the other (BL 1478.e.28) this is omitted.⁷⁹ At other points, Cole reversed this level of detail and BL 1608/144 includes more references than BL 1478.c.28.⁸⁰ There is no apparent explanation for Cole printing two editions in 1656 as both did not sell out.

For the 1661 reissue Cole may have raised some money by printing an

⁷⁷ Barbara Griggs, *Green Pharmacy: The History and Evolution of Western Herbal Medicine* (Rochester, Vermont: Healing Arts Press, 1981; repr. 1991), p. 9.

⁷⁸ See Albert E. Lownes, 'The Strange Case of Coles vs. Culpeper', *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden*, 41 (1940), 158-66; Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature Before 1800*, pp. 88-89.

⁷⁹ Cf. BL 1608/144 and 1478.e.28, H8^v in both editions.

⁸⁰ E.g., cf. H4^v, in both editions.

advertisement for the apothecary, Ralph Clarke, in the preliminary gathering. Clarke must have paid Cole to print the following advertisement, in which Cole, speaking as ‘Culpeper’, endorsed his medicines:

THE greatest Reason that I could ever observe why the Medicines prescribed in these Books ... and in many other Physick Books, do not perform the Cures promised is, the Unskilfulness of those that make up the Medicines. I therefore advise all those that have occasion to use any Medicines, to go or send to Mr. *Ralph Clarke* Apothecary, at the sign of the three crowns on *Ludgate-Hill*, in *London*, where they shall be sure to have such as are skilfully and honestly made. (*EP* (1661) π2^v)

The Society of Apothecaries had recently made Ralph Clarke a Freeman of the Society on 5 July 1659.⁸¹ Clarke’s advertisement also appeared in the 1661 edition of Culpeper’s translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, although, as I have shown above, Cole and his editors removed Culpeper’s authorial presence from this edition.⁸²

The English Physitian Enlarged formed ‘a very necessary part of the *Physitians Library that will Cure all Disease*’ (*EP* (1661), title page), which Cole developed in the 1660s to publicise the complementary nature of his medical books. The *Physitians’ Library* presented Cole’s medical catalogue and the works of Culpeper as part of a uniform series of volumes that offered a complete method of physick and amounted to seventeen titles. Cole’s failed attempt to secure exemption from the 1662 Printing Act meant that plans for the *Physicians’ Library* were dropped, and there was no mention of the project in the title pages to the subsequent reissues.

The exploitation of Culpeper’s name and his legacy of printed books by Cole and Brook spilled over into the text of Robert Turner’s (*fl.* 1654-1665) *Botanologia: The Brittish Physitian* which Brook published in 1664. Turner had been educated at Christ’s College, Cambridge, and admitted to the Middle Temple in 1637 and to Lincoln’s Inn in 1639. *The Brittish Physitian* was another English herbal based on an English translation of Pierre Morell’s *Methodus Praescribendi Formulas Remediorum* (Leipzig, 1645), published by Brook in 1657 entitled *The Expert Doctors Dispensatory*, which claimed Culpeper’s authorship, and *The English Physitian*. The banner at the head of the engraved frontispiece read ‘The British or English Physitian’, clearly echoing Culpeper’s publication in its

⁸¹ Society of Apothecaries, ‘Minutes of the Court of Assistants and of the Private Court’, Guildhall MS 8200, II, f. 49^v. Advertisements for Clarke’s shop in Daniel Sennert, *Chymistry Made Easie and Useful*, trans. by Abdiah Cole and others (1662), A3^f.

⁸² *PL* (1661), C1^v.

inclusive nature.⁸³ Turner focused on the medicinal uses of the herbs and plants, and had been influenced by Culpeper, since he only includes those herbs that could be had locally. He wrote:

By means whereof People may gather their own Physick under every Hedge, or in their Gardens, which may be most conducing to their Health, so that observing the direction in this Book, they may become their own Physicians. For what Climate soever is subject to any particular disease, in the same Place there grows a Cure.⁸⁴

Turner and his publisher took the opportunity to attack Culpeper's work and the publisher of *The English Physitian*. This worked on two fronts: Turner criticised Culpeper's astrology, while the books that Cole published after Culpeper's death are dismissed as forgeries. In one passage, on the benefits of knapweed (*Centaurea jaceaa*), Turner wrote:

I should not have mentioned this plant, (as accounting it not worth while) had not the writer or publisher of that piece which goes by the name of *Culpeppes English Physicians Enlarged*, made a scribble to no purpose about it: Indeed in that Book both *Culpepper* and the Readers are abused, it being really none of his, all the useless and frivolous additions being done since his death. Those true Copies of his which have been printed since he dyed, are his *School of Physick* and *Last Legacy* [both published by Brook].⁸⁵

In an earlier passage, Turner singled out Culpeper's 'Ballad-monger', that is, Cole, for attack. On the possible benefit of holy thistle (*Carbenia benedicta*) for the French pox, he quoted Culpeper and added that it was Cole who had tricked the reader with his extra references:

*It can never cure it of it self, neither by Sympathy nor Antipathy, as Culpepper affirms, but his Ballad-monger hath contradicted all by adding the coupling of the Song, viz. for Cure of all Diseases, read my Riverius, and Riolanus in English; which as he pretends in the title to cure all Diseases for three pence charge: and in truth was never acquainted with those Authors, which are reported to be his Translation.*⁸⁶

Other dismissive comments on Culpeper ridiculed his work and attempted to undermine his credentials. For example, on the use of alkanet (*Alkanna tinctoria*), Turner claims:

Culpeper teacheth how to kill Serpents with it; which he saith is done, if any one hath newly enters the root and spits in a Serpents mouth, the Serpent instantly dyes; but this is as ridiculous as Culpepper

⁸³ In 1677 the frontispiece was used again, with the title erased and Brook's name and address removed, when the second edition of Joseph Blagrove's (1610-1682) *Supplement to the English Physitian* was published.

⁸⁴ Robert Turner, *Botanologia: The Brittish Physician* (1664), title page.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, M5^v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, L6^f.

himself.⁸⁷

At the same time Turner's text included over fifty references to Coles's *The Art of Simpling* and *Adam in Eden*, along with *The Expert Doctors Dispensatory*, all published by Brook. Obviously, he had learnt from his competitor the value of self-advertisement through his authors' texts. The immediate publishing history of *The English Physician*, then, demonstrates publishers' responses to competition amongst the trade.

Translation and Public Learning

If the translator acts 'as a bridge between cultures', then Culpeper's treatment of Parkinson's herbal, the source for *The English Physician*, represents a transition of knowledge from an expensive book into a general resource for the lay reader.⁸⁸ Likewise, Culpeper's translations of the *Pharmacopoeia* transformed the learned experiences of College Fellows into an accessible form. These works are not socially neutral but represent the transference of knowledge away from the medical professional. Culpeper adopts a 'puritanical' approach to the practice of translation and produces an accurate reading of the Latin original.⁸⁹ It is the structure of the book, its pages and paragraphs which interpret and supplement the medical knowledge of the College and indicate Culpeper's approval, or otherwise, for this information. In her examination of modern scientific and technical translation, Isadore Pinchuck stresses the qualities necessary for such a translator who, she writes, 'must have a broad general knowledge in addition to his language abilities; he should also have a technical background; he must be intelligent; and he should have the ability to express himself clearly in his native tongue'.⁹⁰ I would suggest that Culpeper, working over three hundred years earlier, would have met all these modern requirements.

In order to understand the function of a particular translation it is necessary to consider the original form and language of the source text along with the intended audience of the translation. Culpeper's books were instructional in their aim, which would suggest that his pragmatic reading of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* and condensation of Parkinson's herbal was for the general lay reader. L.G. Kelly has briefly considered

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, C1^v. For further attacks on Culpeper see D5^v, E2^v, F6^v, L1^v, N3^f.

⁸⁸ L.G. Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), p. 213.

⁸⁹ Bishop Bramhall praised Culpeper's utility of language in 1672 (*A Vindication* (1672), cited by Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 317)). On the 'puritanical' approach see pp. 293-323.

⁹⁰ Isadore Pinchuck, *Scientific and Technical Translation* (London: André Deutsch, 1977), p. 252.

Culpeper's translational style. However, because he interprets Culpeper's translation as a work primarily for the apothecary and medical practitioner, he suggests that Culpeper 'takes his readers as being a little dense. Indeed he shows the technique of an elementary teacher; ... [attempting] to drive home his point in a conversational a tone as necessary to an unsophisticated readership'.⁹¹ This is a little hard, and in a later work Kelly refines his criticism when he identifies Culpeper's style as 'taken ultimately from the Puritan pulpit and schoolroom, [it] is unadorned, accurate, and literal in that his versions respect the discourse, order and content of the original'.⁹²

In rendering the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* into English, Culpeper produced a literal translation.⁹³ He included the limited information the College gave concerning ingredients and the methods of preparing the medicines, which he then supplemented with his own comments, often contradicting the preceding words of the College.⁹⁴ This meant that the commentary Culpeper produced, according to Kelly, was an attempt-

To train his public in pragmatic observation, experience and even common sense to get past the need for poring over books or running to authority. On the principle that God helps those who help themselves, divine illumination as well as good health would necessarily follow.⁹⁵

By the time Culpeper came to translate the *Pharmacopoeia* there were a number of influential textbooks on language teaching and translation which he could have consulted. Joseph Webbe utilised a complicated typographical method in *The First Comedy of Pub. Terentius, called Andria* and *The Second Comedie ... called Eunchus*, both published in 1629, to ensure that each Latin phrase corresponded with its English equivalent.⁹⁶ John Brinsley (c. 1566-1630) was the author of a number of teaching guides and taught William

⁹¹ Kelly, *True Interpreter*, p. 87.

⁹² Kelly, 'Plato, Bacon and the Puritan Apothecary: The Case of Nicholas Culpeper', *Target*, 1 (1989), 95-109 (p. 95).

⁹³ Culpeper sometimes uses the Latin word for a herb because there was no English equivalent which he could supply. This technique of 'borrowing' was commonly employed by scientific translators (see, Kelly, "'The names of things not generall known ...': Scientists, Translators and Terminology in the Age of Newton", *Comparative Criticism*, 13 (1991), 31-49 (p. 36)).

⁹⁴ For a more detailed treatment of Culpeper's translation style see Kelly, 'Plato, Bacon and the Puritan Apothecary', pp. 105-07.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁹⁶ See Vivian Salmon, 'Joseph Webbe: Some Seventeenth-Century Views on Language-Teaching and the Nature of Meaning', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961), 324-40. This essay is reprinted in a volume of collected essays by Salmon (*The Study of Language in 17th-Century England*, Studies in the History of Linguistics, 17 (Amsterdam: Benjamins B.V., 1979), 15-31). On Webbe's patent for a publishing monopoly for his own textbooks, granted by the Stationers' Company in 1626, see Salmon, 'An Ambitious Printing Project of the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Library*, 5th ser., 16 (1961), 190-96.

Lilly, an associate of Culpeper's.⁹⁷ Brinsley's work, which argued for 'literal translation', evidently influenced Culpeper whose translation 'is an excellent example of the "grammatical translation" taught by ... Brinsley'.⁹⁸ In the same year that Culpeper's translation first appeared, James Shirley also published a bilingual English/Latin grammar book that was reprinted in 1654 and 1656, which may have been of use to Culpeper.⁹⁹

The earlier work of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Biblical translators, who were concerned to establish a correct and righteous system to render 'the word' into the vernacular, also informed Culpeper's translational style.¹⁰⁰ He was critical of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and his comments suggest the techniques he could have favoured when producing his own translations. As Kelly has demonstrated, Culpeper preferred a literal style and criticised the Authorised Bible for the 'certain thousand of words' which the translators had added 'thereby corrupting in many places the sence of the Holy Ghost'.¹⁰¹ In his address 'To the Reader', in *Galen's Art of Physick* (1652) Culpeper defended the Protestant Church for producing an English version of the Bible: 'a mans being like to God, the English Etymology fits it as well as can be'.¹⁰² Unfortunately, he continued,

They [have] given us such a Translation as may well call aloud for amendment, in some places I suppose done ignorantly, In others I am afraid wilfully, the effects of which are dangerous, and call for Remedy.¹⁰³

In some places the translators had rendered the same Latin words in different ways, and Culpeper complained that they had not included the whole text of the Bible. He referred the translators to two books whereby 'they might have given it a version into the English Dialect, without Additions'.¹⁰⁴ The first title is an unidentified edition of the Jewish

⁹⁷ Salmon, 'John Brinsley: 17th-Century Pioneer in Applied Linguistics', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 2 (1975), 175-89 (reprinted in *The Study of Language in 17th-Century England*, 33-46); Kelly, 'Medicine, Learned Ignorance, and Style in Seventeenth-Century Translation', *Language and Style*, 19 (1986), 11-20; Elsky, *Authorizing Words*, pp. 62-63.

⁹⁸ Kelly, 'Plato, Bacon and the Puritan Apothecary', p. 107.

⁹⁹ Salmon, 'James Shirley and Some Problems of 17th-Century Grammar', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 197 (1961), 287-96 (reprinted in *The Study of Language in 17th-Century England*, 87-96).

¹⁰⁰ See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1, 360-61; S.L. Greensdale, 'English Versions of the Bible', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. by S.L. Greensdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 141-74 (pp. 164-68); Jones, *Triumph of the English Language*, pp. 53-65.

¹⁰¹ Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick* (1652), A6^r.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, A5^v.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, A6^r.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, A6^r.

Talmud, a compilation of teachings from the Mishna and Gemara, and the second is Johann Buxtorf's *Tiberias; sive Commentarium Masoretheticus* (Basel, 1620). An English version of Buxtorf's work appeared in 1656 entitled *A Short Introduction to the Hebrew Tongue*, translated by John Davis. During the early years of the 1650s a number of works appeared from the London press concerned with Biblical translation, for example, Hanserd Knollys's *The Rudiments of the Hebrew Grammar in English* (1648); Pierre Martinez's *The Key of the Holy Tongue*, translated by John Udall (1650); and William Robertson's *The First Gate, or The Outward Door to the Holy Tongue, Opened in English* (c. 1654). Culpeper's precise reference to at least one of these titles suggests that he was familiar with the ongoing debate over the nature of translation.

Other medical translators, such as Robert Wittie, preferred a plain style.¹⁰⁵ Wittie's translation of James Primrose's *Popular Errours: Or the Errours of the People in Physick* (1651) was praised by Andrew Marvell, who described Wittie as 'The good Interpreter'.¹⁰⁶ Wittie favoured what Kelly terms 'oblique translation', which although not being a literal translation, sought to express the content and style of the source text rather than its grammatical structure.

It was an established tradition in the preparation of English herbals to exploit, utilise, supplement, and develop previous works. Although writers would copy sections verbatim and translate foreign works without reference, to accuse this practice of plagiarism would misunderstand the activities of Culpeper and other medical and non-medical writers. In some cases italic type was employed to differentiate paragraphs copied from a source text and marginalia would name the author, although more detailed referencing is rare. Culpeper was not alone in utilising published sources which are diffused throughout his work. Already mentioned is Gervase Markham's *The English Hus-wife* (1615) which contained a section on household medicine including many receipts derived from Banckes's herbal first published in 1525. Michael Best's examination of Markham's treatment of this source text has demonstrated how he modified Banckes's information to suit his audience.¹⁰⁷ Culpeper, himself, acknowledged that he 'drew out all the Vertues ... out of the best and most approved Authors' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), A2^r). In a similar style to

¹⁰⁵ Kelly, 'Medicine, Learned Ignorance, and Style in Seventeenth-Century Translation', p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Andrew Marvell, 'To his worthy friend Doctor WITTIE upon his Translation of the *Popular Errours*', in James Primrose, *Popular Errours: Or the Errours of the People in Physick*, trans. by Robert Wittie (1651), A8^v-B1^r (A8^v). See Kelly, 'Bibliography: Technical Translation in England, 1640-1800', *Comparative Criticism*, 13 (1991), 305-14 (p. 308).

¹⁰⁷ Michael R. Best, 'Medical Use of Sixteenth-Century Herbal: Gervase Markham and the Banckes Herbal', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 53 (1979), 449-58.

Markham, he tailored the vast detail of Parkinson's herbal into a simplified form for his audience. He managed to reduce the number of herbs in *Theatrum Botanicum* of nearly 3,800 plants to just 280, and supplemented this material with original comments drawn from practical experience. Culpeper deviates from the traditional herbals of Gerard and Parkinson because he supplemented the Galenic system of nature with an astrological interpretation of the benefits of each herb and included advice on gathering and preserving herbs, along with detailed procedures for preparing medicines. The subtitle to *The English Physitian* makes this explicit: the book is 'An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation'. All this information went to make *The English Physitian* a 'Compleat Method of Physick' (*EP* (Cole, 1652), title page). It was immediately successful because, like *A Physical Directory*, it presented the user with authoritative medical knowledge conjoined with Culpeper's astrological interpretations and his impassioned rhetoric.

Although Culpeper often copied passages verbatim from Parkinson's herbal he made no attempt to differentiate this material from his own. He actively and critically evaluated the material from *Theatrum Botanicum* and included less than ten per cent of the plants studied by Parkinson. *The English Physitian* was tailored to the needs and aspirations of an English audience and included, as we have already seen, Culpeper's own astrological rationale behind the medicinal virtues of each plant. Because his herbal was an attempt to catalogue and describe all known herbs and plants, Parkinson commonly described and catalogued several species under one genus. In contrast, Culpeper only included the common varieties of herbs and plants indigenous to England. For example, under the heading of 'Agrimonia sive Eupatorum Agrimonie', Parkinson describes seven different species, while in *The English Physitian* Culpeper only gave the description for 'Eupatorium sue Agrimonia vulgaris Our common Agrimonie' under the heading 'Agrimony' (*Agrimonia eupatoria*).¹⁰⁸ Other examples include the herb ground ivy (*Glechom hederacea*) and asarabacca (*Asarum Europæum*); where Parkinson described four and three species respectively, Culpeper only included the common species.¹⁰⁹ He also removed all references to European locations and omitted particular passages that mentioned classical and European botanical authors. For example, he removed mention of

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *EP* (Cole, 1652), D1^{r-v}; John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), 3E3^v.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *EP* (Cole, 1652), E2^{r-v}, X1^{r-v}; Parkinson, *Theatrum*, 3M2^v-3^r, 2A1^v-2^r. Also see Devils-Bit (*scabiosa succisa*), whereas Parkinson details four species, Culpeper describes only the common variety (*EP*, O2^r; Parkinson, *Theatrum*, 2T6^{r-v}).

Matthias de L'Obel and Sardus from the virtues of adder's tongue (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*), despite copying the rest of the material directly from *Theatrum Botanicum*.¹¹⁰ Likewise, references to Serenus, Pliny, Virgil and Monardus were omitted from the virtues of the ash tree (*Fraxinus excelsior*).¹¹¹

This chapter has explored the development of Culpeper's translations of the College's two *Pharmacopoeias* and *The English Physitian*. These texts presented official and scholarly learning in an accessible form. Examination of their immediate publishing histories reveals their fluidity in response to threats from rogue stationers and, later, the new political climate brought in with the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. This demonstrates the importance of close bibliographical study of individual titles to reveal the complexity of their production and subsequent transmission.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *EP* (Cole, 1652), D1^r; Parkinson, *Theatrum*, 2X1^v-2^r.

¹¹¹ Cf. *EP* (Cole, 1652), F1^r; Parkinson, *Theatrum*, 6E4^r.

4. Printed Manuals and the Midwife: Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651-62)

The way is shorter, if they please to look,
Perusing heedfully this little Book
Of Natures Cabbinet, thou hast the Key,
Whereby her Secrets all those doest display.

Jer. Edmonds,
'In Laudem Authoris', in Culpeper,
A Directory for Midwives (1651), A8^v

The history of midwifery is a story of how, in the space of two hundred years, the male medical professional displaced the primacy of the female practitioner in the delivery of British middle-class mothers.¹ Running alongside this struggle for authority over the organisation and administration of pregnancy and birth was the development and expansion of medical publishing. Vernacular books on child-birth were written for literate laywoman and medical practitioners. The general midwife, though, had little use for such manuals as their knowledge was tacit rather than based on reading.² Nevertheless, these manuals are important to an understanding of the position of the midwife in the social hierarchy of early modern medicine and the emergence of the man-midwife.

Nicholas Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* was first published in 1651 specifically for, the author claimed, the 'MIDWIVES of England' who 'are of the Number of those whom my Soul loveth, and of whom I make daily mention in my Prayers'.³ While its title page and Culpeper's dedicatory preface appealed to a specific vocational audience, on examination the *Directory* emerges as a site of complexity which reflects the debate over

¹ See Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England 1660-1770* (London: University College of London Press, 1995); Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patients Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 179-83; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 55.

² Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 38. On the notion of 'tacit' knowledge' see Allan Janik, 'Tacit Knowledge, Rule-following and Learning', in *Artificial Intelligence, Culture and Language: On Education and Work*, ed. by Bo Göranson and Magnus Florin (London: Springer-Verlag, 1990), 45-55; Dag Prawitz, 'Tacit Knowledge – An Impediment for AI?', in *ibid.*, 57-59; and Ingela Josefson, 'Language and Experience', in *ibid.*, 71-75.

³ *DM* (1651), ¶2^r. All subsequent references to editions of Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (*DM*) are given briefly in the text by date.

the role and control of the midwife during the 1650s. On the one hand, it revealed the 'secrets' of the classical anatomists, whilst at the same time omitting the actual procedures followed during delivery. This ambiguity, which respected the monopoly of the midwife while also asserting the importance of the democratisation of anatomical knowledge, marks Culpeper's manual out from those that had already been in print for over one hundred years.

Culpeper's combination of information derived from classical medical authorities, along with popular pseudo-medical folk-lore taken from previously published manuals, proved popular with readers and his book continued to be published throughout the eighteenth century. In 1681 the Dutch doctor, Joannes Groenevelt, then living in London suggested a friend could be interested in Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives*, 'the best midwives' book ever published or to be had in English'.⁴ Eighteenth-century readers included Tobias Smollett who had a strong interest in the medical profession, especially midwifery, through his association with the man-midwife William Smellie. According to George Rousseau, Smollett's second novel, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751), was written whilst he prepared Smellie's *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* (1752-64) for publication.⁵ In the novel, Mrs Grizzle prepared for her sister-in-law's pregnancy and Peregrine's delivery by reading Culpeper's manual:

She purchased Culpeper's midwifery, which, with that sagacious performance dignified with Aristotle's name, she studied with indefatigable care, and diligently perused the Compleat House-wife, together with Quincy's dispensatory, calling every jelly, marmalade and conserve which these authors recommend as either salutary or toothsome, for the benefit and comfort of her sister-in-law, during her gestation.⁶

Rousseau quotes another eighteenth-century writer who referred to *Culpeper's Midwife Enlarged*.⁷ In 1735 John Armstrong wrote a treatise critical of the high learning necessary to become a doctor. Learning, he wrote, was 'no more necessary to a *Physitian* than to a

⁴ Groenevelt to Casparus Sibelius, 16 October 1681 (BL Sloane MS 2729, ff. 85^{r-v}), quoted by Harold J. Cook, *Trials of an Ordinary Doctor: Joannes Groenevelt in Seventeenth-Century London* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 120.

⁵ G. S. Rousseau, 'Pineapples, Pregnancy, Pica and *Peregrine Pickle*', in *Enlightenment Borders. Pre- and Post- Modern Discourses: Medical, Scientific* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 176-99 (p. 178).

⁶ Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, ed. by James L. Clifford (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 21. Also referred to is John Quincy's translation of *The Dispensatory of the Royal College of Physicians*, 2nd edn (1727); E. Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*, 8th edn (1741); and possibly one of the following: *Aristotles Master-Piece, or the Secrets of Generation* (1684); *Aristotle's Manual of Choice Secrets ... Practiced by All Midwives* (1699); or *Aristotle's Compleat and Experienc'd Midwife*, trans. by W[illiam] S[almon] (1700).

⁷ Rousseau, 'Pineapples, Pregnancy, Pica and *Peregrine Pickle*', p. 179.

Fidler’, but experience and self-instruction were essential.⁸ If a young (male) trainee wanted to learn ‘the *Obstetrical Art*’ then,

Let him turn over *Culpepper’s Midwife enlarg’d* night and day. That little Book is worth a whole library. All that is possible to be known in that Art is there treasur’d up in a small *Duodecimo*. Blessed, yea for ever blessed, by the memory of the inimitable Author, who, and who alone, had the *curious happiness* to mix the profound Learning of *Aristotle* with the facetious Humour of *Plautus*!⁹

In this chapter, I argue that Culpeper’s *Directory* recognised the authority of the female-midwife in the management of pregnancy and delivery, which, during the seventeenth century was, in uncomplicated births at least, a wholly female affair.¹⁰ But in the eighteenth century, as the above quotation makes clear, male authors exploited Culpeper’s name as a mark of authority.¹¹ It is only through appreciating the complex publishing history of Culpeper’s manual that the social element to its textual transmission can be understood.

In order to understand the importance of Culpeper’s book it is necessary to survey the control of midwifery practice, principally in the capital, and the few printed midwives’ manuals. Before 1651, three manuals account for nearly twenty editions over a period of one hundred years. During the 1640s no such manuals appeared, but in the 1650s two new manuals, Culpeper’s and a translation of the work of the French midwife, Louise Bourgeois (c. 1563-1636) went through at least six editions, along with a number of receipt and advice books that include related information.

Historians have suggested that a population more eager to learn about sexual pleasure rather than obstetrics often read midwives’ books. In a recent essay, Helen King

⁸ [John Armstrong], *An Essay for Abridging the Study of Physick* (1735), p. 10, quoted by Rousseau, ‘Pineapples, Pregnancy, Pica and *Peregrine Pickle*’, p. 179.

⁹ [Armstrong], *An Essay for Abridging the Study of Physick*, p. 17. Reference to the Roman comic dramatist, Titus Maccius Plautus (254-184 B.C.).

¹⁰ The activities of a seventeenth-century midwife included providing advice for the mother during pregnancy, management of birth and attending at baptism, and managing the mother’s lying-in and attendance at the mother’s churching. She may also have served a juridical function, for example in judgements of infanticide and paternity of bastard births, as well as providing other healing skills such as blood-letting and minor surgery. See Wilson, ‘Participant or Patient? Seventeenth-Century Childbirth from the Mother’s Point of View’, in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*, ed. by Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 129-44; Wilson, ‘The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation’, in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England: Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 68-107.

¹¹ For earlier examples see William Wycherley, *The Plays of William Wycherley*, ed. by Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), *The Plain Dealer*, Act III, I, 282-85; [attributed to Aphra Behn], *The Ten Pleasures of Marriage*, 1st pub. 1682-83 (London: privately printed, 1922;), pp. 91-92.

questions the relevancy of these manuals to a midwife's education.¹² She suggests that such books were not just meant for midwives but included information which would have appealed to the general female reader. But such manuals also included material for a male readership as well. The established patterns of learning for midwives were aural, observation, and experience. In the case of Culpeper's *Directory* the deliberate omission of practical information on delivery and birth was an attempt to stave off the intrusion of the man-midwife into the birthing-room, where 'Dr. Experience' was of more importance than 'Dr. Reason'.

Midwifery Publishing in English

Demand for vernacular textbooks on midwifery was continuous from the publication of the first such manual in English in 1540 and their popularity suggests a readership of literate women as well as medical practitioners.

Eucharius Rösslin (*d.* 1526) wrote the earliest printed textbook in German, entitled *Der Swangern Frawen und Hebammen Rosegarten* (Strasbourg, 1512), which was derived from the writings of Soranus of Ephesus (A.D. 98-138).¹³ A Latin translation by Christian Egenolph was published at Frankfurt in 1532, entitled *De Partu Hominis*, from which Richard Jonas prepared an English version which became the first midwives' manual to be published in English when it appeared in 1540.¹⁴ Five years later, *The Birth of Mankind* (originally published as *The Byrth of Mankynde*) was revised and greatly enlarged by Thomas Raynald, and published either by a relative or himself.¹⁵ This book was extremely popular, and is described by Elizabeth Tebeaux, as 'perhaps the most technically advanced

¹² Helen King, "As if None Understood the Art that Cannot Understand Greek": The Education of Midwives in Seventeenth-Century England', in *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, ed. by Vivian Nutton and Roy Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 184-98.

¹³ John L. Thornton and Carole Reeves, *Medical Book Illustration: A Short History* (Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1983), p. 34; Jean Towler and Joan Bramall, *Midwives in History and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 26; Audrey Eccles, 'The Early Use of English for Midwiferies 1500-1700', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 78 (1977), 377-85 (p. 380). Rösslin's book was published to assist the instruction of the State midwives of Frankfurt.

¹⁴ Towler and Bramall, *Midwives in History and Society*, pp. 45-47; Eccles, *Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 11.

¹⁵ In the preface, Raynald wrote of how he came to revise Jonas's work: 'a certayne studious and dilygent clarke, at the request, and desyre of dyuers honest and sadde matrones beyng of his acquayntance, dyd translate out of Latin in to Englysshe a greate part of this books ... In which his translation be varied, or declyned nothyng at all frome the steppes of his Latine aut[h]or' (Thomas Raynald, 'A Prologue to the Woman Reader', in Rösslin, *The Birth of Mankind*, trans. by Thomas Raynald (1545), B2^{r-v} (hereafter cited as *BM*)). Duff's entry for Thomas Raynald suggests that Raynald the physician was also Raynald the printer (E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of The English Book Trade: Short Notices of All Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders, and Others Connected with it ... 1457 to ... 1557* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905), p. 130-31). It is more likely, as the *DNB* suggests, that they were kinsmen.

volume for women printed in the sixteenth century'.¹⁶ At least thirteen editions had appeared by 1634, and it monopolised the market until 1612 when a new manual was published in English.¹⁷

This was *Child Birth, or the Happy Deliverie of Women*, originally written by the surgeon Jacques Guillemeau (1550-1613), and based upon his teacher, Ambroise Paré's, work.¹⁸ A second English edition followed in 1635 published by Joyce Norton and Richard Whitaker.¹⁹ Two years later, in 1637, a third manual was published in English. *The Expert Midwife* was an anonymous translation of the German manual by Jacob Ruff (1500-58) originally published in 1554.²⁰

These three manuals established a standard form of content and presentation which later textbooks followed. They begin with a section on female anatomy, which might also include male anatomy. There then usually follows a section dealing with pregnancy followed by descriptions of the birthing process and instructions for safe delivery. Next the care, nursing, swaddling and illnesses of children would be described, along with advice on cures. Additional material would deal with diseases of women and, occasionally, female beauty and hygiene. Illustrations could also depict the human body, birth instruments, birthing figures, and the birth stool. If the titles and preliminary addresses to these manuals genuinely reflect their intended audiences, then a degree of female literacy, at least amongst midwives, is assumed. Audrey Eccles quotes from an unpublished manuscript written by Edward Poeton early in the seventeenth century, called 'The Midwives Deputie', which

¹⁶ Elizabeth Tebeaux, 'Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre', in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 29-62 (p. 40).

¹⁷ Thomas Raynald published three editions of *The Birth of Mankind* from 1540 to 1552. Richard Jugge then published a further four editions from 1560 to 1565, before his son, John, published an edition in 1585. On 7 October 1588 John's former apprentice, Richard Watkins, gained the title (*SR 1554-1640*, II, 501), but he only published one edition in 1598 before assigning the right over to Thomas Adams in December 1598 who published two further editions in 1604 and 1613 (*SR 1554-1640*, III, 132). On 6 May 1625 Andrew Hebb gained the right to thirty-four titles from Adams's widow, which included *The Birth of Mankind* (*SR 1554-1640*, IV, 139-40); he published two editions in 1626 and 1634. See K.F. Russell, *British Anatomy 1525-1800: A Bibliography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963), pp. 191-94.

¹⁸ Jacques Guillemeau, *De l'Hereux Accouchement Des Femmes* (Paris, 1609).

¹⁹ Guillemeau, *Child Birth, or the Happy Deliverie of Women*, trans. (1612). Hereafter cited as *CB*. The title was registered at Stationers' Hall on 7 February 1612, by John Bill (*SR 1554-1640*, III, 477). Bill was a London bookseller and printer (1604-30), and also worked as an agent for Sir Thomas Bodley and James I in acquiring books from abroad; he was appointed King's Printer in 1617 (*Dict. 1557-1640*, pp. 31-33). He may have financed the printing of this edition, but it was only the printer's name, Arnold Hatfield, that appeared on the title page. Another edition followed in 1635.

²⁰ Jacob Ruff, *The Expert Midwife*, trans. (1637). Hereafter cited as *EM*. Simon Burton registered the title on 2 August 1637 (*SR 1554-1640*, IV, 391).

indicates that midwives at this time would generally be able to read English. In the manuscript the midwife's assistant complained that the remedies in contemporary books were 'fast lockt up in latine' to which the midwife retorted, 'I have them all in english for mine own use'.²¹ Peter Earle's study of the people of London from 1650 to 1750 suggests that the level of literacy amongst midwives (eighty-six per cent) was second only to that of school teachers (one hundred per cent).²² Similarly, David Harley finds high levels of literacy among provincial midwives in England from 1660 to 1760 judging by the evidence of signatures and surviving letters.²³

I argue later in this chapter that the level of information in these early manuals went beyond that necessary for a practising midwife. Percival Willughby, for example, writing in the 1670s, advocated experience above reading for learning the art of midwifery, and Culpeper similarly stressed the importance of practical experience.²⁴ This raises the question why midwives' manuals were published at all if the tradition preferred experience over book-based learning. Adrian Wilson's recent examination of Willughby's 'Observations' reveals his daughter, Eleanor's, experiences as a midwife. Through a close reading of her father's manuscript, 'the contours of Eleanor's practice are recoverable'.²⁵ To determine this, Wilson first examines Willughby's 'Observations' and considers the midwifery practices to which it attests. Willughby's rhetorical use of Harvey's *De Generatione* (1651) suggests that he distinguished between two types of medical knowledge.²⁶ On the one hand, there was the theoretical medical knowledge found in the folios of the continental anatomists. Willughby did not expect midwives to read these

²¹ BL MS Sloane 1954, quoted by Eccles, 'The Early Use of English for Midwiferies 1500-1700', p. 378. Poeton had 'striven ... to use the most ordinary words and playnest phrases' that indicates that midwives had little knowledge of medical and anatomical vocabulary (quoted by Patricia Crawford, 'Sexual Knowledge in England, 1500-1750', in *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality*, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 82-106 (p. 96)). The inclusion of a glossary of such terms in Culpeper's *Directory* also suggests this to have been the case.

²² Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994), p. 120.

²³ David Harley, 'Provincial Midwives in England: Lancashire and Cheshire, 1660-1760', in *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, ed. by Hilary Marland (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 27-48 (p. 34).

²⁴ Percival Willughby, *Observations in Midwifery*, ed. by Henry Blenkinsop, 1st pub. 1863 (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1972). Willughby's manuscript remained unpublished until 1863. In it, he argued that midwives had little need of anatomical information contained in the Latin folios of the professional physician.

²⁵ Wilson, 'A Memorial of Eleanor Willughby, A Seventeenth-Century Midwife', in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, ed. by Hunter and Hutton, 138-77 (p. 138).

²⁶ Wilson, 'A Memorial of Eleanor Willughby', pp. 151-53; King, 'The Education of Midwives', p. 190.

books because they ‘little belong to the knowledge of midwives’.²⁷ On the other hand, medical skill could be learnt through practice and experience, a ‘hands-on’ approach supported by what Evenden-Nagy terms an ‘unofficial system of apprenticeship’ during the seventeenth century.²⁸ At least some midwives were critical of printed manuals, for example Mrs Hester Shaw and Mrs Whipp discussed below (p. 170). In contrast, Culpeper’s manual respected their monopoly over the management of a mother’s delivery. Its appearance in print, imitative of the learned archetype, sought to raise the professional standing of the midwife within the hierarchy of medical care provision.

As well as midwifery manuals, non-medical books were also published to guide a mother through her pregnancy. Pregnancy and birth were subject to religious protocol that governed its management as a social event, described by Adrian Wilson as a ‘ritual’.²⁹ A mother’s delivery was organised by the midwife. The room was darkened and restricted to the mother, midwife, and an attending female collective known as ‘gossips’. Following delivery the mother would enter the ritualised process of recovery known as her ‘lying-in’ or ‘month’ which ended in her ‘churching’ when she was received into full social relations again. Wilson suggests that this three-stage process can be described as a ‘rite of passage’ through ‘the demarcation of the lying-in room (separation), the isolation of ‘the month’ (transition) and the ritual of churching (reincorporation)’.³⁰ Prayers were recited at all stages of this passage, which led to the publication of prayer books specifically designed to accompany the mother and her ‘gossips’ through this ritual. For example, William Herbert’s *Child-bearing Woman* (1648) contained devotional meditations, prayers, and songs to be recited during the stages of pregnancy, birth, and post-natal care. These prayers will have been said with as much hope and expectation of relief as might be brought by medicinal oils, ointments, pills, and plasters. The book was addressed to the ‘Child-bearing Women of Great BRITAIN’ and ‘all the Wise and Religious Midwives of *England, Scotland, [and] Wales*’.³¹ Herbert believed that children ‘conceiv’d and born with *Prayers*’ would learn their moral and Christian duty, thereby ensuring a God-fearing and virtuous

²⁷ Willughby, *Observations in Midwifery*, p. 1; Wilson, ‘Memorial of Eleanor Willughby’, p. 152.

²⁸ Doreen Evenden-Nagy, ‘Mothers and their Midwives in Seventeenth-century London’, in *The Art of Midwifery*, ed. by Marland, 9-26 (p. 9). On a midwife’s pre-licensed experience see Evenden-Nagy, ‘Seventeenth Century London Midwives: Their Training, Licensing and Social Profile’ (doctoral thesis, McMaster University, Ontario, Canada, 1991; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 53A (1992), 275-A), pp. 105-60.

²⁹ Wilson, ‘Participant or Patient?’, pp. 133-37; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 153-54, 208-09.

³⁰ Wilson, ‘Participant or Patient?’, p. 141.

³¹ William Herbert, *Herberts Child-bearing Woman* (1648), A5^r-6^v.

population. Following birth, one such prayer was the ‘Midwives Exhortation’:

The worke is done, the Childe borne, and the mother safe, and so each of us may retire, except those few who are appointed for longer service. Yet before we depart, let us againe joyntly praise our good God, for his blessing on our Labor; and also beseech him, to be still gracious to us all.³²

Although the focus of this chapter is obstetrical manuals, the publication of books like Herbert’s are significant. Other religious and prayer handbooks for safe pregnancy and delivery include Daniel Featley’s *Ancilla Pietatis: or, The Hand-Maid to Private Devotion* (1626), John Cosin’s *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627), and John Oliver’s *A Present for Teeming Women* (1663).³³ They show that it was not unusual for women to turn to printed books for material on all aspects surrounding pregnancy and confirm the existence of a literate group of women who were willing to pay for this information. In the case of prayer books, readings from print brought with it spiritual comfort, whereas the gynaecological detail included in the midwife’s manual was designed to promote physical relief.

As well as the physical benefits to mother and child, the development of the obstetrical book market was also related to the training that a woman followed in order to become a midwife and gain an ecclesiastical licence.³⁴ Although no formal statute was ever passed in England to regulate midwives, John Guy finds evidence of episcopal licensing in the two Acts passed in 1512 and 1523 which governed the practice of medicine in England.³⁵ In order to gain the required licence a midwife had to produce a testimonial signed by witnesses (usually six) affirming her skill as a midwife, swear an oath, and pay a high fee to the ecclesiastical court.³⁶

By 1640 several members of the infamous Chamberlen family had attempted to establish an independent society for midwives. In 1616, the London surgeon, Peter Chamberlen (*d.* 1626), called on James I to establish a Society of Midwives, while in 1634 his son (also Peter) attempted to form a Corporation of Midwives.³⁷ In January 1617,

³² *Ibid.*, D1^r.

³³ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 24-25.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-70.

³⁵ 3 Henry VIII c.11; 14 & 15 Henry VIII c.5 (*The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by John Raithby, 10 vols (London: [n.p.], 1810-24), III, 31-32, 213-14). See John R. Guy ‘The Episcopal Licensing of Physicians, Surgeons and Midwives’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 56 (1982), 528-42.

³⁶ Thomas R. Forbes, ‘The Regulation of English Midwives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Medical History*, 8 (1964), 235-44; Evenden-Nagy, ‘Seventeenth Century London Midwives’, pp. 47-104.

³⁷ Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: A Woman’s Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984; repr. Mandarin Paperbacks, 1993), pp. 506-08; Lucinda M. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge

James I referred Chamberlen's plan to the College of Physicians and in a series of meetings in January and February the College concluded that a Society would raise standards amongst midwives.³⁸ In reaching this conclusion, though, the College sought to tighten its control over all aspects of medicine because it wanted the right to examine midwives before the granting of licences by a bishop. But no action resulted.³⁹ In 1634 Mrs Hester Shaw and Mrs Whipp petitioned the College to stop Peter Chamberlen's (1601-83) plans for a Corporation of Midwives because, they argued, this was an attempt on his part to gain sole control of the licensing of midwives.⁴⁰ On 28 August 1634, the two midwives went before the College to protest against Chamberlen's plans.⁴¹ The crux of their argument was his inability to 'teach the art of Midwifery in most birthes because hee hath no experience in itt, but by reading'.⁴² The midwives stressed the importance of experience and practical learning: 'those women that desyre to learne must be present at the delivery of many women, and see the worke and behaviour of such as bee skilfull midwives who will shew and direct them'.⁴³ This petition is important not only because of its criticism of the male practitioner but also because it reveals that midwives were unsympathetic to book learning over 'continuall practise'. This project was resurrected in 1647 in Chamberlen's *A Voice in Rhama* but again was not implemented.⁴⁴

During the 1640s two anonymous pamphlets petitioned Parliament and called for an end to the Civil War. Midwives had previously been well paid and respected, but their 'trade is now decayed'.⁴⁵ In the short pamphlet, *The Mid-wives Just Petition* (1643), the author complained, 'we were formerly well paid, and highly respected ... for our great skill and mid-night industry, but now our Art doth fail us, and little gettings have we in this age barren of all naturall joyes'.⁴⁶ Male fatalities in battle, it claimed, 'before they had performed any thing to the benefit of Mid-wives', were responsible for this drop.⁴⁷ There is

and Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 15-19.

³⁸ J.H. Aveling, *The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps* (London: Churchill, 1882), pp. 20-24.

³⁹ Donna Snell Smith, 'Tudor and Stuart Midwifery' (doctoral thesis, University of Kentucky, 1980; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 41 (1980), 2729-A), p. 60; Clark, pp. 235-38.

⁴⁰ Smith, 'Tudor and Stuart Midwifery', p. 63, Aveling, *The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps*, pp. 34-49.

⁴¹ *Annals*, III, f. 141^v.

⁴² *Annals*, III, ff 143^r-45^v (f. 144^v).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Aveling, *The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps*, pp. 49-59. In 1649, a pseudonymous reply to Chamberlen's plans, 'Philalethes' attacked his attempts 'to get himself created vicar generall of the Midwives' (*An Answer to Doctor Chamberlains Scandalous and False Papers* (1649), A2^v).

⁴⁵ *The Mid-wives Just Petition* (1643), A3^v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, A2^v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, A2^v.

no reason to believe that this petition is meant satirically. According to its title page, the petition was presented at Parliament on 23 January 1643. On 22 September 1646, this petition was again presented in response to the fighting in Ireland.⁴⁸ Annual figures for the numbers of births during this period are difficult to assess because of the defective parish registers kept during the Civil War period. In their exhaustive study of the population of England, Wrigley and Schofield have attempted to convert the totals from parish registers into annual figures that also offset the effects of the growth of nonconformity during this period.⁴⁹ Their results show that from 1620 to 1660 the total fluctuation from the highest rate in 1640 to the lowest in 1659, was thirty per cent. The figures are sporadic but there is a significant fall of twenty per cent from 1645 to 1650.⁵⁰ These are national figures and the situation in London may have been different, but they do show a fall in the number of births at the same time as the midwives were petitioning Parliament. The suggestion, then, that their trade did suffer during the 1640s is supported by the number of annual births, and this could account for the drop in the number of manuals published in these years.

The abolition of the established church's authority in 1643 meant that ecclesiastical licensing lapsed until 1662 when the Act of Uniformity re-established the church courts. During these years it is unclear how midwives were licensed. Both Forbes and Guy accept Elizabeth Cellier's account in *A Letter to Dr. -----, Concerning the Colledg of Midwives* (1688) of a struggle between the College of Physicians and the Company of the Barber-Surgeons over the right to license midwives. According to Cellier,

The Physicians and Chirurgions contending about it [midwifery], it was adjudged a Chyrurgical Operation, and the Midwives were Licensed at *Chirurgions-Hall*, but not till they had passed three Examinations, before six skilful Midwives, and as many Chirurgions expert in the Art of Midwifery.⁵¹

This account of licensing from 1643 to 1660, though, is probably unreliable. Writing nearly thirty years after the Restoration, Cellier was herself petitioning the King for the right to establish her own College of Midwives, and intended this self-serving pamphlet to gain favour with the King.⁵² Nor could Helen King find any evidence of this procedure in the

⁴⁸ *The Mid-wives Just Complaint* (1646).

⁴⁹ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Arnold, 1981), pp. 2, 20, 24, 27.

⁵⁰ See Table A2.3: 'Annual Total of Births', in Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, pp. 496-502.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Cellier, *A Letter to Dr. -----, Concerning the Colledg of Midwives* (1688), A3^v. See Guy, 'Episcopal Licensing', p. 541; Forbes, 'The Regulation of English Midwives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'; Clark, pp. 362-63.

⁵² King, 'The Politick Midwife: Models of Midwifery in the Work of Elizabeth Cellier', in *The Art of Midwifery*, ed. by Marland, 115-30 (p. 122). Wilson also suggest that Cellier is an unreliable source

archives of the Barber-Surgeons, and Culpeper makes no mention of such licensing in his *Directory*. Samuel Hartlib expressed similar concern with the state of midwifery training during this period. Writing in his 'Ephemerides' for 1650, he suggests the country would benefit from the establishment of a college:

At Vlme there is a Colledge of Midwives, who record all their cases or Accidents. Miscarriages successes. etc. consisting of 7. or 8. younger midwives which are trained vp vnder them practically, some of their Colledge always going along with the principle Midwife. But all their observations in this kind are kept mighty secret and only amongst themselves, which notable practise of theirs should bee introduced into other Common-wealths.⁵³

This is again suggestive that during the 1640s and 1650s London's midwives, at least, were free from regulation and under no obligation to be licensed.⁵⁴

The lack of control and official licensing does not necessarily mean that standards in midwifery declined. Seventeenth-century mothers were apprehensive about their own pregnancy and often feared birth.⁵⁵ The role of the midwife was to dispel this fear and ease the mother through her delivery. She had to demonstrate skill in order to secure her position as midwife to the women of a particular village or parish. The appearance of reading a printed manual may have been one way she could illustrate her 'professional' competence by emulating the bookish learning of the male physician.⁵⁶ Thomas Raynald even suggested in *The Birth of Mankind* that passages were read aloud during birth to comfort the mother. An 'honourable Ladye' or 'worshipfull Gentlewoman', presumably the chief attendant of the female 'gossips' present in the birthing-room, would,

('Memorial of Eleanor Willughby', p. 165).

⁵³ HP 28/1/40A.

⁵⁴ Evenden-Nagy agrees that the absence of documentary evidence for 1642-1660 supports the conclusion that there was no licensing during the period ('Seventeenth Century London Midwives', p. 18; 'Mothers and their Midwives in Seventeenth-century London', p. 14).

⁵⁵ In fact there appears to have been an increase in maternal mortality from the period 1600-50 to 1650-1700, but there was an average risk of between six and seven per cent of dying in childbed in the seventeenth century (Roger Schofield, 'Did the Mothers Really Die? Three Centuries of Maternal Mortality in "The World We Have Lost"', in *The World We Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure*, ed. by Lloyd Bonfield and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 231-60). Also see Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 30-31. That seventeenth-century mothers did fear approaching delivery, see Patricia Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by Fildes, 3-38 (pp. 22-23); Sara Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs', in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. by Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985; repr. Routledge, 1991), 181-210 (pp. 196-97); Linda Pollock, 'Embarking on a Rough Passage: The Experience of Pregnancy in Early Modern Society', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by Fildes, 39-67 (pp. 46-49). Ralph Josselin recorded his wife's pregnancies in his diary and noted on several occasions her concerns over delivery (Lucinda M. Beier, 'In Sickness and in Health: A Seventeenth Century Family's Experience', in *Patients and Practitioners*, ed. by Porter, 101-28 (pp. 103-07)).

⁵⁶ Wilson, 'The Ceremony of Childbirth', p. 74.

Carry ... with them this book in their hands, and causing such part of it as doth chiefly concerne the [birth] ... to be read before the Midwife, and the rest of the women being present, whereby oft times ... the laboring woman hath beene greatly comforted and alleuiated of her throngs and trauaile.⁵⁷

Raynald is writing, of course, from a male perspective but this passage nevertheless shows how the birthing ritual might be further supported by reading out loud and go some way to raising the mother's confidence in the women around her, if not actually bringing any physical comfort.

Midwives were usually paid for their work.⁵⁸ For example after attending a christening on 29 May 1661 the diarist Samuel Pepys gave the midwife 10s., and typical fees may have been as much as 8s.⁵⁹ Some midwives, at least, could have supplemented this income by taking on other healing activities, often with greater success than their male rivals, as this account by Hartlib demonstrates:

A Midwife advised a friend of Mr Cox's that was mightily troubled with the Piles that was sick vnto death with them and no ease could bee found but tormented excessively that hee could not stand nor sit. But the Midwife viewing the mans fundament she scratched the Piles, after which hee voided a great stone and was never troubled with them afterwards.⁶⁰

It has already been suggested that midwives reveal a higher than average level of literacy, and the various sources of potential income would also mean they could have afforded to purchase manuals and textbooks.

In the case of midwives' manuals, *The Birth of Mankind* had sole domination of the market for over seventy years with a new edition on average every ten years. The publication of *The Expert Midwife* and a new edition of Guillemeau's *Child Birth* and the anonymously translated *The Birth of Mankind* in the 1630s was followed by a fourteen year absence of editions.

⁵⁷ *BM* (1634), B8^r.

⁵⁸ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 315; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 72-73.

⁵⁹ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell, 1970-83), II, p. 110; Smith, 'Tudor and Stuart Midwifery', pp. 10-11.

⁶⁰ HP 29/5/66B.

Table 4.1: Midwifery Treatises in English, 1600-80

	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	Total
<i>BM</i>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
<i>DM</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	2	10
<i>DMSP</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	4
<i>CMP</i>	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	6
<i>AM</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>Other*</i>	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	3	-	7
Total	1	2	1	3	-	7	5	8	7	34

Key to main works, with dates of first editions

BM (1540) *The Birth of Mankind, or, the Woman's Book*

DM (1651) Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*

DMSP (1662) Culpeper, *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives, ... the Second Part*

CMP (1656) Louise Bourgeois, *The Compleat Midwives Practice*, trans. by Thomas Chamberlen and others (1656) (... *Enlarged* from 1659; *The English Midwife Enlarged* in 1682)

AM (1673) François Mauriceau, *The Diseases of Women with Child*, trans. by Hugh Chamberlen (first edition as *The Accomplisht Midwife*)

* Other works

1612 and 1635 (anon. trans. of) Jacques Guillemeau, *Child Birth, or the Happy Delivery of Women*

1637 (anon. trans. of) Jacob Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*

1665 *Dr Chamberlen's Midwives Practice*

1671 William Sermon, *The Ladies Companion, or the English Midwife*

1671 Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book*

1671 James Wolveridge, *Speculum Matricis: or the Expert Midwife's Handmaid*

The reasons for this hiatus reflect uncertainty within the book trade, the social ramifications of Civil War, and the disarray felt amongst midwives over the state of their practice. Mary Fissell has recently examine a shift in the 'elaborate systems of metaphor' used in popular health texts during the 1650s.⁶¹ She argues that this movement away from 'male-thematized metaphors' used to describe reproduction and the genitals were due to the experiences of the 1640s and 1650s, and identifies three 'potential sources of tensions which fostered a re-shaping of gender relations'.⁶² Firstly, 'events during the English civil war abolished parts of the customary framework which sustained family life at the village level'; secondly, in the context of religion, gender roles were contested in the second half of the century; and lastly, women increasingly took direct political action.⁶³ Despite Fissell's literary focus, the above factors were also responsible for the revival in the market for

⁶¹ Mary E. Fissell, 'Gender and Generation: Representing Reproduction in Early Modern England', *Gender and History*, 7 (1995), 433-56 (p. 434).

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 439, 446.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 445. Elizabeth Tebeaux also notes that women assumed new roles during the Civil War which, she argues, account for the publication of new technical books written by women ('Women and Technical Writing', p. 58).

gynaecological books. The political and social rhetoric employed by Culpeper, along with his medical vocabulary, broke the hiatus of the 1640s, and signalled the emergence of a new expanding market for the publication of midwifery manuals. The number of editions published and the printing of a pirated edition indicate the popularity of his book. Its appeal was not simply to the midwife but also to the gentlewomen and lay-reader, as its combination of gynaecological and paediatric information allowed women to tend to their own health needs without male intrusion. Editions of Culpeper's *Directory for Midwives* published during the author's lifetime bear the familiar hallmarks of his personalised and political voice, which is wholly lacking in the posthumous *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives*, enlarged and published in 1662 by Peter Cole to capitalise on the writer's established brand name. The early history of the *Directory* therefore reveals the altruism, commercialism, and edification also evident in *The English Physitian* and Culpeper's version of the *Pharmacopeia*.

A Directory for Midwives: Publishing History (1651-62)

Peter Cole registered Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* at Stationers' Hall on 13 February 1651 two weeks after Culpeper had written the book's preliminary address.⁶⁴ If Cole only began printing after this date, then it took two months to print before George Thomason could purchase a copy on 12 April 1651. Previously Culpeper's translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* had appeared in a quarto and a folio format, while Cole was to print *The English Physitian* as a folio the following year. It is therefore significant that he chose to publish the *Directory* as an octavo from its first edition onwards. Usually a book would appear in a large format, with subsequent editions in smaller sizes securing a more general readership. The choice depended upon the perceived audience, and a first appearance in octavo is suggestive of a readership which could not afford an expensive medical folio, though another motive may have been its more practical use, for example, in the birthing-room. From the outset, then, *A Directory for Midwives* appeared as an affordable practical book.

The first edition exists in two states which suggests an oversight during casting-off.⁶⁵ Even though the cost of setting new type and printing a single sheet will have been

⁶⁴ *SR 1640-1708*, 1, 360. Culpeper's address to the reader is dated 28 January 1651 (*DM* (1651), ¶8^r).

⁶⁵ Comparison of a copy of the first edition at the Wellcome Institute Library (shelf-mark 19311/A) with that collected by George Thomason (now BL E.1340.(1.)) reveals two extra leaves after gathering H in the Wellcome copy. This constitutes the seventh and last chapter on the 'Heat and Driness of the Womb' to the second section of Book III, included in the contents, but presumably overlooked by the compositor and

small, it does suggest a willingness on the part of the printer to ensure the textual integrity of this edition. Unique for one of Culpeper's books published during his lifetime is the inclusion of a dedicatory poem, 'In Laudem Authoris', which is printed at the beginning of the book. An unidentified Jer. Edmonds, wrote this congratulatory piece and praised Culpeper and his *Directory*.⁶⁶ This endorsement was presumably meant to promote sales, although its exclusion in later editions may suggest that it failed to do so.

Table 4.2: Publishing History of *A Directory for Midwives* (1651-62)

*	Year	Imprint	Format
<i>A Directory for Midwives</i>			
F.1.	1651	By Peter Cole	Octavo
F.2.	1652	Printed [by William Bentley]	Octavo
F.3.	1653	Printed by Peter Cole ... sold by R. Westbrook	Octavo
	1654		
	1655		
F.4.	1656	By Peter Cole	Octavo
	1657		
	1658		
	1659		
F.4.(i).	1660	By Peter Cole and Edward Cole (reissue of 1656)	Octavo
	1661		
<i>Culpeper's Directory for Midwives</i>			
F.5.	1662	By Peter Cole	Octavo

* Reference to Descriptive Bibliography (Appendix 2).

The main text to *A Directory for Midwives* is divided into nine books which take the reader through conception, pregnancy, and the immediate after-birth care and management of mother and child. Each book is subdivided into sections and chapters, so that the continuous prose never amounts to more than a few pages without a break. He frequently uses the personal pronoun in his writing, and asks the reader 'now tell me', 'I pray tell me', 'I hope you will give me leave', 'give me leave to speak a word or two ...' (*DM* (1651), E6^r, E4^v, L5^v). In addition to gynaecological and paediatric information, advice is offered on 'what manner of Woman ought a Midwife to be' and 'what manner of Creature, a Nurse ought to be' (*DM* (1651), ¶5^r, O7^v-P2^r). Wet-nursing, according to Dorothy McLaren, was common in the parishes within reach of London during the seventeenth century, as wealthy middle and upper-class mothers would employ young women to suckle their children.⁶⁷

later corrected (*DM* (1651), G6^v).

⁶⁶ Jer. Edmonds, 'In Laudem Authoris', in *DM* (1651), A8^v. He does not appear to have published any other identifiable work, and nor did he attend Oxford or Cambridge.

⁶⁷ Dorothy McLaren, 'Marital Fertility and Lactation 1570-1720', in *Women in English Society 1500-*

For example, McLaren describes the nursing paid for by Katherine Poulett in 1650 for eighteen months which cost thirty pounds.⁶⁸ Culpeper intended that the *Directory* ‘should be for every ones good, and therefore within the reach of every ones Purse’ (*DM* (1651), P2^v). The *Directory* addressed women who actually worked as wet-nurses and any woman who would find herself pregnant at some stage during her life. That is, *A Directory for Midwives* was intended, as its subtitle suggests, to serve as ‘A Guide for Women’.

In contrast to this philanthropy, the text of the *Directory* also included an advertisement of Cole’s books and Culpeper himself included references to ‘my Translation of the *London Dispensatory*’ (*DM* (1651), H4^r).⁶⁹ When Culpeper turned to the medicinal benefits of herbs during pregnancy and delivery he criticised the College whilst advertising his forthcoming herbal, *The English Physitian*:

I could wish from my heart you knew all these Herbs, you cannot expect I should travel all over the Nation to teach you; you see what Ignorance The Learned Colledg of Physitians have trained you up in, instruct one as well as you can, know that you were not born for your selves alone, and I will do what I can to instruct you in the knowledge of Herbs before I am half a yeer older. (*DM* (1651), H2^v)

This form of self-advertisement stressed the complementary nature of Culpeper’s books and ensured their continued popularity. Not only did this generate sales, but the continual promotion of Culpeper’s name in the medical marketplace also brought customers to his practice in Spitalfields. This commercial application of print is particularly interesting in the case of *A Directory for Midwives* and its relation to Culpeper’s wife, because Alice practised as a midwife. Her testimonial was discovered by Doreen Evenden-Nagy in a collection of midwives’ testimonials at the Guildhall Library.⁷⁰ Despite Evenden-Nagy’s claim that midwives did not advertise their skills in print, Alice must have traded on the commercially valuable name ‘Culpeper’ to her own benefit. Although her testimonial is dated 1665, eleven years after her husband’s death, and nine years since her marriage to John Heydon, it is interesting that the name ‘Culpeper’ is retained. This suggests that Alice had practised throughout her marriage to Culpeper and had established a reputation that benefited from her surname. She clearly had her own incentive to secure the continued good reputation of the name ‘Culpeper’, and to protect its portrayal in the large number of

1800, ed. by Prior, 22-53 (p. 30). Also see Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 29, 155, 302.

⁶⁸ McLaren, ‘Marital Fertility and Lactation’, p. 45.

⁶⁹ Also see references to *PD* in *DM* (1651), G4^v-5^r, H4^r, H4^v, H6^r, H9^r, O5^v. Cole’s advertisement is at A6^v-8^r.

⁷⁰ Evenden-Nagy, ‘Seventeenth Century London Midwives’, pp. 213-14.

books which appeared after 1654 claiming his authorship. The close pact she formed with the publisher Peter Cole is evident by the fact that his signature is the third of ten on her testimonial, claiming that Alice ‘hath demeaned herselfe very civil, and liked in very good repute and esteem amongst her neighbours’.⁷¹ This again highlights the symbiotic relationship existing between publishers and medical practitioners, who both sought to exploit the popularising medium of print.

Alongside this commercial advertisement, Culpeper made political attacks on the College and its monopoly, as well as commenting on the true nature of a commonwealth. In his address ‘To the Reader’ he attacked the College of Physicians for restricting medical instruction to those who could read Latin, and later ridiculed the ‘*Colledges Worm-eaten Dispensatory*’ (*DM* (1651), L3^v). By keeping the population in ignorance, he claimed, ‘[t]hey kill Men for want of Judgment’ (*DM* (1651), A4^v). As we have already seen above, the midwives’ practice was a contentious issue during the 1640s and preceding years. The College is compared with the Catholic church, that while ‘[o]ne holds the *Word of God*, the other *Physick* to be a mystery’ (*DM* (1651), C3^f). Religious imagery is important to the history of midwives who held a favoured position in the Old Testament. On his title page, Culpeper included a quote from Exodus 1. 21: ‘It came to pass, because the Midwives feared the Lord, that God built them Houses’. Later in the text, he returns to the scriptures to prove the midwife’s elevated status.⁷² God, he argued, would again protect the midwives in the 1650s, ‘as he did the Midwives of the *Hebrews*, when *Pharaoh*, kept their Bodies in as great bondage as *Physitians* of our times do your Understandings’ (*DM* (1651), ¶7^f). Midwives, then, were the first group of medical carers to be assembled into an organisation and if this was at God’s direction, what right then had the College or government to control their practice?

Although it was principally from the late seventeenth, and more particularly during the eighteenth, century that the male-midwife emerged, he was already making inroads into the birthing-room primarily by attending at difficult births. Hartlib, for instance, notes a Mr Capel from Kent, in his ‘Ephemerides’ of 1650, who:

Professed to have singular skill in all Women diseases and to be assistant to Midwives. Hee did helpe one at Hammersmith a Woman

⁷¹ Guildhall Library, Dioceses of London, Licensing Papers, MS 10, 116 (box 4). Despite searching archives at the Guildhall Library I have not been able to identify the other witnesses. There are all male names, and were probably local traders and tradesmen, whose wives Alice had safely delivered.

⁷² The title page to Louise Bourgeois, *The Compleat Midwives Practice ... With instructions of the Midwife to the Queen of France*, trans. by Thomas Chamberlen and others (1656), included a quote from Exodus 1. 17. Elizabeth Cellier also quoted from Exodus (1. 15-17, 20-21) in *A Letter to Dr. -----* (A1^f).

so troubled with the mother in an instant, When nothing would doe
her good of what others applied.⁷³

Culpeper probably knew from Alice's experiences of the increasingly intrusive presence of the man-midwife. Culpeper's 'plain and easie' rules for the midwife were intended to enable her to 'find [her] ... worke easie, [and] ... need not call for the help of a Man-Midwife, which is a disparagement, not only to your selves, but also to your Profession' (*DM* (1651), ¶4^v).⁷⁴ Culpeper gave a glossary for thirty-two Latin medical terms used in professional discourse and this again suggests that he sought to liberate his female reader from the obscure language of the physicians (*DM* (1651), P6^v-8^v). Its interpretation of medical terms was a useful addition to the text. The arteries, for example, 'proceed from the Heart, are in a continual motion, and by their continual motion quicken the Body: they carry the Vital Blood to every part of the Body' (*DM* (1651), P6^v-7^r).

Culpeper's manual was clearly popular as the swift appearance of an anonymously published pirated edition in 1652 indicates. A copy, the only recorded in Wing, of this edition is in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University Library (shelf-mark Add. 29). Apart from excluding Cole's advertisement and the 'Errata Corrigenda' the printer has faithfully reproduced Cole's first edition. Set in pica, it has an average of thirty-eight lines per page against twenty-seven in Cole's edition. This meant that the book required ten sheets of paper, resulting in a forty per cent lower retail price for the pirated edition.

Along with *A Directory for Midwives*, *The English Physitian* and Culpeper's translation of the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* were his most popular titles. We know that William Bentley published pirated editions of the last two books and this therefore raises the question whether he also published this pirated edition of *A Directory for Midwives*. If it is the work of Bentley it is the first extant Culpeper-Cole title that he pirated. As well as seizing Bentley's press in October 1652, Cole printed and published a new edition of *A Directory for Midwives*, which was sold at his shop in Cornhill and at Richard Westbrook's shop at Death's Arm in Threadneedle Street.⁷⁵ It was unusual for Cole to include the name of another bookseller in the imprints of his Culpeper's books. But as Westbrook's name or initials appear in only four imprints of extant books, all of them

⁷³ HP 28/1/65B.

⁷⁴ Tebeaux notes the development of a plain style of expression in technical manuals, which began to be published during the Renaissance, and eventually displaced the tradition of oral transmission ('Women and Technical Writing', p. 31).

⁷⁵ The imprint reads: 'Printed by *Peter Cole* in Leaden-Hall, And are to be sold at his Shop, at the Printing-Press in Cornhill, neer the Royal Exchange: And R. Westbrook at Deaths Arm in Threadneedle-street, against the Upper end of Broad-street. 1653.'

published by Cole, it appears that his shop was an additional retail outlet for Cole's books.⁷⁶

From 1651 to 1653, the book trade was effectively free from control following the collapse of the 1649 Printing Act. In 1653, new measures were introduced and the Council of State took over all control from the Company.⁷⁷ Spurred on by the revival in the Printing Act that covered the protection of publishers' rights to copy, Culpeper and Cole prepared a new edition of *A Directory for Midwives*. In 1653, they published this new edition specifically designed to thwart sales of the pirated edition. In the new address to the reader, undated but signed with Culpeper's name, he wrote:

There is a Counterfeit Edition of this Book, which go[es] under my Name, but I do disclaim it, for that it is notoriously false Printed: In perusing one Sheet of the Counterfeit Edition, I find six Medicines left out, and at least thirty gross Errors, such as corrupt the Sence, and make the book none of my Issue, but a Bastard of their own; yet it may be, they did it out of conscience, knowing themselves to be Theeves in stealing the Right of other men by their Printing that false Impression, and therefore they would have the child like the father, viz. Horrible base and mischievous. (*DM*(1653), A4^r)

This passage is a comparison of the new 1653 edition with the pirated edition which Bentley had accurately printed from a copy of the first edition. It deliberately misleads the reader with the false impression that Bentley had introduced textual errors which would prove dangerous if the receipts they occurred in were prepared.

In order to differentiate the 'true impression' from the pirated edition Culpeper gave four typographical and bibliographical differences. Firstly, it is claimed the counterfeit edition begins '*Above all things, I hold it most fitting, that women, &c.*'. The 1652 edition does indeed begin with that line. In the revised edition (1653) Book II begins at the top of page 40, while it is correctly claimed that in the false edition it is at page 24. Thirdly, the 1653 edition has 'the Figures of the Childs lying in the Womb ... inserted between page 54. and 55.', while in the false impression the plate was inserted between pages 44 and 45.

⁷⁶ Westbrook first worked with Cole in 1648 when Jeremiah Burroughes' *Gospel-Worship: or, The Right Manner of Sanctifying* was printed for Peter Cole and R.W., however only Cole's address was given in the imprint suggesting the Cole was the dominant partner in the book's production. On 9 September 1651, Westbrook registered Christopher Love's *Mr Love's Case* (*SR 1640-1708*, I, 377), eighteen days early George Thomason had already purchased a copy 'for R.W. and Peter Cole at the Printing Press in Cornhill'. In 1654 Westbrook worked with Cole for the last time when Simon Partlitz's *A New Method of Physick*, trans., was published by Cole, and sold by Samuel Howes, John Garfield, and Westbrook. The two clearly had an established working relationship when Westbrooke's name was included as one of those authorised to accompany Cole on his seaches for seditious printing in August 1652 (Court Book C, f. 269^v).

⁷⁷ *A&O*, II, 696-99.

Finally, Book III in the ‘true’ edition begins at page 68, while it is claimed in the false impression it begins at page 56. In the copy of the 1652 edition at Glasgow University Library Book III actually begins at page 50, though a compositor’s error may account for this difference by misreading the number six for a zero (see *DM* (1653), A4^v).

Culpeper had hoped that the 1653 edition might be ‘printed of a bigger letter’ than the first, because ‘it being far more pleasant to reade in a fair Print than in a small’ (*DM* (1653), A4^r). This recognition of the importance of the choice of type-face for the readability of a printed text is important because it indicates Culpeper’s involvement in the print production of his *Directory* and that he appreciated his readers’ response to his printed books. Despite Culpeper’s concern to produce a functional text this is belied by the economic necessity of print production: the cost of such changes ‘would have made the price higher than is now convenient’ (*DM* (1653), A4^r). This is indicative of the decisions made by publishers over the retail price of their books and expected sales. Culpeper’s comment indicates that the primary motive was to keep retail costs low.

The 1653 edition is printed on eleven and a half sheets as against the seventeen and a half sheets used for the first edition, despite a number of additions to the text. Cole achieved this reduction in size, production costs, and in its final retail price, by following the example of the pirated edition, and increasing the number of lines per page by thirty per cent. In addition, on the verso of the title page, usually left blank, Cole printed his advertisement, ‘The Titles of several Books, by *Nich. Culpeper*’, which included all Culpeper’s books which Cole had published by 1653. A new section on ‘How to preserve the Instruments of Generation’ dealt with diet and the importance of exercise to ensure the production of healthy ‘seed’ (*DM* (1653), C8^v-D4^r). Furthermore, in Culpeper’s text the opportunity is taken to advertise his own books through internal textual references. Thus the reader is referred to his translation of *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652), and new references to *The English Physitian*, published the previous year, are added.⁷⁸ I suggested above that Cole made internal additions to Culpeper’s translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* and *The English Physitian* which referred to his catalogue of books. We know that Culpeper’s health deteriorated during 1653, and it is therefore possible that Cole made the textual changes to this edition. As well as including advertisements, there is some evidence of Cole censoring his author’s text. For example, the new address ‘To the Reader’ replaced

⁷⁸ *DM* (1653), D1^v. The reader is also referred to *Galen’s Art of Physick* (1652) to find information on what the nature a wet-nurse ought to have (L6^v). For references to *The English Physitian* and his translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, see G1^v, G4^v, K1^r.

the attack on the College, and also removed was Culpeper's original call for the establishment of a free state, a system of government he likened to a band of ants who work collectively for their common good without need of a monarchy (*DM* (1651), D5^v-6^r). These small alterations, presumably introduced as Cole saw the edition through the press, reflect his growing sensitivity to a changing political situation.

The structure and organisation of Book II also differs from the first edition. A distinction is made in the first between the physical and astrological development of the foetus: in the second these are treated separately. New material is included on the formation of the foetus, along with an expanded section describing its supposed astrological development (*DM* (1653), E1^{r-v}, E5^v-F2^r). Inserted into Book II is a new illustrative engraving of the position of the foetus in the womb. It is far more detailed than the illustration in the 1651 edition and is a more accurate copy of the figure in Adrian van den Spiegilius' (1578-1625) *De Formato Foeto* ([Padua], 1626) (cf. Illustrations 9, 10, 17). New remedies are given to promote conception, ease delivery, bring away the afterbirth, and for the relief of afterbirth pains (*DM* (1653), K1^v-2^r, K6^v, L2^r). A new section on the 'Content of [the] mind' referred the reader to Jeremiah Burroughes' *The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment*, a book first published in 1648 by Cole, for the best medicine to ensure a contented mind (*DM* (1653), G7^v). Despite claiming in 1651 that if he had missed any terms in the glossary at the end of the book he would 'willing[ly] ... satisfie all ... at the next edition', no changes were made when the text was revised (*DM* (1651), P8^v).

The increase in the number of obstetrical books following Culpeper's *Directory* brought new commercial pressures to bear. Cole's 1653 publication was an attempt to promote Cupeper's *Directory* against the number of new titles that were appearing.⁷⁹ These new advice books were not specifically midwives' manuals but appealed to a female readership keen to assert control over the management of their body. Books began to appear which included chapters or passages dealing with female illness. In 1652 an anonymous translation of Nicolaas Fonteyn's work was published entitled *The Womans Doctor*. This book is divided into four sections that included explanations of the causes, and herbal receipts for, diseases and discomfort specific to women. It also dealt with pregnancy and labour, and gave remedies to cure barrenness, to guard against false conception, to ease birth, and to promote the extraction of a dead foetus.⁸⁰ The anonymous

⁷⁹ On the growth in the market for vernacular books on obstetrics in the 1650s, see Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 36-41.

⁸⁰ Nicolaas Fonteyn, *The Womans Doctour*, trans. (1652), I6^r-L4^v, O1^v-5^v, O8^r-P2^r.

A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets (1652) included 'The Child-bearers Cabinet' consisting of thirty-four paragraph length chapters which dealt with the ordering of pregnancy and delivery.⁸¹ The rest of the book gave remedies for more general ailments. The appeal of the first section of the book was apparent to the publisher Simon Neale who, twenty-three years later, published it as a small pamphlet 'for the Publick Good', entitled *Every Woman Her own Midwife: or a Compleat Cabinet Opened for Child-bearing Women* (1675). Leonard Sowerby's *The Ladies Dispensatory* appeared in 1651, and is divided into sections dealing with the causes of disease in particular parts of the body and possible remedies. The section on 'Simples serving the Matrix' consisted of seventeen chapters, which gave herbal concoctions to promote conception and cause miscarriage.⁸²

In 1654 a new edition of *The Birth of Mankind* was published by the stationers Henry Hood, Abel Roper, and Richard Tomlins. Culpeper's book had taken over the monopoly of the midwives' book market from *The Birth of Mankind*, but its re-launch in 1654 threatened this position. Andrew Hebb, who published the previous edition in 1634, had died 'of a dropsie' on 28 October 1648.⁸³ On 2 July 1653 Hood, Roper, and Tomlins, along with John Legatt, gained the right to the title from John Woodroffe, executor of Hebb's will.⁸⁴ The publishers of this new edition clearly intended to challenge the Culpeper monopoly. It claimed to be 'The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented', but on all three accounts this was an untruth. The influence of Culpeper's *Directory* is also immediately apparent when the title pages of the two books are compared (cf. Illustrations 11, 12). Before 1654, the title pages to the editions of *The Birth of Mankind* were made up from woodcut panels forming a compartment in which only the title, subtitle and imprint were printed.⁸⁵ In 1654, this style is replaced with a title page copied directly from *A Directory for Midwives*. The new subtitle to *The Birth of Mankind* is the same and according to this page the book was divided into the same nine books as Culpeper's *Directory*, although the text remained unaltered from previous editions.

This was a clear threat to Cole's hold over the market which in 1656 was further weakened by the publication of *The Compleat Midwives Practice* (1656). This contained

⁸¹ A.M., *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652), B1^r-E3^v.

⁸² Leonard Sowerby, *The Ladies Dispensatory* (1651), L1^r-M4^v.

⁸³ *Dict. 1641-1667*, p. 95; *The Obituary of Richard Smyth, ... Being a Catalogue of all such Persons as he Knew in their Life: Extending from 1627 to 1674*, ed. by Henry Ellis, Camden Society, 44, (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1989), p. 26.

⁸⁴ *SR 1640-1708*, I, 421.

⁸⁵ D'Arcy Power, 'The Birth of Mankind or the Woman's Book: A Bibliographical Study', *The Library*, 4th ser., 8 (1927), 1-37.

material from *Observations Diuerses sur la Sterilité* (Paris, 1617) by the French midwife Louise Bourgeois, translated by Thomas Chamberlen and unidentified others, and was published in 1656 by Nathaniel Brook, Cole's trade rival.⁸⁶ In the translator's preface Chamberlen grudgingly praised the intentions of the publishers of *The Birth of Mankind* and *The Expert Midwife*, but disparages the content of both books. As for Culpeper, Chamberlen took the opportunity to ridicule his rival.

Mr Culpeper, a man whom we otherwaies respect, should descend so low, as to borrow his imperfect Treatise from those wretched volumes, some of which are before mentioned and we must deale faithfully with you [the reader], that, that small piece of his, intituled, The Directory for *Midwives*, is the most desperately defficient of them all, except he writ for necessity he would could certainly have never been so sinfull to have exposed it to the light.⁸⁷

Like all the midwives' manuals of the period *A Directory for Midwives* was derived from previously published books such as *The Birth of Mankind* and the other treatises on midwifery, obstetrics and gynaecology discussed above. Therefore, although this criticism is true, its assault on Culpeper's reputation was commercially motivated. All protagonists in the production of *The Compleat Midwives Practice* and Culpeper's *Directory* were competing either for sales or patients. Similar attacks in later editions of both books, can only fully be understood if the commercial milieu surrounding their publishing histories is first appreciated.

In response to the expansion in the market for obstetrical books as well as the attacks on Culpeper's book, Cole printed another new edition of Culpeper's *Directory* in 1656, to which he made minor alterations. In the struggle between Cole and Brook over the rights to Culpeper's legacy, the former had managed to secure the backing of Culpeper's widow, and he included her 'Testimony, concerning her Husbands Books to be published after his Death', signed by Alice before ten witnesses on 18 October 1656. This attacked Brook's publication of *Culpeper's Last Legacy* and asserted Cole's right to her dead husband's manuscripts.⁸⁸ Following this testimony, a note from Cole defended the book from Chamberlen's criticism, 'because its conceived to be forged by a Man (without the help of any Women) as impudent in this kind of forgery, as he [Brook] that is mentioned in

⁸⁶ In 1650 Hartlib praised 'The French Queen's Midwives Book written in French but translated also into Latin is an excellent one but especially for the Mineral Medecin of Iron for opening of Women's courses and many other diseases' (HP 28/1/69A).

⁸⁷ [Thomas Chamberlen], 'Preface', in Bourgeois, *The Compleat Midwives Practice*, trans. (1656), A2^r-3^v (A2^v). On Bourgeois see Wendy Perkins, 'Midwives versus Doctors: The Case of Louise Bourgeois', *Seventeenth Century*, 3 (1988), 135-57.

⁸⁸ Alice Culpeper, 'Mrs. Culpepers Information', in *DM* (1656), A1^v-3^r.

Mrs. *Culpepers Epistle*' (*DM* (1656), A3^r). The inclusion of these two sections indicates that Cole intended this edition to establish his right to the medical works of Culpeper and that he was prepared to defend his now deceased author from any criticism levelled at him. Also included was a new advertisement for 'Several Books printed by Peter Cole' which included eleven Culpeper titles (*DM* (1656), A7^r-8^v).

The title page advertised 'five Brass Figures, and Explanations of them ... never printed before', and inserted into Book II was an additional illustrative plate along with the illustration of the foetus first used in 1653 (see Illustrations 13, 14). The new plate contained five diagrams alongside accompanying explanatory text printed separately, and depicted the foetal skeleton, foetus and placenta, and the circulation of blood to the kidneys. The inclusion of costly new plates in each new edition of *A Directory for Midwives* suggest that illustrative materials were an important feature to potential purchasers.

The running title to this edition claimed that the text was enlarged, but it had actually been set from a printed copy of the 1653 edition. Cole revised the preliminary material which introduced the volume, but 'was unwilling to make larg additions to this smal Book' because he did not want the price of the book to increase (*DM* (1656), M7^r). It is only in the penultimate gathering that the printer was forced to deviate from the layout adopted in the 1653 edition. Some chapters in the earlier edition began on fresh pages if the previous chapter had finished over half way down the preceding page. In 1656 the printer ran the chapters on for the last two gatherings to ensure the edition did not exceed twelve gatherings. The only alterations are the inclusion of new advertisements for translations of the works of Vesling, Riolan, and Rivière.⁸⁹ For example, at the end of the introductory passage to the first section of Book I Cole printed the following advertisement:

All these [the sexual organs] are far more exactly described in *Veslingus Anatomy* in English. And also in *Riolanus Anatomy* they are most cleerly described with the diseases incident to these parts and the seat of the diseases. And for the cure of al diseases, see *Riverius Practice of Physick* in English.⁹⁰ (*DM* (1656), B2^v)

Further additions to the text refer the reader to *The English Physitian Enlarged* published in 1653, and the 'last edition of the *London Dispensatory*'.⁹¹ In the final gathering Cole

⁸⁹ Cf. *DM* (1653 and 1656), B2^v, C3^v. In order to make room for the inclusion of the advertisement on C3^v, Cole conflated a table of contents ((1653), C3^v) into prose ((1656), C3^r). The references to Culpeper's translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* are also revised to refer to the 'last' edition (cf. (1653), G1^v; (1656), G2^v).

⁹⁰ The advertisement is repeated on C3^v.

⁹¹ *DM* (1656), G1^v, G4^v, G5^r.

printed a significant preview of his forthcoming books. He advertised a translation of Lazare Rivière's *The Practice of Physick* (1655), and Daniel Sennert's *Thirteen Books of Natural Philosophy* (1659), both supposedly translated by Culpeper. Cole even printed the preface to the section 'Of Womens Diseases' and the contents of the entire book (totalling 24 chapters) of Culpeper's translation of Rivière's book (*DM* (1656), M7^v-8^v). Despite these additions, Culpeper's pledge, 'to instruct you in the knowledge of Herbs before I am half a year elder', had not been removed, even though *The English Physitian* had been published in 1652 and Culpeper had died in 1654 (*DM* (1656), F8^v).⁹²

Competition in the late 1650s had an adverse effect on Cole's business, and in 1660, he reissued copies of the 1656 edition in partnership with his brother, Edward, who had joined him in a business partnership.⁹³ In the 1660s, as we have already seen there is evidence of Cole's attempted reinvention of the Culpeper name with the publication of a new edition of the *Pharmacopoeia* for which the original translation was radically revised by unidentified members of the College. Likewise, in 1662, Cole published a new edition entitled, *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives*, which was not a revision of Culpeper's book, but is actually an abridged translation of the fourth book of Daniel Sennert's *Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1641).⁹⁴ Cole marketed this title to exploit the Culpeper name. Firstly, the elevation of his name to the head of the title page is a sign of the authoritative status which 'Culpeper' had obtained, while its subtitle, 'a guide for women, the second part', meant that the book would have appealed to readers of the first book as it purported to contain supplementary information. However, this book included little that would have been of practical application for a midwife. The majority of the text is devoted to the symptoms and cure of diseases of the womb and problems with menstruation and pregnancy, with a final section on paediatrics. Although a few pages are given over to difficult births, there are no illustrations of the various foetal positions which were a standard issue in midwives' manuals, excepting Culpeper's.⁹⁵ In the text of *Culpeper's Directory* there is no sign of

⁹² Also still included is Culpeper's plea in the conclusion to the book for new information which he would then include in further editions (*DM* (1656), M3^r).

⁹³ According to Wing, extant copies of this edition are held in Yale Historical Medical Library and the library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. I have not been able to physically examine either copy.

⁹⁴ King, 'The Education of Midwives', p 188. I have compared the contents of *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives* against the edition of *Opera Omnia* printed in four volumes at Lyon from 1654 to 1656. The fourth book appears in volume four (pp. 627-790), and is divided into two sections. The first corresponds to the first twelve books of *Culpeper's Directory*, and the second section is translated as 'A Tractate of the Cure of Infants'.

⁹⁵ *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives* (1662), P1^r-3^r.

Culpeper's authorial presence. The absence of the highly motivated attacks typical of his earlier books and the date of publication indicate that Culpeper himself had nothing to do with this translation. It is another example, therefore, of Cole attempting to profit from his author's name into which he had invested heavily. He also printed marginal references to further books which he had published following Culpeper's death, but which were written in Culpeper's voice. For example, 'To cure al diseases Read my *Sennertus, Platerus, Riverius, Bartholinus, and Riolanus*, of the last Edition'.⁹⁶ In 1664, Peter Cole printed the same text, only this time entitled *Practical Physick: the Fourth Book* and correctly identified as a translation of Sennert's book. Cole had set the type from the previous edition, including the fictitious marginal voice of Culpeper, again advertising books with which he had only spurious links.⁹⁷ The removal of the Culpeper name reflected Cole's changing fortunes following the Restoration.

Birth Instruction and Illustration

Sixteenth-century medical writers and physicians attempted to limit the circulation of medical knowledge by restricting it to the Latin language. During that century advances were made in the anatomical procedures undertaken by continental physicians and, with the development of printing techniques and the expansion of the publishing trade across Europe, increasing use was made of the visual image. Patricia Crawford suggests that 'diagrams of female anatomy in medical books were limited to male eyes only'.⁹⁸ But this was not the case. In the vernacular midwives' manuals of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, descriptions and illustrations of the reproductive organs were included.

In his recent essay, 'Viewing the Body', Robert G. Frank examines the way in which anatomical knowledge and ideas about the body and its form 'diffused across the boundary between expert knowledge and middle-class structure'.⁹⁹ I will argue that this division was between professional scholarly learning and the tacit knowledge of the

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, II^v. Also, see N3^v, P1^v, S6^v.

⁹⁷ Daniel Sennert, *Practical Physick: the Fourth Book*, trans. by Abdiah Cole and others (1664). New passages advertising Cole's stock were also included to fill the blank space following the end of a chapter (see H1^r, M1^r, N5^v, V7^v).

⁹⁸ Patricia Crawford, 'Sexual Knowledge in England, 1500-1750', p. 86.

⁹⁹ Robert G. Frank, 'Viewing the Body: Reframing Man and Disease in Commonwealth and Restoration England', in *The Restoration Mind*, ed. by W. Gerald Marshall (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 65-110 (p. 67)

working midwife.¹⁰⁰ Frank's focus is on those translations and original surgical and anatomical books published in English, such as the works of John Banister and Thomas Vicary. Publishers and authors produced these type of books for surgeons and their apprentices, rather than a lay audience. Midwives' manuals, on the other hand, included simplified information taken from these anatomical books and were read by lay readers as well as professional audiences. Culpeper himself was claimed by Cole to have translated Johann Vesling's *Syntagma Anatomicum* (Frankfurt, 1641) into English as *The Anatomy of the Body of Man* published in 1653 for 'young *Physitians* and *Chyurgions*'.¹⁰¹ Although Cole published this book during the author's lifetime, Culpeper appears to have had little influence on its contents. It contains none of the familiar Culpeper tirades against the College or its monopoly. Again, in 1657, Peter Cole published a translation of *Encheiridium Anatomicum et Pathologicum* (Leiden, 1649) by Jean Riolan, professor of anatomy at Paris, intended for young physicians and surgeons. Midwives' manuals, including Culpeper's, offered anatomical explanations necessary for the midwife to know 'the Tools by which nature doth her work', but their level of detail was far greater than was necessary to the quotidian experiences of a midwife.

The founder of scientific anatomy is regarded as Andreas Vesalius (1514-64) who became professor of anatomy at Padua in 1537.¹⁰² In 1543 Vesalius's *De Fabrica* was published at Basel, in which the structure of the human body was revealed in 663 folio pages with over three hundred illustrations. The success of this book, and the source of its subsequent fame, is founded upon its outstanding plates which are a landmark in the history of anatomical illustration.¹⁰³ Numerous Vesalian copyists followed his illustrations. The work of one engraver, Thomas Geminus (*d.* 1562), associates the first midwives' manual published in English, *The Birth of Mankind* with the anatomical work of Vesalius. Geminus was an émigré working in London, and he produced two simplified engravings from *De Fabrica* for the publisher Thomas Raynald. These plates were included in the revised edition of *The Birth of Mankind* published in 1545, and are believed to be among

¹⁰⁰ On the contrast between 'tacit' knowledge and professional culture see Göranson and Florin, 'Introduction', in *Artificial Intelligence, Culture and Language*, ed. by Göranson and Florin, 3-5.

¹⁰¹ Johann Vesling, *The Anatomy of the Body of Man*, trans. (1653), title page.

¹⁰² Russell, *British Anatomy 1525-1800*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰³ On Vesalius, his career, and the background to the publication of *De Fabrica* see Thornton and Reeves, *Medical Illustration*, pp. 55-61; K.B. Roberts and J.D.W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 126-43; Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995; repr. 1996), pp. 66-78.

the first copperplate engravings in an English book.¹⁰⁴ Despite this, subsequent editions of *The Birth of Mankind* reverted to inferior but cheaper wood-cut illustrations (see Illustration 15). In *The Expert Midwife* (1637), similar illustrations revealed the dissected structure and arrangement of the female reproductive organs.

Along with such detailed illustrations, the use of the vernacular for texts on obstetrics and gynaecology was also controversial. In *The Birth of Mankind* (1545), Raynald was forced to defend the book's appearance in English against objections that the gynaecological information therein was being read by 'euery boy and knaue ... as openly as the tales of Roben hood'.¹⁰⁵ Patricia Crawford gives the example of James McMath who, in 1694, a hundred-and-fifty years later, omitted any account of the sexual organs in his book, 'lest it might seem execrable to the more chast and shamefast, through Bawdiness and Impurity of Words'.¹⁰⁶ A further example of this controversy is the early publishing history of Crooke's *Microcosmographia* (1615), already mentioned in Chapter One (pp. 29-30). Crooke's book included sections on the anatomy of the sexual organs accompanied by illustrations borrowed from Vesalius, to which the College objected and tried to have removed. In *The Expert Midwife* (1637) the translator answered the charge that 'it is unfit that such matters should bee published in the vulgar tongue, for young heads to prie into', with the following defence:

My intentions herein are honest and iust, and my labours I bequeath to all grave, modest and discreet woman ... And whose helps upon occassion of extreame necessity may be useful and good, both for mother, child, and mid-wife. But young and raw heads, Idle servingman, prophane fiddles, scoffes, jesters, rogues: ... I neither meant it to you, neither is it fit for you.¹⁰⁷

According to *The Birth of Mankind*, 'the simplest Midwife which can reade, may both vnderstand for her better instruction, and also other women that have need of her helpe'.¹⁰⁸ However, the inclusion of anatomical information is also suggestive of a male readership as Raynald acknowledged in his prologue to the 'women Reader':

There is no man whatsoever hee bee, that shall become an absolute and perfect Physitian, unlesse he haue an absolute and perfect

¹⁰⁴ Harvey Cushing, *A Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius* (New York: Schuman's, 1943), pp. 119-22; Thornton and Reeves, *Medical Illustration*, p. 61; Russell, *British Anatomy 1525-1800*, p. 3; LeRoy Crummer, 'The Copper Plates in Raynalde and Geminus', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 20 (1926), 53-56.

¹⁰⁵ *BM* (1545), preface, quoted by Eccles, 'The Early Use of English for Midwiferies 1500-1700', p. 381.

¹⁰⁶ James McMath, *The Expert Midwife* (Edinburgh, 1694), preface, quoted by Crawford, 'Sexual Knowledge in England, 1500-1750', p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ *EM* (1637), A4^v-5^r.

¹⁰⁸ *BM* (1634), A2^r.

knowledge of all the inwards and outwards of mans and womans bodies.¹⁰⁹

These early midwives' books were written and translated by professional males and established a trend that subsequent manuals followed.¹¹⁰ Guillemeau wrote his originally for the 'young Chirurgian', in which he argued for the importance of a surgeon's attendance at a mother's delivery.¹¹¹ The inclusion of Latin receipts will have been of little use to the practising midwife or a young surgeon, very few of whom could have read Latin.¹¹² In this respect, the translator of Guillemeau's book produced a work that fundamentally respected the male dominated medical hierarchy.

Culpeper argued that it was vital for a midwife to possess knowledge of the anatomy and workings of the reproductive organs:

Above all things I hold it most fitting, that Women (especially Midwives) should be well skiled in the exact knowledge of the Anatomy of these Parts. ... A Midwife is ... Natures helper, and how can any help Nature, and not be well skilled in the Tools by which Nature doth her work? (*DM*(1651), B1^{r-v})

A Directory for Midwives begins with an introducing to the 'Vessels dedicated to GENERATION', and proceeds to describe both the female and male reproductive organs (*DM* (1651), B1^r-D4^r). Culpeper briefly described the womb and 'privy passage', and singled the classical works of Galen and Hippocrates for criticism. Describing the uterus, Culpeper wrote:

It differs much in form from the *Matrix* of Beasts, and that *Galen* was ignorant of, for indeed and in truth, *Galen* never saw a Man nor Woman dissected in his life time, it being accounted abominable in his time to use such supposed cruelty upon a dead Corps, and therefore he dissected only Apes, which was the cause he wrote such an Apish Anatomy. (*DM*(1651), D1^r)

In Book II on the 'Formation of the Child in the Womb', Culpeper admitted that it was difficult to learn anything about this because 'most Women that lie on their death beds when they are with child, miscarry before they die' (*DM* (1651), E4^r). Despite this warning, he still criticised Galen and Vesalius who, he claimed, 'never saw a Woman Anatomized' (*DM* (1651), E4^r). The basis for Culpeper's attack was the medical hierarchy which deemed it below a physician's rank to dirty his hand in surgical practice. This was traditionally the work of barber-surgeons. Physicians would attend dissections but would

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, B2^r.

¹¹⁰ Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982), p. 17.

¹¹¹ *CB*, 2nd edn (1635), 2^r1^v.

¹¹² For examples of Latin receipts, see *CB*, 2nd edn (1635), F3^r, F3^v, F4^v, G1^r, G2^r, G3^{r-v}, G4^v, H1^r.

not demean themselves by taking up the knife. In contrast, Culpeper claimed to have seen ‘one Woman opened that died in Child-bed, not delivered, and that is more by one than most of our *Dons* have seen’ (*DM* (1651), E4^{r-v}). Culpeper also referred to the work of Hippocrates, Realdo Columbus (1510-59), and Spegilius, who all described the position of the foetus in the womb. Culpeper confirmed the accuracy of this depiction, and claimed to have been ‘not unskilled in most Anatomists that have written, and have been an Eye-witness’ to all the anatomical information in the *Directory* (*DM* (1651), B3^r).

In Jane Sharp’s *The Midwives Book*, the first manual authored by a female and published twenty years after Culpeper’s *Directory* in 1671, anatomical descriptions and illustrations of the reproductive organs were included.¹¹³ Likewise, in James Wolveridge’s *Speculum Matricis: or, The Expert Midwives Handmaid*, also published in 1671, similar illustrations of the female organs copied from *The Expert Midwife* appear. However, the vast majority of births that midwives attended were uncomplicated and delivered from head presentations and the degree of anatomical detail in these manuals was therefore not necessary for the everyday work of the average midwife.¹¹⁴ This raises the question why this information was necessary at all. Audrey Eccles suggests, the ‘triumph of English’ was inevitable due to ‘the social and educational status of midwives, and the state of midwifery’.¹¹⁵ Before Jane Sharp’s manual in 1671 all English midwiferies were written or translated by male physicians. Their work sought to raise the professional standards of the midwife in the hierarchy of practitioners by integrating the learning of the male medical elite into a midwife’s portfolio of knowledge. That is, these manuals sought to apply knowledge derived from the exclusively male dissection theatre to the midwives’ practice. It is questionable, though, just how this type of information and level of anatomical detail could assist a midwife.

Throughout his *Directory* Culpeper mentioned an array of medical and anatomy authors.¹¹⁶ Despite the exalted medical ancestry evident in the passages on anatomy in the early manuals, Roger Thompson in his study of bawdy literature identifies the ‘quasi-

¹¹³ Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book: or, the Whole Art of Midwifery* (1671), B1^r-F8^v. See Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women’s Writing 1649-88* (London: Virago Press, 1988), pp. 185-87.

¹¹⁴ Wilson estimates that normal births accounted for 95 per cent of deliveries that midwives attended (*The Making of Man-Midwifery*, pp. 11-24; ‘Memorial’, pp. 143-46).

¹¹⁵ Eccles, ‘The Early Use of English for Midwiferies 1500-1700’, p. 377.

¹¹⁶ In *DM* (1651) Culpeper refers to (among others): Avicenna (C2^r), Andreas Vesalius (E4^r), Jean Fernel (E1^r), Spegilius, Bartholomaeus (E1^r), Albert Magnus (K2^v), Rembert Dodoens (K4^v), André Du Laurens (K4^v), Aëtius of Amida (M7^v), Helkiah Crooke (N6^r), Alexander Read (N5^v), as well as Galen, Hippocrates, and Aristotle. This does not mean that he necessarily read them: more likely, he copied them out from reading secondary books and compiling them, possibly, in a commonplace-book.

instructional manual of sexual technique' as a popular medium for such literature to appear in print.¹¹⁷ David Cressy also believes that this genre of medical literature 'risked pandering to prurient interest in the slippery passage between gynaecology and pornography'.¹¹⁸ Some contemporary readers did associate *A Directory for Midwives* with sexual literature and this indicates that Culpeper's and other manuals were read in at least two ways: firstly, as instructive manuals, and secondly as a seventeenth-century sex book.

In his prefatory letter to John Hester's translation of Leonard Fioravanti's *Three Exact Pieces* (1652), William Johnson attacked *A Directory for Midwives*. Johnson was employed as the College of Physician's chemist and his work was therefore politically motivated. Nevertheless, he wrote of 'a Gentleman and Scholars censure upon your Book, who perusing some passage in it in a booksellers shop, asked whether *Culpeper* made that obsceane book or no[t], and being answered he did, replied, truly *Culpeper* hath made *Culpaper* fit to wipe ones breech withall'.¹¹⁹ Culpeper replied in 1653 when he revised his *Directory* and claimed to have written for 'al honest people' who had to:

Search out the secrets of Nature, whereby we may preserve our own lives the more to glorifie our Maker, and to communicate that Knowledge, which by our industry we have obtained, unto the Sons of men our Brethren. (*DM*(1653), B1^v, B2^v)

Another example of the contemporary association between midwives' manuals and more bawdy literature given by Thompson is from the anonymous *The Practical Part of Love* published in 1660.¹²⁰ In the library of 'Love's University', are Culpeper's *Directory*, *The Compleat Midwife*, *The Birth of Mankind*, and *Child Birth or the Happy Deliverie of Women*, alongside more bawdy and pornographic titles.¹²¹ Later in the century, Thomas Brown attacked John Dryden for translating 'a certain luscious part of *Lucretius* ... [fit] only to keep company with *Culpeppers* Midwife, or the *English* Translation of Aloysia Sigea'.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), p.21.

¹¹⁸ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 39.

¹¹⁹ William Johnson, 'Friend Culpeper', in Leonardo Fioravanti, *Three Exact Pieces*, trans. (1652), B1^r-4^v (B3^v).

¹²⁰ Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, p. 161. This claimed to be 'extracted out of the Extravagant and Lascivious LIFE of a Fair but Subtle Female' (*The Practical Part of Love* (1660), title page).

¹²¹ *The Practical Part of Love*, pp. 39-40. Titles included: *Venus Undrest*; 'the Life of Mother Cunny never yet printed in Folio'; *Francious Bawdy History*, *Lusty Dollery*, *Venus her Cabinet Unlocked*; 'The Chrafty Whore reprinted in Folio, with the *English Bawd*'.

¹²² Cited in David Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745* (New York: University Books, 1965), p. 6. Foxon does not give any substantive references, but Brown wrote the anonymously published *The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion* (1688) in response to Dryden's (Mr. Bay) translation of passages from Lucretius in his *Sylvæ: or, the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* (1685). See *The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion* (1688), B1^v.

Other contemporary readers also associated midwives' manuals with titles that intended to give sexual titillation rather than obstetrical instruction. Often young readers curious about sex hoped to learn about such matters from a midwives' manual or medical text. One such reader, identified by Mary Fissell, was John Cannon who read his mother's *A Directory for Midwives* to glean sexual information.¹²³

Aristotles Master-Piece (1684) is regarded by modern commentators as a piece of lewd literature. In the 1680s, though, it was declared as 'very necessary for all Midwives, Nurses, and Young-Married Women', and, along with other titles using the name 'Aristotle', offered a mixture of medical folk-lore and medical knowledge distilled from printed authorities.¹²⁴ In William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* (1677), the litigious widow Blackacre is offered Culpeper's *Directory*, *Aristotles Problems*, and *The Compleat Midwife* by the bookseller's boy.¹²⁵ The association between Culpeper's manual and *Aristotles Problems*, which historians treat as a vehicle for sexual titillation in the late seventeenth century, is revealing. *Aristotles Master-Piece* included information on the practice of midwifery which is very detailed and its author was wary less the description of the female sexual organs 'may be turned by some Lascivious and lude Person into ridicule'.¹²⁶ The illustrative material included in a particular book is often an indicator as to its reader's interests, and as I have shown the early midwives' manuals included woodcuts of the dissected sexual organs derived from the anatomical textbooks of the time.

If *Aristotles Master-Piece* might be read for titillation then we would expect the illustrative woodcuts included in the book to be of the sexual organs. Instead, illustrations of 'monstrous' births are given which demonstrate the folk-lore which surrounded pregnancy and birth. For example, woodcuts of a half-man-half-dog and a winged child with the foot of an eagle are given. Illustrations of these fantastical births pandered to the public's morbid fascination with such images and were included to show how God could punish sinful and sexually deviant persons.¹²⁷ These images are seen nearly fifty years earlier in *The Expert Midwife*.¹²⁸ The public's interest in such fantastical births is evident

¹²³ John Cannon's diary (Somerset Record Office, DD/SAS C/1193/4, p. 41), cited by Fissell, 'Gender and Generation', p. 456, n. 93.

¹²⁴ *Aristotles Master-Piece* (1684), quoted by Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, p. 162.

¹²⁵ Wycherley, 'The Plain Dealer', Act III, I, 282-85.

¹²⁶ *Aristotles Master-Piece* (1684), E4^v.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, I1^r, I2^r, I3^r, I4^r, I5^r, I6^r.

¹²⁸ For example, the following: 'In the yeere 1547. at Cracovia, a very strange Monster was borne, which lived three daies; his head did somewhat resemble the shape of a mans, but that his eyes flamed like fire; his Nose was long & hooked; and stood like the shin-bone of the legge, or trunck of an Elephant, in the joynts of his members, neere the shoulders, upon the elbowes and the knees, there appeared dogs heads;

from further titles such as *A Declaration of a Strange and Wonderfull Monster: Born in Kirkham Parish in Lancashire* published in 1646. This pamphlet included a wood-cut illustration of a headless body on its title page and included testimonies to its existence by the minister of the parish, Mr. Fleetwood, and the midwife, Mrs. Gattaker.

Roy Porter and Leslie Hall suggest that *Aristotles Master-Piece* should be ‘seen as part of the commercialization of popular sexual beliefs into print culture than as a tool crafted for the control of minds and manners’.¹²⁹ Their analysis grants this book and its predecessors a multifunctional status. The illustrations of ‘monstrous’ births sought to deter illicit sexual practices in the population and as such were intended to direct sexual belief and behaviour. However, the advice for midwives was excellent and the descriptions of the sexual organs informative rather than titillating. To a twentieth-century reader this book seems only quasi-medical due to its blend of folk-lore, sexual anatomical details, and herbal receipts. But placed within the social complexity of its production and original reception it was informative and instructive, and no doubt many readers will have read it as such. The similarity between *Aristotles Master-Piece*, Culpeper’s *A Directory for Midwives*, and the earlier *The Birth of Mankind* and *The Expert Midwife* argues that to dismiss the ‘quasi-instructional manual of sexual technique’ as a form of lewd literature, as Thompson appears to do, fails to relate their content to the experiences of sex, pregnancy, and child-birth in the early-modern period.

In fact, *The Expert Midwife*, Guillemeau’s *Child Birth*, and *The Birth of Mankind* included technical advice relating to actual delivery. They gave instruction on the use of the birthing-stool during delivery, and included illustrations showing the different foetal positions and the methods to deliver the child safely (see Illustrations 18, 19).¹³⁰ These birthing-figures were included in the manuals published in the 1670s but are conspicuous by their absence in Culpeper’s *Directory*.¹³¹ Willughby was critical of the divisive use to which such illustrative material could be put. He tells of one midwife who would show her clients ‘these pictures of the children, assuring them, that, by these, they bee directed, and

his hands and feete were like unto the feete of a Goose; he had two eyes above his Navell; a taile behinde like a beasts, having a hooke at the end’ (*EM* (1637), L7^r).

¹²⁹ Roy Porter and Lesley Hall, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 51.

¹³⁰ *BM* (1634), H2^v, H4^r-5^v. *CB*, 2nd edn (1635), L3^v-M4^v, N4^v-R3^r.

¹³¹ Similar illustrations appear in *BM* (1634); *EM* (1637); *CB* (1612); Bourgeois, *Compleat Midwives Practice*, trans. (1656); William Sermon, *The Ladies Companion, or The English Midwife* (1671); Sharp, *The Midwives Book* (1671); James Wolveridge, *Speculum Matricis: or, The Expert Midwives Handmaid* (1671).

perfected, and much enlightened in the way of midwifery'.¹³² From an analysis of Willughby's case notes, Wilson has calculated that ninety per cent of the births attended by Willughby were problematic to some degree, while a female-midwife might see an arm presentation, for example, only once every three years.¹³³ In *The Making of Man-Midwifery* (1995) Wilson identifies the presence of the male medical practitioner in the birthing-room during difficult and irregular deliveries as the genesis of the man-midwife. The inclusion of information on such deliveries in these manuals could therefore be indicative of a male readership as well as a midwife seeking advice for those infrequent cases.

It is striking that Culpeper did not include similar instruction. However, in his preface he argued that knowledge of 'the *Practical part*' of midwifery, the act of delivery itself, belong to the midwife only (*DM* (1651), ¶4^f). This omission appears to have been deliberate, for Culpeper wrote,

I have not medled with your Callings nor Manual Operations, lest I should discover my Ignorance like *Phormio* the Phylosopher, who having never seen Battel, undertook to reade a Military Lecture before *Hanibal*, the best Soldier in the World. *DAME NATURE* was the Mother of what I have written, and it hath been verified by her two Sons, *Dr Reason*, and *Dr Experience*.¹³⁴ (*DM* (1651), M6^v)

The omission of the usually obligatory series of figures depicting various possible foetal positions in Culpeper's *Directory* is important. It makes a statement not only about the content of his book but also supports the midwife in her battle with the male practitioner infringing upon her vocation. By keeping such knowledge secret Culpeper hoped to protect their monopoly. Culpeper knew midwives, probably through his wife who was no doubt practising during this period, despite only receiving a licence in 1665, and was aware of their uncertain predicament during the 1640s (*DM* (1651), D1^v).

The result of this exclusion again indicates that the book was intended to serve more as a 'guide for women' rather than, as its title claimed, *A Directory for Midwives*. It was not his intention Culpeper wrote 'to teach Midwives how to perform their Office, for that they know already, or at least should know, It being far beside my intent to tell them what they know already, but to instruct them in what they know not' (*DM* (1651), L8^v). Most seventeenth-century mothers were delivered without problem following the course of

¹³² Willughby, *Observations in Midwifery*, p. 341, quoted by King, 'The Education of Midwives', p. 190.

¹³³ Wilson, 'Memorial of Eleanor Willughby', pp. 143-46.

¹³⁴ This image is employed by Elizabeth Cellier in *To Dr. -----* (1688): she mocks the physician who 'fetches his Book, studies the Case, and teaches the Midwife to perform her work; this is like the philosopher Phormio, who read a military lecture to Hannibal the Great' (p. 7). See King, 'The Education of Midwives', p. 193.

‘*DAME NATURE*’ and there was therefore no need to describe a mother’s actual delivery. Rather, as Culpeper argued, a midwife would learn the natural course of delivery through experience; that is, through the ‘unofficial’ system of apprenticeship described by Evenden-Nagy.¹³⁵

Even non-specialist books, such as *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets*, published in 1652, included information directly relevant to the procedures of birth.¹³⁶ The midwife, it reported, should follow the following custom:

When the pangs of child-bearing women increase more and more, let the Midwife inwardly annoint the secret ... parts [with medicinal oils] ... nor let her set the woman in the seat, before she perceiveth the womb to be loosed and ... the humours to flow ... Moreover, she may not bring her to labour ... before the birth shew it self to her view ... But she shall ... diligently observe on what part the birth move itself, for if it come the right way, she shall annoint ... the secret parts with ... Oils; and if it declineth to the sides, she shall with both hands govern and dispose the belly, that it may fall to the mouth of the womb ... And if the hand or feet shew itself first, the Midwife, with a soft and gentle hand, ... shall gently reduce it into place.¹³⁷

Likewise, in Chamberlen’s translation of Bourgeois’s *The Compleat Midwives Practice* (1656) chapters described the preparation of the birthing-room, and the procedures of delivery in detail:

The Midwife seeing the birth come naturally, ... must now encourage her patient, admonishing her to shut her mouth, and to hold her breath, and to strain and endeavour with her lower parts; Neither ought the Midwife be too hasty, ... And here is to be noted, the ignorance of some women, who for haste to be gone to other women, do tear the membranes with their nail, to the danger, both of the woman, and of the childe, ... When the head comes forth ... the Midwife must take it gently between her two hands, and then when the pains increase, slipping down her hands under the armholes, gently drawing forth the Infant, ... This must be done with a very delicate and tender hand.¹³⁸

This is the very type of detail omitted in Culpeper’s *Directory*. Its exclusion was clearly intentional because even if Culpeper himself had no practical experience of delivery this material could easily have been copied from any one of the manuals already in print.¹³⁹ Here is a male author, prepared to attack the College of Physicians and its medical monopoly, while at the same time is willing to protect the secrets of midwifery knowledge.

¹³⁵ Evenden-Nagy, ‘Mothers and their Midwives in Seventeenth-century London’, p. 9.

¹³⁶ A.M., *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652), B4^v-C2^v.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, C1^{r-v}.

¹³⁸ Bourgeois, *Compleat Midwives Practice*, trans. (1656), G1^v-2^r.

¹³⁹ For example, *BM* (1634), G5^r-H7^v; *EM* (1637), F6^r-G5^r.

The fact, then, that Culpeper deliberately chose to respect the midwives' monopoly is important. His omission endorsed the system of apprenticeship, observation and experience through which a midwife learnt this tacit knowledge.

During the 1660s there was a hiatus in the production of midwives' books. This may have been due to the reintroduction of episcopal licensing which gave control of the profession to those who knew nothing about pregnancy. But, in the 1670s, manuals written by midwives began to be published in which writers such as Elizabeth Cellier and Jane Sharp decried the lack of medical education for midwives. New manuals by Sharp and James Wolveridge included text borrowed from Culpeper's *Directory* and *The Expert Midwife*.¹⁴⁰

William Sermon's (c. 1629-79) *The Ladies Companion, or The English Midwife*, also published in 1671, is addressed to the 'most Accomplish'd Ladies and Gentlewomen of ENGLAND', and written for 'the use and benefit of my country'.¹⁴¹ Included are the birthing-figures and procedures for delivery, along with the surgical methods to extract a dead foetus, found in all but Culpeper's midwives' manual. Sermon argued from self-interest that only a male surgeon should undertake to deliver a difficult labour.¹⁴² He practised in Bristol where he received a certificate vouching for his cures after successfully attending the Duke of Albemarle for dropsy. Following this success he was awarded a medical degree by Cambridge University at the request of Charles II, and was later made physician-in-ordinary to the king.¹⁴³ As well as *The Ladies Companion*, Thomas printed numerous editions of *An Advertisement Concerning Those Most Famous and Safe Cathartique and Diuretique Pills* for Sermon during the 1670s.¹⁴⁴ This small pamphlet advertised Sermon's pills and identified Thomas as their retailer. In *The Ladies Companion* Sermon and Thomas took advantage of the advertising medium of print. The book includes

¹⁴⁰ For example, see passages on testing for pregnancy in *DM* (1651), I8^v; *EM* (1637), N5^v-6^f; Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, H4^v; Wolveridge, *Speculum Matricis*, H1^v-2^f. For similar attacks on anatomists, see Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, K3^f; *DM* (1651), E4^{r-v}. On Sharp see Eve Keller, 'Mrs Jane Sharp: Midwifery and the Critique of Medical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century England', *Women's Writing: The Elizabethan to Victorian Period*, 2 (1995), 101-11; Towler and Bramall, *Midwives in History and Society*, pp. 91-96.

¹⁴¹ Sermon, *The Ladies Companion*, A3^{r-v}.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, K7^f.

¹⁴³ *DNB*; *CSPD 1669*, p. 441.

¹⁴⁴ William Sermon, *An Advertisement concerning those most famous and safe cathartique and diuretique Pills*, 4th edn (1671). Thomas also published Sermon's *A Friend to the Sick; or, the Honest English Mans Preservation. Shewing the Causes, Symptoms, and Cures of Diseases ... With a Particular Discourse of the Dropsie, Scurvie, and Yellow Jaundice ... Whereunto is Added, a True Relation of Some ... Cures Effected by the Authors ... Cathartique and Diuretique Pills* (1673).

frequent references to the author's cathartic and diuretic pills, and includes the following advertisement, printed at the end of the first gathering:

Dr. *William Sermon* his Famous Cathartique & diuretique Pills, so well known for the Cure of the Dropsie, Scurvy, and all other Salt, Sharp, and Watry Humors, &c., are sold by *Edward Thomas* at the *Adam and Eve* in Little *Brittain*; who is Solely Deputed by the said Doctor to make the Sale thereof, and he to appoint others to sell them not only in the City of *London*, But in all other parts of the Kingdom. The 4s. Box contains 20 pills, the 8s. Box 40 pills, the 12s. contains 60 pills.¹⁴⁵

Thomas and Sermon hoped to profit from exploiting the retail network which had developed along with the expansion of the book trade. The experiences of the bookseller could easily be adapted to profit from selling medicines. This resulted not only in the promotion of new medicines from a bookseller's stall but also the printing of pamphlets, broadsheets, and sheets to advertise these medicines, their producers, and the outlets from where they could be had.¹⁴⁶

James Wolveridge likewise called for the presence of the male surgeon in his *Speculum Matricis*.¹⁴⁷ In the sections dealing with the art of delivery Wolveridge adopted a catechistical structure relating a dialogue between a male doctor (Philadelphos) and a female midwife (Mrs Eutrapelia). Birthing-figures are included in the book, and when Mrs Eutrapelia is quizzed by the male physician he leads her into describing the birthing stool and revealing the procedures of delivery.¹⁴⁸ Mrs Eutrapelia is presented as a midwife with skill and knowledge derived from her own experiences. However, when the interlocutors turned to the application of surgical procedures in difficult labours Wolveridge chose to use Mrs Eutrapelia's voice to recommend that such instances should be turned over to 'learned Physitians, and Chirurgeons, ... both for assistance and direction'.¹⁴⁹ In contrast to Wolveridge and Sermon's manuals, Jane Sharp's book on midwifery was written for the *female*-midwife and sought to protect her practical knowledge.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ William Sermon, *The Ladies Companion*, A8^v. For references to his medicines, see B8^r, C1^r, D1^v.

¹⁴⁶ See John Alden, 'Pills and Publishing: Some Notes on the English Book Trade, 1660-1715', *The Library*, 5th ser., 7 (1952), 21-37; and *Decline*, pp. 38-45. Another example of the use of print to advertise a practitioner's medicines is in *Medicatrix, or the Woman-Physician* (1675). This book was a vindication by Mary Trye of Dr. Thomas O'Dowde 'against [the] abusive reflections of Henry Stubbe, a Physician at Warwick' (title page). Although this title does not contain any medicinal information, Trye does take the opportunity to advertise her medicines in the final leaf of the book.

¹⁴⁷ Herbert R. Spencer, 'Wolveridge's "Speculum Matricis" (1671), with Notes on Two MS. Copies in the Society's Library', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 20 (1926), 1080-86.

¹⁴⁸ Wolveridge, *Speculum Matricis*, C6^v, D4^r-F7^v.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, G7^v.

¹⁵⁰ See Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, pp. 185-86.

Of all the manuals published during the century, Culpeper's *Directory* is the only one to exclude birthing-figures and the procedures to be followed during natural and difficult births. Material on male and female anatomy attempted to supplement the midwives' knowledge, whilst at the same time subjecting the vocation to the male professional hierarchy. This brought competition into the medical marketplace and led to what Roy Porter has termed the '[p]opularization of expertise'.¹⁵¹ These manuals privileged formal and professional education over the daily experiences of the midwife which remain unrecorded in these manuals. This movement towards the medicalisation of birth was responsible for the emergence of the man-midwife. In the last decades of the century, the midwifery manual was divisive in the dominance of the book learned male over the formally uneducated but experienced female-midwife. However, if Culpeper's manual is located in the medical and book trade marketplace of the 1650s, then the commercialism that Porter locates in the 1680s is already apparent.

¹⁵¹ Roy Porter, 'The Literature of Sexual Advice Before 1800', in *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science*, ed. by Porter and Teich, 134-57 (p. 135).

5: Page-Layout and the Structure of Medical Books

The purpose of all printing, whether of words or of pictures, is to communicate – ideas, information, instructions or emotions.

Herbert Spencer,
The Visible Word (1969), p. 40

... hereby tounge are knowen, knowledge groweth, judgement increaseth, bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is sene, the Doctours be read, storyes be opened, tymes compared, truth decerned, falsehode detected, and with finger poynted, and all ... thorough the benefite of printyng.¹

John Foxe,
Actes & Monuments (1576)

The scope of bibliography is no longer restricted to the physical processes of production and reproduction of printed books. Modern bibliographers are also concerned with the transmission of meaning through the social network of author, printer and reader. In this transmission the presentation of the text is an important facet of a reader's understanding.² Consequently, the decisions of the printer, compositor, and publisher concerning format, style and type are important. From the sixteenth century, authors too were aware that readers' perceptions of their work was influenced by such decisions. Literary scholars have only recently begun to appreciate the intricacies of this. Printed *mise-en-page* is of paramount importance to the presentation of information and, as this chapter demonstrates, in popular medical receipt books it offered new possibilities for the ordering of information.

In his work on the physical structure of a book and its production, Gérard Genette argues that any text rarely exists in 'an unadorned state' but is accompanied by 'a certain number of ... productions ... [that] surround it and extend it, precisely in order to *present*

¹ Quoted by Frederick Kiefer, *Writing on the Renaissance Stage: Written Words, Printed Pages, Metaphoric Books* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), p. 65.

² See George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle, 'Introduction', in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. by George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 1-6. William Slights' case study of the relationship between the marginalia and main text of John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials* (1577), shows how this could influence a reader's perception of the work ('The Cosmopolitics of Reading: Navigating the Margins of John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*', in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. by D.C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 199-227).

it'.³ These values form the paratext of a work that enable 'a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public'.⁴ Authority for the paratext is divided between its epitext and peritext. The epitext operates outside the book, for example, reviews and author interviews, whereas the peritext functions within the covers of the book, and often constitutes publishing house conventions which determine the material construction of a book. The notion of a peritext when applied to early printed books can reveal the complex relationships between author, compositor, printer and publisher whereby the decisions they made determined the visual appearance of a printed text.⁵ Socio-bibliographers, such as D.F. McKenzie, argue that the crux of any textual or bibliographical study of an early modern text is the recognition of the complexity of this relationship.

In this chapter I argue that the significance of typography and page-layout in medical receipt books demonstrate the collaboration between the printer and writer, or, at least, their manuscript. I examine its application by Culpeper and Cole in the two translations of the *Pharmacopoeia* and *The English Physitian*. In the vernacular medical books I discuss, the arrangement of the printed page, and the choices of type-face and size were significant components allowing readers access to the information they contained. Typical bibliographical factors such as format, frequency of publication and edition sizes give clues about a book's popularity and readers – the internal typographical arrangement determine a reader's understanding of that book.⁶ I survey printers' innovations to the

³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1. Peter Lindenbaum has usefully interpreted Genette's conception to include 'all those textual phenomena which may not strictly be part of the text itself, but which in effect reside at the margins, on the threshold of the work and which shape and even control how a reader apprehends the text' ('Sidney's *Arcadia* as Cultural Monument and Proto-Novel', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), 80-94 (p. 84)). Marie Maclean's exposition upon the notion of paratext, describes the 'signs and "fringes" which accompany and surround the text itself' and include: the author's identity, be it by name or a pseudonym; a text's title and subtitle; cover notes; blurbs; dedications; notes; and prefaces ('Pretexts and Paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral', *New Literary History*, 22 (1991), 273-79 (p. 273)).

⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 1.

⁵ Pamela Neville-Sington has demonstrated how, what she terms 'forensic bibliography', that is, close examination of the actual book which a contemporary reader held in their hands, 'can reveal interesting clues about an audience's relationship to a specific text' ("A very good trumpet": Richard Hakluyt and the Politics of Overseas Expansion', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Brown and Marotti, 66-79 (p. 67)). Neville-Sington examines readers' response to the removal of censored leaves in copies of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589) by acquiring leaves from pre-censored volumes. She shows that a seventeenth-century reader was at least aware of the constraints placed upon a text's appearance in print.

⁶ Frans A. Janssen has recently argued for a new development to the tradition of analytic bibliography that examines the history of typographical design and its function in textual transmission ('Author and Printer

presentation of medical books, from the early decades of the sixteenth century through to the publication of Culpeper's work in the 1650s. The creation of multiple layers in a printed book predates the applications of hypertext through the Internet by some four hundred years, because the structure of printed and manuscript receipt books was such that a reader could approach their contents in a variety of ways dependent upon individual requirements.

Following the distinction I made in Chapter One, I refer only briefly to theory books. These books were written for a professional audience in a discursive prose style and the only textual division was into chapters. It is the popular receipt books and books of simples by authors such as William Ram, William Bullein (*d.* 1576), and Andrew Borde (*c.* 1490-1549), whose works are the typographical precursors of Culpeper's books. These popular books of simples were designed to stress the medicinal benefits of the receipts and herbs. In Culpeper's herbal and his English versions of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* the use of typography and page-layout could establish textual authority on the one hand, and on the other present easily accessible information. It is therefore also necessary to examine the role of the printer, publisher, and author in the problematic decisions made over a text's physical appearance. The choices made concerning the internal organisation of a book reflect the aspirations of these three agents, whose motives behind the production did not always coincide. Examination of this structure, then, reveals the social network of print culture during this period.

The Shift from Scriptoria to the Printing House

Commercially produced medieval manuscripts were the exemplars which printers copied in the early years following the invention of moveable type.⁷ During the Middle Ages, the movement from the culture of the monastery to that of the scholar, brought about the creation of different texts for new kinds of readers which demanded to be read in differing ways. Monastic *lectio*, in the words of Malcolm Parkes, 'was a spiritual exercise which involved steady reading to oneself, interspersed by prayer, and pausing for rumination on the text as a basis for *meditation*'.⁸ Scholastic *lectio*, on the other hand, 'was a process of

in the History of Typography', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), 11-37).

⁷ Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 131. For a general account of the manufacture of medieval manuscripts books, see G.S. Ivy, 'The Bibliography of the Manuscript Book', in *The English Library Before 1700*, ed. by Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright (London: Athlone Press, 1958), 35-65.

⁸ Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio*, and *Compilatio* on the Development of

study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes'.⁹ This approach required new methods of presentation and arrangement, known as *ordinatio*, which early printers of scholarly works exploited. Scholarly texts had to provide apparatuses and gloss for the academic reader. Scribes were able to create layers of textual authority through a variety of choices concerning scripts, their size, style and colour, the area of text on the page and its surrounding paraphernalia of margins and borders.¹⁰ The use of initials and marginalia worked on two levels, functionally and decoratively, to provide a textual structure and to guide readers through a text.¹¹ Marginalia cited textual sources, while rubrication structured the text. To quote Parkes again:

The scholarly apparatus which we take for granted – analytical table of contents, text disposed into books, chapters, and paragraphs, and accompanied by footnotes and index – originated in the applications of the notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* by writers, scribes, and rubricators of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.¹²

The application of marginalia and indices begun in the scriptoria and the organisation of the printed page derived from these kinds of visual devices.¹³ Compositors, like scribes, could determine the allocation of space between the body of a text and its margins and borders. But the development of moveable type allowed for technical innovation in the presentation of information.¹⁴

the Book', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115-41 (p. 115). Also see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structure of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 43-44.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Michael Camille, 'Sensations of the Page: Imaging Technologies and Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. by Bornstein and Tinkle, 33-53.

¹¹ On the shift from manuscript to print see Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing* (College Park: University of Maryland Art Department, 1977); N.F. Blake, 'Manuscript to Print', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1485*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 403-32; Kathleen L. Scott, 'Design, Decoration and Illustration', in *ibid.*, 31-64. The Vernon Manuscript contains a range of religious texts copied out at the end of the fourteenth century. Originally 420 leaves, it contains 377 items divided into five sections; each page is divided between two or three columns, with border decorations and miniatures. The index at the beginning allowed a reader to locate a particular text with relative ease. The manuscript is Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. a.1, a facsimile edition was published in 1987 (*The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, M.S. Eng. Poet a.1* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987)). On the contents and structure of the Vernon Manuscript, see *Studies in The Vernon Manuscript*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 1990).

¹² Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', p. 135.

¹³ See Camille, 'Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Medieval Book', in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. by Greetham, 245-67.

¹⁴ On the influence of the typographic revolution upon the presentation of grammar books see Elsky, *Authorizing Words*, p. 125.

In the sixteenth century, printers began, in the words of Steinberg, to experiment with,

Graduated types, running heads at the top and footnotes at the bottom of a page, tables of contents at the beginning and indices at the end of a tract, superior figures, cross-references, and other devices available to the compositor.¹⁵

Printing had come of age: the technology of the press allowed sophisticated uses for the physical and visual space of the page to develop and, as Walter Ong claims, the application of a new management of knowledge.¹⁶ Through this technological revolution, new processes emerged with which printers could order, present and disseminate written knowledge.¹⁷ Consideration of design and visual presentation, that is ‘typographic culture’, allowed new opportunities for the structuring of information and were vital so that the reader could access and apply this learning. Marginalia became a secondary site to the main body of the text wherein further interpretations, meanings and authorities could be established.¹⁸ Rather like the footnote today, the margins of the sixteenth-century book revealed an author’s learning and the authorities from which his work was derived.¹⁹ What had once been a tool devised for the reader had become a manipulative device through which authors could create the impression of erudition, while printers also used the margins to provide repeat words or passages that could guide a reader through the text.²⁰ The technology of the printed page also allowed for complex visual systems for information storage, for example, cross-referencing (marginalia), and retrieval mechanisms (indices and headlines).²¹ Through these mechanisms, examined below, typography and page-layout lent clarity and usability to a text.²²

¹⁵ S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin Books, 1974; repr. 1977), p. 29.

¹⁶ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982).

¹⁷ See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), I, 88-107.

¹⁸ William W.E. Slights, ‘The Edifying Margins of Renaissance English Books’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989), 682-716; Slights, ‘“Marginal Notes that spoil the Text”: Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55 (1992), 255-78; Richard W.F. Kroll, ‘*Mise-en-Page*, Biblical Criticism, and Inference during the Restoration’, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 16 (1986), 3-40.

¹⁹ See Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997).

²⁰ Monique Hulvey, ‘Not so Marginal: Manuscript Annotations in the Folger Incunabula’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 92 (1998), 159-76.

²¹ M.M. Slaughter, *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 46.

²² For an examination of the functional clarity of modern typographic design see Rob Carter and others,

The significance of the function of typography is hard to overstate because it is the medium by which meaning is communicated: the 'thoughts of readers', Elizabeth Eisenstein suggests, 'are guided by the way the contents of books are arranged and presented'.²³ Modern psychological studies confirm the hypothesis that the typographical semiology of a text, that is, its presentation, influences its reading and therefore understanding.²⁴ In a series of essays Randall McLeod (who also writes under the pseudonyms Random Cloud and Random Clod) argues that it is necessary to concentrate on the meaning of the physical appearance of a book as well as its verbal content.²⁵ For the modern textual editor this means they must examine the role of type and layout in the production and transmission of meaning.²⁶ D.F. McKenzie has shown how formal changes (format, decoration, and marginalia) had an important effect on the interpretation of Congreve's work, and Roger Chartier has demonstrated how 'readability' is influenced by the format of a book.²⁷ The importance of the typographic function to the meaning of a text

Typographic Design: Form and Communication, 2nd edn (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993); Adrian Wilson, *The Design of Books* (New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1967); Herbert Spencer, *The Visible Word*, 2nd edn (London: Lund Humphries, 1969); Michael Twyman, 'Typography Without Words', *Visible Language*, 15 (1981), 5-12.

²³ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 1, 88-89. Randall McLeod has also examined the typographic medium use, either intentionally or inadvertently, to communicate meaning (Random Clod, [Randall McLeod], 'Information On Information', *TEXT*, 5 (1991), 241-81), while Herbert Spencer's survey of 'legibility research' has shown how 'comprehension of the printed word can be greatly accelerated by typography' (Spencer, *The Visible Word*, p. 6). Also see Edward A. Riedinger, 'The Tales Typography Tells', *Visible Language*, 23 (1989), 369-74.

²⁴ For example, see Clive Lewis and Peter Walker, 'Typographic Influences on Reading', *British Journal of Psychology*, 80 (1989), 241-57. For an artist's appreciation of the relation between the visual aspects of typography and the production of meaning in her own work see Johanna Drucker, 'Letterpress Language: Typography as a Medium for the Visual Representation of Language', *Leonardo*, 17 (1984), 8-16.

²⁵ In 'FIAT *f*LUX' McLeod demonstrates how a printer's error in the first edition of Herbert's 'Easterwings' in *The Temple* led to a mutation in subsequent and scholarly editions. Consequently, the physical layout of the stanzas, their position and even their order has produced an array of mutant versions of the poem, which results in a variety of different readings of the text (Random Cloud, 'FIAT *f*LUX', in *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance*, ed. by Randall McLeod (New York: AMS, 1994), 61-172). Also see Randall McLeod, 'Spellbound', in *Play-Texts in Old Spelling: Papers from the Glendon Conference*, ed. by G.B. Shand and Raymond C. Shady (New York: AMS, 1984), 81-96.

²⁶ D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992), p. 293. See D.F. McKenzie, *The London Book Trade in the Later Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: privately printed, 1976); McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: The Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 81-125; McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Texts* (London: British Library, [1986]); John Barnard, 'Bibliographical Context and the Critic', *TEXT*, 3 (1987), 27-46; David McKitterick, 'Old Faces and New Acquaintances: Typography and the Association of Ideas', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 87 (1993), 163-86; John Jowett, 'Jonson's Authorization of Type in *Sejanus* and Other Early Quartos', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society: 1993), 175-86.

²⁷ McKenzie, *The London Book Trade in the Later Seventeenth Century*; Roger Chartier, *The Order of*

is emphasised by McKenzie in the following passage:

The author's preface, the readings of the text itself, its acts and scene divisions after the neoclassical manner, its use of decorative head- and tail-pieces, the ornamental drop initials for each act, the type ornaments which separate the scenes, the size and styles of type, its capitalization, punctuation, italicisation, its *mise-en-page*, paper, the slighter bulk and lighter weight of its three-volume octavo format ... the highly conscious deployment of all these resources makes it quite impossible ... to divorce the substance of the text on the one hand from the physical form of its presentation on the other. The book itself is an expressive means. To the eye its pages offer an aggregation of meanings both verbal and typographic for translation to the ear; but we must learn to see that its shape in the hand also speaks to us from the past.²⁸

In a recent examination of Renaissance poetry, A.R. Braunmuller illustrates how typography served as an inseparable function to a reader's perception of a text. On first approach certain statements are made by page-layout that determines how the books is subsequently read:

Non-semantic physical attributes – an unjustified right-hand margin, capitals at the start of each line – signal formal properties of the text. In turn these formal features stipulate conventional relations among writer, text, and reader; they tell us how we are expected to regard the text. *These texts are poetry, or at least verse, and must be read as such because of their margins and capitals.*²⁹

The examples of poetry and play-texts are probably the most obvious from the early modern period to demonstrate how visual appearance can inform and alter a text's reading.³⁰ But in the following section I explore the development of typographical

Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 11. For an examination of format and typography in the printed Bible see M.H. Black, 'The Evolution of a Book-form: The Octavo Bible from Manuscript to the Geneva Version', *The Library*, 5th ser., 16 (1961), 15-28; Black, 'The Evolution of a Book-form: II. The Folio Bible to 1560', *The Library*, 5th ser., 18 (1963), 191-203. T.A. Birrell has demonstrated the importance of format, but treats the physical presentation of a text at the sole discretion of the publisher, evidence in this thesis suggests that during the seventeenth century it was not always this simple ('The Influence of Seventeenth-Century Publishers in the Presentation of English Literature', in *Historical & Editorial Studies in Medieval & Early Modern English for Johan Gerritsen*, ed. by Mary-Jo Arn and Hanneke Wirtjes with Hans Jansen (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1985), 163-73).

²⁸ McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', p. 82.

²⁹ A.R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by Speed Hill, 47-56 (p. 47). Also see Arthur F. Marotti, 'Malleable and Fixed Texts: Manuscript and Printed Miscellanies and the Transmission of Lyric Poetry in the English Renaissance', in *ibid.*, 159-73.

³⁰ Sasha Roberts uses the example of Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594) to demonstrate how the 'material artefact of the book' shapes a reader's interpretation of the text in it, and shows how the use of section divisions, marginalia, and italics in various editions of the poem influenced readers' interpretation of Lucrece's character ('Editing Sexuality, Narrative and Authorship: The Altered Texts of Shakespeare's *Lucrece*', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Brown and Marotti, 124-52 (pp. 124, 129)).

applications primarily in medical receipt books but also in herbals.

Gentlemanly Herbals and Medical Receipt Books

The price of paper during the sixteenth century amounted to around seventy-five per cent of the production costs for any edition.³¹ The space of the page and the economy of its form consequently ensured that the presentation of texts were optimised to meet the financial constraints on the printer. The page itself presented several discrete spaces within which the textual layers of a book could operate. The central space of the page contained the primary and privileged main text of the work, tagged by the marginal surrounds of the header and tail, and the inner and outer margins. The ordering and allocation of the borders to a printed page stressed the relative importance and status of particular statements made in the margins.³² In his study of the London book trade, McKenzie examines the visual presentation of the books themselves and reveals the affinities between speaking and writing which were represented through the development ‘of different registers to signal that variety of forms’.³³ Between the margins and the body of a printed page, there is, in McKenzie’s words, ‘a form of communicative interchange’ that reflects the public nature of print.³⁴

Culpeper brought together the trends in typography already established in the genres of the gentlemanly herbal and popular receipt books in the visual presentation and organisation of his translations of the College’s *Pharmacopoeias* and his reworking of Parkinson’s *Theatrum Botanicum*. The general structure of the herbal remained fairly consistent from the publication of Richard Banckes’ herbal in 1525 through to *Theatrum Botanicum* published on the eve of the Civil War in 1640 (see Illustrations 20-24). The emphasis upon the order of the herbs expressed their taxonomic hierarchy in the plant kingdom rather than medical applications which are treated as secondary. William Turner’s three-part folio herbal recognised the division between botanical descriptions and the virtues of the simples. Without an index to these medicinal virtues, though, the book was of little use for a reader hoping to locate a remedy for a particular ailment without

³¹ By the eighteenth century this had fallen to fifty per cent (Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr. 1985), p. 177).

³² See Twyman, ‘Typography Without Words’.

³³ D.F. McKenzie, ‘The London Book Trade in 1644’, in *Bibliographia Lectures 1975-1988 by Recipients of the Marc Fitch Prize for Bibliography*, ed. by John Horden (Oxford: Leopard’s Head Press, 1992), 131-52 (p. 141).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

having to plough through the whole volume. One exception is Laurence Andrew's translation of Brunschwig's *The Vertuose Boke of the Distyllacyon of all Maner of Waters of the Herbes* (1527). This included a short section on herbal medicine consisting of a table of medicinal applications referring to a specific folio (by roman numeral) and paragraph (by capital letter). Usually, each herb is illustrated by a simple woodblock, followed by a series of medical receipts identified by capital letters.

Later herbals, notably those by Gerard and Parkinson, included tables of medicinal benefits and made similar use of capital letters to locate particular passages. In Gerard's *Herball* (1597) this table included page numbers and a capital letter that corresponded to marginalia which differentiated individual paragraphs describing a herb's medical applications (see Illustrations 22, 23). In his herbal (1640), Parkinson deliberately excluded this system of marginalia for two reasons (cf. Illustration 24). Firstly, he falsely argued that their inclusion would have produced a book of excessive size. Secondly, and more importantly, he explained that 'in recompense of the time spent in looking for what you seek, you may read that which may be more helpfull and beneficiall to you'.³⁵ The benefit, then, lay in the possibility of stumbling across something useful during perusal, which reflects the desires of a gentlemanly audience with the leisure time to do so.

In contrast, printed medical receipts appear in two genres for professional and lay users. There are the professional books of theory and surgical textbooks in which Latin receipts were reproduced, and the general and medical collections of vernacular receipts. In the professional volumes the Latin language protected the monopoly of the practising medical profession, while in the popular receipt books the presentation of material reflected manuscript receipt books.

Vernacular books written for a professional audience include the surgical manuals by Thomas Bonham and John Banister. These books, and others like them, frequently included sections of receipts. The typographical arrangement of these formularies created layers of authority which recognised the professional hierarchy of medical practice. They provided a model followed by Culpeper in his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeias*, although he did away with the adherence to Latin for the ingredients and quantities used. In John Banister's *Workes* (1633) the bulk of the volume was given to descriptions of surgical procedures relating to tumours, wounds, ulcers, and fractures, but the final section was an 'Antidotary' of receipts first published in 1589 (see Illustration 25). Banister was aware of

³⁵ John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), π4^v.

the usefulness of an index to receipt books, and wrote:

I have not a little helped the Reader by a Table which I have gathered, wherein, as the Booke keepeth an alphabeticall order, for the formes of remedies, among which to choose, so the Table plenteously containeth the notes and names of such affects as the receipts in the Booke doe serve unto.³⁶

The receipts are divided into medicinal types, as was usual for these professional formularies. Each receipt has an italic heading describing its use, followed by the ingredients and quantities in Latin and roman type. The method of preparation is printed in English and italic type, while in the margin the source of the receipt is given. At the end of the volume a table of medicinal applications allowed the young surgeon to locate specific receipts.³⁷ Banister's *Antidotary* (1589) was the source for many of the receipts in Bonham's *The Chyrurgians Closet* (1630). This was prepared for the press by Edward Poeton who, like Banister, directed the reader to a table of virtues at the end of the volume: 'the table will direct you both to the malladie, and the medicine', he wrote.³⁸ The formulary to *The Chyrurgians Closet* is also ordered by medicinal type, although the headlines that usually identified the use of each receipt have been dropped (see Illustration 26). Instead, each receipt runs on from the previous one, only separated by a paragraph break and the receipt sign R̄. As usual, the ingredients and quantities are in Latin and the methods of preparation and application in English distinguished, respectively, by italic and roman type. An asterisk appears in the receipt to differentiate the method of preparation from the following description of its use:

R̄. *Lytharg: auri*, ʒ vj. *olros. omph:* ℥ j β. *aceti ros.* ℥ β. Boyle them together at an easie fire (with constant stirring) vntill it waxe very blacke, then make it in rowles. *. It generateth flesh in hollow vlcers.³⁹

The key to the whole volume is the detailed table of virtues, printed over twenty-four columns, which gave page numbers and a capital letter which corresponded to the marginalia against each receipt (see Illustrations 26, 27). These letters serve as a finding device which linked the table to the text of the receipts. For example, 'Bleeding at the nose to stay' directed the reader to 'Cataplasmes 36.A. 53.D. an Epitheme 111. a Fume 127.B.'⁴⁰

³⁶ John Banister, 'An Antidotary Chyrurgicall', in *The Workes of that Famous Chyrurgian* (1633), A3^{r-v}. The 'Antidotary' has a separate register.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Q1^r-7^r.

³⁸ Edward Poeton, 'To the Reading Artist', in Thomas Bonham, *The Chyrurgians Closet: Or An Antidotarie Chyrurgicall* (1630), a4^v.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2H1^v.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, ²a2^r.

Turning to the appropriate page the reader could locate the particular receipt from the marginal capital letters.

An index of medicinal use was vital to a book's utility. William Langham's *The Garden of Health* (1597), is ordered alphabetically by plant name, 'so that thou mayst without any difficulty finde them by the titles of the pages'.⁴¹ The inclusion of several tables in the book added, Langham claimed, to his book's utility, as:

For thy better direction, ... to euery Simple is annexed a briefe Table of the effects thereof. There are moreouer two generall Tables: the one at the beginning of the booke, contayning all the Simples in order, with numbers directing to the seuerall places where they are to bee found: the other at the end, setting downe the names of the diseases and other operations, hauing those Simples which afford any remedy for the same, added vnto them in order so plainely, as thou canst not erre therein.⁴²

In order to locate a particular remedy a reader would consult the index at the back of the book and this would direct them to a particular simple in the text. Here Langham's focus was exclusively medical, and there are no physical descriptions of the herbs. Langham adopted an unusual system of ordering the details on each simple, whereby an alphabetical table of virtues followed each entry. The entries describing the virtues were numbered and tied to correspondingly numbered sentences in the preceding text. For example, the entry for moonwort is reproduced below.

Lunaria, or Moonwort

LVnaria or Moonwort: it is of the nature of Adders tongue and Pirola, in healing all wounds both inward and outward. It stoppeth the whites and red red [*sic*] flowers in women. It helpeth burstings of Children. 2 The powder of it is good for the whites, reds, and bloody flux. 3 For a blast and to heale hankers, stamp it with as much Pimpernell, and apply the iuyce. 4 Wounds bleeding, stamp it and apply it. (See Adders tong.) Falling sicknesse, drinke it when Luna is in Virgo in the wane.⁴³

If a reader sought a cure for the falling sickness, they would have first turned to the index at the back of the book where particular simples are listed under descriptive headings of their medical uses. Turning to the entry for a particular simple in the book, he or she could then either have read the whole entry or consulted the table at the end of the passage. The distinction by type-face between the descriptions of use (black-letter) and the table (roman) is significant. Traditionally black-letter was used for lay books rather than scholarly Latin titles, which were usually printed on the continent in roman type and imported into

⁴¹ William Langham, *The Garden of Health*, 2nd edn (1633), ¶12^{r-v}.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Y4^v.

England.⁴⁴ In Langham's book the two traditions merge and create a work operating on two levels. On the one hand, it provided descriptions of medicinal applications, while on the other, it presented an analysis and breakdown of this material derived from the *ordinatio* of the medieval manuscript. In manuscripts handwriting, and occasionally the use of colour, were used to highlight important details, but the introduction of roman and italic type meant that a printer could create such visual textual differentiation on the printed page.⁴⁵

Other botanical books took advantage of different type-faces and sizes to influence a reader's understanding of a text and its claims for authority. William How's (1620-56) *Phytologia Britannica* (1650) is an alphabetical list of herbs with no medical information at all and, despite its Latin title, included English names and locations. The text was structured on three levels distinguished by difference type-faces. The Latin names for the herbs are printed in roman; English names, the source of the information and locations are in italic; and black-letter is used for the remainder of the English text. For example:

Ammi vulgare, Dod. *Ger. Bishops-weed* in many places, as by the Hedge beyond Greenwich in the way of Graves-end. Parkinson, pag. 912.⁴⁶

Printers commonly made use of type to indicate textual hierarchy. This was usually used to differentiate Latin and English texts in professional manuals, primarily to respect the physicians' monopoly over medical prescriptions.⁴⁷ In 1612, John Cotta claimed to 'refreshing onely the learned in the margine' with Latin quotes and sources in *A Short Discoverie*.⁴⁸ Another staunch defender of the College, James Hart, made extensive use of Latin marginalia in his *The Diet of the Diseased* (1633), which, despite the main body of the text being written in English, received the imprimatur of the College. The use of Latin marginalia was a device which testified to the legitimacy and authority of the information.

The medical receipts in professional books and surgical manuals were printed in Latin in recognition of the division between professional medicine and social life. Books,

⁴⁴ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 282-83. Marotti suggests that the introduction of roman type for sixteenth-century vernacular verse 'suggested that such texts were becoming canonized, monumentalized, set within a national literary tradition' (p. 283). Also see Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 97-131 (p. 99).

⁴⁵ See Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (London: Heinemann, 1972), pp. 15-19; Elsky, *Authorizing Words*, p.130.

⁴⁶ William Howe, *Phytologia Britannica* (1652), B3^v.

⁴⁷ For example, see William Clowes, *A Prooued Practise for all Young Chirurgicalians* (1588); the fourth section in Thomas Gale, *Certaine Works of Chirurgerie Newly Compiled* (1563); Peter Lowe, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597).

⁴⁸ John Cotta, *A Short Discoverie* (1612), A3^v.

such as the surgical manuals by William Clowes and Thomas Gale, respected the monopoly of London medical practice. Of course, in reality the turmoil and unrelenting struggle which most of the population faced ensured that the threats from diseases were a continual presence. Communities had established systems of medical care based on their experiences; we see fragmentary evidence of this tradition in the commonplace books kept by families whose successive generations recorded successful receipts. I turn briefly to examples of seventeenth-century manuscript receipt books later to demonstrate how both traditions influenced each other. First, though, I examine printed books of simple medicines and receipts.

Professional receipt books were complex *antidotaria* ordered by medicinal type. Popular receipt books of the seventeenth century were simpler *receptaria*, structured according to the type of disease they could cure, or by some other rationale, or without any apparent system of organisation.⁴⁹ Thomas Moulton's *This is the Myroure or Glasse of Helthe* ([c. 1531]) is one of the earliest medical books to be published in English. The internal organisation of the book is simplistic; there are no marginalia or indices, and the text is printed in black letter without any variation in type-size. Only the inclusion of the symbol ¶, used to separate paragraphs, provides any textual structure. Even in 1580, the printer of another new edition chose to ignore the advances in typography and set his copy from the first edition (see Illustrations 28, 29). Not all receipt books remained typographically fixed, though. Later editions of Andrew Borde's *The Breviary of Health* (1547), one of the popular medical books published in the sixteenth century, show gestures towards the increasing use of roman type for vernacular books. Probably of primary use for training physicians or surgeons, *The Breviary of Health* is ordered alphabetically by the Latin name of each disease, and refers to the 'counsell of some expert phisition'.⁵⁰ Because of this arrangement anyone ignorant of Latin would have found it difficult to locate the relevant chapter dealing with a particular disease. This is in spite of Borde's claim in his preface that he had 'translated all such obscure words & names into English, that euery man openly and apartly may vnderstand them'.⁵¹ In an edition printed in 1552 we begin to see the emergence of a trend towards carefully devised page-layout (see Illustration 30). Material is divided into paragraphs and discrete sections, as oppose to the lengthy,

⁴⁹ Jennifer K. Stine, 'Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England' (doctoral thesis, Stanford University, 1996; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 57A (1996), 2169), pp. 19-23.

⁵⁰ Andrew Borde, *The Breviary of Health*, 1st pub. 1547 (1598), A4^v.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, A5^r.

unbroken prose which was, until this time, usual for vernacular medical books, with printer's symbols used to highlight passages. The introduction of 'white space' created a fragmented page and a segmented text with discrete headings which enabled easier reading by those with basic literacy (see Illustrations 30, 31).⁵² For example the entry on worms read:

AStarides, is the greeke worde. In Englyshe it is lytle smal wormes, the which most comonly doth lye in the longacion otherwyse named the ars gut. And there they wpll tyele in the fundament.

☞ The cause of the breeding of such wormes.

¶ Such wormes be engendred of coler or of fleumatyke humours.

¶ A remedy.

☞ The usage of eatyng of Garlyke doth kyll all maner of wormes in a mans belly, as it doth more largelyer appere in the Chapitre named Lumbrici. Or els take of the juyce of Lauander cotton and put to it the poudre of wormesede, and drinke it. iiii tymes euery mornynge fastynge, and drynke not an houre or ii. after.⁵³

In the 1598 edition roman type replaces the black-letter for the headline title, black-letter being kept for the general text, and is representative of the emerging trend for roman type to replace gothic in new editions of popular books (see Illustration 31). Importantly the marginalia, not shown in the quotation given above but which repeat the English name of each disease, continued to be included (in black-letter in 1552 but roman in 1598), which would suggest that they were a useful tool for the reader.⁵⁴

Robert Wyer printed Robert Copland's (*fl.* 1508-47) translation of Guy de Chauliac in *c.* 1542 for Henry Dabbe and Richard Banckes. The only visual organisation of the prose descriptions of surgical procedures and the formulary of receipts is the use of the paragraph sign. When the text was revised in 1579, opportunity was taken to use more complex typographical functions to display the information on the page. George Baker, who revised Copland's translation for Thomas East, criticised the standards of printing and typography in the earlier translation. He wrote of the earlier work, which had 'so many faults, so euill Orthographic, so ill poynted, ill distinct, and in many places whole lynes left out'.⁵⁵ Baker was one of the first exponents of *mise-en-page* and typography to increase the utility of medical theory and receipt books. The receipts in the formulary are printed in italic and

⁵² See Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newspapers 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 266. Raymond's work relates to the development of newsbooks but is equally relevant to the presentation of receipt books from this period. On the development of 'white space' in popular receipt books, cf. Thomas Moulton, *This is the Myroure or Glasse of Helthe* ([*c.* 1531]), Illustration 28; Borde, *The Breviary of Health* (1598), Illustration 31.

⁵³ Borde, *The Breviary of Health* (1552), C3^r.

⁵⁴ See Slights, 'The Edifying Margins', p. 682.

⁵⁵ George Baker, 'To the Reader', in Guy de Chauliac, *Guydos Questions Newly Corrected*, ed. by Baker (1579), A2^r-3^r (A2^v).

black-letter to differentiate the Latin receipt from the English method of preparing and application; sources appear as marginalia, while headline titles describe the use of each receipt.⁵⁶

William Bullein's project to produce a series of vernacular medical books for the lay reader was the forerunner to Culpeper's more successful programme nearly a century later. Motivated by similar concerns about the welfare of the population, Bullein wrote:

I beyng a childe of the common wealthe, am bounde unto my mother, that is, the lande, in whom I am borne: to pleasure it, with any good gift, that it hath pleased God to bestowe upon me, not to this ende, to instruct the learned, but to helpe the ignoraunt.⁵⁷

The presentation of simple and compounded medicines in his *Bulwarke of Defence* (1562) is in the form of dialogues. This deviation from the standard presentation of receipts either in prose or lists reflects an oral structure. The layout of the page distinguishes between the common language of dialogue, and the book based learning by which it is informed. In the book of simples, Marcellis quizzes Hilarius on their virtues; the later refers to classical authors in his prose, while marginalia identify uses and sources. Again, in the book of compounds, a dialogue takes place between Sickness and Health over the uses of these medicines. The lack of headline titles limits, however, the ease with which receipts could be located. Bullein also uses a dialogue structure in *A Newe Booke Entitled the Gouernment of Healthe* ([1558]). In these examples, the authority invested in each medicine derived from the authoritative voice of either Hilarius or a character called Health. The rarity of this form of presentation in medical books suggests it was a failed attempt to make the information user-friendly.

The use of type to differentiate levels of information, primarily ingredients and the procedures for preparing medicines, from their applications was established during the second half of the sixteenth-century. It was in 1652, with the publication of *The English Physitian*, that Culpeper restructured the material in Parkinson's herbal in order to stress medicinal applications over botanical descriptions. This represented a synthesis that brought together the traditions of the gentlemanly herbal with that of vernacular medicine. However, there was already at least one model for this integration which Culpeper may have been aware of whilst he prepared *The English Physitian*. In 1606, William Ram's abridged edition of Henry Lyte's translation of Dodoen's herbal was published. Lyte had

⁵⁶ See 'An Antidotarie of Picked Medicines', in Chauliac, *Guydos Questions Newly Corrected*, 2C3^r-3B3^v.

⁵⁷ William Bullein, *Bulwarke of Defence* (1562), ¶12^{r-v}.

prepared a large folio volume, published in 1578, which was of little use to a lay reader hoping to find medical advice, but Ram shifted attention from botany to the medicinal applications of the herbs and simples. *Rams Little Dodoen* is also an unusual typographically designed book, whose physical make-up and visual appearance is an integral component to the text and must have been carefully planned by Ram and his printer (see Illustrations 32, 33).

Ram had worked his way through Lyte's translation and reduced the book into, in his own words, 'a brief and short Epitome: wherein is containd the disposition and true declaration of the phisike helps of all sorts of herbes and plants, vnder their seueral names & titles'.⁵⁸ The medicinal detail in Lyte's translation is presented in a series of charts and tables, which replaced the convoluted prose of the original. This visual ordering of information, such as diet and exercise, meant that this information was more easily accessible to a lay reader. The emphasis is upon the medical application of the simples and their receipts rather than botanical descriptions. Following information on herb cultivation and regimen, Ram and his printer produced two parallel texts printed opposite each other, one running over from verso to verso and the adjacent text, recto to recto. On the left-hand opening (verso) is a list of all the particular herbs under headings describing their medicinal application. Parallel to these tables, printed on the adjacent recto, are receipts that could be prepared to cure the ailments listed on the left. On occasions, no receipts are given and the recto is blank and it is rarely fully printed.⁵⁹ This constitutes a costly waste of paper but Ram must have persuaded his publisher that such a design was integral to the text. It may have been that this white space was intended for a reader to add their own additional receipts, as someone did to the copy microfilmed for the STC edition (reel 1481). The printer must also have had to adapt his usual printing procedures as catchwords run from recto to recto and verso to verso. Clearly this structure was determined by Ram and his publisher in advance and its complex arrangement is representative of collaboration between author, printer and publisher.

Following the publication of Culpeper's translation in 1649, new printed collections of receipts began to appear during the 1650s, notably *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652), Elizabeth Grey's (1581-1651) *A Choice Manuall, or Rare and Select Secrets* (1653), Queen Henrietta Maria's (1609-69) *The Queens Closet Opened* (1655) and Alethea

⁵⁸ William Ram, *Rams Little Dodoen* (1606), A2^r.

⁵⁹ Blank pages occur on the recto of leaves E5, G2, L1, O2, O3, P1, P5, Q1 and Q6.

Talbot's *Natura Exenterata, or Nature Unbowelled* (1655). These books relate closely to the manuscript tradition of commonplace and receipt books of the seventeenth century and earlier. Manuscript receipt books reflect the personal considerations of their compilers and the medical needs of their communities. They represent a body of knowledge endorsed by experience and approved by practice. In those printed receipt books listed above, authority for a particular receipt derived from the individuals whose names would often appear adjacent to these receipts, and were most notably, royalty and aristocrats. This was to be exploited, later, in some of the medical advertisements published from the 1660 onwards which included the names and addresses of successfully cured patients who could testify to the powers of a particular remedy.⁶⁰

Prior to the 1650s, the most popular medical receipt book was *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen*, first published in 1608. The order of receipts has no apparent structure, and only the headline titles describe their uses. The lack of a table of medical uses, however, severely limits its utility. In the receipt books of the 1650s, the introduction of more sophisticated methods of presentation and structure appear. For example, although *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652) has no index to medicinal virtues, receipts are arranged alphabetically by their use, and in Grey's *A Choice Manuall, or Rare and Select Secrets* (1653) a table of contents was included. In these books, the language is simple rather than technical prose, supplemented with the apothecaries' symbols for weights and measures in earlier books, and the receipt sign, R̄, is replaced with the directive 'Take of ...',⁶¹

An important example of the development of the pragmatic function of typography and layout in the receipt books from the 1650s is Alethea Talbot's *Natura Exenterata* (1655), which contains nearly two thousand receipts, and is derived from two manuscript receipt books, and personal letters and experiences.⁶² The structure of this book reflects the technical arrangement usual in professional medical manuals as the receipts and experiments are organised by medical type or method of preparation rather than by ailment. This style represents a synthesis of the printed structure of professional books with the privately produced knowledge embodied in the manuscript tradition. *Natura Exenterata*

⁶⁰ See a collection of printed medical advertisements in the British Library (shelf-mark 546.d.44). Especially, *Excellent Helps ... by a Warming Stone* (1660), and *Smart's Aurum Purgans* ([c. 1663]).

⁶¹ See Elizabeth Tebeaux, 'Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre', in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 29-62.

⁶² See Lynette Hunter, 'Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620', in *Women, Science and Medicine*, ed. by Hunter and Hutton, 89-107 (p. 103).

includes an index of ailments reflecting the former genre, while the list of personal sources at the beginning of the volume reflects the latter.

During this period, then, there was a mutual relationship between manuscript and print publication. Works like *Natura Exenterata* and *The Queens Closet Opened* were derived from manuscript sources, while some manuscript receipt books include material taken from printed sources. For example, in a few late seventeenth-century manuscripts compilers have copied material out from Culpeper's *The English Physitian*. I discuss this material further below (pp. 244-49), and show that the printed receipt book did not supersede the manuscript tradition, but, rather, that both existed concurrently, each influencing the other.

Printers and Typography

The examples above have briefly outlined the typographical developments found in books of simples and receipts during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. During the hand-press period type would be set from copy, proofs pulled and errors corrected in the press.⁶³ In the seventeenth-century some authors would also often oversee the printing, as Richard Newton suggests, 'as a standard obligation', and Eisenstein argues that scholars were often present in Renaissance printing-houses supervising presswork.⁶⁴ Evidence of the author's absences from the press while their books were printed can be found in the errata. The printer of John Cotta's *A Short Discoverie* (1612) included the following apology: 'Gentle Reader, I pray thee to correct these faults, escaped partly by reason of the difficultie of the copie, and partly by the absence of the Author'.⁶⁵ Thomas Brugis's *The Marrow of Physick*, published in 1640 included a similar statement: 'READER, My absence from the Presse, hath caused some faults, which I shall desire thee to correct'.⁶⁶ John Hart in *The Diet of the Diseased* (1633) also apologised for errors in the text due to his absence from the press.⁶⁷ The implicit suggestion is, then, that these authors would usually attend at the printing-house and oversee their work through the press.

⁶³ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 40-56, 343-57.

⁶⁴ Richard C. Newton, 'Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book', in *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982), 31-55 (p. 42); Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, I, 18. Timothy Murray has shown Ben Jonson to be an unusually active participant in the printing process ('From Foul Sheets to Legitimate Model: Antitheater, Text, Ben Jonson', *New Literary History*, 14 (1983), 641-64.

⁶⁵ Cotta, *A Short Discoverie*, S4^v.

⁶⁶ Thomas Brugis, *The Marrow of Physick* (1640), 2^{B3}^v.

⁶⁷ John Hart, *Klinikh, or The Diet of the Diseased* (1633), 3O4^v.

Although Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-84) described the ideal practices of printers, it reflects the social procedures surrounding the production of a printed text. An important figure was the compositor, who:

*By the Laws of Printing, ... is strictly to follow his Copy, viz. to observe and do just so much and no more than his Copy will bear him out for; so that his Copy is to be his Rule and Authority: But the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as a task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. To discern and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy, if it be English.*⁶⁸

In a later section, Moxon described how the compositor could alter the typographical arrangement of an author's work:

A good *Compositor* is ambitious as well to make the meaning of his *Author* intelligent to the *Reader*, as to make his *Work* shew graceful to the *Eye*, and pleasant in *Reading*: Therefore if his *Copy* be *Written* in a *Language* he understands, he reads his *Copy* with consideration; that so he may get himself into the meaning of the *Author*, and consequently considers how to order his *Work* the better both in the *Title Page*, and in the matter of the *Book*: As how to make his *Indenting*, *Pointing*, *Breaking*, *Italicking*, &c. the better sympathize with the *Authors* *Genius*, and also with the capacity of his *Reader*.⁶⁹

When composing a previously unpublished book a compositor would work from a manuscript copy appropriately marked-up by the author or master-printer, and Moxon included a series of procedures that an author should ideally follow when preparing their manuscript copy. These involved indicating relative type size and face (italic, roman, capital), and line and paragraph breaks, and indicate that printers expected authors to provide information concerning type and layout: 'Thus in all particulars he takes care to deliver his *Copy* perfect: For then he may expect to have his *Book* perfectly *Printed*'.⁷⁰ Moxon's ideal procedures are supported by studies by Jan Moore, and Percy Simpson's earlier work, on proof reading in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which demonstrate the role an author may have played in the mechanical preparations of their works.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683-84)*, ed. by Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 191-92. In a further passage Moxon again stressed that a compositor should be 'a good English Schollar' who would set and point type be it 'in *Italick* or *English Letters*', in order 'to render the Sence of the *Author* more intelligent to the *Reader*' (p. 193).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51.

⁷¹ Jan K. Moore, 'Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', (D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1989; abstract in *Aslib Index to Theses*, 39 (1990), 5386); Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

From her examination of printers' copy in the libraries of Oxford Colleges, Moore reveals how many authors were heavily involved in all stages of printing. They prepared accurate manuscripts or revised previously printed editions with a keen awareness of the functions of typography, its importance to meaning, and the mechanics of its arrangement upon the page. Archival evidence, discussed by Moore, proves this was the case for professional Stationers' Company writers. Printer's copy survives for the almanacs of William Lilly and John Booker in the Ashmole Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Although Lilly himself was little concerned with the use of typography in his books, following a period of ill-health, he worked with a scribe, Henry Coley, from 1675, who prepared his manuscripts for the printer. Coley was far more aware of the typographical function in the presentation of Lilly's text, and he gave the printer instructions concerning format, running-titles and type-size.⁷² The surviving manuscripts of Booker's almanacs show the degree to which he controlled the use of typography in his books. Examples from the seventeenth century reveal that 'many authors were conscious of the printed form their manuscripts would take and prove themselves to be thinking typographically', and would provide instructions concerning format and type.⁷³ One example offered by Moore is the printer's copy for a translation of Italian phrases by B.S., *Raccolta die Frasi Italiane* (1686). B.S. instructed the printer on the format of the book, the arrangement of the page and the type-face to be used.⁷⁴ In another instance, John Evelyn (1620-1706) instructed the printer of the second edition of his *Tyrannus or the Mode*, first published in 1661, on the use of type faces and asked for a running-title to be added.⁷⁵ Similarly, William Lambard (1536-1601) revised a copy of the first edition of his *A Perambulation of Kent*, printed in 1576 by Ralph Newberry for William Bollifant. He made extensive revisions to the text, including adding a table to help the reader through the text.⁷⁶ Sir William Dugdale (1605-86) also revised a printed copy of his *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England* (1681) for a second edition. Although never reprinted, Dugdale had 'underlined direct quotations in red ink and asked them to be set in "English letter"; the marginalia notes in the edition are all in roman, and he directed that authors, titles and months be set in contrasting

⁷² Moore, 'Copy and Print in English Books', I, 149-54; and II, 85-87.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 231.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 233. B.S. wanted the edition to appear as a quarto, the text was to be divided between two columns; the English translation was to appear in roman type while the Italian text should be printed in italic (BL MS Harley 3492, f. 12^v).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 79.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 81-85.

italic'.⁷⁷ Likewise, William Sancroft's (1617-93) notes for the reprinting of the Book of Common Prayer are detailed and precise; he ordered the printer, 'Adde nothing. Leave out nothing. Alter nothing'.⁷⁸

The above examples indicate that it was not unusual for authors to bear some responsibility for the appearance of their work, and that they were prepared to revise and proof copies provided by the printer to ensure the integrity of an edition. As I show below, the function of typography in Culpeper's books is specifically designed to produce a functional text. Presumably, Culpeper must have prepared an accurate manuscript copy for Cole's compositors to set from, because this would have been the only way that the arrangement of type, and the particular faces and size which were used for elements of the text, could have been expressed. This would also explain how it was possible for the index to the first edition of *A Physical Directory* (1649) to be printed before the main text (mentioned above in Chapter Three, p. 127). It appears that Culpeper usually attended the printing-house when his books were being printed, and probably proofed material, as his apology in *A Directory for Midwives* (1651) suggests: 'my absence from the Press [has] beget a generation of Errors'.⁷⁹

The typographical function in Culpeper's work, then, almost certainly had both authorial and compositorial authority, reflecting the collaboration between the printing-house and author. The seventeenth-century market, though, was not just constrained by the practicalities of printing, but also by the economic realities of publishing. The changes made to Culpeper's books during his lifetime seem to be the result of collaboration between author, printer and publisher. Some of the alterations made to these texts attempted to increase the potential usability of the volumes. Cole was also prepared to make additions and alterations to texts and their presentation in response to the piratical actions of William Bentley. It is easy to set type page for page from a previously printed edition, but if new material is included then the compositor must recalculate the amount of paper and 'cast off' a new copy. Cole was ready to find the cost of new enlarged editions and Culpeper was equally willing to provide additions to these texts. Both parties were eager to limit Bentley's infringement on their right to profit from publication, although Culpeper masks this commercial consideration through his apparent altruism.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 87.

⁷⁸ From a copy of the 1634 edition of the Book of Common Prayer, marked up by William Sancroft for another edition (Bodleian Library, Auct. V.3.16), quoted by Moore, 'Copy and Print in English Books', I, 234; and II, 103.

⁷⁹ *DM* (1651), P6^r.

An examination of the function of typography and page-layout utilised in Culpeper's books indicates the author's perception of his readers. The presentation of learned and elite knowledge within a structured and ordered typographical framework enabled his books to meet the needs of the medical practitioner while simultaneously appealing to an unlearned vernacular reader.

Knowledge Boundaries and Information Retrieval in Culpeper's Books

By the time Culpeper came to prepare his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* and re-work Parkinson's herbal there was a considerable range of presentational techniques already developed specifically for the printed book. In this section I discuss Culpeper's eclectic use of the available styles and how he conflated the established genres of gentlemen's herbals with the presentational style apparent in popular receipt books.

Culpeper and his printer used marginalia to create different textual voices for an accurate translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia* subjected to Culpeper's criticism through his own typographically distinct voice. This book combined the authoritative knowledge of the medical professionals contained in their Latin volumes with the tradition of 'popular' vernacular receipt books. In a similar way, *The English Physitian* conflated the work of John Parkinson in *Theatrum Botanicum* with Culpeper's own medical agenda. In *The English Physitian*, he tailored its contents to the needs of his perceived reader. For example, indices allowed access to particular herbs and remedies and he removed the expensive illustrations and the descriptions of herbs not indigenous to England.

When we read the prefatory material to Culpeper's books and study his frontispiece portrait it is necessary to question how these works presented themselves to a potential reader. In his prefaces Culpeper made a variety of statements about the nation's right to free and indigenous medicines and herbs, the corrupt nature of the College and its physicians who practised for financial gain and protected their monopoly through the use of Latin, and the religious righteousness of free medicine. These strengthened his claim as an altruistic writer. However, this offensive is followed by his publishers' advertisements for his own stock of books. Rather than placing this announcement at the end of the book, which was usual, Cole promoted it to the front matter. These polar statements, one altruistic the other commercial, present the reader with a dichotomy. In order to understand how an early modern reader could have read or rather used the books it is necessary to consider the whole text and the set of circumstances encircling its publication.

Although all printed books, by their very nature, possess a typographical element, in

particular cases authors and printers appreciated and exploited its function as a communicative medium to a greater degree, for example, in Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651).⁸⁰ In *The English Physitian* the use of layout is tailored to facilitate ease of information retrieval, while in Culpeper's translations of the College's *Pharmacopoeias* typography is also used to create differing textual voices.

In the original, each page of the College's Latin *Pharmacopoeia* is sparsely printed in a folio format, offering only minimal information, with a systematic and efficient presentation of the simples and compounded medicines. This uncluttered text was divided between two columns of type, which listed the names of the simples and the compound receipts under relevant headings (see Illustrations 34, 35). The models for this type of presentation were the continental pharmacopoeias that had been the inspiration for the College's plans for its own *Pharmacopoeia* in 1585.⁸¹ For example, the Medical College at the city of Florence prepared *Nuovo Receptario Composto dal Famosissimo* (Florence, 1498), which was a folio with list of ingredients and receipts divided spaciouly between two columns of type. The Italian city of Bergamo's official pharmacopoeia, *Pharmacopoea Collegii Medicorum* (Bergamo, 1581), utilised a similar presentational style.⁸² Such an arrangement enabled an apothecary to locate a particular remedy by the running titles or by the index, while the surrounding margins provided space for his own notes.⁸³

In contrast, Culpeper translated the College's list into prose and exploited the entire page in his 1649 and 1653 translations to create three distinct textual voices (see Illustrations 36-39, 41, 43). Firstly, in the main text of the 1649 edition, the translation of the College's Latin text appears, followed by Culpeper's own commentary, sometimes offering advice and often critical of the College, while in the margins a further personalised voice is produced. For example on the uses of black hellebore (*Helleborus niger*), Culpeper added in his commentary: 'dropped into the ears helps deafness coming of Melancholly, and noise in the ears'^a. In the margin, tagged by an italic lower-case A, he added: '(a) You must boil them but very little, for the strength wil soon fly away in vapor'

⁸⁰ Peter Campbell, 'The Typography of Hobbes's *Leviathan*', forthcoming.

⁸¹ *Annals*, III, f. 17^r.

⁸² For further examples, see *A Facsimile of the First Edition of the Pharmacopoeia Augustana* (Hollister Pharmaceutical Library, 1 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1927); *Dispensatorium Vaerii Cordi* (Nuremberg, 1546).

⁸³ Some copies of the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* in the British Library include manuscript additions. See R.C. Alston, *Books with Manuscript: A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library* (London: British Library, 1994), p. 347.

(see Illustration 36).⁸⁴ On another occasion, Culpeper exploited the margin to attest to his own knowledge of the county of Sussex where he grew up. On bugloss (*Echium vulgare*), he added, ‘in Sussex (because they must be Francified) called *Lingue-de-beef*: in plain English Ox-tongue’.⁸⁵ On the benefits of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), he wrote, that ‘applied hot to the side, they loosen the belly and (a) kill worms being applied to it in like manner’. In the margin, tagged by a lower-case A, Culpeper added his own personal testimony: ‘a) this I know by experience even where many other medicines have failed’.⁸⁶ Likewise on the medicinal benefits of a viper’s flesh, Culpeper added ‘^a I take our English Adder to be the true Viper, though happily not so venemous as they are in hotter Countries’.⁸⁷

In the section dealing with the compounded medicines an italic headline introduces each receipt, which is followed by Culpeper’s accurate translation of the ingredients and methods of preparation in roman type.⁸⁸ An italic capital A then marks Culpeper’s additional comments on the uses and benefits of the receipt. On many occasions, Culpeper added marginalia on the College’s receipt. Here Culpeper did not want to differ from the College’s original but sought to voice his disapproval or comments through his marginal lay voice. For example, the receipt for wormwood water includes marginal references:

Wormwood Water, the lesser Composition

TAKE of dried (a) Wormwood two pound, Annis seeds bruised half a pound, infuse them in six (b) congies of (c) smal wines for 24. hours, then draw out the spirit with an Alembick, adding to the distillation so much Sugar as is sufficient.⁸⁹

Running alongside this are the following marginalia:

- (a) take common wormwood, but you may use which you will, for their prescript gives you latitude enough.
- (b) congies among the Romans contained about five pints and an half: but our Physitians use the word for 6. sextaries: the meaning of which you shall find in the beginning of this book
- (c) A strong-water-stiller will tell you what it is.⁹⁰

Culpeper translated another receipt as:

A Carminative Decoction

TAke of the °seeds of Annis, Carrots, Fennel, Comin, & Carraway, of

⁸⁴ PD (1649), D1^v.

⁸⁵ PD (1649), F4^r.

⁸⁶ PD (1649), H4^r.

⁸⁷ PD (1649), L2^v.

⁸⁸ Culpeper deviates from this pattern when dealing with preserves, conserves and sugars to save space (PD (1649), U3^v-X2^r).

⁸⁹ PD (1649), M4^v.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

each three drachms; Camomel flowers, half a handful; Raisons of the Sun an ounce and an half, boyl them in two pints of water, till almost half be consumed.

In the margin he noted, ‘^oyou must bruise the seeds, else the Decoction will be but little the better for them’.⁹¹ Marginalia were also used to voice his objection that ‘too many Physitians in England being like Balaams Ass [that] ... will not speak unless they see an Angel’.⁹² One final example will suffice to demonstrate how Culpeper offered an accurate translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, but then in his own textual and typographically distinct voice criticised the College’s perceived wisdom. For one receipt for a medicinal syrup, Culpeper translated the College thus:

Syrup of the Infusion of Clove-Gilliflowers

Take a pound of Clove-Gilliflowers, the white being cut off, infuse them at ^a3 times in three pints of spring water al night, afterwards with two pound of sugar, boyl it into a syrup according to art.⁹³

Tagged in the margin is his observation upon the College’s knowledge:

^a whether one pound at three times, or three pounds at three times might be som question, yet not so great an one but experience will decide it: howsoever let it pass for one of the Colledges misty receipts.⁹⁴

Marginalia are used, then, to comment on the ingredients and their quantities, to clarify misunderstandings from the Latin, or to mock the College.

In *Margin and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (1993), Evelyn Tribble argues that the presentation of early modern literature has been divorced from its original layout, and he follows the work of McGann and McKenzie in seeking to situate the text within the cultural context of its production. Tribble’s suggestion that, ‘[r]eading the margin shows that the page can be seen as a territory of contestation upon which issues of political, religious, social, and literary authority are fought’, clearly applies to Culpeper’s book.⁹⁵ William Slights has shown how the development of marginalia through the Renaissance made texts accessible for a general reader, and in his translation of the College’s *Pharmacopoeia* Culpeper exploited the surrounding space at the edges of the main text to address a specifically non-professional audience.⁹⁶ The visual here

⁹¹ *PD* (1649), P2^r.

⁹² *PD* (1649), P3^v.

⁹³ *PD* (1649), Q3^v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 2. Also see Elsky, *Authorizing Words*, pp. 101-09.

⁹⁶ Slights, ‘The Edifying Margins’.

distinguished the sub-text from the main text through the differentiating use of type and typography. This appeal to typographical and bibliographical factors as a means of distinction suggests that Culpeper's audiences were alert to the nuances of print culture.⁹⁷

The differences between the 1649 and 1653 translations of the College's two *Pharmacopoeias* are visually striking. Despite revising the 1619 *Pharmacopoeia* in 1650, the College still produced a book that in its structure and visual appearance did not differ from previous editions, or the continental examples upon which its based (see Illustrations 40, 42). The differences in Culpeper's two translations, then, are a result of his intervention rather than emulation of a College innovation. In 1653 Culpeper included the old catalogue of simples, from the 1619 Latin edition, which appeared in a small type divided into two columns; again the Latin name appeared in italic, followed by Culpeper's comments in roman. However, in the second catalogue of simples, translated from the revised *Pharmacopoeia*, Culpeper listed the simples and included an innovative analysis of the simples in order to demonstrate their medical applications. Under separate headings, he listed the simples:

1. The Temperature of the Roots, Herbs, Flowers, &c., are of, viz. Hot, cold, dry, moist, together with the degree of each quality.
2. What part of the body each root, herb, flower, is appropriated to, viz. head, throat, breast, heart, stomach, liver, spleen, bowells, reins, bladder, womb, joynts, and in those which heat those places, and which cool them.
3. The property of each Simple as they, bind, open, mollify, harden, extinate, discusse, draw out, suppure, clense, glutinate, break wind, breed seed, provoke the terms, stop the terms, resist poyson, abate swellings, ease pain.⁹⁸

The translated list of simples from the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* are printed in italic and introduced by the tag 'Colledg]', whereas Culpeper's additions appear in roman type. This typographically distinct voice was identified by the tag '*Culpeper*]' which introduced the additional lists of the simples divided by their temperatures, properties, and the parts of the body they cured. This device was also used in Culpeper's supposed translation *Galen's Art of Physick* (1652), wherein Culpeper's own comments are usually identified by the italic heading '*Culpeper*' centred over his commentary.

Culpeper again produced a multi-layered catalogue of compounded medicines. The original work of the College is in italic type, followed by Culpeper's comments printed in a

⁹⁷ See Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 60-61.

⁹⁸ *PL* (1653), N2^v.

roman face. A new addition were cross-references to the new Latin edition (1653) that enabled a reader to compare the two versions of a receipt:

Spiritus et Aqua Absinthii minus Composita. Pag. 30.

Or, Spirit and Water of Wormwood the lesser Composition.

The Colledg] *Take of the Leaves of *dried Wormwood two pounds; Annis seeds half a pound; steep them in six gallons of small wines twenty four hours, then distil them in an Allembick, adding to every pound of the distilled water two ounces of the best sugar.*⁹⁹

Compared to the previous receipt for wormwood water, given above, the College had slightly revised the quantities, perhaps having accepted Culpeper's marginalia criticism from 1649. Nevertheless, in the margin to this new version he explicitly addressed the reader and attempted to undermine the College. He wrote: '* You may take what Wormwood you pleas; what care they so they get money, they have their desire'.¹⁰⁰ Despite carefully translating the receipt for '*Syrupus Raphani.* Page 63. In the L. Book. Or, Syrup of Rhadishes', Culpeper dismissed its inclusion:

Culpeper] A. A tedious long Medicine for the stone: I wonder why the Colledg affect such LONG Receipts, surely it will be LONG enough before they be wiser.¹⁰¹

The receipt for '*Oleum Vulpinum.* Page 150. in the Latin Book. Or, Oyl of Foxes', included '*a fat Fox, of a middle age*', which Culpeper tagged in the margin with another caustic observation:

That was wel put in, therefore when you have caught a Fox, bring him alive to the Colledg, and let them look in his mouth first and tell you how old he is, so shall your Oyl be *cum previlegio*.¹⁰²

This creation of a three-tier text was dependent on Culpeper and Cole's manipulation of page-layout and typefaces, an arrangement acknowledged on the title page of the 1653 edition. However, innovative book design also assisted the reader's approach to the text. All of the editions of Culpeper's two translations published by Cole included running headlines indicating the type of simples or compounds on each page. The inclusion of three tables, at the back of the book, to the English names, and, most importantly, to the medical benefits of the simples and compounded medicines, were important devices for information retrieval.

In contrast to Culpeper's first translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*, the presentation of *The English Physitian* followed the established practices of popular herbals, as Rex Jones

⁹⁹ PL (1653), U1^v.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ PL (1653), 2B2^v.

¹⁰² PL (1653), 2Q2^r.

writes:

The division of physical description, time, place and virtues are made clear both by the layout of each page and by the use of different fonts. Although no space is wasted in wide margins, there are still enough open areas on the page to enable the user to locate information easily. The back matter contains a table of diseases and an appendix on gathering, storing, and administering herbs.¹⁰³

Cole printed the first edition of *The English Physitian* in a folio format and divided the main text between two columns on each page (see Illustration 44). The main text is arranged alphabetically according to the English names of the plants. The name for each particular plant is printed over a series of paragraphs, in roman type with italic headlines identifying its appearance, the areas where it could be found, its seasons, and its medicinal benefits. Tagging the paragraph of virtues, in both the inner and outer margins, Culpeper listed the diseases and ailments that each herb could cure.

The English Physitian worked on two levels. It could either be consulted as a botanical reference book or as a medical guidebook. Culpeper clearly devised its structure for the second use. The key to the work is the table of diseases at the back of the book and indicates how Culpeper expected a reader to approach the information of the book (see Illustration 44). He included instructions on how to locate particular material, which suggest a reader would start with an ailment and then search for a remedy:

With the Disease regard the Cause and part of the Body afflicted, for example, suppose a Woman be subject to miscarry through wind, thus do,

1. Look [*Abortion*] in the Table of Diseases, and you shall be directed by that how many Herbs prevent miscarriage.
2. Look [*Wind*] in the same Table, and you shall see how many of those Herbs expell wind.

These are the Herbs Medicinal for your Grief.¹⁰⁴

Tables of virtues were included in the herbals by Gerard and Parkinson, but were detailed and descriptive lists. In *The English Physitian* Culpeper reduced the numbers of entries, for example from the eight dealing with blood in Parkinson's herbal to just three, and gives only one entry for ulcers against the five in *Theatrum Botanicum*. In the first edition of *The English Physitian*, 263 ailments and diseases are alphabetically listed together with the page numbers where a cure could be found, and ranging from abortion to yellow

¹⁰³ Rex F. Jones, 'Genealogy of a Classic: 'The English Physitian' of Nicholas Culpeper' (doctoral thesis, University of California, San Francisco, 1984; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 46A (1986), 780-A), p. 203.

¹⁰⁴ *EP* (Cole, 1652), 2Z2^v.

jaundice.¹⁰⁵ The importance of the index for locating information is clear from a copy of this edition in the Wellcome Institute Library (shelf-mark 19318/C/1). Once in the possession of a G. Fetherston, it includes numerous manuscript additions in both Latin and Greek, indicating that he was an educated reader. At the front of the book Fetherston went to the trouble of producing a brief personalised contents for the sections he found most useful and, at the end of the book, he compiled an alphabetical list of all the herbs included in *The English Physitian*. Unlike the traditional herbals of Gerard and Parkinson, where the structure and presentation stressed the botanical properties of the plants, Culpeper's herbal presented the information on the herbs in a simple alphabetical order which enabled a user to locate a particular herb easily.¹⁰⁶ That is, this structure reflected Culpeper's interest in medication rather than botany.

The importance of the table to the commercial popularity of the book becomes more apparent when we examine the pirated duodecimo edition. Bentley managed to reduce Culpeper's herbal to a smaller format through a small typeface and by restricting the variety of typography in Cole's original. For example, he moved the headlines labelling the description, place, time, and virtues of each herb into the body of the text, and only used a line rule between each entry, replacing the ornamental type used by Cole. Although the main text does not differ in any significant detail from Cole's original edition, Bentley altered the table of virtues, producing a fuller and tidier version. The number of entries is 318 against 263 ailments in Cole's edition, while for some the number of herbs referred to had been increased. These changes were the result of a critical reading of Cole's original edition. The entries for 'Clotted Blood' and 'Congealed Blood' had been placed under the letter 'C' in Cole's index, while in Bentley's edition they had been placed under the more appropriate letter 'B' as 'Bloud clotied' and 'Bloud Congealed'. Similarly Cole had placed 'Milk Curdled' under 'C' while in Bentley's edition it was listed under the letter 'M'. In Cole's edition, a list of the ailments each herb could cure was printed in the margin against the relevant entry. Identifying ailments listed as marginalia but which Culpeper had not indexed, added further new entries to Bentley's index. For example, Bentley includes 'Catarrh', 'Carbuncle', 'Difficulty of breathing', 'Digestion helped', 'Faces Red', 'Falling of hair', 'Lethargy', 'Pestileness', and 'Green sickness', all of which had been omitted in

¹⁰⁵ *EP* (Cole, 1652), 3A2^v-3B2^r.

¹⁰⁶ Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* was arranged into seventeen sections, grouping, according to Raven, 'into chapters plants which bear a similar name or are related by shape of leaf or of flower or by similarity of structure' (Charles E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 257).

Culpeper's index. Likewise, for a number of entries Bentley's edition included more references. For example, although the benefit of fennel (*Fœniculum vulgare*) for treating the afterbirth is noted in the margin to the section on the herb, it is not referred to under the original entry on the 'After Birth', but is included in Bentley's edition.¹⁰⁷

In 1653 Cole published *The English Physitian Enlarged*, which despite including forty-six new herbs he managed to reduce the format to an octavo that required only half the amount of paper as the first folio edition. The loss of marginal space in this format meant that the lists of diseases were often printed in the main text cluttering its appearance. Despite this loss, this edition acknowledged the value of the table of virtues. Culpeper included the additions made by Bentley plus nearly three hundred new entries. These additions were more precise in describing a particular disease or minor affliction. Readers could now locate herbs for, amongst other conditions: 'Arm-pits ill scent', 'Biting of Mad dogs', 'Bleeding in the Nose', 'Dulness of Spirit', 'Eyes red', 'Fat decreaseth', 'Hair restoreth', 'Loss of voice', 'Pains in the neck', and 'Vomiting blood'. This enlarged and developed the original index; although forty-six new herbs were included, they do not account for the vast increase in entries. Rather, this revision reflected the table's importance as the reader's primary point of entry to the text.

The typographical function in *The English Physitian* was pragmatic: it worked to guide the reader through the text and served as a visual tool for information storage and retrieval. Robert Pemmell followed a similar arrangement in his *Tractatus de Simplicium Medicamentorum Facultatibus*, published in two parts in 1652 and 1653, by Philemon Stephens. Despite its Latin title, his *Tractatus* was in fact an English book of herbs ordered alphabetically by their Latin name. Each entry is divided into sections dealing with the inward and outward uses and administrations of the simples along with their doses, and the usual treatment of names, although no information was given on locations. Like *The English Physician*, Pemmell's work stressed the medicinal value of the simple remedies and the inclusion of an index detailing over hundred ailments ensured that readers could locate their desired information.

In Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* the use of typography and page-layout is simpler than it is in *The English Physitian* and his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeias*. Whereas Culpeper and Cole had exploited the textual margins to create a distinct authorial voice in the *Directory* this space is little used. Earlier midwifery manuals,

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *EP* (Cole, 1652), Q2^r, 3A2^v; (Bentley, 1652), I2^v-3^r, 2B1^r.

including *The Birth of Mankind* (1540) and *The Expert Midwife* (1637) contained extensive marginalia which provided summaries to the main text and included references to classical works such as those by Hippocrates.¹⁰⁸ In contrast, the appearance of *A Directory for Midwives* is more conventional and is suggestive of a different type of reader. Culpeper wrote his *Directory* for literate females and midwives, whereas the majority of other manuals had stressed the importance of the male professional (principally the physician and surgeon). Its title page included a precise description of its chapters and this suggests that its simple arrangement was functional and appealed to certain readers. This is also clearly the case with later manuals by Jane Sharp and James Wolveridge, both published in 1671. The fact that these two manuals on midwifery were both published in the same year suggests that they targeted different readers. Sharp drew upon her ‘long *Practice of Midwifery*’ whilst preparing *The Midwives Book* and was disparaging of the man-midwife.¹⁰⁹ In his manual, Wolveridge stressed the importance of the male professional to a mother’s successful delivery. This division is highlighted not just by the authors’ texts, but also by its printed arrangement. Sharp’s manual is visually very similar to Culpeper’s and is written in simple prose divided into chapter and books, whereas in *Speculum Matricis* Wolveridge included running titles and Latin marginalia.

The presentation of information through a variety of typographical devices is suggestive of how it was received by readers. Innovations throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries allowed printers and writers to prepare complexly organised books in which textual arrangement was an integral component to a reader’s perception, understanding, and application of the printed work.

Frontispieces, Portraits and Illustrations

On an extra-textual level, exploitation of the printed medium could also create a public *persona* for an author.¹¹⁰ Not only did Culpeper exploit the different textual voices which

¹⁰⁸ For example, see Jacob Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, trans. (1637), C3^r.

¹⁰⁹ Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book: or, the Whole Art of Midwifery* (1671), 2E1^v.

¹¹⁰ In an examination of the print promotion of Jonson’s identity, Richard Newton suggests that ‘printed books offer to authors two new things: completeness, an assurance of the self-contained work ... and epynymity, a name attached to the work – author and authority’ (‘Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book’, p. 33). John Jowett suggests that with the publication of *Sejanus* (1605) Ben Jonson first declared an interest in typography. Jonson ‘appropriated [the] functions of the stationer and printer, harnessing for himself the work of compositor to establish the equivalent of a house style and standard which bear his own distinctive hallmark’ (‘Jonson’s Authorization of Type in *Sejanus* and Other Early Quartos’, p. 177). Also see Kiefer, *Writing on the Renaissance Stage*; Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, pp. 238-47.

typography allowed him but he also used the frontispiece. The appearance of his portrait in all the books published during his lifetime by Cole and Brook suggests that he controlled their inclusion.

Marotti argues that the frontispiece was ‘a common means in print culture for elevating the sociocultural status of authorship’.¹¹¹ However, Gary Spear’s study of the frontispiece to Milton’s 1645 volume of poetry suggests that a portrait is also an ‘emblem of the contradictory enterprise of constructing and contesting authorial identity’.¹¹² The use of the frontispiece to necessarily establish literacy property is problematic, and textual authority is diffused between ‘the material and commercial relation of seventeenth-century print culture’.¹¹³ That is, textual authority and author identity depends upon the printer and publisher, as well as the author, whose motives for publication may not necessarily be the same. For example, both Alethea Talbot’s *Natura Exenterata* (1655) and Henrietta Maria’s *The Queens Closet Opened* (1655) were introduced with frontispiece portraits that functioned to endorse the receipts contained therein.¹¹⁴ As Talbot was dead by the time of publication and Henrietta Maria was in exile, they clearly did not benefit from increased sales by establishing their authorial ownership. The frontispiece portrait of Louise Bourgeois, ‘the expert and famous ... Midwife to the Queene of France’, which introduced the English translation *The Compleat Midwives Practice* (1656), stressed royal approval. Instead, as I suggested above, their publishers thought that with their aristocratic associations these books would be an acceptable alternative to the College of Physicians without the political rhetoric employed by Culpeper and others.

In contrast, Culpeper’s portrait was a marketable commodity designed to promote sales and the author’s image in London’s medical marketplace.¹¹⁵ In fact, this portrait bears

¹¹¹ Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 240.

¹¹² Gary Spear, ‘Reading Before the Lines; Typography, Iconography and the Author in Milton’s 1645 Frontispiece’, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by Speed Hill, 187-94 (p. 188). On the visual assemblage of title pages as a creative space, see L. Tongiorgi Tomasi, ‘Image, Symbol and Word on the Title Pages and Frontispieces of Scientific Books from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), 372-82; on the emblematic frontispiece, see Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

¹¹³ Spear, ‘Reading Before the Lines’, p. 189.

¹¹⁴ The frontispiece engraving of Alethea Talbot was a single portrait taken from Van Dyck’s painting of Alethea and her husband, Philip Howard (see Hunter, ‘Women and Domestic Medicine’, p. 104).

¹¹⁵ In the eighteenth century, but probably also earlier, title pages were posted in shops and in streets to help sell books (James McLaverty, ‘Questions of Entitlement: some Eighteenth-Century Title Pages’, in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. by Greetham, 173-98). In 1669, Coxe wrote there was ‘scarce a pissing-place about the City’ which was not adorned by posters advertising some medical quack ([D. Coxe], *A Discourse Wherein the Interest of the Patient in Reference to Physick and Physicians* (1669), p. 313, quoted by Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and*

a striking resemblance to both Milton's portrait and that of William Lilly both engraved by William Marshall (see Illustrations 45, 46).¹¹⁶ All are dressed in a long black cloak with lace collars and cuffs; their hair is black and long; and their are pictured with one hand hidden under the folds of their cloak. This similarity indicates political sympathy with Parliamentary Roundheads, which aligned Culpeper with Milton and Lilly. This emblem bore Culpeper's authority and tacit approval, while the verse printed below asserted his intellectual vigour:

The shaddow of that Body heer you find
Which serves but as a case to hold his mind,
His Intellectual part be pleas'd to looke
In lively lines described in the Booke.¹¹⁷

In contrast, the Greek verse at the bottom of Milton's frontispiece suggest that Milton did not think highly of Marshall's engraving.¹¹⁸ The inclusion of a variation of this image in all Culpeper's books, including those published by Brook, suggests that Culpeper himself was responsible for its inclusion. It contrived the Culpeper image and promoted the whole series of his medical books. This device worked and even the pirated editions printed by William Bentley include a frontispiece likeness of the author.

Another source of authority was the inclusion of visual material within the main body of the text. In *A Directory for Midwives* illustrations of the foetus derived from Spegilius' *De Formato Foeto* ([Padua], 1626) were inserted in all the editions published by Cole. The fact that either Cole or Culpeper were prepared to pay for the production of an engraved plate indicate its importance to the book. In later editions more elaborate plates were produced and advertised as such on their respective title pages. This suggests that illustrative material was an important component to the book, increased sales, and influenced a reader's reception and understanding of Culpeper's text (see Illustrations 9, 10, 13, 14).

It is clear from the examples taken from Culpeper's books that his work operated on two levels. On a commercial level, title pages and frontispieces were designed to increase sales (the concern of author and publisher), and promote the Culpeper name in the medical

Seventeenth-Century England (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Two of Marshall's engravings of Lilly are in *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1649) and *Christian Astrology Modestly Treated* (1659). Both these books had different publishers, which could indicate that Lilly was responsible for their inclusion.

¹¹⁷ *EP* (Cole, 1652), frontispiece.

¹¹⁸ Peter Lindenbaum, 'Milton's Contract', in *The Constructions of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (London: Duke University Press, 1994), 175-90 (p. 187).

marketplace (primarily the concern of Culpeper, but his publishers would also have benefited). The internal arrangement of these titles, operating at another level, reveal how typography can function pragmatically to create a user-friendly book, and to create an authorial text whose contents claim legitimacy through their marginalia, differentiation of type-faces, and illustrative material. In the following section I examine the tradition of manuscript receipt books, in which individual compilers were responsible for the presentation of material. Unlike print, the form of presentation does not grant the authorial legitimacy of the receipts, but provides a context for understanding their transmission and application.

Manuscript Tradition and the Printed Medium of Medical Receipts

Despite the technological impact of print, manuscript books continued to be compiled well into the seventeenth century and beyond. Medical manuscripts from the medieval period can be divided into three distinct structural forms. First, there were the *antidotaria* of complex traditional receipts ordered by medicinal type. Secondly, there were the *receptaria*, which included simple receipts, structured according to the type of disease they could cure.¹¹⁹ Thirdly, a tradition of compiling commonplace-books developed during the Renaissance which contained collections of quotations gathered through an individual's reading and learning.¹²⁰ Manuscript commonplace-books are not the same as receipt books, although both genres demonstrate wide variation in form. They are different examples of how printed sources, correspondence, and oral communications were recorded in manuscript. In her recent study of the printed commonplace-book Ann Moss demonstrates how its structure and presentation were arranged 'in such a way as to ensure maximum ease and efficiency in retrieving the information it contained'.¹²¹ In spite of the publication of popular receipt books in the 1650s, it is clear from the evidence of manuscripts prepared during the seventeenth century that print did not supersede the practice of recording medical advice in manuscripts.

¹¹⁹ See Stine, 'Opening Closets', pp. 19-23.

¹²⁰ The process of compiling quotes and ordering them by headings in Michel de Montaigne's *Les Essais* (1580-88) is a possible connective between the manuscript and commonplace-book tradition with the printed page. Francis Goyet argues that *Les Essais* followed the practice of commonplace-book production in its organisation and use of marginalia ('The Word "Commonplaces" in Montaigne', in *Topos Commonplace Cliche: Approaches to Analogical Reasoning*, ed. by Lynette Hunter (London: Macmillan Press, 1991), 66-77).

¹²¹ Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. vi, also see pp. 29-31; Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by Speed Hill, 131-47.

The association between the two media is complex as they have a symbiotic relationship. The large number of sixteenth and seventeenth-century manuscript books in the Wellcome Institute Library are testimony to the close relationship between the two. Examples exist of manuscripts containing material copied out from printed sources, while receipts taken from manuscripts also appear in printed books. As we have already seen above, the technology of print allowed for the creation of an authoritative textual voice through the page-layout and typography. In the manuscript tradition, visual organisation did not constitute a system of authorising, but layout was employed to provide a conventional context for a receipt's use. This constituted the personal decisions responsible for a manuscript's appearance, and included personal testimonies to successful outcomes, the use of tables to structure material, and, on occasion, references to printed books.

Many of the herbal and dietary manuscript receipt books which survive from the seventeenth century reveal the high level of responsibility taken on by individuals, usually women, to provide basic medical care for their family and neighbours. If Culpeper and similar writers of the period were intending to popularise medical knowledge, then we need to know what the reader did with the information they gleaned from the printed book. According to Andrew Wear the structure and contents of many of these manuscripts indicate, 'that people were not merely passive readers of medical knowledge but took an active interest in bringing it together'.¹²² The inclusion of material from printed sources in the composition of manuscript receipt books reveal how readers valued and treated the information which they chose to record. For example, a number of extant seventeenth-century manuscripts exploited the information in *The English Physitian* and Culpeper's translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*. Their compilers did not passively copy material but selected and interpreted information relevant to their particular situation and needs. By exploring the mutual dependencies evident in the two traditions, it is possible to reveal examples of particular readers' responses to the printed medium, and their application of layout and design in the manuscripts which they prepared.

Some seventeenth-century manuscript books are structured according to the type of disease they could cure, but frequently there is no apparent system with receipts added over a number of years. On occasion, in the latter case, compilers and later owners have tried to impose a sense of order by creating a table to the receipts' medical uses. These

¹²² Andrew Wear, 'The Popularization of Medicine in Early Modern England', in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 17-41 (p. 35).

manuscripts reflect a popular and localised medical practice within communities, compiled by that elusive ‘middling-sort’ which emerged in the seventeenth century.¹²³

From a brief examination of these manuscripts a picture emerges of active compilers who organised the medical information they received, and presented it in a form best suited to their needs. Jennifer Stine suggests that the structure of manuscript receipt books was similar to that used in printed books of the late sixteenth century. However, this was not entirely the case. A printed receipt, was, as Stine writes, divided into ‘title or rubric, drugs and quantities [ingredients], direction for preparation, directions for administration, and [a] statement of efficacy such as “proved” or “probatum est”’.¹²⁴ In manuscript this division was conflated and usually a title would describe particular benefits, followed by a prose description of preparation and application. This visual arrangement constituted a simplified version of the printed text. Following the title, are the necessary ingredients and method of preparation. A number of manuscripts also have tables at the beginning or end, to enable the user to locate a particular receipt.¹²⁵ The application of the index or table brought a degree of order to an eclectic mix of medical anecdotes. Many of the printed medical receipt books which began to be published in the 1650s were either ordered thematically, or created a notional structure through the inclusion of a contents list or an index to medical titles or ailments cured.¹²⁶

It was usual for the directive ‘Take of ...’ to introduce the method of preparation and this was taken up by printed receipt books in the 1650s. The infrequent occurrence of the abbreviation receipt sign, ‘R̄’, in a manuscript usually suggests a book compiled from professional sources, such as that copied out for a W. Coleman from a chemist and

¹²³ On the notion of a ‘middling-sort’ see Brian Manning, *1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution* (London: Bookmarks, 1992), pp. 60-64.

¹²⁴ Stine, ‘Opening Closets’, p. 40.

¹²⁵ For example, see RCP MSS 501, 513, 654; WIL MSS 213, 1340. Peter Beal and G.G. Meynell have recently examined the structure and method of preparing indexes in commonplace-books (Beal, ‘Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book’; Guy Meynell, ‘Locke’s Collaboration with Sydenham: The Significance of Locke’s Indexes’, *The Locke Newsletter*, 27 (1996), 65-74; Meynell, ‘John Locke’s Method of Common-placing, as Seen in his Draft and his Medical Notebooks, Bodleian MSS. Locke d.9, f. 21 and f.23’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 8 (1993), 245-67).

¹²⁶ In M.A.’s *A Rich Closet of Physical Secrets* (1652) medical receipts are arranged in alphabetical sections by the ailment each would cure. For example under ‘A’ are remedies for aches and ague, whilst under ‘B’ are receipts for bruises and nosebleeds (see ‘Choise and Seclect Medicine’, F1^f-K4^f). A[lexander] R[ead]’s *Most Excellent and Approved Medicines and Remedies* (1651) included ‘An Alphabetical Table Directing to the Principall Matters contained in this Book’, listing ailments and then giving page numbers on which a remedy was given (A3^v-8^v). In Thomas Collins’s *Choice and Rare Experiments in Physick and Chirurgery* (1658), the receipts are given in different sections dealing with the diseases of different parts of the body.

physician's book.¹²⁷ The use of typography and page-layout, examined above, was a means whereby authors and printers created authoritative claims to the validity of the medical information they published. In a similar way, a few compilers of manuscripts exploited coloured ink to highlight specific words in an index of ailments. For example, in one manuscript now held at the Bodleian Library, key words such as 'sweat', 'ague' 'head-ach' and 'bleeding ... Nose', were written out in red ink.¹²⁸ One manuscript also used coloured ink to differentiate the prose descriptions of preparation and application with key words marked out to identify the several stages.¹²⁹

Endorsement and Experience:

Communities, Acquaintances and Correspondence

Another means of establishing the value of a particular recipe was the inclusion of individual names which served to endorse the usefulness of a particular receipt, or the more general *probatum est*.¹³⁰ Manuscript receipt books had often cited sources which indicate the importance their compilers placed on an individual's name. It was also in the tradition of print culture to include sources, but these were often the classical names such as Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna, for example, or continental physicians and their printed books. That is, the inclusion of sources stood to enhance the scholarly image of the author or editor of the printed book; it was a statement about bookish knowledge on their part, rather than an endorsement of a particular receipt's usefulness. In those receipt books which began to be published in the 1650s individual names appeared alongside particular medicines either as a source or as testimony to its success. Many of these books derived from manuscripts, for example, the recipes in Alethea Talbot's *Natura Exenterata* (1655) were often accredited to individuals whose names served as proof of circulation within a community. For example a Mrs. Dawson, whose book, printed or manuscript it is unclear, was Talbot's source of a method to distil compound waters.¹³¹ Also included in her book is a list 'of such Persons of Quality by whose Experience, these Receipts ... have been approved'. Four Knights, sixteen Doctors, thirty-four Misters, thirteen gentlewomen, and thirty-one

¹²⁷ WIL MS 1710. On the last leaf is written: 'Finitur ... Feb: 19^o. 8^h 30'. P.M. 1657/8. Per W. Coleman per W.C. ... out of y^e originall of a deceased Chymist and Physitian being brother in law to W. Coleman.'

¹²⁸ Bodleian MS Don. e. 11., ff. 1^v-3^v.

¹²⁹ See WIL MS 213. For example, the command 'Take' is written in red ink (p. 130).

¹³⁰ See, for example, John Tanner, *The Hidden Treasures of the Art of Physick* (1656); Lancelot Coelson, *The Poor Man's Physician and Chyrurgion* (1656).

¹³¹ [Alethea Talbot], *Natura Exenterata, or Nature Unbowelled* (1655), G4^v.

Mistresses are listed, including Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Walter Raleigh.¹³² Personal testimonies also began to be used to promote particular medicines. For example, in *Excellent Helps Really Found Out ... by a Warming-Stone* (1652) the names and addresses of individuals who had benefited from Carew's invention are given. This pamphlet was published by John Bartlet, who had himself been cured of sciatica by the stone, and, significantly, it was Bartlet who also sold the warming-stones from his shop.¹³³

Although some manuscripts included receipts copied from printed books, the sources given in the majority of cases reflected a local community or network of interested individuals who shared in a collective base of medical experience. For example, in her receipt book Diane Astry gave an indication of the identity of individual sources in all but twenty-seven of the 375 recipes she compiled.¹³⁴ Other manuscript books confirm that this was a general practice. In the receipt book compiled by Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh, Robert Boyle's sister, a large number of named individuals were associated with the family.¹³⁵ One manuscript, now at Glasgow University Library, compiled from 1616 by James Fowler, Rector of Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire, acknowledged several notable people as sources, included Alexander Ramsey.¹³⁶ Ramsey had a M.D. from Basle, was elected to the College of Physicians in 1618, and later worked as Charles I's physician. Fowler himself graduated MA from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1583 and many of the names of his contributors were acquaintances from his college days.¹³⁷ One individual is named Culpeper who is credited with a receipt 'to help the plague and an admirable preservative against ... pox and purple'.¹³⁸ The date assigned is 1634, which means it cannot refer to Nicholas, but it is again evidence of the circulation and communication of medical advice through a group of like-minded individuals.

I have already mentioned the important circulation of pragmatic advice within the body of correspondents that formed around Samuel Hartlib. A series of letters written by Cheney Culpeper to Hartlib reveal the distribution not just of individual receipts but also of

¹³² *Ibid.*, A2^{r-v}.

¹³³ Richard Carew, *Excellent Helps Really Found Out ... by a Warming-Stone* (1652), A4^v.

¹³⁴ Diana Astry, 'Diana Astry's Recipe Book c. 1700', ed. by Bette Stitt in *The Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 37 (1956), 83-168.

¹³⁵ WIL MS 1340. Named sources are also included in WIL MS 4338 and RCP MS 499. See Hunter, 'Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh', in *Women, Science and Medicine*, ed. by Hunter and Hutton, 178-97.

¹³⁶ See John Young, 'Three English Medical MSS.', *Essays and Addresses* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1904), 1-14. Glasgow University Library, MS Hunterian 169, ff. 17^r, 152^r.

¹³⁷ For example, Samuel Smyth (ff. 22^v, 74^r).

¹³⁸ GUL MS Hunterian 169, f. 262^r.

entire manuscript books. For example, in October 1646, Cheney Culpeper sought Hartlib's receipt for the stone, from which Hartlib suffered intermittently throughout his life. At sometime during September 1647 Culpeper lent Hartlib his wife's receipt book, and in July 1648 again lent a receipt book in which he had 'turned downe some leaues in the booke ... which I heartily wishe might be copied out'.¹³⁹ In July 1657, Culpeper acknowledged 'your receipte againste the piles', a remedy which was given to Hartlib by John Dury, who had acquired it from Sir John Barkstead.¹⁴⁰ Hand-written medical recipes, some carefully recorded in commonplace-books, others hurriedly added on scraps of paper, reflect the proliferation of medical knowledge through communities. However, not all advice was derived from personal acquaintances, and some recipes were, importantly, copied out from printed books.

Books, Readers and their Chosen Receipts

The evidence of manuscript receipt books containing passages taken from printed books reveal that readers were not passive recipients, but were critical participants in the flow of information from the printed text to its eventual application. In one particular case, examined below, a compiler ran together Culpeper's additional commentary with the translation of the College's text, thereby breaking down the typographical distinction which had differentiated these separate passages in the printed book. As we have already seen, print lends itself to conferring authority upon the material it reproduces. This is achieved through typography, the simple fact that a publisher has made a financial investment in publication and, often, by the identification of an individual on a title page or in passages of text as an author(ity). In the manuscript tradition, the fact that a compiler has taken the time to write out a receipt suggests that they have personal experience of its success. Often individuals' names are given alongside the medicine or in a headline that establishes its worth based upon personal testimony or its association with either a trusted, respected, or famous individual.

Comparison of printed and manuscript receipts reveal evidence of mutual influence, but the textual differences suggest revision on the part of the compilers.¹⁴¹ Two possible explanations may account for the reproduction of printed material in manuscript form.

¹³⁹ See 'The Letters of Sir Cheney Culpeper, 1641-1657', ed. by M.J. Braddick and Mark Greengrass, *Camden Miscellany* 33, 5th ser., 7 (1996), 105-402 (letters nos. 114, 139, 156).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, letter no. 191.

¹⁴¹ Stine, 'Opening Closets', p. 171.

Firstly, there is Peter Jones's suggestion that this could mean individuals did not own the book but had borrowed a copy simply to write out specific passages.¹⁴² Another possibility, though, is that a tailored version of the printed text was required, which could be placed within the context of the compiler's own medical knowledge and experiences. This allows for a degree of sophistication on the part of the compiler, who having perused a printed book took out that material which seemed pertinent to their own situation.

The influence of printed receipt books on the compilation of manuscript books is clear in a manuscript held in the Royal College of Physicians' Library. In it the compiler mentioned the College's *Pharmacopoeia*, John Gerard's *Herball* (1597), and Elizabeth Grey's, *A Choice Manuall of Rare and Select Secrets* (1653).¹⁴³ Also credited is Dr Edward Alston, President of the College from 1655, as the source for a number of receipts in the book, but the note 'vide Pharmacop. Londin.' indicates that they were derived from the *Pharmacopoeia*.¹⁴⁴ In a passage on vulnerary drinks, the compiler referred to John Gerard: 'The herbe of greate Daysy is put into vulnary drinks as of greate effect. Gerhard's Herball.'¹⁴⁵ The references to the College's *Pharmacopoeia* and Gerard's *Herball* are brief and suggest that the compiler did not own a copy of either, but had been passed the information from an unacknowledged source. The fact that Gerard's name and the title of the *Pharmacopoeia* are placed alongside particular remedies is indicative of the influence of the printed medium. Appearances in print now stood as a testimony to a medicine's success, supplanting the names of acquaintances. Further passages are copied out directly from print and here suggest ownership, or at the least careful study of a borrowed copy. In total, five pages of recipes are copied from Elizabeth Grey's *Choice Manuall*. Again, affirmation to their usefulness is derived from the fact that the original source was not only a printed book, but also one professing the authorship of a notable titled lady. The heading with which the compiler chose to introduce this series of receipts claimed as much, for they wrote, 'Now follow some collect [receipts] out [of] a choice Manuall pract. by the Countess of Kent published by W.J. Gent, printed 1653'.¹⁴⁶ Thirty-five selected receipts are copied

¹⁴² Peter Murray Jones, 'Reading Medicine in Tudor Cambridge', in *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, ed. by Vivian Nutton and Roy Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 153-83.

¹⁴³ RCP MS 500.

¹⁴⁴ For example see the recipes for 'Pulvis Bezourtick Magistralis' ('D^r Alston vide Pharmacop. Londin.'), 'Opiatu Magistrale Astrigens' ('D^r Alston. vide Pharmacop. Londin. subtítulo Phylon. Persic'), and 'Pulvis Bezoardicus Magistralis' ('D. Edw. Alston Eg. Aur Med. Profess. v. Pharmacop. Londin.'). *Ibid.*, ff. 36^v and 55^v.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 104^v.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 22^v-24^r. Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent, *A Choice Manuall of Rare and Select Secrets* (1653). The introductory preface was written by 'W.J.'

out verbatim and constitute over ten per cent of the print book. The compiler had preserved the general order but only included those receipts that met their requirements.

Table 5.1: Comparison of extracted recipes from Elizabeth Grey's *A Choice Manuall* (1653) in RCP MS 500

MS Receipt Title	CP MS 500	<i>Choice Manuall</i>
S ^r John Digbie medcins for y Stone in y Kidnies	22 ^v	B1 ^v
Another for y Stone in y Kidnies	22 ^v	B3 ^v -4 ^r
To make Horse Radish drink	22 ^v	B4 ^r
A cordiall for Winde in Stomach or any part	23 ^r	B8 ^v
For gripings of the belly	23 ^r	C3 ^r
A gentle purge	23 ^r	C4 ^r
Another purge	23 ^r	C4 ^r -5 ^r
For winde in y Stomach and for the Spleen	23 ^r	C6 ^r
Aproved Mediu for y ^e Jaundies	23 ^r	D2 ^v
Pectoral Roules for a Cold	23 ^r	D1 ^r
Another way of Pectorall Roules	23 ^r	D2 ^v -3 ^r
For one y piss bloud	23 ^r	D7 ^v -8 ^r
For the falling Sicknesse or Convulsions	23 ^r	E3 ^v
For a Tetter, preceding of a salt humour, in y Breast & papps	23 ^r	E3 ^v
For the bloody Flux	23 ^r	E3 ^v -4 ^r
For a pin or Webb in the Eye	23 ^r	F4 ^v
Remedy to be used in a Fitt of y Stone, when the water Stopp	23 ^r	F4 ^v -5 ^r
A most excellent pouder for y ^e Collick and Stone	23 ^v	F7 ^v -8 ^r
A pouder for Green Sicknesse approved w th good success on many	23 ^v	F8 ^v -G1 ^r
The Manner of using the pouder	23 ^v	G1 ^r
The Patients Diet	23 ^v	G1 ^{r-v}
A medicine of potage to purge and amend the heart Stomach Spleen Liver Lungs & Brain	23 ^v	G2 ^{r-v}
For the Black Jaundies	23 ^v	G3 ^r
For the Strangullion or the Stone	23 ^v	G3 ^r
For the Stone	23 ^v	G3 ^r
For the Stone	24 ^r	G5 ^v
For a Lask	24 ^r	G6 ^r
For an itch or dry scurf of the Body	24 ^r	G6 ^r
For the Emeroides	24 ^r	G6 ^v
For the Wind Collick	24 ^r	H1 ^v
To comfor y brain and procure Sleep	24 ^r	H2 ^r
For one y cannot make water & to break y Stone	24 ^r	H6 ^v
For one y cannot make Water	24 ^r	H7 ^{r-v}
A pouder for y Stone	24 ^r	I8 ^v -K1 ^r
For the Collick & the Stone	24 ^r	K1 ^r

Even in *circa* 1775, Grey's *Choice Manuall* was the source for a small collection of recipes copied out in a short manuscript book.¹⁴⁷ Since Grey's *Manuall* was in print until at least

¹⁴⁷ WIL MS 2630.

1726 the evidence of this manuscript demonstrates that its contents were still being studied and practised over a hundred years after it was first published. It is also apparent that print did not supersede the tradition of manuscript compilation, but that the two existed concurrently. In another example, again in the Royal College of Physician's Library, a series of recipes have been copied out alongside the note: 'These following are taken out of M^r Markams booke called the English Houswife & printed at London 1660'.¹⁴⁸

In the following pages I give a number of examples to illustrate the specific techniques and devices which were used in manuscripts to record medical receipts. Following this, I shall give an expansive example taken from an individual manuscript that explores how one anonymous manuscript made use of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* and his translation of the *Pharmacopoeia*.

Revision of Printed Receipts

Diana Astry's receipt book, kept in the very early eighteenth century, contains twenty-one medical receipts and fifty-two for wines and cordials. These include plague waters, the Lady Hewet's cordial water, 'aqua mirabillis', a palsy water for an apoplexy, a powder of earth worms for jaundice, and an 'excellent remedy for vapours when very bad with them'.¹⁴⁹ Astry emphasised the medical benefits, for example, on 'aqua mirabillis', she wrote:

It mollifieth the lungs, it helpeth mightily the perishing lungs & comforts them. It suffereth not the body to corrupt but cherisheth it in such a maner that the user hearof shall selldom heed to be let blood. It suffereth not the heart burning nor mallancholly, nor flegm to abound, it greatly expels all rheum & helpeth the stomach. It keepeth a man in strength, it preserveth the colour & memory, it sufereth not the palsie of the limbs. If a spoonful be given to a labouring man toward death it reviveth him.¹⁵⁰

Included in Astry's book are directions for Dr Stephen's Water credited to a Dr Culpeper. This follows closely Culpeper's translation for the water from the *Pharmacopoeia*, both in the ordering and quantities of ingredients used and the description of its virtues. The receipts from both sources are reproduced below, the one on the left being from Astry's book:

Dr Stephens' Water (Dr. Culpeper) Dr Stephens *Water*
The Colledg]

¹⁴⁸ RCP MS 513, p. 4. Gervase Markham, *The English Hous-wife Containing the Inward and Outward Vertues*, 7th edn (1660).

¹⁴⁹ 'Diana Astry's Recipe Book c. 1700', see receipts nos. 115, 118, 274, 327, 329, 334, [373], and [374].

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, receipt no. 327.

Take of cinamon, ginger,
galanga, cloves, nutmegs,
graines of paradice seeds, of
annis seeds, fennil & carraway
seeds of each 1 dram, hearbs of
time, mother of time. mints
sage, pennyroyal, pellitory of the
wall, rosemary flowers, of red
roses, chamonell, origanium,
lavander, of each 1 handfull;
infuse them in 12 pts.
Gascoing wine 12 hrs.,
then with an alembick
draw of 6 pts. strong water from
it.
It is good for wemon in labour &
brings away the afterbirth.¹⁵¹

*Take of Cinnamon Ginger,
Galanga, Cloves, Nutmegs,
Grains of Paradise, Seeds of
Annis, Fennel, Caraway of
each one drachm; Herbs of
Time, Mother of Time, Mints,
Sage, Pennyroyal, Pellitory of the
Wall, Rosemary, flowers of red
Roses, Chamomel, Origanum,
Lavender, of each one handful;
infuse them twelve hours in
twelve pints of Gascoign wine,
then with an Alembick, draw
three pints of strong water from
it.*
Culpeper] A. Authors hold it
profitable for women in labor,
that it provokes the terms, and
brings away the after-birth.¹⁵²

The only deviation between the two is the volume of water drawn off from the alembic at the final stage. This suggests that Astry, or one of her circle, had experimented with the receipt and experience had taught that it was more profitable to draw off six pints as opposed to three. Although Dr Steven's Water was a popular remedy throughout the seventeenth century, the ingredients and their quantities could vary considerably.¹⁵³ The fact that Astry's version followed closely Culpeper's translation mean that the Dr Culpeper she credits is Nicholas Culpeper, the original source being his translation. Another manuscript receipt book, this time kept by Sarah Wigge also contains a reference to Culpeper and his translation. Wigge wrote: 'Nich Culpeper found of vertues of flas unguntor in an old Manu-script writen anno: domo 1543 ... but he did not put it in dispensatory but only y^e vertues as it was known by'.¹⁵⁴ This precise reference to Culpeper's translation suggests that she, or an acquaintance, had read at least part of this printed work. Another seventeenth-century woman made use of Culpeper's books: Elizabeth Freke recorded '446 prescriptions' of herbal medicines adapted 'outt of Culpeper'.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, receipt no. 118.

¹⁵² *PL* (1653), Y1^r.

¹⁵³ See receipts for Dr Steven's Water in WIL MS 1071, p. 38; and WIL MS 4338, f. 25^r. A version of the receipts was included in many medical printed receipt books, for example, M. B., *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened* (1654), B12^{r-v}; Hugh Platt, *Delightes for Ladies* (1602), E4^v.

¹⁵⁴ RCP MS 654, p. 356. This is probably a reference to the receipt commonly called 'Flower of Oyntments' by Culpeper. In his descriptions of its benefits Culpeper mentioned 'an old manuscript written in the year 1513' (*PD* (1649), 2P3^v).

¹⁵⁵ *Mrs Elizabeth Freke, Her Diary, 1671 to 1714*, ed. by Mary Carley (Cork, 1913), quoted by Margaret

Reduction and Referencing

Explicit references to books by Robert Pemell and Lazare Rivière in MS Hunterian 487, in Glasgow University Library, again highlight the importance of print publication as a testimony for authority and a sign of a critical reader. The compiler of this particular manuscript included marginalia of medical uses, with a drawn line dividing individual receipts. The compiler evidently had access to, or owned, a copy of Rivière's *The Practice of Physick*, first published in 1658 by Peter Cole. Over a series of nine pages they gave precise references to Rivière's printed book, usually in an abbreviated style: 'Riv.t:2:7.36'.¹⁵⁶ For example, one such receipt was:

For falling sickness in a child 3 yeare old.
R. y^e smoak of Tabaco & blow it into y^e open mouth of y^e child. this
will cause it to vomit & cease y^e fit. Riv. 2. 85.¹⁵⁷

This precise reference to a particular page in the second part of Rivière's book, mean it is possible to identify the particular source book and edition. On page eighty-five, in the second book of *The Practice of Physick* (1658), is the following passage:

Falling-sickness in a child.
A Boy three years old, had a fit of the Falling-sickness, from which he
was freed with the smoak of Tabacco, which a servant drew out of a
pipe, and blew into the open mouth of the boy; the boy fel a vomiting,
and the fit ceased.¹⁵⁸

Particular receipts accredited to printed books include the following to cure an ague, taken from Robert Pemell's *Tractatus de Simplicium Medicamentorum: A Treatise of the Nature and Qualities of Such Simples* (1652), with the number referring to the chapter rather than the page:

R: Pint of milk, & a peece of allum as big as a wallnut & boyle it, yⁿ
take off y^e curd, & drink of y^e clearest a good draught before y^e fit of
an ague. Pem. 70.¹⁵⁹

Pemell's book was divided into chapters each devoted to a simple medicine, detailing names, uses, and offering a few compounded medicines which they could be made up into. Chapter 70 was devoted to *Allumine* and covered one-and-a-half octavo pages. The passage above has been copied from the section describing the 'inward use', as follows,

George, *Women in the First Capitalist Society: Experiences in Seventeenth-Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1988), p. 190.

¹⁵⁶ GUL MS Hunterian 487, ff. 55^v-59^v.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 49^r.

¹⁵⁸ Lazare Rivière, 'Four Books', in *The Practice of Physick*, trans. by Abdiah Cole and others (1658), O3^r.

¹⁵⁹ GUL, MS Hunterian 487, f. 108^r.

Plinie saith, it is taken in Pills, for the stoppings and hardnesse of the Spleene, driveth away the Itch, and bringeth forth corrupt blood by urine. The vulgar use to Possets of it, as thus, to take a pint of milke, and a piece of Allum as big as a Walnut, and boyle it; then take off the curd, and drinke of the clearest a good draught, before the fit of an Ague.¹⁶⁰

The fact that advice on cleansing teeth and gums, killing head lice and nits, and clearing leprosy with medicines made from alum have been ignored, suggest that the compiler had only taken out details which were relevant to their situation. On several further occasions, brief passages have been taken from Pemell's book. For example, on the use of garlic, Pemell had devoted two-and-a-half pages, but the compiler chose to copy only one line.¹⁶¹ Importantly, although no marginalia appear in Pemell's book, the compiler of this manuscript added his own marginal tags to these recipes which identified their medical use: for example, 'Ague' and 'Collick & y^e Wind' appear alongside the passages mentioned above. Here, then, is an example of a reader applying one of the common apparatuses of print to their common-place book. Marginal tags were not necessary in Pemell's text because its arrangement and index allowed particular passages to be easily located.

Culpeper's Printed Books and the Manuscript Tradition

In this final section, I examine the use made in one manuscript of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* and his translation of the College's *Pharmacopoeia*. Receipts and medical aphorisms were written down in this manuscript compiled in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (see Illustration 47).¹⁶² Comparison with Culpeper's printed texts reveal that the anonymous compiler selected particular passages relevant to their medical experiences and needs, removed circumstantial detail, and conflated Culpeper's comments and the College's receipts.

At the front of the manuscript sections from *The English Physitian* are reproduced: faced with a large printed volume the compiler has extracted the few sections that appeared

¹⁶⁰ Robert Pemell, *Tractatus de Simplicium Medicamentorum: A Treatise of the Nature and Qualities of Such Simples as are Most Frequently used in Medicines* (1652), 2A4^v.

¹⁶¹ From the following printed passage the compiler had taken only 'Electuary of garlick ... take of it morn: & even: as much as a nut' (f. 108^r): 'Take of Garlick foure or five cloves, bruise it well with two or three drams of hony, and as much Mithridate, then adde of Parmacitty, Juniper berries of each a scruple, Castor two scruples, Pellitory of the wall in powder a scruple, with *Oximell Squillitick* make an Electuary, and give of it Morning and Evening as much as a Nut. It is excellent in the Chollick and against winde' (2A4^r). Chapters 118 and 120 are also mentioned as the sources of remedies for 'Losse of speech of Palsy in the toung' (f. 45^v; cf. 2I3^v-4^r, 2I4^v-K1^v).

¹⁶² WIL MS 4053. References to Culpeper's books are at ff. 2^r and 5^v (the manuscript itself is incorrectly foliated).

important. Accordingly, there is only the briefest mention of all the herbal descriptions which Culpeper gave, condensing down the huge amount of information contained in the printed text to a simple passage. The virtues of only two of the herbs given by Culpeper are included: comfrey (*Symphytum officinale*), for example, eased the pain of gout, and cowslip (*Primula veris*) was good for wounds. No plant descriptions or advice on whereabouts they could be found has been written out. It is apparent, then, that each herb was known to the compiler for whom it was more important to note their medical uses, rather than the botanical detail. This underlies the fact that Culpeper's herbal was devised to stress the applications rather than the botanical detail with which traditional herbals had been primarily concerned. More space is devoted to the directions Culpeper had given on preparing and storing compounded medicines. A large passage describing how to prepare syrups by decoction is copied out from the 'Directions', followed by a similar section on the preparation of syrups from juices. I have reproduced the two passages alongside the original printed copy (on the right) to allow comparison.

Syrups made by Decoction
Are made usually of Compounds
yet may any simple Herbs so thus
Conuerted Into a Syrup: Take y^e
hearb Root or flower y^o would
make into Syrup, & bruse it a
Litle: yⁿ boyl it in a Conuenient
Quantity of Spring water, y^e
more water y^o boyle in it y^e
weaker it is, a handful of y^e
hearb Root or flower, is a
Convenient Quantity for a pint of
water, boyle it till half y^e water
be Consumed. yⁿ Lett it Stand till
it be almost Cold & straine it
through a woollen

Cloath, Letting it Run out at
Leasure without pressing: to Euery
pint of y^s Decoction add one
pound of Sugar & boyle it ouer
y^e fire till it Come to a Syrup,
which y^o may know if y^o now
& yⁿ Coole a Little of it in a
spoon; scum it all y^e while it
boiles, & when it is sufficiently
boiled, whilst it is hott, Straine it
again through a woollen Cloth,
but press not. thus haue y^o

Syrups made by Decoction
are usually made of Compounds,
yet may any simple Herb be thus
converted into Syrup: Take the
Herb, Root, or Flower you would
make into Syrup, and bruise it a
little; then boyl it in a convenient
quantity of spring Water, the
more Water you boyl in it, the
weaker wil it be, a handful of the
Herb, Root &c. is a
convenient quantitie for a pint of
Water; boyl it til half the Water
be consumed, then let it stand til
it be almost cold, and strain it
(being almost cold) through
a woollen

cloath, letting it run out at
leisure without pressing, to every
pint of this Decoction ad one
pound of Sugar and boil it over
the fire til it come to a Syrup,
which you may know if you now
and then cool a little of it in a
spoon, scum it al the while it
boils, and when it is sufficiently
boiled: whilst it is hot, strain it
again through a woollen cloth,
but press it not: Thus have you

y^e Syrup perfected.¹⁶³

Syrups made of Juyces
Are usually made of such hearbs
as are full of Juyce, & indeed
y^e are better made into a Syrope
this way yⁿ any other, y^e
Operation is thus, haueing
beaten y^e hearb in a stone mortar
with a wooden pestle, press out
y^e Juyce & Clarifie it y^e manner
of Clarifying is this, put it into a
pigskin or silkcloth or som such
thing & set it over y^e fire; & when
y^e becom^e riseth, take it of: Let it
stand ouer y^e fire til noe more scum
Rise & it is done;
yⁿ Let y^e Juyce boile away till
a q^r of it or more upon be
Consumed. to a pint of this add
a pound of Sugar, & boile it to
Syrup. allwayes scuming it, &
when it is boiled Enough, straine
it through a woollen Cloth
as a boue.¹⁶⁵

the Syrup perfected.¹⁶⁴

Syrups made of Juyces
are usually made of such Herbs
as are ful of Juyce, and indeed
they are better made into a Syrup
this way than any other; the
Operation is thus, Having
beaten the Herb in a stone Morter,
with a wooden Pestle, press out
the Juyce, and clarifie it, as you
were taught before in the Juyces,

then let the Juyce boil away til a
quarter of it (or neer upon) be
consumed; to a pint of this ad
a pound of Sugar, and boil it to a
Syrup, always scumming it, and
when it is boiled enough, strain
it through a woollen cloth, as
we taught you before, and keep it
for your use.¹⁶⁶

In the case of preparing syrups from juices, the manuscript passage is divided by the insertion of a section on clarification copied from earlier in the printed book. In the printed text, the reader was simply referred to a previous page, but in its manuscript version the relevant passage had to be included to ensure the procedure was complete and self-contained.

Following on from this material, a selection of passages from ‘y^e old Dispensatory’ have been reproduced and again it is the practical information, such as the procedures for calcination, filtration, coagulation, and infusion, which were chosen.¹⁶⁷ To begin with, this detail is condensed into a series of short passages, followed by a few entries from the catalogue of simples. When compared with Culpeper’s original printed version, the compiler’s criteria for copying out this material emerges. In print the English and Latin names of each simple appeared in italic and were followed by a description of the plant and

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, f. 4^r.

¹⁶⁴ *EP Enlarged* (1653), 2A2^v.

¹⁶⁵ WIL MS 4053, f. 4^r.

¹⁶⁶ *EP Enlarged* (1653), 2A2^v.

¹⁶⁷ WIL MS 4053, f. 5^v, i.e. the verso of page marked ‘1’ in contemporary hand, and headed ‘D^r Culpeper in y^e old Dispensatory’.

its medical virtues. In manuscript, though, this order was reversed. For example in his 'Catalogue', Culpeper wrote of dwarf-elder (*Sambucus ebulus*):

Of Dwarf Elder, Walwort, Or Danewort; hot and dry in the third degree; the Roots are as gallant a purge for the Dropsie as any under the Sun, which beside the Authority of the Ancient, was often proved by the never dying Dr. *Butler* of *Cambridge*, as my self have it in a Manuscript of him. You make take a drachm or two drachms (if the Patitent be strong) in white Wine at a tim.¹⁶⁸

The compiler of the manuscript has extracted from this the following:

— for a dropsie — These and *Roots*
Take a drachm or so of y^e Root of Dwarfe Elder, walewort or deane wort in white wine at a time y^e best purg for it under y^e sunne D^r Butler —.¹⁶⁹

Likewise, the compiler interpreted the information on plantain (*Plantago major*). Culpeper had written:

Of Plantane. The Root is somthing dryer than the Leaf, but not so cold, it opens stoppages of the Liver, helps the Jaundice and Ulcers of the Reins and Bladder. *Dioscorides* affirmeth that one Root helpeth a Quotidian Ague, three a Tertain, and four a Quartan, which though our late writers hold to be fabulous, yet there may be a greater truth in it than they are aware of; yet I am as loth to make Supersition a foundation to build on as many of them, let Experience be Judg, and then weigh not modern Jury Men. A little of the Root being eaten, instantly staies pains in the Head, even to admiration.¹⁷⁰

This was reduced in the manuscript to the following:

— for y^e Paine of y^e head —
A little bitt of Plantane being Eaten Instantly stays y^e paine of head to admiration. 1 Root helpeth a Quotidian Ague, 3 a Tertain & 4 a Quartan Ague.¹⁷¹

The compiler also adapted receipts from the catalogue of compounded medicines. Whereas Culpeper had distinguished the College's text from his comments on its virtues by using typographical signs, the compiler of this manuscript conflated the information into a single passage. For example, for rob of elderberry the printed text read:

The Colledg] *Take of the Juyce of Elder Berries and make it thick with the help of a gentle fire, either by its self, or a quarter of its weight in suger being added.*

Culpeper] Both Rob of Elder Berries, and Dwarf-Elder are excellent for such whose bodies are inclining to Dropsies; neither let them neglect nor despise it if they do 'tis not my fault: They may take the quantity of Nutmeg each morning, 'twill gently purge the watery

¹⁶⁸ PD (1653), F1^v.

¹⁶⁹ WIL MS 4053, f. 5^v.

¹⁷⁰ PD (1653), F2^v.

¹⁷¹ WIL MS 4053, f. 5^v.

humor.¹⁷²

In the manuscript, the division Culpeper made between the College's receipt and his comments are broken down, while the compiler has included additions to the method of preparation:

Juyce of Elder Berries or of Dwarfe Elder is made thus
 Take y^e Juyce of Either made in a stone mortar with a wooden Pestle and set y^m ouer a gentle fire after strained with a Quarter of y^r weight of good sugar & make y^m thick: y^r are very good to purge away any Dropsey call humor take about y^e [illegible] of a Nuttmeg Each morning or any other watery humor.¹⁷³

This pattern is followed in the method of making hazelnut oil. The printed text had read:

The Colledge] *It is made of the Kernels, clensed, brused, and heat, and pressed, like Oyle of sweet Almonds.*

Culpeper] A. You must put them in a vessel (*viz.* a glass, or some such like thing) and stop them close that the water come not them when you put them into the bath.

A. The Oyl is good for cold afflictions of the nerves, the gout in the joynts &c.¹⁷⁴

In the manuscript copy the sections were conflated:

oyle of hazell nutt Carnels made by Expression
 Pick & Cleanse y^m yⁿ breake y^m in a stone mortar yⁿ y^o must put y^m in a glass Close Stopt y^t y^e water may not Come to y^m when y^o heat y^m which must be some time yⁿ press out y^e oyle & Keep it Close, It is good for cold afflictions of y^e nerues or Joynts as y^e Gout &c.¹⁷⁵

In this treatment of Culpeper's translation the typographical differentiation that had produced a three-tier text breaks down. The authority of Culpeper's commentary flows on from that of the College. Because this was a personal book produced to an individual's requirements, the compiler has removed the authoritative tags that had separated the College from Culpeper.

The inclusion of originally printed material in manuscript receipt books represents transference of information to a localised site of application. Mimicking the role of the compositor and printer, the compiler of a receipt book could control the presentation of material. A compiler would copy the text of a receipt, obtained from print, oral communication, or correspondence, whilst making decisions about its layout. This, along with the physical structure of the manuscript and the choice of material recorded, provide a cultural context within which the manuscript was intended for use. The selection and

¹⁷² PD (1653), 2D2^r.

¹⁷³ WIL MS 4053, f. 5^v.

¹⁷⁴ PD (1653), 2P1^v.

¹⁷⁵ WIL MS 4053, f. 5^v.

adaptation of printed material, tailored for a specific use, is suggestive of critical readers. The printed page allows the transference of information from its localised site of production (the author), through publication and dissemination to a wider spectrum of information receivers (readers). Medicines are prepared and, if successful, recorded in a commonplace-book or receipt book adjacent to other empirically tested data, where they could more easily be accessed. This act constitutes authorship, in that a new text is created which could then be disseminated again within a local community. This process highlights the social network surrounding textual production and dissemination, and reveals the importance of lay-out and physical construction in printed and manuscript books.

Epilogue

Books declare themselves through their titles,
their authors, their places in a catalogue or on a
bookshelf, the illustrations on their jackets;
books also declare themselves through their size.

Alberto Manguel
A History of Reading (1996), p. 125

In this thesis a close exploration of four of Nicholas Culpeper's medical books during the period from 1649 to 1665 has confirmed Roy Porter's suggestion that 'books are not the pellucid and neutral instruments of information exchange that historians would like to pretend them to be'.¹ I have shown how Culpeper's books were a response to the conditions prevalent in London's medical marketplace from the 1630s through to the Restoration. From examining their immediate publishing histories I have highlighted the importance of bibliographical analysis to an understanding of the social history of medicine and its commercialism during the early modern period. Because vernacular medical books provided accessible authoritative knowledge, readers were increasingly better informed and able to assess the standards of medical practitioners, or to provide self-medication. That is, the printed medium played an important role in the 'medicalisation' of society and the 'professionalisation' of medicine.²

I have shown for the first time the involvement of Fellows of the London College of Physicians with the book trade during this period and their willingness to endorse the registration of English medical titles at Stationers' Hall, to raise income and control their publication. In the case of its *Pharmacopoeia* the College lost control when two London publishers secured their stationers' rights to the copy.

Culpeper's collaboration with Peter Cole produced a series of vernacular medical

¹ Roy Porter, 'Introduction', in *The Popularization of Medicine 1650-1850*, ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-16 (p. 9).

² Porter suggests that it was during the eighteenth century that English society became increasingly medicalised as the population became better informed. However, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, in London, at least, medical knowledge was available through the printed medium ('The Patient in England, c.1660 - c.1800', in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, ed. by Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; repr. 1993), 91-118 (p. 101)).

treatises, which marked the commencement of what became a deliberate policy to publish a series of texts to appeal across the spectrum of health care providers, from apothecaries, surgeons and midwives, through to the literate lay reader. The rhetoric utilised by Culpeper in the preliminaries to his translations and treatises attacked the hierarchical control of medical knowledge and called for the dissemination of previously restricted knowledge to the population. Culpeper thereby sought to empower readers, giving them control over the health management of their body and liberation from the self-interested physicians of the College, although preserving the midwives' knowledge to themselves. But these books were also published in what appears to have been a competitive and buoyant market and were immediately pirated, and it is this commercialism which is revealed here for the first time.

By the time of his death in 1654, Culpeper's name had attained a status, a 'brand name', as a signifier of medical kudos.³ For example, in a pamphlet issued by the Corporation of London Culpeper's name was promoted on its title page beside Sir Walter Raleigh's as a source of medical receipts.⁴ This was exploited in the immediate aftermath of his death, and on through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as publishers profited from using the Culpeper name. In the last decades of the seventeenth century and especially in the eighteenth, print became increasingly exploited as an advertising medium.⁵ One example is a single broadsheet deigned to promote sales of Richard Culpeper's lozenges and pills. Richard lived in Holborn and claimed kinship of Nicholas, who had, 'as a Token of his Love' left his medical receipts with Richard, 'to the end and purpose that he after his decease should publish the same for his Accommodation, and the Benefit of His Majesties subjects'.⁶ The lozenges sold at two shillings for a dozen, and were had from a variety of London's retailers; eight out of the nineteen outlets were either stationers or

³ On the comparative example of Ben Jonson, see Richard Burt, *Licensed by Authority: Ben Jonson and the Discourses of Censorship* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 150-68. Webster has also noted the 'considerable commercial appeal' of Culpeper's name (*GI*, p. 270).

⁴ [Corporation of London], *The Orders and Directions of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor ... to be Diligently Observed and Kept by the Citizens of London, During the Time of the Present Visitation of the Plague* ([1665]), title page.

⁵ See Patricia Crawford, 'Printed Advertisements for Women Medical Practitioners in London, 1670-1710', *Society for the Social History of Medicine, Bulletin*, 35 (1984), 66-70; Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989). Porter looks at the commercialism that is apparent in the eighteenth-century medical marketplace and its practitioners and professionals (pp. 43-55).

⁶ Richard Culpeper, *These are to Give Notice to All His Majesties Subjects* ([c. 1668]), broadsheet.

booksellers. In 1680, Culpeper's almanac was revived by Nathaniel Culpeper who claimed to be a 'worthy friend and Relation [of] M^r *Nicholas Culpepper*'. This title was published for at least the next twenty years, and endeavoured 'to oblige the Honest Reader with such useful novelties that may be as kindly received as freely offered for the Publick good', again echoing Culpeper's motives for his books thirty years earlier.⁷

Like Culpeper, William Salmon (1644-1713) was similarly an astrologer, medical practitioner, writer and translator.⁸ He translated the College's revised *Pharmacopoeia* of 1677, and was responsible for works on midwifery, surgery, and herbal medicine.⁹ He also had printed a series of medical handbills that advertised his retail medicines and medical practice.¹⁰ The importance of typography and the layout of medical receipts has been demonstrated in Chapter Five of this thesis, wherein I employed Genette's notion of a peritext to explain the functionality of the internal arrangement of medical books. In his translation, Salmon and his publisher (Thomas Dawks), followed Culpeper and Cole's example and created a two-tier text in which Salmon's comments followed on from the College's receipts, differentiated by roman and italic type respectively. That is, the model which Culpeper and Cole devised for presenting the English texts of the College's *Pharmacopoeias* was perceived to be helpful and therefore retained in the 1670s and many subsequent editions.

I have traced the printed book through a social network of agents. This includes the author, printer, publisher, bookseller, and reader. In the preceding chapters I have examined this complex system of production through the rhetoric of Culpeper's texts and translations, his association with his publishers, the application of page lay-out and typography in his books, and their textual fluidity through later editions. This analysis has revealed the human relationships and commercial arrangements that become apparent

⁷ Nathaniel Culpeper, *Culpepper Revived* (Cambridge, 1680), C4^v.

⁸ William Salmon promoted himself as something of a scholar, but, like Culpeper twenty-five years earlier, he similarly exploited print culture and is deserving of more research. After his death, Salmon's library was sold at two auctions on 16 November 1713 and 10 March 1714, by the bookseller Thomas Ballard. It appears that at the time of his death, Salmon owned only a few Culpeper titles, including: *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory* (1659); *The English Physitian* (1666); and *Culpeper's Midwifery* (1684). See *Bibliotheca Salmoneana*, 2 pts (1713-14), i, nos. 1167, 1181, 1223; ii, nos. 121, 122, 174, 312, 354, 489, 869, 925.

⁹ See *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the New London Dispensatory*, trans. by William Salmon (1678); George Bate, *Pharmacopoeia Bateana*, trans. by Salmon (1694); *Aristotle's Compleat and Experience'd Midwife*, trans. by W[illiam] S[almon] (1700); and *The Family Dictionary; or Household Companion*, trans. by [William Salmon] (1695).

¹⁰ See BL 551.a.32., nos. 126, 128, 222. Also, see Bernard S Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), p. 52.

through a sociological approach to the book history.

Culpeper lived and worked in London during a period of tremendous upheaval. He wrote and practised medicine; he healed patients and gave astrological readings; he sold medicines and worked for and with Peter Cole and Nathaniel Brook. His collaborations with his two publishers created a print *persona*. 'Nicholas Culpeper' was, and remains today, a product of print culture. In the late twentieth century his name is still synonymous with herbal medicine and this is largely due to the proliferation of his 'brand name' through the printed medium.

Appendix 1: Illustrations

- 1 Undated letter, Nicholas Culpeper to John Booker (Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 339, f. 173). By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

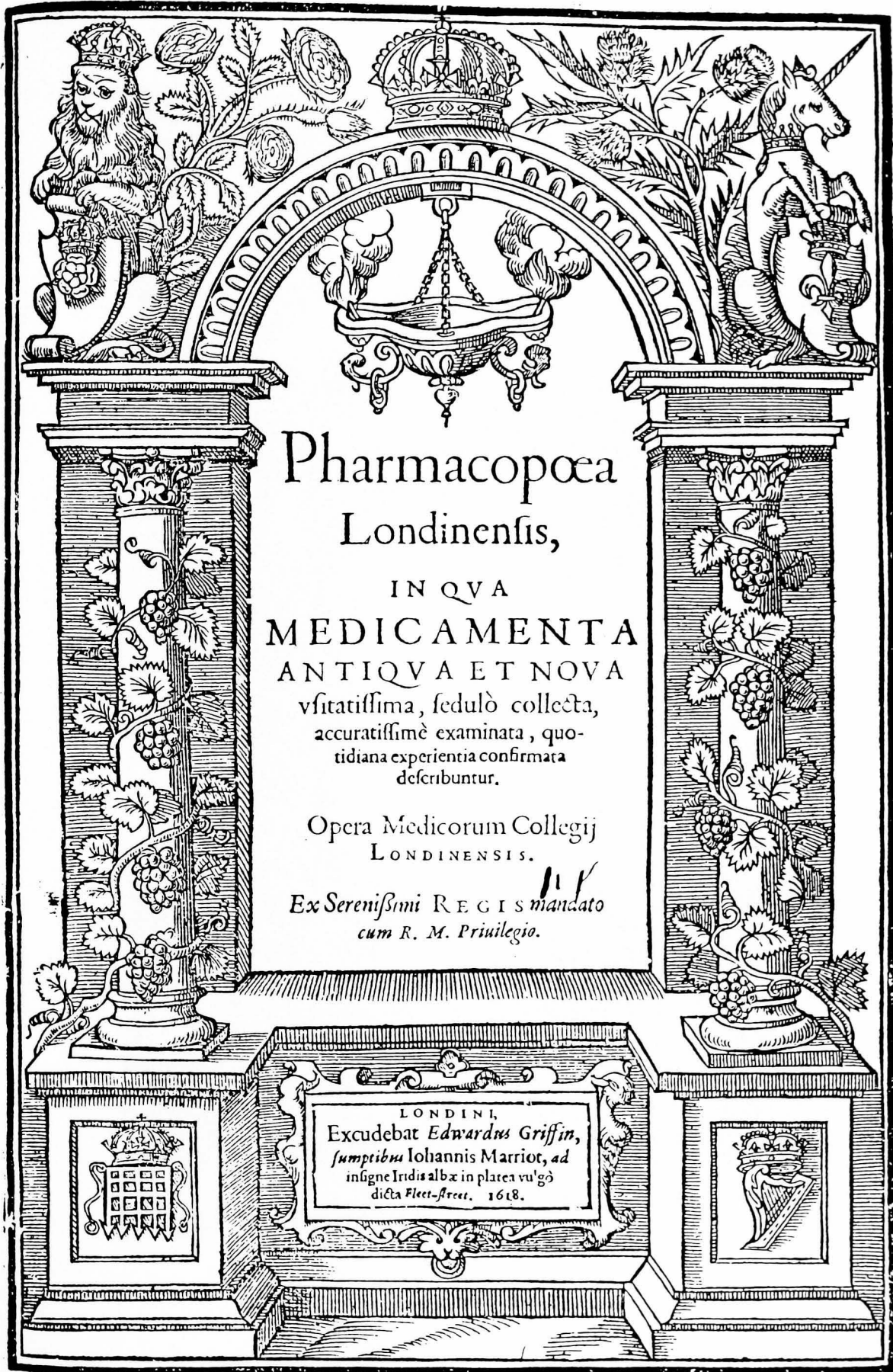
173 *over de fuzatis*
2/11 174
26

Mr Booker I entreat yo^u to do
 this man my friend and a student
 in Astrology yo^u curtesy as to let
 him take out yo^u planets places
 for his own Genesis out of an
 Ephemerides, and yo^u thereby
 shall engage yo^u real friend.

Nich. Culpeper

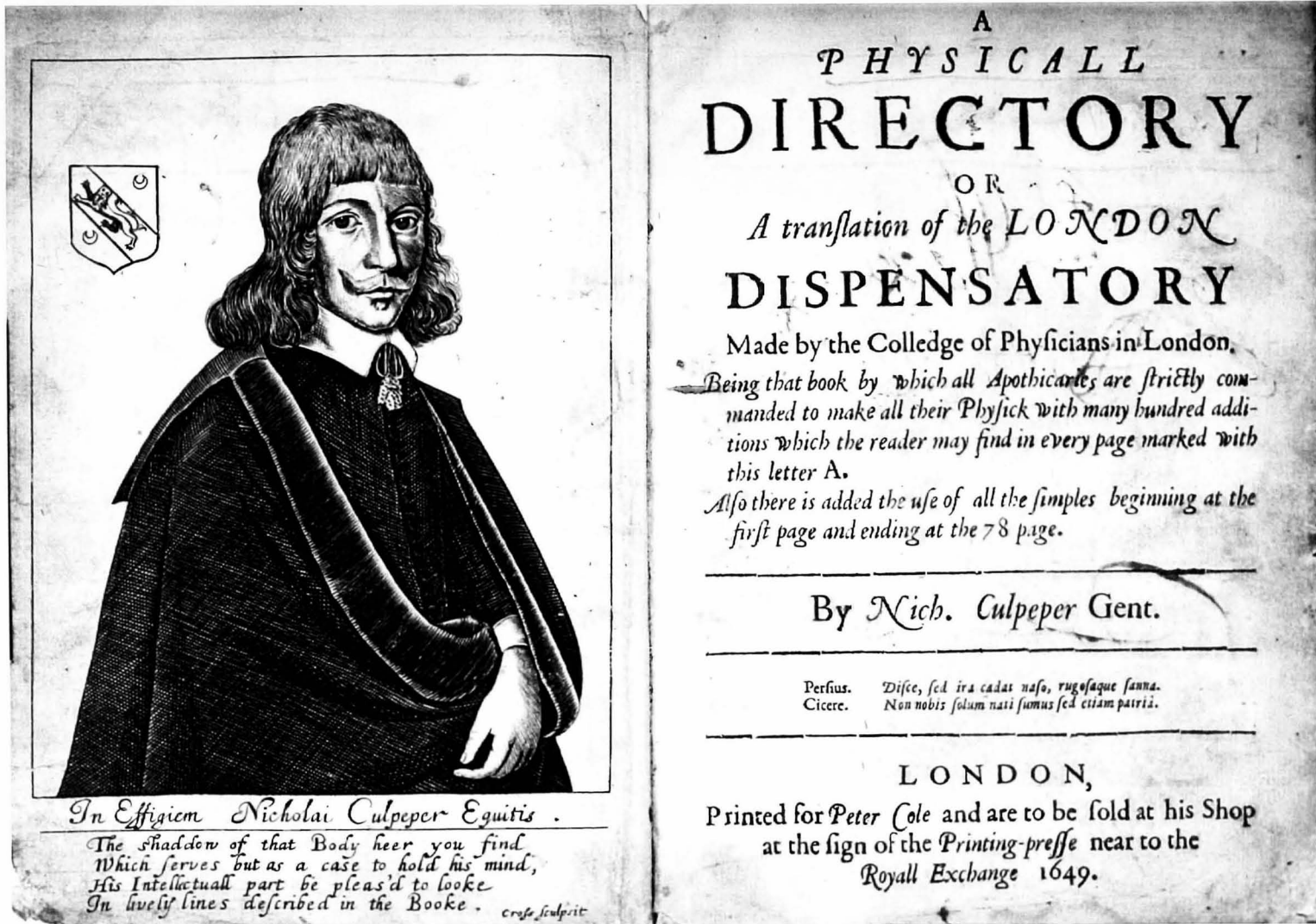
nat. 5 20 July 1611:
 Tho: Losby apud Melton
 Mowbray. Com Leicesters

2 *Pharmacopœia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta* (1618). By permission of the Wellcome Institute Library, London.



- 3 *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta* (1632) – the same plate was used in 1619, 1627, 1639. By permission of the Wellcome Institute Library, London.





*The Doctors' Dispensatory.
The Art of Physick restored to practise.*



The Apothecarys Shop opened.



Sold by H: Brooke at 6 Angel in Cornhill.

Pharmacopœia Londinensis:

OR THE

London Dispensatory.

Further adorned by the Studies and Collections of
the Fellows, now living of the said COLLEGE.

Wherein you may finde.

1. The Virtues, Qualities, and properties of every Simple.
2. The Virtues and Use of the Compounds.
3. Cautions in giving all Medicines that are dangerous.
4. All the Medicines that were in the *Old Latin Dispensatory*, and are left out in the *New Latin* one, are printed in this fourth Impression in *English*, with their Virtues.
5. A Key to Galen's *Method of Physick*, containing thirty three Chapters.
6. In this Impression the Latin name of every one of the Compounds is printed, and in what page of the new Folio Latin Book they are to be found.
7. According to the longing desire of the Author, for the good of the *Common-wealth*, as in fol. 71. and many other places, this Book is printed in this Character to the end that its price may not exceed the poorest purse.

By Nich. Culpeper Gent. Student in Physick and Astrology, living in Spittlefields near London.

*Scire potestates Herbarum, usumque medendi
Maluit, & multas agitare (in gloriam) artes. Virgil.*

London, Printed by a Well-wisher to the *Common-wealth* of ENGLAND. 1654.

Unguentum Pectorale. 165. Or, A Pectoral Ointment.

Colleg. Take of fresh Butter washed in Violet water, six ounces: Oyl of sweet Almonds four ounces: Oyl of Chamomel and Violets, white Wax, of each three ounces: Hens and Ducks grease, of each two ounces: Orris roots two drams: Saffron half a dram: The two last being finely powdered, the rest melted and often washed in Barley or Hyssop water, make an Ointment of them according to art.

Culpeper. It strengthens the breast and stomach, caleth the pains thereof, helps pleuritics and consumptions of the lungs, the breast being anointed with it. Now they have mended their nonsensical boiling of the Butter.

If any be troubled with stomach worms, let him hold a piece of a Honey-comb in his Mouth, and the worms will come out to the Honey.

Unguentum Populeum. 166. Or, Ointment of Poplar.

Colleg. Take of fresh Poplar buds one pound and an half: the flowers of Violets and Navel-wort of the wall, of each three ounces: fresh Hogs grease, three pound: all of them being beaten together, in May let them stand a while, ad the tops of Raspberries, the leaves of black Poppies, Mandrake, Henbane, Nightshade, Lettice, Housleek great and small, Burs the greater, of each three ounces: beat them all together, and all of them being mixed, after ten daies with a pound of Rose water, boyl it till all the superfluous humidity be consumed; then strain it and press it out that it may be an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. It is exceeding good in burnings, scaldings, and inflammations; it asswageth the heat of the head and kidneys; the temples being anointed

Unguentum Resumptivum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Hogs grease three ounces: the grease of Hens, Geese, and Ducks, of each two ounces: Oyl of half an ounce: Oyl of Violets, Chamomel, and Dill: fresh Butter, a pound: white wax, six ounces: Mufflage of Gum Tragacanth, Arabick, Quince seeds, Lin-seeds, Marsh-mallow roots, of each half an ounce: Let the Mufflages be made in Rose water, and adding the rest, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. It mightly mollifies without any manifest heat, and is therefore a fit Ointment for such as have Agues, Althmaes, Hectick Feavers, or Consumptions. It is a gallant Ointment to ease pains coming by inflammations of Wounds or Apsthumes, especially such as drinels accompanies, an infirmity wounded people are many times troubled with. In inward Apsthumes, as Pleuritics, is one of them to anoint the external region of the part is very beneficial.

The Juycce of Knoggrals drunk with the powder of seven Pepper corns, a little before the fit comes, cures the quartan Ague: but they say it must be gathered on a Thursday, and the juycce pressed out then also. *Mixtulus.* Cantharides wapped in a Spiders Web, and banged over one that hath a quartan Ague, perfectly cures them. *Mixtulus.*

308 O Y N T M E N T S.

Unguentum Pectorale. 165. Or, A Pectoral Ointment.

Colleg. Take of fresh Butter washed in Violet water six ounces, Oyl of sweet Almonds four ounces, Oyl of chamomel and Violets, white wax, of each three ounces, Hens and Ducks grease, of each two ounces, Orris roots two drams, Saffron half a dram: The two last being finely powdered, the rest melted and often washed in Barley or Hyssop water, make an Ointment of them according to art.

Culpeper. It strengthens the Breast and stomach, caleth the pains thereof, helps pleuritics and consumptions of the lungs, the breast being anointed with it. Now they have mended their nonsensical boiling of the Butter. They that think the use of these Medicines is too brief, (it's too only for cheapness of the Book) let them read these Books of mine, of the last Edition, viz. *Riverius, Riolanus, Johnston, Velsingus, Sennertus,* and *Physick for the Poor.*

Unguentum Populeum. 166. Or, Ointment of Poplar.

Colleg. Take of fresh Poplar buds one pound and an half, the flowers of Violets and Navel-wort of the wall, of each three ounces: fresh Hogs grease, three pound: all of them being beaten together, in May let them stand a while, ad the tops of Raspberries, the leaves of black Poppies, Mandrake, Henbane, Nightshade, Lettice, Housleek great and small, Burs the greater, of each three ounces: beat them all together, and all of them being mixed, after ten daies with a pound of Rose water, boyl it till

all the superfluous humidity be consumed; then strain it and press it out that it may be an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. It is exceeding good in burnings, scaldings, and inflammations; it asswageth the heat of the head and kidneys; the temples being anointed with it, it provokes sleep. They have in their last something altered this, but to little purpose, or none at all: they must do something, as the woman said when she th— in the house, and made it clean again.

Unguentum Resumptivum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Hogs grease three ounces, the grease of Hens, Geese, and Ducks, of each two ounces, Oyl of half an ounce, Oyl of Violets, chamomel, and Dill, fresh butter a pound, white wax six ounces, Mufflage of Gum Tragacanth, Arabick, Quince seeds, Lin-seeds, Marsh-mallow roots, of each half an ounce. Let the Mufflages be made in Rose water, and adding the rest, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. It mightly mollifies without any manifest heat, and is therefore a fit Ointment for such as have Agues, Althmaes, Hectick Feavers, or Consumptions. It is a gallant Ointment to ease pains coming by inflammations of wounds or Apsthumes, especially such as drinels accompanies, an infirmity wounded people are many times troubled with. In inward Apsthumes, as Pleuritics, is one of them to anoint the external region of the part, is very beneficial.

Unguentum Splanchnicum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Oyl of Capars an ounce, Oyl of white Lillies, Chamomel, fresh Butter, juycce of Briony and Sowbread, of each half an ounce: boyl it to the consumption of the juycce, ad Ammoniacum dissolved in Vinegar, two drams and an half: Hens grease, Olypus, Marrow of a Calfs leg, of each half an ounce: Powder of the Bark of the Roots of Tamaris and Capars, Fern roots, Cetrach, of each a dram: the seeds of Agnus Castus, and Broom, of each a scruple: with a sufficient quantity of wax, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. Before they called these, *Unguentum Splanchnicum*, which because every one that understood any Latin might understand, they invented a hideous name, *Unguentum Splanchnicum*. There are some that cannot abide Ointments, yet can easily bear Playlters: therefore when occasion is given, you may make up the Ointment in form of a Playlter, by adding a little Wax, Ship pitch, Cyperus, turpentine. Both these Ointments are appropriated to the Spleen, and ease the pains thereof, the sides being anointed with them. I fancy not the former.

Unguentum Succu. 167. Or, Ointment of Juyces.

Colleg. Take of juycce of dwarf-Elder eight ounces: of Smallage and Parsly of each four ounces: Wormwood and Orris of each five ounces: common Oyl half a pound: Oyl of white Lillies ten ounces, of Wormwood and Chamomel of each six ounces: the fat of Ducks and Hens of each two ounces: boyl them together with a gentle fire till the juyces be consumed, then strain it, and with seven ounces of white Wax, and a little white wine Vinegar, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Unguentum Splanchnicum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Oyl of Capars an ounce, Oyl of white Lillies, Chamomel, fresh Butter, juycce of Briony and Sowbread, of each half an ounce: boyl it to the consumption of the juycce, ad Ammoniacum dissolved in Vinegar, two drams and an half: Hens grease, Olypus, Marrow of a Calfs Leg, of each half an ounce: powder of the bark of the Roots of Tamaris and Capars, Fern roots, Cetrach, of each a dram; the seeds of Agnus castus, and Broom, of each a scruple: with a sufficient quantity of Wax, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Unguentum Splanchnicum, Magistrale. 167.

Colleg. Take of the bark of Caper Roots six drams: Briony Roots, Orris Florentine, powder of sweet Fennel seed, Ammoniacum dissolved in Vinegar, of each half an ounce: tops of Wormwood, Chamomel flowers, of each a dram: Ointment of the Juycce and of flowers of Orrenges, of each six drams: Oyl of Orris and Capars, of each an ounce and an half: the things which ought being powdered and sifted: the rest diligently mixed in a hot Mortar: make it into an Ointment according to art.

Culpeper. Before they called these, *Unguentum Splanchnicum*; which because every one that understood any Latin might understand, they invented a hideous name, *Unguentum Splanchnicum*. There are some that cannot abide Ointments, yet can easily bear Playlters: therefore when occasion is given, you may make up the Ointment in form of a Playlter, by adding a little Wax, Ship-pitch, Cyperus, Tur-

Unguentum Splanchnicum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Oyl of Capars an ounce, Oyl of white Lillies, Chamomel, fresh Butter, juycce of Briony and Sowbread, of each half an ounce: boyl it to the consumption of the juycce, ad Ammoniacum dissolved in Vinegar, two drams and an half: Hens grease, Olypus, Marrow of a Calfs leg, of each half an ounce: Powder of the Bark of the Roots of Tamaris and Capars, Fern roots, Cetrach, of each a dram: the seeds of Agnus Castus, and Broom, of each a scruple: with a sufficient quantity of wax, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Unguentum Succu. 167. Or, Ointment of Juyces.

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Unguentum Sumach. 168.

Colleg. Take of Sumach, unripe Galls, Myrtle berries, Balauitines, Pomogranate Pills, Acorn cups, Cyperus Nuts, Acacia, Mallich, of each ten drams: white wax five ounces: Oyl of Roses often washed in Allum-water, a pound and ten ounces: make a fine powder of the things you can, and keep them four whole daies in juycce of Medlars and unripe Services, of each a sufficient quantity, then dry them by a gentle fire, and with the Oyl and wax boyl it into an Ointment.

Unguentum Splanchnicum. 166.

Colleg. Take of Oyl of Capars an ounce, Oyl of white Lillies, Chamomel, fresh Butter, juycce of Briony and Sowbread, of each half an ounce: boyl it to the consumption of the juycce, ad Ammoniacum dissolved in Vinegar, two drams and an half: Hens grease, Olypus, Marrow of a Calfs Leg, of each half an ounce: powder of the bark of the Roots of Tamaris and Capars, Fern roots, Cetrach, of each a dram; the seeds of Agnus castus, and Broom, of each a scruple: with a sufficient quantity of Wax, make it into an Ointment according to art.

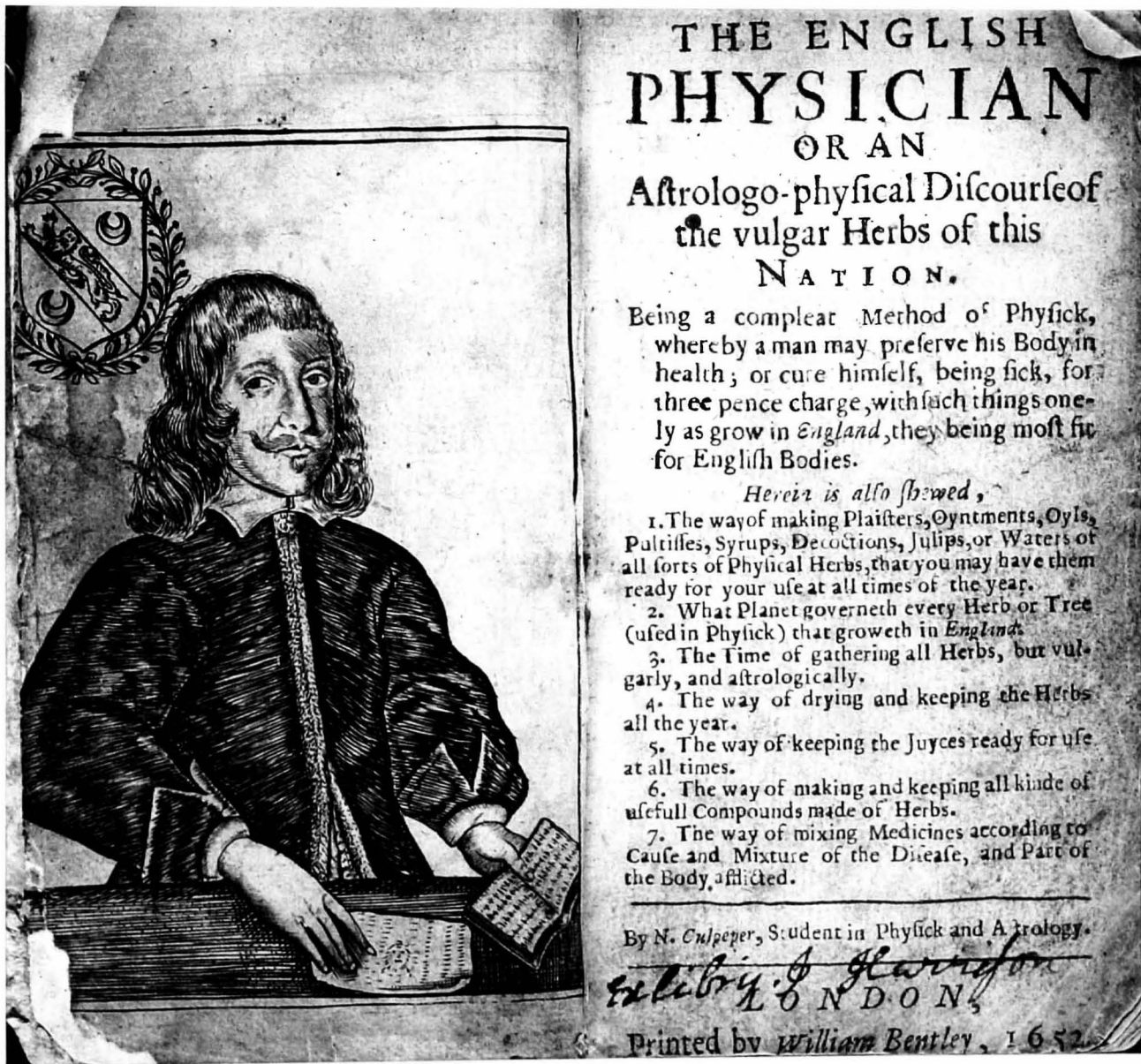
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Unguentum Succu. 167. Or, Ointment of Juyces.

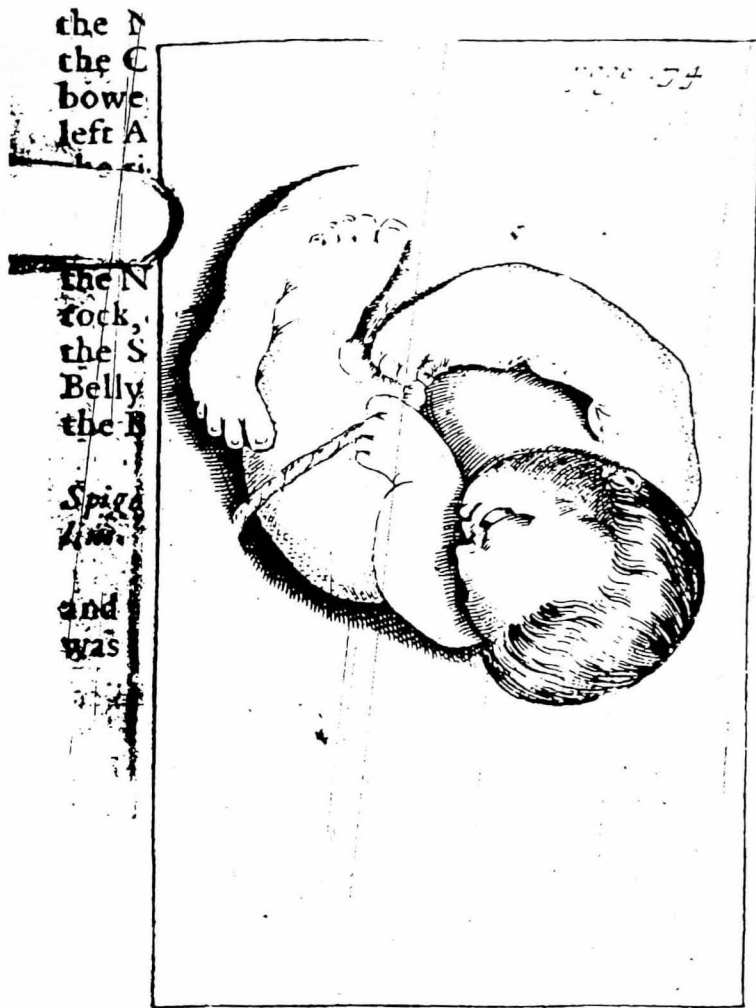
Colleg. Take of juycce of Dwarf-Elder eight ounces: of Smallage and Parsly, of each four ounces: Wormwood and Orris, of each five ounces: common Oyl half a pound: Oyl of white Lillies ten ounces, of Wormwood and Chamomel, of each six ounces: the fat of Ducks and Hens, of each two ounces: boyl them together with a gentle fire till the juyces be consumed, then strain it, and with seven ounces of white Wax, and a little white wine Vinegar, make it into an Ointment according to art.

Unguentum Sumach. 168.

Colleg. Take of Sumach, unripe Galls, myrtle berries, Balauitines, pomogranate pills, Acorn cups, cyperus nuts, Acacia, Mallich, of each ten drams: white wax five ounces: Oyl of Roses often washed in Alum water, a pound and ten ounces: make a fine powder of the things you can, and keep them four whole daies in juycce of Medlars and unripe Services, of each a sufficient quantity, then dry them by a gentle fire, and with the Oyl and Wax boyl it into an Ointment.



9 Illustration from Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (1651).



10 Illustration from Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (1653).

AN EXPLICATION of the FIGURE.

This Table shews the Infant naked and disrobed of all its Tunicles, both Proper and Common.

AA The portion of the Chorion dissected and removed from their proper place.

B A portion of the Amnios.

CC The Membrane of the Womb dissected.

DD The Placenta being a certain fleshy substance indued with very many Vessels, by which the Infant receives its Nourishment.

E The Varication of the Vessels which make up the Navel-string.

FF The Navel-string, by which the Umbilical Vessels are carried from the Placenta to the Navel.

GG The Infant as it lieth perfect in the Womb, near time of Travel.

H A portion of the Umbilical ... into the Navel of the Infan...

(55)

My second Question is, How the Child is nourished in the Womb.

Authors differ as much about this: I shall quote some of them, that none should think I am critical without a cause against Antiquity, which our Nation, for want of more wise Men, have accounted Venerable.

Alexander thought the Infant drew in his Nourishment by his whole Body, because it is rare and spongy, as a sponge sucks in water on every side; and so he thought it sucked Blood, not only from the Mother's Velos, but also from her Womb.

Diemerbroeck and Eriusius, recorded by Plinarch, held, That the Child sucked in its Nourishment at its mouth.

And also Hippocrates, Lib. de Principiis, affirms, That the Child sucked both Nourishment and Breasts by its mouth, from the Mother when she breast; (though in other Treatises he seems to deny it) yet there he brings two Reasons for it: 1. Because it sucks so soon as 'tis born, therefore it must needs have learned before. 2. Because there are Excrementes found in the Guts of it so soon as 'tis born.

To the first I answer thus, It seems to suck by its natural Instinct. Take a young Cat that never saw her Mother suck a Mouse, yet will she catch it soon as she is able; Must she needs therefore suck from her Dam when she was in her Belly? And yet this Argument of Hippocrates will serve for such a Proof as denied any thing as Natural Instinct (of which I know none) to reach in the Pulpie for Authentick.

To his Second Reason, I answer thus, That there are not Excrementes of the first concoction; and that I prove, because they sink nose, but are the thickest Blood conveyed from the Vessels of the Spleen to the Guts, and then carried into that form.

E 4

- 11 Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (1651), frontispiece and title page.



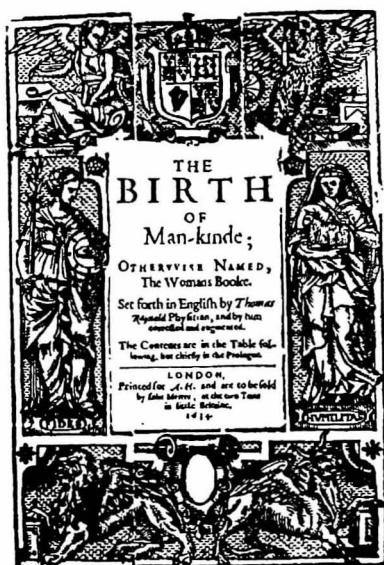
A
DIRECTORY
 FOR
MIDWIVES:
 OR,
A Guide for Women,
 In their { *Conception,*
 } *Bearing, And*
 } *Suckling their Children.*
 Containing,
 1. *The Anatomy of the Vessels of Generation.*
 2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.*
 3. *What hinders Conception, and its Remedies.*
 4. *What furthers Conception.*
 5. *A Guide for Women in Conception.*
 6. *Of Miscarriage in Women.*
 7. *A Guide for Women in their Labor.*
 8. *A Guide for Women in their Lying-in.*
 9. *Of Nursing Children.*

By *Nich. Culpeper, Gent.* Student in
 Phyfick and Astrologie.

Exod. 1. 21.
It came to pass, because the Midwives feared the Lord,
that God built them Houses.

LONDON:
 Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the sign of the *Printing-Press*
 in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange, 1651.

- 12 *The Birth of Mankind* (1634 and 1654), title pages.



THE
Birth of Mankind,
 Otherwisc called,
THE WOMANS BOOK.

OR,
 A Guide for WWomen,
 In their { *Conception,*
 } *Bearing, and*
 } *Suckling their Children.*

CONTAINING
 1. *The Anatomy of the Vessel of Generation.*
 2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.*
 3. *What hinders Conception; and its Remedies.*
 4. *What furthers Conception.*
 5. *and Guide for women in Conception.*
 6. *Of Miscarriage in women.*
 7. *A guide for women in Labour.*
 8. *A guide for women in their Lying in.*
 9. *Of Nursing of Children.*

Illustrated with Figures.

Translated into English by *Thomas Reynald,*
 Doct^r of Physick.

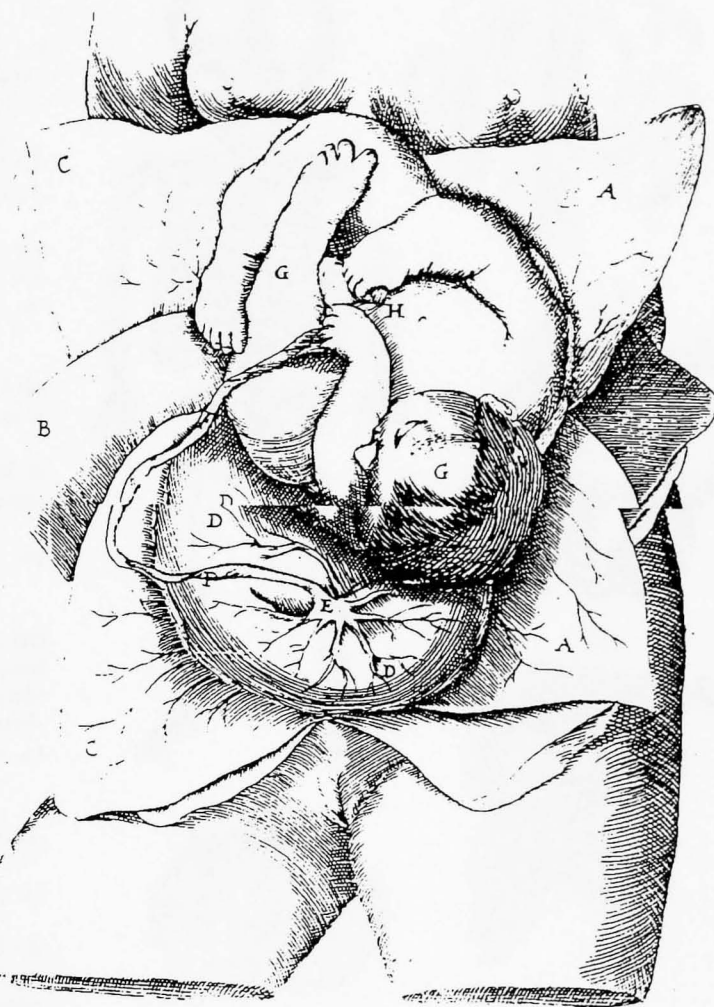
The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented.

LONDON,
 Printed for *J. L. Henry Head, Aed Rippe,* and *Richard Tomline,*
 and are to be sold at their Shops in *Fleet-Street,* and at the
Sun and Bible in *Pic-Cooner,* 1654.

2 The Form the Child lies in, in the Womb, according to the
Opinion of Spigelius.

This Table shews the Infant naked and disrobed of all its Tunicles, both Proper and Common.

- AA The portions of the Chorion dissected and removed from their proper place.
- B A portion of the Amnios.
- CC The Membrane of the Womb dissected
- DD The Placenta being a certain fleshy substance inclosed with very many Vessels, by which the Infant receives its Nourishment.
- E The Varication of the Vessels which make up the Navel-string.
- FF The Navel-string, by which, the Umbilical Vessels are carried from the Placenta to the Navel.
- GG The Infant as it lieth perfect in the Womb, near the time of Travel.
- H The Insertion of the Umbilical Vessels into the Navel of the Infant.



Culpepers Midwife Enlarged.

An Explication of the Figures, shewing the difference of the Parts of a Child in the Womb, from thole in a Person of Yeers.

The Second of the Figures in this Brass plate, shew the form the Child lies in, in the womb, according to the Opinion of Hippocrates, and Bartholinus.

FIG. I.

AA The *Deputie-Kidney*, or *Vice-kidney*, called in *Latin* *Renes Succenturiati*.

BB The *True Kidney*, as yet distinguished by direct *Tegments*; but ill expressed in point of *Situation*, by the *Greater Intestine*.

C The great *Arteria*, from which branches go to the *Kidney*, and *Capula*, or *Caster*.

D The *Vena Cava*; from whence spring the *Emulgents*, and the small twigs of the *Capula*, or *Caster*.

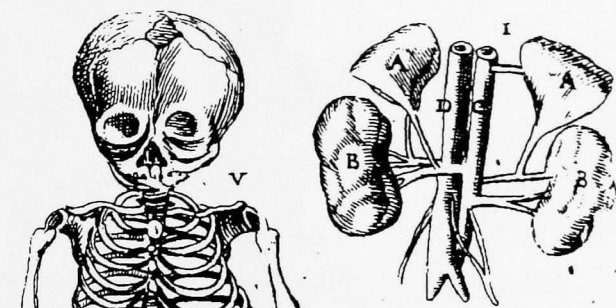


FIG. II.

Shews the *Situation* of a Child in the womb, howbeit in some it differs.

A The *Head* bending forward, so as the *Nose* may be hid between the *Knees*.

BB The *Buttcks*, to which the *Arteries* are close set.

CC The *Arms*.

D The *Band* or *Rope* carried along by the *Neck*, and bended back upon the *forehead*, and continued with the *Placenta*, expressed in the following Figure, at the letter *D*.

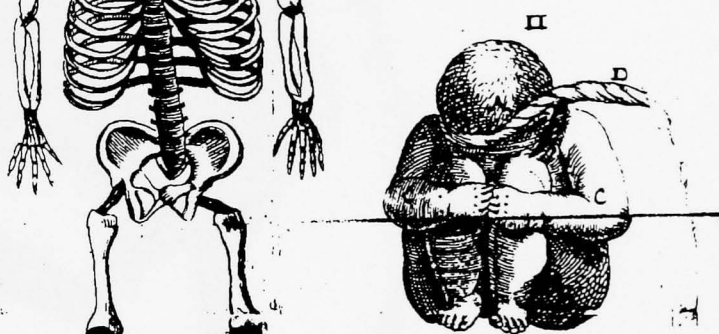


FIG. III.

AAA The *Membrane Chorion*, divided.

BB The *Amnios Membrane*, as yet covering the *Band*.

CC The inner concave part of the *Placenta*, or *Womb-Cake*, which lies next the *Infant* with twigs of the *Vessels*.

D A portion of the *Band* or *twisted Rope*.

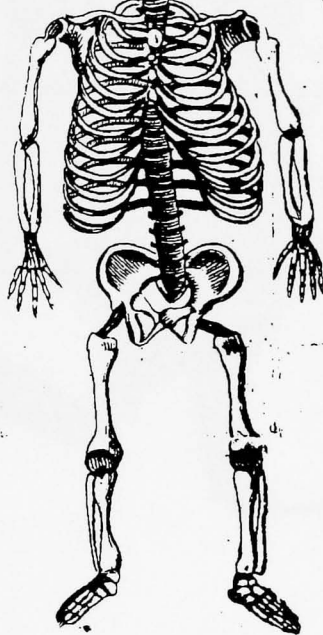


FIG. IV.

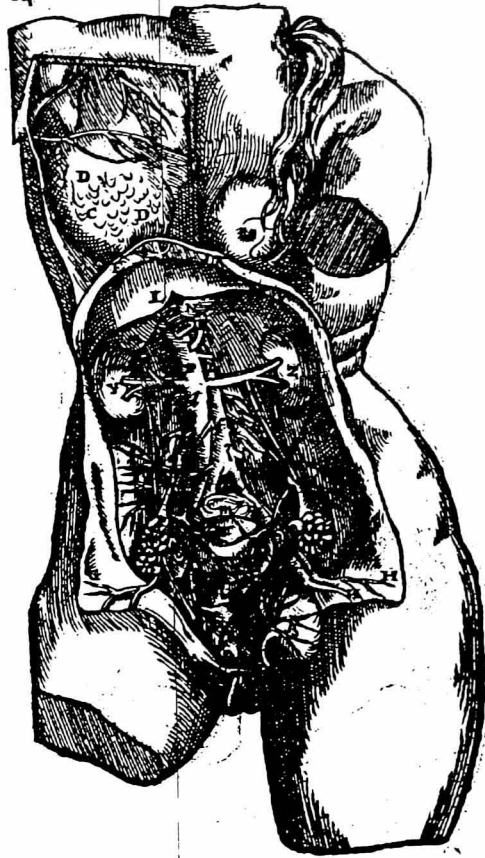
Expresses the outside of the *Womb-Cake*, which cleaves to the *Womb* with (EEEE) the *Clefts* and *Chinks* therein, which varie in respect of number, and depth.

FIG. V.

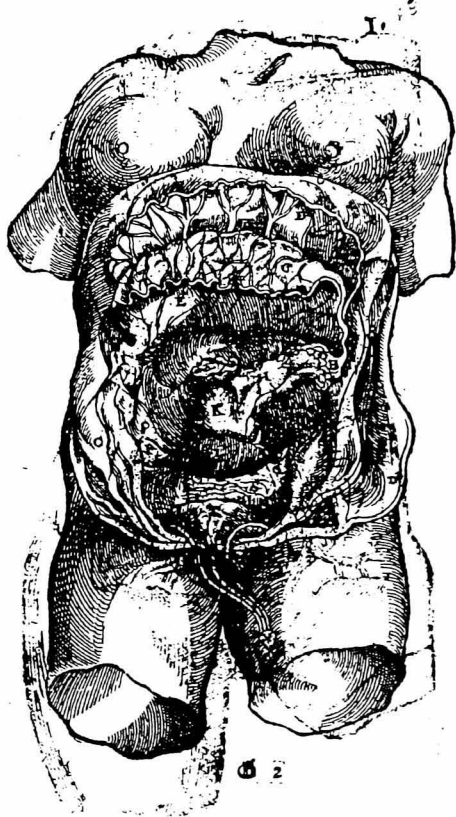
The *Skeleton* of a Child as it is in the *Mother's Womb*; which in many particulars, differs from that of a grown person, as is apparent.



84

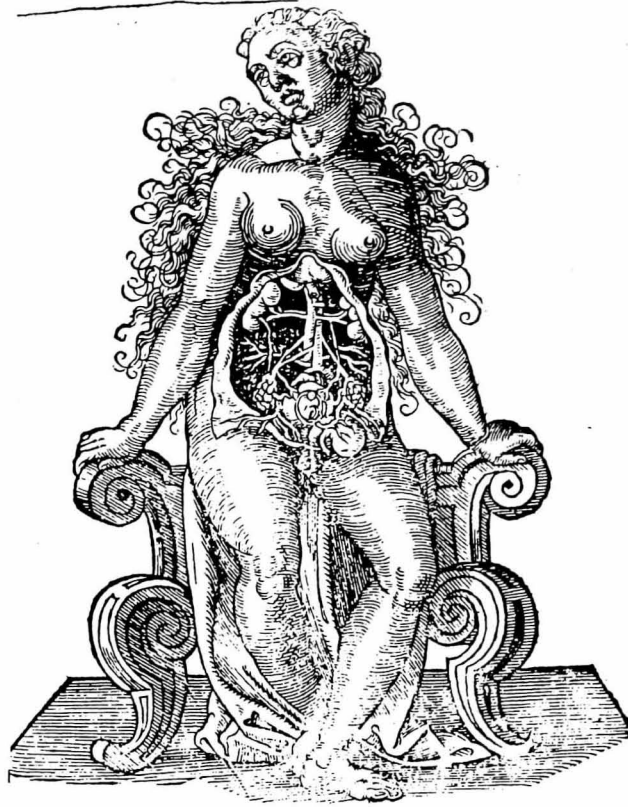


83



16 Illustration from *The Expert Midwife* (1637).

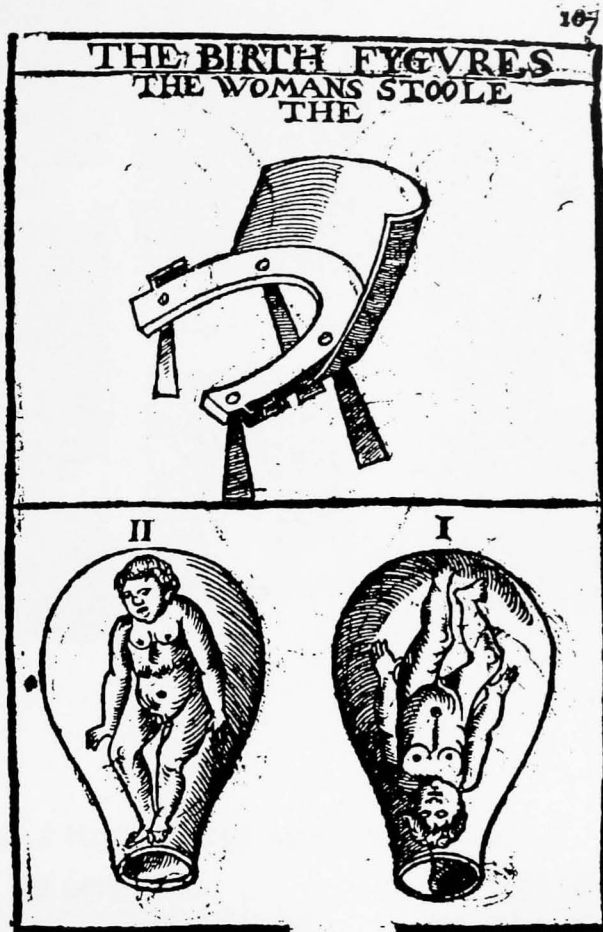
Chap. I. *The expert Midwife.* 45



17 Illustration from Spegilius, *De Formato Foeto* ([Padua], 1626).



18 Illustration from *The Birth of Mankind* (1626).



19 Illustration from *The Expert Midwife* (1637) and Guillemeau, *Child Birth, or the Happy Deliverie of Women* (1612).

128 *The expert Midwife. Lib. 4.*

the Infant, shee take hold of his head, and as much as she may first direct and conduct him to proceede forth; also the armes must be removed, unless they shall fall downe to the sides of themselves. If it succeed not well this way, we must use the former manner of turning.

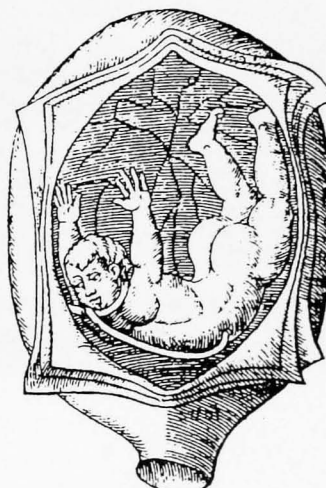
CHAP. XII.
Of the twelv'th forme, and cure of it.

The most per-
rillous birth
of all.
Precepts to be
observed.



Sometimes it cometh to passe contrary to the forme before, that the birth proceedeth forth breastward, the hands and feet cast and turned backward. This is accounted most perillous of all; wherefore the Midwife in this case must diligently observe these precepts: First, let the Midwife annoint her owne hands, and the wombe of

Lib. 2. *the happie deliuerie of Women.* 167



regio that place the woman in good order (as hath bene said) and then shall he slide vp his right hand (being first annointed) to observe and feele what part of the childs body is nearest, which hee shall perceiue both by his feeling, and by wagging and stirring the child vp and downe: If the breast be

Meane to help the child

next

Cataplasmes.

53

℞. *Absinthij, Abrotani, Sambuci, & Chameparissi, ana Mj. Summitatum Thymi, Ruta, Origani, Rosismarini, Saturia, & Lanendule, ana M ℞. flo. Chamo: & meliloti, ana Mj. flo: Centaurij, Salvia, & laudula, ana, Pijj.* Boyle them all in *Vrina Pueror. immaculator. q. s.* vnto tendernesse, then stamp them very fine, and adde vnto them, *Far. Triticci, ℥iiij. Far. Orobi, & Lupinor. ana, ℥ij. Baccar. Lauri, & Iuniperi, pul. ana ℥j. sem. Vriticar, & Cymini pul. ana ℥vj. sem. Carui, & Ruta, pul. ana ℥℞. Axung. Porc. ℞℞. ol. sem. Lini, ℞℞. ol. Ros. complet. ℥iiij. ol. Ruta, ℥j. ol. Spica, ℥℞. Terebinth. ℥ij. Myrrha, & Mastici pul. ana ℥j. aq. vita opt. ℞℞. Aceti acerrimi, ℥iiij.* Boyle all these together at a gentle fire (with constant stirring) vnto the due forme of a Cataplasme. This (applyed hot, and somewhat thick, and changed twice in xxiiij. houres) * speedily abates Oedematous Tumors, heats cold members, comforts the neruous parts, and diffuseth v. ind. *Poeton.*

℞. *Flo. Verbasci, Hyperici, & Rosar. ana Pij. Ruti, Hyosciami, ana Mj. Aceti, q. s.* Boyle them together *s. a.* and make a Cataplasme. * Which is a rare and excellent defenitiue in venomed wounds, if the whole member affected be therewith cloathed, for it much comforteth the part, asswaging paine, and preventing Tumour, and Apostemation. *Quercitanus.*

℞. *Bol. Arm. Far. volatilis, molendinaria, album: Onor. & Aceti Rosati, ana q. s. s. a. f. Cataplasma.* * It stayes bleeding at the nose, being applyed on hempen cloath to the forehead and arteries, and a linnen cloath (being wet in vinegar) lapt about the necke, and another (so wet) lapt about the priuities. *Ranzonius.*

℞. *Cere, ℥iiij℞. Colophonia, seu Picis Græcæ. pingued: Thymialis Piscis, Mumie, ana ℥j℞. Myrrha, ℥j. minij ℥℞. Coralli albi, ℥iiij. Thuris, mastici, ana ℥j. Capburæ, ℥℞. s. a.* make a Cataplasme: The which (being ductly applyed) * Cures any wound, cut, or puncture. This was frequently vsed by *Christian, King of Denmarke. Ranzonius.*

℞. *Vng. Dialthea, vel Oesypi, ℥iiij. Stercoris Hyrundinum, vel Gallinar. ℥vj. s. a. f. Cataplasma.* * Against Angina, or the Squinancy. *Rondel.*

℞. *Micar. Panistoffi, & in aceto macerati, ℥vj. Caryophilor. macis,*

THE TABLE

291. E. 307. C. 323. E.
 Beauty to preserve, a Balme 12. A.
 Belly to move, an Vnguent. 315. D.
 Belly lower to purge, Suppositaries. 26. C.
 D
 Belly torments to ease, a Cataplasme, 34 B.
 Biles, soares, or pushes on womens breasts,
 a Plaister. 219 B.
 Bladder obstructed, an Oyle 177. A.
 Bladder torments by, &c. an Oyle, 182. C.
 Blisterings, an Vnguent, 299. F.
 Biting of a mad dog, Balmes. 19 D. 20. A. a
 Clyster. 82. B. a Decoction 93. C. a Plai-
 ster 234. C. an Vnguent. 332. B.
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 B. a Plaister. 228. A. Vnguent 316. A.
 331. D. 332. B.
 Biting of Scorpions, an Oyle. 176. C.
 Biting and stinging of serpents, a Plaister.
 211. F.
 Bitings of all kinds, a Plaister. 234. G.
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 35. A. 53. D. an Epitheme. 111. a Fume.
 127. B.
 Bleeding of a wound to stay, a Potion. 250. E
 Bloud to stanch, a Liniment. 155. E. a Plai-
 ster. 217. C. Powders. 256. A. B. C. 257.
 260. G. 261. D.
 Bloud spitting or vomiting to stay, a Poti-
 on 248. C.
 Bloud spitting to stay, a Cataplasme. 56. I.
 a Gargarisme. 134. E. an Oyle. 178. D.
 Bloud congealed to scatter, a Plaister 222. F.
 Bloud in an eruption to stay an Vnguent.
 326. D.
 Bloud violently bursting forth from the no-
 strills, lungs, &c. an Vnguent. 329. F.
 Bloud flowing to prevent and forbid, a Ce-
 rot. 68. D. a Plaister. 210. C.
 Bloud to beare from flowing into any
 wound, &c. a Cataplasme 43. C.
 Bloud vnnecessary flowing to any part, an
 Vnguent, 287. B.
 Bloud confused to dissolve and scatter, a Fo-
 ment, 131. D.
 Body to open in any griefe, a Clyster, 81.
 A.
 Bodies costive to make soluble. Clysters.
 79. C. E.
 Bodies ouer hot to coole, a Clyster. 80. A.
 Body inflamed to coole, &c. an Oyle. 183. B.
 Body to adorne with colour, an Oyle, 182.
 F.
 Bodies vlceraed, a Potion. 240. F.
 Bodies vlceraed which are strong, &c. a Po-
 tion. 250. A.
 Body to preserve against venomous ayre,
 &c. an Oyle. 178. D.
 Bodies cold affects, an Oyle. 184. A.
 Bodies loose to fatten, an Oyle. 176. D. 184. B.
 Bodies infecbled to nourish, a Clyster, 80.
 F.
 Bodies strong and rustick to purge, Billes
 190. A.
 Bones broken to restore Cerots, 73. C. 77.
 D. Plaisters, 192. C. 226. A.
 Bones broken to conioyne and consolidate,
 &c. an Vnguent. 316. F.
 Bones bared to cber with flesh, &c. a
 Balme. 17. C. A. Plaister 192. D.
 Bones corrupt to cleanse a Trochise, 296.
 B.
 Bones to cleanse, and to produce flesh in
 chers, a Cerot. 75. C.
 Botium gula, Powders 255. G. 257. G.
 Bowels torments to ease, a Cataplasme, 42.
 F.
 Bowells torments, with pissing of, bloud, a
 Quilt. 265. G.
 Bowells to free of waterish humours, a Sup-
 positarie, 267. A.
 Braine to comfort, a Cataplasme. 59. B. a
 Lotion. 160. A.
 Braine to strengthen, a Balme. 23. B. Cat-
 plasme. 58. B. G. 59. E. an Oyle. 178. B.
 a Quilt. 262. B.
 Braine, ioynts, &c. to strengthen, an Oyle.
 183. F.
 Braine to temper, a Quilt. 263. C.
 Braines cold affects, a Cataplasme. 58. F. a
 Lotion

the browes, and the liddes of the esen
there with, and they shall be hole.
For eien that ben dafuned, oz darke.

Capitulo. xxi.

Take the roote of read fenell in
wynter and in sommer the leues, oz
els both rotes and leues, and stampe
them and wrynge out the ioyce and
temper the ioyce with fyne claryfied
hony and make therof an opntement
and anoynte the eyen therwith and
it shall put a way the darkenes, and
it shall clere thy syght. ¶ A pzeious
water for y sight of y eyen cap. xxiii.

Take Smalage, read fenell, iue,
beruayn, betayne, egrymony, pym-
pernell, enfrage, sauge salendine, of
euerthe alyke muche of quantyte,
and washe them well and clene and
stampe them & put them into a sayze
brasen pan, and take the powder of
fifteene peper cornes sayze lareid in
to a pinte of good whyte wyne and
put it

put it into y herbes, with iii. spoone
full of lyuelly hony, and fyue spoone
full of the water of a machylde that
is an Innocent and medle them all
together and boyle them ouer the
fyer, and whan it is soden strayne it
throug a clene linnen cloth, & put
it in a glasse and stoppe it well and
close, till you wyll occupye it & whan
neede is do therof into the soze eyen
with a fetter, and if it be wazen dye
teper it with good whyte wyne, for
it is very good for the syght of eyen.
¶ For a pynne and the webbe in the
eyes. Capitulo. xxiii.

Take a curtesy of cleane clarified
hony and muche of womans mylke
that nozyntheth a mayde chylde and
for the woman the manchylde and
sethe them together, and whan it is
colde put it in a glasse, and close it
from the ayre, and thus do twdo oz
thre dayes. ii. oz thre times euery day
E. b. and

the browes and the lids of the eyen
therewith, and they shall be hole.
For eyen that bene dafuned oz darke.

Capituls. xxii.

+ Take the roote of red fenel in wynter,
& in somer the leaues, oz else both
rotes & leaues, and stampe them and
wring out the ioyce, and temper the
ioice with fyne clarified hony, & make
therof an ointment & anoint the eyen
therwith, and it shall put away the
darknes, & it shall cleare thy syght.

A pzeious water for the sighte of
the eyen. Capitulo. xxiii.

Take Smalage, red Fenell, Iue,
Verua in, Betain, Egrimony, Pim-
pernel, Enfrage, Sauge, Salendine
of euerich a lyke much in quantyte,
and wash them well and cleane, and
stampe them, and put them in a sayze
brasen panne, and take the powder of
fifteene peper Corns, sayze lareid in
to a pynne of good whyte wyne, and
put

put it into the herbes, with iii. spoone
full of lyuelly hony, and fyue spoone
full of the water of a manchylde that is
an Infante, and medle them all to-
gether, and boyle them ouer the fyer,
whan it is soden, strain it throug a
clene linnen cloth, & put it in a glasse
and stopp it well and close, till you wyll
occupye it, & whan neede is do therof
put into the soze eyen with a fetter, &
if it be wazen dye, temper it with
good whyte wyne, for it is very good
for the sighte of the eyen. ¶ For a
pynne and a webbe in the
eyes. Capitulo. xxiii.

Take a curtesy of cleane clarified
hony, and as much of womans mylke
that nozyntheth a mayde chylde, and
for the woman, the manchylde, and
sethe them together, and whan it is
colde, put it in a glasse, and close it
from the ayre, and thus do twdo of
thre dayes. ii. or iii. tymes euery day
and

B *The Breviary*
 doth ingender byuerle diseases, as the thye bphodes of
 heernes, and other whyle the siphac is relaxed oꝝ byo-
 hen, that the guttes of man doth fal into the codde, and
 then it is named a rupture. And otherwhyle the stones
 may be inflated and inflamed and swollen. A remedy for
 all the which loke in Chapters of the aforesayde spe-
 nesses and infirmitie.

¶ The 47. Chapter doth shewe of a mannes armes.

An arme. **B**rachium is the Latin woꝝde. In Englyshe it is a
 mans arme, the armes of man may haue dyuers im-
 pedimentes, as the gouce named Chiragra. Also in the
 armes may be aches, in the ioyntes and bones, for the
 gout in the armes loke in the Chapter named Chiragra
 And for aches and payne in the armes, vse seate clothes
 that be attractyue. Or els take of the oyle of Turpen-
 tyne and myxt it with Aquauite, and anoynt the place
 oꝝ places.

¶ The 48. Chapter doth shewe of an impostu-
 me, oꝝ swelling in the face.

A swelling in the face. **B**uriga is the latin woꝝde. In Englyshe it is named
 an impostume oꝝ an inflacion, the which is in all
 the whole face of man. Some dectours doth name thys
 infirmitie Ruonia. And some do name it Gutta rubea,
 There is greace dyfference betwyxe Gutta rubea and
 Gutta rosea, for the causes of the infirmitie be not like
 as it shal appere in thys Chapter, and in the Chapter of
 the other infirmitie oꝝ impediment named Gutta rosea.

¶ The cause of this infirmitie.

¶ This infirmitie dothe come of a venemous matter
 ascendyng out of the stomake metyng with reume that
 wolde dyscende oꝝ dyspyl out of the heade. And the ong-
 ascendyng

of health; Fol. xxiii. **B**
 ascendyng and the other dyscendyng, and metyng both
 together, vehemently doth cause the vapors to breake
 out, and doth make the Apostumacion.

¶ A remedy.

¶ First for this matter flebotomye is very good and so be
 purgacions of pilles of Sumitoye, and the pilles of Coctæ. Also
 the strupe of nauiter is good to take of it, moꝝnyng & euenyng.
 And the medicines, the which be in the Chapter named Bubo
 may be good for this impediment.

¶ The 49. Chapter doth shewe of a grosse im-
 postume named Bubo.

Bubo is the Latin woꝝde. In Englyshe it is named a
 grosse impostume. And there be certeyne kindes
 some be pestiferous, and some be not pestiferous.

¶ The cause of this infirmitie.

¶ This infirmitie doth come vnder this maner, grosse
 sedyng doth make grosse humours, and grosse and coz-
 rupte humours doth make many diseases, specially it
 doth ingender this aforesayde infirmitie.

¶ A remedy.

¶ This infirmitie do come of a pestiferous matter loke in the
 Chapter named Carbunculus. If it do come of no pestiferous
 matter. First take a Clister, oꝝ a Suppositor, oꝝ some easy purgaci-
 on. And after that take of oyle of pur an ounce, mixt with bay salt, and
 lay it ouer the soꝝe. And after that if it do not breake, make an in-
 cision oꝝ a cozoyne. And then vse salues with tents attractyue.
 And the matter abstracted which is the cause of the anguyshe oꝝ
 payne, then I do saye as the Philosopher doth saye. Deficient
 causa deficit effectus, that is to saye, take away the cause, oꝝ els
 the cause lacking, the effect is to no purpose. Or els take the mat-
 ter as thus. Take away the cause of the sickness. And the sick-
 nes can do no harme but helth shal follow. And the cause not tak-
 en away, of the infirmitie the sickness must needs remayne and conti-
 nue in the body, oꝝ els in some particular member it made pars
 maput oꝝ red.

¶ Thus endeth the letter of B. and here
 foloweth the letter of C.

The

The Breviary

and inflamed and swollen. A remedy for all the which loke
 in the Chapters of the aforesayde sicnes and infirmitie.

The 47 Chapter doth shewe of a mans armes.

An arme. **B**rachium is the Latin woꝝde. In Englysh it is a mans arme,
 the armes of man may haue dyuers impediments, as the
 gout named Chiragra. Also in the armes may be aches, in
 the ioyntes and bones, for the gouce in the armes, loke in the
 Chapter named Chiragra, and for aches and payne in the
 armes, vse seate clothes that be attractyue. Or els take the
 Oyle of Turpentine and mixe it with Aquauite, and anoint
 the place oꝝ places.

The 48 Chapter doth shewe of an impostume,
 or swelling in the face.

A swelling in the face. **B**uriga is the Latin woꝝde. In Englysh it is named an im-
 postume oꝝ an inflacion, the which is in all the whole face
 of man. Some Doctours doth name this infirmitie Ruonia.
 And some do name it Gutta rubea. There is greace dyfference
 betwyxe Gutta rubea and Gutta rosea, for the causes of the
 infirmitie be not like, as it shal appere in this Chapter,
 and in the Chapter of the other infirmitie oꝝ impediment
 named Gutta rosea.

¶ The cause of this infirmitie.

¶ This infirmitie doth come of a venemous matter ascendyng
 out of the stomake metyng with reume that wolde dyscend
 oꝝ dyspyl out of the head. And the one ascendyng & the other
 dyscending, & metyng both together, vehemently doth cause
 the vapors to breake out, and doth make apostumacion.

¶ A remedy.

¶ First for this matter flebotomye is very good, and so be
 purgacions of pilles of Sumitoye, and the pilles of Coctæ.
 Also the strupe of nauiter is good to take of it, moꝝnyng
 and euenyng. And the medicines the which be in the chapter
 named Vindum, be good for this impediment.

The

of Health.

23

¶ The 49 Chapter doth shewe of a grosse im-
 postume named Bubo.

Bubo is the Latin woꝝde. In Englysh it is named a grosse
 impostume. And there be certeyne kindes, some be pe-
 stiferous, and some be not pestiferous.

¶ The cause of this infirmitie.

¶ This infirmitie doth come vnder this maner, grosse
 sedyng doth make grosse humours, and grosse and cozrupt
 humours doth make many diseases, specially it doth in-
 gender this aforesayde infirmitie.

¶ A remedy.

¶ This infirmitie doth come of a pestiferous matter
 loke in the Chapter named Carbunculus. If it do come of
 no pestiferous matter. First take a Clister, oꝝ a Supposi-
 tor, oꝝ some easy Purgation. And after that take of oyle O-
 live an ounce, mixt with bay salt, & lay it ouer the soꝝe. And
 after that if it do not breake, make an incision oꝝ a cozoy-
 ne. And then vse salues with tents attractyue. And y^e mat-
 ter abstracted which is the cause of the anguyshe oꝝ payne,
 then I do saye as the Philosopher doth saye. Deficient
 causa deficit effectus, that is to saye, take away the cause, oꝝ els
 the cause lacking, the effect is to no purpose. Or els take
 the matter as thus. Take away the cause of the sickness.
 And the sickness can do no harme, but helth shal follow.
 And the cause not taken away of the infirmitie, the sick-
 nesse must needs remayne and continue in the body, oꝝ els
 in some particular member it must remayne oꝝ red.

¶ Thus endeth the letter of B. And here
 followeth the letter of C.

The 50 Chapter doth shewe of an infirmitie the
 which is concurant with an hydropy.

Cacexia, oꝝ Caexia, oꝝ Cathesia, be the Greek woꝝds.
 In Latin it is named Mala habitudo. In Englysh it is
 named an euill dweller, for it is an infirmitie concurant
 with

An euill
 dweller.

49 *Rams little Dodoen.*

For pestilent Carbuncles.

Morsus diabolici graine, }
 Violetts with Barley meale, } yand and
 Pomegranat seed with honey, } layd to.
 Cipjustræ leaves with parched barley meale, }

For cholerick humours.

Common Wormewood, }
 Fumitory, }
 Rosmentill rootes, } pum and layd to.
 Flebane seabe, }
 White cobs & leanes one dram,
 Olive trealeanes,

For cholerick inflamations.

Fewerles graine leaves and flowers, pum and applid.

Saffron }
 Saffron } dampd and applied.
 Spents two or three draunches, the saice drunke with saice of
 lowe Pomegranats.

For

Incidentia. 50

Topurge Choller.

Take Diagreedy, one dram, beat it grosse, put the powder
 of Aromaticum Molatum Sabzielus to it, halfe a scruple,
 Ginger fine sliced, halfe a spanfull, & Sugar, as you list:
 take a fayre Apple, cut off the cap, take out the core, lay a tyll
 upon embers, rost the Apple, and when it is rost, pare the Ap-
 ple, and put into white wine, and take it early in the morning.

D. K.

H 3

For

51 *Rams little Dodoen.*

For the collicke.

Saffron (soke the saice with homed Water
 Ravens roots dyed and hoins
 Camomill herbe and flowers with wine
 Colula Lutea with wine decoct
 Spents boyled in water three dayes
 Dauens seeds boyled in wine or water
 Hicinus seeds pum with whay
 Capsa the barke of the rote, one dram
 Colloquistion white pulps decoct in water
 Homed water,
 Sea hull rootes boyled in wine
 Holly berries decoct
 The ferns roete boyled in Spanton bath, or of a Chicken or Cap-
 pon, or the decoction of spallowes or Wats, and a little Annis,
 or the powder thereof with homed water drunke.

For cornes of the fecte.

White Lilly rootes boyled in Wineger, applied as a plaister.
 Akerceptium with Rue water and Honey, applied.

For

Incidentia. 52

For the Collicke, and to cause digestion, and for
 grying paynes of the belly.

Take herbe John, Camomill, Wormewood, of eche one
 handfull, the feathers of two egges hard rosted, then take
 together, not overmuch, fry them with salt Butter: then take a
 frame dish and fill it with warme embers, and lay the fryed
 herbes upon the embers, sprinkling the embers with wine or
 meger: and lay a linnen cloth over the dish, and knit it fast in
 the bottome, and lay it close unto the payne.

G. K.

For swelling of the coddles.

Take powder of Comyn, Barley meale and Honey: fry
 them, and make a plaister thereof, and bind it to the cobs.

For Cornes in any place.

Take crops of a Rettle, boane them and lay them to the
 Cornes.

Cut them till they bleede, and then apply to it ashes of
 Tobacco burnt.

H 4

For

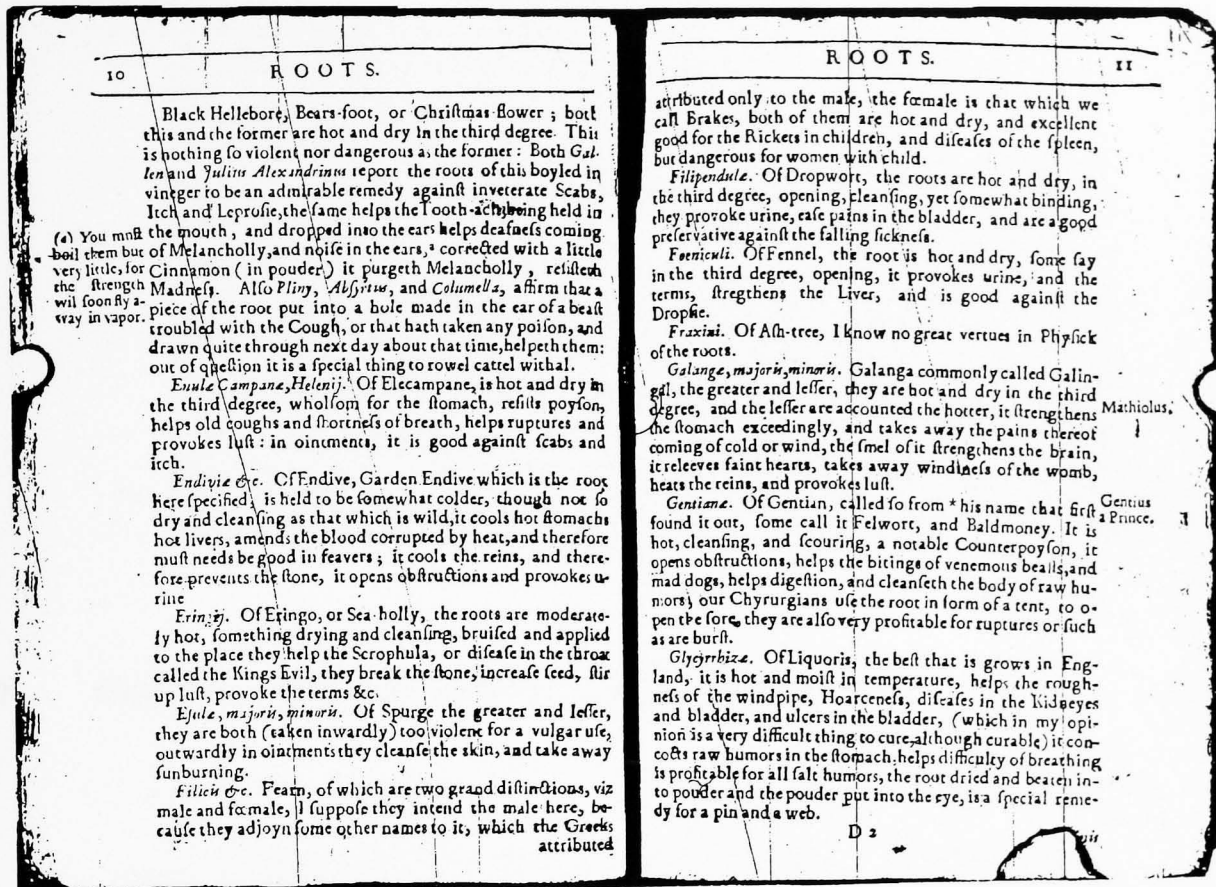
CATALOGUS	
Bellidis, Symphyti minimi.	Doronici,
Betæ nigrae, albæ, rubrae.	Dracontii veri, Dracunculi.
Bistortæ, serpentariæ maris, Britannicæ.	Ebuli, Chamæædes.
Borraginis.	Echii } (Albi,) Campanicæ.
Bryoniæ, Viris albæ.	Ellebori } (Confiliginis vulgaris,
Bryoniæ nigrae.	Veratri } Melampodii, Ectomi,
Buglossi utriusque.	(nigri,) Entani.
Bulbi vomitori.	Emulz Campanæ, Heleni.
Calami Aromatici, exotici, i. acori veri.	Endiviæ horticenſis, Inybi, Scariolæ.
Capparum.	Eringii, Centum capitum.
Caryophyllatæ, Benedictæ, Oculi le-	Efulz } (majoris,) Characiæ.
poris.	(minoris,) Tithymali Cypari-
Caſtium.	fiæ, cuprellinæ.
Centaurii majoris, falſo Rhapontici	Filiis, Pteridis, Bletri.
Cepæ, Crommii.	Filipendulæ, Oenanthes.
(Albi, Carlinæ, Cardo-	Foeniculi, Marathri.
parii.	Fraxini.
Chamelcontis } (Nigri,) Paſcarpi.	(majoris) Exoticæ, Cypri
(Majoris) Hirundinariæ ma-	Galangæ } (minoris) Babylo:
joris:	Gentianæ, Aloes Gallicæ.
Ficariæ, Scrophu-	Glycyrrhizæ, Liquiritæ, Rad: Dulcis.
lariz.	Graminis, i. Graminis Canini.
Cinæ, Chinæ.	Hernodiactyli veri,
Cichorii,	Hyacinthi.
Colchici, Bulbi agreſtis.	(noſtræ ſeu vulgaris, cœruleæ,
Confolidæ } Majoris,	Liliæ coeleſtis.
Minoris.	Iridis } Florentinæ, Illyricæ.
Coſti utriusque.	Imperatoriz, Magiſtrantiz, Laſcrpiû
Cucumeris agreſtis, Afini, Erratici.	Gallici, Alſtrantiz.
Cynaræ, Scolymi, Cardui altilis.	Iſtidis, Glaſti.
Cynogloſſæ, Lycopſeos, Linguz ca-	Labri veneris, Dipſaci.
ninæ.	Lactucæ.
Curcumæ, terræ menizæ, cypri Indici.	Lauri.
(longi, Romani	Lapathi acuti, Oxylapathi.
Cyperii utriusque, } (rotundi.	Leviſtici, Smirni Dioſc.
Dauci.	Lili albi, Roſæ Junonis, Crinanthem.
Dentariæ major: Squamariz, Orobandis	Malvæ.
rad. dentata.	Mandragoræ, Anthropomorphi.
Diſtami vulgaris, Polemonii, Fraxi-	Mechoa-
nellæ.	

SIMPLICIUM.	
Mechoachanæ, Bryoniæ Peruvianæ.	Saxifragiz albæ.
Mei, Urfini, Tortuoſi.	Sanguiforbæ, Pimpinellæ Italicæ.
Mezereri, Piperis montani, Chamelæz.	Scabioſæ.
Morum Celſi, arboris ſapientis.	Scordii.
Morſus Diaboli, Succizæ, Præmorſæ.	Scillæ, Squillæ, Capæ marinæ.
Pyncocomi Dioſc.	Scrophulariz, Galcoſpſidis, Millemor-
Nardi } Indicæ.	biz.
Spicæ } Celticæ, Saliuncæ Plinii.	Scorzoneræ.
Nenupharis, Nymphææ.	Sefeleos Æthiopici.
Ononidis, Arreſtæ Bovis, Acutellæ,	Sifari, Secacul, Siferis.
Reinoræ aratri.	Sigilli B. Mariz, Bryoniæ nigrae.
Oſtrutii, Magiſtrantiz, Struthii quorûd.	Solidaginis.
Paſtinacæ fativæ & ſylveſtris.	Sonchi.
Pentaphylli, Quinquæfolii.	Spinæ albæ, Bedeguar,
Petaſitzæ, Galeritzæ.	Spatulæ foetidæ.
Peucedani, foeniculi Porcini, Sulphura-	Tamarici, myricæ hymilis.
tæ, Caudæ Porcinæ.	Tanacetii.
Pæoniæ Maris, Fœmellæ.	Thapſiæ exoticæ, Ferulaginis, Turpeti
(Majoris.	cineritii.
Phu, Valerianæ } (Minoris.	Tormentullæ, Heptaphylli.
Pimpinellæ, Sanguiforbæ.	Trifolii.
Plantaginis.	Tribuli ſquatici.
Polypodii, Filiculæ.	Trachelii, Cervicariæ.
Polygonati, Sigilli Solomonis, Scalz	Trinitatis herbæ, violæ tricoloris.
cœli, Genichellæ.	Tunicis.
Porri.	Tripolii vulg.
Prunellorum ſylveſtrium.	Turbith exotici.
Pyrethri, Salivaris, Arimonii ex Antid.	Tuberum ſeu Boletorum.
Bononi: in ſubſtitutis.	Victorialis, Allii Alpini.
Squamariz, } Major: Marth.	Vincetoxici, Hyrundinariz, Aſclepi-
Dentariæ, }	dis.
Rhapontici.	Virgæ paſtoris.
Rhabarbari ſeu Ravedeni.	Ulmariæ, Barbæ capri, Reginz præti.
Rhaphani } (domesticæ, Obſoniorum.	Urticæ.
ſylveſtris.	Zedoariæ, longæ, coſti Syriaci.
Rhodizæ, rad.	Zingiberis.
Rhabarbari Monachorum.	Zurumbæ, i. Zedoariæ rotundæ, An-
Rubiz tinctorum, Erythrodani.	thoræ Avic:
Ruſci, Bruſci, Myſtæ ſylveſtris.	
Sambuci.	
Sarzæ Parigiæ, Smilacis ſperzæ.	
Satyrii utriusque.	
	Apâ. Rad:
	Avellanarum.
	B 3
	Auran-

CORTICES.

ELECTVARIA.		79
rubri, ana drachmam unā semis.		Carui, ana drachmam unā nam semis.
Singula simplicia comminuen- do ac miscendo, tandem excipe libris duabus & semis syrupi Zin- giberis conditi.		Omnia cruda terantur, & asper- gantur aceto vini acerrimo, de- inde pulverisentur, mox addantur sequentia:
Fiat Electuariū secundū artem.		Spodii sive Eboris usti, Balustiorum, Sumach, Mastiche,
ELECTVARIVM DIASPER- MATON, FERNELII.		Gum: Arabici, ana drachma unā, & grana quindecim.
R Quatuor semin: Frigidorum, majorum, & minorum.		Omnia misceantur cum Syrupi Myrtini, ad spissitudinem mellis cocti, triplo, id est, uncis decem plus minus, fiat Electuarium se- cundū artem.
Sem: Asparagi, Pimpinellæ, Ocimi, Petroselinii,		ELECTVARIVM PECTO- RALE AD OCCON <i>AVGII</i>
Granorū Halicacabi, ana drach- mas duas.		R Succi Glycyrrhizæ, Amygdalarum dulcium, Avellanarum, ana semunciam.
Miliū Solis, Succi Glycyrrhizæ, ana drach- mastres.		Pinearum unciam unam Hyssoi, Capillorum Veneris, Ireos,
Cinnamomi, Macis, ana drachmam unam.		Sem: Urticæ, Aristolochiæ rotundæ, ana ses- quidrachmam.
Sacchari albi aquā Althææ solu- ti octuplum: fiat Electuarium se- cundū artem.		Piperis nigri, Sem: Nasturtii, Rad: Enulæ, ana semidrachmā. Mellis uncias quatuordecim.
MICLETA, NICOLAI.		Fiat Electuarium f. 2.
R Myrobalanorum omnium, ana drachmas duas semis.		THERIA-
Sem: Nasturtii, Cymiai, Anisi, Feniculi, Annoos,		

80 PHARMACOP. LOND.	
THERIACA DIATESSA- RON, MES.	Millefolii, Filipendulæ, Zedoariæ, Zingiberis, ana drachmas duas.
R Gentianæ, Baccarum Lauri, Myrrhæ, Aristolochiæ rotundæ, ana un- cias duas.	Agarici drachmas tres Libanotidis, Gentianæ, Morsus Diaboli, ana drachmas duas semis.
Mellis libras duas.	Sem: Citrei mali, Viticis, Granorum Kermes,
Misce: fiat Electuarium secundū artem.	Semin: Praxini, Acetosæ, Pasinacæ sylvestris, Napi, Nigellæ, Pæoniæ maris, Ocimi, Iris, sive Erysimi, Thlaspeos, Feniculi, Ammeos, ana drachmas duas.
ANTIDOTVS MAGNA MATTHIOLI ADVERSVS VENENA & PESTEM.	Baccarum Lauri, Juniperi, Hederæ, Smilacis asperæ, vel illius defe- ctu duplum cubebarum.
R Rhabarbari, Rha Pontici veri, Radic: Phu,	Cubebarum, ana drachmam unā nam semis.
Acori, vel Calami aro- matici vulgaris.	Folior: Scordii, Chamædryos, Chamæpityos, Centaurei minoris, Stœchados,
Cyperii, Quinquefolii, Tormentillæ, Aristolochiæ rotundæ, Pæoniæ maris, Enulæ Campanæ, Costi, Iris Illyricæ, Chamæleontis albi, vel Caryophyllatæ, ana drachmas tres.	Spicæ Celticæ,
Galangæ, Imperatoris, Dictamni albi, Angelicæ,	



R O O T S.

Graminis. Of Grasse such as in London they call Couch-grasse, and Squitch grasse, in Suffex Dog-grasse. It gallantly provokes urine, and easeth the Kidneys oppressed with gravel, gripings of the belly, and difficulty of urine. bruised and applied to the place they speedily help green wounds.

Hemodistylis. Of Hemodistylis, they are hot and dry, purge Hæm, especially from the Joynts, therefore are good for gonis, and other diseases in the Joynts. their vices are corrected with long pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, or Mallick.

Hyacinthi. Of Jacinth, the roots are dry in the first degree, and cold in the second. they stop loosness, bind the belly.

Iridi, vulgari, et Florentina &c. Orii, or flower-deluce (after the French name) both that which grows with us, and that which comes from Florence. They are hot and dry in the third degree, resist poyson, help shortness of breath, provoke the terms, the root being green and bruised takes away blackness and blewiness of a stroak being applied to it.

Imperatorie &c. Of Malletwort, the root is hot and dry in the third degree, mitigates the rigor of Agues, helps Dropfies, provokes weas, break Carbuncles, and Plague sores being applied to them, it is very profitable being given inwardly in bruises.

Junci, Glysti. Of Wood, I know no great Physical vertue in the Root, see the hearb.

Labiæ tenacis. Pipsæ. Fullers-Thistle, Teazle. The Root boyled in wine till it be thick (quoth *Moscorides*) helps by friction the clefts of the fundament, as also takes away warts and wens. *Galen* saith they are dry in the second degree, and I take it all Authors hold them to be cold and dry.

Lactuce. Of Lettice, I know no Physical vertue residing in the roots.

Lauri. Of the Bay-tree. The bark of the root drunk with wine, provokes urine, breaks the stone, opens obstructions of the liver and spleen. But according to *Dioscorides* is naught for women with child.

Lipulii acuti, Oxylipulii. Sorrel, according to *Galen*, But Sharp pointed-dock, according to *Dioscorides*, But which the Colledge

Galen
Dioscorides

R O O T S.

Colledge intends, I know not. The Roots of Sorrel are held to be profitable against the Jaundice, of Sharp-pointed-dock, cleane, and help Scabs and Itch.

Jesibici. Of Lovage, they are hot and dry and exceeding good for any diseases coming of wind.

Lilii Albi. Of white Lillies, the root is something hot and dry, helps burnings, softens the womb, provokes the terms, if boiled in wine, is given with good success in Feavers, Pettilence, and all diseases that require suppuration, it (being outwardly applied) helps Ulcers in the head, and amends the ill colour of the face.

Maliæ. Of Mallows, they are cool, and digesting, resist poyson, and help Froitions, or Conswing of the bowels or any other part, as also Ulcers in the bladder.

Mandrægæ. Of Mandrakes, a root dangerous for its coldness, being cold in the fourth degree, the root is scarce, and dangerous for the vulgar to use, therefore I leave it to those that have skill.

Melochanzæ &c. Of Mechoacan, It is corrected with Cinnamon, is temperate, yet drying, purgeth Hæm chiefly from the head and joynts, it is good for old diseases in the head, and may safely be given even to Feaverish bodies, because of its temperature: It is also profitable against Coughs and pains in the Reins, as also against the French-pox.

Mercurii &c. Spignel, the roots are hot and dry in the second or third degree, and send up unwholsom vapours to the head, and therefore being God hath allotted such plentiful remedy for those maladies, this root conduceth to the cure of, I praise it by with silence.

Mororum &c. Of Spurge-Olive, or Widdow-wail. See the Herb, if you think it worth the seeing.

Mororum Celsi. Of the Mulberry tree, The bark of the root is bitter, hot and dry, opens stoppings of the liver and spleen, purgeth the belly, and kills worms, boyled in vineger helps the tooth-ach.

Morsus Diaboli, Succisæ &c. Devils-bit. See the hearb.

Nardi Spicæ, Indicæ, Celticæ. Of Spiknard, Indian, and Celtique. Celtick Nard, according to *Rudolphius* wonderfully

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cur, Lauræ, ʒ *Kenzoin* of each three drachms, wood of Aloe, Cardamoms of each two drachms, been white and red, or in lieu of them the roots of Avens and Tormentil of each one drachm and an half: Let all the Simples being beaten into powder be made up into an Eleqtuary with two pound and an half of Syrup of green Ginger according to art.

A. This also encreaseth seed, causeth desire of Copulation, and breaks wind.

Eleqtuarium Disphematen. Fernel^s.
Take of the four greater and four lesser cold seeds, The seeds of Sparagus, Turney, Fazzil, Parsly, the berries of winter-Cherries, of each two drachms: ʒ *Gromwel*, Juice of Liquoris, of each three drachms, Cinnamon, Mace of each one drachm, white Sugar dissolved in distilled water of march-Mallows, eight times their weight, make of them an Eleqtuary according to art.
A. It breaks the Stone, and provokes Urine.

A Teltoral Eleqtuary. August.
Take of the Juice of liquoris, sweet Almonds, Hazel-Nuts, of each half an ounce, Pine Nuts an ounce, Hytop, Maiden-hair, Orris, Nettle seeds, round Birthwort, of each one dram and an half, black Pepper, the seeds of Water-Cresses, the roots of Elicampne of each half a drachm, Honey fourteen ounces: make them up into an Eleqtuary according to art.
A. It strenghtens the stomach and lungues, and helps the vices thereof.

Milets. Nicholaus.
Take of all the Myrobalans of each two drachms and an half, the seeds of Water-Cresses and Fennel, Cumin, Eilops weed, Annis, Carraway of each one drachm and an half: let them all be bruised and sprinkled with sharp White-Wine-Vineger, then beaten into powder, after add the following following, Spodium, Pomegranate flowers, Sumach, Mallick, Gum Arabick

commonly
called Benja-
min.

ʒ I suppose
the seeds.

Balsittins.

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stick of each one drachm and fifteen grains, let them all be mixed with three times their weight of Syrup of Mirtles boyled to the thicknes of Honey, (i.e. ten ounces more or lesse) make them up into an Eleqtuary according to art.

A. It gently easeth the bowels of the Wind Chollick, wringing of the Guts, infirmities of the Spleen, it stops fluxes, the Rheumroids, as also the terms in women.

Theriac Diastemon. Melue.
Take of ʒ *Gentian*, Bay berries, Mirrh, round Birthwort of each two ounces, Honey two pound, mix them together and make of them an Eleqtuary according to art.
A. You must first beat them into powder before you mix them with the Honey, else you will make an Eleqtuary to stink Days with.
A. This is a gallant Eleqtuary, like the Author, It wonderfully helps cold infirmities of the brain, as Convulsions, falling sicknes, dead Palfeyes, shaking Palfeye, &c. as also the smach, as pains there, wind, want of digestion, as also stoppings of the liver, dropfies, it refills the pettilence, and poysons, and helps the bitings of venomous beasts.

Mithiolus bis great Antidote against Poyson and Pestilence.
Take of Rhubarb, Rhu-pontick, Valerian roots, the roots of Scorus or Calamus Aromaticus, Cyperus, Cinkfoil, Tormentil, round Birthwort, male Peony, Alicampne, Costus, Illirick Onis, white Chamelion, or Avens of each three drachms, the roots of Galanga, Malletwort, white Diammi, Angelica, Yarrow, *Filipendula* or dropwort, Zedoary, Ginger of each ʒ drachms, Agrick ʒ drams, Balsomy, Gentian, Devils-bit of each two drachms and an half, the seeds of Citrons and Citrus Carnis, the berries of Kerms, the seeds of Ash-tree, Sorrel, wild Parsneps, Navew, Nigella, Peony the male, Fennel, Hedge Mustard, Treacle Mustard, Fenel, Fennel weed of each two drachms, the berries of Lay-burser and leg. ʒ *Carapilla* (or for want of it the double weight of *Cubeba*, *foelixifera*, *Cubeb*, *Cubeb*.)

ʒ the roots
suppose are
intended.

ʒ I suppose
they mean this by
Cubeba, *foelixifera*.

4 CATALOGUS		SIMPLICIUM.	
<p>A</p> <p><i>Achyroline</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Achyroline</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>B</p> <p><i>Balausta</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Balausta</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>C</p> <p><i>Caryophyllus</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Caryophyllus</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>D</p> <p><i>Datura</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Datura</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p>	<p>E</p> <p><i>Echii</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Echii</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>F</p> <p><i>Farfara</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Farfara</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>G</p> <p><i>Galangae</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Galangae</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p>	<p>L</p> <p><i>Lili albi</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Lili albi</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>M</p> <p><i>Melissae</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Melissae</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>N</p> <p><i>Napi dulcis</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Napi dulcis</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p>	<p>R</p> <p><i>Raphani</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Raphani</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p>S</p> <p><i>Saponaria</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p> <p><i>Saponaria</i> Calbz. 9 Cingr.</p>

6 ROOTS.

pains in the sides and bowels; also being boiled, the Decoction is said to be good to wash green Wounds and Ulcers with.

Diflami. Of Diflami: is hot and dry in the third degree, hinders travail in women, provokes the Terms. (See the Leaves.)

Doronicum. Of Doronicum, a supposed kind of Wall-wort: is an opinion that *Serapion* and *Avicenna* and other Arabian Physicians did not intend that Root we now use for Doronicum when they wrote of it; I shall adhere to the judgment of *Galenus*, which is verified by daily experience: It is hot and dry in the third degree, strengthens the heart, is a sovereign cordial, and preservative against the Pestilence: It helps the Vertigo or spinning of the head, is admirable against the bitings of Venemous beasts, and furb as have taken too much Opium, as also for Lethargies, the Juice helps the Rheums in the eyes; A fregule of the Root in powder is enough to take at one time.

Dryas. Of *Dryas*. Diverse Authors attribute diverse virtues to this name, it is most probable to me that they mean *Dryas*, the Root of which cleave mightily, and take away poods, or dead flesh, the very finest of them is hurtful for women with Child; outwardly in Ointments they take away Scurf, Moxew, and Sun-burnings; I would not with any uncti very well read in Physick, to take them inwardly.

Ebuli. Of Dwarf Elder, Walwort, or Dwarf-wort: is hot and dry in the third degree; the Roots are as gallus a purge for the Dropsie as any is under the Sun, which besides the Authority of the Ancients, was often proved by the never dying *Dr. Barlet of Cambridge*, as my self have it in a Manifesto of his. You may take a dram or two drachms (if the Patient be strong) in white Wine as a vom.

Ebuli. Of *Viper* Bagel, or Wild English: I warrant you if Authors had not differed about this herb, the Colledge would have let down five or six names to have explained their meaning, as they usually do where they need not: I have let down the small usual name, and sheweth quite the virtues to what I set down: They lay the root of this being carried in ones land, no venemous beast will bite him, (and so they lay of Dragma which I forgot to set) for that you may walk without danger amongst Adders, Vipers, and Serpents; (but I believe you had better have a care you do not tread upon them): this root is cold and dry, good for such as are bitten by venemous beasts, either being boiled in Wine and drunk, or bruised and applied to the place; being also boiled in Wine and drunk, it cures the milk in Nurses.

Ellebori. *Veratri*, *albi*, *nigri*. Of Ellebore, white and black. The root of white Ellebore, or Snow-wort, being grated and faulted up the nose, cures Sore-eyes, kills Rats and Mice, being mixed with their meaz: It is but a fourty, thirdly Opine, being taken inwardly, and therefore better let alone than used; and yet *Dr. Briggs* commends it for such as are mad

through Melancholly. Others are of opinion that harsh Medicines are not convenient for fo fallen an humor, and of that opinion am I myself: If you will use it, for Incurry, lay your head and neck be wrapped hot for fear of catching cold.

Black Ellebore, Bear-foot, or Christmas flower, both this and the former are hot and dry in the third degree. This is nothing in violent not dangerous as the former, *Bush Galen*, and *Julius Alexandrianus*, report the roots of this boiled in Vinegar to be an admirable remedy against inveterate Scabs, Itch and Leprosie, the same helps the Tooth-ach, being held in the mouth, and dropped into the ears, help deafness coming of Melancholly, and noise in the ears: It purgeth Melancholly, refresheth Madnes. *Allopius*, *Aphras*, and *Calameis*, affirm that a piece of root put into a hole made in the ear of a beast troubled with the Cough, or that hath taken any poison, and drawn quite through next day about that time, helpeth them out of affliction it is a special thing to rowd Carul without capur.

Enula Campanae, Heleni. Of Elecampne. Is hot and dry in the third degree, wholom for the stomach, refresheth poyson, helps old Cougs and Rheums of breath, helps Ruptures and provokes lact: in Ointments, it is good against Scabs and Itch.

Endivae. Of Endive. Garden Endive which is the root here specified, is held to be somewhat colder, though not so dry and cleansing as that which is wild, it cools hot stomachs, but livers, amends the blood corrupted by heat, and therefore most needs be good in Fevers; it cools the Reins, and therefore prevents the Stone, it opens obstructions and provokes Urine, you may bruise the root and boy it in white wine, 'tis very hermalic.

Eryngii. Of Eryngo, or Sea-holy: the roots are moderately hot, something drying and cleansing, bruised and applied to the place, they help the *Strychia*, or disease in the throat called the Kings Evil, they break the Stone, excite feed, fill up lath, provoke the Terms &c.

Eulae, majoris, minoris. Of Surge the greater and lesser; they are both (taken inwardly) too violent for a vulgar use; outwardly in Ointments they cleanse the Skin, and take away lumbing.

Filices. Of Fern, of which are two grand distinctions, viz. male and female; I suppose they intended the male here, because they adjoin some other names to it, which the Greeks attributed only to the male, the female is that which we in *Saxae* call Brakes; both of them are hot and dry, and excellent good for the Rheumes in children, and diseases of the Spleen, but dangerous for women with Child.

Filipendulae. Of Dropwort, The roots are hot and dry in the third degree, opening, cleansing, they somewhat blinding, they provoke Urine, ease pains in the bladder, and are a good preservative

7 ROOTS.

preservative against the Falling sickness.

Fenniculi. Of Fennel: The root is hot and dry, some lay in the third degree, opening; it provokes Urine, and the Terms, strengthens the Liver, and is good against the dropsie.

Fragariae. Of Ash-tree. I know no great virtues in Physick of the roots.

Galanga, majoris, minoris. Galanga commonly called Galings, the greater and lesser: They are hot and dry in the third degree, and the lesser are accounted the hotter, it strengthens the stomach exceedingly, and takes away the pains thereof coming of cold or wind, the seed of it strengthens the brain, it receives faint hearts, takes away windiness of the womb, heats the Reins, and provokes lact: you may take half a dram at a time.

Gentiana. Of Gentian, called for from 'his name that first found it out some call it *Belwort*, and *Isidomon*. It is hot, cleansing, and cleansing, a notable counterpoison, it opens obstructions, helps the bitings of venemous beasts, and mad dogs, helps digestion, and cleanseth the body of raw humors; use Chyrurgians use the root in form of a rent, to open the cure, they are also very profitable for Ruptures, or such as are burst.

Glycyrrhizae. Of Liquorice; the best that is grows in England: it is hot and moist in temperate, helps the roughness of the Windpipe, Housiness, distates in the Kidnies, and Bladder, and ulcers in the Bladder, (which in my opinion is a very difficult thing to cure, although curable) it conveys raw humors in the stomach, helps difficulty of breathing, is profitable for all salt humors; the root dried and beaten into powder and the powder put into the eye, is a special remedy for a Pin and a Web.

Granae. Of Grass, such as in London they call Couch-Grass, and Sainth-grass, in *Saxae* Dog-Grass: It gallantly provokes Urine, and cleanseth the Kidnies oppressed with Gravel, gripings of the belly, and difficulty of Urine. Lay such as are troubled with these Diseases, drink a draught of white Wine, wherein their Roots (being bruised) have been boyled for their mornings draught; if they find ease, let them thank God, if not, let them blame me. Bruised and applied to the place, they speedily help green Wounds.

Hemodistylis. Of Hemodistylis. They are hot and dry, purge legs, especially from the joints, therefore are good for Gouts, and other Diseases in the joints. Their virtues are corrected with long Pepper, Ginger, Cinamon, or Mithrid: I would not have unskilful people too bold with Purgers.

Hyacinthis. Of Jacinths: The Roots are dry in the first degree, and cold in the second; they help leucis, bind the belly.

Iridis, vulgaris, & Flaccidus. Of Iris, or Flower-de-luce (after the French name) both that which grows with us, and that which comes from *Francia*. They are hot and dry in the third degree, refresh poyson, help thoroughness of the

lureth, provoke the terms; the Root being green and bruised, takes away blackness and cleanness of a stroke being applied thereto.

Impatiens. Of *Impatiens*. The Root is hot and dry in the third degree; ministers the rigor of agues, helps Dropsie, provokes Sweat, breaks Carbonics, and Magre-lore being inwardly in broths.

Isatidis, Gallici. Of Weed. I know no great Physical virtue in the Root. See the Herb.

Lauri. Of Laurel, Fuller's Thistle, Teazle. The Root being boyled in Wine till it be thick (quoth *Barcardus*) helps by undon the clefts of the Fundament, as also takes away Warts and Wens. *Galen* saith, they are dry in the second degree: and I take it all Authors hold them to be cold and dry.

Lentice. Of Lentice. I know no Physical virtue residing in the Roots. See the Herb.

Lauri. Of the Bay-tree. The Bark of the Root, drunk with Wine, provokes Urine, breaks the Stone, opens obstructions of the Liver and Spleen. But according to *Diapsides* it is naught for women with Child.

Lapathi acuti, Oxylapathi. Sorrel, according to *Diapsides*: But which the Colledge intended, I know not. The Roots of Sorrel are held to be profitable against the Jaundice. Of Sharp-pointed Dock; cleanse, and helps Scabs, and Itch.

Levisticis. Of Lovage. They are hot and dry, and excedding good for any diseases coming of wind.

Lili albi. Of white Lillias. The Root is something hot and dry, helps Burnings, softens the Womb, provokes the Terms; if boyled in Wine, is given with good success in rotten Feavers, Pestilences, and all Diseases that require copiosus: (it being outwardly applied) helps Ulcers in the head, and amends the ill colour of the face.

Melissae. Of Mallow. They are cool, and digesting, refresh *Boyton*, and help Eruptions, or gnawing of the bowels, or any other part; as also Ulcers in the Bladder. See *Marth-mallows*.

Mandragorae. Of Mandrake. A Root dangerous for its coldness, being cold in the fourth degree, the Root is leacy, and dangerous for the vulgar to use; therefore I leave it to those that have skill.

Mechosiphiae. Of Mechoacan. It is corrected with Cinamon, is temperate, yet drying, purgeth legs chiefly from the head and joints, it is good for old distates in the head, and may safely be given even to Feaverish bodies, because of its temperate, it is also profitable against Coughs and pains in the Reins; as also against the French-Pox: the strong may take a dram at a time.

Met. Of Spigend. The Roots are hot and dry in the second or third degree, and (and upon hollow vapors to the head) and therefore seeing God hath allotted such plentiful Remedy

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Schoenanthi scrupulum unum & grana tredecim, Afari, Calami Aromatici vulgaris, Amomi, Centauree minoris, Sem. Atroplicis, Pœoniz, Fœniculi ana scrupulum unum & grana sex. Cyperi, Helenii, Zingiberis, Rad. Cappari, Cymini, Orobi ana scrupulum unum. Trita omnia in tenuissimum pulverem excipiantur Mellis quadruplo, & conficiatur Electuarium ex arte, quod ante usum per unius mensis spatium fermentari sinatur.

DIASATYRION.

R Rad. Satyri uncias tres, Carnium Dactylorum, Amygdalarum dulcium, Nucis Indicæ, Pinearum, Pistachiorum, Zingiberis conditi, Eryngii conditi ana unciam unam, Zingiberis, Caryophyllorum, Galangæ,

Piperis longi, nigri an. drachmas tres, Ambræ griseæ scrupulum unum, Moschi scrupulos duos. Penidiolorum uncias quatuor. Cinnamomi, Croci ana unciam dimidiam. Vini Malvatici uncias tres. Nucis Moschatæ, Macis, Granorum Paradisi ana drachmas duas. Seminis Fraxini, Ventris & lumborum Scincorum, Boracis lactiti, Benzoini ana drachmas tres, Ligni Aloës, Cardamomi ana drachmas duas. Sem. Urticæ, Carparum, Radicum Caryophyllatæ ana drachmam unam semis. Singula simplicia comminuendo & miscendo tandem excipe libris duabus & semis Syrupi Zingiberis conditi. Fiat Electuarium secundum artem.

ELECTUARUM DIASPERMATON.

R Quatuor Sem. Frigidorum, Majorum, & minorum. Sem.

ELECTUARIA. 105

Sem. Asparagi, Pimpinellæ, Ocimi, Petroselinii, Granorum Hælicacabi ana drachmas duas, Milii Solis, Succii Glycyrrhizæ ana drachmas tres, Cinnamomi, Macis ana drachmam unam. Sacchari albi aq. Alchææ soluti octuplum. Fiat Electuarium secundum artem.

MICLETA.

R Corticum Myrobalanorum omnium torrefactorum ana drachmas duas semis. Sem. Nasturii, Cymini, Anisi, Fœniculi, Ammeos, Carui ana drachmam unam semis. Semina cruda terantur, & aspergantur aceto vini acerrimo deinde pulverizentur, mox addantur Myrobalami & sequentia. Spodii et Eboreæ albedinem calcinari, Balaustiorum, Sumach, Malliches,

Gummi Arabici ana drachma una & grana quindecim. Omnia miscantur cum Syrupi Myrtini ad spissitudinem oœli uncias decem. Fiat Electuarium secundum artem.

ELECTUARUM PECTORALE.

R Succii Glycyrrhizæ, Amygdalarum dulcium, Avellanarum ana semunciam, Pinearum unciam unam, Hystopi, Capillorum Venetis, Ireos, Sem. Urticæ, Aristolochiæ rotundæ ana seculidrachmam. Piperis nigri, Sem. Nasturii, Radicum Enulz ana semidrachmam. Mellis uncias quatuordecim. Fiat Electuarium secundum artem.

THERIACA DIATESSARON.

R Gentianæ, Baccarum Lauri, Myrrhæ, Aristolochiæ rotundæ ana uncias duas. Mellis

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Blank Pepper five scruples, and five grains, Lignum... The Colledge Take of the seeds of... Mithridate Page 106. in the Latin Book.

Mithridate Page 106. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of the seeds of... Mithridate Page 106. in the Latin Book.

Electuarium Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of the seeds of... Electuarium Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book.

Electuarium Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of the seeds of... Electuarium Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book.

Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of Sarcinae Roots three ounces, Dates, bitter Almonds, Indian nuts, Pistacis, Filix Indica, green Ginger, Orange Roots preserved, of each one ounce; Ginger, Cloves, Galbani, Pepper, long and black, of each three drachms;... Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book.

Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of Sarcinae Roots three ounces, Dates, bitter Almonds, Indian nuts, Pistacis, Filix Indica, green Ginger, Orange Roots preserved, of each one ounce; Ginger, Cloves, Galbani, Pepper, long and black, of each three drachms;... Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book.

Electuarium Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of the four grains and eight cold seeds of the seeds of Sparganium, Maris, Cardui, Præcox, Cherivæ, of each three drachms, Cinnamon, Mace, of each one drachm, with eight times their weight in white Sugar dissolved in a quart of white wine, make it into an Electuary according to art. Electuarium Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book.

Electuarium Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of the four grains and eight cold seeds of the seeds of Sparganium, Maris, Cardui, Præcox, Cherivæ, of each three drachms, Cinnamon, Mace, of each one drachm, with eight times their weight in white Sugar dissolved in a quart of white wine, make it into an Electuary according to art. Electuarium Diaphanum. Page 104. in the Latin Book.

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Proves the terms, hinders their labor, helps their usual business at the time of their lying in. I know nothing better; it stops fluxes, mightily strengthens the heart and stomach; neither is to be used in hot or dry constitutions; it is best given to young children in grains at a time; it is anciently used in a dram or more; it is given as an excellent cordial in such fevers as are accompanied with want of sleep. Mithridate Page 106. in the Latin Book.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, the seeds of white Mustard, of each two drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Physianum Pectorale. Page 107. in the Latin Book. The Colledge Take of white Pepper, white Mustard seeds, of each five drachms, Opium two drachms, of each five drachms, Capivi Ligæa drachm and an half, the seeds of Smalage a drachm, Daffy of Maldivas, Fenel, Carrots of each two scruples and five grains, Saffron a scruple and an half, Indian Spicknards, Peletery of Spices, Zedoary, fifteen grains, Cinnamon a drachm and an half, Sassafras prepared, Mirrh, Cloves, of each a drachm, with three scruples weight in clarified Honey, make it into an Electuary.

Rheum, and Brain of thin Rheum that maketh De- fluxions into the Eyes and Nose, and cureth the Ulcers and Stiches therein: The same drop- ped into the Ears helpeth the eard and running Sores of them. These that are troubled with the Splen that hath much cold by continual drinking out of a Cup made of Ivy, to as the drink may Rupture first time therein before it is drunk. *Use* Ivy, that Wine put into the Ivy Cup will wash through it, by reason of the Anarchy that is between them.

There seems to be a very Antipathy between Wine and Ivy, for if any have got a Surfeit by drinking Wine, his speediest cure is to drink a draught of the same Wine wherein a hand- ful of Ivy Leaves being first bruised have been boyled.

Kidneywort, or Wall- Pennyroyal.

Description. His hath many thick, flat, and round Leaves growing from the Root, every one having a long Footstalk fitted underneath about the middle of it, and a little uncer- tainly waved fimbriae about the edges of a pale green colour, and somewhat hollow on the upper side like a Saucer; from among which rise one or more tender smooth hollow Stalks half a foot high with two or three small Leaves thereon, usually not round as those below but somewhat long and divided at the edges: The tops are sometimes divided into long Branches, bearing a number of Flowers, set round about a long spike one above another, which are hollow and like a little Bell, of a whitish green colour, after which come small Heads contain- ing very small bearded Seeds, which falling on the ground, will plentifully spring up before Winter, if it be moisture. The Root is round and moist usually smooth greenish with- out and white within, having small fibres at the head of the Root, and bottom of the Stalk.

Place. It grows very plentifully in many places of this Land, but especially in all the Wall parts thereof, upon those and mud Walls, upon Rocks also, and in thony places upon the ground, at the Bottom of old Trees, and sometimes on the Bodies of them that are decayed and rotten.

Time. It usually Flowereth in the beginning of May and the Seed is ripening quickly after, the seed it fell: so that about the end of May usu-

ally, the Leaves and Stalks, are withered, dry, and gone until September, that the Leaves spring up again, and to abide all Winter.

Uses and Virtues. The Juice of the distilled water being drunk is very effectual for all Inflammations and uncer- tain heats, to cool a fainting hot Stomach, or a hot Liver or the Bowels: The bruised Herb *Triplex*, or the place bathed with the Juice, or distilled Water thereof and outwardly applied healeth St. Anthony's Fire, and other inward heats and Inflammations. The Juice and Juice on Water helpeth much also to heal the force Kidneys, torn or fretted by the Stone, or Spasms, exacerated within, and catch the pains: It *Diuresis*, also provoketh Urine, and is available for the Dropsie, and helpeth to break the Stone, cool- ing the Inflammation and other pains of the Bladder, BOWELS, and the bloods Flux: It is singularly good to cool the painful Piles, or Hemorrhoi- dal Venes, the Juice being used as a Bath un- to them, or made into an Ointment: It is *Costus*, no less effectual to give ease of pains to the hot Gout, the Sciatica, and the Inflammations and Cuts, on the Knees in the Neck or Throat, called the Kings Evil; beateh Kibes and Chillsains *Kibes*, if they be bathed with the Juice, or anointed with an Ointment made thereof: It is also to be used in green Wounds to stay the Blood, and to heal them quickly.

Plenus challengeth the Herb, under *Libra*.

Knapweed.

Description. The common fort hath many long and somewhat broad dark green leaves, rising from the Root deeply dented about the edges, and sometimes a little rent or torne on both sides in two or three places, and some- what hairy withal among which rise up a strong round stalk four or five foot high, divided into many branches: In the tops whereof stand great full green heads, set from the middle of the stalk thrust forth a number of dark purple red thunnus or threads, which after they are withered and fall, there is found divers black Seeds lying in a green deal of down, somewhat like unto a Thistle Seed, but smaller: The Root is white, hard and woody, with divers fibres annexed therunto, which perfisheth not but abideth with leaves thereon all the winter, shooting out fresh every Spring.

Place. It grows in most Fields and Meadows, and about the borders and Hedges and in many wall grounds also, almost every where.

Time.

Time. It usually Flowereth in June and July, and the seed is ripe shortly after.

Knot-grafs.

Description. This is generally well known that it needeth no Description.

Place. It grows in every Country of this Land, by the High-way sides and by foot paths in Fields, as also by the sides of old Walls.

Time. It springs up late in the Spring, and abideth until Winter, when all the branches wither.

Uses and Virtues. The Juice of the common kind of Knot-grafs, is most effectual to stay bleeding at the mouth, being drunk in filtered or red Wine; and the bleeding at the Nose to be applied to the Forehead and Temples or to be squarred up into the Nostrils. And no less effectual to cool and temper that heat of the blood, & humors, and to stay any Flux of the blood or humors, as Lead, Bloody flux, Women's Gravel, coxures, and Running of the Reins: It is singularly good to provoke Urine, help the strangurie, and stay the heat that cometh thereby; and it is powerful by itself to expel the Gravel, or stone in the kidney or Bladder, a dram of the powder of the Herb being taken in wine for many days together: Being boyled in wine and druck, it is profitable to those that are flung or bitten by venomous creatures, and very effectual to stay all defluxions.

of the marick humors upon the stomach, killeth worms in the belly or stomach, quietteth inward pains that arise from the heart, sharpness & corruption of blood and Choleric Choler, is effectual to stay all Fluxes, and to stay the powder of the Herb or seed, is very effectual to all the purposes aforesaid, and is accounted as one of the most Sovereign remedies to cool all manner of inflammations, breaking out through the heart, but Swellings, and Impollutions of the Glands, and Fish-bone Cancer, or foul fishy Ulcers, being applied or put into them; but especially for all sorts of Ulcers and Sores happening in the private parts of men or women. It helpeth all fresh and green Wounds, and speedily helpeth them: The Juice dropped into the Ears, cleanseth them being made and having running matter in them.

Saxum seems to me to own the Herb, and yet some hold the Sax, one of doubt's status, it is very prevalent for the premises: as also for broken Joints, and Ruptures.

Ladies-Mantle

Description. This hath many leaves rising from the Root, standing upon long hairy footstalks, being almost round, but a little cut in on the edges, into eight or ten parts more or less, making it seem like a Star, with so many corners and points, and dented round about of a light green colour: sometimes hard in handling, and as if it were folded, or placed as if it were crumpled in divers places, and a little hairy at the height of two or three feet, with fish like Leaves thereon but smaller, and being weak is not able to stand upright, but bendeth down to the ground, divided at the top into two or three small Branches, with small whitish green Heads, and Flowers of a whitish colour, breaking out of them, which being full, there cometh small yellow Seed like Poppy Seed: The Root is somewhat long and black with many strings or fibres thereon.

Place. It grows naturally in many Pastures, and Wood sides, in *Harle-Flower*, *Wright*, and *Knox*, and other places in this Land.

Time. It Flowereth in May and June, and abideth after seed time green all the Winter.

Plenus and *Saxum*. Ladies-Mantle is very proper for those Inflammations that have Inflammations, and is very use- ful.



AN ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE OF THE DISEASES SPECIFIED IN THIS TREATISE: Together with the Page where to find the Cure.

Table with columns A, B, and C listing diseases and their corresponding page numbers. Includes entries like Bortion, Cholick, Cough, Cholera, and various ailments.

An Alphabetical Table of the Diseases, &c.

Table with columns listing diseases and their corresponding page numbers. Includes entries like Chincough, Cholick, Cholera, Cough, Cholera, and various ailments.

45 John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (1645), frontispiece and title page.

P O E M S
OF
Mr. John Milton,
BOTH
ENGLISH and LATIN,
Compos'd at several times.

Printed by his true Copies.

The SONGS were set in Musick by
Mr. HENRY LAWES Gentleman of
the KINGS Chappel, and one
of His MAJESTIES
Private Musick.

— *Baccare frontem*
Cingite, ne vati noccat mala lingua futuro;
Virgil, Eclog. 7.

Printed and publish'd according to
ORDER.

1645. LONDON.
Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley,
and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes
Arms in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1645.

μαθεὶν γὰρ ἀφ' αὐτῆς χεῖρὸς ἐκείνης ἡμεῖς
οὐκ ἔκτυπα. ἵνα ἐκ ἐπιγινώσκοντες φίλοι
ἡμεῖς ἀφ' αὐτῆς εὐνομήνημα ἡμεῖς ἀφ' αὐτῆς
WM: sculp

46 John Lilly, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1649), title page.

**MERLINI ANGLICI
EPHEMERIS.**
OR
Generall and Monthly Predictions upon severall
Eclipses and Cœlestiall Configurations
for the year 1649.

By WILLIAM LILLY, Student in Astrology

1648

London Printed for J. Partridge, and H. Blunden 1649

Appendix 2: Descriptive Bibliography

This descriptive bibliography supplements the discursive material contained in the chapters which deal with the publishing histories of these books. The following descriptions are for the most based on examinations of copies held at the Royal College of Physicians, the Wellcome Institute Library, and the British Library. Limited travel funds mean the following bibliographies are less full than would be necessary to establish an 'ideal copy' because not all extant issues and states have been seen. But where multiple copies have been examined, for example editions of *The English Physitian* published in 1656, they have revealed complex publishing histories which revise the information given in Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*.

Each title is given a letter, followed by a decimal point and the number of the edition. Variants are indicated by (a) or (b), and reissues by (i) or (ii). Following the title, STC or Wing reference numbers are given and, where relevant, in parentheses, the number of a microfilm copy in the edition of *Early English Books* published by the University of Michigan. The inclusion of a microfilm reference does not mean that that copy has been described. Only those physical copies at the locations listed above have been examined and described, and their shelf-marks are listed under the heading '*Copies Examined*'. Title pages are either reproduced or transcribed following the usual quasi-facsimile standards. Format and pagination are recorded, and any deviations from this, indicative of a variant state, are mentioned in the notes. In the typographical description, the measurements are of the main text block printed on a typical page, and, in parentheses, the measure of the total printed page, including marginalia, headlines, and signatures. The point size of the type with which the majority of each edition was printed is also given, although, of course, type of various sizes was used throughout, usually for headlines, headings, and other forms of emphasis. The list of contents reflects the general arrangement of each edition.

London College of Physicians

A.1. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta, 1st edn (London: John Marriot, 1618)*

STC 16772 (Reel 844:25)

Copies Examined. RCP 18370-1.

Title. [McKerrow and Ferguson: no. 250], see Illustration 2.

Collation. 2^o: ¶⁴ πA² A² B-Y⁴ Z² 2A-2H², [\$2 signed (- πA², Z², 2A², 2B², 2C², 2D², 2E², 2F², 2G², 2H²; M² signed 'M3')]; 110 leaves, pp. [16] 1-13 14 15-47 48 49-87 88 89-97 98 99-111 112 113-139 140 141-155 156 157-167 168 169-173 174 175-181 182 183 184 [20] (misprinting 37 as '29', 57 as '61', 181 as '118') [= 220]

Typography. catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 38 ll., 219 (237) × 140 mm., 14 pt; catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 54-56 ll., 12 pt

Contents. ¶1^r engra. title; ¶1^v blank; ¶2^r-4^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO | MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, | FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, &c. | REGI, Collegium Medicorum | LONDINENSIVM'; πA1^r-2^r 'Candido Lectori'; πA2^v blank; A1^{r-v} 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARVM | SOCIETATIS MEDICORVM LONDI- | NENSIVM HODIE VIVENTIVM'; A2^r 'TYPOGRAPHVS LECTORI'; A2^v 'A briefe of his MAIESTIES royall Proclamation'; B1^r-Y1^v catalogue of compounded medicines divided into twenty-three chapters; Y1^v-4^r 'PREPARATIONES | CHYMICÆ MAGIS | VSVALES'; Y4^v blank; Z1^{r-v} 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM | RATIO'; Z2^{r-v} 'SALIVM EX OMNI- | GENERE VEGITABI- | LIVM CONFICIEN- | DORVM MODVS'; 2A1^r 'PONDERA' and 'MENSVRÆ'; 2A1^v blank; 2A2^r-C1^r 'MEDICAMENTORVM | QVORVNDAM PRÆPARATIO- | NES PHARMACOPÆIS APPRIME | NECESSARIÆ'; 2C1^v blank; 2C2^{r-v} 'NVNCVPATIONVM | QVARVNDAM COM- | MVNIVM INTER- | PRETATIO'; 2D1^r-E2^v 'CATALOGVS | SIMPLICIVM QV AE | AD PHARMACOPOEÆ' divided into thirteen chapters; 2F1^r-H2^v 'INDEX MEDICAMENTO- | RVM; 2H2^v Finis

A.2. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta, 2nd rev. edn (London: John Marriot, 1618)*

STC 16773 (Reel 844:26)

Copies Examined. RCP 18372.

Title. [Johnson: Elstrack, no. 14], see Illustration 3.

Collation. 2^o: A⁶ *1 B-C⁴ D¹ 2A-2C⁴ 2D-2E², [\$2 signed (+ A³, B³, C⁴, 2C³, 2F³, 2F⁴, 2L³, 2O⁴, 2Q³, 2S³; - 2D², 2E²)]; 124 leaves, pp. [32] 1-57 58 59-101 102 103-141 142 143-183 184 185-210 [6] [= 248]

Typography. catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 56 ll., 219 (237) × 140 mm., 12 pt; catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 38 ll., 14 pt

Contents. A1^r engra. title; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO | MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, | FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, &c. | REGI, Collegium Medicorum | LONDINENSIVM'; A5^r-6^r 'Candido Lectori'; A6^v 'A briefe of his MAIESTIES royall

Proclamation'; *1^{r-v} 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARVM | SOCIETATIS MEDICORVM LOND- | INENSIVM HODIE VIVENTIVM'; B1^r-C4^v 'CATALOGVS | SIMPLICIVM AD | PHARMACOPOEIAN' divided into fourteen chapters; D1^{r-v} 'NVNCVPATIONVM | QVARVNDAM COM- | MVNIVM INTER- | PRETATIO'; ²A1^r-2^r 'AQVÆ SIMPLICIO- | RES DISTILLANDÆ'; ²A2^v-2A4^r catalogue of compounded medicines divided into twenty-two chapters; 2A4^r-B2^v 'PREPARATIONES | CHYMICÆ MAGIS | VSVALES'; 2B3^{r-v} 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM | RATIO'; 2B4^{r-v} 'SALIVM EX OMNI- | GENERE VEGITABI- | LIVM CONFICIEN- | DORVM MODVS'; 2C1^{r-v} 'PONDERA' and 'MENSVRÆ'; 2C2^r-D1^v 'MEDICAMENTORVM | QVORVNDAM PRÆPARATIO- | NES PHARMACOPÆIS APPRIME | NECESSARIÆ'; 2D2^r-E2^v 'INDEX COMPOSITORVM'; 2E2^v 'EPIGLOGVS' and 'FINIS'

A.3. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta, 3rd edn (London: John Marriot, 1627)*

STC 16774 (Reel 845:1)

Copies Examined. RCP 18373.

Title. As A.2., except imprint date is '1627'.

Collation. 2°: πA⁴ πB*⁴ B*-C*⁴ D*² e*¹ A-O⁴ P-Q² R-2D⁴, [\$2 signed (+ πA3; - P2, Q2)]; 123 leaves, pp. [38] 1-119 [1] 125-204 [8] (misprinting 200 as '204', 201 as '205') [= 246]

Typography. catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 47 ll., 220 (236) × 139 mm., 12 pt; catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 38 ll., 14 pt

Contents. πA1^r engra. title; πA1^v blank; πA2^r-4^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO | MAGNAE BRITANNIAE'; πB*1^r-2^r 'Candido Lectori'; πB*2^v 'A briefe of his MAIESTIES Royall Proclamation'; πB*3^{r-v} 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARVM'; πB*4^r 'PONDERA' and 'MENSVRÆ'; πB*4^v blank; B*1^r-D*2^r 'CATALOGVS | SIMPLICIVM'; D*2^v blank; e*1^{r-v} 'NVNCVPATIONVM | QVARVNDAM'; A1^r-2^r 'AQVÆ SIMPLICIO'; A2^v-2A3^v catalogue of compounded medicines; 2A4^r-B2^v 'PREPARATIONES CHYMICÆ'; 2B3^{r-v} 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM'; 2B4^{r-v} 'SALIVM EX OMNI- | GENERE VEGETABILI- | VM'; 2C1^r-4^v 'MEDICAMENTORVM | QVORVNDAM PRÆPARATIO- | NES'; 2D1^r-3^v 'INDEX COMPOSITORVM'; 2D4^v 'EPIGLOGVS' and 'FINIS'

A.4. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta, 4th edn (London: John Marriot, 1632)*

STC 16775 (Reel 1279:3)

Copies Examined. RCP 18374.

Title. As A.2., except imprint date is '1632'.

Collation. 2°: A-T⁶ V⁸, [\$4 signed (- Q2, S4; P2 signed 'N2')]; 122 leaves, pp. [38] 1-119 [1] 125-204 [6] (misprinting 7 as '9', 24 as '22', 201 as '205') [= 244]

Typography. catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 47 ll., 215 (231) × 139 mm., 12 pt; catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 38 ll., 14 pt

Contents. A1^r engra. title; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO';

A5^r-6^r 'Candido Lectori'; A6^v 'A briefe of his MAIESTIES Royall Proclamation'; B1^{r-v} 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARVM'; B2^r 'PONDERA' and 'MENSVRÆ'; B2^v blank; B3^r-C6^v 'CATALOGVS | SIMPLICIVM'; C6^v blank; D1^{r-v} 'NVNCVPATIONVM | QVARVNDAM'; D2^r-3^r 'AQVÆ SIMPLICIO'; D3^v-T2^v catalogue of compounded medicines; T3^r-5^v 'PREPARATIONES | CHYMICÆ'; T6^{r-v} 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM'; V1^{r-v} 'SALIVM EX OMNI- | GENERE VEGITABI- | LIVM'; V2^r-5^v 'MEDICAMENTORVM | QVORVNDAM PRÆPARATIO- | NES'; V6^r-8^v 'INDEX COMPOSITORVM'; V8^v 'EPIGLOGVS' and 'FINIS'

A.5. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, in qua Medicamenta, 5th edn* (London: John Marriot, 1639)

STC 16776 (Reel 893:3)

Copies Examined. RCP 18375-6.

Title. As A.2., except imprint date is '1627'; the printer's note is dated 18 March 1638/9 (V7^v).

Collation. 2°: (engra. title +) A-T⁶ V⁸, [\$3 signed (+ V4)]; 122 leaves, pp. [36] 1-119 120 121-200 [8] [= 244]

Typography. catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 47 ll., 224 (239) × 140 mm., 12 pt; catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 38 ll., 14 pt

Contents. A1^r-3^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO | MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, | FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, &c. | REGI, Collegium Medicorum | LONDINENSIVM'; A4^r-5^r 'Candido Lectori'; A5^v 'A briefe of his MAIESTIES Royall Proclamation'; A6^{r-v} 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARVM'; B1^r 'PONDERA' and 'MENSVRÆ'; B1^v blank; B2^r-C5^r 'CATALOGVS | SIMPLICIVM AD | PHARMACOPOEIAN'; C6^{r-v} 'NVNCVPATIONVM | QVARVNDAM'; D1^r-2^r 'AQVÆ SIMPLICI- | ORES DISTILLANDAE'; D2^v-T1^v catalogue of compounded medicines; T2^r-4^v 'PRAEPARATIONES | CHYMICÆ MAGIS | VSVALES'; T5^{r-v} 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM | RATIO'; T6^{r-v} 'SALIVM EX OMNI- | GENERE VEGITABILI- | VM CONFICIEN DORVM | MODVS'; V1^v-4^v 'MEDICAMENTORVM | QVORVNDAM PRÆPARATIO- | NES PHARMACOPOEIS APPRIME | NECESSARIÆ'; V5^r-7^r 'INDEX COMPOSITORVM'; V7^v 'The Printer to the Reader' and 'FINIS'; V8 blank

B.1. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis Collegarum, rev. edn* (London: Stephen Bowtell, 1650)

Wing R2111 (Reel 192:9)

Copies Examined. RCP 18377-80.

Title. [Johnson: Anon., no. 73]

Collation. 2°: A⁵ xA² B-S⁶ T⁴ V⁴, [\$3 signed (-x A2)]; 117 leaves, pp. [14] 1 2 3-5 6 7 8-119 120 121-151 152 153-185 186 187-201 202 203-212 [8] (misprinting 160 as '159') [= 234]

Typography. catalogue of simples: 2 cols, 47 ll., 218 (235) × 137 mm., 12 pt; catalogue of compounded receipts: 2 cols, 37 ll., 14 pt

Contents. A1^r engr. title; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v 'SERENISSIMO | PRINCIPI IACOBO | MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, | FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ, &c. | REGI, Collegium Medicorum |

LONDINENSIVM'; A5^{r-v} 'LECTORI'; ^xA1^r-2^r 'NOMINA D.D. COLLEGARUM | SOCIETATIS MEDICORUM | LONDINENSIVM HODIE | VIVENTIUM'; ^xA2^v blank; B1^r 'PUNDERA | SUNT' and 'MENSURÆ | apud nos usitatiores sunt'; B1^v blank; B2^r-C6^r 'CATALOGUS | SIMPLICIVM | AD | PHARMACOPOEIAN'; C6^v blank; D1^{r-v} 'NUNCUPATIONVM | quarundam plura uno titulo | complectentium explicatio'; D2^{r-v} 'AQUÆ | SIMPLICES STILLATITIÆ | COMMUNES'; D3^{r-v} 'AQUÆ SIMPLICES | prævia digestione distillandæ'; D3^v-S1^r catalogue of compounded medicines divided into twenty-five chapters; S1^v-4^v 'MEDICAMENTA | CHYMICE PRÆPARATA, | QUÆ FREQUENTIORI | SUNT IN USU'; S5^r 'EXTRACTORVM | CONFICIENDORVM | RATIO GENERALIS'; S5^v blank; S6^{r-v} 'SALIVM | CONFICIENDO- | RVM MODVS'; T1^r-4^v 'SIMPLICIVM QUORVNDAM | MEDICAMENTORVM | PRÆPARATIONES'; T4^v 'FINIS'; V1^r-4^r 'INDEX REMEDIORVM'; V4^v 'Præcipua Typographi errata sic corrigere'

Nicholas Culpeper

C.1. *A Physical Directory: Or a Translation of the London Dispensatory, 1st edn (London: Peter Cole, 1649)*

Wing C7540 (Reel 90:15)

Copies Examined. WIL 19294/B/1-2; BL E.576.(1).

Title. See Illustration 4.

Collation. 4^o: (engra. por. and title +) A-2X⁴ 2Y-2Z², [\$2 signed (-2Z2)]; 180 leaves, pp. [16] 1-184 115-138 239-345 [29] (misprinting 26 as '24', 27 as '25', 30 as '28', 31 as '29', 183 as '113', 271 as '270', 306 as '309', 307 as '337', 317 as '117') [= 360]

Typography. (I2^f) 1 col., with outer mrg. nn., 38 ll., 157 (173) × 97 (116) mm., 11 pt

Contents. A1^r-3^r 'The TRANSLATOR to the READER'; A3^v-4^v 'THE NAMES OF THE DOCTORS | OF THE SOCIETY OF *PHYSITIAN*S | LONDON, The Authors of this WORK'; B1^r-2^v 'The COLLEDGE to the Candid READER'; B3^r 'A brief of his MAIESTIES Royal Proclamation | *Commanding all Apothecaries of this Realm to follow* | this PHARMACOPOEIA lately compiled by the | Colledg of Physitians of LONDON'; B3^v 'WEIGHTS' and 'MEASVRES'; B4^{r-v} 'DIRECTIONS'; C1^r-M3^r 'A | CATALOGVE | OF THE | SIMPLES | CONDUCTING TO THE | DISPENSATORY'; M3^v-2R1^r 'COMPOVNDS | CONTAINED IN THE | DISPENSATORY'; 2R1^v-4^r 'CHYMICAL PREPARATIONS | MORE USUAL'; 2R4^v 'THE WAY OF MA | KING EXTRACTS'; 2S1^{r-v} 'THE WAY OF | MAKING SALTS | OF ANY KIND | OF VEGETABLES'; 2S2^r-T1^v 'PREPARATIONS | OF CERTAIN MEDI- | CINES VERY NE- | CESSARY FOR APO- | THECARIES'; 2T1^v-2^r 'A CONCLUSION'; 2T2^v blank; 2T3^r-U4^r 'AN | EXACT ALPHABETICAL | TABLE | TO THE ENGLISH NAMES IN THE | CATALOGUE OF SIMPLES'; 2U4^v-Y1^r 'A CATALOGVE | OF THE COMPOVNDS | IN THE ORDER THEY ARE | fet down in every CLASSES'; 2Y1^r- Z2^v 'AN | ALPHABETICAL TABLE | OF THE VERTUES BOTH OF SIMPLES | and Compounds contained in this BOOK'; 2Z2^v FINIS

Notes. In Wellcome copies, page 131 is misprinted as '13', and in WIL 19294/B/2 page 279 is misprinted '27'. WIL 19294/B/1 is lacking portrait.

C.2. *A Physical Directory: Or a Translation of the London Dispensatory, 2nd edn (London: Peter Cole, 1650)*

Wing C7541 (Reel 813:4)

Copies Examined. BL 1601/70.; WIL 19295/C; RCP 18525.

Title. [within double rules, 237 × 140 mm.] A | Physical Directory: | Or a Tranflation of the | DISPENSATORY | Made by the | COLLEDGE of PHYSITIANs of | LONDON, | And by them imposed upon all the APOTHECARIES | of *England* to make up their MEDICINES by. | Whereunto is added, | The Vertues of the SIMPLES, and COMPOUNDS. | And in this second Edition are Seven hundred eighty four Additions | the general heads whereof are these: *VIZ.* | 1. The Dose (or quantity to be taken at one time) and Use, | both of SIMPLES and COMPOUNDS. | 2. The Method of ordering the Body after sweating and | purging Medicines. | 3. Cautions (to all Ignorant People) upon all *Simples* or | *Compounds* that are

dangerous. | With many other Additions, in every Page, marked with the | letter *A*. | [rule]
 | The second Edition much enlarged, by | *Nich. Culpeper* Gent. Student in *Physick*. |
 [rule] | *Scire potestates Herbarum, uſumque medendi | Maluit, & mutas agitare (inglorius)*
artes. Virgil. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed by *Peter Cole*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at
 the ſign of the *Printing- | Preſſ* in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1650.

Collation. 2^o: (engra. por. +) A¹ B-2R² 2X-3S², [\$2 signed (- 3S2; 3P2 signed '2P2')]; 121
 leaves, pp. [10] 1-140 161-208 219-242 [20] (misprinting 28 as '29', 57 as '47', 177 as'
 176', 180 as '172', 227 as '237', 230 as '220') [= 242]

Typography. (Z2^r) 2 cols, with outer and inner mrg. nn., 52 ll., 212 (230) × 116 (146) mm.,
 11 pt (9 pt marginalia)

Contents. A1^v title; A1^v blank; B1^r-2^v 'TO THE IMPARTIAL READER'; C1^r-2^r
 'DIRECTIONS'; C2^v 'The Names of ſeveral Books printed by *Peter Cole*'; D1^r-R2^r 'A |
 CATALOGVE | OF THE | SIMPLES | CONDUCTING TO THE | DISPENSATORY';
 R2^v-3L1^r 'COMPOVNDS | CONTAINED IN THE | DISPENSATORY'; 3L1^r-2^v
 'CHYMICAL PREPARATIONS | MORE USUAL'; 3M1^r 'THE WAY OF MAKING |
 EXTRACTS'; 3M1^v 'THE WAY OF MAKING | SALTS OF ANY KIND | OF
 VEGITABLES'; 3M2^r-N2^r 'PREPARATIONS OF | CERTAIN MEDICINES | VERY
 NECESSARY | FOR APOTHECARIES'; 3N2^v 'A Conclusion'; 3O1^r-P1^v 'AN
 ALPHABETICAL TABLE TO THE | ENGLISH NAMES IN THE CATALOGUE OF |
 SIMPLES'; 3P2^r-Q2^v 'A CATALOGVE OF THE COMPOUNDS IN THE | ORDER
 THEY ARE SET DOWN IN EVERY | CLASSIS'; 3R1^r-S1^v 'A CATALOGUE, OR
 TABLE | OF THE | DISEASES | CONTAINED IN THE | DISPENSATORY'; 3S2^r
 'The Names of ſeveral Books printed by *Peter Cole*'; 3S2^r blank

Notes. BL copy is lacking portrait of Culpeper, leaf H2, and gatherings 3R and 3S (i.e. the
 index of virtues). Wellcome copy lacking portrait.

C.3. *A Physical Directory: Or a Translation of the London Dispensatory, 3rd
 edn (London: Peter Cole, 1651)*

Wing C7542 (Reel 1254:12)

Copies Examined. BL 7510.g.10.; WIL 19296/C/1-4.

Title. [within double rules, 233 × 141 mm.] A | *Physical Directory; | Or a Tranſlation of*
 the | DISPENSATORY | Made by the | COLLEDG of PHYSITIANS of | LONDON, | And
 by them impoſed upon all the APOTHECARIES | of ENGLAND to make up their *Medicines*
 by. | And in this *Third Edition* is added | *A Key to Galen's Method of Phyſick*. |
 Wherin is Three *Sections*. | 1. The firſt Section ſhewing the temperature of Medicines, viz.
Hot, Cold Moiſt and *Dry*. | 2. The ſecond Section (in nine Chapters) treat of the
 Apropriation of Medicins to the ſeveral parts of | the Body, viz. 1 *The Head*. 2 *Breaſt*. 3
Heart. 4 *Stomach*. 5 *Liver*. 6 *Spleen*. 7 *Reins* and *Bladder*. | 8 *Womb*. 9 *Joynts*. | 3 The
 third Section (in 24 Chapters) ſheweth the Properties or Operations of Medicines: 1 *Emol-*
ient, 2 *Hardning*, 3 *Looſing*, 4 *Making thick and thin*, 5 *Opening the Mouths of the Veſſels*,
 6 *At-* | *tenuating*, 7 *Drawing*, 8 *Diſcuſſives*, 9 *Repelling*, 10 *Burning*, 11 *Clenſing*, 12
Emplaſters, | 13 *Suppuring*, 14 *Provoking urin*, 15 *Provoking the Terms*, 16 *Breeding*, or
taking away Milk, | 17 *Seed*, 18 *Eaſing Pain*. 19 *Breeding Fleſh*, 20 *Glutinative*, 21
Scarrifying, 22 *Reſiſting | Poyſon*, 23 *Adorning the Body*, 24 *Purging Medicines*. | [rule] |
 By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in *Phyſick* | and *Aſtrologie*. | [rule] | *Scire potestates*
Herbarum, uſumque medendi | Maluit, & mutas agitare (inglorius) artes. Virgil. | [rule]

| [type ornament] | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the sign of the Printing-Prefs in | Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1651.

Collation. 2°: (engra. por. +) π^1 A-U² 2A-2R² 2¶² 2S-3K², [\$2 signed]; 109 leaves, pp. [12] 1-138 [4] 139-184 [18] (misprinting 43 as '46', 46 as '43') [= 218]

Typography. (R1^r) 2 cols, with outer and inner mrg. nn., 60 ll., 217 (230) × 118 (148) mm., 11 pt (9 pt marginalia)

Contents. π^1 ^r title; π^1 ^v blank; A1^r-2^v 'TO THE | COLLEDGE | OF | PHYSITIAN'S'; A2^v-B1^r '*The Names of several Books printed by Peter Cole*'; B1^v 'TO THE | READER'; B2^r 'Weights & Measures in the New *Dispensatory*' and 'Weights and Measures in the Old *Dispensatory*'; B2^v-C1^v 'DIRECTIONS'; C2^r-M2^r 'A | CATALOGUE | OF THE SIMPLES | CONDUCTING TO THE | DISPENSATORY'; M2^r-2P2^v 'COMPOUNDS CONTAINED IN THE | DISPENSATORY'; 2Q1^{r-v} 'CHYMICAL PREPARATIONS | MORE USUAL'; 2Q2^r 'THE WAY OF | MAKING EXTRACTS'; 2Q2^v 'THE WAY OF | MAKING SALTS OF | ANY KIND OF VIGITABLES'; 2R1^r-2^v 'PREPARATIONS OF CER- | TAIN MEDICINES VERY NE- | CCESSARY FOR APOTHECARIES'; 2R2^v 'A Conclusion'; 2¶1^r-2^v 'A | SINOPSIS | OF THE | KEY | OF | Galens Method of Physick'; 2S1^r-3F1^v 'A KEY | TO | GALENS | Method of Physick'; 3F2^r-G2^v 'AN | ALPHABETICAL TABLE | TO THE | ENGLISH NAMES | IN THE | Catalogue of Simples'; 3H1^r-I1^v 'A CATALOGUE | OF THE | COMPOUNDS | In the order they are set down in every | *CLASSIS*'; 3I2^r-K2^r 'A | CATALOGUE OR TABLE | OF THE | DISEASES | Contained in the | DISPENSATORY'; 3K2^v '*The Names of several Books printed by Peter Cole*'

Notes. In WIL 19296/C/2, gathering 2¶ is bound in at the beginning of the book, after the title page. WIL 19296/C/3 lacking portrait and leaf 3K2. In WIL 19296/C/4, pages 43 and 46 correctly printed, while leaves 2N1 and 2N2 are bound in the wrong order. At the end of the catalogue of simples (M2^r), the compositor changed to 9 point type to ensure the text did not run over.

Nicholas Culpeper

D.1. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or the London Dispensatory Further Adorned* (London: Peter Cole, 1653)

Wing C7525 (Reel 90:14)

Two states with variant title pages.

D.1.(a).

Copies Examined. BL 577.g.29.; WIL 19297/C/1-2; RCP 18531.

Title. [within double rules, 242 × 146 mm.] Pharmacopœia Londinensis: | OR THE | London Dispensatory | Further adorned by the *Studies and Collections* of | the *Fellows*, now living of the said | COLLEDG. | Wherein you may find, | 1. The Vertues, Qualities, and Properties of every *Simple*. | 2. The Vertues and Use of the *Compounds*. | 3. Cautions in giving all Medicines that are dangerous. | 4. All the Medicines that were in the *Old Latin Dispensatory*, and | are left out in the *New Latin* one, are printed in this fourth | Impression in English with their Vertues. | 5. A *Key* to Galen's *Method of Physick*, containing thirty three | Chapters. | 6. What is added to the Book by the Translator, is of a diffe- | rent Letter from that which was made by the Colledg. | 7. In this Impression the Latin name of every one of the Com- | pounds is printed, and in what page of the New Folio | Latin Book they are to be found. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper* Gent. Student in Physick and | Astrology, living in Spittle-fields near *London*. | [rule] | *Scire potestates Herbarum, uſumque medendi | Maluit, & mutas agitare (inglorius) artes.* Virgil. | [rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for *Peter Cole*, at the ſign of the Printing-Prefs in | Cornhil near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

D.1.(b).

Copies Examined. RCP 18530.

Title. Lacking lines 18-20, which advertised the references to the Latin folio, and line 7 is printed 'Whereunto is added'.

D.1.(a). & D.1.(b).

Collation. 2°: (engra. por. +) A¹ B² C¹ D-R² S¹ T-Y² Z¹ 2A-2Z² 4B-4L², [\$2 signed]; 108 leaves, pp. [12] 1-54 57-74 101-190 [2] 301-325 [15] (misprinting 125 as '128', 128 as '125', 154 as '145', 183 as '179', 189 as '185', 190 as '186', 309 as '305', 312 as '308') [= 216]

Typography. (2G1^r) 2 cols, with outer and inner mrg. nn., 69 ll., 229 (246) × 130 (161) mm., 9 pt (7 pt marginalia)

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; B1^r-2^r 'TO | THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL | *Edward Hall* Esquire, Justice of the Peace for the | County of *Surry*'; B2^v blank; C1^{r-v} 'A | Premonitory Epistle | TO THE | READER'; D1^{r-v} '*The Names of ſeveral Books printed by Peter Cole*'; D1^v 'Weights and Measures in the NEW DISPENSATORY' and 'Weights and Measures in the Old Dispensatory'; D2^{r-v} 'DIRECTIONS'; E1^{r-v} 'The TRANSLATORS PREFACE to the | Catalogue of SIMPLES'; E2^r-N1^v 'A | CATALOGUE | OF THE | SIMPLES | CONDUCTING TO THE | DISPENSATORY'; N2^r-S1^v 'A | CATALOGUE | OF | SIMPLES | IN THE | NEW DISPENSATORY'; T1^r 'An Explanation of certain

Uncupations, comprehending more things than one under one name'; T1^v-U1^r 'SIMPLE DISTILLED WATERS'; U1^v-2X2^v catalogue of compounded medicines; 2Y1^{r-v} 'CHEMICAL PREPARATIONS MORE FREQUENT IN USE'; 2Y2^r 'THE GENERAL WAY OF MAKING EXTRACTS' and 'THE WAY OF MAKING SALTS'; 2Y2^r-Z1^r 'PREPARATIONS OF CERTAIN SIMPLE MEDICINES'; 2Z1^v 'A CONCLUSION'; 2Z2^{r-v} 'A SINOPSIS of the KEY of GALENS Method of Physick'; 4B1^r-H1^r 'A KEY TO GALEN'S Method of Physick'; 4H1^v-I1^r 'AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE TO THE ENGLISH NAMES IN THE Catalogue of Simples'; 4I1^v-K2^r 'A TABLE of the COMPOUNDS in the Order they are set down in every Claffis'; 4K2^r-L2^v 'A CATALOGUE or TABLE of the DISEASES treated of in the *Dispensatory*'; 4L2^v FINIS

Notes. Judging from the catchword on page C1^v, the printer intended to print the section on weights and measures on leaf C2. However, gathering D must have been printed first when it was found that enough space remained on page D1^v to print the section. This indicates that gatherings were not printed in order and, possibly, that Cole's advertisement was added after casting-off. Other signs of revision after casting-off included the jump in pagination from 54 to 57, although the catchwords are consistent, the position of cancelled leaf S2. Despite the jump in the register, the catchwords on leaf 2Z2^v and 4B1^r match.

RCP 18530 lacking portrait and gathering 4F, and leaf 4E1. RCP 18531 lacking portrait and leaf N1; gatherings L, M and N misbound after gathering F. BL 577.g.29. lacking gathering 2Z. In WIL 19297/C/1 page 183 is printed correctly. WIL 19297/C/2 is lacking portrait, and page 17 is misprinted '20', and 20 as '17'.

D.2. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned, anr edn (London: Well-Wisher to the Commonwealth, 1654)*

Wing C7526 (Reel 1525:17)

Copies Examined. BL 777.a.10.; RCP 17988.

Title. See Illustration 6, 126 × 64 mm.

Collation. 12^o: (por. +) A⁸ B-R¹² S⁶ T⁴, [\$5 signed (-A3, A5, E5, S4, T2, T3, T4)]; 210 leaves, pp. [16] 1 4-79 80 81-201 202 203-263 264 265-353 354 355-386 [20] (misprinting 33 as '32', 139 as '136', 144 as '141', 156 as '136', 157 as '137', 160 as '140', 161 as '141', 164 as '163', 165 as '164', 168 as '167', 169 as '168', 175 as '179', 219 as '229', 230 as '30', 296 as '96', 322 as '332', 373 as '333', 286 is printed upside-down) [= 420]

Typography. (P1^r) 1 col., with inset mm., 45 ll., 119 (123) × 63 mm., 6 pt; 'Key to Galen's Method of Physick', 62 ll., 4 pt

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r-3^r 'TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL *Edward Hall* Esquire, Iustice of the Peace for the County of *Surry*'; A3^v-5^v 'A Premonitory Epistle to the READER'; A6^r 'Weights and Measures in the New Dispensatory' and 'Weights and Measures in the Old Dispensatory'; A6^v-8^r 'DIRECTIONS'; A8^v 'The Translators PREFACE to the Catalogue of SIMPLES'; B1^r-D11^r 'A CATALOGUE OF THE SIMPLES CONDUCTING TO THE DISPENSATORY'; D11^v-F9^r 'A CATALOGUE OF SIMPLES IN THE NEW DISPENSATORY'; F9^r-9^v 'An Explanation of certain Nuncupations, comprehending more things than under one name'; F9^v-G1^v 'Simple Distilled WATERS'; G1^v-Q3^r catalogue of compounded medicines; Q3^r-5^r 'CHEMICAL PREPARATIONS more frequent in use'; Q5^{r-v} 'THE GENERAL WAY OF MAKING EXTRACTS'; Q5^v 'The Way of making SALTS'; Q6^r-8^r 'PREPARATIONS of certain Simple Medicines'; Q8^v 'A CONCLUSION'; Q9^r-R12^v 'A KEY TO GALEN'S Method of Physick'; S1^r-2^r 'A Sinopsis of the Key of Galens Method of Physick'; S2^v-4^v 'An

Alphabetical Table to the *English* names in the Cata- | logue of Simples'; S4^v-T2^v 'A
TABLE of the COMPOUNDS in the | Order they are set down in every Claſſis'; T2^v-4^v 'A
Catalogue or TABLE of the DISEA- | SES treated of in the DISPENSATORY'; T4^v FINIS

Notes. RCP copy lacking gatherings G3 through G10, replaced with photographs. BL copy lacking portrait.

D.3. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned, anr edn (London: Peter Cole, 1654)*

Wing C7527 (Reel 2479)

Copies Examined. WIL 19298/B.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, 160 × 98 mm.] Pharmacopœia Londinensis: | OR
THE | LONDON DISPENSATORY | Further adorned by the *Studies* and | *Collections* of
the *Fellows*, now living of | the ſaid COLLEDG. | In this Sixt Edition you may find, | 1
Three hundred uſeful Additions. | 2 All the Notes that were in the Margent are brought |
into the book between two ſuch Crotchets as | theſe [] | 3 On the top of the pages of this
Impreſſion is printed | *The ſixt Edition, Much Enlarged* | 4 The Vertues, Qualities, and
Properties of every | *Simple*. | 5 The Vertues and Uſe of the *Compounds*. | 6 Cautions in
giving al Medicines that are dangerous. | 7 All the Medicines that were in the *Old Latin*
Diſ- | penſatory, and are left out in the *New Latin* one, | are printed in this Sixt Impreſſion
in English with | their Vertues. | 8 A *Key* to Galen's *Method of Phyſick*, containing |
thirty three Chapters. | 9 In every Page two Columns. | 10 In this Impreſſion, the Latin
name of every one of | the Compounds is printed, and in what page of the | New Folio
Latin Book they are to be found. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper* Gent. Student in Phyſick
and | Aſtrology; living in Spittle-fields near *London*. | [rule] | *London*: Printed by *Peter*
Cole in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to be ſold | at his ſhop at the ſign of the Printing-Prefs in
Cornhill, | near the Royal Exchange. 1654.

Collation. 8°: πA⁴ A-P⁴ Q² 2A-2B⁸ 2C-2Q⁴ 2X⁴ 2Y² 2Z-3G⁴ 3H²; [\$2 signed (+ 2A3, 2A4, 2B3, 2B4; - 2I2, 3H2; I1 signed 'L1', 2Y1 signed 'Y1'); 178 leaves, pagination destroyed in copy

Typography. (2G2^r) 2 cols, 46 ll., 153 (162) × 96 mm., 9 pt

Contents. πA1^r title; πA1^v printer's device; πA2^{r-v} 'To the Reader'; πA3^r-4^v 'The Names of
ſeveral Books Printed by Peter Cole'; A1^r address to the reader; A1^r-4^r 'An *Aſtrologo-
Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Human | Vertues*'; A4^r-B1^v Directions; B1^v-2^r 'Weights and
Meaſures in the New | DISPENSATORY'; B2^r 'Weights and Meaſures | in the Old
Diſpenſatory'; B2^r-3^v 'A Premonitory Epistle to the | READER'; B3^v-4^r 'The *Tranſlators*
PREFACE to the | Catalogue of SIMPLES'; B4^v advertisement for *aurum potable*; C1^r-I2^r
catalogue of ſimples from the old *Pharmacopoeia*; I2^r-N3^v 'A Catalogue of New SIMPLES
in | the *New Diſpenſatory*'; N3^v-2Q4^r catalogue of compounded medicines; 2Q4^v-X2^r
'Chymical Preparati- | ons, more frequent in uſe'; 2X2^{r-v} 'The General way of | making
Salts'; 2X2^v-4^r 'Preparations of cer- | tain Simple Medicines'; 2X4^v 'A *CONCLUSION*';
2Y1^r-3D2^r 'A | KEY | TO | GALEN'S Method | OF | PHYSICK'; 3D2^v-E1^r 'An
Alphabetical Table to the English Names | In the Catalogue of Simples'; 3E1^r-F2^r 'A
TABLE of the COMPOUNDS'; 3F2^r-H2^v 'A *Table of the Diſeaſes*'

D.3.(i). Reissue of D.3., with reset title page and preliminary gathering

(London: Peter Cole, 1655)

Wing C7528

Copies Examined. WIL 19299/B.

Title. As D.3., except imprint: ‘*London: Printed by Peter Cole in Leaden-Hall, and at the sign of the Printing-press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1655.*’

Notes. Including a new engraved portrait of Culpeper opposite the title page. The verso of the title page contains an advertisements for Cole’s stock of Culpeper books.

D.3.(ii). Reissue of D.3., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1656)

Wing C7529

Copies Examined. Yale Medical Library (information from correspondence).

D.4. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned, anr edn* (London: Peter Cole, 1659)

Wing C7530 (Reel 980:9)

Copies Examined. BL 1488.f.43.; WIL 19300/B/1-4; RCP 6302.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, 164 × 96 mm.] Pharmacopœia Londinensis: | OR THE | LONDON DISPENSATORY | Further adorned by the *Studies* and | *Collections* of the *Fellows*, now living of | the said COLLEDG. | In this Sixt Edition you may find, | 1 Three hundred useful Additions. | 2 All the Notes that were in the Margent are brought | into the book between two such Crotchets as | these [] | 3 On the top of the pages of this Impression is printed, | *The Sixt Edition, Much Enlarged.* | 4 The Vertues, Qualities, and Properties of every | *Simple.* | 5 The Vertues and Use of the *Compounds.* | 6 Cautions in giving al Medicines that are dangerous. | 7 All the Medicines that were in the *Old Latin Difpenſatory*, and are left out in the *New Latin* one, | are printed in this Sixt Impression in English with | their Vertues. | 8 A *Key* to Galen’s *Method of Physick*, containing | thirty three Chapters. | 9 In every Page Two Columns. | 10 In this Impression, the Latin name of every one of | the *Compounds* is printed, and in what page of the | New Folio Latin Book they are to be found. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper* Gent. Student in | Phyſick and Astrology. | [rule] | *London: Printed by Peter Cole, Printer and Book-feller, at the Sign of the Printing-press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1659.*

Collation. 8°: ∴⁴ A⁸ B² xC⁸ C-G⁸ I⁶ 2A-2I⁸ 2K⁶ 2M-2P⁸ 2Q², [\$4 signed (- ∴², ∴⁴, B2, 2K4, 2Q2)]; 180 leaves, pp. [28] 1-18 19 20-107 [1] 191-341 [5] 343-377 [33] (misprinting 54 as ‘45’, 263 as ‘251’, 339 as ‘211’) [= 360]

Typography. (2B1^r) 2 cols, 46 ll., 154 (162) × 97 mm., 9 pt

Contents. ∴1^r blank; ∴1^v vertical title: ‘Culpepers Dispenſatory in English’; ∴2^r title; ∴2^v blank; ∴3^{r-v} ‘TO THE READER’; ∴3^v-A3^v ‘*Books printed by Peter Cole*’; A3^v-6^v ‘*An Afrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Human Vertues*’; A6^v-8^r directions; A8^r-8^v ‘Weights and Measures in the New | DISPENSATORY’; A8^v ‘Weights and Measures | in the Old Dispenſatory’; A8^v-B2^r ‘A Premonitory Epistle to the | READER’; B2^{r-v} ‘The *Translators PREFACE*’; xC1^v-E2^r old catalogue of simples; E2^r-G3^v ‘A Catalogue of SIMPLES in | the

New Dispensatory; G3^v-218^v catalogue of compounded medicines; 218^v-K2^r 'Chymical Preparati- | ons, more frequent in use'; 2K2^r 'The General way of | making Extracts'; 2K2^{r-v} 'The way of making SALTS'; 2K2^v-4^r 'Preparations of cer- | tain Simple Medicines'; 2K4^v 'A CONCLUSION'; 2K5^r 'A | KEY | TO | GALEN'S METHOD | OF | PHYSICK', imprint date, '1658'; 2K5^v-6^v 'A SINOPSIS of the the KEY of GALENS | METHOD OF PHYSICK'; 2M1^r-O2^r 'A KEY | TO GALEN'S Method of Physick'; 2O2^v-5^r 'An Alphabetical Table to the English Names | In the Catalogue of Simples'; 2O5^r-P2^r 'A TABLE of the COMPOUNDS in the | Order they are set down in every Claffis'; 2P2^r-Q2^r 'A Table of the Diseases treated of in the | DISPENSATORY'; 2Q2^v advertisement for Culpeper's *aurum potable*, to be had from 'his Widdow, and administred by a Physitian in her House ... on the East side of Spittle-fields, next door to the Red Lyon'

Notes. BL copy lacking leaf :.1, bearing vertical title on its verso. WIL 19300/B/1 lacking leaf :.1; 19300/B/2 lacking leaves :.1, I3, and I4, with page 19 correctly printed; 19300/B/3 lacking leaf :.1, with page 19 correctly printed; 19300/B/4 lacking leaves :.1, D4, G2, G3, and gatherings ^xC, C, and 2P.

D.5. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis: or The London Dispensatory Further Adorned*, anr edn (London: Peter and Edward Cole, 1661)

Wing C7531 (Reel 1666:20)

Copies Examined. BL 7509.g.15.; WIL 19301/C/1-2; RCP 18532.

Title. [within double rules, 251 × 149 mm.] Pharmacopœia Londinensis: | OR, THE | London Dispensatory. | Further adorned by the *Studies and Collections* of the | Fellows, now living of the said COLLEDG. | Being that Book by which all Apothecaries are bound | to make all the Medicines in their Shops | *In which is Printed*, | I. The Vertues, Qualities, and Properties of every *Simple*. | II. The Vertues and Use of the *Compounds*. | III. Cautions in giving all Medicines that are dangerous | IV. All the Medicines that were in the *Old Latin Dispensatory*, and | are left out in the *New Latin* one, are Printed in this Impref- | sion in English with their Vertues. | V. A *Key* to Galen's *Method of Physick*, containing 33. Chapters. | VI. The Latin Names of every one of the Compounds, and in | what Page of the New Folio Latin Book they are to be found. | By *Nich. Culpeper* Gent Student in Physick and Astrology. | In this Impression, 1661. There is Added, to the Com- | pounds, Many Vertues & Uses more than ever were | in any former Impression. By divers Learned and | Able Doctors of Physick, *Viz. W.R. A.C. J.W.* And, | By *Abdiah Cole*, Doctor of Physick, and the Liberal | Arts; who hath Practised Physick forty nine years, | And lived above thirty years, out of his own Coun- | try; And hath seen the Practice of *France, Italy, Ger- | many, Turkey, and the Indies*. | [rule] | London: Printed by *Peter Cole* and *Edward Cole*, Printers and Book-sellers, at the | Sign of the Printing-press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1661.

Collation. 2^o: A¹ B-C² F-P² Q¹ 2A-2E² ^x2E² 2G-3Q², [\$1 signed]; 104 leaves, pp. [14] 1-38 101-229 [27] (misprinting 154 as '153', 155 as '154', 224 as '214') [= 208]

Typography. (2M2^r) 3 cols, 74 ll., 248 (260) × 145 mm., 9 pt

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; B1^r-C1^r 'The Printer to the Reader'; C1^v-2^v 'Books Printed by Peter Cole, and Edward Cole'; C2^v-F2^r 'An Astrologo-Physickal Discourse of the Human Vertues'; F2^{r-v} 'DIRECTIONS'; F2^v 'Weights and Measures in the New | DISPENSATORY', and 'Weights and Measures in the Old | DISPENSATORY'; G1^r-M1^v catalogue of simples

from the old *Pharmacopoeia*; M1^v-Q1^v 'A | CATALOGUE | OF | SIMPLES | IN THE | NEW DISPENSATORY'; 2A1^r-3D2^v catalogue of compounded medicines; 3D2^v-E2^r 'Chymical Prepa- | rations, more fre- | quent in use'; 3E2^r 'The General | way | of making | Extracts'; 3E2^r 'The way of making | SALTS'; 3E2^v-F1^r 'PREPARATIONS | of certain Simple | Medicines'; 3F1^v-K1^r 'A | KEY to Galen's | Method of Physick'; 3K1^v-2^r 'A SYNOPSIS of the Key of GALENS | Method of PHYSICK'; 3K2^r-M1^v 'A TABLE of the COMPOUNDS in the | Order they are set down in every Claffis'; 3M1^v-N1^v 'An ALPHABETICAL TABLE to the | English Names in the Catalogue of Simples'; 3N1^v-2^r 'An Alphabetical TABLE (newly added) of the Eng- | lish Names of such Simples as the Vertues thereof are | set down in this Impression that were not in the former'; 3N2^v-Q2^v 'An ALPHABETICAL TABLE of Diseases | Treated on, in the *Dispensatory*'

Notes. BL copy lacking gathering F, includes MS contents list to chapters at end of volume. WIL 19301/C/2, 3A1 signed as '2A1'.

Nicholas Culpeper

E.1. *The English Physitian: Or An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation* (London: Peter Cole, 1652)

Wing C7501 (Reel 1254:11)

Copies Examined. BL C.54.k.10.; RCP 4288; WIL 19318/C/1-2.

Title. [within double rules, 234 × 135 mm.] THE | English Phyfitian: | *OR* | An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar | Herbs of this Nation. | *Being a Compleat Method of Physick, whereby a man | may preserve his Body in Health; or cure himself, being | sick, for three pence charge, with such things only | as grow in England, they being most fit | for English Bodies.* | Herein is also shewed, | 1. The way of making Plaisters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultif= | les, Syrups, Decoctions, Julips, or Waters, of all sorts of | Physical Herbs, That you may have them readie for your | use at all times of the yeer. | 2. What Planet governeth every Herb or Tree (used in | Physick) that groweth in *England.* | 3. The Time of gathering all Herbs, both Vulgarly, and | Astrologically. | 4. The Way of drying and keeping the Herbs all the yeer. | 5. The Way of keeping their Juyces ready for use at all | times. | 6. The Way of making and keeping all kind of useful | Compounds made of Herbs. | 7. The way of mixing Medicines according to *Caulê* and | and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, and *Part* of the Body *Afflicted.* | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in *Physick* | and *Astrologie.* | [rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the ſign of the Printing-Prefs in | Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1652.

Collation. 2°: (engra. por. +) π^1 A-2G² 2M-3B², [\$2 signed (- 3B2; T2 signed 'T3', 2O2 signed '2O1')]; 89 leaves, pp. [14] 1-92 189-241 242 243-255 [5] (misprinting 18 as '17', 19 as '18', 250 as '205', 252 as '242') [= 178]

Typography. (2C1^r) 2 cols, with outer and inner mrg. nn. 63 ll., 212 (229) × 115 (142) mm., 8 pt

Contents. $\pi 1^r$ title; $\pi 1^v$ blank; A1^r-B2^r 'TO THE READDR'; B2^v 'Authors made use of in this | TREATISE'; C1^r-2^r 'A Catalogue of the Herbs and Plants &c. in this | Treatise, appropriated to their ſeveral | PLANETS'; C2^v '*The Names of ſeveral Books printed by Peter Cole*'; D1^r-2X1^r 'THE | English Physitian'; 2X1^v blank; 2X2^r-3A2^r 'DIRECTIONS'; 3A2^v-3B2^r 'AN | ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE | OF THE | DISEASES | SPECIFIED IN THIS | TREATISE: | Together with the Page where to find the Cure'; 3B2^v '*The Names of ſeveral Books printed by Peter Cole*'

Notes. RCP lacking leaves D2, E1, F1, T1, Z1, 2E2, 2N2, and 2Q2. WIL 19318/C/2 lacking portrait.

E.2. *The English Physitian: Or An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation* (London: for the benefit of the Commonwealth of England, 1652)

Wing C7500 (Reel 62:13)

Two states with variant title pages, pagination, and final gathering.

E.2.(a).

Copies Examined. RCP 13085.

Title. THE ENGLISH | PHYSICIAN | OR AN | Astrologo-physical Discourse of | the vulgar Herbs of this | NATION. | Being a compleat Method of Physick, | whereby a man may preserve his Body in | health; or cure himself, being sick, for | three pence charge, with such things one- | ly as grow in *England*, they being most fit | for *English* Bodies. | *Herein is also shewed*, | 1. The way of making Plaisters, Oyntments, | Oyls, Pultiffes, Syrups, Decoctions, Julips, or Wa- | ters, of all sorts of Physical Herbs, that you may | have them ready for your use at all times of the | year. | 2. What Planet governeth every Herb or Tree | (used in Physick) that groweth in *England*. | 3. The time of gathering all Herbs, both vul- | garly, and Astrologically. | 4. The way of drying and keeping the Herbs | all the year. | 5. The way of keeping the Juyces ready for | use at all times. | 6. The way of making and keeping all kinde of | usefull Compounds made of Herbs. | 7. The way of mixing Medicines according to | Cause and Mixture of the Disease, and Part of | the Body afflicted. | [rule] | By *N. Culpeper*, Student in Physick and Astrology. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for the benefit of the Common- | wealth of *England*. 1652.

Collation. 12°: A⁶ *a⁶ B-2B⁶, [\$5 signed (- *a4, *a5, B4, C4, D5, F5, G5, N4, S5; O4 signed 'C4', 2B3 signed 'B')]; 156 leaves, pp. [24] 1-111 112 113-192 183-266 [12] (misprinting 152 as '132') [= 312]

Typography. (N2^r) 1 col., with outer mrg. nn. 56 ll., 112 (119) × 47 (57) mm., 5 pt

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r-*a3^v 'To the Reader'; *a4^r 'Authors made use of, in this | TREATISE'; *a4^v-6^r 'A Catalogue of the Herbs and | Plants, &c. in this Treatise, appro- | priated to their severall | PLANETS'; B1^r-Z1^v 'The *English Physician*'; Z2^r-2A6^v 'DIRECTIONS'; 2B1^r-6^r 'An Alphabetical Catalogue of | the Diseases specified in this Trea- | tise. Together with the page | where to finde the Cure'; 2B6^r FINIS; 2B6^v blank

Notes. RCP lacking leaves 2B3 and 2B4.

E.2.(b).

Copies Examined. BL 774.a.34.; WIL 19320/A.

Title. THE ENGLISH | PHYSICIAN | OR AN | Astrologo-physical Discourse of | the vulgar Herbs of this | NATION. | Being a compleat Method of Physick, | whereby a man may preserve his Body in | health; or cure himself, being sick, for | three pence charge, with such things one- | ly as grow in *England*, they being most fit | for *English* Bodies. | *Herein is also shewed*, | 1. The way of making Plaisters, Oyntments, Oyls, | Pultiffes, Syrups, Decoctions, Julips, or Waters of | all sorts of Physical Herbs, that you may have them | ready for your use at all times of the year. | 2. What Planet governeth every Herb or Tree | (used in Physick) that groweth in *England*. | 3. The Time of gathering all Herbs, but vul- | garly, and astrologically. | 4. The way of drying and keeping the Herbs | all the year. | 5. The way of keeping the Juyces ready for use | at all times. | 6. The way of making and keeping all kinde of | usefull Compounds made of Herbs. | 7. The way of mixing Medicines according to | Cause and Mixture of the Disease, and Part of | the Body afflicted. | [rule] | By *N. Culpeper*, Student in Physick and Astrology. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for the benefit of the Common- | wealth of *England*. 1652.

Collation. 12°: (engra. por. +) A⁶ *a⁶ B-2B⁶, [\$5 signed (- *a4, *a5, E4, Z2; F2 signed 'F', 2B3 signed 'B')]; 156 leaves, pp. [24] 1-51 52 53-136 137 138-188 179-266 [12] (misprinting 83 as '81', 139 as '137', 215 as '217') [= 312]

Typography. As E.2.(a).

Contents. As E.2.(a)., except 2B1^r-6^r 'An Alphabetical Catalogue of | the Diseases specified in this Treatise. | Together with the page where | to findethe Cure'; 2B6^r FINIS: 2B6^v blank

Notes. In Wellcome copy page 139 correctly printed, and lacking portrait.

E.2.(b).(i). Reissue of E.2.(b)., with reset title (London: Printed by William Bentley, 1652)

Wing C7501A

Copies Examined. BL 1606/2070; WIL 19319/A.

Title. See Illustration 8.

Notes. Wellcome copy lacking leaves F2, F5, O6, P2, P3, P4, P5, and 2B6.

E.3. *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London: Peter Cole, 1653)

Wing C7502 (Reel 178:14)

Two states with variant title pages and pagination.

E.3.(a).

Copies Examined. BL 988.a.7.; WIL Suppl./A/CUL.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, c. 165 × 110 mm.] THE | English Phyfitian | ENLARGED: | With Three Hundred, Sixty, and Nine | *Medicines* made of *English Herbs* that | were not in any *Impression* until this: | The *Epistle* wil Inform you how to | know *This Impression* from any other. | *Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourſe of the Vulgar* | *Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat Me-* | *thod of Phyfick, whereby a man may preserve his Bo-* | *dy in Health; or Cure himſelf, being Sick, for three* | *pence Charge, with ſuch things only as grow in Eng-* | *land, they being moſt fit for English Bodies.* | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe ſeven Things, viz. 1 The Way of ma- | king Plaifters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultif ſes, Syrups, Decoctions, | Julips, or Waters, of al ſorts of Phyſical Herbs, That you may have | them ready for your uſe at al times of the yeer. 2 What Planet Go- | verneth every Herb or Tree (uſed in Phyſick) that groweth in | *England*. 3 The Time of gathering al Herbs, both Vulgarly, and | Astrologically. 4 The Way of Drying and Keeping the Herbs al | the yeer. 5 The Way of Keeping their Juyces ready for uſe at al | times. 6 The Way of Making and Keeping al kind of uſeful Com- | pounds made of Herbs. 7 The way of mixing *Medicines* accor- | ding to *Cauſe* and *Mixture* of the *Disease*, and *Part* of the Body | *Afflicted.* | [rule] | By NICH. CULPEPER, Gent. Student in *Phyſick* | and *Astrologie: Living in Spittle Fields.* | [rule] | *London*, Printed by Peter Cole, in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to be ſold | at his Shop at the ſign of the *Printing-Preſſ* in *Cornhil*, neer the Royal Exchange. 1653.

Collation. 8°: B⁴ C-M⁸ Q-2A⁸ 2B-2C⁴, [\$4 signed (- B4, 2B3, 2B4, 2C3, 2C4; G2 signed 'F2'); 164 leaves, pp. [24] 1-173 284-398 [16] (misprinting 132 as '10', 289 as '189', 295 as '205') [= 328]

E.3.(b).

Copies Examined. BL E.1455.(1.).

Title. As E.3.(a)., except: lines 9-14, no swash italic capitals; line 25, no swash italic M.

Collation. As E.3.(a)., pp. [24] 1-173 284-285 186-191 292-398 [16] [= 328]

E.3.(a). & E.3.(b).

Typography. (T8^r) 1 col., with inset nn., 46 ll., 155 (161) × 93 mm., 9 pt. Gathering D and E only have margin notes.

Contents. B1^r blank; B1^v printer's device; B2^r title; B2^v blank; B3^r-4^v 'To the READER'; C1^r-5^v 'AN | ALPHABETICAL TABLE | OF ALL THE | HERBS AND PLANTS | In this BOOK: | As also what PLANET governeth every one of them'; C6^r 'The CONTENTS of the DIRECTIONS' and 'Authors made use of in this Treatise'; C6^v-7^v 'The Names of *several Books Printed by Peter Cole*'; C8^r vertical title: 'Culpepers English Physitian Enlarged'; C8^v blank; D1^r-Z7^v 'THE | *English Physitian Enlarged*'; Z7^v-2A8^v 'DIRECTIONS'; 2B1^r-C4^v 'The TABLE of DISEASES'

Notes. Wellcome and BL 988.a.7. copies, lacking first leaf bearing Cole's device on its verso, instead it is printed on the verso of the title-page instead. BL 988.a.7. also lacking leaves C7 and C8.

E.3.(i). Reissue of E.3.(a)., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1655)

Wing C7502A (Reel 2465:7)

Copies Examined. WIL 19321/B.

Title. As E.3.(a)., except imprint: 'LONDON | Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and at the sign of the | *Printing-press* in *Cornhil*, neer the Royal Exchange. 1655.'

Contents. B1^r blank; B1^v portrait of Culpeper; B2^r title-page; B2^v 'The Names of *several works of Nicholas Culpeper*'; B3^r-B4^v 'To the READER'; C1^r-end, as E.3.(a).

Notes. Wellcome lacking portrait and gatherings 2B and 2C.

E.3.(ii). Reissue of E.3.(a)., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1656)

Copies Examined. RCP 130861; WIL 19322/B.

Title. As E.3.(i)., except imprint date: '1656.'

Contents. π1^r title; π1^v 'The Names of *several Works of Nicholas | Culpeper*'; π1^v-2^v 'Mrs. Culpeper Information', dated 18 October 1655; π2^v-4^v 'To the READER'; π4^v advertisement for Cole's stock of Thomas Hooker's *Eleven Books made in New England*; C1^r-end, as E.3.(a).

E.4. *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London: Peter Cole, 1656)

Wing C7503 (Reel 1944:23)

Copies Examined. BL 1608/144.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, 162 × 96 mm.] THE | English Physitian | ENLARGED: | With Three Hundred, Sixty, and Nine | *Medicines*, made of *English Herbs* that | were not in any *Impression* until this: | *The Epifile* will inform you how to | know

This Impression from any other. | *Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourſe of the Vulgar | Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat | Method of Phyſick, whereby a man may preſerve his | Body in Health; or Cure himſelf, being ſick, for | three pence Charge, with ſuch things only as grow | in England, they being moſt fit for Engliſh Bodies.* | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe Seven Things: viz. 1 The Way of ma- | king Plaſters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultiſſes, Syruſs, Decoctions, | Juleps, or Waters, of al ſorts of Phyſical Herbs, That you may have | them ready for your uſe at al times of the yeer. 2 What Planet Go- | verneth every Herb or Tree (uſed in Phyſick) that groweth in | *England*. 3 The Time of gathering al Herbs, both Vulgarly, and | Astrologically. 4 The Way of Drying and Keeping the Herbs al | the yeer. 5 The Way of Keeping their Juyces ready for uſe at all | times. 6 The Way of Making and Keeping al kind of uſeful Com- | pounds made of Herbs. 7 The way of mixing *Medicines* accor- | ding to *Caulé* and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, and *Part* of the Body | *Afflicted*. | [rule] | By NICH. CULPEPER, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick* and *Aſtrology*. | [rule] | *London*: | Printed by *Peter Cole*, Printer and Book-ſeller, at the | Sign of the Printing-preſs in Cornhil, near the | Royal Exchange. 1656.

Collation. 8°: A⁴ C-M⁸ Q-2A⁸ 2B⁶, [\$4 signed (- A3, A4)]; 162 leaves, pp. [24] 1-173 284-398 [12] (misprinting 286 as '176') [= 324]

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v-4^v 'Books printed by Peter Cole'; A4^v-C2^r 'To the READER'; C2^v 'Authors made uſe of in this Treatiſe'; C3^r-7^v 'AN | ALPHABETICAL TABLE'; C8^r 'The CONTENTS of the DIRECTIONS'; C8^{r-v} 'Mrs. *Culpepers* Information', dated 18 October 1655; D1^r-Z7^v 'THE | *Engliſh Phyſitian Enlarged*'; Z7^v-2A8^v 'DIRECTIONS'; 2B1^r-B6^v 'The Table of *Diſeaſes*'

Typography. (S4^r) 1 col., with inset nn., 46 ll., 154 (161) × 93 mm., 9 pt. Gathering D only has margin notes.

E.4.(i). Reissue of E.4., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1662)

Wing C7504A

Copies Examined. WIL 19324/B.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, 157 × 97 mm.] THE | *Engliſh Phyſitian | ENLARGED.* | With three Hundred Sixty and Nine *Me- | dicines*, made of *Engliſh Herbs* that were | not in an *Impreſſion* until now: *The E | piſſe* will inform you how to know *this | Impreſſion* from any other. | *Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourſe of the Vulgar | Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat Me- | thod of Phyſick, whereby a man may preſerve his Body | in Health; or Cure himſelf, being Sick, for three pence | Charge, with ſuch things only as grow in England, they | being moſt fit for Engliſh Bodies.* | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe Seven Things: viz 1. The Way of ma- | king Plaſters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultiſſes, Syruſs, Decoctions, | Juleps, or Waters, of all ſorts of Phyſical Herbs, That you may | have them ready for your uſe at all times of the year. 2. What Pla- | net governeth every Herb or Tree (uſed in Phyſick) that groweth | in *England*. 3. The Time of gathering all Herbs, both Vulgarly | and Astrologically. 4. The Way of Drying and Keeping the Herbs | all the year. 5. The Way of Keeping their Juyces ready for uſe at | all times. 6. The Way of making and keeping all kind of uſefull Com- | pounds made of Herbs. 7. The Way of mixing *Medicines* accord- | ing to *Caulé* and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, and *Part* of the Body *afflicted*. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in *Phyſick* | and *Aſtrology*. | [rule]

| London: Printed by *Peter Cole*, Printer and Book-feller, at the | Sign of the Printing-press in Cornhil, near | the Royal Exchange. 1662.

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v 'Books printed by Peter Cole'; A4^v-end, as E.4.

E.5. *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London: Peter Cole, 1656)

Wing C7503

Copies Examined. BL 1478.e.28.

Title. [within double rule frame, 162 × 96 mm.] *THE* | English Physitian | ENLARGED: | With Three Hundred, Six- | ty, and Nine *Medicines*, made of *English Herbs* | that were not in any *Impression* untill this: The | Epistle will inform you how to know *This* | *Impression* from any other. | *Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourſe of the Vulgar* | *Herbs of this Nation; Containing a Compleat Me-* | *thod of Physick, whereby a man may preſerve his Body* | *in Health; or Cure himself, being Sick, for three* | *pence Charge, with ſuch things only as grow in England* | *they being moſt fit for English Bodies.* | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe Seven Things: *viz.* 1 The Way of ma- | king Plaisters, Ointments, Oils, Pultiffes, Syrups, Decoctions, | Julips, or Waters, of all ſorts of Physical Herbs, That you may | have them ready for your uſe at al times of the year. 2 What | Planet Governeth every Herb or Tree (uſed in Physick) that | groweth in *England.* 3 The Time of gathering all Herbs, both | Vulgarly, and Astrologically. 4 The Way of Drying and Keep- | ing the Herbs all the year. 5 The Way of Keeping their Juyces | ready for uſe at all times. 6 The Way of Making and Keeping | all kind of uſefull Compounds made of Herbs. 7 The way of | mixing *Medicines* according to *Cauſe* and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, | and *Part* of the Body *Afflicted.* | [rule] | By NICH. CULPEPER, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick* and *Aſtrology.* | [rule] | London: Printed by *Peter Cole*, Printer and Book-feller, at the | Sign of the Printing-press in Cornhill, near the | Royal Exchange. 1656.

Collation. 8°: π¹ C-M⁸ Q-2B⁸ [\$4 signed]; 161 leaves, pp. [18] 1-173 184 285-398 [16] (misprinting 286 as '176')[= 322]

Contents. π1^r title; π1^v-C2^v 'To the READER'; C2^v 'Authors made uſe of in this Treatiſe'; C3^r-7^v 'AN | ALPHABETICAL TABLE | OF ALL THE | HERBS and PLANTS | In this BOOK. | As alſo what PLANET governeth every one of them'; C8^r 'The CONTENTS of the DIRECTIONS'; C8^r-8^v 'Mrs. *Culpepers* Information, Vindication, and Testimony'; D1^r-Z7^v 'THE | *English Physitian Enlarged*'; Z7^v-2A8^v 'DIRECTIONS'; 2B1^r-2B8^v 'The Table of *Diſeaſes*'

Typography. (Q4^r) 1 col., with inset nn., 46 ll., 152 (161) × 93 mm., 9 pt. Gathering D only has margin notes.

Notes. Incomplete preliminary gathering. Main text contains adverts to Cole's medical books. However, these are different titles to those in E.4.

E.5.(i). Reissue of E.5., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1661)

Wing C7504

Copies Examined. BL 7510.a.19.

Title. [within double fleuron type frame, 164 × 96 mm.] *THE* | English Physitian | ENLARGED: | And now made a very neceſſary part of | the *Phyſitian Library* that will

Cure all | *Diſeaſes*. | *The Epistle* will inform you how to know *The* | *true Impreſſion* from the Counterfeit. | *Being an Afrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Vulgar* | *Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat* | *Method of Phyſick, whereby a man may preſerve* | *his Body in Health; or Cure himſelf, being Sick, for* | *three pence Charge, with ſuch things only as grow* | *in England, they being moſt fit for Engliſh Bodies*. | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe Seven Things: viz. 1. The Way of | making Plaifters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultiffes, Syrups, De- | coctions, Juleps, or Waters, of all ſorts of Phyſical Herbs, | That you may have them ready for your uſe at al times of the | year. 2. What Planet Governeth every Herb or Tree, (uſed in | Phyſick) that groweth in *England*. 3. The time of gathering | all Herbs, both Vulgar, and Afrologically. 4. The Way of | Drying and Keeping the Herbs all the year. 5. The Way of | Keeping their Juyces ready for uſe at all times. 6. The Way | of Making and keeping all kind of uſeful Compounds made | of Herbs. 7. The Way of mixing *Medicines* according to *Caulé* | and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, and *Part* of the *Body afflicted*. | [rule] | By NICH. CULPEPER, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick* and *Aſtrology*. | [rule] | *London: Printed by Peter Cole, Printer and Book-ſeller, | at the Sign of the Printing-preſs in Cornhill, near* | *the Royal Exchange*. 1661.

Collation. 8°: A⁴ C-M⁸ Q-2B⁸ [\$4 ſigned (-A2, A3, A4)]; 164 leaves, pp. [24] 1-173 184 285-398 [16] (misprinting 286 as ‘176’) [= 328]

Contents. A1^r title-page; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v ‘*Books Printed by Peter Cole*’; A4^r-C2^v ‘*To the Reader*’; C2^v-end, as E.5.

Notes. Preliminary gathering includes advertisement for the apothecary Ralph Clarke.

E.5.(ii). Reissue of E.5., with reset title page and preliminary gathering (London: Peter Cole, 1665)

Wing C7505

Copies Examined. BL 1484.bbb.15.

Title. [within single fleuron type frame, 159 × 97 mm.] THE | English Phyſitian | ENLARGED. | With three Hundred ſixty and Nine *Me-* | *dicines*, made of *English Herbs* that were | not in an *Impreſſion* until now: *The* | *Epistle* will inform you how to know | this *Impreſſion* from any other. | *Being an Afrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Vulgar* | *Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat* | *Method of Phyſick, whereby a man may preſerve his* | *Body in Health; or Cure himſelf, being ſick, for* | *three pence Charge, with ſuch things only as grow in* | *England, they being moſt fit for Engliſh Bodies*. | Herein is alſo ſhewed theſe ſeven Things: *Viz.* 1. The Way of | making Plaifters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultiffes, Syrups, Decoctions, | Juleps, or Waters, of all ſorts of Phyſical Herbs, That you may | have them ready for your uſe at all times of the year. 2. What | Planet governeth every Herb or Tree, (uſed in Phyſick) that groweth | in *England*. 3. The Time of gathering all Herbs, both Uulgarly | and Afrologically. 4. The Way of drying and keeping the Herbs all the year. 5. The Way of keeping their Juyces ready for uſe at | all times. 6. The Way of making and keeping all kind of uſeful | Compounds made of Herbs. 7. The Way of mixing *Medicines* | according to *Caulé* and *Mixture* of the *Diſeaſe*, and *Part* of the | *Body afflicted*. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick* and *Aſtrology*. | [rule] | *London: Printed by Peter Cole, Printer and Book-ſeller, | at the Sign of the Printing-preſs in Cornhill, near* | *the Royal Exchange*. 1665.

Collation. 8°: A⁴ C-M⁸ Q-2B⁸ [\$4 ſigned (-A4)]; 164 leaves, pp. [24] 1-173 184 285-398

[16] (misprinting 286 as '176') [= 328]

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r-4^v '*Books Printed by Peter Cole*'; A4^v-C2^v 'To the Reader'; C2^v-end, as E.5.

Nicholas Culpeper

F.1. *A Directory for Midwives: or, A Guide for Women* (London: Peter Cole, 1651)

Wing C7488 (Reel 90:13)

Copies Examined. BL E.1340.(1.); WIL 19311/A

Title. [within single fleuron type frame, 129 × 77 mm.] A | DIRECTORY | FOR | MIDWIVES: | OR, | *A Guide for Women,*

In their { *Conception,*
 { *Bearing, And*
 { *Suckling their Children.*

Containing, | 1. *The Anatomie of the Vessels of Generation.* | 2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.* | 3. *What hinders Conception, and its Remedies.* | 4. *What furthers Conception.* | 5. *A Guide for Women in Conception.* | 6. *Of Miscarriage in Women.* | 7. *A Guide for Women in their Labor.* | 8. *A Guide for Women in their Lying-in.* | 9. *Of Nurfing Children.* | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick and Astrologie.* | [rule] | Exod. 1. 21. | *It came to paſs, becauſe the Midwives feared the Lord, | that God built them Houſes.* | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the ſign of the *Printing-Preſs* | in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1651.

Note. Line 4: 'MIDWIVES', the W made from two V's with the right hand limb of the left V filed to fit.

Collation. 8^o: (engra. por. +) ¶⁸ A-G⁸ H⁸ (+H9, H10) I-Q⁸, [\$4 signed (- O3; P3 signed 'P2')]; 138 leaves, pp. [32] 1-112 111 111 111 112 113-217 [23] [= 276]

Typography. (M5^r) 1 col., 27 ll., 111 (121) × 68 mm., 10 pt

Inserts. Plate, 112 × 68 mm. (op. F6^r)

Contents. ¶1^r title; ¶1^v blank; ¶2^r-8^r 'To the MIDWIVES of Eng- | land. *Nich. Culpeper wiſheth ſucceſs in their Office in this | World, and a Crown of Glory | in that to come*'; ¶8^v-A6^r 'To the READER'; A6^v-8^v 'The Names of ſeveral Books | Printed by Peter Cole'; A8^v 'In Laudem Authoris' by 'Jer. Edmonds, Philomuf.'; B1^r-D4^r 'BOOK. I. | *Of the Veſſels dedicated to | GENERATION*'; D4^v-F8^v 'BOOK. II. | *Of the Formation of the Child | in the Womb*'; G1^r-I1^r 'BOOK. III. | *Of what hinders Conception, | together with its Remedies*'; I1^v-6^v 'BOOK. IV. | *Of what furthers Conception*'; I7^r-K7^r 'BOOK. V. | *A Guide for Women in | CONCEPTION*'; K7^v-L8^r 'BOOK. VI. | *Of Miſcarriage in Women*'; L8^v-N7^r 'BOOK. VII. | *A Guide for Women in their | LABOR*'; N7^v-O5^v 'BOOK. VIII. | *A Guide for Women in their | Lying-Inn*'; O6^r-P4^r 'BOOK. IX. | *Of Nurfing Children*'; P4^v-5^r 'CONCLUSION'; P5^v 'Errata non Corrigenda'; P6^r 'Errata Corrigenda'; P6^v-8^v 'An Interpretation of certain | crabbed Names which you ſhall | meet with unexplained in this | TREATISE'; Q1^r-8^v 'The | CONTENTS'

Notes. The British Library copy lacking leaves H9 and H10. This shows signs of revision during printing. The extra chapter is included in the contents list to Book III (G6^v) in both states. The compositor or printer must have initially missed the single leaf chapter which was later added. Wellcome copy lacking portrait and illustrative plate. BL copy, plate inserted op. D4^v.

F.2. *A Directory for Midwives: or, A Guide for Women*, anr edn (London: Printed, 1652)

Wing C7488A

Copies Examined. Glasgow University Library Hunterian Add. 29

Title. [within single fleuron type frame, 76 × 125 mm.] A | DIRECTORY | FOR | MIDWIVES: | OR | *A Guide for Women*,

In their { *Conception,*
 { *Bearing, And*
 { *Suckling their Children*

1. *The Anatomy of the Vessels of Generation.* | 2. *The Formation of the Childe in the Womb.* | 3. *What hinders Conception, and its Remedies.* | 4. *What furthers Conception.* | 5. *A Guide for Women in Conception.* | 6. *Of Miscarriage in Women.* | 7. *A Guide for Women in their Labor.* | 8. *A Guide for Women in their Lying-in.* | 9. *Of Nurfing Children.* | [rule] | By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in | Physick and Astrology. | [rule] | Exod. 1. 21. | *It came to pass, becaule the Midwives feared the Lord, | that God built them Houes.* | [rule] | LONDON: Printed, 1652.

Collation. 8°: A-K⁸, [\$4 signed]; 80 leaves, pp. [16] 1-135 [9] (misprinting 34 as '43', 93 as '63') [= 160]

Typography. 38 ll. Body 64: Face 60 × 2:2.5

Inserts. Plate, 48 × 104mm. (op. D6^v)

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r-5^v 'To the Midwives of England, | Nich. Culpeper wisheth successe in | their Office in this World, and a | Crown of Glory in that to come'; A6^r-7^v 'To the READER'; A8^{r-v} 'In Laudem Authoris' by 'Jer. Edmonds, Philomuf.'; B1^r-C4^r 'BOOK. I. | *Of the Vessels dedicated to Generation*'; C4^v-E1^r 'BOOK. II. | *Of the Formation of the Childe in | the Womb*'; E1^v-F3^r 'BOOK. III. | *Of what hinders Conception, together | with its Remedies*'; F3^v-7^r 'BOOK. IV. | *Of what furthers Conception*'; F7^v-G4^v 'BOOK. V. | *A Guide for Women in Conception*'; G5^r-H2^r 'BOOK. VI. | *Of Miscarriage in Women*'; H3^r-I3^v 'BOOK. VII. | *A Guide for Women in their Labor*'; I4^r-7^v 'BOOK. VIII. | *A guide for Women in their Lying-In*'; I8^r-K3^v 'BOOK. IX. | *Of Nurfing Children*'; K4^r 'CONCLUSION'; K4^v-5^v 'An Interpretation of certain crabbed | Names which you shall meet with | unexplained in this Treatise'; K6^r-8^r 'THE | CONTENTS'; K8^v blank

Notes. The unique copy of this book in the Hunterian Collection at the University of Glasgow has a frontispiece engraving of Culpeper, cut from Cole's 1651 edition, pasted in opposite the title. This is the pirated edition attacked by Cole in the preliminaries to his 1656 enlarged edition of this book, and was set from a copy of Cole's 1651 edition represented by the Thomason Collection which, however, lacks the seventh and last chapter 'Of Heat and Driness of the Womb' to the second section of book three.

F.3. *A Directory for Midwives: or, A Guide for Women*, 2nd edn (London: Peter Cole and R. Westbrook, 1653)

Wing C7489

Copies Examined. Yale Medical Library (microfilm).

Title. [within single fleuron type frame] A | DIRECTORY | FOR | MIDWIVES: | OR, | *A Guide for Women*,

In their { Conception,
 { Bearing, And
 { Suckling their Children.

Containing, | 1. *The Anatomy of the Vessels of Generation.* | 2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.* | 3. *What hinders Conception, and its Remedies.* | 4. *What furthers Conception.* | 5. *A Guide for Women in Conception.* | 6. *Of Miscarriage in Women.* | 7. *A Guide for Women in their Labor.* | 8. *A Guide for Women in their Lying-in.* | 9. *Of Nurfing Children.* | See the Epistle to the Reader, to this Edition. | [rule] | By *Nich. Culpeper*, Gent. Student in | *Phylick and Astrologie.* | [rule] | Exod. 1. 12. *It came to pass, because the Midwives feared the Lord, that God built them Houses.* | [rule] | London: Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, And | are to be sold at his Shop, at the *Printing-Press* in | *Cornhil*, near the *Royal Exchange*: And *R. Westbrook* | at *Deaths Arms* in *Thredneedle-street*, against the upper end of *Broad-street*. 1653.

Note. Line 4: 'MIDWIVES', the W made from two V's with the right hand limb of the left V filed to fit.

Collation. 8°: (engra. por. +) A-H⁸ I⁸ (-I1) K-L⁸ M⁴, [\$4 signed (- M3, M4)]; 91 leaves, pp. [14] 1-142 199-220 [4] [= 182]

Typography. (C2^v) 35 ll.

Inserts. Plate, (op. E3^v)

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v 'The Titles of several Books, by *Nich. Culpeper* | *Gent. Student in Phylick and Astrologie*'; A2^r-3^v 'To the Midwives of Eng- | land; *Nich. Culpeper* wisheth | success in their Office in this World, and | a Crown of Glory in that to come'; A4^r-5^r 'To the Reader'; A5^v-8^v 'THE | CONTENTS'; B1^r-D4^r 'BOOK. I. | *Of the Vessels dedicated to* | GENERATION'; D4^v-F2^r 'BOOK. II. | *Of the Formation of the Child* | in the Womb'; F2^v-G5^v 'BOOK. III. | *Of what hinders Conception,* | together with its Remedies'; G6^r-H2^r 'BOOK. IV. | *Of what furthers Conception*'; H2^v-7^v 'BOOK. V. | *A Guide for Women in* | Conception'; H8^r-I5^v 'BOOK. VI. | *Of Miscarriage in Women*'; I6^r-K7^v 'BOOK. VII. | *A Guide for Women in* | their Labor'; K8^r-L4^r 'BOOK. VIII. | *A Guide for Women in* | their Lying-In'; L5^r-8^v 'BOOK. IX. | *Of Nurfing Children*'; M2^{r-v} 'CONCLUSION'; M3^r 'Errata non Corrigenda'; M3^v-4^v 'An Interpretation of certain | crabbed Names which you shall | meet with unexplained, in | this Treatise'

F.4. *A Directory for Midwives: or, A Guide for Women*, 3rd edn (London: *Peter Cole*, 1656)

Wing C7490 (Reel 1631:10)

Copies Examined. BL 1175.a.10.; GUL Hunterian Add. 200

Title. [within fleuron type ruled frame, 133 × 74 mm.] A | DIRECTORY | FOR | MIDWIVES: | OR, | *A Guide for Women*,

In their { Conception,
 { Bearing, And
 { Suckling their Children.

Containing, | 1. *The Anatomy of the Vessels of Generation.* | 2. *The Formation of the Child in the Womb.* | 3. *What hinders Conception, and its Remedies.* | 4. *What furthers Conception.* | 5. *A Guide for Women in Conception.* | 6. *Of Miscarriage in women.* | 7. *A Guide for Women in their Labor.* | 8. *A Guide for Women in their Lying-in.* | 9. *Of Nurfing Children.* | See the Directions in the Epistle to the Reader. | Now are added, five

Brafs Figures, and Explanations | of them, at page 54. never printed before. | [rule] | By
Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in | *Phyſick* and *Aſtrology*. | [rule] | Exod. 1. 12. *It came*
to paſs, becauſe the Midwives | *feared the Lord, that God built them Houſes.* | [rule] |
 London: Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the Sign of the | Printing-Preſs in Cornhil, near the |
 Royal Exchange. 1656.

Note. Line 4: 'MIDWIVES', the W made from two V's with the right hand limb of the left V filed to fit.

Collation. 8°: A-M⁸, [\$4 signed (- C3)]; 96 leaves, pp. [16] 1-142 199-217 [15] (misprinting 98 as '89', 203 as '233') [= 192]

Typography. (F4^r) 1 col., 35 ll. 117 (124) × 71 mm., 9 pt

Inserts. Plates, (op. D5^r). Figures I-V and V printed from two single copper plates with separately set type.

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v-3^r '*Mrs. Culpepers Informa- | tion, Vindication, and | Teſtimony*
 concerning | her Husbands Books to | be Published after his | Death'; A3^r Address to
 Reader; A3^r-5^r '*To the Midwives of Eng- | land; Nich. Culpeper wiſheth | ſucceſs in their*
 Office in this World, and | a Crown of Glory in that to come'; A5^v-6^v '*To the Reader*'; A7^r-
 8^v '*The Names of ſeveral Books Printed by | Peter Cole in Leaden-Hall, London, and | are*
to be ſold at his Shop at the ſign of the | Printing-preſs in Corn-hil near the Ex- | change';
 B1^r-D4^r '*BOOK I. | Of the Veſſels dedicated to | GENERATION*'; D4^v-F2^r '*BOOK II. | Of the*
Formation of the Child | in the Womb'; F2^v-G5^v '*BOOK III. | Of what hinders Conception,*
 | *together with its Remedies*'; G6^r-H2^r '*BOOK IV. | Of what furthers Conception*'; H2^v-7^v
 '*BOOK V. | A Guide for Women in | Conception*'; H8^r-I5^v '*BOOK. VI. | Of Miſcarriage in*
Women'; I6^r-K7^v '*BOOK VII. | A Guide for Women in | their Labor*'; K8^r-L4^r '*BOOK VIII.*
 | *A Guide for Women in | their Lying-In*'; L4^v-8^v '*BOOK IX. | Of Nurſing Children*'; L8^v-
 M1^r '*CONCLUSION*'; M1^v '*Errata non Corrigenda*'; M2^r-3^r '*An Interpretation of certain |*
crabbed Names which you ſhal | meet with unexplained, | in this Treatiſe'; M3^v-6^v '*THE |*
 CONTENTS'; M7^r '*THE | Printer to the Reader*'; M7^v-8^r '*The PREFACE | OF | Riverius*
 his Practice of | *Phyſick. | Of Womens Diſeaſes*'; M8^{r-v} '*The Contents*'

Notes. GUL Hunterian Add. 200 lacks the two illustrative plates inserted opposite sig. D5^r.

F.4.(i). Reissue of F.4., (London: Peter and Edward Cole, 1660)

Wing C7491

Copies Examined. Yale Medical Library (information from correspondence).

Collation. 8°: A-M⁸; 96 leaves

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v-3^r Mrs. Culpeper's vindication; A3^r Address to Reader; A3^v-5^r To the Midwives of England; A6^v To the Reader; A7^r-8^v Books printed by Peter Cole; B1^r-M8^v Text

F.5. Culpeper's Directory for Midwives: or, A Guide for Women. The Second Part (London: Peter Cole, 1662)

Wing C7497 (Reel 62:12)

Copies Examined. Microfilm.

Title. [within fleuron type frame] Culpeper's | DIRECTORY | FOR | MIDWIVES: |

OR, | *A Guide for Women.* | THE | SECOND PART. | *Discovering,* | 1. The Diseases in
 the Privities of Women. | 2. The Diseases of the Privie Part. | 3. The Diseases of the Womb.
 | 4. The Symptoms of the Womb. | 5. The Symptoms in the Terms. | 6 The Symptoms
 that befall all Virgins and Wo- | me in their Wombs, after they are *Ripe* of Age. | 7. The
 Symptoms which are in Conception. | 8. The Government of Women with Child. | 9. The
 Symptoms that happen in Childbearing. | 10. The Government of Women in Child-bed,
 and | the Diseases that come after Travel. | 11. The Diseases of the Breasts. | 12. The
 Symptoms of the Breasts. | 13. The Diet and Government of Infants. | 14. The Diseases and
 Symptoms in Children. | [rule] | *London:* Printed by *Peter Cole*, Printer and Book- | seller,
 at the Sign of the Printing-press in *Corn-* | *hill*, near the *Royal Exchange*. 1662.

Collation. 8°: A⁴ (- A2) B⁸ C³ D-V⁸, [\$4 signed (G3 signed '3')]; 150 leaves, pp. [28] 1-94
 95 96 97-270 [2] (misprinting 186 as '86') [= 300]

Contents. A1^r title; A1^v blank; A3^r-4^v '*Books Printed by Peter Cole and Edward Cole*':
 B1^r-C1^r 'THE CONTENTS | OF THE | FOURTH BOOK | OF | PRACTICAL
 PHYSICK. | Of Womens Diseases'; C1^v-3^v contents to 'A | Tractate | Of the Cure of
 Infants'; D1^r-R8^v 'THE | FOURTH BOOK | OF | PRACTICAL PHYSICK. | Of
 Womens Diseases'; S1^r-V7^v 'A | TRACTATE | Of the Cure of Infants.'; V7^v-8^v '*Several
 Physick Books of Nich. Culpeper, | Physitian and Astrologer, and Abdiah Cole Doctor of
 Phy- | sick, commonly called, The Physitian's Library, containing | all the Works in
 English of Riverius, Sennertus, Platerus, | Riolanus, Bartholinus*'

Selective Bibliography

Manuscripts Cited

Royal College of Physicians, London

MS 499, Culinary and Medical Receipt Book

MS 500, unknown, Culinary and Medical Receipt Book

MS 501, unknown, Medical Receipt Book

MS 513, unknown, Culinary and Medical Receipt Book

MS 654, Sarah Wigge, Medical Receipt Book

MSS 2283-86, 'Annales Collegii Medicorum, 1518-1695'

MSS 2295-98, 'English Typescript of the Annals, 1518-1690'

Guildhall Library, London

MS 8200, Society of Apothecaries, 'Minutes of the Assistants and of the Private Court'

MS 8202, Society of Apothecaries, 'Wardens Accounts'

MS 10, 166 (box 4), Diocese of London, 'Certificates and Testimonials'

Worshipful Company of Stationers, London

The *Records of the Stationers' Company 1554-1920* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985) published on 115 reels of microfilm, are described by Robin Myers in *The Stationers' Company Archive: An Account of the Records* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990).

'Court Book C', 29 October 1602 to 1 March 1654/5, reel 56

'Court Book D', 5 March 1654/5 to 24 October 1679, reel 56

Wellcome Institute Library, London

MS 213, Mrs. Corylon, Book of Medicines

MS 1071, Lady Barrett, Receipt Book

MS 1340, Boyle family, Collection of 712 Medical Receipts

MS 1710, W. Coleman, Collection of Medical Receipts

MS 2630, unknown, 'Phisical Receipts'

MS 4053, unknown, Collection of Receipts

MS 4338, Johanna St. John, 'Her Booke'

Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

MS Ashmole 339, f. 173, Nicholas Culpeper to John Booker, n.d.

MS Don. e. 11., Cartwright Family, Notebook

Hartlib Papers, University of Sheffield Library

HP 67/22/17A-18B, Copy Letter in Scribal Hand, John Beale to unknown, n.d.

HP 53/12/1A-2B, Copy Extracts on Dr. Tunstall's Free Medical Service in Durham (1655-58)

HP 28/1/26B-38A, Samuel Hartlib, 'Ephemerides' (July - December 1649)

HP 28/1/39A-49A, ———, ——— (January - February 1650)

HP 28/1/60B-71A, ———, ——— (May - October 1650)

HP 29/5/58A-70B, ———, ——— (June - May 1656)

Glasgow University Library

MS Hunterian 169, Henry Fowler, Medical Receipt-Book and Memoranda

MS Hunterian 487, unknown, Medical Receipt-Book

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